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BORDERCROSSINGS:
AFRICADIA, THE CARIBBEAN, PAN-AFRICANISM

H. C. Murray, B.A. Hons, B.Ed.

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts

Department of Geography

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

1997
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ABSTRACT

In recent years, scholars have become increasingly interested in marginalized peoples' struggle for agency and subjecthood within a variety of socio-political contexts. Using a critical hermeneutic approach, I seek to contribute to this emergent literature through an exploration of 'black agency' as it is highlighted in the writings of black social theorists, and in the personal narratives of 24 Afro-Caribbean individuals currently residing in Halifax-Dartmouth, Canada. During the course of my analysis, I endeavour to challenge the notion of a singular, homogenous black community, and argue that, in the midst of their struggle for equality and justice, people have tended to overlook the value of difference within their communities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the course of writing and researching this thesis, a number of people stand out in terms of the support, input, and direction provided to me. First, I find myself deeply grateful to all those who participated in my study and assisted me while conducting fieldwork in Halifax-Dartmouth. Second, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Simon Dalby, as well as Fiona Mackenzie, for their patience, encouragement and feedback. Also, I would like to thank Hazel Anderson for her support. Finally, thanks to my friends and family for their inspiration and reassurances along the way. In all, these people have helped make my research an enjoyable and informative process.

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Introduction:
OPENING AN EXPLORATION OF AFRO-CARIBBEANS
IN HALIFAX-DARTMOUTH

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Sealed into ...that crushing objecthood, I turned beseechingly to others. Their attention was a liberation, running over my body suddenly abraded into nonbeing, endowing me once more with an agility that I had thought lost, and by taking me out of the world, restoring me to it. - Franz Fanon 1967:109

Be it liberation or limitation, the acceptance and the security built into associations has long held great appeal. Demonstrations of community and solidarity have been highlighted in the Million Man March or the Million Woman March, and occur daily among people engaged in protest movements. The criteria for membership may range from the struggle for an ideal existence and recognition to self-preservation, survival and freedom from colour, class and 'race' based discrimination. These factors feed into, as Douglas Strum states,

the principle of internal relations [which] is simultaneously metaphysical and moral. It tells us both who we are and what we ought to be. It informs us that public life, understood broadly, is an inescapable dimension of our existence. And it instructs us about the character and form that public life should, most appropriately assume. It provides a grounding for a political ethic. (Strum 1988:4).

Yet rather than inherently belonging to a specific national group, Benedict Anderson, in *Imagined Communities*, maintains that what in fact has existed and continues to exist are social constructions of membership that are today rooted in the capitalist structure of society and in the "'simultaneous' pasts ... connected by their conversing voices" (Anderson 1991:29). The conversing voices manifest themselves in the fictions of reality - a linking process that allows for the emergence of a simultaneous if not arbitrary existence. Anderson maintains that "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 1991:7). It is this idea of community that is used

to define the 'black community'. Moreover, it is precisely this comradeship that brought some Caribbean people to Halifax in the 1950-60s, since Halifax-Dartmouth had at that time the largest black population in Canada.

As Anderson explores the processes involved in creating communities, (using primarily socio-cultural criteria for membership and in his conceptions of social groups) he touches upon the issue of racism. I quote: "The dreams of racism actually have their origin in ideologies of *class*, rather than those in nation: above all in claims to divinity among rulers and to 'blue' or 'white' blood and 'breeding' among aristocracy" (Anderson 1991:149-150). Through racism fictitious communities emerge permitting the 'Empire' to weld its dynastic legitimacy and national 'community'. It can be added that racism also provides the basis for the elaboration of 'communities' of resistance to this 'Empire'.

It is the absence of alternative 'communities' that contributes to Pratha Chatterjee's criticism of Anderson. Chatterjee maintains that Anderson's conception of community does not take notice of the "twists and turns, the suppressed possibilities, the contradictions still unresolved" (Chatterjee in Bhabha 1994:249). Anderson assumes a homogeneity across an "empty time" (Bhabha 1994:249), one that prohibits the impregnation of time and space with alternative conceptions of being and belonging. How can one account for the particular lifestyle choices that emerge when one is estranged from the dominant culture? Why do frictions, internal to the community, exist and persist? Who is defining the community? At what moments is the existence of a community proclaimed?

How the concept of belonging unveils itself is multifaceted, taking the form of self-actualization and empowerment among marginal and 'hybrid' peoples. Belonging may be expressed in everyday life activities, language or ideology; and it is through these expressions that 'marginalized' peoples may operate in the liminal spaces of Western societies. One example of this has been the spread of Afrocentric thought. The Afrocentric ideology purports to link African peoples to a lost heritage through the reconstruction of the past. This past operates as

a critique of Eurocentrism, and is becoming increasingly noticeable through dress styles and the like. Through these actions, "they ... reclaim the right to define themselves against the criteria of identification determined by an anonymous power and systems of regulation that penetrate the area of 'internal nature'" (Melucci 1989:61).

In getting to the core of this 'internal nature', concepts of space facilitate the analysis of the identification criteria as well as the 'systems' of regulation themselves. Thus, it is assumed that spatial relations are implicated in the construction of communities as individuals seek to provide meaning to their lives. 'Spatial' is used in a fashion that draws upon the work of Doreen Massey, who argues in *Space, Place and Gender* that 'spatial' ... can be seen as constructed out of the multiplicity of social relations across all ... scales, from the global ... to the social relations within the town, the settlement, the household, the workplace" (Massey 1994:4). Moreover, social relations are seen as encompassing, Paul Routledge states, "an interwoven web of specific symbolic meanings, communicative processes, political discourses, religious idioms, cultural practices, social networks, economic relations, physical settings, envisioned hopes and desires" (Routledge 1993:561). This use of spatial has been adopted as it provides a means of analysing the constructions of imagined black communities, 'communities' that influence conceptions of identity, resistance and belonging, as well as how ideas of identity, resistance and belonging inform 'community'. The 'communities' to which I am referring are the 'global black community', subsequently referred to as the 'black community', Africadia, and the Caribbean 'community' in Halifax-Dartmouth. Africadia refers to the network of maritime locales occupied by people of African descent (Clarke 1992). The 'black community' is that which has been conceived of through ideologies of Pan-Africanism and Afrocentrism, wherein it is assumed that there is an underlying commonality among all peoples of African descent, whether culturally, physically, politically or socially. By analysing the interrelations among these versions of spaces, not only do I hope to achieve a deeper understanding of the 'black communities' themselves, but also to argue in favour of a conceptualization in which places are understood to be (to borrow

Massey's phrase) 'open and porous' (Massey 1994:5).

Moreover, the concept of thirdspace is useful in understanding how places may be viewed as 'open and porous'. Third space or thirdspace has become a tool of analysis among a number of academics, including such geographers as Edward Soja and Steve Pile. While Pile draws upon Homi Bhabha's conception of thirdspace Soja focuses on a broader literature to ground his analysis. I shall first discuss Soja's understanding followed by an examination of Bhabha's own analysis. According to Soja, thirdspace can best be understood as a departure from traditional social science methodologies. The latter have tended to explore issues of objectivity and materiality that include societal and historical spatialities (all of which is known as firstspace); or, symbolic space (secondspace) where "the imagined geography tends to become the 'real' geography, with the image or representation coming to define and order the reality" (Soja 1996:76). So what is thirdspace? It is simply that which allows room for new possibilities, not only by critiquing first- and second space, but "also [by reinvigorating] approaches to spatial knowledge with new possibilities heretofore unthought of inside the traditional spatial disciplines." (Soja 1996:81). As one might imagine, this thirdspace encompasses the conceptions of Bhabha as well as the spaces imagined by bell hooks (1992) and Michel Foucault (1986).

Bhabha constructs thirdspace on the basis of the concept of Other, as does hooks, in order to open up a discussion that helps to problematize the construction of Otherness. In bringing this space to the fore, Bhabha claims that we find that "[t]he 'other' is never outside or beyond us; it emerges forcefully, within cultural discourse, when we *think* we speak most intimately and indigenously 'between ourselves'" (Bhabha 1990:4). A 'third space' allows one:

to position socially constructed dualism within their grounds of dissimilarity; second, to trace the effects of the transcoding of values between power-ridden dualisms; third to recognize what exists beyond the reach of dualisms; and finally to think about the ways in which the fabric of this third space is continually fragmented, fractured, incomplete, uncertain, and

the site of struggles for meaning and representation. (Pile 1995:273)

In short, it permits the recognition of a multi-dimensional, multiple-layered and conflictual political subjectivity (Pile 1995:273). Through utilizing the concept of thirdspace, different points of view and narratives of historical reconstruction become clear. Within this space differences and similarities among people are acknowledged, facilitating the exploration, and perhaps the creation, of alternative "geographical notions of space, place, locality, landscape and so on" (Pile 1995:273). I am employing thirdspace in a sense that conceives of space as a site of intervention rather than isolated heterotopia (Foucault 1986), although there is an overlapping in ideas and subjectivities that links them all to each other. Moreover, in this process multiple, overlapping contractions and identities (see Rose 1993) are produced.

With questions of constructed realities and alternative visions at the core of this thesis, a critical hermeneutic approach presents itself as a viable course of analysis. Critical hermeneutics concerns itself with questions of meaning and interpretation. However, rather than using the approach which Soja describes as second space, where the imagined becomes the real, I am using critical hermeneutics in conjunction with thirdspace. This in turn provides the basis for my examination of English-speaking Afro-Caribbean people in Halifax-Dartmouth, though not to the neglect of the social-historical processes that inform their lives. By linking this theory to that of thirdspace, it becomes possible to envision multiple realities, discourses and notions of place, identity, 'community' and resistance. So, informed by ideas of thirdspace and critical hermeneutics, this study will examine the dynamics of identity and community formation along with processes of resistance.

As one might imagine, part of this identity formation has been to a considerable degree informed by racism whether systematic, 'organic', institutional or everyday in origin. However, aside from Sarah Radcliffe, Susan Smith, Kay Anderson, Audrey Kobayashi and Peter Jackson, very little work has been done in geography on the issue of 'race' and racism. Instead, most

postcolonial geographical analyses have sought to heterogenize the homogeneous Self to the neglect of the Other, through explanations of the fractures and fissures in British Imperialism (Gregory 1995; Godlewska 1995). In this frame, the Other is shelved in some distant land, obscure, remote, and buried in rhetoric. But we are here, closer to home than one may think.

However, rather than focussing on the marginalization of black people within Western thought and societies, although this will be addressed, the focus is on the 'communities' themselves for within the latter there is the idea of Same and similarity or same-yet-different. It is this Same and its representations that will be used as it is not my intent to compare and contrast the 'black community' with any other, nor is it my intention to explore the interrelations between the 'black community' and the 'white community'¹. Rather, I shall explore forms of representation as constructed 'within' this 'community'. This method is used to avoid the negative constructions of blacks as criminals, threats, backward, the stereotypical repetitions. With this approach, I will employ Deleuze's concept of difference without negation which he describes as "subordinated to the identical, difference [does not] extend or '... have to extend' as far as opposition and contradiction" (Deleuze 1994:xx). Constantin Boundas and Dorothea Olkowski expand upon Deleuze's words: "Deleuze's difference ... is not mobilized against unity, but only against those transcendental principles of unification that preclude difference and relegate it to the status of the negative" (Boundas and Olkowski 1994: 3-4). Here the difference that is addressed manifests itself within the Caribbean and Africadian 'communities' in Halifax. This idea of difference, Gilles Deleuze suggests, does not operate in isolation. Repetition works alongside difference. The repetition which is of interest here lies in the construction of a 'black community' as articulated in Pan-African and Afrocentric discourses, as well as in Derrida's ideas of absence/presence that are situated within difference (Derrida 1991:69). The Pan-African and Afrocentric discourses appeal to a 'black community' that is not confined by national borders.

¹ When dealing with racism in Chapter 5, however, some references will be made to the 'white community'.

it is a 'community' to which one belongs on the basis of one's ancestry. It is ever-shifting and embodies an ambivalence between Self and Other.

Claims to unity are undermined in the face of parochially-defined needs. 'We are one people', 'one love', 'one nation under the sun' become mere rhetorical devices, papering over, however imperfectly, cultural differences, historical divergences and family connections. This paradoxical state of affairs surfaced while I was doing research in Halifax. Suddenly I was the exploiter, or potential exploiter. I was an outsider, a threat. I wanted to explore areas that were little known to me yet, I believed, somehow connected to who I was. Entering in the 'black community' in North Halifax made me vividly aware of how complex an issue identity is. People are naturally suspicious when someone approaches them and claims to want to 'examine' their identity. What motives or agenda underlie the purpose for such a study? Who will it benefit? As an outsider these are difficult questions to address. They are even more difficult to address when you have already been labelled an exploiter. To understand this, it is necessary to understand the position of the Caribbean person within Nova Scotia. It is in the wake of this new wave of immigrants in Nova Scotia that my dilemmas, in part, emerged. It is with them that I sought to understand not only what I had gone through, but they as well. What I shall seek to illustrate in the pages that follow, is that, in the struggle for equality and justice, people have overlooked the advantages of difference within their imagined communities (see Spivak 1990:73).

During the course of this process of discovery, the thesis will primarily engage with the key works by African American, Caribbean, and black British writers such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, Homi Bhabha, bell hooks, Manning Marable, Moliye Asante, Franz Fanon and Cornel West. These works seek to challenge the system, analyse racism and question exclusions from society. The works are revisionist and re-interpretive. The writers operate on the basis of an assumed community of black people who have common experiences and who see themselves as without a 'homeland' or in search of one. The importance of this

imagined community is that "the memory of Africa and imaginary links have inspired some of the most dynamic political, intellectual and cultural movements of our century" (Lemelle and Kelley 1994:13). These works will provide the springboard for my analysis as I seek to build on what has gone before. However, few of the writers address processes of exclusion within this community. Also, few have looked at the forms of resistance employed besides class. I would suggest that it is necessary to address these realities, since in attacking each other within this imagined community and by ignoring the value of difference in resistance, limits are placed on the scope for change and on what could be effective challenges.

It is the discord with difference among blacks in Halifax-Dartmouth that provided the basis of this research on Afro-Caribbean people in that city. Migration from the Caribbean to Nova Scotia was first documented in 1796. Another group of Caribbean people came to Cape Breton to work in the coal mines and steel plants and decided to settle there. Yet, another wave of Caribbean immigrants came in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s. Unlike the black Nova Scotians who had been living in Canada for generations, the Caribbean people who came did not suffer from the extended experience of having their ancestry operate as a limitation. For in the Islands, where black people were in a majority, the greatest obstacle to improving your lot in life was having a poor education. In Nova Scotia, on the other hand, blacks not only were in the minority, but they were subject to the racist policies of the dominant society which served to restrict their mobility, where they could live, the schools they could attend and the services that they could receive. In seeking to explore the politics of location, identity and resistance, the Caribbean 'community' in Nova Scotia is unique to the extent that black immigrants were coming into an area that already had a significant black population. Unlike Toronto, where black people from the Caribbean form the majority of the population, in Nova Scotia they were the minority. To Nova Scotians, they were black. To the 'indigenous black community', they were immigrants and a potential threat. Belonging fully to neither, but operating at times in both, the Caribbean 'community' presents itself as a hybrid 'community' within which multiple

identities and realities unfold.

Discussion of these issues has been organized in five chapters, the first of which consists of an overview of what twentieth century black theorists have to say on issues of identity, 'community' and resistance. Within the 'black community', some people, academics included, seek to censure individuals who write on issues that are viewed as contradictory to what is imagined as the 'community'. These topics include, but are not limited to, homosexuality and a non-critical view of inter-racial marriages. As such, the general thrust of Chapter 1 will be to illustrate the multiplicity of views on these issues within the 'black community', not only in terms of what the 'community' is, but also in terms of a black identity and forms of resistance. In Chapter 2, I outline the methodological approach taken in the collection of data as well as in the analysis of my interviews with the 24 participants. The problematics of engaging in fieldwork will comprise the first section of the chapter. In this section the concepts of insider outsider will be challenged as well as the ability of the researcher to 'give voice to the voiceless'. After this discussion, I will address procedures in data collection and analysis.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 consist of the analysis of interviews and are broken down thematically into 'community', identity and resistance. I will problematize the concepts of 'black', 'community' and implicit within the latter, the notion of belonging. The purpose of this engagement is to overcome essentialist conceptualizations of black and the 'black community'. In terms of resistance, I am assuming that acts of resistance may be both vocal and silent, for there are many instances in which individuals challenge racism through silence. Moreover, throughout these chapters I shall be arguing that the Caribbean participants occupy multiple positions, which complicates any project which seeks to achieve any universalist discourse on the 'black community' in Halifax-Dartmouth. This will be demonstrated by presenting the concept of difference as a means of illustrating the contingency and conditionality of the 24 Afro-Caribbean participants' presence in Halifax-Dartmouth in each of these three chapters. In doing so, I hope to re-examine what has been construed as the 'black community'. In turn,

overcoming this essentialized identity can open the way for an appreciation of *différance* among marginalized peoples.

Moreover, in this exploration, I will engage with such questions as: what is the 'black community'? What are the nodal points around which the discourses on 'black community' are framed? What are some of the uneasy themes that coexist within the discourses of 'black community' and identity? And, how has resistance to the various forms of racism fed into the idea of 'black' and 'black community'? By addressing them, I seek to make apparent not only the absences that occur within the 'black community', but also the ambiguities and intersections between discourses rooted in the local and discourses that appeal to a transcendental universalism (see Doty 1996:247).

In undertaking this analysis, I make a number of assumptions. First, I am assuming that there is no single overarching truth and that instead perspectives ought to be understood through an immediate context and historicity. As Lavie and Swedenburg put it, "movements within and between various positionalities call for dismantling the method of detached narration through naturalized observation. Capturing the fragmented, rapidly shifting registers and modalities of the forces that shape everyday life in third time-spaces requires writing that mixes and juxtaposes genres" (Lavie and Swedenburg 1996:21). Second, I take it for granted that a recognition of difference does not lead to a dismantling of the 'community'. Graham-Gibson's observation about feminism has parallels with ideas of the 'black community'. They write, "[w]ithout unity of women's identity, many critics see postmodern feminism as opening the doors to fragmentation, factionalism and political disempowerment. It seems that, for many, a paradox has emerged - as knowledge has been liberated, politics has been shackled" (Graham-Gibson 1996:236). So following in the vein of Deleuze the juxtapositioning of unity and difference is taken as crucial to the analysis of the 'black community' (see May 1994).

In this work, I seek to contribute to a relatively underdeveloped area in the geographical literature, namely issues of race and racism and specifically how ideas of difference within the

'black community' and identity can be developed in a positive manner. Furthermore, the thesis will problematize the idea of 'belonging' in black studies and will have Canadian blacks as the focus rather than blacks in Britain or the United States. In this regard it should be noted that even within Canada the Caribbean 'community' in Halifax-Dartmouth has been overlooked in scholarly works. Thirdspace is being used to provide a means whereby the fracturing and multiplicity within this 'community' may be considered. For, as Graham-Gibson state, "[t]here are ... existing discourses that position subjects in relations of empowerment and disempowerment. The ways in which theory and research interact with these discourses have concrete political effects" (Graham-Gibson 1996a:237). With this in mind, thirdspace offers a means of addressing alternative discourses on black identity, 'community' and resistance. In these considerations, difference is not viewed as a problematic, but the basis for communication on the multiple contours of power (see Graham-Gibson 1996b), political subjectivities and the freedom to express concerns beyond that which has been constructed as the legitimate boundaries for, as Graham-Gibson put it "[i]n an overdetermined world conversations are interventions actions changes in and of themselves, no matter whether they do or do not also give rise to further planned interventions" (Graham-Gibson 1996a:242).

JOURNEYS INTO THE PAST

BLACK DIASPORA: SIGNIFIERS AND SIGNS

=====

The tension between chosen identities and given identities appears in a very stark form in the history of the Black Atlantic diaspora, where the obligation to engage in self-discovery has always involved an act of refusal, and the conventional understanding of what it means to be an individual has either been imposed on its subordinate Others, or premised on their exclusion.
- Paul Gilroy 1995b

The 'conventional understanding' that has been imposed or premised to exclude has not operated unimpeded. In the liminal spaces of Western society, the Pan-African movement emerged. The Pan-African movement sought to create a global community by uniting African peoples in the continent and in the diaspora. The movement challenged the traditional concept of belonging to a State, for while living within the United States, Great Britain, or the Caribbean, prior to independence, allegiance was not to the country of residence or birth but to an ideal embodied by Africa as a whole. United on the basis of 'race', this 'community' would struggle against all forms of discrimination and prejudice, as "[t]he struggle for Human freedom from oppression is, at the same time, a universal struggle for Human liberation" (Pobi-Asamani 1995:36).

Today, there is growing recognition of and engagement with fractures and contradictions within this 'community'. The fracturing occurs along the lines of location, culture, class, nationality, gender, sexuality and age. Theorists have viewed this fracturing with scepticism and fear due to its possible impact upon the project of social change: others have not viewed it so much as fracturing but as the 'emancipation' of the individual as the multifaceted identities unveil themselves. Irrespective of the perspectives Pan-African writers and some black writers, today they operate in a 'dissident' space, challenging Enlightenment thought while using its language to justify its existence. It is a space that challenges and constrains. Within this space,

ideologies exist with the exclusive purpose of explaining, valuing, writing and privileging the black diaspora's experience. This dissident space is itself fractured, hybrid, ambivalent: it is a *différance*, shifting and heterogeneous, that allows for the analysis of processes such as values, identities, writings, and privileging. Using these multiple layers of identity and their representations, this chapter will examine the thought of Pan-Africanist writers such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, the Afrocentric writer Molefi Kete Asante, as well as the work of Manning Marable, Franz Fanon, bell hooks, Cornel West, Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy and Homi Bhabha. These writers were selected not only as their work engages with the struggle for change but also because they possess differing ideas on black identity and 'community'. What I intend to do is examine how these theorists have conceived of black identity, 'black community' and resistance by comparing and contrasting their ideas. Through this analysis of the works, gaps in the literature will become apparent thereby allowing me to add to the field of study. In carrying out this task, I begin with the issue of identity, followed by the ideas of 'community' and resistance.

Black Identity: Forms, Purposes, and Postures

Have you ever seen a cotton-field white with the harvest, - its golden fleece hovering above the black earth like a silvery cloud edged with dark green, its bold white signals waving like the foams of billows from Carolina to Texas across that Black and human sea? - Du Bois

There is a painful contradiction between being Western and a Black man. I see both worlds from another, and third point of view. -George Lamming

For all the references made to black identity, there is very little consensus as to what it 'should' entail. Black may be a backdrop to progress and development, never seen, never heard, and in this manner black identity is set up outside but functioning inside: black may be an ever-shifting point of view which permits one to view oneself from multitudinous angles. So while it is only recently that 'whiteness' has come under study, ideas of black identity go as far back

as the nineteenth century. It is a terrain etched with creativity and political intentionality, the likes of which give meaning and definition, and in turn become defined through those very acts. In this section, I will lay out the tensions among the multitudinous conceptions of black as a means of establishing the differences - spatially, temporally, politically, individually - that distinguish the theorists from each other.

Among the earliest and most influential of writers on black and Pan-African identities is W. E. B. Du Bois. Born into a financially well off family, Du Bois had the privilege of receiving an education. His education, in institutions such as Fiske University and Harvard University in the United States and a university in Germany, brought him into contact with Western Enlightenment thought, including most notably the works of Hegel. Through the course of his studies he attained a PhD. With this background he engaged with the Hegelian dialectic of thesis antithesis synthesis and applied it to his analyses of black identity. Central in this latter regard is the longing for a 'unified' black identity that is often set out in terms of the desired meeting of blacks, deemed alienated and colour-concerned, as one on an equal footing with whites in the United States. In spite of his calls for unity, Du Bois recognizes the ambiguity within identity and discusses it in *The Souls of Black Folks*. "How does it feel to be a problem?" Du Bois asks, and from this basis goes on to analyze the manifestations of being a 'problem', the struggle to overcome this positioning as the Other, as a negative. According to Pettigrew, "the terms 'colored problem', 'Negro problem' and 'black problem' are revealing. Their clear implication is that the issue resides solely with Africa Americans, as if it were they who caused it" (Pettigrew 1996:ix). Thus, ironically, by choosing 'problem' as the operative word to describe the position of blacks in the United States, he links, perhaps inadvertently, 'being a problem' with the black identity and situation. The problem was not the political, economic, or social system of the United States, though he did recognize that the situation was not optimal. So while Du Bois believes that change could happen where one had overcome this dilemma of being othered, the overall thrust, in his work, is that the change could only come from within.

Undermining this struggle for self-emancipation was the rope of double consciousness. According to Du Bois, double consciousness entails possessing "two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body" (Du Bois in Moses 1985:92). Based on this description, black identity may be described as blacks trapped as the embodiment of the antithesis and the thesis while warring with each other in the hope of one day achieving synthesis. Again, one can see that Du Bois assumes that the 'problem' lies solely within the black consciousness, the socio-economic conditions, though recognized are not viewed as important as this split identity. Moreover, the double consciousness manifests itself in the sight of oneself through the eyes of another and is considered the only way to achieve knowledge of one's surroundings. This trapped state is, Du Bois argues, that of [t]he Negro [as] ... a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world, - a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world" (Du Bois 1979:4). It is almost as if he were caught between being the problem through having 'second-sight' and being constructed as a problem from a world that was beyond his command.

The solution to this predicament, Du Bois assumes, is to merge "his double self into a better and truer self" (Du Bois in Harris 1995:2-3); and in this manner the struggle to achieve 'manhood' entails the struggle to achieve a singular identity. A singular identity, Du Bois believes, would allow blacks to transcend the social, economic and political plights that they faced in the United States at the time he wrote (1903). It is in this context that one may suggest that Du Bois employs a neo-Hegelian dialectic - one that is beyond the historical and racial limitations and into the realm of "spiritual transcendence" of colour (Andrews 1985:13). The spiritual realm represents an end whereby the issue of colour as a source of discrimination would be eliminated. Yet, while striving for equality, Du Bois conceives of difference, according to Nahum Chandler, as differences "among men" (Chandler 1996:247) based upon physical appearances. The danger inherent within such static conceptions of identity is that it can allow

for privileging and subordination (Chandler 1996:247) of a racial nature. This is particularly the case with Du Bois, where his idea of cultural difference is one based on a racialized formulation which, while privileging blacks, does not questioning who is defining what black is or which definition of black is being used.

Like Du Bois, Marcus Garvey advocates the creation of a singular identity out of the plurality of black identities. Garvey was born in Jamaica. With age he became increasingly aware of the colour differentiations among blacks, as he, being of a dark complexion, found himself restricted from certain social circles. Garvey is very aware that blacks do not possess a singular identity - there were differences between slaves who were African born and born in the Americas (those in the Americas held themselves to be superior), there were differences between slaves based on colour, between Africans and West Indians, between West Indians and Americans, and so on. These differences did not disappear with the abolition of slavery, but continued to manifest themselves in the social relations among blacks, with people of a lighter complexion held in higher esteem than people whose complexions was darker. These differences, Garvey believes, work as obstacles to gaining a 'cohesive', universal movement that could emancipate black people from the discrimination and oppression that they faced on a daily basis within the Americas and Europe. His solution, like Du Bois', is to create a 'truer' self. In doing so he seeks to make blacks the subject of engagement rather than the object. Although he recognizes the plurality within the 'community', as "we have become the most mixed up race in the world" (Garvey 1967:55), he believes that the only way forward is to strive for singularity - a united people, one identity, at home in Africa. However, while Du Bois focusses more on the 'spiritual' aspects, Garvey discusses this construction of a 'truer' self in terms of politics. The context under which the politics of 'race' unveiled itself is embodied in the formation of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), an all-black organization that sought to provide blacks with greater economic power, leading to greater political clout and ultimately statehood. For Garvey, identity is implicated in statehood, for not only does he resist the idea of

blacks as only stateless peons, but he also affirms Eurocentrism, specifically the idea of growth, self-determination and racial purity, which are in turn bound up with the idea of a state, a fixed location over which they are master. Paul Gilroy comments that Garvey "often seem[s] to share the decidedly Hegelian belief that the combination of Christianity and a nation state represents the overcoming of all antinomies" (Gilroy 1995b:35). However, in this process, the identities of individuals are reduced to their supposed racial make up, as was commonly believed particularly in the 1920s: but rather than occupying a position that relegates blacks to a backdrop that is easily forgotten, through the initiatives of the UNIA, Garvey believes blacks would be able to create a space for themselves. The individual's politics could not take precedence to race. Politics was race. Race was politics.

Garvey is not interested so much in changing whites' attitudes towards blacks, but rather in working with blacks in the hope of creating their own nation. This may in part explain why instead of engaging in a critique of white liberals, Garvey attacks black intellectuals activists such as Du Bois for being traitors to the cause. Du Bois, he assumes, sought to gain equality by working for the end of the black race, through for example his refusal to condemn miscegenation and his solicitation of whites' support. Garvey maintains that miscegenation would lead to the continued denial of African heritage and create a buffer zone between the white society and the black society in favour of the white society, much as it had in Jamaica. In part, it is the plurality within the 'black community' that frustrated Garvey's attempts to create the UNIA; and in later years contributed to a shift in Garvey's focus to that of critiquing the divisions rather than overlooking them. Divisions over how to gain equality led him, in much of his later work, to focus upon attacking Du Bois and his supporters. However, it is not a one-sided battle as Du Bois too took up campaigning against Garvey on the grounds that he was an extremist.

The problematics surrounding assembling a niche for blacks that allows for an equal footing in Western societies continued into the 1960s and provides the basis for Franz Fanon's analyses. Fanon was born in Martinique, a French-speaking island in the Caribbean. Successful

in his studies at school, he went on to study psychiatry in France. Once he finished his university education Fanon migrated to Algeria, also a French colony, to practice his profession. There he joined the FLN (National Liberation Front) through which he sought to challenge the colonialist system and to work for a closer alliance among Africans. As such, Fanon, like Garvey, sees politics as rooted within the black body and seeks to capture the substantive issues around alienation and exclusion in *Black Skins White Masks*. For Garvey and Fanon, who were both from the Caribbean, colour is among the defining aspects of their interpretations of the social, economic and political conditions in which blacks find themselves. Generally, Fanon argues that the black body is static when envisioned from a Western European perspective. The body of a black male represented irrationality, emotion, anger, viciousness - "I am given no chance. I am overdetermined from without. I am the slave not of the 'idea' that others have of me but for my own appearance." (Fanon 1967:116). You are forever tied to your colour. The silences around colour provide a background to your discursive existence - not liked because of your colour, not disliked because of your colour, not like the others, you are different - almost white. These constructions function as the backdrops to white-black relations, colonizer-colonized dynamics, dualisms that allow for the construction of essentialized identities. There is the Negro-ism movement, in the 1950-60s, where black came to be "a complete fusion with the world, an intuitive understanding of the earth, an abandonment of my ego in the heart of the cosmos and no white man, no matter how intelligent he may be, can ever understand Louis Armstrong and the music of the Congo" ... to counter, I guess, the Eurocentric notion where, "I am white: that is to say that I possess beauty and virtue, which have never been black. I am the colour of daylight ..." (Fanon 1967:45). It is a dualism that seeks to seal identities into fixed compartment: it is a dualism that Fanon problematizes by striving for equality.

According to Fanon, while there is antagonism between the European and non-European peoples, it is not one that can be rigidly defined. For in the black body we exist in triplicate - race, ancestors, self. This "[c]onsciousness of the body is solely a negating activity. It is a third-

person consciousness. The body is surrounded by an atmosphere of certain uncertainty." (Fanon 1967:110-111). With this observation, Fanon introduces the idea of 'inbetweenness'¹. The inbetweenness is evident in the use of language as a form of differentiation and transformation in the French Antilles, upon which Fanon focuses his discussion. Language is seen as a form of differentiation in a number of ways. A black person is differentiated from whites in terms of being unable to speak the 'mother' tongue proficiently. When that boundary is ruptured, and here the example of Aime Cesaire is used, the black person is then identified as the black poet, or as "a black man who handles the French language as no white man today can" (Fanon 1967:39). Fanon declares that "[t]o speak a language is to take on a world, a culture" (Fanon 1967:38). Taking on 'language' can allow a person, once they return to the West Indies from abroad, to sport the acquired refinement that is only possible to gain overseas. In this process, there has to be a forgetting - a forgetting of 'where they came from'. They no longer could understand nor remember their 'native' tongue, which in itself is another way of thinking (Fanon 1967:20). This forgetting occurs as language is deemed to hold power. The mastery of the 'mother tongue' would enable the black person to be elevated from his backward, jungle status thereby renouncing 'his blackness' and in its place while 'putting on' of the white world (Fanon 1967:18). Knowing the mother country allowed you to become a demigod (Fanon 1967:19), praised in terms of assimilation - more European than the European. So, like Du Bois, Fanon critiques the idea of a black identity in which blacks are aware but, as they are negatively positioned within society, there is not much that one can do but try to be different, better, or white.

However, in his analysis, he focusses primarily on the black male and the struggle for equality. For women, the focus is less an issue of equality and more one of reproduction. Here

¹ Fanon observes the ambiguity in identity. He discusses the complexities of trying to belong to European society while still being very much bound to ones' place of origin, to ones' 'race'. This negotiation of ones' positionality Homi Bhabha terms "inbetweenness".

reproduction is essentially tied to fears regarding the whitening of the race (Fanon 1967:47). Garvey pays even less attention to women, only mentioning them in his mandate for a black State. In that State, women would support the men. While struggling for blacks, Garvey does not seek to challenge the general position of women in society as a whole - women could not be leaders, only supporters. It is only Du Bois who analyses how both men and Eurocentric thought have worked to marginalize women. It is in statements such as this one which he wrote in 1938 that the sensitivity of Du Bois to these issues becomes clear: "[w]e base female eligibility for marriage on exotic personal beauty and childlike innocence, pretend yet to desire brains, common sense and strength of body. If an age thus immolates its ugly virgins, it will crucify its beautiful fools, with the result of making marriage a martyrdom that few will enter with open eyes" (Du Bois 1988:103). Through statements such as this one, he recognizes that women are not only subject to Eurocentric definitions of their identities but also to the sexism present within the 'black community'. Women's only role is to support men and perpetuate the survival of the 'race'. There is no discussion of women, in either Fanon or Garvey, and their desire for equality; instead, implicit in their writings, is the assumption that women yearn not for equality but status (Fanon 1967:58). Thus, Du Bois' searing critique is absent in both Garvey's and Fanon's work, where heterosexual men occupy the centre of their discourse, in which the struggle to end racism becomes the struggle of the straight black man alone. For Fanon, it is the black man who attempts to gain equality, a process in which he encounters the many faces of racism. There is racism among non-Europeans based on 'race', colour and country of origin. In terms of country of origin, West Indians generally have been seen as being superior to Africans, Martiniquians superior to people from Guadeloupe (Fanon 1967:26). In this hierarchy of peoples, often individuals attempt to pass as West Indian, Martiniquian and so on. For women, rather than trying to pass, it is to whom they are attached that is the mark of 'success' (Fanon 1967:58). Thus while black identity could be considered multifaceted, it becomes singular when agendas, external to the 'black community' are attached. Fanon

assumes. Once these agendas have come into play, all that being black could amount to, is "Mommy look a nigger" (Fanon 1967:109).

At the base of Fanon's discussion on these issues of racism and identity is the desire to "help the black man to free himself of the arsenals of complexes that has been developed by the colonial environment" (Fanon 1967:30), not to be slaves to the archetypes (Fanon 1967:35). One of the key issues, which Fanon believes has to be addressed, is that blacks' suffering is not rooted in the colour of their skin. The suffering is a result of imposed discrimination, of human actions and not of something that is inherent in being Black. It is not the curse of Ham. There is a need to break out of the bind of the Other. While Du Bois seems to attribute the suffering to colour, Fanon maintains that "[i]t is the racist who creates his inferior" (Fanon 1967:93). To throw off these shackles, it is imperative to ensure that you are recognized. In this process there is a struggle to impose your existence, to make your worth known. For Fanon, absence of struggle is the absence of self-definition and the perpetuation of objecthood. Being an object means that you continue being acted upon ... "[t]he white man, in the capacity of master, said to the Negro, 'From now on you are free'" (Fanon 1967:220). Breaking out of the existentialist gaze is tantamount to establishing your freedom. But in breaking free, Fanon states that it is important not to lose yourself in the Towers of the Past (Fanon 1967:226). Instead you have to look towards the future and not exalt the past: you have to recognize that you are your own foundation. In recapturing the self you can create the ideal conditions for existence (Fanon 1967:231). What Fanon seeks, in short, is: "I want the world to recognize, with me, the open door of every consciousness" (Fanon 1967:232).

More recently, efforts have been made to place blacks in a favourable light. One of the key theorists in this movement is Molefi Kete Asante, professor and chair in the Department of African-American Studies at Temple University. Asante adopts what has since been termed Afrocentric thought. Afrocentric thought is considered to be a means by which black people will become the subjects of study rather than the objects. As did Fanon, Garvey and Du Bois

before him, Asante maintains that European theories have consistently created false concepts and histories that tie the African in with the 'Negro', Negro here being a diminutive term, and in so doing have written Africans out of any spatial reality (Asante 1987:9). At the centre of the analysis is a critique of Eurocentrism. Through this critique and re-orientation of the subject-object dichotomy, Asante sought to create an anti-capitalist, anti-sexist, anti-racist, pan-African and holistic paradigm science (Asante 1987). This change is central to assessing the world in African terms. African terms are used as a synonym for an afro-circular (as opposed to euro-linear) focus, that is to say a holistic approach which seeks to understand and interpret rather than seeking to predict and control (Asante 1987:18). Furthermore, Afrocentricity "plac[es] African ideals at the centre of analysis that involves African culture and behaviour" (Asante 1987:6). The new centre, rather than being Greece or Rome, is found in ancient Egypt (Kemet) and the Nile Valley. It is this centre that provides a reference point for the African perspective. The centre is assumed to be identifiable as African peoples, both in Africa and the diaspora, are presumed to have one culture. This culture builds upon mythological readings of Africa that are based upon traditional west African cultures.

While Asante seeks to create an alternative vision, a path to liberation and ultimately the transcendence of Eurocentric thought, he borrows enlightenment ideas of idealism and romanticization. This idealism locks African identity into static entities. If you are of African heritage you remain essentially African - pure and unchanged since your ancestors were taken from the mainland. The influence of slavery, emancipation are overlooked (Gilroy 1996b:15). This concept's utilization of African advocates a universalism and essentialism not unlike that of Eurocentric thought. The structural and procedural theoretical principles within the Frankfurt School re-emerge in Asante's work. According to Errol Henderson, Asante promotes his methodology above all others, a methodology that is grounded in "Eurocentric rules of evidence ... analysis and ... developed in a logical manner consistent with any logical Eurocentric exegesis" (Henderson 1995:86). So, in spite of these claims to challenge Eurocentric thought such as

social Darwinism, the Frankfurt school and capitalism. Asante at times slips into the very Eurocentric practices that he critiques.

Other parallels between Afrocentrism and Eurocentrism are: at the centre of the discourse are African peoples (Afro-Americans), all others are left without spatial and temporal validity - a charge Asante levies at Eurocentrism: there is a superior or ideal world view structured on Egypt and the Nile valley from where all African culture is assumed to be derived. Finally, essentialism and dualism provide the fabric of the discourse, for at the centre of Afrocentric thought is the idea that Africans are a culturally homogenous people. The homogeneity extends to gender. Although Asante maintains that the Afrocentric discourse is anti-sexist, women are rarely mentioned. It is a decidedly masculine voice, *nommo*, that resonates throughout *The Afrocentric Idea*. All orators, leaders and significant black individuals are male. The female is consigned to a non-space, is made a non-entity in the struggle for a black discourse. Black is African, black is homogenous both culturally and behaviourally.

Yet just as the Negro is deemed to be an invention of Eurocentrism designed to perpetuate the marginalization of blacks, so too is the invention of Africa (Mudimbe 1988). Africa did not exist prior to the Enlightenment period, and the assumptions of homogeneity within both Afrocentric and Eurocentric thought persist in marginalizing Africans and the black diaspora. Through this means Africa becomes the object rather than the subject of study as fictions of African reality deny the cultural diversity of Africa. So once again Africans are relegated to a non-space devoid of meaning or history.

Although Asante is attempting to give meaning to African peoples in establishing an 'indigenous' discourse, Fanon years before remarked on such endeavour. Fanon states that

[t]he native intellectual who has it in his head to proclaim that existence of another culture never does so in the name of Angola or of Dahomey. The culture which is affirmed is African culture. The Negro, never so much a Negro since he has been dominated by the whites, when he decides to prove that he has a culture and to behave like a cultured person, comes to realize that history points out a well defined path to

him: he must demonstrate that a Negro culture exists. (Fanon 1970:170)

Essentially, what occurs is the further racialization of thought. Afrocentrism (Negro-ism) appears to provide an emotional if not logical response to the "insult which the white man flung at humanity" (Fanon 1970:171) - the insult of negation, of absence. "In order to ensure his salvation and to escape from the supremacy of the white man's culture the native feels the need to turn backwards towards unknown roots and to lose himself at whatever cost in his own ... people" (Fanon 1970:175). Yet, in this process the historical differences between blacks in the Americas, Europe, and Africa are overlooked. Accordingly, Fanon states that "[t]o believe that it is possible to create a black culture is to forget that niggers are disappearing, just as those people who brought them into being are seeing the break-up of their economic and cultural supremacy" (Fanon 1970:188). Proof of who you are lies not in your culture, but in how you resist the 'occupying' forces.

While Asante analyzes identity primarily in terms of genetics and culture, Manning Marable's works have a decidedly political focus. In *Race & Class* in particular, Marable, a black American scholar, engages themes of mobilization for political and social change as well as the issue of racial identity. In 'Beyond Racial Identity Politics', he seeks to dismantle the narrow concept of racial identity to allow for a framework of multicultural democracy. Multicultural democracy is defined as the interaction among and between the most progressive leaders, an interaction that "transcends ... parochialism and ... redefine[s] ... agendas on common ground" (Marable 1993:124). Democracy focusses on reorganizing ownership of capital, "the expansion of production in minority areas and provid[ing] social welfare" (Marable 1993:128) which can be achieved by reviewing the fixity within social categories: "[w]e must redefine 'blackness' and other traditional racial categories to be more inclusive of contemporary realities" (Marable 1993:127). Marable redefines racial categories by attaching to them contingent relationships.

Race is not so much a biological attribute but a social construction in which material inequality is the *modus operandi*. The inequality may manifest itself through "dominant and subordinate forms of social interaction, and be reinforced by the intricate patterns of public discourse, power, ownership within economic, social and political institutions of society" (Marable 1993:114). Politics and identity intersect through a Marxist idea of the subordinate group uniting and struggling against the forces of oppression and domination.

While Marable may advocate unity in struggle, he recognizes that the racial identity is fractured. The fractures emerge in terms of class and biological definitions of race. However, his overriding focus is on the class dimension. Focussing on the African-American experience, he examines the growing difference in income levels among this group and the growing disillusionment among the youth. "[F]or many of our young people, there is no sense or expectation that a future is worth living for, or that it even exists. One lives for today, because tomorrow might never come" (Marable and Mullings 1994:65). Why there is this difference in attitude between youth and the adult population, which Marable assumes to hold a more positive outlook, is not addressed. Aside from a growing fracturing of the 'black community' and the abandonment of Marxist-Leninist ideals, Marable does not discuss what the source of the nihilism may be, nor does he make explicit the links between the fractured community and ideology. Moreover, in addressing these issues, Marable operates within the confines of an Enlightenment framework, a framework that has defined black as that which is opposite to white, that which is undesirable, backward, 'criminal'.

So the construction of self by those who are themselves Other remains the subject of much debate. Key in this debate is the attempt to write an identity that exists on account of living human agents rather than in spite of them (Valentine 1996:586). Among those who have participated in this regard is Colonel West. Colonel West, professor of Religion and Afro-American Studies at Harvard University, argues that "in talking about identity, we have to begin to look at the various ways in which human beings have constructed their desire for

recognition, association and protection over space and time, and always under circumstances not of their own choosing" (West 1995:18). In a rather deterministic approach, West assumes that the self-determining identity or individual can and will never be. Identity is rooted in only an existential meaning where the being-for-itself is meaningless. Meaning is only gained through a society over which blacks have no control or say. This determinism is tailored in Hall's conceptualization of the individual's identity. He states, "Black is an identity which has to be learned and could only be learned in a certain moment" (Hall 1996c:116). Identity here becomes solely a function of knowledge which may or may not be accepted or persist over a particular length of time. Thus, an individual identity is considered tempered by social and temporal factors that are beyond the control of the individual who may try fruitlessly to establish an independent sense of self. Identity is a form of knowledge in which the boundaries to conformity and action already have been established.

For bell hooks, who currently holds the title of Distinguished Professor of English at the City College in New York, the uncertainty that is emerging in the American 'black community' finds root in emerging nationalist ideologies. She argues that black nationalism as it manifests itself today has served to "erode an organic unity between black women and men that had been forged in struggles to resist racism begun in slavery time" (hooks 1992:36). For her, nationalism has been transformed from one based on social solidarity in the 1960-70s to one informed by theories of black power that stress power relations rather than relational love. Relational love, that which establishes organic links between men and women, is assumed to have existed until the present nationalism became popular. The irony in this argument is that if indeed relational love existed earlier, not only has nationalism severed and extinguished it but so has hooks, who when discussing male-female relations, does so explicitly in terms of power relations (hooks 1992:47-48). Moreover, she states that there is a need to recognize difference in 'black' experience, yet at the basis of her work is the assumption that there exists a core black experience which may be lacking in certain individuals on account of their upbringing: they are

not to be punished for this 'loss', but must be educated so that the void may be filled (hooks 1992:37-38).

In spite of the contradictions that are present in her work, she does at times tread onto new ground, introducing women as a subject of discussion rather than as an appendage to issues of interest or perceived interest to black men. Among the issues touched on by her are discussions of woman's work being a matter of choice. In *Yearning*, she states,

[t]he assumption ... is that the black woman who works hard to be a responsible caretaker is only doing what she should be doing. Failure to recognize the realm of choice, and the remarkable re-visioning of both woman's role and the idea of 'home' that black women consciously exercised in practices, obscures the political commitment to racial uplift, to eradicating racism, which was the philosophical core of dedication to community and home. (hooks 1992:45)

Her work represents a feminist departure from the traditional means of analyzing and representing blacks, providing recognition of black women's role in the struggle against racism and their work to 'uplift' the 'community', thereby cultivating a vision of black women as other than servants. In the process of using what hooks sees as a black feminist approach, she subverts traditional discourses on blacks by opening the way for a recognition of variations, differences and alternative ways of viewing the 'community' and black identity more generally. In difference, there is not a destruction of the 'community' or identity, but an offering of old and forgotten as well as new and novel ways of approaching racism, political commitment and attachment to a 'community'.

Among her interests is the erosion of Eurocentric notions of beauty and in the process the promotion of self-love among black women. In *Sisters of the Yam*, hooks discusses the self-hatred among black women that forms as a result of the images that portray beauty in terms of straight hair, fair skin, thin nose. This value system, hooks argues, is a consequence of the pervasiveness of white supremacist values and as such the values associated with beauty cannot be seen as devoid of the larger systematic agents that are at work in society operating to inform

these perceptions of black women. In countering these images her overall goal is to generate a positive black identity, particularly for black women, and in the process she offers up her own experiences for discussion. Her critique of Eurocentric thought and its implications for black men and women raises issues, albeit from a different angle, that have been addressed by Du Bois and Fanon, namely that of the impact upon one's self-conception. However, for hooks, it is more of a descriptive rather than an analytical approach for while discussing the fallacies of Eurocentric thought she does nothing to challenge the ideology aside from proffering segregation and a retreat into oneself (hooks 1992). Withdrawal does not subvert Eurocentric thinking as even during segregation there was a glorification of light-skinned people.

So far black identity has been divided along colour lines, a division all wish to overcome through advocating means including unity, segregation and acceptance. With Du Bois and Garvey, they wrote and spoke with hope for the future, however this hope appears to be fading among the present group of writers, namely West, Marable and to a lesser extent, hooks. Their lack of hope is attributed to the black youth, the black middle class and the problems in male female relations.

Across the Atlantic, in Britain, black is not examined only with reference to those of African descent but to all those who are from former colonies and are now living in Britain. They are the marginalized. They operate within the liminal spaces of the State. Working with a concern with marginalization at the fore of his analysis, Stuart Hall, in 'New Ethnicities', analyzes and problematizes the concept of ethnicity. He analyses this concept in terms of its forms, subjects and regimes of representation. In doing so, he traces the right of representation

to what he has termed relations of representation² and politics of representation³. He believes that there is a need to work for a politics of black representation that will overcome marginalization that is rooted in the essentialized categories and rigidly defined ideas of difference typically found in discourses on blacks. What is needed instead of essentialized categories is a recognition that identity is constructed from a particular place, and through particular experiences, cultures and so on. The black diaspora experience is a "process of unsettling, recombining, hybridization and 'cut-and-mix'" (Hall 1996a:170). From this position of difference, Hall maintains that it is necessary for the representation of blacks to be not only grounded in the present, but to be critical of any rigid representation: as he puts it, "I no longer believe we can resolve the question of aesthetic value by the use of these transcendental cultural categories" (Hall 1996a:170). This raises questions of: what does subverting essentialism allow us to do?: and to what extent does black cultural politics exist outside of Eurocentric politics and thought that there should be an 'encounter' (Hall 1996a:165)?

In the article 'What is this 'black' in black popular culture' Hall goes on to problematize the category - 'black' - through demonstrating its plurality in terms of nationality, class and gender (Hall 1996h:474). He maintains that dominant categories of ethnicities are underpinned by the sexual economy, a particular masculinity and a particular class identity (also see Hall 1996a). He also critiques the assumptions within 'strategic essentialism'. Hall maintains this essentialism tends ultimately to naturalize racism. That is to say, essentialism assumes that we only know who we are by self representation and self-imagining, but this is always done on a group basis. If particular individuals do not fit into these 'self-imaginings', they have strayed

² Relations of representation pertains to how one is represented. Within this concept are issues of access and contestation; access pertains to the right to represent oneself, contestation deals with the non-fixity of the concept as people constantly work to change the relations of representation (Hall 1996a 165)

³ Politics of representation is more complex. It is a "theoretical encounter between black cultural politics and the discourses of a Eurocentric, largely white, critical cultural theory" as well as the end of the essential black subject. Through this concept is the recognition of the diversity of positions, experiences and identities among black subjects (Hall 1996a 165)

from the flock and need to be returned to it. What is peripheral to this thought is the diversity of the black experience. "It is for this reason that what is socially peripheral is so frequently symbolically central" (Hall 1996b:475). However, Raddha Jhappan (1996) argues that strategic essentialism, in fact, allows for multiple positionalities but advocates a specific identity when the need arises. In advocating such positions, she is assuming that people are making a conscious decision to adopt a particular identity at a particular time. This type of argument appears to fall into a rational actor model where decisions are made on a rational basis by assessing all variables that are of importance (see Przeworski 1993:66-79). So while some theorists who adopt strategic essentialism may be equally adamant about ending racism, whether or not strategic essentialism actually exists outside the academy is questionable. "Stuart Hall's formulation, which charts a path between an essentialist and a rigorously poststructural conception of identity, captures the complex and dynamic interplay of modes of Othering and racialization" (Frankenburg and Mani 1996:277).

In working to capture the complexity in identity formation, Hall focusses primarily on the politics of representation of blacks in Britain. This focus can in part be traced to his upbringing. Hall was born in Jamaica to a middle class family, in which, Hall states in his interview with Kuan-Hsing Chen, there was a "conflict between local and the imperial in the colonized context" (Hall with Chen 1996b:484) born out in the disapproval expressed about poor black Jamaicans, disapproval of their colour and their race. As such, Hall maintains, "[m]y own formation and identity was very much constructed out of a kind of refusal of the dominant personal and cultural models that were held up for me" (Hall with Chen 1996b:485).

Paul Gilroy, who is a professor at both the University of London and Yale University, on the other hand, moves beyond a 'state-centric' analysis present within Hall's work, engaging instead the complexities of trans-Atlantic crossings. However, prior to discussing this I will turn to his first book of importance, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*. In this book Gilroy examines the articulations of 'race' and racism as they manifest themselves through actions: he

also examines issues of race and class, race and colour and belonging. At the core of this book is Gilroy's conception of racism. Through racist national discourses, in this case those of Britain, blacks emerge as objects positioned as problems or victims. Central to this discourse, Paul Gilroy asserts, is the emphasis of feeling over the ability to think. Blacks are emotional beings and as such are incapable of 'rational' behaviour. Interestingly, the characteristics that have been attributed to women are now employed to marginalize blacks in Britain. Gilroy goes on to describe the characteristics of the marginalization. He states,

[r]acism is not akin to a coat of paint on the external structures of social relations which can be scraped off if the ideological tools and political elbow grease are conscientiously applied to the task. Seeing racism this way, as something peripheral, marginal to the essential patterns of social and political life can, in its worst manifestations, simply endorse the view of blacks as an external problem, an alien presence visited on Britain from the outside (Gilroy 1991:11).

Racism, Gilroy argues, is more than systematic racism which is the only form addressed in anti-racism literature and movements, rather it is embodied within social and political lifestyles. Through these means blacks are contained within the present devoid of a past, a past which is denied and repressed (Gilroy 1991:12). These absences are viewed strategic silences masking the resistances to slavery and capitalism.

To unveil these masks people have sought the purity of their origins and the limits of their racialized identities (Gilroy 1995a:25). Emerging from this quest has been a growth in Afrocentric thought. Such thought, Cartesian in its dualism, has come to symbolize the racial body (Gilroy 1995a:20). This racial body is heroic, masculine, patriarchal. The female body symbolizes motherhood and offers no other role than that of supporting the man. One reaction has been striving for unity but, in its construction of blacks as a proto-national group the silencing of dissent seems a priority. Gilroy maintains that this silencing is in fact a censoring of political debate, and "[a]s these internal divisions have grown, the price of the embarrassment has been an aching silence" (Gilroy 1995b:36). Rifts between intellectuals, exclusion of

homosexual academics and non-conformist writers are among those who have experienced the closing of spaces for expression and difference. Afrocentric thought and black nationalism are "supposed to be absolutely different from the White powers that dominate [them], and yet [their] topography of self and community, and ethnic identity reiterates their distinctive logic in an act of mimesis that the ever-present rhetoric of disaffection the White world cannot disguise" (Gilroy 1995a:21). It is a narrative of civilization. It is an imaginary African homogeneity "that mimics the worst aspects of European thinking about self and community" (Gilroy 1995b:25).

However, rather than acquiescing to life in opposition and disaffected rhetoric, Gilroy maintains in *The Black Atlantic* that one ought to approach identity aware of its multifaceted nature. Identity may be viewed as sameness, as solidarity, as self, as subjectivity. When looking at identity as self, the individual is a self-creating agent and as such is not born in any finished form. Self-subjectivity is the recognition that difference exists within and between identities (Gilroy 1995a:228). However, this difference may be minimized so that differences between groups appear greater than they are (Gilroy 1995a:229). As such, this sameness or solidarity is the product of social action. The boundaries of nation are shaped by the parameters of conflicts, by absences and "competing subnational and supranational structures of belonging and kinship" (Gilroy 1995b:238). Gilroy concludes that to view identity as fixed and pure is tantamount to racial narcissism (Gilroy 1995b:17). Instead, we ought to ask questions such as "[t]o what extent can we be thought of as making ourselves? How do we balance a desire to affirm the responsibility that goes with accepting self-creation as a process and the altogether different obligation to recognize the historical limit within which individual and collective subjects materialize and act?" (Gilroy 1995a:230). In recognizing this complexity, rather than falling into an essentialized notion of being, it becomes possible to imagine more radical possibilities for social action, for "reconciling the particular and the general" (Gilroy 1996:238).

Stanley Aronowitz states that "when a group recognizes its own exclusion, it tends to signify the formation of an identity that has political consequences" (Aronowitz in Rajchman

1995:25; Aronowitz 1995). What we have now is a dichotomy being established between the collective and the individual. Alone, there is no hope; as a group however, it is possible to work for change. Du Bois, Garvey, Marable, Asante, Gilroy, among others, advocate a black collective in which blacks are at the centre of the discourse. These social theorists wish to break the existentialist gaze. Gilroy, while pushing for a collective, maintains that identity may be viewed as sameness, solidarity, as self and subjectivity. The individual is a self-creating agent, as West attests; however, unlike West, Gilroy argues that, while not completely free of his/her environment, the individual is responsible for what (s)he does with it (Gilroy 1995a). It is a complex process wherein sameness cannot be taken for granted. It is a struggle to keep an openness in politics (Gilroy 1995b:223). Openness is believed to be achieved by striking a balance between solidarity and indeterminism. For Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Pan-Africanism, black solidarity, can be an important force with real political benefits, but it doesn't work without its attendant mystifications" (Appiah 1995:106). One such mystification is what Bhabha calls indeterminism, that is the mark of the conflictual yet productive space in which the arbitrariness of the sign of cultural signification emerges within the regulated boundaries of social discourse" (Bhabha 1994:48). In this way, one might argue that an open progressive politics depends on actors' willingness to accept the importance of both the individual and the 'community', recognizing the differences therein.

One person who seeks more radical possibilities is Homi Bhabha, an English professor at the University of Chicago who was educated at the Universities of Bombay and Oxford. In *Location of Culture*, Bhabha sets out to upset the dependence on "the concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness" (Bhabha 1994:66). In overcoming this, Bhabha deems it necessary to think "beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences" (Bhabha 1994:12). Like Hall and Gilroy, Bhabha believes that identity should not be seen as totalizing, instead one "must contemplate what is missing or invisible" (Bhabha 1994:45). What

is missing or invisible in not static, as histories are (re)written and realities (re)created, identities shift over and beyond boundaries. The transformation of identities becomes reinscribed through contingency and contradiction, a reinscription that is indicative of a fluidity, "a movement back and forth, not making any claim to any specific or essential way of being," Renee Green states (in Bhabha 1994:3). It is this "movement and passage that ... prevents identities at either end of it from settling into primordial polarities" (Bhabha 1994:4). It is this fluidity, movement, and non-stasis in cultural difference and identity that Homi Bhabha in *Location of Culture* utilizes to problematize the constructions of race, self other and creator process.

In order to move beyond singular, fixed identities, "we may have to force the limits of the social as we know it to rediscover a sense of political and personal agency through the unthought within the civic and the psychic realms. This may be no place to end but it may be a place to begin" (Bhabha 1994:65). To begin we need to ask, as Bhabha asks, "when did we become 'a people'? When did we stop being one? Or are we in the process of becoming one? What do these big questions have to do with our intimate relationships with each other and with others?" (Bhabha 1994:7). In exploring these questions, Bhabha attests that "[t]he present can no longer be simply envisaged as a break or a bonding with the past and future, no longer a synchronic presence: our proximate self-presence, our public image, comes to be revealed for its discontinuities, its inequalities, its minorities." (Bhabha 1994:4). It results in a 'blasting of a monadic moment' from which a more multifaceted moment emerges. There is no single illuminating concept. According to Gillian Rose, "[o]rigin, authenticity, and essence are for Bhabha all dead tropes" (Rose 1995:366). For what is part of an identity may exist at the margins of society, existing as "not quite not white" (Bhabha 1994:92); and under the scrutiny of a racist gaze, "[b]lack skin splits ... displaced into signs of bestiality, genitalia, grotesquerie, which reveal the phobic myth of the undifferentiated whole white body" (Bhabha 1994:92) creating a loose representational authority from which objects are created. Rose maintains that in Bhabha's writing "[t]here is ... no point of closure in his text, no moments of absolute

beginning or end, only a restless shifting in the interstices of positions" (Rose 1994:367).

The restless shifting, Bhabha maintains, is in part a consequence of the hybridity that occupies the structures of difference. "Hybridity ... is the place of departure', not a place to end but rather a place to begin" (Howell 1995:115). Within hybridity, Bhabha assumes that there is an awareness of translations, transitions, graftings through which we interpret our present (Bhabha 1995b:116) which allow for the disarming of "determinism [so] turning race and ethnic identity into a sign of identification and solidarity, rather than an essentialized or atavistic form of cultural origin written on the skin" (Bhabha 1995b:17). Steve Pile states, in 'Masculinism, the use of dualistic Epistemologies and Third Spaces', that hybridity is influenced by the feelings and practices that inform it, but in so doing translates these feelings and practices into "traces of certain other meanings or discourses" (Bhabha in Pile 1994:269). Within these spaces, meaning may extend beyond the signifier and the sign, and in a relational juncture, acts of resistance and constructions of identities move beyond the signifier, such as the Million Man March, to symbols of unity and providers; and through the use of these signs, the signifiers become displaced. Through this displacement, Pile attests men uncover new ways of resisting and questioning the construction of black masculinity in the United States. However, in the illumination of concepts and the blasting of the monadic moment the positions of Other and Self appear to remain essentially in tact. In his questions, he asks "when did we become a people?" rather than when did "a people appear". Through the use of 'we' he has already planted himself in the position of the other - hybridity is not summoned in this case. For if we exist as 'we', where do the "not quite not white" fit in? The creator process, us them, remain untouched in the shadows of his analysis, moving towards them to decentre them, but never quite getting there.

Bhabha also argues that gaps have meaning. He uses the idea of absence or invisibility as present in what is known (Bhabha 1994:47) to develop this idea. The absence in presence may find itself in a stranger's averted gaze so that, Bhabha argues, often the Other remains

unseen with the stranger's eyes averted in an attempt to negate the Other. But the gaze of the Other allows for an understanding of his/her invisibility. However, as Michael Keith and Steve Pile note in *Politics and Place of Identity*; it is important to remember that "when a gaze from nowhere becomes a gaze from somewhere, it is possible to forget at times how problematic that somewhere might actually be" (Keith and Pile 1993:31). Moreover, there is an assumption that the stranger will necessarily avert his gaze as Bhabha focuses his gaze upon him, dictating the stranger's course of action in the process. This is not to say that a gaze from somewhere is an objective outside the realm of possibility, for Bhabha has raised issues and concerns that allow one to reflect upon issues and dualisms that otherwise may have gone unmentioned, thereby opening alternative means of looking at old questions. In spite of the shortcomings, Bhabha does provide some useful concepts that may be used to further problematize the ideas of a fixed identity.

What I have found to be of most use in Bhabha's work is his idea of ambivalence. Ambivalence exists in the transformations and translations, the inbetweenness, and in this manner unsettles the dualisms that pervade Enlightenment thought. Bhabha states in *Nation and Narration* that "[t]he Janus face of ideology is taken at face value and its meaning fixed, in the last instance, on one side of the divide between ideology and 'material conditions'" (Bhabha 1994b:3). What ambivalence does is operate between this divide, recognize the interchanges and exchanges between these supposedly binary opposites, whether they be theory/practice, black/white, man/woman, security/insecurity. "[I]t is the 'in-between' spaces that provide 'the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood -singular or communal - that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself'" (Howell 1995:114).

From the recognition of ambivalence, there is an opening up of a space wherein the Other moves beyond the horizon, beyond their silences in theory. This space, characterized by Fanon as "the zone of occult instability where people dwell," (Fanon 1967:98) has permitted

scholars, geographers in particular, to focus upon the third space as an object of enquiry legitimating 'new Languages' and takes into account recognition of diversity and difference. It is not a reified difference, but a difference that is situated inbetween, neither at the margin nor the centre. Not only is a third space opened, but it is an alternative way of viewing, of looking inward from the outside. It is from this shift in conceptualization that Gillian Rose states, "Bhabha's writing constantly hovers between arenas once thought distinct" (Rose 1995:367). Using these concepts may help one avoid what Peter Jackson and Jane Jacobs have described as an inadequacy in academic work, an "inadequacy for transporting racist discourses from their place in history as colonial 'truths' to their present place as postcolonial 'fallacies'" (Jackson and Jacobs 1996:2).

It is evident that there is a quest for identity that seeks to establish a self-determined end, creating a way for the future. It represents a desire for alternative ways of seeing and knowing of self, seeking to break free of Eurocentric definitions, but all too often Eurocentric definitions and terminologies are used creating a Catch 22 situation. Identity emerges as a commodity though the processes and methods by which it is expressed. While this is the case, identity may also vary based on what is privileged, what is explained. So, rather than there being a uniform black identity, identity emerges as hybrid, antagonistic and non-static. Yet, one thing emerges in common, that of seeking to break free of Eurocentric definitions spatially, temporally, and politically.

Community: The Mysteries of Unity

"Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson 1991:6). Anderson states in *Imagined Communities*. The insistence of the existence of a 'black community', be it through the display of symbols, the prevalence of oratory accomplishments or the categories established for a predetermined end, persuades and alludes to freedom from the tyranny of representation, from the estrangement

experienced in the Western world, to the transformative experiences derived from the idea of Pan-Africanism. Whatever its legitimacy, there are limits imposed, comradeships created, and sacrifices for history future made. The contingencies in meaning of community, the continuity in Eurocentric thought, albeit re-interpreted in the context of black America and Britain, make up a substantive portion of this section, and in which I explore the works of the selected academics to provide understandings of the constructions of community in terms of belonging, unity and sameness.

A reoccurring thread in Du Bois' writings is his interest in the ideas of progress, the puritan work ethic and Greek mythology. These ideas, however, do not work in isolation. Du Bois is also very much influenced by what Wilson Moses has termed "'Ethiopianism', a literary-religious tradition common to English-speaking Africans, regardless of nationality" (Moses 1985:92-93). According to Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "in the Old Testament black African kingdoms such as Kush ... are described as powerful and prestigious and important allies, for instance to Solomon" (Pieterse 1992:24). These references have gained popular currency in the United States, emerging in the liminal spaces of Western discourse as practices that encompass self-affirming ideologies. Africa embodies the spiritual freedom of all African peoples (see Moses 1985:99); and through religious symbolism and the Old Testament, African peoples are able to reconstruct the past and develop alternative paths for the future - salvation is to be found in Ethiopia, Judeo-Christian values, and African liberation.

Embodied in this salvation is the rise of Africa and the decline of the West (see Moses 1985:95). The rise and fall of nations is predicated on nationhood. This political 'institutionalism' is influenced by philosophers such as Hegel and Kant, whose ideas were particularly influential during the late nineteenth century. According to Cedric Robinson, "Hegel ... went so far as to declare: 'It is the way of God in this world, that there should be the state'" (Robinson 1994:147). Such religious references blend well with the African-American religious-literary tradition:

Ah! Land of the buzzing wings
 Which lies beyond the rivers of Ethiopia.
 That sends ambassadors by sea,
 In papyrus vessels on the face of the waters:
 To a nation tall and sleek,
 To a nation dreaded near and far,
 To a nation strong and triumphant.
 (one of Du Bois' favourite Biblical passages - Isaiah in
 Moses 1985:100)

'Community' is embroiled in the ideal of a State symbolizing the greatness of blacks in the present future and commemorating what they have achieved in the past. Between past and future,⁴ Du Bois seeks to colonize a space and in so doing increase the stature of blacks. Observing the world unveiling itself before his eyes, the black person is absent yet present in the Western world. However, through imagination and religious traditions, through philosophy and popular ideas, through political action, a nation can be reborn - resurrected from the ashes of slavery and discrimination. This transition from the margin to the centre is not an easy task since, as Du Bois notes, there is a tendency among African-Americans to dismiss issues concerning blacks outside of the United States as irrelevant to them. Herein a double play on the 'black community' emerges. Local definitions of belonging converge with the global imaginings of community. Globalism takes form in the interest taken in Ethiopia's battle for independence as it becomes symbolic of all black struggles for independence. At the same time, local needs take the form of such statements as: "Haven't we got enough to do here in America with our problem of citizenship, segregation, discrimination, and lynching, without wandering over the known world to annex other race problems of which we know nothing and ought to know less?" (a quote cited by Du Bois, in Aptheker v.1 1986:65). Resonating from this statement are American-centric notions of torment and struggle, and within this parochial vision an anti-Pan-African thrust. Paradoxical relations bound up in notions of 'community' and

⁴ this idea was borrowed from Hannah Arendt - *Between Past and Future* 1993

belonging proffer restrictions inextricably bound up in notions of Blackness, wherein black as an abstract, remote concept that embodies ideas of power and endurance plays alongside everyday realities of oppression and discrimination suffered on account of their 'race'.

This 'double-vision' leads Du Bois to question racism and its manifestations at both the local and global levels. When discussing the United States and the condition of blacks within this democratic regime, he describes not equality but the erasure of blacks from America, not prosperity but the lack of housing, not a land that welcomes the poor, the weak and the tired, but the lack of opportunity for the dark bodied individuals. Globally, he recognizes that racism manifested itself in variety of forms. In Europe the black person is a matter of curiosity (Du Bois 1936 in Aptheker 1986:112), while in the Belgian Congo the Congolese is prohibited from owning land. Among the manifestations of racism is the failure of coloured groups, as du Bois terms them, to understand each other. There is a tendency "to misunderstand and ridicule each other: to hold, more or less unconsciously, the same opinion of the other colored groups as white propaganda has continually put in their minds" (Du Bois in Aptheker 1986:66). For Du Bois, racism exists externally in state policies and societal attitudes; it also emerges embedded in the minds and souls of 'black folks' thereby limiting the potential for a 'black community' that extends beyond a particular place.

Du Bois maintains that it is imperative for black people to unite in order to change the current system of exclusion and domination. This argument is based upon the success of the Haitian Revolution. All people of African descent suffered under the plantation system. Yet it is only when all blacks - people of mixed race, free blacks and slaves - united in a common cause that they could throw off the shackles of colonization, physically and spiritually. There may be socially constructed differences among those of African ancestry, Du Bois attests, but these divisions only serve to work against instead of for those of African descent. Du Bois argues that the failure of free blacks in Louisiana to gain more rights is a direct result of their failure to unite: "[f]or a while they succeeded, but then as slavery increased, they suffered more and more

degradation and discrimination, and it was not until the Civil War, which emancipated all the slaves, that they received their emancipation and freedom" (Du Bois in Aptheker 1986:65). While Haiti can serve as an example in black unity, the move for a global black community, Du Bois argues, has to come from within the United States. Writing in 1929, Du Bois states "those Americans who have any ability to see and think are beginning slowly to realize that when democracy fails for one group in the United States, it fails the nation; and when it fails for the United States it fails for the world. A disenfranchised group compels the disenfranchisement of other groups" (Du Bois 1988:38). Although he recognizes the multiple forms in which racism may manifest itself, he appears to equate issues that affect America with those that affect the globe. He sees universality in discrimination and wishes to bring the inequity to an end through the creation of the environment wherein all may operate on equal footing.

Rather than advocating equality within the United States or any other country governed by people of European descent, Marcus Garvey seeks to create a 'black homeland'. To achieve this goal, which is to be based in Africa, Garvey established the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The Association's mandate is to achieve unity among people of African descent and in that process Garvey aspires to end the plurality of the black subject by constructing a singular identity. When Garvey established the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) he dreamed of establishing an all-black commercial enterprise, along with freedom of Africa and the return of African-Americans to Africa. However, Du Bois opposes idea that the United States belongs to people of European descent, as often advocated by whites then and white extremists today, and so he argues that blacks should fight for equality within the US. In support of his position, Du Bois writes of the ideal and those who struggled to attain it, he also describes the general conditions under which blacks in America live, emphasizing education as a means of overcoming the poverty and oppression. Garvey, on the other hand, emphasizes economic independence and viability as the key to freedom and equality.

These differences in outlook became a subject of debate between Du Bois and Garvey.

where in an article titled 'Marcus Garvey', first published in 1920, Du Bois attempts to cast the UNIA as representative of interests foreign to US soil. Du Bois writes, "In the United States his [Garvey's] movement for many years languished until at last with increased migration from the West Indies during the war he succeeded in establishing a strong nucleus in the Harlem district of New York City" (Du Bois 1988:11). Du Bois assumes that Garvey's movement thrived only on account of West Indian immigration, and enjoyed little support among black Americans. "The fight was bitter and long drawn-out. Those of us who insist that in modern industrial life no labouring class could maintain itself without educational leadership and political power were assailed, put out of court, accused of jealousy, and of an overwhelming desire to promote miscegenation" (Du Bois 1988:34). The apparent rivalry between Du Bois and Garvey lends to the idea that there is room only for one 'voice' in the 'black community' to point the way to economic, political, cultural and social salvation and "the misplaced idea of a national interest gets invoked as a means to silence dissent and censor political debate when the incoherences and inconsistencies of ... [the] discourse are put on display" (Gilroy 1995b:33).

Nonetheless, Garvey, like Du Bois, is influenced by Judeo-Christian thought and the religious literary tradition in which Ethiopia Africa figured prominently. It is through these media that Garvey communicates his beliefs. Among his religious influences is that of the millennium. Millenary imagery is prevalent in Garvey's work, in his speeches - "no better step towards racial salvation than organization among us" (Garvey 1967:15), in discussions on racial emancipation: "such will be Africa's day, when a new light will encircle the earth, and black men lift their hands to their God and Princes come out of our country" (Garvey 1967:14). In this way, 'princes' coming out of Africa would champion a movement that would take blacks beyond slavery and servitude, and within this space carved out by blacks and occupied by blacks, is racial emancipation. Nonetheless, embodied within this millenaristic approach to overcoming oppression and racism, lies the idea of zero-sum race-relations. It is either us or them, white or black.

This zero-sum approach led to the idea of the need for the African diaspora to "have a country and a nation of his own" (Garvey 1967:5). Failure to establish this nation would result in the annihilation of the black race as whites work consistently to ensure that the black person will never advance within the white society. Operating under this assumption distinct boundaries between us and them emerge. Distinct boundaries are erected to ensure that those who do not belong to the African race can never enter into the black discourse just as, Garvey maintains, blacks are excluded from the white discourse. In the era of the 'Great Gatsby', blacks are persistently marginalized within American society, and where present they exist only in the derogatory remarks of whites. As such the barriers constructed by Garvey allow blacks to prove "the racial, national, constructive metal of which he is made" (Garvey 1967:5). Garvey was not alone in believing that the displacement of the suspended presences of blacks through particular forms of segregation, as Du Bois, in his later years, appears to have moved away from the purely intergrationalist stance seen in his earlier work, adopting instead the idea that "Negroes can develop in the United States an economic nation within a nation, able to work through inner cooperation, to found its own institutions, to educate its genius, and at the same time, without mob violence or extremes of hatred, to keep in helpful touch and cooperate with the masses of the nation" (Du Bois 1988:84). The us them mentality persists until equality is recognized, and blacks are able to 'go it alone', that is without white interference, in areas other than the already segregated churches, schools and retail businesses. Du Bois states (1935), "[w]hen all of these things [racism, exclusion, oppression] are taken into consideration it becomes clearer to more and more American Negroes that, through voluntary and increased segregation, by careful autonomy and planned economic organization, they may build so strong and efficient a unit that twelve million men can no longer be refused fellowship and equality in the United States" (Du Bois 1988: 86). Du Bois in the final analysis pushes for integration into the everyday life of the United States as equals, an idea that is subsequently developed by hooks. So overall, liberation is assumed to be found within segregation, be it an all black state in Africa as devised by Garvey,

or segregation within as a means to integration later on.

Visions on how to secure liberation are not restricted to US soil, finding instead multitudinous forms elsewhere in the world. Among these thinkers activists is Fanon. Fanon's ideas on liberation are well developed in *The Wretched of the Earth*, in which Fanon discusses the function of violence in overthrowing colonialism. Violence, for Fanon, is the refusal to accept the loss of what one wishes to keep (Gordon 1996:305), and given the loss of land, appropriation of culture, and the loss of dignity suffered under colonialism, Fanon assumes that violence is a natural outcome from colonialism wherein violence begets violence. Movement is defined in term of 'race', imagined distinctions and from this ideas of superiority, a rigid order that creates native 'refugees', sleeplessness, angst: an order that shoots natives with no discrimination among young, old, men, women, children. "Leave this Europe where they are never done talking of Man, yet murder men everywhere they find them, at every corner of everyone of their own streets, in all corners of the globe. For centuries they have stifled almost the whole of humanity in the name of so-called spiritual experience" (Fanon 1970:251). Defiled, dishonoured, disappearing - united through violence is the only recourse to end this violence.

Under colonial situations compromise only leads to the suppression of true change. Guilty of compromise are the national parties, whom Fanon termed "partisans of order, the new order" (Fanon 1970:42), the native intellectual. The native intellectual may not support the colonial state, yet is willing to work with the State in order to "serve his own individual interests" (Fanon 1970:47). As settlers use divisions among blacks, such as rural people against town dwellers, to ensure the perpetuation of the colonial system, so too do the native intellectuals. This recreation of the colonial order leads Fanon to comment that the native intellectuals' pandering of 'we Blacks' "is at times so ambivalent that they become simply a 'sacramental signification'" (Fanon 1970:53) permitting a fracturing among the colonized. Lauding a concept devoid of meaning wherein there is the recreation of the same is not Fanon's intention, rather he advocated the development of new concepts and new ideas of humanity.

ones that empower those of African descent: "[a]t the conclusion of this study, I want the world to recognize with me, the open door of every consciousness" (Fanon 1967:232). In manner similar to Du Bois and Garvey, Fanon sets the 'black community' up as outside of the established order, a position that provides for alternative ways of seeing and knowing.

So far I have looked at the ideas of what the 'black community' was deemed to be in the earlier part of this century; what I will address are the ideas of 'black community' as they have been articulated by academics today. Garvey's movement is one that invokes Africa as the homeland for all African people; Du Bois initially worked for integration within the United States by making the United States a home for blacks as well. Today, in Asante's discourse on the community, Africa is the homeland of black culture. Unlike Garvey who promoted the idea of migration to Africa, Asante advances the idea of Africa being there to discover, but only that of a cultural discovery. Asante appears to build upon Du Bois's Ethiopianism and Garvey's idea of a return to Africa, but only in the figurative sense. Changing the focus from the Exodus ideology that punctuated the work of Du Bois and the speeches of Garvey to that of the glamour associated with the pharaohs (Gilroy 1995b:207), Afrocentrism side steps the history of slavery, not recognizing that blacks had 'heroes' in the Maroons, and in the black abolitionists, overlooking them in their hasty retreat to the past in the attempt to move away from ideas of 'victim' and 'objecthood'. In the words of Gilroy, "[b]lack are urged, if not to forget the slave experience which appears as an aberration from the story of greatness told in African history, then to replace it at the centre of our thinking with a mystical and ruthlessly positive notion of Africa that is indifferent to intra-racial variation and is frozen at the point where blacks boarded the ships that would carry them into the woes and horrors of the middle passage." (Gilroy 1995b:189). Not only is there deliberate forgetting in progress, but Africa is presumed to be devoid of cultural and linguistic differentiation. The 'black community', today, too is considered uniform, and when one does not subscribe to the purported construction the label 'sell-out' is attributed. According to Gilroy,

the topography of affiliation that made pan-Africanism such a powerful discourse was not erased by references to some African essence that could magically connect all blacks together. Nowadays, this potent idea is frequently wheeled in when it is necessary to appreciate the things that potentially connect black people to one another rather than think seriously about divisions in the imagined community of race and the means to comprehend or overcome them if, indeed that is possible. (Gilroy 1995b: 24).

The insularity and the resultant animosity directed at the non-conformist is reminiscent of the antagonism apparent between Du Bois and Garvey where rival ideologies fighting for the idea of a unified stance dominated the day.

However, Afrocentrism is not the only discourse on the black experience, with Marable as one of the many who does not self-identify as an Afrocentric writer. Instead of seeing Africa as the guiding force in defining the community, Marable sees the black community in terms of a class analysis. There is no fracturing along lines of gender or sexual orientation, only that of class. In short, the 'black community' is constructed as being primarily poor, but with a recognition that there is a growing proportion of middle class professionals. This growth is held up as the cause of the fragmentation of the 'community', but more problematic than this is that while this transition has been occurring United States' society, namely its institutions, is still operating in opposition to blacks. This latter belief is one that Gilroy has argued for in *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*, where he observes that State structures, for the most part, aim to marginalize. The battle is against a clearly defined source - society's institutions. It is a Cartesian space of subordinate and dominant. Failure to dismantle the structures of oppression lie in the fracturing of identities among the subordinate. Moreover, the struggle for change has been eroded by the fact that "the transformist current's organizational and institutional base is weaker than it has been since the depths of the Cold War, when Robeson and Du Bois were silenced and thousands of radicals were purged or imprisoned" (Marable and Mullings 1994:70).

The cause of the demise has been accorded to "the destruction of both social democratic and Marxist-Leninist models of social change across the globe, and the domestic demise of the trade union movement" (Marable and Mullings 1994:70). The key focus in his analysis is that of class, and in the current phase of neo-liberalism, with the privileging of individualism and the dismantling of government policies set out to accommodate the marginalized, Marable sees the perpetuation of racist structures. Rather than adhering to such policies, he advocates models for change that are anti-racist and democratically based. While critiquing the system, he is very much bound up in the American rhetoric of the ideal system being a democratic one wherein all can be heard if properly organized. The only flaw in the American system is the persistence of racist institutions. Marable's 'black community' is fractured along class lines and if there is any chance of unifying it is even slimmer now, for Marable sees the 'community' being undermined not only by racist institutions but by the demise of Marxist-Leninist models for social change.

For hooks, social change can only ensue, she argues in *Yearning*, when a form of segregation is developed that allows for the rediscovery of black history and sense of self, and bases this 'ideal black world', in part, on her experiences as a child growing up in the Southern States. 'Community', in this case, becomes a decidedly spatial concept where the demise of 'community' is attributed to a loss of physical space. The space was "a world where we had a history. There grandfathers and great-grandfathers, whose knees we sat on, gave us everything wonderful they could think about giving" (hooks 1992:33). The loss of 'community' came with desegregation, and in place of segregation came nostalgia, an absence of a sense of place and togetherness. With integration "bonding and connections that seemed to hold black people together are swiftly eroding. We are divided. Assimilation rooted in internalized racism further separates us" (hooks 1992:36). This latter theme appears to be the cornerstone of thought among black American academics as West, Marable and Asante echo ideas broadly reminiscent to those of Garvey. While hooks entreats the idea of opening room for self-appreciation by

recognizing the differences in the black experience since desegregation, at the basis of her work is the assumption of a core black experience which may be lacking among some privileged youth. The method proposed for securing the black experience, and in that manner the 'black community', is through the construction of a homespace, a place to which one can return to become whole. Not only has there been a loss of relational love, but also a loss of knowing how to struggle against racism, a loss hooks claims that has resulted in an identity crisis. Prior to segregation, "[w]hen black people collectively experienced racist oppression in similar ways, there was greater group solidarity" (hooks 1992:37). How this is established is not indicated, and thinking back to the antagonism between Du Bois and Garvey, to the different outlooks between blacks in the North and blacks in the South, lighter versus darker skinned people, one must question the degree to which this 'greater group solidarity' ever existed.

In the varying conceptions of the 'black community', Colonel West attests that Garvey has permitted the "wedding of black misery in America to transnational mobility to Africa, forging a sense of possible momentum and motion for a temporal people with few spatial options. In the space-time of New World African modernity, to conceive of possible movement, to despair is to feel ossified, petrified, closed in" (West 1994a:xiv). He argues that what is needed now is more the decolonization of the mind and self than that of land and the movement of masses. America, in this description, disappears into the larger idea of the New World African, overwriting Caribbean realities with that of the United States. The questionable conceptualization of the 'black community' is further apparent in this very broad generalization: "Ethiopians are the only African people in the world who take their humanity for granted, with no inferiority complexes or anxieties about their intellectual or moral capacities" (West 1994a:xv). The 'black community' is reduced to a superfluous entity with the only seat of hope being Ethiopia. Ironically, at the same time West states that he wishes to step away from the homogenous constructs of community, arguing that "[t]he new cultural politics of difference can thrive only if there are communities, groups, organizations, institutions, subcultures and

networks of people of color who cultivate critical sensibilities and personal accountability - without inhibiting individual expressions, curiosities and idiosyncrasies" (West 1994a:28). The question is whether there is only an appreciation of differences between these groups or whether there is an acceptance of difference within the communities, organizations and so on is doubtful, especially as West has already established a hierarchy of success and abilities.

The uncertain commitment to difference may lie in what Hall has described as a 'fear of difference' (Hall 1993:357). While not expressly dealing with black issues in *Community, Culture, Identity*, he does focus on the construction of community and the role of capital and class in its construction. The fear of difference may stem from, as Hall states, "the so-called 'logic of capital' [which] has operated ... through difference - preserving and transforming difference (including sexual difference) - not by undermining it" (Hall 1993:353). However, he goes on to show that difference cannot be simply reduced to the logic of capital, as paradoxically, while the nation-state exists there is a push towards transnationalism, but then with transnationalism local and regional allegiances are strengthened - there does not appear to be any fixed site or definitive end. Given the constant manoeuvring that is occurring on a daily basis, one cannot naturally assume political belonging in nationalism as its form also is dependent upon the discourses and moments that have brought it into existence and kept it operative. They may be forms that appeal to racial purity, cultural affinity and or religious commonality - all are social identities working to maintain their presence. Difference in these cases, Hall notes, gets set into definitive categories of us them, self other, inside outside, but this is not the concept of difference that Hall is advocating. He is arguing for a difference where one characteristic is not made a condition of another (Hall 1993:360-361).

While Hall has moved away from a decidedly Gramscian approach, there are features of the theory that still inform his analyses, accordingly a brief synopsis of some of the key points is in order. Overall, Gramsci informs Hall's critique of society and the positioning of blacks within British society. For Gramsci, and Hall, the State is a complex formation which eludes the

"simple, diminutive or instrumental model of state power" found within Marxism and other theoretical tools. The complexity of the state is not only embodied in its institutions, as Hall states, "[t]he state is no longer conceived as simply an administrative and coercive apparatus - it is also 'educative and formative'. It is the point from which hegemony over society as a whole is ultimately exercised (though it is not the only place where hegemony is constructed)" (Hall 1996g:428). The functions of the state are not instruments that can be seized, but a complex formation and that must be engaged as such using a number of different strategies and struggles (Hall 1996g:429). Hall also discussed Gramsci's idea of organic ideologies. These ideologies are practical, involving everyday common sense, and allowing for the acquiring of consciousness. This consciousness or common sense is rooted in popular beliefs. The popular beliefs operate as a material force, a force that is ruptured and shifting. It is the force or consciousness of masses. For Hall, Gramsci's contribution to theory lay in the complexity he added to existing theories and problems. As for his current focus, Hall maintains, "the capacity to live with difference is, in my view, the coming question of the twenty-first century" (Hall 1993:361).

If difference is sought after, how can it be reconciled with ideas of community and unity? Answers to these questions can be found in *The Black Atlantic*. However, I will first deal with the idea of community Gilroy puts forth in *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*. In this book, the 'black community' is portrayed as a diasporic body in which the cultures of America and the Caribbean merge with black British experiences. It is an imagined community of immigrant populations. Culture, Gilroy states, "is not a fixed and impermeable feature of social relations. Its forms change, develop, combine and are dispersed in historical processes" (Gilroy 1991:217). Gilroy argues that community might best be understood as a mental construct that is malleable enough to accommodate new members but is at the same time identifiable through selected symbols as he assumes culture is assumed to have no static form and has influence in the construction of community. Among the symbols selected for the 'black community' are 'knowledge of the anti-colonial struggles', Pan-Africanism, a sense of interconnectedness though

empathy from experiences of oppression and racism. Accordingly, "[c]ommunity is as much about difference as it is about similarity and identity" (Gilroy 1991:235), it is a relational concept that works through antagonisms between different 'communities', and I would add within the 'communities' as well. With regard to the *Black Atlantic*, the name in itself denotes a shared sense of identification wherein resistance to racism, oppression, colonialism, and slavery transcend boundaries and in place of boundaries emerges a collective working as one, but moving through different times, locations and situations. The approaches of individuals such as Du Bois may have differed, but their goals were similar. This is the unity in difference that Gilroy discusses.

The assumption among most these intellectuals is that there is a 'community' of black people who have shared experiences and or are in search of a homeland. What is not addressed are the fractions and exclusions within the 'community' beyond the ideas of colour and class. The twists and turns and contradictions still unresolved impregnate time and space with alternative conceptions of community and belonging.

Resistance: a way back home

They deny my right to live and be and call me misbirth! My word is to them mere bitterness and my soul, pessimism. And yet as they preach and strut and shout and threaten, crouching as they clutch at rags of facts and fancies to hide their nakedness, they go twisting, flying by my tired eyes as I see them ever stripped - ugly, human. - Du Bois 1920

the race problem in which I was interested cut across lines of color and physique and belief and status and was a matter of cultural patterns, perverted teaching and human hate and prejudice, which reached all sorts of people and endless evil to all men. So the ghetto of Warsaw helped me to emerge from a certain social provincialism into a broader conception of what the fight against race segregation, religious discrimination, and the oppression by wealth had to become if civilization was going to triumph and broaden in the world. - Du Bois 1952

Challenging mainstream conceptions of black identity and perceptions of the 'black community' may be considered these social theorists' acts of resistance, yet in this section I do not attempt to evaluate the extent to which their writings inform resistance to the stereotypical

notions of blacks, largely as I have already outlined the various positions that each of these social theorists has developed in the sections on identity and community. Instead, I examine only those who have dealt specifically with the forms of resistance adopted by others, and through this approach engage with the discussions of resistance that have been adopted within the 'black community'. This method is undertaken in an attempt to achieve an understanding of how resistance is conceptualized in relation to identity and 'community', also to provide some insight into the gaps and absences in the literature on resistance. Among the questions that I seek to elucidate are: is resistance viewed as an individual or group response? How are people resisting? Why are people resisting? For this purpose I look specifically at Fanon, Gilroy, Marable, hooks and Hall, as from my readings, they are the only ones to have dealt specifically with the resistance of people other than themselves.

In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon clearly lays out his ideas on resistance, offering interesting insights into the forms and ideas of resistance in a colonial setting. His other works, such as *Black Skin White Masks* and *Towards an African Revolution*, point towards ideas that are subsequently developed in *The Wretched of the Earth*, among which are ideas of the dislocated black body in a predominantly white space struggling for recognition as a person, and the need for collective action and alternative sources of knowledge to precipitate change. Central to his concept of struggle resistance is violence. He considers violence a legitimate act in regaining what is lost, including such psychological factors as seeing oneself as human, since it is the only way to be seen heard. From this definition of violence, resistance may be viewed as a transgression of boundaries, particularly in a colonial space where space is compartmentalized to establish order. The overlapping of space and resistance emerges as cities, the settlers' space, which become the 'enemy camps', the site of struggle for change, for if the colonized stayed in their own spaces they would remain absent or rewritten in the settlers' discourses. As Fanon states, "[t]he fact is that ... the struggle no longer concerns the place where you are, but the place where you are going" (Fanon 1970:107). The instance of struggle

introduces the potential for impatient violence, the spontaneous reply to the deficiencies in colonialist policies and the most effective means of defending the colonized's interests (Fanon 1970:49). This apparently Manichean appeal is problematized as Fanon recognizes the differences of opinion among the colonized, about which he states "what the intellectual demands is the right to multiply the emancipated, and the opportunity to organize a genuine class of emancipated citizens. On the other hand, the mass of the people have no intention of standing by and watching individuals increase their chances of success. What they demand is not the settler's position or status, but the settler's place" (Fanon 1970:47). As Goldberg, writing on Fanon's conceptualization of resistance, explains, "parameters and paths of resistance and emancipation are initiated by forms oppression assumes. Yet, once initiated, they are not limited by or to oppressive direction or determination. Even when the oppressed assume categories of degradation in the name of resistance, stand inside them as a place of combat, the categories assumed are invested with novel, resistant, redirected and redirecting significance" (Goldberg 1996:187). The contradictions, unsettling of positions and places, change and spontaneity operate through resistance in an effort to redefine the existence of the colonized.

In assigning value to resistance, "Fanon thus recognizes that the links between knowledge, power and technology make available or hide from view information necessary to the promotion of different interests" (Goldberg 1996:190-191). On account of these links, the mediation of the message is crucial to decolonization and violence, particularly as relations of power provide for the creation of objecthood such that "the settler is right when he speaks of knowing 'them' well. For it is the settler who has brought them into existence and perpetuates his existence" (Fanon 1967:28). In this struggle over power knowledge technology, the supernatural, as a means of defying the colonial presence, is introduced through dance. In these dances "there are no limits - inside the circle. ... Symbolic killings, fantastic rites, imaginary mass murders - all must be brought out, the evil humours are undammed, and flow away with a din as of molten lava." (Fanon 1967:44-45). Where power knowledge technology intersect with the

body: a site of resistance emerges in Fanon's writings, for the body can subvert the efficacy of the triad in forms that mimic and defy.

Another instance of resisting the triad that Fanon describes is Algerian women's use of the veil to shield their insurrectionary behaviours. The veil, among the colonialists, is associated with passivity and submissiveness but for the women these attributes are used to perpetuate these assumptions which in turn gives them the freedom to carry weapons for men without becoming suspect. These women find themselves "[c]aught between supervision and Supervision made possible by camouflaged invisibility ... resorting to the counter gaze made possible by colonial surveillance necessarily predicated upon the premise of transparency and the perspicuity of appearance" (Goldberg 1996:183). The ambiguity of this position emerges in part as Fanon states "[s]ince the other hesitated to recognize me, there remained only one solution: to make myself known" (Fanon 1967:115). Through the use of predefined symbols the perceptions of resistance among certain groups may be viewed as existent non-existent, violent non-violent, defensive aggressive, but be that as it may, Fanon assumes that through resistance it is possible to move from objecthood to self-hood.

If resistance offers new directions and resignifies positionalities, the issue then becomes how does it operate at more than a local level. Does the body become signified by the international arena such that it ceases to function as a defiant force? Fanon, quoting, Césaire, indicates that the body cannot be separated from world issues: "The Rebel: And the world does not spare me ... There is not anywhere in the world a poor creature who's been lynched or tortured in whom I am not murdered and humiliated" (Césaire in Fanon 1967:69). Accordingly, for Fanon, the question then becomes: "how best to use the forces at their disposal, how to organize them, and how to bring them into action" (Fanon 1967:55). The solution he presents is that of inter-African solidarity, "inter-African solidarity must be a solidarity of fact, a solidarity of action, a solidarity of concrete in men, in equipment, in money" (Fanon 1988:173). In looking at his conceptualizations of identity and 'community', the fracturing and multiplicity in

both are apparent. However, Fanon believes that there is also the potential for 'solidarity in silence' to emerge as a feasible position as "[t]his lumpen-proletariat is like a horde of rats: you may kick them and throw stones at them, but despite your efforts they'll go on gnawing at the roots of the tree" (Fanon 1967:103). For a 'community' to form, there is the need for struggle where there is the development of a shared responsibility for violence. In the words of Fanon "[a]s for the people, they join in the new rhythms of the nation in their mud huts and in their dreams. Under their breath and from their hearts' care they sing endless songs of praise to the glorious fighters" (Fanon 1967:101-102). Once unified, the community of resistance is not to be limited to 'regional horizons' but is to work for international change (Fanon 1967:59-60). So, in conceiving of a community of resistance, Fanon seeks to establish a site wherein it becomes easier to identify the positions of the actors, the enemy, the ally, thereby permitting a solution to the political uncertainty pervaded the times.

Today the international theme of resistance continues, but in this case Gilroy discusses the use of music as a form of resistance. Music, according to Gilroy, has become a means of survival and a way to transgress boundaries that attempt to certify sites as 'black-free' by developing alternative discourses that place blacks in positions of power and influence - lyrically, positionally, audibly. He develops this position in *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*, when discussing the dancehall as a place in which blacks are constructed in a positive light. Yet, rather than constructing resistance music as static, Gilroy maintains that music constantly adapts to the changing times as well as appealing to mystical lands and overstepping unpleasantnesses. When comparing *The Wretched of the Earth* and *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*, it is interesting to notice how the focus has shifted from political movements as a pivotal site of struggle to music as a medium of transformation, perhaps on account of the changing arena in which self-determination is now a *legal* right, the eventual end of the apartheid regimes in Southern Africa and changing technology causing a 're-fashioning' of the temper of resistance to oppression and racism. Focussing on music, Gilroy investigates the

international nature of the music in terms of its diversity in its influence and its reach. Beyond the ghettos, the dance floors, across nations, into living rooms and classrooms, music of black people can be a fluid and adaptable agent that can serve to unite the 'black community', as is the case with Bob Marley, and carry with it potent political messages - "free your minds", "we let them kill our prophets as we stand aside and look ...". It is upon this basis, that Gilroy maintains that "[t]he power of music in developing black struggles by communicating information, organising consciousness, and testing out or deploying the forms of subjectivity which are required by political agency, whether individual or collective, defensive or transformational, demands attention to both the formal attributes of this expressive culture and its distinctive moral basis" (Gilroy 1995b:36; Gilroy 1994). Music is not only a means of overstepping unpleasantness but also allows for a hidden discourse in which the sorrows experienced may be expressed only to those who may understand the nuances buried beneath the melody.

With hooks, the break between political movement and resistance is also evident, but it is a change in focus of which she is keenly aware and as such accounts for her emphasis on memory in resistance. She states that "we need to keep alive the memory of our struggles against racism so that we can chart how far we have come and where we want to go, recalling those places, those times, those people that gave a sense of direction" (hooks 1992:40). In recalling the past, memory functions as a site of resistance in which there exists the possibility for restoration to dignity and honouring struggles of those who fought for this restoration. While trying to keep the past alive, hooks' focus, like Gilroy's, lends more to the construction of popular culture than it does to the political system. She argues that racist ideas underlie popular culture and "in many ways, a certain unconsciousness about these attitudes has also characterized - even informed - intellectual inquiry into race and racism" (hooks 1992:53) and that "[t]he discourse of black resistance has almost always equated freedom with manhood, the economic and material domination of black men with castration, emasculation" (hooks 1992:58). Popular culture and resistance as masculine are assumed to operate on unspoken

premises that exclude or define blacks in general, and black women in particular, from any effective discourse on racism, resistance and social change. Interestingly, she does not discuss how popular culture has been interpreted by blacks, implicitly implying that they accept these interpretations of themselves: "it is rather naive to think that if they do not value their own lives, they will value the lives of others" (hooks 1992:63). However, she does offer popular culture as a key area for resistance that may facilitate an 'awakening' and from this the ability to envision a model for black liberation.

In identifying forms of resistance, the spatial dimension appears to be an underpinning factor. For Gilroy resistance took place inside outside the dancehalls in Britain, for Fanon it is a transgression of the settler's space, for hooks it is the homespace. Hooks maintains that

home is no longer just one place. It is locations. Home is that place which enables and promotes varied and ever-changing perspectives, a place where one discovers new ways of seeing reality, frontier difference. - homeplace a place for rejuvenation: One confronts and accepts dispersal and fragmentation as part of the construction of a new world order that reveals more fully where we are, who we can become, an order that does not demand forgetting. 'Our struggle is also a struggle of memory against forgetting' (hooks 1992:148).

Here, space becomes a means of resisting fragmentation through memory rejuvenation and self-acceptance. Homespace, as developed in *Sisters of the Yam*, seeks to move away from the idealization of segregation found in *Yearning*, considering instead the homespaces as an outcome of communities of resistance and oppression (hooks 1993:81). In spite of the oppression, these communities permit the reconceptualization of alternatives, allowing the margin to become a site of radical perspectives as "[t]he acceptance of our present condition is the only form of extremism which discredits us before our children" (Hansberry in hooks 1992:187). Hooks does not consider resistance to be only a localized affair but one that transcends international borders, linking women in America to South African women on account of what she views as a commonality in experience that they have shared, a "common struggle shared in the roots of

resistance" (hooks 1992:186). Parallels with Fanon emerge here, for he too sees the margins as possessing the potential for change particularly when there is unity among the marginalized. With hooks, unity on the margins is expressed in the links she draws between South African women and African-American women, which include oppression, racism and discrimination. Construction of the margins as sites wherein these experiences may be shared and solutions posed transforms them from margins to sites of resistance.

Like hooks, West's work appears to be concerned primarily with challenging white supremacist ideas about blacks, putting forth alternative visions of blackness either through descriptions of his own life or the lives of important figures in American history, such as Malcolm X. This in turn will permit, in West's view, enhanced self-love and self-respect. Once there is self-love and self-respect, West maintains that black people can fight and have the courage to take on new challenges, taking "the black freedom struggle to a new and higher level" (West 1994a:151). However, unlike hooks and Fanon who see international-level resistance as a key in inducing change, West concentrates only on the American experience. In this American-centric approach, there is a veiled nationalism in which democracy is advocated as the ideal and white supremacy is perceived as America's only problem. West does not discuss resistance on the margins, instead focussing on everyday life in the 'centre'.

However, the margins do govern most discussions on resistance, perhaps partially as the margins are also viewed as places of counter-hegemonic contestation wherein cultural images and symbols become inverted or re-interpreted for a particular purpose. Fanon discusses this briefly in his analysis of the veil, while Hall fleshes out the connections in more detail through the use of a Gramscian analysis. Hall, in collaboration with a number of other academics, examines Britain's subculture and its construction of its social space. In this space, music, leisure activities, and dress codes acquire alternative social usages, resignifying meanings and allowing for the construction of commodities of self-representation. The concern is mostly with Britain's sub-cultures and as such there is no explicit discussion of blacks. Rather than being

a source on black struggles, the utility of *Resistance and Rituals* lies in its presentation of strategies in counter hegemonic struggles and socialization that cut across race and class.

If these theorists engage with the concept of resistance it has generally focussed on the black white antagonism. Only Fanon provides a broader analysis of resistance as 'black on black'. Furthermore, while Fanon engages with political struggle, today theorists such as hooks, West, Marable and Gilroy discuss resistance in terms of remembering struggles for social change in which blacks have been involved. In this indirect means of engaging with social change, resistance has moved away from the obviously political arena to the vernacular or to discourse on the politics of identity.

Overall, a tendency towards the same-yet-different exists in the representations of 'community' and identity. This is the case in a number of ways. First, the theorists seek equality and justice; and second they are writing in favour of black unity. In juxtaposing their ideas I seek to illustrate that while unity and equality are advocated, there are differences among the means discussed to achieve that end. As such, I have attempted to show here, and will develop in the subsequent chapters, that unity ought not be mobilized against difference. Often alienation and forced silence act as responses to threats, be they real or perceived, to the 'community' as fears of difference function as justification for the exclusive actions. However, it is not difference that is the greatest threat to the 'black community', I argue, but the denial and exclusion that surfaces when one wishes to live life according to their own choosing rather than that of the 'black communities'. The following chapters will focus on the multiple constructions of black, 'community' and resistance among Afro-Caribbean people in order to illustrate the benefits of difference. But first, I will address the ambiguity and difference inherent in the process of data collection and analysis.

INSIDE OUT: FRAGMENTS OF METHODOLOGICAL MESSAGES

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Spirak writes that "we were brought up in an educational system where the name of the hero of that philosophical system was the universal being, and we were taught that if we could begin to approach an internationalization of that universal human being, then we could be human" (Spirak 1990:7). The discussion in the last chapter tends to lend credence to this observation as the general focus of the theorists is on the conflict that has ensued between the singular black identity and 'community' on the one hand, and the multiplicity found within each of these concepts on the other. Certainly, the shield of singularity and universality has been used to ward off the differences that lie around it, to eradicate the ambiguities within it. However, rather than following along a fictitious course of singularity and homogeneity, interviews with Afro-Caribbean peoples permit the discovery of ambivalence and social constructions in and between self, community, and society. This discovery entails a voyage charted on mental maps - fragmented, extending through fractured times and across spaces of *différance*. These voyages proffer narratives, not problems to be solved or categorized. As the narratives unfold, new self-images appear, "new possibilities for relationships, and new futures" (Freedman and Combs 1996:16).

Research in the area of imagined black communities and black identities has generally been rather more theoretical than empirical (see Hall 1996, 1993; Asante 1989; Marable 1994). In turn, these theories tend to orient their attention towards the struggle for political and social change. Changes desired range from that of establishing a black State to integration into North American and British societies; from strategic essentialism, wherein a unified black identity is

advocated as a means of initiating change, to the ambiguities within black identity and the futility in attempting to classify or stereotype individuals or groups. Regardless of the perspective, the general intent is that of ending discrimination and oppression faced by peoples of African descent. Moreover, not only have these studies tended to be theoretical but they have also for the most part focussed only on African peoples in the United States, the Caribbean, and the United Kingdom.

Canada has not featured in these studies and, where work has been done, it is generally uncritical in tone, and focussed upon Toronto, with only limited attention paid to (for example) farm workers in Southwestern Ontario, Indigenous Black Nova Scotians or the history of Maroons in Nova Scotia. With regard to Caribbean-Canadians in Toronto in particular, Francis Henry (1992) has written what is probably the most comprehensive work on this subject, with topics covered including community associations, education, and culture. In her discussion on associations, she touches upon the role of the various island associations in mediating between the community and mainstream society. The only difference among Caribbean people that her work allows for are those based on class. Her work also fails to recognize the differences between the islands, painting a homogenous picture of the community - English-speaking, black, Christian, at odds with mainstream society. I hope to contribute to the literature on the Caribbean 'community' by problematizing the idea of a homogenous 'black community'. But, rather than focussing on Toronto, I will focus on West Indians in Nova Scotia, a group that has seldom garnered much research attention. It is for this reason that Nova Scotia, home to some of the oldest 'black communities' in Canada, was selected for study, with Halifax-Dartmouth being the principal fieldwork site. This location was selected as a large proportion of the population of Caribbean descent lives there. Halifax-Dartmouth also provides an interesting site as the 'black community' is fractured along many lines, the most obvious being the distinctions made between Indigenous Black Nova Scotian, African and Afro-Caribbean peoples.

In the first instance, I wish to engage with the assumptions inherent in the work of

mainstream social scientists, and introduce the idea of 'race legacy' as an important factor to consider when doing fieldwork. Race legacy is defined as the vestiges of a colonial-based hierarchy wherein racial characteristics are used to define what type of person one is, with whiteness being associated with everything positive, and as such is to be revered. Overcoming this legacy is not a simple task, but one possible course of action involves placing people of Afro-Caribbean descent at the centre of the discourse, validating their experiences rather than framing what they have gone through in relation to already-present structures, whether these be police-community relations or student-teacher relations. In doing so, alternative values may be expressed and value in difference revealed (see Hill Collins 1986), as the subjects speak to some of the silences in the literature, the media, and in general perceptions of themselves. This in turn allows one to document the multiplicity and variety implicit within the headings 'black' and 'black community', as the problem is generally not one of a lack of empirical studies, but rather one of representation. In relation to Halifax-Dartmouth, the 'problem' holds true for the Indigenous Black Nova Scotian (IBNS) 'community', which has been the subject of a number of studies (Clairmont and Magill 1970; Henry 1972), but it is rather less the case with the Afro-Caribbean population, which has not only been overlooked but under-represented in the literature on Caribbean peoples in Canada more generally. However, prior to engaging with constructions of the Afro-Caribbean community in Halifax-Dartmouth, I will first outline the methodological approach which informs my fieldwork and subsequent analysis of the interviews.

Theoretical Considerations

1) Positioning: Inside/Outside

Instead of locating the task for the knower, ... attempt to locate the knower himself. 'What is a world? What kinds of worlds are there, how are they constituted, and how do they differ?' Bauman 1988 89:42

Situating the researcher within the context of the research process is an issue that feminist theorists have consistently brought to the fore, in an attempt to undermine ideas of

objectivity and absence of the researcher in his/her work. While I agree that it is important to understand 'who' one is, often the researcher, rather than actually positioning him/herself, merely perpetuates a series of essentialist categories. Essentialism appears to fix itself in understandings of fieldwork, where labels such as white or middle class are imbued with the capacity to situate a person with an unprecedented immediacy. In turn, these labels create an imagined community wherein academics in the field become cast from the same dye, shrinking images of the self into manageable entities that generate a sense of comradeship with other researchers, and a feeling of familiarity and 'knowing' in having the characteristics of one's self described. In this way, self-reflexivity becomes an exercise in uttering 'how others see me is how I see myself'. However, situating ourselves in fixed categories belies the issue of absence and objectivity, with the imagined community of intellectuals proceeding to entrench the idea of essentialism as self-reflexivity, a process that often manifests itself in labelling and in the reinforcement of rigid categories. So in this context one must ask oneself, as Stuart Hall does, whether it is "possible, acknowledging the discourse of self-reflexivity, to constitute a *politics* in the recognition of the necessary arbitrariness of the closure around the imaginary communities in relation to which we are constantly in the process of becoming 'selves'?" (Hall 1996c:118). A first step in this regard would be to call into question the basic categories of white, black, middle class and so on, and by drawing out the particular consequences of actions (see Guattari in Genosko 1996:145) in the field, specifically how one perceives oneself as a researcher as well as how one is perceived by the people with whom relationships are established. These issues are at the centre of this section and through an analysis I will seek to draw out some of the processes involved in becoming 'ourselves'.

Who is the other? When is the other inside? Are the categories of insider/outsider necessarily fixed? These questions are increasingly being addressed in the literature, as academics including Kim England (1994), Andrew Herod (1993), Cindy Katz (1994), and Angela Packwood and Pat Sikes (1996) attempt to grapple with the positioning of the researcher in the

field in the hope of elucidating some of the complexities of being both inside and outside the process of research. Among the issues that they have addressed are power dynamics, observer participant relations, and cultural affinity, and it is these issues that will comprise the basis of my discussion. First I will turn my attention to the issue of power dynamics. For Cindy Katz (1994), what she calls the fields of power provides some of the keys necessary to an understanding, however limited, of the research process. Rather than considering the objective of research as being the documentation or exploration of a particular 'community', group or situation by an outsider, Katz argues that once the researcher is in the field there is in fact an erasure of the position of outsider. Being in the field places you inside of the power dynamics of the situation and place, and while you may not fully grasp all of the relations in play, you are nonetheless constrained by them. For example, who you come to know in your field-work can affect the results of your research, opening and closing doors in the process. Also relevant in this regard is your approach and personal conduct. You are an 'outsider', a researcher from elsewhere, but you are also an 'insider' constrained by forces that may not necessarily be self-evident (Katz 1994:65). In short, field-work involves a 'tempered togetherness' (Bauman 1995:46) wherein there is presence through a physical and mental closeness established during the interview process. As it is not of lasting importance, it can 'disappear' with little concern shown by the 'community'. It is a relationship predicated on the idea of a future absence, a removal of oneself from the site of research. It is also a relationship predicated on a stranger-cum-colleague position as well as through "a chessboard of rights and duties" (see Bauman 1995:45, 56). As such, the movement between inside and outside is situated in place and time as the researcher exists in a state of suspended animation. As England puts it, "I have to admit there have been interviews when I have listened ... to ... the details of their lives (my role as participant) while also thinking how their words will make a great quote for my paper (my role as observer)" (England 1994:86). In this state of tempered togetherness, "encounters tend to be as fragmentary and episodic as togetherness itself" (Bauman 1995:50).

So far my emphasis has focused more or less exclusively on deconstructing the position of 'outsider' as predicated upon the advancement of essentialist attributes: but what if one has positioned oneself as an 'insider'? What does this do for the idea of ambiguity between insider and outsider? To cite but one example, Shahrashoub Razavi discusses research in a familiar setting, in her case Iran. In examining her relationship with study participants, she attributes her closeness with them to the cultural affinity they shared. This cultural affinity, as Razavi maintains, made it "easy to understand people not only by the words they used, but their tone of voice, the way they reacted to certain subjects, their gestures and so on. Having this better understanding enabled me to behave and react more appropriately, and I hope, with greater sensitivity" (Razavi 1992:160). However, upon closer inspection of the text, her greater sensitivity is in fact attributed to her family-members' insistence that she be accompanied by an older male escort, making her appear less threatening to the government than would otherwise have been the case. Moreover, her research was conducted in a village with which she has some familiarity, albeit the familiarity of an absentee landlord's daughter. This reading again problematizes the idea of insider outsider, as an insider becomes an outsider through the position of her family, through her own position as a researcher from abroad, and through her initial resistance to a male chaperon (Razavi 1992:155). Conversely, she becomes an insider on account of her family who are live in Tehran, because she has conformed with and understands the limits of acceptable behaviour. At work here is the idea of stranger-cum-colleague, but in a different sense, as the arms-length distance does not always apply, and in these cases people accept you more readily, are less suspicious and do not feeling threatened. In turn, these attitudes provide the basis for a shift from tempered togetherness to postulated togetherness (Bauman 1995:47), and through this what may have been hidden from sight from someone less familiar with conditions prevailing in the field-work locale(s) becomes unveiled through familiarity. However, be one inside, outside or inbetween, as Francis states, "the social relationships in which the research was embedded were not fixed by immutable social roles

taken on by my informants and myself. They changed overtime and were also profoundly influenced by the tactics I followed in the course of my interviews" (Francis 1992:101).

Moreover, in considering these changing social relations Doreen Massey, for one, maintains that it is imperative that one "take account of both roles of the formulation. *Both* the geography ... *and* the context of social relations themselves ... must be taken into account" (Massey 1994:167). With this approach it becomes possible to question the nature of the identities to which people are referring, along with the importance of contextualizing, historicizing and problematize not only yourself but your setting as well. There is movement among multiple places, shifting in between, never fully occupying one site for long. In this process place has an impact on the 'body' as well as on the research process. How so? The impact of place is twofold, affecting both the field and the academic institution as well. These places find a hearing in the researcher's concern with results, and the results of the research have a bearing on the type of method employed, how one is positioned in the field, as well as one's general attitude to one's work. Familiarity with these places is part of the process of becoming a researcher, becoming part of the 'community': however, in cases where there has been a history of oppression, racism, colonialism, slavery or apartheid, the process of becoming should entail at best a sensitivity to the function of 'race' in the collection of data. Bell hooks states,

contemporary white scholars writing about black people assume positions of familiarity, as though their work were not coming into being in a cultural context of white supremacy, as though it were in no way shaped and informed by that context. And therefore as though no need exists for them to overtly articulate a response to this political reality as part of their critical enterprises. White scholars can write about black culture or black people without fully interrogating their work to see if it employs white western intellectual traditions to re-inscribe white supremacy, to perpetuate racist domination. (hooks 1992:124).

Fieldwork is 'racialized' (hooks 1992) and gendered (England 1994) but while colonial legacies

and patriarchal systems remain in place, the researcher should work against taken for granted positions found in these legacies and institutional societal structures.

Indeed, my position as a researcher has been guided precisely by a desire to challenge taken for granted truths and realities about black peoples and their 'communities'. Having experienced what I believe to be similar situations, that is being defined as black, being told that I am inferior because I am black, and being denied service in restaurants and elsewhere, I felt well-positioned to examine issues related to black people. However, once in Halifax-Dartmouth, I suddenly became a 'potential' exploiter of the 'black community', or more precisely the Indigenous Black Nova Scotian 'community', simply because I was identified with the Caribbean. Indigenous Black Nova Scotians (IBNS) are blacks who came to Canada as slaves, Loyalist, Refugees and Maroons between 1642 and the early 1900s. It was through questioning by some members of the IBNS 'community' that it was established that I had no family connections with Nova Scotia but had links to the Caribbean. This link with the Caribbean, for some IBNSs, placed me outside of their 'community'. However, while positioned as outside of their 'community', I was not free from the power dynamics at play for I was made aware of the fact that I had to 'know my place' when interacting with people who were suspicious, cordial or friendly, depending upon the particular context of our meeting. While in Halifax-Dartmouth I inhabited "an unstable space of betweenness" as a social scientist (Katz 1994:67) living both inside and outside of Africadia and the Caribbean 'community' as a stranger-cum-colleague in both tempered and postulated togetherness.

Thus, broadly speaking, one might argue that the researcher occupies an ambiguous position in the field shifting in and between tempered togetherness and postulated togetherness. These relationships are influenced by a number of factors including cultural affinity, gender, 'race', the contacts one has as well as one's attitude towards the research process. Moreover, not only must the researcher negotiate the pitfalls of working in the field, but s/he must also meet the academic expectations that come with such an endeavour. Still, whether one is inside or

outside, it must nonetheless be acknowledged that these are not fixed positions into which one may easily slot oneself. Instead, they are positions that shift as the researcher's knowledge, awareness and attitude change through time and space. As such, there is a need, as hooks states, for the researcher to discuss the process that led to changes in the researcher's outlook, since doing so "can enhance awareness of the epistemological shifts that enable all of us to move in new ... directions" (hooks 1992:54).

ii) Positioning: Power Relations

When considering power relations, Katz maintains that one should question "[w]here are one's fields: where are the displacements: how does the work deploy and confer power - whose power, where and under what conditions?" (Katz 1994:69). This section will examine the ever-shifting and ever-changing relations of power in the research process in order to shed some light on the power relations between the researcher and the researched.

What is the positioning of participants in the research process, and for what reasons do they participate? As one might imagine, the reasons are many and varied and, in the case of my own field-work, were usually expressed after or during the interview process. Among the reasons given were: "I like to help out students" (professional woman: professional man): the hope that my thesis would challenge the assumptions people have of blacks (professional woman): to make known the position of Caribbean people *ris à ris* IBNS: to vent: and finally out of friendship. Moreover, for one middle aged¹ man in particular, it was what I hoped to write that led to his willingness to become involved:

I think we have to look out for ourselves. To develop who we are. To dream dreams as to where you think we must go, to aspire what there is to aspire towards. It is to this I hope your thesis contributes.

These reasons, coupled with the fact that I was deemed to be non-threatening, itself the product

¹ By middle aged I mean those people between the ages of 40 and 59

of the fact that I was from the Caribbean and am female, allowed "difficult issues [to be] broached relatively freely" (England 1994:85; see Herod 1993:309), including those pertaining to racism. This position gave me the freedom to bring my own views directly into the process (Mbilinyi 1989:217), thereby allowing participants to clarify their views for me, and to draw out the complexities of life and their interpretations of it (Mbilinyi 1989:223).

However, while being female and Caribbean may have facilitated the research process, it is not sufficient to explain the participants' comfort level. To cite one middle aged professional woman,

"How have you been doing so far?" participant
 "Oh good, everybody has been really cooperative, really friendly." interviewer
 "Of course it is you too. It is the person that is doing this, that is the messenger as well. A lot of times it is how the messenger puts the message."

According to this woman, it is how one approaches the topic of interviewing that facilitates or obstructs the research process. While contacting people by phone at reasonable hours, giving them a choice of times and locations for the interview may have assisted in this regard, being able to say that someone they themselves knew had given me their name was an important factor in securing cooperation.

Moreover, the 'power' to question did not only rest with me. I too was questioned, whether to clarify certain points, draw out my intentions and interests, or to determine my objectives (see Herod 1993:310) in relation to my thesis and what I intended to do with the interviews afterwards. Moreover, through the participants' questioning, the interview process became less of a one way conversation and more of an exchange of information and experiences. Interest in the topic and an understanding of what you wish to do with the information provided both serve to encourage a potential participant to join in the research process. Other factors that have a role in this regard include gaining the participants' respect in terms of how you conduct yourself, particularly around such issues as how you interact with people in the 'community'.

and the extent to which you show an understanding of matters of importance to the 'community' or to the participants. When bearing these issues in mind, it becomes evident that 'power' does not only rest with the researcher or the participant. Instead, it is more useful to view the relationship as one of constant movement and negotiation in terms of actions, respect, and understanding.

As such, individuals' rationale for participating, the researcher's own approach and the exchange of information all feed into power relations. Power relations are viewed as relationships based upon the ability to define and question. However, it is also a process which engages "in blowing up, both enlarging and exploding, the oxymoronic hyphenated identity of participant-observer by taking an active role in shaping his or her home" (Lavie and Swedenburg 1996:21). However, while this is a partial account of relations in the field, it must be fleshed out with an examination of what happens afterwards. Is it possible to give voice to the 'voiceless' in the act of writing? Is the production of a text an exercise in essentialism wherein the participants become bound in space and time, never changing out of the forms in which they have been set?

iii) Positioning: Voice to the 'Voiceless'?

Perhaps I should frame this section with a quote from Stuart Hall. He maintains that "[w]hat recent theories of enunciation suggest is that, though we speak, so to say 'in our own name,' of ourselves and from our own experiences, nevertheless who speaks, and the subject who is spoken of, are never exactly in the same place" (Hall 1996i:210). Hall raises a number of critical issues at work in the process of writing and representation, leading one to pose such questions as who is speaking? who is spoken of? and, in this process of questioning, essentialist positions related to that of the writer and the object of interest become apparent. While it is not entirely possible for the writer to 'give voice' or act as a completely impartial conduit, this does not mean that one can simply separate theory and practice, as "knowledge and its production

... [is] an *always already* political process" (Gibson-Graham 1996b:237). However, even as one recognizes that, within this political process, power is everywhere pervasive, Mast reminds us that "[o]ne must determine what reality and whose reality is under consideration, and be able to differentiate these realities from that to which the social scientist lays claim" (Mast 1974:60). In this section of the chapter, I will seek to grapple with some of the issues raised here, including who is speaking, of whom do I speak, and whose reality is under consideration.

Inbetween past, present and future - life histories, interviewing and writing - I pen my story of their stories (Limerick et al. 1996:450). In doing so, my interpretation "shapes the way particular situations and events are understood and presented" (Herod 1993:311) for, as Spivak states, "the production of theory is in fact a very important practice that is worlding the world in a certain way" (Spivak 1990:7). Through the use of theory I am perpetuating a particular form of thought, validating the system ... I become both the 'director' and the 'directed' (see Packwood and Sikes 1996). Thus, I would argue that I cannot give voice as I interpret the experiences of others through my own experiences, which, even if similar, are underlain by different approaches and beliefs, making it impossible for me to do justice or claim that I have truly given them a 'voice' (Spivak 1994). Also, I have been influenced by certain theoretical approaches, by what the participants have said, by what I experienced while working in the field, and by the challenges made to the assumptions that I had brought with me into the field. So the influence of the participants on the final product is not what is at stake, but rather my belief that my work may act as their 'voice', an assumption that can very easily lead to top-down interpretations. Moreover, by seeking to give voice to the voiceless, there is often an assumption that the Other speaks with a singular voice, thereby negating silences in the interviews and interview process. So, "despite all attempts to remove the voice of the narrator from the research story, the storyteller is there, his/her voice often concealed between the lines on the page" (Packwood and Sikes 1996:338). Thus, the best that I can do is to try to be a representative as possible, without assuming to speak for the participants, recognizing that the latter have made

an investment in me. However, there is no doubt that at times it feels like I am saying, as hooks says in *Yearning*, "tell me 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 write myself anew. I am still author, authority. I am still colonizer, the speaking subject" (hooks 1992:152). I am the 'colonizer and colonized' occupying both the margins and the centre, "a space where ... works are invoked to serve and support, the space of ... absence" (hooks 1992:152), and in this space of absence what I write will be but one interpretation of Afro-Caribbean people in Halifax-Dartmouth, and as such will always remain open to (re)interpretation as the boundaries established through authorship are dissected.

In this world, formations shift in order to find stabilization in texts as encodings or credos, assemblages work to normalize the agents responsible for their production. The spoken word becomes a vehicle that works to signify the constructions of results from a flow of information in a 'controlled' environment. Vested with this management of given information, it is no wonder that some people are unwilling to participate in social science research or are suspicious of the researcher's intent. While some have responded by taking steps to include the participants in the writing process by allowing them a measure of editorial control over the final product, it is nonetheless useful to bear in mind England's argument that "[w]hile we can revise or work in response to the reactions of the researched, surely the published text is the final construct and responsibility of the researcher? For example, it is the researcher who ultimately chooses which quotes (and therefore, whose voices) to include" (England 1994:86). Thus, "[a]s academics we create, indeed invent, fields through our academic stories and projects: there is no reified field separate from our construction of it" (Staeheli and Lawson 1994:98).

However, while the participants appear to be written out of the writing process, one should bear in mind that the participants have guided the author to the extent that they provide him/her with knowledge and insights into the areas he/she wishes to delve. Needless to say, the participants can also withhold, misinform or exaggerate, influencing what is written in the

process. As England states, the researcher must "explicitly acknowledge his her reliance on the research subject to provide insight into the subtle nuances of meaning that structure and shape everyday lives" (England 1994:82). So while it may not be possible to 'give voice' to research participants, this should not be taken to mean that they have necessarily been written out, only that it may be more useful to view the writing process as one in which there are multiple voices overlapping and informing each other.

The complexity of fieldwork and the positioning of both the researcher and the participants are issues that are difficult to capture and fix in time and place. The researcher moves in and between the writing of the text and the experience of the research process, remaining indebted to the participants even while working independently on a theoretical course. Moreover, in and between home and the field where fieldwork becomes homework, one suddenly becomes the 'forced object' of discovery, disrupting in the process the comfortable binary oppositions of what it means to be a researcher. As for those who claim that the participants as bearers of Truth and the researcher its receiver and transmitter, it should be borne in mind that the participants also have the power to name identify, contain, obliterate, silence, and negate (Chambers 1996:48-49). In turn, practices engage a thirdspace which amounts to a constant manoeuvring between hybrid identities.

Data Collection

Having situated both myself and the participants, a synopsis of the data collection process is in order. First the matter of archival and bibliographic research is addressed, after which I turn to the collection of data in the field.

In terms of the literature on blacks in Nova Scotia, much of this material is focused specifically upon Indigenous Black Nova Scotians, to the neglect of the Caribbean and African populations. As one might imagine, this absence made it difficult to uncover information on the Caribbean 'community'. In the first instance, I attempted to locate relevant material in archives

and libraries, a strategy which again highlighted the limited amount of information available on the West Indian population in Nova Scotia. Only one source had a page long biography of a Bajan woman living in Sydney, Nova Scotia. In terms of library searches, St. Mary's Resource Centre yielded the greatest results in terms of information pertaining to West Indians. The Centre had background information on Caribbean people who had settled in Nova Scotia. This information covered such issues as West Indian women in Canada, the distribution of the Caribbean population in Canada, information on the CARINDO (Caribbean Indian Organization) and CARANS (Caribbean Association of Nova Scotia). However, the bulk of this work is highly descriptive, with short biographies, lists of accomplishments and data pertaining to the geographical distribution of Caribbean people in Nova Scotia comprising much of the information available.

Given the lack of prior research and limited availability of secondary data, I have employed two methods to acquire information, specifically, participant observation and interviews. This research was conducted over the months of May to August 1996.

In terms of participant observation, I was able to gain firsthand experience of many of the events described by the participants. I participated in annual events held by the 'community', attended get-togethers, protest movements and other such activities. These activities allowed me to gain insight into the ideologies and practices of the 'community'. Moreover, these activities afforded me with opportunities to develop friendships and meet more people than would otherwise have been the case. In developing these friendships, people became aware of my research and kept me informed of issues and events relevant to my work. I also had informal conversations with others regarding issues discussed in this thesis.

In addition to participant observation, 24 narratives were collected from individuals of Afro-Caribbean origin. Two people were of particular assistance in this regard: a political activist whom I met soon after arriving, and a long-time resident of Halifax to whom I had been referred by a friend in Ontario. Both were knowledgeable about the Nova Scotian Caribbean

'community'. I also got in contact with the President of CARANS. These individuals provided me with names of people I could contact. The participants were then selected from the list of names collected through this snowball and purposive sampling technique (Field and Morse 1985:95).

I approached each person, initially by phone, and explained the purpose of the study, and asked whether they would be willing to participate. When we met I ran through the procedure again, ensuring that they knew that their participation was voluntary. I also asked permission to tape-record our conversations, a request to which all agreed. While taping the interviews certainly proved useful in facilitating the task of recollecting and interpreting the participants' words, one must also acknowledge a number of disadvantages. These range from the guardedness and wariness of some participants while on tape, to the ever-present danger of running into technical difficulties that would compromise the quality of the recorded voices or result in a failure to record anything at all. As for selecting the site where the interviews would be conducted, I asked the participants to choose the time and place, for as Brigid Limerick et al. (1996) argues in her discussion of the power relationship between researchers and the participants, this serves to empower the participants as well as showing a feeling of indebtedness to them. Interview locations ranged from libraries and cafeterias to their or my home or workplace. For the most part, people spoke more freely at home, but this was dependent on the individual as some had no difficulty broaching difficult subjects in any of the other locations.

In the first instance, I collected basic data such as when they came to Nova Scotia and why. Following these relatively innocuous questions, I began to introduce more sensitive ones (Francis 1992:96), including, for example: "what have been some of the major changes in your life since you have moved to Nova Scotia?", "What have been some of the major influences in your life?". While I had a broad list of topics I wished to cover, (developed through my observations of the Caribbean 'community' while in Halifax-Dartmouth and through my readings) many issues emerged once the interviews were underway, as the latter were structured

around the major events and situations in the participants' lives (Francis 1992:96). There were a number of cases where I asked perhaps only two questions in a two hour interview, and these were often only for clarification purposes.

Care was taken to ensure that second-generation individuals, as well as people from the various islands were represented. This was done in a number of ways, for example by asking them directly where they were from, or by enquiring about the origins of the people with whom they had recommended that I speak. This was done so as to represent as much as possible the diversity within the Caribbean 'community'. Interestingly, the Caribbean identity fostered in Halifax-Dartmouth would be unlikely to exist in the Caribbean proper, where instead there is considerable 'island rivalry'. Island rivalry generally entails competitiveness and animosity fostered between the smaller islands and the larger ones: between say Jamaicans and Bajans. The West Indian Federation stands as a testament to this. Unable to decide where the capital should be, fearful of domination by the larger islands, the region's governments conspired to undermine this political venture. There are also ethnic differences among the islands, with Trinidad and Guyana having a large East Indian population, while the smaller Eastern Caribbean islands tend to have a population that is predominantly of African descent. Thus, by ensuring that the participants were a diverse group, I hoped to gain a better understanding of how differences are put aside in favour of assumed commonalities based primarily on a region, namely the Caribbean.

Moreover, in an attempt to further enhance the diversity of the participants, I also contacted people from different occupations and income levels. The Caribbean 'community' in Halifax-Dartmouth consists primarily of professionals, be they lecturers, teachers, doctors or lawyers. However, they alone do not fully constitute the 'community'. There are some who work as domestic workers, seamstresses, labourers and so on. I contacted people from both economic brackets to explore the complex forms of social construction, representation and differentiation which have emerged (Bhabha 1996b:205). In retrospect, I would have liked to

have interviewed more people in lower income brackets. However, due to the contacts that I made, I had more ready access to individuals in professional job categories.

The participants varied not only in terms of their island country of origin and occupation, but also in age. The youngest narrator was in her mid-twenties, the oldest approximately 70. Having this age difference in the narratives serves not only to work against generalizations, but it also adds a valuable temporal dimension. Care was also taken to ensure that a relatively equal number of men and women were interviewed. As it happened however, of the 24 individuals interviewed, only ten were female. This lopsidedness was the result of illness or conflicting household responsibilities on the part of three of the women with whom I had scheduled interviews. Overall, the response rate was close to 100 per cent, with only one person approached refusing to be interviewed.

As the narratives of only 24 people out of a 'community' of approximately 112 were collected (President of CARANS), no claim is being made regarding the 'representativeness' of the sample. Instead, I am seeking to explore the ways in which individuals create meaning and resist 'imposed' behavioural patterns (Goebel 1994:3). As such, I employed the narrative method to gather information on the subject of community and identity. This method "emphasises experiences and requirements of the individual - how the person copes with society rather than how society copes with the teams of individuals" (Geiger 1986:336). By delving into the complexities of their lives (all the while refusing to privilege one discourse over any another) and by looking at the constitution of multiple narratives, it is possible to uncover the fractures in how the 'black community' is conceived. Narratives allow for the deconstruction of the 'unitary' self, allowing for attention to be given to "experiences, interpretations and feelings" (Goebel 1994:1). In this regard, there is no discursive continuity as "the prime task is situational [racism], and the recognition of heterogeneity of the ['black community'], instead of positing some kind of [black] subject, the [black] figure" (Spivak 1990:58).

The stories were collected either in a semi-structured or unstructured format. The

structure was dictated by the narrator; and, for the most part an unstructured format was chosen. Narratives were selected as an interview technique because of their flexibility in terms of what was discussed. This flexibility allows one to discover or uncover what people have done, what they wanted to do, and what they believed they were doing (Crush and Miles 1993). In this manner, narratives "can illuminate both the logic of individual courses of action and the effects of systematic and structural constraints within which life-courses evolve" (Crush and Miles 1993:97). Moreover, this method permits the participants to define their own reality (Kirby and McKenna 1989:81).

As well, with the narrative method one need not be concerned with getting the 'correct' answers, merely with engaging in a sufficiently careful examination of the narrators' words. Use of narratives allows one to gain insights into how the participants construct their identity and their ideas of a 'black community'. Narratives permit reflections on the participants' realities (Goebel 1994; Abu-Lughod 1993). As secondary information on the West Indian 'community' is limited, the narratives collected paint a picture of the 'community' and corroborate stories told, as at times reference was made to activities or events that other narrators had been involved in. Narratives permit the exploration of uncharted waters, allowing one to incorporate the stories into the social world (Kirby and McKenna 1989:83). Using this method allows for a perspective that is specific to Halifax, and more or less representative of the participants themselves. However, it must be remembered that in no way are these narratives held to be complete renditions of the narrator's life, but are rather moments and memories which they wished to share with me. These exchanges should be viewed, as Anderson and Goolishien make clear, as "conversation[s] that continually loosen and open up, rather than constricting and closing down" (in Freedman and Combs 1996:44), for the point of the interviews was to listen to stories about the participants' experiences in Halifax-Dartmouth. "For it is the uncanny property of language not merely to expose the 'structure' of the mind but to reveal and occlude the world in which we are constituted" (Chambers 1996:50).

Having recorded the narratives, each of which lasted between one and four hours, the next task involves understanding and expressing what was said. It is to a discussion of the latter that I now turn.

Data Analysis

While I did not transcribe the narratives, I did document the information that was on tape by using the tape counter. For each interview I created a table highlighting the dominant themes. Next to these themes is the counter time and a brief summary of what was said. This matrix method (Field and Morse 1985:85) was used so that I could locate the relevant sections on the tape with little difficulty. Once this was done, the interviews were examined for dominant themes and patterns as dictated by the shared experiences. This identification permitted for further analysis of the stories. While there may be some overlap among the themes, the most significant included those touching upon 'community', resistance to racism and discrimination, and black identity. The themes selected were those that conveyed the participants' stories. I used the information that I had in order to avoid generalizations and to inculcate the research with a temporal and spatial dimension. This was achieved by focussing on their experiences and looking at their arguments, justifications and interpretations to gain a better understanding of how their lives have proceeded in Halifax-Dartmouth.

A critical hermeneutic approach has guided the analysis of the narratives. Critical hermeneutics is understood as an approach that focuses on meaning and interpretation that is situated in a socio-historical world (Thompson 1990:278). This approach was applied to the interview data in such a manner that the everyday lives of the participants became the subject of analysis. Through the participants' everyday lives the creative construction of meaning may ensue. In this way, the production of knowledge is conceived, which, according to Patricia Hill Collins, emanates from sites that include music, literature, daily conversations and everyday behaviour (Hill Collins 1990:202). These behaviours are seen as expressions of experience.

Experience, in this frame, operates as a criterion of meaning. From meaning ideas emerge, "ideas [which] cannot be divorced from the individuals who create and share them" (Hill Collins 1990:215). In this manner there is a movement away from the 'community' of experts. It is a movement away from the ranking of oppression to the affirmation of subordinate groups' knowledge and away from the assumption that their identity is merely a reflection of the dominant group's identity or that they are less capable of articulating their own position (Hill Collins 1990:207). Instead, I have sought an approach that permits the placing of blacks at the centre of the discourse rather than on the margins where they currently exist in a state of belonging yet not belonging (Hill Collins 1988:309).

The question then becomes, "[a]t what point, and in what ways ... does *specificity* of a particular social experience become an expression of essentialism?" (Brah 1992:126). When engaged in an analysis of the 'black community' in which, as Randall Kennedy describes, "blacks who are strangers ... speak to each other - 'Hello', 'Hey', 'Yo' - or hug or give each other a soul handshake of refer to each other as 'brother' or 'sister'" (Kennedy 1997:55), this question becomes crucial as a postulated togetherness finds voice among strangers, who only on account of their colour and experiences on account of that colour, become members of the 'black family'. The specificity of an experience and the person's visibility open a space where people of African descent meld into the familiar and similar, and as the differences between them are overlooked an imagined community comes into being. Here, the points of contention that are raised, namely that of experience as similarity, is central to the analysis of the interviews and is consequently discussed in further detail later on. What I wish to emphasize now is that in this construction of 'community', and as Edward Soja states in *Thirdspace*, "social space comes to be seen entirely as mental space, an 'encrypted reality' that is decipherable in thoughts and utterances, speech and writing, in literature and language, in discourses and texts, in logical and epistemological ideation" (Soja 1996:63).

Experience is often an unquestioned word. How does one gain experience? How can

experience be ranked? Why need experience be ranked and categorized? Generally speaking, experience and knowledge are seen to be almost interchangeable. As Patricia Hill Collins states, "since knowledge comes from experience, the best way of understanding another's ideas was to try to share these experiences that led the person to form those ideas. At the heart of the procedure used by connected knowers is the capacity for empathy" (Hill Collins 1988:313). Knowledge, experience, revealing of oneself are considered not only part of the research process but also fundamental to understanding people and the conditions in which they live. In fact, knowledge experience are so much intertwined that Husserl maintains that "[e]very originally giving intuition [is] *a source of legitimation for knowledge: everything* that presents itself to us *in the 'Intuition' originally* (in its bodily actuality, so to speak) [is] simply to be *accepted as it gives itself*, but also *only within the limits in which it gives itself there ...*" (Husserl in Heidegger 1993:439). Heidegger tempers this statement somewhat as he queries "[w]hether or not what is present is experienced, comprehended, or presented, presence as lingering in the open always remains dependent upon the prevalent clearing. Thus, what is absent cannot be as such unless its presence is in the *free space of clearing*" (Heidegger 1993:443-4). Presence and absence through experience gain their meaning. What is experienced is present, what had not been experienced is absent and from this vantage point essentialized categories emerge, and histories and undiscovered or unknown ways of viewing the world become written out of existence.

What I am focussing on here is not the nature (genetics) or nurture (experience) debate, but the use of experience in academic writings, where what the academic sees, and so experiences, becomes the *raison d'être* of the 'community' studied. It is from such studies that ideas including environmental determinism, IQ and eugenics gained credibility. In critiquing the academic usage of experience Joan W. Scott in *'Experience'* provides an in-depth analysis of its use in the 'grounding' of research endeavours, wherein the issues of essentialism and objectivity hidden within the method are brought to light. Objectivism in experience, J. W. Scott claims, is particularly evident in historical analyses which purport to use experience as evidence, that

is "experience is taken as the origin of knowledge, the vision of the individual subject ... [which] becomes the bedrock of evidence upon which explanation is built" (Scott 1992:25). Moreover, in the use of this knowledge the author remains absent, for experience becomes truth and lack of experience becomes equivalent to that of a lack of knowledge of that truth. Essentialism comes into play as a universal concept of experience is postulated, whether it be for women, blacks and so on. The diversity and divergences among people is not recognized. In her critique of experience, J. W. Scott intends to "open new possibilities for analysing discursive productions of social and political reality as complex, contradictory processes" (Scott 1992:34). It is this line of thought which I have used in my analysis of the interviews where experience is viewed as "a constellation of mediated relationships, a site of contradiction ... a notion of experience not as an unmediated guide to 'truth', but as a practice of making sense, but symbolically and narratively: as struggle over material conditions and over meaning" (Brah 1992:140).

Moreover, my interpretation is guided by the study of the interrelations of meaning and power in the constructions of difference. In doing so, I recognize, as Bakhtin states, that "[e]ach language we take in is a *language*, something already blessed or cursed with symbolic richness, with built-in effects of past choices, invitations to new choices, and a knowledge that some choices are in fact better than others" (in Spivak 1987:121). In recognizing this, "[w]e always eventually find, *at the edge of the text*, the language of ideology, momentarily hidden, but eloquent by its every absence" (Macherey in Spivak 1987:22). The exploration of the narrators' ideas weaves its way along paths that constitute the subject as the source of self-identity of the group, along paths that assume the group is the constitution and effect of the subject. "[I]n the shifting spectrum between subject-constitution and group constitution are the ideologized apparatuses that share the condition effect oscillation" (Spivak 1987:118). It is the shifts, ambiguities, and social constitutions within constructions of community and identity that form the basis of the analysis.

Conclusion

The unfolding narratives, be they those of academics or the participants in the research, will furnish the journey with the necessities for traversing across time and space. While exploring the mental maps, Audrey Kobayashi asserts that "it is necessary to adopt a strategy that takes into account the process by which difference is established at every stage of social construction" (Kobayashi 1994:75). With this tool, the unfolding narratives will be seen as ever changing in relation to events, observations, interjections. The voyage is being taken in the hope of acquiring a greater understanding of how difference is constructed alongside claims to essentialized identities. Juxtaposed identities, communities and concepts of belonging will be at the root of the analysis in order to overcome the static view of the 'black community' in general, and the static view of the 'black community' in Halifax specifically. As, Lavie and Swedenburg maintain that "[j]ust as identity and place grate against each other, and are forced into constantly shifting configurations of partial overlap, so the locations of home and of field, and those of text and experience, scrape against each other, only partially overlapping, creating mythological borders along their contiguities" (Lavie and Swedenburg 1996:22-23). Theory is a practice that allows for the bringing into being of new concepts and perspectives (see May 1996:38), opening the possibility for new perspectives. As such, "it is necessary to adopt a strategy that takes into account the process by which difference is established at every stage of social construction" (Kobayashi 1994:75). The following chapters, dealing specifically with Afro-Caribbean people in Halifax-Dartmouth, will attempt to do just that.

ON BEING AND BECOMING

COMMUNITY: APPEARANCES, ABSENCES, ABERRATIONS

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*The image of myself
grows gigantic on the wall
and against it
my miserable shadow
- Czeslaw Milosz (1973)*

So far we have looked at Othering as it occurs in the 'black political academic community'. In these texts, black became a signifier of schism within individuals of African descent. It was a schism that could only be overcome through a phoenix-like purification in which the ambiguity of one's existence was overcome by passing through the fires of oppression and domination undivided. The individual's presence is considered strongest if singular. This singularity is then translated from a more personal space to that of the larger 'community', a 'community' that is at times rooted in a particular region, as with Africadia, to a sense of a global 'community' grounded in a struggle to overcome the injustices rendered solely based on colour. Most of these writings have been primarily theoretical. The question of how these ideas have come into play in particular contexts, especially Canada, has not been addressed. This chapter will seek to confront this absence by examining how Caribbean peoples of African descent, living in Halifax-Dartmouth, construct their identity, and imagine the 'black community', along with their position within it. In doing so, ideas of community will be explored, providing insights which are fixed in time and space.

Africadia, the Caribbean, and Pan-Africanism: Bordercrossings

desires as they play out on the surface - a surface upon which all manner of desires to belong are conducted in relations of proximity to each other: a milieu in which different modes belonging fold and twist the social fabric of life, so that we find ourselves in unexpected ways using desires for belonging as threads that lead us into unforeseen places and connections. - Probyn 1996:20

This first section deals specifically with the construction of community as engendered through texts and interviews with the participants. The problematics within these constructions are found in the references and intersections between the particular and the universal, and are informed by what Edward Soja, Steve Pile and Homi Bhabha have referred to as third space (Bhabha 1994; Pile 1995:273) in terms of conceptualizing a heterogeneous space. For this paper, heterogeneous space is being conceptualized as "continually fragmented, fractured, incomplete, uncertain, and [as a] site of struggles for meaning and representation" (Pile 1995:273). Within this space, differences and similarities among people may be acknowledged and explored. As for notions of the particular, it refers to the construction of a localized community, one that is grounded in a specific geographical region, in this case Africadia. The universal is used to denote the idea of a larger 'black community', a 'community' that is not bound by national borders. The 'black community' finds articulation in Pan-African philosophies. While it may appear that these reference points - particular, universal, heterogeneous space - are anchored in a Cartesian space, the reality is one of ambiguous fluidity, as these points merge, overlap and or disappear as individuals or groups come to occupy multiple positions. Accordingly, this section will focus on these spaces and how they have functioned in relation to the construction of the 'black communities' in Halifax-Dartmouth, with attention first being given to Africadia.

Africadia is a word coined through the fracturing of Africa and Acadia. Acadia (*-cadia*) represents the antiquity of the Maritime region and its 'community' of French settlers. The French established the first European settlement in Canada living as fishermen, farmers, missionaries and traders along the Atlantic coastline. The second reference point emphasises the fact that, along with the legacy of European colonization and domination, there is also the legacy of African heritage, hence *Africadia*. *Afri* is an indicator of origin, birth and struggle of Africadia's inhabitants. Nova Scotia is home to some of the oldest black settlements in Canada. While the name Africadia, makes direct reference to the French and African settlers, it is

characterized by hybridity through which there has been the active integration of other 'communities' that appear to be absent in the identification of the Africadia. Thus, although absent in name, the Mik'maq, Maliseet, English and Caribbean 'communities' all have influenced Africadia. This influence has been felt in such aspects as marriage, adoption of customs, and language. In the timber of these voices (see Clarke 1991:10) lies the basis of the "little state of *Africadia*" (Clarke 1991:15).

This little state consists of a network of 'communities' fashioned out of the black settlements which first began to appear in the region in the seventeenth century. These 'communities' are often found on the outskirts of towns inhabited by people primarily of European descent. But rather than looking at all of these 'communities', I will devote the bulk of my attention to Halifax-Dartmouth, Nova Scotia's capital and the home to some of Canada's oldest 'black communities', now located in Halifax's North End and along the perimeters of Dartmouth. While the more recent black immigrants do not live in any specific section of the city and are found instead in more affluent sections of the city, the movement into these neighbourhoods did not occur smoothly. A second generation Canadian Indigenous black Nova Scotian¹ describes Halifax-Dartmouth as it was when he left his 'black community' in the 1940s:

When I arrived here, blacks seemed to be lumped together in Halifax, definitely in the city of Dartmouth which had a much smaller population than Halifax in terms of blacks, they lived in specific clusters. In fact, we were the first black family to live here [a non-black community]. They [the residents] ran a petition when they knew who it was who bought this land and built this house here. They took up a petition. They did not know us, but they knew one thing ... we were black: that was all that was required.

Today, the 'black communities' of Cherrybrooke and the Prestons still exist on the outskirts of Dartmouth, while Africville was destroyed and its population dispersed in an 'urban renewal'

¹"Indigenous Black Nova Scotian" (IBNS) is a recognized category, in Nova Scotia, that identifies blacks who were born in Nova Scotia. The term seeks to draw a distinction between blacks who have migrated from Africa or the Caribbean and those who were born in Nova Scotia. However, there is some question as to whether children born, in Nova Scotia, to these recent immigrants may be considered IBNS

scheme in the 1960s.

Thus, Africadia was there, but not there until named. The idea of naming to establish presence lay behind *Fire on the Water*, an anthology of black Maritime writers and, through the gathering and uniting of the writings from the black Maritimers, George Elliott Clarke came upon christening this 'community' 'Africadia'. Africadia was to provide a means of identifying what Clarke saw as a unique region and a people who all too often have been misrepresented or ignored. The members of this marginalized population are Afro-Nova Scotians. Afro-Nova Scotians are people who can either trace their ancestry back to the Black Loyalists or Black Refugees², or are among the more recent Afro-Caribbean or African immigrants to the province (Clarke 1991:10). The inhabitants of Africadia have travelled along a similar path. This path has been overtrodden by peoples searching for a better life. This life may have consisted of an escape from slavery, a desire for land, self-sufficiency, education and employment, though it has also typically involved encounters with discrimination and oppression, slavery and denial - be they documented or undocumented. Africadia is a 'community' formed out of violence and desire. Yet, as a black person searching for a better life, there is a sense of being an outsider, of not belonging to Nova Scotia. As one participant puts it, "there is always a thing that says you do not belong here, that this is not your country"(young professional male). David Woods, a Trinidadian by birth and a resident of Halifax-Dartmouth, writes in *Native Song*:

We find ourselves in purpose steeped,
To wrestle pain from these tired hands,
And erect new hope in the dark
horizon,
Beyond the reach of those who command. (in Clarke 1992:135).

The reason why Halifax-Dartmouth has been selected for this study rather than another area lies in its diversity. It is only here that one may encounter the ambiguities present within Africadia.

² The Black Loyalists first started arriving in Nova Scotia as early as 1783. The Black Refugees arrived during the War of 1812. There are documented cases of earlier black migration to Nova Scotia, as early as 1648. Other black peoples, known as the Maroons, arrived from Jamaica in 1796. The Maroons were runaway slaves who settled in the mountains, and provided refuge for other runaway slaves.

These ambiguities emerge as ideas of 'community' and 'belonging' operate to redefine the very idea of what is the 'black community'. However, before this ambiguity is addressed, Africadia's structures and agency will first be outlined. Turning inwards, Africadia's inhabitants work to establish networks among themselves. These networks serve as a means of protecting themselves from exploitation at the hands of those who are constructed as falling outside of Africadia's walls. These networks are similar to what bell hooks (1990) calls a homespace. A homespace is a place of refuge where one can return for renewal, self-recovery to heal wounds and become whole (hooks 1990:41), and so works as a means of overcoming the insecurities passed down through the generations, that is to say slavery's consequences, a loss of history, a loss of a sense of self. In turning inwards, the networks or social relations operate to reproduce meaning, in this case a positive self-identity, by shaping a sense of self through where they are (Massey 1994). Here space is deemed to be imbued with social and cultural meaning, important mechanisms for defining identity and 'community'. For Africadia, these mechanisms serve as the basis for a concept of place that draws its references from personal experience and everyday meanings (see Paasi 1991:239). 'Community' is constructed, maintained and transformed through place (Cuba and Hummon 1993:112 - in Entrikin 1994:229) and in everyday life practices.

As experience and everyday practices are important factors in the creation of (comm)unity (Clarke 1991:13), the ways in which they are recalled become tools in territorialization and in defining its 'subjects'. One such example is found in the film, *Remember Africville*, "the film *resurrects* an Africville its enemies sought to forget" (Clarke 1993:20 my emphasis added). The use of the word 'resurrects' plays into the idea of a memory that lives on in spite of a temporary death. The revival works against marginalization. In acts of remembrance, Africadia is constructed, and thereby opening a space in which black Nova Scotians can play out their identities and achievements in the "midst of oppression and domination" (hooks 1990:43). Here there are parallels with Fanon's idea of the colonization of

the mind, based on which he argues that one may be colonized but one cannot forget acts of violence that have been suffered. Memory allows Africadia to be "no longer a place, but the consciousness of a people" (Clarke 1993:20). Memory will not let it die.

Reference to memory assumes that there is a collective memory, one to which all may rally and recount. In perpetuating this memory, activities including rituals, sites, parades, mass gatherings, picnics and dances are encouraged. In Halifax-Dartmouth, a picnic is held every August in Seaview Park to remember Africville. Seaview Park was home to Africville. Mass gatherings in protest of racism and discrimination have occurred in Halifax. These gatherings may be to protest bars and nightclubs prohibiting blacks from entering (1980s) to more global-oriented events such as the struggle to obtain a stay of the execution of Mumi Abu Jamal, a black journalist on death row in the United States (1990s). Moreover, calls are repeatedly made to remember acts of discrimination, of denial, of miscarriages of justice. These activities relate to everyday life but are punctuated at specific times and places for re-iteration, thereby legitimizing a 'community's sense of historic 'worth' (see Withers 1996:340). Also, in advocating the use of memory, there is an attempt to treat the amnesia that has been instituted through provincial government practices and municipal policies. It is a reterritorialization in a place that cannot be physically conquered or suppressed and, in that manner, will always go on existing. The recovery of a 'homeplace' is such an act, for homeplace is "a site of resistance and liberation struggle" (hooks 1990:43). But given the wide diversity of Africadia, does this collective community actually exist? The issue will be considered a little later in my discussion.

Nonetheless, the recovery of memory intersects with political and spiritual indicators. These indicators appeal to the history of black Nova Scotians: a history where the African Baptist church served as a link between the isolated 'black communities'. Through the church, the 'communities' were united. One woman, now living in Halifax but born in one of the small rural Nova Scotian 'communities', describes her experience,

I have been part of the black community the last number of years. Not when I first moved to Halifax as I lived in a white

community, but in the last three years I have been part of the North End community which is a black community ... and I see community as a group or people or families that work together to help each other. And that is what I try to do, feeling that I can live in a small community, that people are friendly or nice to me, that I want to give something back. That is what I want to do. Church is very much a part of the community, at least it has been for me. The church is the focal point and the community surrounds the church. Most of the people I interact with all attend the same church. (young female administrator)

The significance of the African Baptist Church rests on its ability to act as a universalizing force within Africadia, uniting physically separated 'communities' through belief and practice ritual. The church's relevance to the 'community' also lies in it being one of the few organizations operated and organized by people of African descent. Politics and religion have never been separated in the church. This was most clearly demonstrated in the African Baptist Church involvement in the struggle to prevent the closure of an employment centre serving the needs of Halifax's North End's 'community'. Not only did a religious procession pass by the centre on Palm Sunday (1997), lending its support to the occupation, but at some of the media conferences related to the occupation of the building in which the centre was housed, religious leaders were present, expressing their support of the attempt by trade union members, black activists and local residents to keep the centre open. As such, the church has functioned in a way that has facilitated the creation of Africadia. Africadia is not only a physical location, but also one that is embodied in a belief system through which ideas of 'community' and commonality emerge. In name, Africadia represents a vision of a 'community' [that is] simultaneously spiritual *and* political (Clarke 1991:13).

Other indicators of 'nation' are tied up in the commitment to acquire land and liberty, an adherence to a belief in the spiritual superiority of black worship, attachment to an ideology advocating the creation of a just society, and the practice of communal democracy within the church (Clarke 1991:15). By using these indicators, Africadians tend to interpret and place the

church and other institutions and social practices inside Africadia. Inside Africadia, ideas and places come into being which express the limits to the latter's existence. As one participant states, "if you are not accepted in the church or if you are not part of the church then you are still a bit of an outsider. You just have to attend and then people say 'oh, I saw you in church' and things kind of develop from there. And then they tell your name to other people. That is basically how I got on to the board for the community 'Y'. That is how it works"(young female administrator). From this statement, it becomes clear that a division presents itself in the construction of belonging, one that is settled in an insider outsider geometry that establishes expansive domains of power and influence. In this regard there are some parallels to Western geopolitics. The parallels are found in the well-developed notion of 'inside' a particular entity whether the State or the 'community' - in which networks and acceptance are the defining features: and counterposed to a hostile or unfamiliar outside. David Slater, writing on Western geopolitics, states that it is "constitutive of an inside only, as part of an implicitly conceived self-contained project" (Slater 1997:56). In terms of Africadia, the idea of an assumed self-contained project turns on ideas of homespace, a separate church, and conceptions of membership each of which works to exclude large segments of the Maritime population specifically and the Canadian population more generally.

So Africadia draws references from the history of blacks in Nova Scotia as well as black thought (see hooks, Garvey, Du Bois). From black thought, there is the idea of (re)constructing an identity and a 'community', as Garvey and hooks have argued, that is specifically for black people. The hope is that a positive self-identity and a strong sense of 'community' will come into play as ideas of a distinctive *African* culture are articulated across spaces and times. African peoples in Halifax-Dartmouth have adopted an Afrocentric approach. This approach is interpreted by Peter Elias, a resident of Halifax-Dartmouth, in *Earth Wind and Fire: Learning Through Verse* that Afrocentrism is a means of acquiring "a clearer understanding of the role played by Africa and its people in the social and economic development of the world at large"

(Elias 1996:ii). This ideology also privileges what the *BLAC³ Report on Education* describes as black “ancestral memory” (BLAC 1994:11). According to one participant, ‘ancestral memory’ can be understood in the following manners: “persons in the black community know their heritage and like to celebrate their heritage, like they like to celebrate *kwanza*⁴, and they go all out for black history month” (a young female administrator). Social gatherings and celebrations are among the mechanisms through which people have taken charge of their lives. The mechanisms allow for a production of meaning or, as Bauman puts it,

[t]he search for an ‘objective definition’ obliquely legitimizes the nationalistic claims that is the sharing of certain attributes that ‘makes a nation’, that integrates a certain number of people into a spatial and temporal unity, rather than exposing the fact that the ‘commonality’ itself is always an artefact of boundary-drawing: always contentious and contested, glossing over some differentiations and representing some other differences as powerful and decisive separating factors. (Bauman 1992:677).

In embracing this boundary drawing, some peoples of African descent hope to empower black Nova Scotians, to enable black Nova Scotians to design possibilities that favour them, be it in education, work, business, or their lives. More generally, these possibilities, Afrocentric businesses and ideologies act as the ‘community’s’ passports, for “identity is found, not primarily in the self, but in the group” (Clarke 1991:13). This working together for a better tomorrow appeals not only to Afrocentric ideology but to communitarian values as well, to a social contract from which the betterment of black peoples may ensue (see Medina 1990:6). Within this idea of a social contract are the seeds of change, as the philosophy works against the way society is constituted and in this process ‘Will’ becomes the will of all black people (see Rousseau

³ BLAC is an abbreviation for the Black Learners Advisory Committee. This committee’s mandate is to review the status of education of Black Nova Scotians and to make recommendations for improvements to the system. See *BLAC Report on Education* for more information on this committee.

⁴ Kwanza is Black Christmas. It is a 7 day celebration that starts on the 26th December. Each day of *Kwanza* has a specific name, such as Love, Peace. The idea for this celebration came from an African American and has grown in popularity across North America.

1973). The brother sisterhood that emerges from an assumed common interest is historically contingent and is, based on the development of territorial, symbolic and institutional processes which work to shape the individual's consciousness (see Paasi 1991). Thus, ironically, while some black writers individuals and their conceptions of a 'black community' that are decidedly anti-modernist, Clarke notes that "this anti-modern view is expressed via modernist techniques" (Clarke 1991:23).

While seeking to work along anti-modernist principles, in Halifax-Dartmouth, the construction of Africadia allows for a system of meanings to emerge. To be black is to struggle for social and economic equity; to be black is to assert one's right to say that one is Nova Scotian or Canadian. As an emergent 'community', Africadia presents itself as a challenge to mainstream white Nova Scotian society as it fashions itself as an alternative to that society. While acting as a challenge, it plays into the idea of singularity as the ideal. In singularity one can find a sense of self, and there are no contradictions between self and the group. By being one, it is easier to act and react, you know your enemy, you know yourself. "[S]ocio-spatial differentiation" (Duncan 1993:373) set in these relations calls for an engendering of a self-contained entity.

Thus, Africadia and the idea of a homeplace are decidedly territorial concepts. In the process of territorialization, homespace acts as an exceptional space. It is an exceptional space to the degree that it is specific to peoples of African descent. It can only be occupied by African peoples in the diaspora. It is also an exceptional space in that it operates in an integrated society for which the loss of self is implied, while homespace and sense of 'community' among black peoples are goals that can only be achieved outside of an integrated society. In recognizing this construction of us and them, Tessie Liu claims that "maintaining the divide between *us* and *them*, I suspect, is one way of distancing the uncomfortable reality of unequal power relations" (in Peake 1993:418).

The construction of a 'them' helps to secure a unified place. This securing of place is

largely achieved through representations of its existence. These representations, be they gatherings or movements to change the educational system or promote black businesses, are characterized in ways that seek to set them apart from mainstream Nova Scotia and place them in a position which is other, unique, different. In this construction of other, Africadia takes on a relational site. Africadia becomes its homespace using this 'other-than-the-usual' positioning as a tool. It is a tool that as Foucault expresses in *Discipline and Punish* is born through acts on actions (Foucault 1995; see Burkitt 1993:62). These actions are equivalent to strategies tactics "based on concrete and local 'terrains and technologies'" (Driver 1985:425). Moreover, embedded within these in these tactics are rules, codes, and procedures to assert a particular understanding (Dalby 1990:5) that "define, describe, and delimit what is possible to say and not to say" (Kress in Dalby 1990:6). In delimiting what can be said, emphasis is placed on experience. To understand and to possess memories of Africadia, it is necessary to have lived it, to have suffered it.

But have all Africadians necessarily lived and experienced the same things? In the construction of Africadia, unity has been stressed over difference. In Pan-African or Afrocentric thought, there is an assumption that there is a need to work against differences for the betterment of the 'race'. Du Bois, Garvey, even Hall in his declaration to his son, who is of mixed parentage - "you're Black ... *That's* who you are" (Hall 1991:15), seek to erase whatever differences may exist. The same is true in the construction of Africadia whereby the Mik'maq, Maliseet, British influences disappear and, in their place, emerges a 'homogenous' 'black community'. Within Africadia, and the 'black community' in general, there is a prioritization of Same and similarity. However, differences do exist, and to assume otherwise is to exclude and to struggle against contradictions that surface with any dissimilarity. Moreover, with the variation, the connections "between the spatialization of the forms of implantation, delimitation, and demarcation of objects and domains, and the identification of historical processes of power" (Slater 1995:69-70) appear. While looking at these differences, as Deleuze and Guattari state in

Nomadology: The War Machine, “[o]ne does not proceed by specific differences from a genus to the properties deriving from it, but from a problem to the accidents that condition and resolve it. This involves all manner of deformations, transmutations, passages to the limit, operations in which each figure designates an ‘event’ much more than an essence” (Deleuze and Guattari 1986:19).

The ‘events’ operate within signs which defer to the moments of exception. As Derrida states, “this structure presupposes that the sign, which defers presence, is conceivable only on the *basis* of the presence that it defers and *moving toward* the deferred presence that it aims to reappropriate” (Derrida 1991:61). The immigrant Caribbean population in Halifax-Dartmouth serves as the event that causes a blurring of Africadia’s constructed boundaries. The sign of blackness is a banner under which dreams of a Pan-African ‘community’ lie. Colour becomes a *modus operandi* operating as a form of identification rather than differentiation, and through identification there is a deferring to the presence of cultural difference. One participant, working on the basis of presence and moving towards the deferred presence, describes why she was called on to do some work with the Indigenous Black Nova Scotians (IBNS). In short, she was called upon because she is black, “so I think in that regard I am considered part of something, but there will always be major or minor differences” (older professional woman) among Indigenous Black Nova Scotians and Caribbean people.

In part the difference stems from how one is identified by an external source. According to the same Caribbean woman,

you can say no matter where you are or where you go: ‘I am Trinidadian, I am Guyanese’ whether you are black, green, purple. For a lot of years it has been hard for a lot of black Nova Scotians to say that ‘I am Canadian’, or ‘I am Nova Scotian’; and having to make that distinction brings with it all the negative issues in the past that they have had to deal with. So any opportunity that they get to improve their sense of well-being, sense of acceptance or sense of identity or something to make them stand out; and when they do it, that is ok. (younger professional woman).

Implicit in this explanation is an Othering on two accounts. The first is that of an invisible eye which, when seeing an event external to itself, fashions what it sees. In this case, it is a definition of what it means to be Canadian. To be Canadian is to play a colour card. Any deviation from this is to fall outside of the national identity. Working in this vein, it is possible to see the sources of Africadia and the desire for a homespace, the transformation from a place to exist in to a place that one inhabits. There is no deviation from the national identity when constructing a Caribbean identity - it is an identity which is colour-blind. Conversely the second account is that of a perceived difference between people of Afro-Caribbean origin and blacks born in Canada. This transpires in spite of her earlier comment in which she constructs herself as belonging to the Black Nova Scotian 'community', as belonging to Africadia.

The movement between Africadia and the Caribbean works against any settling or fixity in the construction of community. It forces the limits of the social and allows for an exploration of political and personal agency (see Bhabha 1995a:3). In this movement, questions of the origin of community, the construction of 'a people' and the making of a 'nation' are highlighted. It also permits the interplay between the universal and the particular within heterogenous space. It is a space inhabited by Afro-Caribbean immigrants. According to a young professional woman,

It is pretty tough for me to say Nova Scotian. It's a funny thing. You cannot really say ... if I were in Toronto and someone asked me where I was from I would say Nova Scotia, it is the province I identify with most, because I have lived here all the time I left Guyana. It depends on how old you are when you leave. But for me I am still very much Guyanese. If I went back to Guyana they would not say that. I do not look like a Guyanese anymore. I don't talk like a Guyanese anymore, but inside that is what you feel you are. It is sacrilegious to give up your roots.

A young professional man also speaks to this hybridity,

when you speak this way, Guyanese tend to think that you are pretending, high fullooting or that you are Canadian overnight or whatever it is, but it is just a matter of habit, and you just got to let people know this not me pretending to be something I am not. This is also who I am partially, part of my foundation comes from somewhere else, comes from

somewhere else, but this is who I am. I think that this is a big thing so you have to be careful with that so when you go back you don't pretend you don't understand that you cannot speak the way that a lot of Guyanese do speak. Cause some people want to toss that out as they think that the foreign stuff is better. ... Let people know that the culture is still a part of me the culture cannot be as much a part of me as when I am living there as I am breathing the thing day in and day out, here I am not - there is a catching up to do ... a coming to terms with it.

Here hybridity lies in the structures of difference. It is a place of departure. Within hybridity, there is an awareness of translations, transitions and graftings through which we interpret our present (Bhabha 1995b:16), disarming the complacency within constructed nationalities. Hybridity provides a new way of looking at the 'black community', as self-definition acts as the key to belonging and the key to the present (see Derrida 1991:68). It does not presume a predetermined belonging. Typically predetermined belonging assumes that if one fails to subscribed it that this failure is indicative of a 'false consciousness' which weakens the 'black community' and creates identity crises among these 'lost' black people. Instead, through a recognition of hybridity, a new area of negotiated meaning and representation and so works against what authors such as Colonel West, hooks and Gilroy have seen as an *almost* predetermined belonging to the 'black community' based upon the fact of blackness. However, it should be noted that predetermined belonging is not necessarily perceived as completely static, as for example in those cases where it is seen as a progression of self-discovery. What is meant by the progression of self-discovery is made clear in Widdance Twine's article on *Brown Skinned White Girls*. Here, although she seeks to problematize the idea of a black identity in her analysis of women of mixed parentage, she inadvertently describes what amounts to a 'racial awakening'. The racial awakening occurs as one is increasingly exposed to students of African descent and, as it progresses, there is a learning process that takes place in an exclusively black space (Widdance Twine 1996). The black space is one of familiarity with racism, a social network

of support, a space that is psychically and physically distance from what is conceived of as white. While reference may be made to 'inside' and 'roots', ideas of hybridity and heterogenous space can expose the absences within supposedly rigid boundaries based on race and culture.

While Africadia may be an exercise in purposeful marginality in which knowledge space power seeks to contain difference in the socially constructed us them hierarchy, the recognition of a heterogenous space allows for refusal and resistances that take one beyond the idea of 'false consciousness' in black nationalism, and into a space of contradiction. The heterogenous space is one of marginality and hybridity. It is a productive space of difference and otherness (Bhabha 1994:209) in which essentialist and anti-essentialist ideas co-exist. There are no definitive demarcations for, as Heidegger states, "a boundary is not that at which something stops but ... the boundary is that from which something begins its presenting" (in Bhabha 1994: 4). Homi Bhabha maintains that "[t]hese 'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood - singular or communal - that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining society itself" (Bhabha 1994:2). I am employing a use of heterogenous space that conceives of it as a space of intervention, rather than in Foucault's sense of 'isolated heterotopias'⁵, as there is an overlapping and looping which links them all to each other, producing what may be described as multiple and overlapping contradictions and identities (see Rose 1993).

Viewing heterogenous space as a space of intervention facilitates the questioning of formally definitive differences, and highlights the transient, contested and ruptured nature of space (Genocchio 1995:43). In turn, this indefiniteness problematizes the existence of a collective consciousness and collective memories, for if Africadia is a place constructed in and out of memory how then do people who do not share those memories operate within this place? For

⁵ The idea of club med as a place of destination rather than the country in which it located is the idea of heterotopia that I am using. While abroad home is brought with you. You are away but at home, not knowing anything of the country in which you are staying. Furthermore, Club Med is not only 'spiritually' removed but physically, often located in the more isolated parts of the country.

one participant belonging was not necessarily defined by shared memories. She states, "I became a Nova Scotian in a lot of ways because his family accepted me [she had married an IBNS], so I had on the one hand all of the Caribbean heritage and my family and friends and so on and on the other hand I had a new family through marriage" (young professional woman). She also says, "I got married in that church [African Baptist Church] and pretty much stayed a member of that church even though I was Anglican from St. Lucia. The [black] Nova Scotian community and Black church are synonymous so in terms of being a member of the church and so on I am" (young professional woman). In defining her presence there is a reappropriation of what it is to be Africadian. The reappropriation is fed through the differences, be they major or minor. As belonging to Africadia is seen less as an appeal to a shared memory and more to such tangible aspects as church membership, marriage and length of time in a particular place - in other words, acceptance.

The collective memory, as it seeks to manifest itself through picnics and protests, is not always the cue that is looked upon to define belonging for, as one participant states, "I feel homesick sometimes. I want to be home, to feel the sun. I want to have the memories of the past surrounding me ... but you just do what you have to do" (young professional woman). The past can be in the present in a given place working to define the present, but in the grafting of those memories dislocated and alternative times and concepts emerge instead. In this construction of self as a newcomer, one who enters an occupied space, there is a reworking of the past to fit the present and so establish some commonality with those who were there before the newcomers' arrival. In this regard, time can facilitate commonality. So the paradox of time comes into play not only by facilitating commonality, but also by rupturing it. It is from time and over time that differences and commonalities among the African peoples have been constructed.

This idea of 'same-yet-different' has spatial dimensions as well. Places become referential nodes upon which ideas of 'community' and belonging are developed. This use of place to define

difference is well worked in Halifax-Dartmouth, as Afro-*Caribbean* immigrants are set apart from the Indigenous Black *Nova Scotians*. One Afro-Caribbean participant discusses the difficulty of trying to work within Africadia as a Caribbean person, a difficulty which is partially offset by the fact that one of his parents is IBNS, “but because of my accent I’m recognized as being an outsider, it was interesting. How does one interface? It raises the question of one’s legitimacy and the different ways of viewing the world which these people have” (young professional man). Is it, as Bauman suggests, that “[t]he stranger cannot cease to be a stranger. He can only become a *former stranger*, a person constantly under pressure to be someone other than he is, told to be ashamed of his guilt of not being what he ought to be”? (Bauman 1988 89:16). But, it may be argued that the boundaries of the stranger are not as definitive as Bauman may claim. The authentic or solid self of either the stranger or the Africadian is destabilized as one who is neither stranger nor Africadian raises questions of ‘legitimacy’ and ‘difference’. It is an anti-dialectical moment that emphasizes an inbetweenness and from this an uncovering of the container of comm(unity).

However, the ambiguity does not only lie in hybridity. As a ‘stranger’, one female participant states, “the feeling of isolation might come, but it does not last long, when you hear people referring to Indigenous Black Nova Scotians or whatever term they want to use. They tend to want to make that distinction and that division” (young professional woman). The participant’s questioning and observations probe into the nature of the present form, how it is constituted, how it is derived and mastered. In this probing there is an unspoken assumption that the natural sense is black, that there is or should be unity among all black people. Differentiation among blacks in Nova Scotia is deemed unnatural (see Agnew and Cobridge 1995:212-214). Essentially what happens in the present construction of Africadia is a form of negation that is not reducible to opposition. The presence of difference is subsumed under the privileging of the similar, and only occasionally resurfaces, blurring constructed boundaries in the process. This movement highlights meanings, understandings and multiple contexts in

which social practices, thoughts and actions furnish the present.

These movements have permitted the development of alternative meanings and understandings of Africadia. First, there is an appeal to a network of support. This network takes precedence over claims to knowledge as held in the 'collective consciousness' of Africadians. One participant recounts that when she was younger, and had just moved to Halifax-Dartmouth, "I missed home and wanted to go home all the time ... but friends and family helped" (young professional woman). Home is not necessarily family or friends but is the absence of a known place, for now they occupy a place beyond that which is known. In appealing to networks there is a levelling of spaces of difference, merging and blending but at the same time deforming and reforming ideas of belonging to Africadia. Africadia emerges from the disruptions in which (trans)planted structures work to establish points of inclusion. Moreover, occupying the liminal spaces within Africadia, some Caribbean people retain their difference *ris à ris* mainstream Halifax-Dartmouth as a source of belonging to something other than white Nova Scotia. As one woman states,

if someone were to ask me on the street 'where you are from' I usually get a bit annoyed especially if it is a white person. It does not matter if it is a Black person to me, don't approach me and ask me 'where you are from'. It may just be a thing to do ... from Cape Breton etc you know what community are you from. We may be a bit over sensitive when people say that but it happens and you are marked as they can see some sort of a difference. It would be ridiculous to say that you are something else. (young professional woman)

The mark of difference sets them apart. This dislocation from the 'non-identifiable' works as a path into Africadia, and while the mark of difference does not entail negation, the path goes no further than Africadia's perimeters, precisely because their difference ensures that they are 'identifiable'. However, with Africadia it is not colour which comes into play, but rather markers such as accents and religious beliefs. Are there limits to this difference? The answer to this brings us to a third movement wherein Afro-Caribbean people have been defined as black but not Africadian. In this sense, Afro-Caribbean peoples become an absent entity - present but

negated by Africadia, which uses 'Indigenous Black' to qualify its members. Numerically, Indigenous Black Nova Scotians are the most significant group, and when 'Black' is mentioned in Nova Scotia it is usually in reference to IBNS, much as it is taken to mean Caribbean in Toronto. Relative relationships between IBNS and Afro-Caribbeans in Africadia are tempered by the contingent events or signs which are themselves random and indeterminate.

But just as Africadia is a concept which builds upon signifiers and signs that tap into memories, achievements, and struggles, so too is the Caribbean 'community' in Halifax. Its origins are also a function of individuals attributing labels or naming events and movements to construct a space within a particular set of coordinates and naturalized associations (see Gibson-Graham 1994:3). In events and observations 'maps of meaning' are reproduced through actions, name-giving and (re)configurations of territories. Through this process 'communities' come into being (see Anderson and Gale 1992:3; Jackson 1989; Anderson 1983). Naming is a process whereby the social construction of space and the meanings embodied within these spaces (Berg and Kearns 1996:99) permit the legitimization of presence within Africadia and the 'black community'. The struggle in this third space is not over any specific issue upon which all may latch. Rather, the struggle is an indeterminate one of "undecidable propositions and constructs" (Deleuze and Guattari 1986:473), constantly in the process of becoming and in the moment of indecision between being and becoming.

In the motion of becoming, there is an assumption of a unified Other. The Other is unified in its possession of what is seen as collective characteristics and attitudes: and while Africadia is other than mainstream Maritime, Caribbean people, as a collective, are set aside from what is seen as normal or everyday in Africadia. However, as a young professional woman recounts,

I recall when I was a little girl in Guyana we made distinctions with people who came from Barbados, the Bajans - there's a Bajan living down the street, everybody knew he was not Guyanese, that he was Bajan ...

As Folke Lindahl states in his discussion of Caribbean identity, "[t]here is invariably an 'other'

inside the firmly delineated identity' (Lindahl, 1996:91). The Other, in this case, is read as heterogeneity, transgression and the construction of identities other than male and heterosexual. In the participant's statement the other is constructed on the basis of national identities. However, the construction of identities within the Caribbean is not the focus here. Instead, it is how these selective readings of 'communities' become reconstructed once outside of the Caribbean. While knowledge of variations among and within the islands exists, what is emphasized are factors which are compatible with the construction of a diasporic community, for outside of the region. Afro-Caribbean peoples belong "at the same time to several 'homes' - and thus no one particular home" (Hall 1993:362). This is seen in earlier comments by participants that there is no going home again (Hall 1993:362). In Halifax-Dartmouth, in a moment of becoming (see Deleuze 1994:171), some Afro-Caribbean peoples organized the Caribbean Association of Nova Scotia (CARANS) in implicit recognition of the fact that there is 'no going home again'. It is an expression of dislocation as the Caribbean population in Halifax-Dartmouth is without a 'home', but is in the process of creating one in Africadia, in CARANS, and in the Caribbean 'community'.

But, just what is the Caribbean 'community', and what is its relation to Africadia? The Caribbean 'community' is not always overlapping with Africadia: it also co-exists with it. As this space is shared (see Soja 1996:54), there is a desire to create a place, as Hamlet states, where "I could be bounded in a nutshell and count myself king of infinite space" (Shakespeare 1963:78). The current president of CARANS, through her description of the 'community', attempts to construct such a bounded space. She says,

It is a small community. There might be in Nova Scotia total 110 families. It is a community of very well educated professionals - neurosurgeons, cardiologists, eye specialists and of course teachers, principals, psychologists, doctors, lawyers, a judge. There is that faction of people who have come to just study: and there is not ... a large population, but a growing number of people who come to work as domestic workers or just people trying to make a living. But the majority tend to go back to university and upgrade themselves regardless. So I would say it was a small percentage of people who were not

sort of professional capacity. (young professional woman)

While the description of the 'community' does not draw upon any reference to Africadia or anything outside of what is considered expatriate Caribbean, the 'community' is not isolated but, by working through networks in Africadia, is on the periphery of Africadia and is contingent to Africadia. This movement within Africadia may rearrange understandings of the 'little state' but, does not necessarily change the system in any profound way. The Caribbean 'community' is constructed as a 'community' that has not had the same experience as the members of Africadia. It is a 'community' that does not conceive of the obstacles that have been laid out in the memories of Africadia. The key to success here is not the creation of a homespace where one might go to for renewal and self-recovery, but of integrating into the larger society through education of the self. However, while integration is seen in a positive light, this does not imply a complete abandoning of what they have conceived as Caribbean. A dichotomized 'either-you-are-part-of-the-community-or-you-are-not' scenario is not what is at issue here, as it was in the construction of Africadia.

CARANS exists in order to present an avenue along which social-cultural activities for the participants "to feel part of our roots" (young professional woman) are planned, and in this planning Afro and Indo-Caribbean people, who are scattered throughout Halifax-Dartmouth, are brought together. These activities include, parties, picnics, and inviting people who are well-known in the Caribbean to speak at events such those planned during Black History Month. According to Doreen Massey, "space is constituted through social relations and material social practices" (Massey 1993:145) and the social is spatially constructed. However, the constitution of social practices is not limited to the space occupied by the Caribbean 'community', as often the activities in which it engages brings it into contact with Africadia. In the summer of 1997 the organization got involved in a small business project in the North End of Halifax, a primarily black area. This initiative seeks to draw links with Africadia as it works among its inhabitants:

and while this venture seems to be unfolding without conflict thus far, other ventures of a similar nature, run by Caribbean peoples, have been challenged by those who have set themselves up as Africadia's leaders in the Halifax-Dartmouth area. This contestation might stem in part from the challenge that these businesses pose to the established hierarchies in the area, to the extent that these organizations are presenting new ways of dealing with old problems, ways that do not always acknowledge the existing hierarchy. Through this inscribing, there is an exploration of the means of representation in liminal spaces that allow for ambiguity and ambivalence (Keith and Pile (1993:6).

This is not to say that only Africadia is under constant revision and reinterpretation. The construction of a Caribbean 'community' is also a necessarily incomplete process, in which revision and re-examination are constant. One participant, describing the establishment of a scholarship, lends testimony to this assertion, "actually we just started giving out the scholarship last year and it was open to all [black] Nova Scotian students. The new scholarship committee, this year, said 'no way, it will only be open only to students of Caribbean descent'" (older professional woman). In creating the 'community' boundaries are erected, thereby lending definition to what it means to be Caribbean. Moreover, implicit within this statement is the assumption that there is a need to establish limits to belonging. In imposing restrictions on the scholarship, the impact of the limits becomes clear, as the participant points out, "this year we have had fewer [people applying for the scholarship], like last year we had about 40 applicants this year we had about 8 from all across Nova Scotia. That tells you what the population is like in terms of Caribbean." Also, in these statements, there is an assumption that to be black Nova Scotian is not to be Caribbean. This is not to say that the Caribbean 'community' and Africadia are fixed oppositional categories (see Brah 1992:126), but rather that they are operating in a contingent relationship wherein practices, much as this scholarship, underline the interrelations in social differentiation.

Intertwining of experience, knowledge and spatiality draws upon the real, imagined and

symbolic. Symbolic-real-imagined operates in conjunction with the descriptors of Caribbean peoples and IBNS. Among many of the participants, they construct themselves as having the desire to maintain some semblance of their country and history, to feel connected to something and to believe that they can do anything. These in turn feed into a desire to succeed for, as one participant states, the Caribbean peoples "come from the same place and have this attitude that we can do anything we want to do" (young professional man). The image of IBNS on the other hand is that of a group of people who have been "beaten up by racism, [and] quite often times or to date have not, as a community, internalized that they can do all this other junk as well" (older professional woman). While images of the success, ambition, togetherness of the Caribbean 'community' are juxtaposed to images of IBNS as downtrodden, unfortunate, victims of racism, all may be seen as inhabiting Africadia, based on the definitions of Africadia.

The interrelations between IBNS and Caribbean peoples point to ambiguity in the construction of 'community'. Although measures may be taken to ensure a distance between the IBNS and the Caribbean 'communities', there are also attempts to blur these differences. For instance, there was a Nova Scotia-Jamaican Maroon project initiated in the summer of 1996 whose purpose was to explore historic ties to the region. In 1796 a treaty was signed between the Maroons and British authorities in Jamaica which ensured that the Maroons would keep their freedom and be given free passage to Nova Scotia. The project sought to bring black Nova Scotians and people from Jamaica together in order to learn about their common history. Not only does a project like this one seek to blur the boundaries of the Caribbean 'community', but organized events such as picnics and dances are not restricted to people from the Caribbean. As one IBNS states, "they held dances and they are well attended by people, by IBNS and there seems to be a mix. Where I come from there are no Caribbean persons" (young female office worker). Halifax-Dartmouth serves as an entrepot in which ideas of Africadia become reinterpreted and opened up, allowing for the 'mixing' and blurring of boundaries in the process.

There is no single determining idea of what the Caribbean 'community' is. One young

professional man states,

there are a lot of positive things [about the Caribbean community]. I do not know if it is because we are isolated out there in the Caribbean and had a majority of black ... and we tend to be more academic and have more of a work ethic. But the Caribbean community is the most reactionary community there is. That is not to say that the IBNS is not reactionary. The Caribbean community here is repulsive, from a political point of view, because they represent in part people who came to go school here and people who are aspiring to be middle class. You can hear them espouse things like how nice they used to live. There are people who do not do it, some people do acknowledge that they are from the working class [in the Caribbean]. I do not know where the confusion comes, but the WI people are politically untogether here.

Here the 'community' is seen as one that is isolated. Within this space, a positive sense of self is developed, but because it is removed from Nova Scotia fictitious attributes may be cultivated. The attributes with which this participant is most concerned are the class identities that Caribbean people foster for themselves. He is not alone in his concern over middle class pretensions. As a young professional woman puts it,

I get the impression that most of the Caribbeans who are here, at least a significant number, are people who came here to do University and stayed on. They are middle class. I do not have any Caribbean friends. I get the impression too that the Caribbean community is very very middle class with middle class pretensions. That may be part of the reason why I have not been able to get very close to them.

The need to belong is still there. You must belong somewhere. Do I feel like I belong to the West Indian community? Not really, they are too reactionary, I like people who are constructive. (older professional woman)

For them, the middle class designation that the Caribbean 'community' has appended to itself is deemed reactionary. Positioning oneself as 'mainstream' or among the financially secure 'majority' is associated with reactionary attitudes. Middle class has less to do with a fixed economic position, but is constructed instead in terms of attitudes including complacency, being non-constructive and reactionary. Furthermore, in attempting to bill themselves as middle class

they are writing out segments of the 'community' that are not, an act highlighted by the comments of a homeworker, who states that "I am there when they call me" (older female homeworker). She exists on the periphery of the Caribbean 'community', called upon only when needed. Through this means, the idea of middle class can be secured as a reality. However, not only is the middle class designation problematic, but so is the idea of a fixed Caribbean identity, which is itself belied by the existence of multiple national identities; in the words of one participant, "I do not think that we are as cohesive as other groups because you know we come from a culture that is in itself very, very loose and undefined" (young professional man).

The contentions over what it means to be Caribbean has led to the death and resurrection of CARANS. The President of the Association explains,

for the past 4 years I have been president only because no one else wanted the job. In many cases we have had people dropping out of the organization either out of frustration having to be the ones doing the work all the time, or moving out of the province and just not having enough bodies. So people want it to fold. This fall it will have been 30 years in existence however, during the past 30 years it died twice; but, people came along and said no and we should start it up again - and then it fizzles out again. We came along in '88 and give it its spiritual rebirth. (young professional woman)

Continually fractured and incomplete, the 'community' struggles for meaning and representation. This labouring has created an indeterminateness in the processes of identification with the Caribbean 'community' and with Africadia. So rather than monopolizing a singular site, the struggle for meaning and representation is emphasized by linkages that extend to the Caribbean, Africadia and Halifax-Dartmouth. The constant reworking of definitions works against Gellner's assumption that a person without a national identity is a lost soul (see Goulbourne 1993:178), as individuals in an anti-Hegelian fashion occupy multiple positions without attempting to erase all of them. The convergence of these multiple positions does not lead to the superimposition of a national identity, instead this heterogeneous space becomes a kaleidoscope of ideas, meanings and attributes ever unsettled, merging and reappearing in infinite shapes.

One of the shapes has emerged through 'black philosophies'. Delimiting and circumscribing the position from which the participants speak, the landscapes of black philosophies issue calls for struggles to surmount the internal borders of exclusion and constructed discongruities. One such philosophy, Pan-Africanism Afrocentrism, attempts to bridge the 'gap' that has been constructed between Africadia and the Caribbean, citing instead the transcendental power of 'one love'. It is a movement of ideas over oceans and countries, informing actions and belief systems. Afrocentrism, as it plays itself out in Africadia the Caribbean 'community', seeks to open a space for a black discourse which privileges the black speaker listener, but in this privileging, there is what one participant described as a schism in the 'black community'.

a perceptual schism between IBNS community and Caribbean community that is being proliferated by the attitude of the Caribbean people who are very conditioned in their attitude and are not recognizing that that dichotomy that they are reinforcing epitomizes colonialism. If a problem exists and we talk in the dark together it does not make a difference if we are different. On another level there are schisms, you can see a group of African Nova Scotian girls sitting down in a corner making fun of Caribbean people. Even in Caribbean people self, Caribbean people can have at the back of their minds that the African Nova Scotians are not very smart or are among some of the most slack people or are people who are on social welfare. There are these impressions. But it is ludicrous.
(young professional man)

How Afrocentrism will address the schism is uncertain, as the latter is not as clear-cut as it might appear to be. Indeed, one might argue that there is almost a schizophrenic approach to this 'community' as appeals to black are countered by claims to particularity grounded in religion and (ironically) ancestry. This ambiguity is played out in discussions of meaning of the 'black community', as seen in this participant's comments:

I feel relatively accepted in Black community as a black woman. Whenever there are discussions about 2 worlds then I would probably find myself caught because then I would have to say, in spite of being here for a long time, ... and that would only happen when they become militant about we're indigenous and you are not, they do not want someone who

is not indigenous teaching our children. Then it becomes an issue, but not on a day to day basis. (young professional woman)

The meshing of black and generality on the one hand, and indigenous and specificity on the other, translates itself into the life activities of this participant. Black and generality are apparent in broad ideas of what the 'black community' is. For this participant, it is a 'community' defined by 'race', that is by people of African ancestry. However, this 'community' is undermined when issues of belonging come into play, given that belonging often refers only to how far back one can trace one's roots in Nova Scotia. Doty examines this play on ideas of belonging in her discussion of the commonwealth and British identity. She states that

we find a tension between universalism and particularism, identity and difference that involves, on the one hand, the claim that 'we' and 'they' are the same, one universal brotherhood of man, and on the other, the claim of difference that is implicit in these terms. The tension could be held at bay and the question of what this difference was could be deferred as long as most of 'them' stayed 'there'. But when 'they' came to the 'mother country' in large enough numbers the tension approached its limit. (Doty 1996:248)

This scenario also has its parallels in Halifax-Dartmouth, where the ideologies of 'black community' become subject to manipulation as realities and needs shift in relation to events. As such, what becomes highlighted is less of a distancing or a holding at bay in terms of physical location, and more of an engagement with economic well-being, religious beliefs, attitudes, and customs. Thus, even though attitudes of the sort contained within the statement "I am pro-black, and that is my first responsibility" (young professional woman) may be prevalent, there is also what one participant describes as a 'clash of cultures',

there has always been a resentment to these immigrants. First because the Caribbeans and Africans come with higher levels of education, higher socio-economic standing most of the time and if they don't come with higher socio-economic standing they achieve higher socio-economic standing at their jobs. They tend to get the jobs that black Nova Scotians, the IBNS feel should be reserved for them. They feel that they have

carried on the struggle for these number of years and these Caribbeans come in and reap the fruits of Black Nova Scotian struggles. Secondly, they feel that Caribbeans don't identify with the struggle against racism, that Caribbeans associate with the upper echelons of society, that is white society, look down upon Black Nova Scotians. So there exists this tension.... it is a clash of cultures. (older professional woman)

There is supposed to be a perception that there is this division that 'we' are 'we' and 'they' are 'they' and never the two shall meet." (young professional woman).

Thus, while there is a recognition of ruptures in the idea of a black community, it is often viewed as a fallacious cleft. Du Bois, Garvey, hooks, Asante, Gilroy all look at the linkages among peoples of African descent, as do some Caribbean people. One participant draws comparisons with the Jewish community in order to expose the errors in the 'perceptual' differences. He says,

You know when a Jewish person comes here from Jerusalem the Jewish community makes use of his skills. He enhances that community as a whole. He is not alienated because he is Jewish from Israel as opposed to the Jews who have been here for over 200 years. What difference does it make to them, he is a Jew. I understand how the fabric of the society has so suppressed the psyche of African peoples here that it in itself can reinforce the schism between them and the Caribbean people. But it is really ludicrous because when you interact with the African Nova Scotian on a social or whatever basis, there is absolutely no difference. I was amazed cause I went to a dance with a Jamaican and at the party the African Nova Scotians were dancing to reggae, calypso. They danced the way that Caribbean people do. I think that aspect of it shows similarities. But that can go back to the Maroons and the strong migration of West Indians to here, for example in Sydney Barbadians working in the mines, in the Prestons the Maroons. I know for sure that African Nova Scotians used to perceive Caribbean people in a negative way. The impression that they had was paradoxical. At one point it was negative because of ignorance and now it is negative because these people are seen to be taking the jobs. Caribbean people make no effort to assimilate. It is really terrible how we look at each other a certain way in some contexts in actual day to day interactions it does not seem to matter. (older professional man)

The anomaly of difference is attributed to ignorance and economics, not culture. Cultural

similarity is assumed largely on the type of music to which one listens and dances. It appears as though physical similarities are transformed into cultural similarities. Moreover, this belief also finds currency among other participants. The following are but some of the ideas expressed:

in fact someone called me the other day, they wanted a strong black female to speak to this group of students on Monday night, and they did not say wanted to talk to someone from the Caribbean or whatever, they just wanted a black female to speak to that group. (young professional woman).

It is a perceived gap [IBNS and Caribbean], but it is like anything else, if you are in a relationship in a marriage people have differences and you have to work on them. We are adults enough that we could. (young professional woman)

There are not many social forums where they [IBNS and Caribbeans] get together. When they get together and they connect, they connect. There is no impediment to their connection, there is nothing inducing it. You cannot say that Caribbean people and African people do not get along. You cannot make that argument. (young professional man)

I find that the black community can come together when they want to and really support each other. It is almost like one big family. Regardless of whether you know other families you feel happy when something good happens for them, just because you want to. (young female office worker)

There are cultural differences but when you meet people you are surprised at how well you interact. Whereas if it were a white person you would not have that. It is hard to know but there is this common thread among black people. You can always find something to laugh about. I know that I was involved with people at almost a personal level and I was surprised at how many times you could have such a good laugh, although the struggles were different. (older professional woman)

This transformation of physical similarity into cultural similarity has also been seen in Afrocentric works. Afrocentric beliefs expound upon the cultural similarities of African peoples in which 'genetic' predispositions are assumed to exist. In constructing the 'black community' as one whose roots lie solely in Egypt and as such share a common language type, set of customs and history, Afrocentric works envisage a static construct, a construct that cannot conceive of multiple identities. Instead, it envisions a model of reductive representation that

disavows the complexities in pursuit of self-pride and self-representation. Like anti-racist education, which Philip Cohen sees as reproducing that which is deemed to be useful for the purpose at hand (Cohen 1992:63), Afrocentric ideologies selectively reproduce ideas of Africa in which 'the ancient African' becomes the exemplary type. However, while Afrocentric ideologies are present within the construction of the 'black community', "[t]he stranger [still] disturbs the resonance between physical and psychical distance. He is physically near while remaining spiritually remote. He brings into the inner circle the kind of difference and otherness anticipated and tolerated only at a distance. The stranger represents an incongruous and hence resented 'synthesis of nearness and remoteness'" (Bauman 1988 89:9). The Caribbean people become the 'stranger' as the physical distance between them and IBNS recedes, even though all purport to be of the same 'nation', of the same people of the sun. Thus, Caribbean peoples become both the same and the other as universal commonality works at loggerheads to the difference brought out through nearness, rupturing any complacency in definition or description.

It may be argued that there is a distance constructed between the IBNS and Caribbean peoples as they constitute themselves in a sovereign unity under the veil of blackness (see Deleuze and Guattari 1986:1). This distance is antithetical and complementary in a milieu of interiority, situated within the 'black community', and may 'seize' and 'bind' preventing all action on the part of the Caribbean people, who are excluded or silenced by existing organizations and hierarchies within Africadia. These actions are a means of ensuring conformity and its tools, while unspoken, work to discipline and punish. In a milieu of exteriority, there appears to be a fulfilment of functions, but beneath this veil of exteriority the relations between some IBNS and Caribbean individuals challenge the borders, encircling and shattering them in the process (Deleuze and Guattari 1986:3). While there may be the appearance of arranging a closed space for oneself, "the movement is not from one point to another, but becomes perpetual, without aim or destination, without departure or arrival" (Deleuze and Guattari 1986:4).

Working against this from the ground up (implying particularity) and ethnicity down

(implying universality) scenario (see Kasinitz 1992:251) the participants appear to assume that nearness will not rupture complacency, but rather work to ensure the fulfilment of the interpretation of the 'black community'. Measures taken to co-exist in Africadia have been predominantly economic in focus, as this is seen to be the cause of all discord within the 'black community'. Thus, as one participant states, "if this [African-Canadian Employment Centre] is not bridging gaps, I do not know what is. There are people working together for a common goal: business development" (young professional woman). Fulfilment of such functions as economic unity and racial uplifting are echoed by many of the participants. "I have found an area that gives me an internal peace which is working in terms of education for the black community, developing programmes around the same, and being entrepreneurial about it, that is developing programmes that will somehow will lead to self-sufficiency. So there is a business component to it. So I found that niche in Nova Scotia" (young professional man). Another participant states,

I am a member of the African-Canadian Education project ... it is a group of local people who do work around education in schools in the community. There was once a mini-university campus and we raise money for that. It was rather expensive so before ACE got involved it was very difficult for black kids were kind of excluded. ... So they started raising funds so they started to send a few black kids, about 10 or so to the programme. We are in the process of setting up a Saturday school. I have been involved in that, in curriculum development for maths and sciences. I am technically a member of the Black Educators society. It a more generic group that just Caribbean. (young professional woman)

What lies behind these aspirations of nationhood? How do they work their way into discourses of community? Bauman, writing of the Jewish experience (though it is equally applicable in the case of the black experience), maintains that "[t]he universality of their strangeness endowed their particular experience with universal value" (Bauman 1988 89:27). The universality of their strangeness lies in their marginalization at the hands of the wider Nova Scotian society, along with the assumed uniqueness of their experiences. The unity built into this strangeness produces a nationalism which creates alternative forms of theorizing about the

politics of black diaspora and the politics of identity. This is not to say that nationalism within the 'black community' is a reactionary ideology rooted in diasporic globalism (see Giroux 1996:186). However, rather than the nation-state operating as a primary force in shaping the relationship between identity and culture, the impetus is part of a broader field of vision since differences operate within and between Africadia and the Caribbean 'community'. It is a 'community' that manoeuvres between images of 'racial' likeness, cultural commonalities on the one hand, and cultural diversity, economic dissimilarity on the other. Yet, the global community emerges from shrouds of doubt and controversy hoping to expedite the struggle for emancipation. Of course, in this regard it should be noted that emancipation comes not from the state, but rather from the Marxist idea of solidarity in a borderline space that expands the rights of blacks beyond Africadia, beyond the Caribbean 'community', beyond Nova Scotia and beyond Canada.

This internationalist perspective has often been viewed as a superior understanding of the world. It is perceived as better in its ability to act in an emancipatory fashion, appealing to the broad rights of individuals irrespective of where they may live. As such, the 'Stranger' is asked to give up his/her own national origin and become part of the collective - we are all strangers yet we are all the same - to refuse to do so is tantamount to false consciousness and the betrayal of the cause. As Berg and Kearns write, "'[r]ace' and 'nation' gain their power because they are often taken for granted as 'natural' categories that describe discernible material entities having immutable characteristics" (Berg and Kearns 1996:102). The universalism within modernity overwrites the consciousness achieved within Africadia, which sees itself as a distinct community set within this universalist discourse. However, the very fact that we are all strangers and have distinct consciousnesses is indicative of the problematics of assuming a singularity rather than the play of multiple positions each working off of the other.

The complication inherent within this ambiguous universalism is highlighted by the objectives that are set for the 'betterment' of the 'community'. In Halifax-Dartmouth, this issue

came to a head in the decision to destroy Africville, with George Elliott Clarke stating that "Gus Wedderburn [Caribbean] expresses dismay at the thought of 'my *brothers* scavenging on the dump.' However, Eddie Carvey, an exile, insists that the dump was a 'blessing' from which items such as 'windows, boards, nails, furniture, metals, and bottles' could be salvaged and sold." (Clarke 1993:21). What becomes clear in this regard is that there is confusion over what is a 'blessing', and in this indeterminacy is the death of a singular objective and the potential of opening a dialogue between disparate members of Africadia and the 'black community'. In this dialogue, differences are accepted in the hope that one day they may cease to exist.

I think that if we work together we will realize that we have more similarities than we have differences: gaps that are there are manufactured and we let people make these gaps for us. ... I think it is up to us as individuals to do what we can to meet people, to accept differences, value differences, to respect each other, nothing is wrong with the fact that we all grew up in a different country or culture and we come together, and I think here in Nova Scotia we have a better opportunity than most places for instance, our West Indian community comes from all islands and countries in the Caribbean whereas in Toronto you will find the Guyanese Association, the Barbadian Association. Here we have in our executive, we have people from Barbados, from Guyana, from St. Kitts, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada - we have people from everywhere in our Association. (young professional woman)

As a career person it may be your responsibility to reach out to the community and bridge that gap. Because the only way of breaking down some of these negative stereotypes is for people to get together. (young professional man)

It would have been excellent if both Nova Scotians and Caribbeans come together and plan a lot more functions. You have a larger group as a whole to deal with and if you are going to squabble among yourselves its only defeatist, it will only create a lot more problems. I can only hope that the situation will change. (young professional man)

It is that our experiences are so very very different. Experience is a lot. That is why I believe in teaching - everything that has been learnt can be unlearnt. So I really believe that you can teach people that they have what it takes to make a difference in their own lives. (older professional man)

In this process of valuing difference, the participant sees manufactured gaps rather than differences in themselves as being the source of antagonism. For if value were placed on difference, there would be a greater opportunity to unite and work together for the betterment of the 'black community'. A young professional man states,

there are positions that I wanted to apply for that had Indigenous Black, obviously I was not. I was affected by that, but to me that was not a big deal. It was something that I would rather not be there and I think in time it will not be there, but I mean I understand where it came from, as a black person, I understand where it came from because the community was basically trying to uplift itself. And if you are going to uplift yourself and make the track or the road or the playing field or whatever such that black individuals have an opportunity ... the bottom line is that all of us are black and it does not matter who gets the position in the long run as ultimately some black individual in that position brings in all the community.

In this recognition of difference there is an element of self-sacrifice. For the participant, there is no harbouring of resentment over the categories that worked against his getting a job. The rationalization was that in the long run the 'black community' would benefit. However, in spite of this participant's acceptance of difference, difference is constructed in negative terms while similarity is constructed as necessarily positive. This perpetual dichotomy in the philosophies of the 'black community' gives life to paradoxical relations, as seen in the belief that there is a 'black community' on the one hand, and mere regional communities on the other.

Between and across national and cultural boundaries the 'black community' facilitates the passage of ideas that meander in and between the local and the international, thereby blurring boundaries between inside and outside. Ideas of Caribbean, Indigenous Black Nova Scotian, Africadian, and black become intellectualisms, popular categories that ignore the need to pass through the labyrinth, and to transcend slotting and linear transcriptions. Overlapping 'communities' in a labyrinth of meanings, each subject to questioning, ruptures and discontinuities, have commonalities in their African origins and maritime experiences. These

commonalities are found in appeals to Pan Africanism, and to common experiences of discrimination, oppression, inequality and physical difference. As such, "the spatiality of the diaspora is the ground on which momentary and ever-shifting lines are drawn between inside and outside, oppressor and oppressed, the same and the other" (Keith and Pile 1993:18). The international becomes displaced space occupying times robbed of their histories, and as such, among some people of African descent, there is an attempt to remake what was lost or make visible what was or had been absent. Moreover, within this absence of history are forms of social integration contingent upon this shared absence, existing in a space devoid of knowable history prior to the displacement of African peoples through the Atlantic slave trade. Drawing upon forms of abstraction and reconstitution, there is a remaking of abstraction community - albeit a community that is always in a state of flux. For example, a growing sense of universality has found voice in the Halifax-Dartmouth black basketball tournament. A young female office worker elaborates on this point.

It has really grown in the last couple of years. A number of teams come from Toronto, New York, Cape Breton area. It has gone outside of the Halifax community and into other provinces and communities. The black communities in other provinces are supporting the tournament down here. It is good. It is a nice time, a social time.

According to Alphine Jefferson, "the African diaspora has moved from isolated self-absorption to Pan-Africanist consciousness and a global identity" (Jefferson 1993:201), a process facilitated through sporting events, fuelled by Pan-African Afrocentric ideas, and leading (Jackson assumes) to local consciousness and international solidarity among all black people. However, "[t]hings are not really and objectively related to one another in space and time. We only experience them as related. Space and time are actually subjective forms of apprehension that come into being 'in the encounter between men and things *as* men meet, relate, use, and specify things.'" (Kant in Gross 1981 82:60). According to Paul James, nation may be viewed "as a community of strangers moving simultaneously through 'homogenous, empty time,' time that is measured

by calendar, time that people fill either their own history" (James 1992:317). Community is both 'naturally' and socially constructed. The idea of being 'naturally' constructed is seen largely in terms of being born black in the diaspora, and socially constructed transpires through its usage of ideas of solidarity, uniqueness and difference. Expressions of meaning and values in 'community', expressed in art, learning, institutions, ordinary behaviour and networks of relationships (Hall 1993:351) exist, but only if individuals participate in them. Thus, one may be living in the 'black community' but not completely part of it, much as we are living in "western civilization, ... grow[ing] up in it but yet are not completely a part of it" (CLR James in Hall 1993:359). Furthermore as, Andrew Sayer attests, "the nature of the dependence can vary over space and time as actors change their interpretations" (Sayer 1991:2).

Nonetheless, David Slater maintains that "it is crucial to underline the interweaving of inside and outside in our thinking on alterity, and in addition to take into account that the constructions of otherness do not proceed along a one-way street, because the interaction of cultures, or the politics of encounter, ensure a process of mutual impact, even in contexts where power relations are dramatically uneven" (Slater 1997:59). Diaspora may be viewed as a 'panoramic' community - one that is seen and whose attraction is the continuous traffic and flows of ideas, songs, militancy and struggle, while juxtaposing itself with the static relationships developed among individuals and groups employing descriptors that seek to limit who belongs by evaluating delimiters such as colour, birth and class. As such, Berg and Kearns state that "[n]ationalism results from a complex configuration of emotions, beliefs, and attitudes rooted in the perception of singular cultural attributes, myths, and traditions, leading to the belief in a 'national community'" (Berg & Kearns 1996:100). Within these configurations is a silencing of conversation, as the international 'community' provides boundaries to dialogue and communication which transform the appearance of goods and individuals⁶. David Gross argues

⁶ Idea taken from W. Schivelbusch's discussion of circulation, commodification, time and space. See Schivelbusch, W., *The Railway Journey* 1997.

that "[o]ne whole dimension of life is not only being defined in terms of another, but is being reduced to it. Hence, vertical relations are made to collapse into horizontal ones, and this in turn is causing a radical narrowing of perception and experience on a scale we may still be just barely able to comprehend" (Gross 1981 82:59).

So in summary, Stuart Hall states, "[t]o coin one of Ernesto Laclau's phrases, nationalism 'has no necessary political belongingness'. It is capable of being inflected to very different political positions, at different moments and its character depends very much on other traditions, discourses and forces with which it is articulated" (Hall 1996a :165). All communities are in the making, textually and in practice, but Terry Eagleton maintains that "what one might become cannot be simply read off from what one is now" (Eagleton in Thrift 1991:461). What we have seen is a web of relations linking Africadia, Caribbean and the black diaspora that cannot simply be read off surface appearances. Africadia is the desire for a sense of self, a homespace and, in this, the desire to erect limitations in the form of essentialist categories and narrow histories. People from the Caribbean, though constructed as belonging to Africadia, often find themselves positioned in a multiple of ways, and are often excluded as they are considered different or seen to be disrupting the already fragile 'community'. Left without a space to which to belong, ideas of the Caribbean are reconstructed in a process of becoming. But then again, both the Caribbean and Africadia disappear under the banner of the 'black community' to which all black people belong. They are all within a space of the return in which there is a search for black history, a space of discipline - what to listen to, how to speak, to whom to speak listen: a space of displacement in which there is a constant struggle for emancipation (see Nigel Thrift 1990 for more on these spaces); and finally a space of dislocation the home of the diaspora.

Lynn Staeheli surmises that "[s]paces defined by community are often seen providing resources that may enable political struggle against oppressive social forces. Communities - defined spatially, by bonds between individuals, or both - may be relatively free from the relations defined by capital or by the state. It is in communities ... that Blomley sees rights-based

claims as having the greatest potential for progressive social change" (Staeheli 1994:387). Rights based claims are a possibility, but there is a need to perceive value in difference and to work against essentialist categories which work to limit the potential for co-operation. What complicates things is the fact that Africadia and the Caribbean 'community' become, under certain circumstances, alternative labels for the 'black community'. At times, there is an idea of a brother sisterhood in which self-sacrifice and struggle for change become the *modus operandi*; at other times, there is an emphasis on a singular notion of belonging and this notion seeks to isolate those that do not conform to the 'pre-defined' notions of 'nationhood' - education and upward mobility or adherence to the church, opposition to integration. Understanding of the 'black community' has generally been done through negative terms - 'victims', 'sell-outs' there is no term for someone who has contributed to the 'community' in a positive manner other than 'uppity'. The 'black community' is also seen to be of another 'world' or in need of another 'world' hence the construction of homespaces. In a similar vein, one might argue that the idea of a 'black community' has no existence of its own as it relies on positions of opposition occupied by the multiple 'communities' using the label. These 'communities' often use the idea of a 'black community' against itself (see Deleuze and Guattari 1986). An older female homemaker states,

When you leave your country and go to a strange country you must watch your surroundings before you get yourself hooked up with company because you don't know what you are getting yourself into. If you are down here you must find a friend that is up here. This one that is up here will teach you to move from here up to this level. But if you are going to have a friend down here and you are down here, you ever hear the talk about crabs in a bucket syndrome. There are two crabs in a bucket one wants to get out but the other keeps on pulling the other one down in the bucket, this is what they call a crab in a bucket syndrome. Like you and me are friends, you are trying to uplift yourself but I don't want to leave from where the table is so try to give you all kinds of disencouragement for you to stay down here with me. There is a lot of it around here. It is around here big time.

Although there are attempts to isolate and label characteristics the reality is one of continuous

interaction that simultaneously affects all aspects of self group identification. As Chantal Mouffe, discussing radical democracy states, and which is equally relevant to the idea of 'black communities', "it is precisely the existence of ... tension between the logic of identity and the logic of difference that makes pluralist democracy [re: black community] a regime particularly suited to the indecidability and indeterminacy" (Mouffe 1995:45). The tensions of identity in the constructions of 'community' will be addressed in the following chapter.

===== 4 =====

WE-TALKS: A MEDLEY FOR BECOMING WHOLE

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All identities are only simulated, produced as an optical effect by the more profound game of difference and repetition - Deleuze 1994:270

People desire a centre because it guarantees being as presence -Derrida 1991:417

ideas themselves have a reality and truth in relation to those who think them, to the terrain of concrete analysis and political intervention - Balibar 1995:9

The scary thing about you being Black in Nova Scotia, is that things happen and you are not too sure whether things happen because of 'race' or ability. There is always the second guessing. ... There are Caribbean people when they come up here they look at the ability thing first and foremost, not being fully aware of the circumstances or situations here. - young professional man

While the shapes and forms of community shift, overlap and co-exist, the one constant variable appears to be 'black' or of African descent when looking at what the black theorists, as well as what some participants, have to say. Being black is thought of as something that exists naturally, and all that one needs is an awareness of this 'fact' (see hooks 1992, 1993; Hall 1991; Cross 1995, Garvey 1967). It is an identity to which one belongs, not one that is chosen (see McSweeney 1996:89). However, as Stuart Hall reminds us, "[i]dentity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think" (Hall 1996i:210) and instead may be conceptualized as a manoeuvring between 'being' and becoming, moving and guessing along paths, emerging in places, and through events. In this chapter I explore issues related to the construction of a black identity in Halifax-Dartmouth, and in so doing problematize ideas of a black identity by focussing on how Afro-Caribbean people view themselves in relation to other black people in Nova Scotia, as well as in relation to Nova Scotian society, for "[t]he modern self-identity is constructed in relation to both local and distant events" (Entrikin 1994:228). In adopting this focus, I am

assuming that the nature of identity may be viewed as a web of relations, embodying a series of gaps and holes that allow for a constant re-envisioning and reinterpretation in particular places, at particular times (Rajchman 1995:ix). It is fluid, defining and redefining itself according to needs or expectations of society, the 'communities' in question, as well as self. Thus, the 'communities' are not responsible for any pre-given identity, rather the construction of identity is an active process in social relationships, and among these relationships are conceptions of the 'black communities'. But, before discussing how the participants have defined black identities once in Nova Scotia, I will first provide a rather brief overview of the construction of identities in the English-speaking Caribbean. I am doing this in order to assist in an understanding of some of the changes that have transpired in how the participants define their identity.

The English-speaking Caribbean islands have had a history of slavery and indentureship over the course of British rule that has contributed significantly to the diverse ethnic and cultural composition of the islands. While all of the islands had large populations of African slaves, it was largely only Jamaica, Trinidad and Guyana that had indentured labourers from India and China as well. Today East Indians account for almost half of Trinidad and just over half of Guyana's population.

Country	East Indian	Black	European	Chinese	Amer-indian	Mixed
Trinidad* ¹	40.12	42.83	2.00	0.86	n a	14.70
Guyana ²	50.16	30.00	0.40	0.60	4.60	13.20

Source: ¹ Kurian, G T (ed). *Encyclopaedia of the World vol 3* New York and Oxford: Facts on File, 1992 p 1937
² Kurian, G T (ed). *Encyclopaedia of the World vol 2* New York and Oxford: Facts on File, 1992 p 935

Table 1. Ethnic composition of Trinidad (1970) and Guyana (1982), based on census data, according to the percentage (%) of the national population.

* The East Indian population had a 5% growth rate between 1959 and 1970 so, according to Kurian, by 1980 the East Indian population in Trinidad outnumbered the black population.

These countries, including Jamaica, also have a substantial number of people of Chinese, Syrian, French, British, and Portuguese descent. It is on account of this *mélange* of people that Victor Reid, a Jamaican historian and novelist, says "[w]e the people of the Caribbean, are today the last cultural conglomeration to call attention to itself. In this corner ... of the sea one finds a significant number of the earth's races, as well as some hybrids that have never flourished anywhere else on earth" (in Benítez-Rojo 1992:199). Identity in the Caribbean is emphasized as hybrid and multiracial - a place wherein races may be re-imagined and disappear into hybridity. While this is particularly true of Trinidad, Guyana, and Jamaica, other islands, including Tobago, are predominantly black with small white populations. What is key to remember here is that in almost all cases, people of African descent always have been a majority.

In particular, this is important as one attempts to gain an understanding of how 'racial' categories are established in these islands. First of all who is white? White in the Caribbean is associated with one's parentage and a particular set of physical features, such as having light coloured eyes, light skin colour, nose size, and 'good hair' with one or more of these features setting you apart from black. This view is documented in a paper Sharon-ann Gopaul-McNicol prepared. The "report showed that the most frequent concerns were skin color, hair and the shape of nose" (Gopaul-McNicol 1993:35). Black, for the most part, is associated with how one views oneself in relation to others. Thus, Gopaul-McNicol states that "[t]he mulattos, the West Indian light-skinned person of European and African descent, are characterized by ambivalence - they are termed 'West Indian Whites'. Some have identified with the black masses: others have not. The Chinese West Indians, on the other hand, see themselves as 'bastions' of the white West Indian social structure. The Syrians, Europeans and Jews all consider themselves white" (Gopaul-McNicol 1993:38).

The reasoning behind this hierarchy based on colour is explained by older professional woman who has been living in Canada for a number of years,

You can be racist against your own because we have been indoctrinated for hundreds of years. You know when you talk about slavery you had the house slaves which were thought to be better than the other slaves, but they never see themselves in the same situation. They never saw, when their master wanted them to go to bed with him, that it was like ... they did it because they had to as a slave. You know they just thought look how important I am, he wants me in bed with him, or I am the one that is suckling the baby, or I am the one that is cleaning the house or serving the food.

Other things [of importance] were complexion or different shades. One's that were a lighter shade felt that they were better because they were the ones that were in the house. The ones that were in the field working from sun up until sun down were the black ones or the ones that did not do as they were told to do in the house and were shipped out there to work in the broiling sun. People can begin to see ourselves as better than other people because of complexion, hair, everything like that because they were the first to be accepted even though they were children of slavery too - that looked white. Later, the one's that looked white could get certain jobs because no one would know that they were not white. You hear a lot about that in the States. So there are still a lot of hangovers. I hear a lot when I talk to West Indians talking about complexion, those who are a little bit lighter think that they oh yes, we have our problems too. But to me a black person could never be as racist as a white person.

Turning once again to Gopaul-McNicol, she states,

[i]t was only after the West Indian black power movement of the 1970s that dark skinned people were seriously considered for employment in banks and as flight attendants - jobs that had usually been given to whites or mulattoes. Although this situation is not as flagrant today, 73% of the individuals residing in the West Indies who responded to the West Indian Attitude Survey believe that the lighter one is the better are one's chances of upward mobility. Educational success is a necessary, but not sufficient, requirement for upward mobility by a black person. (Gopaul-McNicol 1993:35)

This positive change in attitude towards darker skinned people coupled with educational success became the flagship of social mobility. Approximately 30% of the people whom I interviewed had left the Caribbean before this change had transpired, but interestingly enough, it was the

70% who were born in the Caribbean late 1960s who, when in Canada, were most conscious of the change whereby 'black' becomes a fixed category. Precisely why this is the case is not known.

The processes involved in identity construction are particularly evident in statements made by some of the participants. Their experiences of immigration and adjustment to a new way of life often problematize the ideas of what is inherent in a black identity. As they talked, words and ideas used to define how they viewed themselves forced open and reconfigured once fixed ideas of identity within the Caribbean and Canada. A young male participant elaborates on this point in some more detail, drawing out the differences between the construction of identity in Canada and the Caribbean. He says of

the Trinidadian situation, we tend to be more internationalist, so the more you have mixed in you it is considered a positive thing, so the broader your outlook that encompasses I guess sort of a globalist, humanist vision, if I may say that. So if you can encompass everyone within the vision of who you are is looked upon as very positive. Up here, if you don't define yourself specifically as ONLY being black, but if you define yourself on a globalist setting you are not seen as being broad in one's outlook, but as being confused, otherwise being a sellout, and therefore not knowing your roots or being on, as they say, the train of self-hate.

Regarding inter-racial marriages, the following was stated.

You grow up in the Caribbean and half look like one set and half look like another set and if you have 6, 2 can look like somebody's grandmother, but here [Canada] people force you to take sides. (older professional woman)

There is an assumed erasure of hybridity once in Canada, to be replaced by a singular discourse on 'race'. 'Racial' identities shift according to a person's experience and situation (see Howard and Hollander 1997:21), presenting themselves as social and political realities from which race finds meaning. From a 'globalist humanist vision' to only black or the train of self-hate, what becomes clear, in the words of the participants is that the marginalization of multiple differences once in Canada becomes a non-transcendable social distance between black and anything else.

Identity acts as a container. A young male professional elaborates on the process of redefinition,

I guess when I came to Canada, that was the first time that I started to think of myself as a black person. Before I did not. It was pretty obvious and it was not something that came up in conversation. Each and everything that I did was not influenced by the fact that I was black. That was irrelevant. It was more the content of what I was doing. When I came to Canada I started to see myself as a black person, objectively, simply because people were reacting to me that way. So that changed the sense of self and perspective to some degree, because all of a sudden I was not seeing racism in a movie somewhere... [in the Caribbean] you are not really living it so you are not really attached. When you come here, you start to live it, all of a sudden you are a part of that process. People are reacting to you based on your skin colour and have this automatic assumption that they are better than you based on your skin colour. It was an eye opener for me. It made me become a bit less naive than I was.

The young male participants as well as the professional woman point towards a movement to a constructed sense of national cultural belonging where identity is equivalent to race. In the process of redefinition - that is as black - there is in some cases a sense of giving up part of who one is and a narrowing of one's outlook to encompass only a black identity. As Fanon states, "not only must the black man be black: he must be black in relation to the white man" (Fanon 1967:110). The latter young professional man's statement that skin colour becomes the basis for the construction of racial categories points to an assumed racial difference, a binary distinction between blacks and whites as though black only exists through the arbitrary presence of the white Other (Hall 1996b:18). Yet, even so there is a slippage from non-awareness to awareness and in this process the becoming black - both politically and descriptively.

Growing up in the Caribbean, I think even more so in St. Vincent than in Trinidad, there is not so much of an awareness of race relations. There is an awareness of race, but not of race relations. We grew up knowing who we are. I grew up, even before I understood what race meant, I knew I was black. I knew that all the people who were white were in all the positions of power. I knew that all the people who were Indians [re East Indian] ... they were in primary school with me. I did not fully understand what was happening

between us. I knew my idea of the black-white conflict was the idea that it was something that happened in the past. It was not something that happened now. My mother would tell me stories about the kind of experiences they had - could not go here, could not go there ... and that was in my mother's time. When I had grown up those things had already begun to change. So I had no awareness of race relations. (young professional woman)

How the transition to awareness appears is attributed to a number of factors: on the one hand, fear of being labelled a 'sellout', of not knowing your roots or of being confused, and on the other, the sudden discovery of being Other than normal, of being judged by the colour of your skin and not the content of your character. However, as there has been no unpacking of these attributes, they have been used to validate the establishment of a homespace. Africadia, though this is not to say that the creation of Africadia would not occur otherwise. Rather the processing naming proceeds not only from what is seen but also through the "element that [has] already been introduced into discourse by structure" (Foucault in Gerber 1997:5).

One young professional man states, in Canada, many people are "caught up in this crisis of who what was their identity, discovering their blackness, overcompensating for their blackness, becoming very insular about dealing with it because they had to overemphasize their blackness in order to be recognized as being black". This in particular is thought to be true of light skinned people, and as such advocating being black is "advanced as a way of warding off or refusing to live with difference" (Hall 1993:357). However, in smaller geographical areas, proof may also lie in your last name - so and so was your mother father - we know how you 'stand'. In Halifax, not only is it a question of what shade of black you are, but also who 'you' are and where you are from. Two other young professional men state,

Within Nova Scotia you have to bear in mind that Indigenous Black Nova Scotian is a mere form of description. An IBNS identity as far as I am concerned does not exist except on one basic level. On all other levels IBNSs' define themselves on the basis of community - East Preston, North Preston, Cherrybrooke, Lukasville, Beechville, Hammonds Plain.

Selbourne and so forth.

Speaking to me I guess she pick up in the accent and said: "I can tell from the way you are speaking that you are Caribbean: that is what you people do you come up here and take the jobs but you don't support us". Other than that situation, I have had no problem, and to extrapolate from that and apply it to the whole group, I would basically be guilty of what I have been accusing other people of.

In determining your black identity, where you were from, who your family is, became key markers. This selectivity is a means of preserving a given order, the hierarchy within Africadia, though the nature of the hierarchy varies geographically. These constructions "are the result of practices that work to fix unity on the inside and that shift diversity, disruptions, and dangers to the outside" (Doty 1996:239).

However, some Caribbean people have managed to operate completely within Africadia by participating in social activities, political events and by attending the African Baptist church. Yet, for the most part, the people I interviewed appealed more to their Caribbean heritage.

I think the strength of [the Caribbean community] is that we are positive. We think that we can be anything we want to be, but every now and again we get a jolt that we are in North America, that people are not always accepting - especially if you are a black person. Like I find white people blend in because they look like everybody else, so it is not until they open your mouth then you know. So people don't have preconceived ideas. People see you are black so they don't know where you are from, they don't know what your background is, nothing at all, but they have preconceived ideas about you. If it is that you are white but third, fourth generation Caribbean or so, people do not have preconceived ideas. But they still see you in a different light than if you were a black person or whatever. (older professional woman)

While proud of her heritage, she moves between self-definition to being defined from the outside. It is a movement that entails transition and ambiguity and that may lead to changes in one's sense of self and positioning within society. Gaston Bachelard maintains "the spiralled being

who, from the outside, appears to be a well-invested centre will never reach his inner centre. The being of man is an unsettled being which all expression unsettles" (Bachelard 1969:214). When they first arrive, Afro-Caribbean peoples are often in a transition phase - they are no longer Caribbean and are not yet Canadian. The ambiguity of their positioning makes them more likely to question their surrounding. So herein lies the problem of the definition of the definition - how full, how actual, how sustained are they? (Gilroy 1991). "Borders and diaspora are phenomena that blow up - both enlarge and explode - the hyphen: Arab-Jew, African-American, Franco-Maghrebi, Black-British" (Lavie and Swedenburg 1996:16) or in the case of Halifax-Dartmouth, Black-Canadian, Afro-Nova Scotian.

Part of the reason for the resignification of identity is that in the Caribbean, the politics of black identity, while an issue prior to the 1970s, has become increasingly less of one since that time. The general consensus among the participants is that individual qualities are of greater importance than with which group they are associated. One older professional man describes why.

I think because you were in the Caribbean where everybody could be a doctor, a lawyer and whatever else, you see them as being just like you even though they were of a different shade. I was never aware of people thinking differently and behaving differently because of colour or race, although I came here when I was 19.

Moreover, lying under the politics of black identity are a set of economic issues. In particular, this relates to the ability to achieve economic or professional success in whatever field one wishes to pursue. Where this is hindered on the basis of 'race' the construction of a black identity becomes of importance. Another layer in the process of re-identification hides surreptitiously behind the material aspects of economics. It is what Hall has described as "a sort of 'token' of the material, a terminal signifier" (Hall 1996b:21). This token is the 'body' as the transcendental signifier "of a misplaced materiality" (Hall 1996b:21). Thus, as a young professional woman states, once in Canada,

I find you are almost - schizophrenic is not the word that I want to use but it comes closest to how I can explain it in the

sense that when I am in the Caribbean where race relations is not so important it takes a back seat in my life. When I am here, I did my first degree and Masters in England and I have done a Masters degree and am doing my PhD here, I find that when I am in these environments race becomes almost like the dominant idea in my life. Let me illustrate. I came here with the consent of my government to do PhD in Educational Administration. That is what I started doing, but things occurred here that you had to sort out and the only way to sort it out was to look at them from an intellectual and academic perspective.

Two young professional men reiterate how racism affects how one constructs his or her identity.

He states,

Here you are stripped of your self-esteem and so forth and that may be a contributing factor as to why people overcompensate when they become critically conscious here and overemphasize their blackness.

A lot of the black Nova Scotian men particularly when they walk around, you'll know it first off as there is always a nod when they pass each other anywhere, there will always be some form of acknowledgement we used to call it the 'nod of approval'. You got the 'N.O.A' - it was a funny thing between a lot of the Caribbean students again because the culture of the society we grew up with we were the majority. We did not need to reinforce - it was a security thing, a solidarity. And having been here for so many years, not being back home ... it is funny how your perspective has totally changed. When these guys came up first, I viewed this nod of approval thing as kind of comical not seeing the full picture and understanding it. It was not only saying hello, it was a lot more than that because very often you are in a group or in a situation where you are a minority - one of a kind - and very often when you see each other it is an acknowledgement that reinforces that I know you are here, I know you are there, we both know what each other is going through. There is a lot more communicated in that nod than just a hello, a hi or a whatever. That understanding comes with time.

In short, these statements refer to a movement that takes place in terms of how and why there

is an emergence of a black identity. Through the first two passages, it is possible to see that, as the individual emerges, there is a stripping of the body into multiple forms. To compensate for this fracturing there is an overcompensation that occurs through ideas of 'blackness', rather than allowing the introduction of the enigmatic site of the black body to come into being as a site of diversity. This stripping is initiated from the outside be it by other black people or white society. The overcompensation need not always be viewed in negative terms as the N. O. A. works through solidarity to open a space for the acknowledgement of belonging.

While there are pressures to become black, there is no definite end to the process. As a young professional woman states,

there are some aspects of my behaviour, my culture or my thinking or what have you that will always be Caribbean or West Indian and will never change. I do not think that that does not mean that I am not integrated [into the black community], it just means some of my beliefs and some of who I am in terms of a lot of things - the way I raise my children, the pursuit of education that I try to instill in them, at the same time I am making sure that they are exposed to the West Indies Caribbean by getting them travelling there.

This comment exposes at least three layers in identity construction. First, identity is constructed as being grounded in culture - she will always be Caribbean where Caribbean is viewed as behaviour, culture and thinking. Second, identity is race. While appealing to her Caribbean heritage she sees herself as linked to the IBNSs' 'community' or, as it were, Africadia. Finally, identity is generational to the extent that it involves living as a landed immigrant and raising first generation Canadian children. It is generational as culture has to be passed on, a process which falls entirely in the hands of the parent in some cases, but in other situations this may not always be the case. As one participant explains her desire to be with other Caribbean people: "it was just a feeling that although you are abroad you can retain your identity by being with *your own kind* of thing. It was not a major problem for me as I had my family here, friends, my father that were from [a place in the Caribbean]. Within that small group we still maintained

some traditions whatever they are" (young professional woman). Identity becomes a 'learned body' (Gerber 1997:8) of reference as numerous ways of interpreting one's identity work off of singular definitions of what black is.

If you say caught between two worlds, I would say yes, definitely yes. There are things that are done, things that you are doing and as a result have to assimilate to some degree - certain functions you would attend - or if you are standing around you would say you know if you were home you would not get away with that. I guess you see certain things that are kind of frustrating. You know you get on the bus and it is quiet, everyone keeping to themselves. (young professional man)

However, Hall maintains that "[t]he trouble is that the instant one learns to be 'an immigrant', one recognizes one cannot be an immigrant any longer: it isn't a tenable place to be is. I then went through the long, important, political education of discovering that I am 'black'" (Hall 1996c:116). As Derrida states, "by interrupting the weaving of our languages and then by weaving together the interruptions themselves, another language comes to disturb the first." (Derrida 1991:414). Thus, through a rather Hegelian moment, Derrida discusses the exchanges but views them as ultimately leading to something other than which has existed. However, rather than the participants undergoing a complete change in their Afro-Caribbean's identity, their becoming black appears to waiver between self-determination by discovery and a determined identity. Of course, it should be noted that determinism and self-determination do not stand at opposite ends of the spectrum, working jointly in the process of becoming, as both society and the individual can construct a similarity that blots out differences among blacks whether these be politically, socially or culturally based. It is a process of becoming that emerges where the conceptualization of difference presents itself as a challenge to the singular, unified visualisations of 'community', be it Africadia, the Caribbean or the 'black community'.

The role of society cannot always be easily divided from that of individual preference however, as the following remarks by some of the participants suggest. One woman remarks, "a lot of people know Jamaicans now, when I was in Toronto, I was considered Jamaican. It

seems that everything that happens in Toronto has to do with a Jamaican. Anyone of us from anywhere becomes a Jamaican" (older professional woman). Another woman states, "the first thing they say when they meet me, 'where you born', where you from'. Maybe I am captive I cannot be anyone else" (older professional woman). Like Du Bois and Fanon, these sorts of constructions of identity are viewed as constricting the potential of the individual. These assumptions are binding, making it quite difficult to break free. While actively defining oneself in terms of a singular identity generally is lauded, the idea of singularity when coming from external sources is usually not understood in such positive terms. This latter action is labelled stereotyping, a process which denies the stereotyped group individual control over how they are represented.

On television [black] women, they are prostitutes or whatever. The men go about shooting everybody or sometimes they elevate them to detectives, but there is always a lot of shooting around them. Everybody has these preconceived ideas of what they are. I am not saying that these things are not happening, but other things are happening as well. The population is not represented well. You have a hard time with people with children because they do not see themselves in books. There is nothing that relates to ordinary people about you going to school ... there is nothing. If I was not born somewhere else where I saw that positive things were possible, I wonder how I would have been able to cope or deal with him [her son] and instill certain things. (older professional woman)

Identity is envisioned as a societal creation since external factors feed into internal ideas of who one is. In this process the Caribbean experience is privileged. While racism does exist in the Caribbean, identity and racism appear to be more intertwined in Canada, a position borne out by the following participant's statement.

Any type of racism affects me really internally, and I find I have a really hard time dealing with it, letting go of it. It was really affecting me emotionally. I was told that I was just too nice and that I wanted to be everything to a whole lot of people and I could not. Niceness was that I was naive and it was part of the way that I was brought up, that I had to be nice to everybody and in return they would be good to you. That was not happening, so they told me I was a bit naive in regards to the niceness of the world because the world was not

as nice as I had painted it to be or expected it to be. (young female administrator)

Thus, "[t]he 'here and now' of our 'social imaginaries' encounter articulations of time-spaced tracings of 300 years of African enslavement: the exploitative, violent division of the world into sublime Europe and savage exotic non-European, and the alternating invocation of 'peoples without histories' and 'natives' from another time" (Hesse 1993:166). In the first chapter I discussed the desire among black theorists to move beyond being mere appendages to Eurocentric discourses, where black tends to feature negatively. However, moving beyond these discourses is not a simple process for, as Hall states, racism "involves an arbitrary discursive operation, a suturing - arbitrary, because 'race' is a sliding signifier with equivalencies outside discourse that cannot be fixed. Racism's very rigidity ... is due to its great complexity" (Hall 1996b:21). As such it is not uncommon to hear: "I still say to them, and they disagree with me, that is was because he was black. He got into one little fight and they are all ready to tell him that he is off to jail" (young professional woman). To be identified as black is to share beliefs and meanings attributed to what black means (see Valentine 1993:396).

The 'black community' may arise as notions of essence transcend historical and cultural boundaries (see Brah 1992:126) and solidify into a concept to which all conform. This process of solidification occurs as black identity is conceptualized, and in the interviews this idea of a unified entity was often remarked upon. In the words of one participant, "I do not see a disconnection between the two. It is basically one - I am Caribbean and African. It is all mixed up so I really don't find a distinction" (young professional woman). Another participant states, "my Caribbean *experience* is seen as an interesting novelty that people can discuss. It is not seen as a threat or as something that sets me apart as the 'Other'" (young professional man). The essence of a black identity remains unscathed by the experiences that may create differences among them, and it is these very experiences that mark off the 'black community' from others

(see hooks 1992, Gilroy 1991, 1995a). This becomes clear in remarks such as "for me, what was happening was that I was relating to each of the four women characters (re: *Waiting to Exhale*) through the movie, and that is why I enjoyed it. I went with a group of [black] women, and we all related in different ways" (young female administrator). What is happening here, once again, is the different-but-same attributes: *different* in terms of how they responded to the movie, while *same* comes into play as there is an assumed identification with others who happen to be black, so binding themselves as both the same but not identical (Derrida 1991:70).

How do these limits to identity come into play? While there is not definite answer to this question, by looking at the following participant's response one manner in which limits may be placed becomes clear. She says, "me, if I had to choose for my son I would choose a black woman as I want him to have less conflict and fewer issues to deal with. When they are to raise black children, they won't have to deal with the problems of identities of a bi-racial person. That is my personal preference" (young professional woman). Here we see a double play in the construction of identity. First, she is constructing her ideal situation - that of having her son marry a black woman and have black children. 'Racial' hybridity is set up in opposition to black where black is preferred and bi-racial is problematic. It is a disavowal of the Other, through the construction of a racialized other, that exacerbates the "edge of identification" (Bhabha 1994:12).

Discussions regarding children of inter-'racial' marriages also provides some insights into the disavowal of the other. According to some participants, "a lot of children of mixed identities they end up feeling white because their mother is white, when the dad is not on the scene especially" (older professional woman) or "those children might grow up in a white neighbourhood or they might grow up with a white mother, some children don't see their black dads. They look different, children call them names, that they are adopted. Adults say horrible things to those children. Those children have to go through a lot. ... North America forces you to take sides. You have to be either white or black or Asian or whatever it is" (older professional woman). There is an assumption of 'forced' identification with one group in Canada, and as the

children are forced to take sides - being hybrid but denied hybridity - this is thought to lead to confusion. In the Caribbean however, where one does not have to 'take sides', participants believe inter-'racial' marriages are acceptable, so long as they remain within the Caribbean.

This demarcated distinction between us them appears as an absence of individual identity. However, the absence of individualism is not always the case, for example as in choosing a position that is against inter-racial marriages, for what is seen is a collective identity that *overlaps* with individual identities. In establishing 'personal preference' in remarks including, "if I had a choice" and "I want .." the intertwining of the collective and the individual, of self-determination and determination becomes self-evident. The assertion that society prevents 'bi-racial' identities and so works against 'inter-racial' relationships co-exists with personal preferences. In the discussion of 'community', it was seen that this belief in 'racial purity' does not originate solely from Nova Scotian society, but also has its roots within Africadia and Afrocentric thought. To attribute the power of identity construction to only one area, that is white Nova Scotia, is to depict black individuals as pawns in the execution of unknown agendas. According to one participant, "to say that one should not have mixed children because they will have problems is to believe that once a child is born you have some sort of predetermined notion of who this person will be and what will happen in his life. Sure the child will face problems, but we all have problems" (young professional man). So, "all kinds of well-defined segments, going in-every direction which carve us up in every sense, these bundles of segmented lines" (Deleuze and Guattari 1983:69). Instead of viewing courses as predetermined, it may be that formal definitions are used to resolve problems of social identity (Hall 1993:360) in a form of reductionism, and so "collude with alienated superficialities of 'the nation'" (Raymond Williams in Hall 1993:360).

The 'black community' operates as a potentiality only to be realized through its 'members' acknowledging of who they are, their potential, the need to look inwards rather than seeking approval from outside (see Du Bois, Garvey, Marable, hooks). All black people are

assumed to operate in the ambiguous space of potentiality and presumed belonging. Constructing a singular identity, as Garvey maintains, may work to eliminate the systemic violence on the inside brought about through self-hatred. In the construction of black, or even Caribbean, identity there is a tendency to overlook differences between each other. However, difference between the islands do occasionally come out. For example, when Dominican men get together the most popular game played (aside from cricket) is dominos, however among Trinidadians is it All Fours¹. Also, occasionally there are scuffles for power. For example in struggles over who will occupy positions of power within CARANS. These are mitigated by the small size of the Caribbean 'community'. Differences become a source of humour: if it weren't for Trinidad, or you know those Bajans Thus, as Nigel Thrift states, "the ways in which these persons are linked together (and the senses of identity that are forged through and by them) and the strengths of links will vary according to prevailing cultural norms" (Thrift 1991:462).

Be it Africadia, the 'black community' or the Caribbean 'community', "[i]dentity and place are forced into constantly shifting configurations of partial overlap, their ragged edges cannot be smoothed out. Identity and place perpetually create both new outer borders, where no imbrication has occurred, and inner orders between the areas of overlay and the vestigial spaces of nonoverlay" (Larve and Swedenburg 1996:18). The ambiguities in black identity become evident as, even though there are appeals to the diaspora and Afrocentricity, people juxtapose claims to 'indigenous rights' with that of having the necessary education and know-how as reasons for gaining employment within Africadia. These ragged edges illustrate that "[c]ultural identity is not a fixed essence at all, lying unchanged outside history and culture. It is not some universal and transcendental spirit inside us on which history has been made no fundamental mark. It is not once and for all. It is not a fixed origin to which can make your final and absolute Return" (Hall 1996f:213). As Withers states, "there is no single memory, no

¹ All Fours is a popular card game played with four people who are divided into teams of two

ruling passion, even amongst those who share a collective understanding" (Withers 1996:332).

"Surface belongings and desiring identities refuse to stand still: inbetween belonging and longing, they compel connections, producing themselves as other." (Probyn 1996:35). One participant states, "what being of African descent means to me as a human being has always been important to me" (young professional man). Identities historically conferred (Scott 1995:11) become politically salient in certain contexts: "I consider myself an international person, and my struggle is international as well. This is a big barren terrain. It is not theirs and ours, it is mine" (young professional man). From the local to the international, identity becomes, for these participants almost a *raison d'être*. "I am Jamaican, West Indian and Canadian, all of them. I carry the three portfolios. I have classified myself, I don't know if anyone else does, but I do. Jamaican, West Indian, Canadian" (older female home worker). This emphasis on the international does not erase local differences but transports these differences into the international which is also a site of struggle in its own right. Belonging comes into being as one proves one's loyalties and so works for the good of the whole. While the manner in which loyalties are proven will be discussed in greater detail when I consider strategies of resistance in Chapter 6, it can be briefly stated that loyalty is constructed in 'racial' and nationalist terms as the participants struggle to end or avoid discrimination. Bauman states, "identity is a task, and a task which has to be reflexively monitored, and a task the monitoring of which is their own and constant responsibility" (Bauman 1992:693).

On the surface, it appears that the greatest difference is that of culture. Beyond the surface there is a further breakdown of the essential subject through considerations of gender, sexuality and class, so much so that Kobena Mercer argues that "sexual politics is the Achilles heel of black liberation" (Mercer 1996:116). Around issues of representation there is a desire to confer unified images on the outside to the loss of subjective identity politics. There is disciplining but, at the same time, ambiguity allows room to redefine roles outside of the Caribbean. The participants maintain that there is no longer the "disciplining of women to be

'women' in ... the production of a gendered subjectivity in which the most significant component of feminine identity is the proto-typical mother" (Martin 1997:100). Gender differences in the way in which the 'black community' is perceived can create challenges to conceptions of the 'black community', which tends to be andropocentric in definition.

At home [in the Caribbean] we still operate on a lot of assumptions as to what is a woman's place. Here some of those are breaking down. It is a lot easier to be free. I really mean free, free to be a whole person here than it is at home. At home you can but there is a stigma attached for breaking taboos, like you get called man-hater, you get called radical, feminist, you get called all of those things. There is nothing to stop you from what you want to do, but you are really a written text. (young professional woman)

In the process of relocation, room opens up for the challenging of traditional roles - more so in Canada where there is more freedom for women than in the Caribbean, as with the movement there is the casting and recasting of identities (England and Stelli 1997). Movement acts as a means of escape and self-realization (see Binnie 1997:240). But even in the wake of relocation, "[a]s a woman you have to be really strong. You have to stand up for what you believe in." (older female home worker). While women are struggling for freedom, that is to say the freedom to be a whole person, the struggle is set within two discourses. Not only are black women working with men as they attempt to shake off the assumptions that pervade Eurocentric discourses, but at the same time they are tackling the sexism that is present within the black discourses (see hooks 1992, 1993; Carby 1996). For example, when speaking with a male participant, he offers what is a widely held view. He says, "I would say that the Caribbean community is matriarchal. Even if men hold the positions, women are definitely more dynamic in terms of social cohesion. I think that says it all, not that I have the right perception of this, but they are not without control to make decisions" (young professional male). However, while some women struggle against the descriptions of women as only essential in terms of social cohesion, others support his statement by saying "[w]e are the mesh that keeps things together, that keeps things going. We are there to mesh the family, the children together. Most men I see

here get into themselves. Woman are the substance more relating to life" (older professional woman). In this way, the 'black community' is fractured along gender lines as women are associated with tradition, family and community values, while men with power and absence from all that women symbolize. "Black men don't want to be seen with women. They want to be seen with their own male peers. You as a single woman are left right out on the shadow and you have to tackle your own tasks. You don't have anyone to help you. So what we just do - we just do is we just do what we have to do and go to church" (older female home worker). The position of women within the 'black communities' is such that, as Hazel Carby states in "White Woman Listen!": "[w]e struggle together with Black men against racism, while we also struggle with Black men about sexism." (Morgan and Anzaldúa in Carby 1996:63).

In contrast, men construct themselves as 'community' leaders through such organizations as 'Brothers Reaching Out', but one of the many testaments of the andropocentrism found at times within the 'community' is summed up by David Marriott who states, "Black political and cultural attempts to stabilize 'blackness' in a masculinist referent of oppositional resistance, or trope of kinship, or phallic hyperbole as in gangsta-rap and hip-hop, constitute a symbolic reading of race as 'truth' of self. ... this essentialist cultural ethnocentrism ... is a determined attempt to retain the position and influence of racial authenticity over ethnicity, gender and class" (Marriott 1996:198). This andropocentrism exists as often "the categories of gender and sexuality would stay the same and remain fixed and secure" (Hall 1996a:168), and as they are secure they remain absent in the constructions of black community and black identity. However, while masculine and feminine appear to operate at counter points to each other, the norms that govern these relations change over space and time as a process in power relations (Valentine 1993).

However, gender alone does not fracture the community, as class related issues also come into play. According to a home worker,

a black person can be racist especially if they have a couple dollars more than you, and do a bigger job than you. Not

only whites alone are racist, black people can be to. ... [if] they [blacks] find themselves educated, and especially if they have a husband and do a big job and you don't have a husband, they look down on you. They say that you are nothing.

Thus, divisions within the Caribbean 'community' emerge on the basis of, as the participant puts it, how much money one has, one's marital status and education. Should one be 'lacking' in one or more of these areas one will often experience racism within the Caribbean 'community' as well as from Nova Scotian society. Constructed as somehow deficient, these people are faced not only with racism but sexism as well. One participant claims to have left for Canada because life in the Caribbean was difficult for a single (widowed) mother. However, she states

you come here and you don't really know what to expect. It was nerve breaking some of the time. Then of course I was set into a next person's house. In the next person's house you cannot do as you wish you go into a childhood state again. It was really really hard. But you know we have to fight that obstacle and look at it this way: you're looking for better for yourself and you're looking for what somebody has to offer you: you are looking for yourself. That is why I came here (older female domestic worker)

As all are not equally oppressed the limits to identity and politics become evident. There is sexism, racism and classism and as such there cannot be any appeal to uniformity. While the construction of a black identity seeks to erase all differences, it is an identity that is difficult to uphold (see Elam 1996:74). As such, "difference is always undermining identity such that it would be more accurate to understand identity as a production which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (Elam 1996:75).

While none of the participants discussed homosexuality, I believe it is important to include it, however briefly, to further problematize the idea of a singular black identity and to shed light on some of the processes inherent in the construction of what is considered black.

As such, Cabana Mercer's words will help fill the void in the ideas of what it means to be 'black':

sometimes it seems that anything we do not want to deal with we call 'white'. This may be trivial - 'Why are you listening to those records?', 'Why are you wearing those trousers?' - but it also reveals our share in the universal human capacity for unpleasantness: 'Why are you sleeping with that person?', 'Why is that person having your babies?'. Something similar occurs in relation to homosexuality: 'it's a white thing.' This attitude, as a product of projecting merely expels onto the other what is deemed to be unacceptable to the ego of an authentic black identity. (Mercer 1996:125-127)

This projecting and purification works to construct a singular identity, as seen in Afrocentric discourses, which to maintain its existence proceeds to write out miscegenation, homosexuality among other issues. However, rather than appealing to what is present in singularity, exploring the absences offers a valuable source of insight in the re-imagining of the 'communities' in a manner that may facilitate greater social change. Hall recognizes the importance of multifaceted identity when he writes, "[i]dentity is formed at the unstable point where the 'unspeakable' stories of subjectivity meet the narratives of history, of a culture. And since he/she is positioned in relation to cultural narratives which have been profoundly expropriated, the colonized subject is always 'somewhere else' doubly marginalized, displaced always other than where he/she is, or is able to speak from" (Hall 1996c:115). Ideologies are questioned, especially when they work against you. Jacques Rancière maintains, "identity is first about fear: fear of the other, the fear of nothing, which finds on the body of the other its object." (Rancière 1995:70). A realization of blackness, devoid of racist, classist and sexist stereotypes, permits the rewriting of blackness in a manner that is more inclusive. Nonetheless, movement to Canada for homosexuals, as with women, is seen as a means of escape. But even so, while women are recognized, however non-material it may be, as being members of the 'black community', Africadia and the Caribbean, homosexuals are deemed social sexual deviants and as such are often perceived as an insult to the ever powerful image of black masculinity. Homosexuals are the refugees of the 'community'.

Overall, black is not a category that has always been in existence. Rather, in this chapter

I have demonstrated the emergence of black as politically and socially constructed identity. Identity politics emerges in a number of ways. One means is in the realization as Bauman, quoting Kafka, states "I myself, ... am perhaps the best aid of my assailants. For I underestimate myself, and that in itself means an overestimation of others". The outside is inside, the two intertwine and merge (Bauman 1988 89:28) feeding off of each other. Accordingly it may be argued that identity is not a frozen formation, but in working to establish one some participants have attempted to fix meaning to black through juxtapositioning and co-presence. However, identities remain open, socially produced and are often contradictory (see Binnie 1997:246). In going beyond essence and the idea of natural properties (see Lavie and Swedenburg 1996:12) it is possible to view identity as both relational, situated and problematic (Frankenburg and Mani 1996:277). As Mercer states, "I would add that the closet is one of the most crowded rooms in the house of the black diaspora culture" (Mercer 1996:127). As such, one participant maintains

The true wealth comes from being able to assess, look at yourselves, as black people. See exactly where you stand and how you fit into the bigger picture. Not just in the Caribbean - the Caribbean is moving in leaps and bounds and it is still my desire to go back - but having this added view broadens your horizons and you get, I believe a true perspective of how things really perform. (young professional man)

However, the desire to look at oneself with pride and to see how one fits into the larger picture is at times difficult as the insult of racism works to undermine where one stands. How the construction of a positive sense of self, and the emergence of a community in the process, unfold will be discussed in greater in the following chapter.

BUFFALO SOLDIERS: FROM THE "MAINLAND" TO THE "BORDERLAND"

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a borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is a constant state of transition. -Anzaldúa in Larie and Swedenburg 1996:15

Once the rift between 'subject' and 'object' had been opened, there was no limits - so wide did this rift become indeed, that something else was able to emerge - Lefebvre 1990:301

During the course of the preceding chapters, I argued that black identity, as it is pertains to Halifax-Dartmouth, is only a political and social construct, and not a political and cultural creation as Hall states (1996b:21) and as such, allows for the creation and recreation of racial categories and for an imagining of the 'black communities' which opens spaces wherein ever-shifting lines attempt to remake what was lost or make visible what has been absent through (re)definitions of belonging. It is a movement in which actors reappear now and again to trace and transcode values in fractured sites of struggle establishing meaning and representation in the process (see Pile 1995:273). It is precisely these sites of struggle that shift from, between and within the 'mainland' of Halifax-Dartmouth and the 'borderlands' of Africadia, the Caribbean 'community' and the 'black community'. However, in conceptualizing these movements what has not been discussed are the means employed by the participants that have enabled the ideas of identities and communities to manifest themselves. This "spirit of resistance is embodied in that moment in which a paradoxical 'heterogenous affinity' is experienced across class, race, ethnic, and gender differences" (Routledge and Simons 1997:473). It is also experienced within each of these classifications. The spirit of resistance may appear as, but is not limited to, silences, storytelling, confrontations and withdrawal (see Laclau 1996:194), all operating through difference, preserving and transforming it, but not undermining it (see Hall 1993).

In discussing resistance, I am assuming that the latter is not a single condition which

is articulated everywhere at the same time. Rather, resistance should be conceived in terms of multiple positions, though not always simultaneous, occupying spaces that may be focussed on the body¹ as a sign, in the mind, in the workplace, at school, on the street, at sites of leisure, in university ... the list of sites goes on. For those deemed insurgent by the state, even homes are not a 'homespace'. Indeed, for hooks, such activities lead her to maintain that a politics of difference should not be conceptualized as separate from racism, and in Halifax-Dartmouth this includes racism originating not only from white society but also within the various 'black communities' themselves. The acts of resistance unfold upon terrains of resistance, which Paul Routledge has described as "those places where struggle is actively articulated by the oppressed, rather than being a metaphor defining for the oppressed where and how struggle should take place" (Routledge 1993a:35-36). Routledge goes on to suggest that terrains of resistance are "assembled out of materials and practices of everyday life. They represent sites of differing beliefs, values, and goods, and between powers to dominate and resist" (Routledge 1993b:561). While Scott avers that the terrains may be hidden from view and Routledge maintains that they are places of active articulation, I would add that the acts in question may also be silent to all but the agent whereby they serve not as coping mechanisms, but as forms of resistance operationalized through the act of remaining silent. Also, it is noted that "each resistance must produce its own space as a work of art. Such spaces, which only exist for brief moments, are what Lefebvre refers to as both representational space, which is directly lived through its associated images and symbols and as 'differential space' which resists homogenization of abstract space by accentuating differences" (Routledge and Simons 1997:478). The production of symbols and images is itself a fractured process as individuals (re)interpret them in various, and at times contradictory ways, to resist challenges to their identities and communities. The moments of resistance, be they hidden, overt or secret, work to secure the presence of Africadia.

¹ According to Dorothea Olkowski "the body is not a medium and does not designate substance. It expresses the relationship between forces" (Olkowski 1994:120). This assumption is being adopted in the analysis of resistance

the Caribbean 'community', and the 'black community' in the eyes of the participants. In this way, having outlined my basic assumptions, it is now possible to turn to the task at hand. This in short will involve answering the following questions: what threats invoke what responses, and how are they played out across space and time; and more specifically, in what ways do identity and 'community' inform and engage resistances, to real or perceived challenges to Africadia, the Caribbean 'community' and the 'black community'. The emphasis will be on resistance as process rather than outcome.

However, prior to engaging in an analysis of the forms of resistance employed in the face of perceived or real threats, I will first outline what the participants have seen as the most common threat to their identities and 'communities', in a word, racism. However, rather than giving a general exposé on the 'nature' of racism, I shall use the participants' observations and commentaries as the basis of my understanding it. These understandings, it should be noted, are not fixed in time or space. This becomes clear, in part, through the following statement by an older professional man, who states that in the early 1900s,

The big jobs were held by people of British background, be it Scottish, English, Irish or Welsh, whatever. And people from other ethnic groups, including blacks got lower level jobs. No one complained about it because that was the way it was. You did not hear about ethnic discrimination or racial discrimination. That was the way things were and by and large the population accepted it, the adult population. It was the same thing when I came to Halifax when I was 17 18 19 to work. We did not complain, our parents did not complain about the differences or racism. They were, but we never heard the word.

At that time, racism was seen but not heard, there was no voicing of the racism even though it was there - "we never *heard* the word". Without articulation there is an assumption that there is nothing there. Without articulation there is an assumption that there was no resistance to what was never expressed. The consistent denial of hope and opportunity has led to a rejection of interests antagonistic to his/her own. It is a refusal that allows for the regeneration of a sense

of self and a sense of community. From this refusal, the marginalization of black people living in Halifax-Dartmouth has become less acceptable, since the 1960s. In resisting marginalization, Joan Cocks maintains in *The Oppositional Imagination*, "the taking up of the emergent and hence still marginal viewpoints in a dominant culture is the only way to shed ideas belonging to a dying age, ideas that mystify real social conditions, and ideas that have been imposed by a fundamental social group with interests antagonistic to the thinker's and the new age's own" (Cocks 1989:69). While the *only* way may be a rather definitive description that Cocks employs, her idea of the disputing interests as antagonistic is useful for understanding one of the many factors used in the struggle for change, a change that involves the casting of ideas as a story without end or a beginning for still, as young professional woman states,

I have such a worry that a lot of our children are only learning to be helpless and becoming so overwhelmed by all the stuff that is going on around them that they become incapacitated they cannot move, they cannot work, they cannot think, they cannot dream, they cannot hope, and that really frightens me. I don't know how we do things differently, I think we have to, I think we really have to.

Is it, as Fanon argues in *Wretched of the Earth*, that there is a need to transcend the colonial mentality along with the negative mental images of blacks, and through this need 'symbolic violence' is unleashed in a battle over the mind?: or could it be that the only way to escape from the ravages of racism is to create a space, a homeland, exclusively for blacks in a manner similar to that envisioned by Garvey? Whatever the idea or suggested course of action, what is at stake are converging spaces wherein the liminal images of communities haunt the ideas of identity: who am I? Why am I __? Why do they __? In turn, these images can be transformed into an ambivalence that emerges from awareness, and which can pave the way to inaction or despair. The suggested ideals emerged between the 1920s (Garvey) and the 1960s (Fanon) as signs of the times, evoking a discourse for alternative visions of the future. Calls for difference have arisen out of desires to avoid what one participant considered to be an ambivalence and the

hopelessness among black youth in particular, in Halifax-Dartmouth.

As for the 'systemic violence', that is mobilized in the battle for the mind, one young professional man suggests the following

This is the battlefield, the minds of your people and the establishment. I do not look at racism as systemic. I look at it as being organic. It is in the daring of them that to assume that I do not have the ability to be an entrepreneur and to be creative. And they don't even know that that is what they are doing. How dare you, what are you "God" and I am a human being? We are both human beings. What makes that proclivity that it is your domain? And that is the racism. ... Systemic racism is the system where they isolate in the structures, but there is not control over that. Whites may appear to be very nice and help people in the black community, the system otherwise things seem fine. But it is in the person who manages, who has an attitude that stymies you from being able to transcend that same missing link. That is the issue. Your inability to actualize based on my perception of you. It has nothing to do with system. I am white. I am in a position to function in a certain way and by virtue of how I perceive you, just like you are a powerful perception gets things and my negative perception stymies things, and that is the issue. You have to find a way to tell a person, I still sweet talk with them after all of these things actualize. They have been there for 20 something years not encountering human beings who have not been given the chance to be by virtue of how their attitudes are. That is organic racism. In the minds of people in a position to proliferate the same negative thinking that you have of yourself because they have it of you.

Racism, rather than being structural becomes organic. This conception allows one to view the phantom of racism as elusive but present, shifting and hiding in its ephemeral state. The 'powerful perception' and the 'negative perception' extend from the privilege of position, for this participant. From this privileged position dualistic constructions become the 'unquestioned' way of viewing human relations. Being in an awkward position of colleague but one with restricted access to sites of entrepreneur and creativity by his colleagues, the acts of resistance find their way into the workplace through balancing 'sweet talks' with taking issue with those moments where negative perceptions restrict opportunities to transcend those perceptions.

One of the sources believed to account for the negative thinking is the mainstream

media. Generally speaking, the representation of blacks in the media range from the one good cop to the multitudes of untrustworthy people on welfare whose kids are likely to be drug pushers, gang members or shooting victims. In Halifax-Dartmouth, according to one participant, the media shows "any little thing that happens in an area that is known to be a black populated area, it will be on the news and usually it is negative. You never hear from particular regions if something is going on that is very special - festivals or anything special" (older professional woman). Having permitted information from the television, from newspapers, magazines to enter one's home, often unsupervised, and one is forced to engage with "[t]he ideological aggression which tends to dehumanize and then deceive the colonized, finally [corresponding] to concrete situations which lead to the same result. To be deceived already, to endorse the myth and then adapt to it" (Memmi 1965:90): and so racism learnt in a 'natural' way and becomes our own (Spivak 1996:144). Another participant traces the character of Eurocentrism in Halifax-Dartmouth:

To me the society tends to be so Eurocentricly based. Canada is supposed to be a culture - one that embraces different cultures, but maybe you cannot say that of Canada as a whole, cause perhaps only Toronto and Montreal are only the true cosmopolitan areas in Canada. But you might think that other groups would foster that idea of 'idealville' a little more. In Nova Scotia, everything here seems to be from a Eurocentric perspective. I find that other groups are marginalized to a large degree. You look at ads - tv ads, radio ads - they are definitely from a Eurocentric perspective, always. Even at work, things that are done, there is never any consideration for ok there is somebody else here. How would they experience it? They have not even thought of it, I am sure. If you mention it to them, and they said "Oh geez, you know that's true, we never even thought about it". So it is the privilege of having, being in the majority, and having done this for so long and not even having to think of anybody else and that in itself has created a society. (young professional man)

He too pursues the idea of marginalization through exclusion and or negative representation. When dealing with Eurocentric thought there is the idea that "he has painted himself grey on grey, or like the Pink Panther, he has painted the world in his own color" (Deleuze and Guattari

1983:75). *He* and the uniformity expressed in these tracings are invisible to those who have not questioned their positioning. As Spivak suggests in *More on Power and Knowledge*, power is a "grid of intelligibility of the social order" (Spivak 1996:143). Tim Unwin also iterates a similar position in the *Place and Geography*; arguing that "the relative truth that societies create is a truth that is designated to reflect and reinforce the power relations within that society" (Unwin 1992:28). Africadian identities and women - the invisible other - are the easels used in the painting of Eurocentrism - absent in the picture but an important element in its creation.

When Africadians are present in the discourse, their absence still looms. One young professional man explains:

You have blacks here, and whites here, seeing what they [whites] see, think that they [blacks] are underachievers and that they tend to walk around with a chip on their shoulder. Not realizing what the full situation is or what it entails. It has been a situation of continual oppression to a certain degree. The whole situation is such that blacks are brought up to think that they will not amount to a whole lot. Consequently this has been internalized. The situation you have is that you might have what you see as a group of under achievers, but it is the system I think that is failing them.

From the participants' comments what becomes evident is a fluid combination of images finding roost in the negative self-perceptions and negative attitudes of Africadians. These negative attitudes may result in restricted mobility through the knowledge of how they are perceived and on account of the physical barriers and perceptions held by others. The fluidity is in the uncertainty over where these attitudes may appear, and in what form they may manifest themselves. These in turn lead to a deterritorialization of any positive self-representation when working through Eurocentric constructs. The writing and unwriting of places, the lending of distinct names and singular histories are all elements within this deterritorialization. Those comfortable with their position are deemed to have the ability to see but not to know; those who are believed to know but are not seen exist on the margins of Nova Scotia. Moreover, this erasure has become a source of resistance. The erasure has served also to create a rewriting

inside Africadia, which at times re-iterates that which is 'not seen but heard' and at other times seeks to forge a new self-determined existence. It is a hybrid realm of interests merging incessantly and hesitatingly into each other in which resistance, self-definition and constructing communities allows for a politics of potential. However, as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak makes clear, action is only possible if one is able to make sense of what exists (see Spivak 1996:151) in the struggle to change beliefs; and, as Probyn writes, "in creating our own centres and our locals, we tend to forget that our own centres displace others into peripheries of our own making" (in Slater 1992:312). In the case of Africadia, it is a purposeful exercise in centring the margins of black identities and 'communities' in the hope of regenerating a positive sense of self (hooks 1992).

While Iris Marion Young may argue that the metaphysics of presence denies difference and establishes unreal essences as it detemporalizes and despatializes the signifying process (Young 1990:304), it should be noted that the participants' struggle for presence is the product of the absence of their interpretations of their life. So resistance seeks to establish presence but, even as it does so, it should be seen as a process wherein there is a constant movement between the two positions, that of presence absence, in which neither is fully occupied (see Derrida 1991:414). So presence is but an interpretation of the discourse on Nova Scotian blacks' desire for recognition of who they are as people: presence is also a means through which the empowering of Afriadians may occur.

Resisting is considered a means to overcome insecurities passed down over the generations. Memory becomes an everyday practice in the construction of black identities and communities in Halifax-Dartmouth. It can be employed to resist acts of violence to one's sense of self through the act of recalling past grievances which work themselves into present anguishes. It is this merging of past and present that led hooks to call for the construction of a homespace. Similarly, it is also this merging of past and present which has led to the Seaview picnics, and the calls for the recognition of Africadia as a thriving 'community'.

Accordingly, the participants' ideas of racism are unlike those of popular culture, wherein it tends to be primarily a white male domain (re: such movies as the *Long Walk Home* ...), and where the white woman, if racist, is so usually on account of her too being victimized. Ideas of racism expressed by the participants are at times 'genderless' and faceless but, at the same time very much present in their everyday lives. As the participants' version of what is racism is not always in line with what generally is accepted as racism, the forms of resistance employed may not always be readily noticed. Resistance is most often viewed as overt even if not seen (Scott 1990), the unspoken resistance, the non-visible resistance is overlooked. The non-visible was articulated by one participant as: "How I internalized racism determined my ability to survive" (older professional man). In the case of how one internalizes racism, it may or may not be resistance. If a participant accepts the Eurocentric idea of what it means to be black then resistance is not at play: to challenge the assumptions, even internally, is to resist. Be it a known or unknown form of resistance, moments of resistance "embody wills to resist" (Routledge and Simons 1995:472).

As mentioned earlier, the main focus of resistance typically focussed on racism, but before one can conceptualize resistance in more detail it is important to keep in mind that in Halifax-Dartmouth there is no particular site in which racism is contained: there are no heterotopia of this nature. Rather racism is always moving, but it is not a free movement as it may be constrained by fear and uncertainty, even though these factors may also work to facilitate racist acts. The simplest way of looking at it is to view racism as occupying multiple sites of power that shift and transform over time and space. Forms of racist strategies include the denial of employment, the denial of housing, the denial of education and the refusal of service. Racism may be seen as operating to end difference. Other sites of power may be found in Africadia, which seeks an end to racism against blacks, in which end, as Heidegger (1993:433) states, operates as place: even if it must always remain a possibility and not a completed act. In desiring a place or the centre, strategies are employed to get there.

In how many ways is racism experienced? How have the participants dealt with or responded to racist acts? I will first explore the strategies which are not articulated. These strategies resist others' perceptions and expected responses by not fulfilling them. How do individuals know what is wanted of them? The assumptions used are the general notions and expectations of blacks, such as intellectually inferior, dangerous, violent, untrustworthy, as the guidelines to what was thought, in an essentialized manner, to be black. An older home worker states,

I just ignore it because we are all people and ignorance plays a factor. You can be educated and ignorant, you can be educated and illiterate. It is not only when a person can read and write that you are illiterate. You are illiterate in other fields and other factors. Like in ignorance, you call people names. You say you are educated but you are not. I would travel on the bus, there is a seat beside me, but because I am black they prefer to break their arm up on that bus rail.

For her, writing and speech are viewed as devoid of substance when combined with 'illiteracy', the ability of a person to judge someone solely on the basis of colour. Illiteracy transports itself into the idea of 'self-sacrifice' to perpetuate distance - "because I am black they prefer to break their arm". As resistance allows for a choice in strategies to be utilized, there are multiple responses to this action - the placing of a bag on the seat next to you, sprawling across the seats, for this participant she opted to ignore their presence by the overlooking them and by distancing of herself from what was occurring. Not everyone chooses to passively ignore the act of racism. As one participant states, "I do not think that society belongs to anybody more than it does to me. I don't want no Nova Scotian to come up with no attitude to me. I would walk right past and through him or her. This is not their place" (young professional man). Here there is an erasing of the 'aggressor's' physical presence altogether by denying them any place. In both participants' acts there is a conformation of their identity and their right to be where they are, that they are not second class citizens. The acts of racism and resistance occupy moments, "each moment ... [is] outweighed with the possibilities of its own reproduction while being

rendered immediately obsolete" (Masuda 1996:11). Another participant states, "when you meet an ignorant one you just look at them and call it a day. You know that it is not your crowd." (older female industrial worker). However, faceless and genderless racist acts are not always 'erased'. At times the challenge is taken up, but as one participant states, "when you meet those things, you do not go around making noise, threatening people, getting angry. You just beat them by showing them that you are as good as they are" (older professional man). This sentiment was articulated by Du Bois in the early part of this century (in *Souls of Black Folks*). However, even when you struggle to prove that you are as good as they are,

You are always going through difficulties, especially if you are a black person. People have drawn conclusions about you. The decisions you come to a lot of times are not things that you have got to find out. They are things that you have read, you've seen, heard or been told. So you forever have to be explaining things to people who are not black if you are a black person. I have just come to the conclusion that ... as long as you don't infringe on my rights - it does not matter who you are or where you are from, I have rights. You don't have to like me, you don't have to love me, but as long as you allow me to keep my dignity and as long as you allow me to keep my rights wherever I want to work or whatever I want to do that you allow me to do that. Don't trespass on my dignity. (older professional woman)

In this case boundaries are erected to allow her to cope on a day to day basis: however, should those boundaries - specifically her dignity - be trespassed upon then she will "take up arms against a sea of troubles" (Shakespeare 1963:98). The actions that may be employed vary among the individuals who have been branded alike. A participant states,

walking down the street somebody would yell the "N" word: not much you can do. There is an immediate reaction that I want to retaliate and then there is a logical reaction to that stuff that says "J", that is not your style. Even if you had the chance to beat the shit out of the guy you probably would not do that anyway because that is not your approach to things. (young professional man)

The resistance here is clear, from a number of options open to him he chooses to ignore the

comment and so the comment misses its mark. The yelling recedes into the background, assuming the importance of street traffic in the process. The act is an establishing of one's presence through negation and avoidance of confirmation. The aggressor's gender is commented upon, otherwise the person remains faceless. Another participant maintains

to the extent that I empower myself racism is like water off of a duck's back. You empower yourself you build that armour. You laugh at some stupid person, they cannot affect you. You are walking and some little lad is throwing big stones at you, and you think 'something is tickling me here' and you laugh at the person. It is not affecting you. (young professional man)

Here the participant notices the aggressor but in doing so notices his insignificance. Once again gender is present, but it is trivialized and infantilized, with the racist becoming a little lad, a stupid person. Like one of the other participants, there is an attributing of the stereotypes attached to being black to the one delivering the racist acts. In all cases, the silences take on multitudinous forms, shifting over body, place, situation and time. However, the ability to name provides a power to create a response whereby consciousness to differ-defer yields to a reterritorialization of place, within which one cannot be physically conquered suppressed, where the gaze is present but absent. In this frame, the *I* is lost between the open pages by the proliferation and articulation of a *we* prolonging and exceeding the individual (Nancy 1992:39). The 'we' becomes constituted through these acts as there is a recognition of the naming - 'the N word', the avoidance 'because I am black'. The 'we' is that of a black identity, a feeling of comradeship expressed in the nod of approval upon sight of another 'community' member on the streets of Halifax-Dartmouth. Africadia becomes the centre of this identity in the absence of the gaze, that is to say by the erasure of the racist. It is an inversion of absent present, centre marginal dichotomies that pervade and seek to define the existence of blacks in Halifax-Dartmouth. The articulation of a sense of place writes out challenges to their identity, and a sense of belonging places both Africadia and the Caribbean 'community' at the centre. The participants see what is absent and rendered present and what is visible and rendered invisible

(see Bhabha 1994:46), as the displacement of the centre allows for a becoming visible and a disavowal of the racist's presence.

In the process of disavowal and the centring of her own identity, an older female domestic worker states,

I see it happen so many times - why is she laughing, why does she have that big grin on her face, because you know better **[other participant: you space yourself better]** you know, because you have have some there who think that they can read you or use you, but you know a little bit better. But you show them that that is not the way your life is run, that is not the way life goes. One can be white one can be black but you can relate as though you are the same.

Here she is making her presence known through disturbing the complacency of the 'other'. For as Sartre suggests, "the other person replaces my projects for myself ... by his calculations of how I will behave under certain circumstances, since for him I am one of the objects of the world, an object among others whose behaviour must be predicted" (Sartre in Lavine 1984:377). However, through 'fronting', that is to say by presenting yourself in a way that defies interpretation, she centres her own identity, but in a manner that is beyond the body as seen. She engages a realm of continual negotiation without recourse to pre-established models (Elam 1996:81), as actions that rest upon and construct the idea of a determined state are fed into the ideas of identities overdetermined by gender, age, class, sexuality, each one of which too is fractured.

So far I have been discussing marginalization as it pertains to individuals independent of gender and sexuality: however, marginalization may occur on more than one front, that is along axes other than colour 'race'. With regard to women, they are marginalized not only in terms of their position in relation to white society, but also in relation to the black 'communities', and if they are lesbian it is even more so. A young female administrator describes the resistance taken to marginalization within the black 'communities'.

there is a group of women, probably 16 of us. Most of us are

single, a few are married and have children. It is called 'Sisters United For Change' and it is a group of women that get together on a regular basis. Sometimes different ones will hold a sleepover type of things. We get together and joke and laugh and talk about sisterly things or women type issues or community type problems. It is kind of like a bonding thing. The same group of women go to movies like 'Waiting to Exhale' because you can relate to it, discuss it.

Here Africadia 'black community' is a presence that is not present to itself but in the repetition of closeness, information (Nancy 1993:42). The group becomes a space of exploration wherein they establish a sense of sisterhood as well as 'community' by naming, working in unison, bonding. It is a production of knowledge that works against any negative images that the women may have of themselves as women and as black. Although it may be perceived as a fracturing of Africadia to the extent that it excludes the male Africadian population, "fracturing is not the other of joining; it is the *heart* and *essence* of it. It is the exact and infinitely discreet limit *upon* which the joint is articulated" (Nancy 1993:40).

While these activities may work to produce a site of resistance and a positive sense of self, racism opens up a place where bodies, as signs, produce and determine space (Lefebvre 1991:166) wherein the black body is transformed into an undesirable commodity. According to one participant, "I face it [discrimination] when I look for jobs. Cause when they see your black face they give you a different face even though you are qualified for the job" (young female home worker). There is an avoidance of the undesirable which, since it cannot be expressed openly, finds its outlet through posturing and avoidance. This posturing translates itself into limited employment opportunities. Another participant states, "the only opportunity that I have had to teach has come from outside [of the Education Department], and I was told about that from a friend of mine, an indigenous black Nova Scotian. They wanted a course on bridging cultural gaps. ... whereas white students as soon as they enter here are given an opportunity to teach" (young professional woman). Identified from the outside as black, the black body

becomes a site of struggle through which identity, 'community' and desires for change may be articulated. Thus, one might argue that there is a simultaneous inclusion exclusion at play: where if you are not white you are excluded from job opportunities, opportunities for employment can only arise through Africadia - a 'community' that resists the marginalization of blacks by creating its own employment.

If you are in Halifax Nova Scotia, if you are black, you first of all have to be very accepting of your blackness. You are going to meet a lot of obstacles, people are going to make so many excuses why you are not hired. Your friend might come back, your friend who is white, might come back and say, you know I got that job. 'which job?', you know so and so and so. 'Oh' you remember you had applied for that job last month and you were told that that job was gone. (older professional woman)

Resistance entails a rejection of racism, and an identification with 'black' allows one to be placed within Africadia wherein the establishment of presence and acceptance of who one is allows resistance to take such forms as self acceptance, standing up for oneself and self-pride. Presence is a process of becoming and has been described by black theorists such as Du Bois, Garvey, Fanon, hooks et al. as the acquiring of a singular identity.

Africadia allows for the tailoring of the denial of the black 'body'. It may be viewed as a container although it exists in the very space from which it seeks to be removed. Africadia emerges as a way of resisting racism. It is a 'community' that constantly struggles against it for its continuance is due to its precarious location. This precarious location plays itself out in the workplace. One participant describes an incident that occurred at her place of work. "one girl called me names at work. It was the biggest mushala in the work place because I was not taking no for an answer and they fired her. That was the biggest one I ever faced" (older female industrial worker). There is a writing in and a writing out of difference in Halifax-Dartmouth. In the writing in, there is punishment meted out for racist acts, yet at the same time, another participant states there are white "people who were less educated or had lesser jobs ... or have a police record, yet ... I was considered a lesser person, a threat ... all I wanted was to get

involved in bringing down some of the barriers" (older professional man). To bring down the barriers, efforts have been taken to provide job training either to improve the skills of Africadians in order to allow them to compete for jobs in Halifax-Dartmouth or to start their own businesses. The African-Canadian Employment Centre is but one of many sites located in Halifax's North End, the area containing the largest concentration of blacks in Halifax, in which people "carry on the struggle to map on the terrain of the imagination the space for memories, sacrifices and hopes of multitudes" (San Juan 1995:193). What resistance there has been to racism has either been indirect, in the form of creating their own centres or businesses, or a direct challenge, but in the latter case it is usually a one person show. In challenging racism through these means, there is a solidification of the sense of Africadian 'community', as recognition of discrimination against a black person becomes evident across cultural or national lines. In this manner, a sovereign veil of blackness takes on a reality as it exists as a wall - preventing entry in to Halifax-Dartmouth while allowing solidarity within Africadia.

For Arturo Escobar, resistance is constituted by the struggle against exploitation, domination and subjection. Significantly however, while he believes that these three forms may exist simultaneously in a society, he argues that only one of them can be dominant at any given time, an assertion that is not explained, only assumed. Nonetheless, in these struggles in Halifax-Dartmouth, the resonance of the physical distance between Africadian and the Caribbean 'community' is disturbed - seizing, rerouting, redefining rights through questioning. Here again the connection between body, power, and space becomes apparent - resisting the regulation of their positioning and overcoming the oppression, which feeds into Escobar's assumption that there must be a "multiplicity of localized resistances and counter-offensives" (Escobar 1984 5:381). But as to whether these offensives are overt (ie through riots, protest) or hidden (ie through the use and retention of dialects) is not clear. He merely assumes resistance to be a homogenous act carried out simultaneously in a number of places. But, in the struggle to overcome discrimination in areas such as hiring practices, there are seldom homogenous acts.

as the hiring practice itself is nestled in ambiguity - was I declined a job on the basis of ability or colour?

Colour becomes the determining sign when entering the domain of the service industry.

One participant recounts his trip to a barber,

I was aware that laws had come into place that outlawed discrimination. I don't think that people ever went [to this barber]. It was just that a sign was up, but it wasn't. Blacks were never seen and only heard in the garbage dump. So I went in and they turned me down. I contacted the department of labour that was in charge of race relations. They sent a person over. He laid down the law to him. He told him that he was violating the law. Not too long after they hung on to it [discrimination] for a while and tried to fight it. They were ignorant. (older professional man)

Whether or not the individual perceives him or herself as Africadian becomes immaterial when such acts of discrimination make the question of which 'community' - Caribbean Africadia - almost a non-question, so what this participant was doing was less a construction of a particular 'community' than the attempting to end the invisibility of blacks in general in the 1960s, by challenging practices among barbers. In challenging the barriers he would not ask the barbers whether they cut black hair as it would give them the opportunity to say no. Instead he would sit in their shops until they got tired of him and so cut his hair or asked him to leave as they did not cut black hair. Rather than accepting the peripheral positioning of blacks in Halifax-Dartmouth, this participant sought to alter the discourse on blacks, on himself, by challenging the positioning and negative assumptions of blacks in Halifax-Dartmouth. The movement takes us from "Blacks were never seen and only heard in the garbage dump" to the violation of the law. The inclusion in theory led to a hopeful inclusion in practice. In taking up this idea there was a fracturing of 'blacks' through a growing recognition of individuality - that is one person not acting as the rest. Instead of using this opportunity to perpetuate his individuality he used it as a means to create a space for blacks outside of the 'dump'.

Not only have the participants' experienced discrimination in hiring practices and the

denial of services, but also in the area of housing. One person recounts his experience in the purchasing his home in what was a white neighbourhood in Dartmouth

The person who lives next to me sold me the lot, so he came under a lot of fire for breaking the code or way of thinking in the neighbourhood. But they probably gave him a much harder time that they gave me. To this very day, forty years, forty plus years after, I cannot meet one person on the street who signed the petition. The ones I speak to say that they did not sign it. They all signed it. Why not? They did not know me. They were telling them that they were protecting their interests by keeping Blacks out. I am sure that they could buy into that. They would go along with it to keep the friendship of their neighbours. Why should they stick their neck out for some unknown black man? (older professional man)

A synthesis of nearness and remoteness -us them to we - disturbs the distance and prevents the forgetting. His choice of where to live challenged the residents' sense of place as a white neighbourhood at a time when the 'communities' of Cherrybrooke and the Prestons were basically cut off from the white 'communities' through lack of public transit and the like. His movement into a white neighbourhood allowed the unknown to become known. Forty years later he called up what was not spoken, he resurrected the memory of what is not wanted. According to Richard Falk, "the 'politics' of movements are to build a new form of thought, feeling, and action that shape individual and group behaviour" (Falk 1987:179). In calling up the past, memory is being called upon differently, for as this participant who sees it is as a means of continuing social action and change (Withers 1996:339) similarly Charles Withers maintains "memory as a form of knowledge is also a form of resistance" (Withers 1996:340) as it can exert a "purposeful challenge to shake ... an established order" (Cocks 1989:63) when articulated.

The shaking up of the established order is also seen in the educational system. Within the Caribbean, education is viewed as a means through which one can move from invisible to visible, and as Afro-Caribbean people settled in Nova Scotia this idea was brought from the Caribbean and reinstituted in Halifax-Dartmouth. However, unlike the Caribbean, black students are now in the minority, and this brings with it "a novelty, that is thinkable only inside the interiority of" Africadia (Boundas and Olkowski 1994:4). One parent, who had been living in

Halifax-Dartmouth for a number of years says of her daughter's change of schools,

She was glad to see kids of her colour in the classroom in some number. Whereas before most of the kids were white. Yes, they had to deal with some nastiness, but I try to instill in my kids a responsibility for themselves, though I know when the time comes ever though they have educated themselves, that they have done what they can, that they may face racism. I am adamant that racism will not turn them into puppets ... make them feel that things are so bad that they have no choices, throw their hands up, there is nothing that they can do anyway. (young professional woman)

Space comes across as 'homogenous' yet broken - all in the same place, that is school, yet difference is present in terms of colour which can lead to nastiness or the creation of puppets giving up. However, some students have taken to forming organizations, black studies groups, or challenging students or teachers when acts of racism occur. Paradoxically, among the participants, resistance to racism was believed to be possible through acquiring an education. According to one participant, "education is a very very strong aspect to me, I saw it as very pivotal in what I see as a necessary transformation or necessary awareness that has to take place in the psyche of black people especially in the diaspora" (young professional man). The transformation need not be one that manifests itself immediately but may be a slow process for change. Another participant outlines this idea in a bit more detail. He says, "I teach. I am not a politician. I don't make a fuss about changing the law or changing the institutions or changing the guidelines. That is what I prefer to focus on changing the child's view, the way *he* understands what *he* can do as a person. Because, if I can change his view point it is *he* who changes society. He who changes his environment. *He*" (older professional man).

Education is assumed to decolonize the mind and in the process create 'new blacks'. "[I]t transforms spectators crushed with their 'inessentiality' into privileged actors, with the grandiose glare of history's floodlights upon them. It brings a natural rhythm into existence, introduced by new men, and with it a new language and a new humanity" (Fanon 1970:28). Being educated allows you to fight racism, much as it was in the Caribbean where education was a

means to improving your lot in life. Unlike Gustavo Esteva who, in 'Regenerating Peoples' Spaces', sought to become a deprofessionalized intellectual, education is seen as the means through which one could recover "the commons" and regenerate the physical and cultural spaces which had been damaged but not destroyed" (Esteva 1987:126). However, the children are in an indeterminate position, being both inside outside of the 'black communities', as they functioned in primarily white schools. As such there is a perceived fear of falling outside as opposed to inside a homespace. While Africadia was to operate as a homespace, according to another participant, many children seek to identify with whites in denial of their blackness as black is conceived of as inferior, deviant, backwards. One adult's response to this was:

you really should be militant and maybe advocating for change when it does affect your livelihood, the education of your kids, the health of your children, their social integration or interaction - those kinds of things really need to be addressed. ... anytime a teacher did something I did not approve of I was right there at their door the next day. Not that my children did not learn to look up for themselves, but the teachers knew what they could get away with and what they couldn't ... you should really be militant and maybe advocating for change when it does affect your livelihood, the education of your kids, the health of your children, their social integration or interaction - those kind of things really need to be addressed. (young professional woman)

While actions, situations and policies may seek to limit the black presence to the margins, they restore themselves to presence in the centre, rearranging understandings of Africadia and the Caribbean 'communities' in the process. These movements do not cease even when one occupies a position of influence in Halifax-Dartmouth, for according to a participant, while a fund had been established for IBNS school aged children, "I was blown away at the way there was no rationale that has anything to do with black people themselves" (older professional man). There is not comfortable position from which he may paint the world in his own colours. It is a constant struggle to ensure the 'communities' with which he identifies are not forgotten in policy-making or that their interests are attended to sufficiently. One method in which the interests of the Africadia were brought to the fore was through the establishment of an

association. A participant states, "by the mid-70s there was an attempt to start a black educators' association. It was an attempt to bring black educators together, those teachers who were concerned about what is happening to black kids, getting together to talk about strategies" (older professional man). Here resistance is employed by individuals, in a manner similar to the organization 'Sisters United for Change', within the 'community' secure what they believe to be of importance.

However, even if one wished, one cannot be completely detached from Africadia or the Caribbean 'community'. This is the case for those who have well-paid jobs in Halifax-Dartmouth who find themselves in a hybrid state, that is operating inbetween customary lines. Not only are the customary lines that of 'community', but also that of ideas inherent in the idea of workplace advancement. A professional states, "for 23 of my 24 years I have been an administrator, but for 19 of those years I have been vice principal. Nobody who has spent that long in administration, let alone vice principal, ... I could tell you stories that would curl your hair" (older professional man). While present in the workforce, marginalization follows them, rendering them present in the workplace but absent in positions of importance or leadership. He was not alone, as the following statement testifies,

When I worked in the federal government, it [discrimination] was not really direct but it was indirect, white persons would be getting developmental assignments or acting pay and I would be acting in a position and I would not receive any acting pay. They would say it was a developmental assignment and therefore you did not receive acting pay for it. But they were getting my serves at a higher paying level. ... I got out. I left on my own because I did not find it a healthy environment for me since I was used to feeling any discrimination at all. (young female administrator)

She resisted the challenges to her identity as a black female, as someone not worthy of permanent promotions almost as testimony to her position as someone who is straddling along the lines of Halifax-Dartmouth but can never be a full participant in it. Feeling it to be an unhealthy environment, she chose to terminate her contract with the government. Other means of resisting the challenges to one's sense of self are outlined in the following statements. First,

I myself, I don't spend much time talking about it, there is part of the society where you, as a person, are not valued despite of your knowledge, your accomplishments, all to the extent that your access to things is limited. All withstanding, you as an individual have to learn the system. Understand what the rules are and remake the system, for better or worse, work best for you. Just make it a little bit uncomfortable that every time they [whites who hold positions of power] get on the horse they brush to make sure that there are no tacks. (older professional man)

A cyclical pattern emerges, a curling and retracing of steps. While done in silence, it may be less obvious to others what 'steps' have been taken. In silence small acts are carried out the purpose of which is to change the overall system, whereby discomfort exacted over time serves to open up spaces, even though they may be no larger than that of a tack. Key in this regard is learning the rules of the games and using them to your advantage. Resistance may entail working as an individual on the outside, but also inside Africadia as that is where his interests lay; but, the lines' meandering become entangled, making it difficult to distinguish at times where they lay or lead. This ambiguity too is used by the participants as "one of the things when you are a minority or named a minority and have no support mechanism to go to you being to work through the channels you have" (older professional man).

Second,

When I go to board meetings you would always be out voted on anything at all, but for me I have accomplished something when I am not there at the time or I am not at that meeting they will delay making a decision until I come to hear what I have to say, because I am always likely to cause something. And they don't want you to cause something after. In my mind even if I say nothing I am accomplishing something. I am making them stop and think before they act. Because the last thing they want is for you to go to the public, particularly when you have never been described as a troublemaker. They respect you and they figure that you have the respect of others so you may get some small concession. (older professional man)

The workplace becomes a site of resistance. The circulation and contagion, here, operate as

panic, "as one of the *effects* of insurgencyindeterminacy of action - [that] perpetuates social 'contingency' (see Bhabha 1994:200). While the identity of the participant is seen as marginal to that of the 'white community', small acts again illustrate the contingency and ambiguity within their relations. The resistance to forgetting finds its form in small acts which make them "brush to make sure that there are no tacks". However, the indeterminacy of the participant's position, that is inbetween, again problematizes the ideas of inside outside. However, he states that "unless there is somebody with a political will within the belly of the beast who will extend themselves to reach a certain segment of the population they will not be reached" (young professional man). They are within yet exist outside and through them there is a linking of margin and centre, so "if you are neither a nor b, then you are c: the dualism [black white] has been transposed" (Deleuze and Guattari 1983:77).

The ambiguity and inbetweenness of these Caribbean participants has led to the questioning of their identification with Africadia. They have had different experiences, not only because they are from the Caribbean, but also as they tend to have better paying jobs than most IBNS, and have different expectations as they struggle more for integration than exclusion. This allows for resistance to manifest itself within Africadia as well, where IBNS will not sit in the same church pew as a Caribbean person. One woman stated: "also I heard a case where one parent (IBNS) was heard saying that they did not want any West Indian teaching their children. I heard of this big division this persistent in the comment that West Indian come up here and take over their jobs and that sort of thing. I have heard this from a few people" (young professional woman). These attitudes stem from what the participants have termed internalized racism. Internalized racism may exist, as Ruth Frankenburg states, but there is a need to challenge the master's house for "not only do we live in it but *it*, by some strange architectural trick, lives in *us*" (Frankenburg 1996:3). Internalized racism appears as IBNS perceive threats to Africadia, as they know it, in the wake of people from the Caribbean entering and achieving positions of influence in Halifax-Dartmouth. Thus, the Caribbean participant's "everyday

'identity' [is] differed-deferred from itself by randomness and chance" (Spivak 1996:154) from the occasions of their positions. In a constant state of becoming and not becoming different-yet-same, same-yet-different the Caribbean participants operate as contingent to both Halifax-Dartmouth and Africadia.

The ambiguous position of the Caribbean 'community' is not only occasioned by Africadia, but also by the white 'community' as one young professional man puts it.

A lot of them [whites] view foreign blacks as different to Nova Scotian blacks. It is a bizarre sort of circumstance but you hear people time and time again say that as most of their dealings with them in an equitable sort of situation. Chances are you can handle or deal with someone, and if you think of discrimination or racism it is a power thing having power over another individual, or if it is hiring a group that is a disadvantage. The fact is that people tend to hire their own. If you had a choice to hire between a black Nova Scotian or a black Caribbean to hire for a job you may select the black Caribbean. Again because that person might fit into that mould that perspective of whatever you have embraced or hold as sacred. The Nova Scotian is just as worthwhile but they do not see it that way. But if you are continually hear that you are not like them, or you are different from them - even though you are black the situation will continue because you are not seeing why the "them" are the way they are.

In this way, white Nova Scotians have the assumption that the Caribbean immigrants are somehow better than (see Bonnett in his discussion on the conceptions of immigrants 1990:17) the indigenous population thereby undermining Bonnett's argument that immigrants are necessarily seen as invaders or inferior to the indigenous population.

I when I came there were people who told you certain things [by white Canadians] about certain areas in Nova Scotia - where or where not to go, finding out for yourself, having gone through the school system and working, you find that a lot of these things, I think it was more, the issues that were addressed were more out of ignorance, people just don't know. I suppose you fear a lot of what you don't know. One of the comments you heard was don't go to Gottingen St. because the area is so bad or the North End is whatever. But sticking around here, my goodness, if you could take Gottingen St, Gottingen St - there is absolutely nothing wrong with that place. (young professional man)

I remember one incident - there was a comment made about him [a person from Cape Breton] and I said something. His response was that "all those Negroes all they eat is watermelons anyway". To a certain degree I knew that it had very negative connotations, that it was derogatory. I was not stunned. I should of reacted but I did not do a whole lot there and then. The room was full of people and all I heard was a "ho". Nobody ever came out and said it was wrong and I don't think the Don was there either. They probably knew a lot more where he was coming from than I did. Had that happened today, it would be different, having had the experiences I have had now. ...[Interviewer: how would you react to it today?] He would definitely had to be told where to go. A situation like that the individual would have to know how you felt about it. That was the difference, I think I let it slide and I should not have. There should have been a lot more said and a lot more done. (young professional man)

Outlined in these statements is the idea of becoming black. It is never a complete process as what could be black is challenged and resisted by IBNS thereby creating a decentered subjectivity, that of a subject of erasure projected onto that which does not belong. However, it is relational, claiming and imposing sameness and otherness (Frankenburg 1996:4). Becoming black is not only a means of self-identification, but also a form of resistance. While foreign blacks might be seen as being different to local blacks, if no word is spoken, no knowledge of occupation or origin possessed, there is no differentiation between the two groups. However, disenchanted with the presence of the Caribbean 'community' as a whole - though not necessarily of particular individuals -, IBNS have attempted to regenerate a space that works to exclude the Caribbean population.

Positions that were advertised by the government that dealt with the black community - Caribbeans would get the position, Africans would get the position. It was very controversial because the communities felt that it should be somebody from the black communities should get the position, not these outsiders. So what people argued is that what you created was this artificial conflict, this artificial antagonism between Caribbean black and IBNS. Instead of focussing on the State and governing institutions, they focus on the Caribbeans. Then you have this crabs fighting in a basket scenario. (young professional man)

Contingent to Africadia, the Caribbean 'community' exists in a condition of double gesture, it is in Africadia but is not, working in the limbo of not quite being Nova Scotian, so undermining binary oppositions but not completely erasing them. As noted above, it has been described as "crabs in a basket scenario", an analogy that draws reference to a similarity among both IBNS and Caribbean people, a similarity that is cast aside in the hope of individual or group advancement.

"Some people may say that I am avoiding things, but I do not think I should spend a lot of my energy fighting these people [white racists]" (young professional woman). Since Caribbean people select battles that may not necessarily conform with what the IBNS see as important, many IBNS "feel that the Caribbean people do not identify with the struggle against racism" (young professional man). According to Vera Chouinard, "variation ... contribute[s] to the uneven development of practices of dissent and to 'fragmented' or contradictory experiences" (Chouinard 1996:1487) among peoples of Africa descent and their reactions to racism discrimination leading to us them mentalities. Chouinard maintains that "the 'internalization' of contradictory experiences of subjugation ... can contribute to political divisions based on conflicting political identities, capacities, and avenues for collective action" (Chouinard 1996:1489-90). "There are meaning and values actively lived and felt but not crystallized into definitive form: feeling still inchoate, ideas not yet articulated, experiences only vaguely registered or understood" (Cocks, 1989:66).

So I felt resistance in certain aspects from the community, and when I say community I should say that the vast majority of the black community lives its life unconcerned about politics, unconcerned about the way things are unfolding. They are only concerned about the daily struggle to make ends meet. What you have is a black elite - political, cultural, or economic - that basically is the visible community so to speak, the visible elements. Politically, you find that it is an elite that is fighting for the various handouts from the State. I was caught up in the political struggle between different black organizations that are fighting each other for influence in the community. I would say that I have not run into a problem

of not being accepted by the black community as a whole, the *masses*, so to speak; but because of political reasons, in terms of black elite organizations, that small minority, that ineffective, impotent force that I have found resistance. (young professional man)

However, from this statement the fractured nature of Africadia becomes ever more apparent. Resistance within and between the communities has not only been likened to the crab-basket analogy but to political infighting to secure positions. Threats to the structure of the community have lent to 'problems' for and 'resistance' to this participant's attempts to work in Africadia as the elites strive to restrict what he can or cannot do. The double play of resistance to acceptance to resistance within Africadia is attributed not only to the elites but also to their battle over the distribution of limited State resources.

Even though there may be a hesitancy among some IBNS to accepting Caribbean people into Africadia and a hesitancy among Caribbean people to belonging to Africadia, at times Caribbeans may purposefully position themselves within Africadia. This is usually occasioned to challenge assumptions held by the people in Halifax-Dartmouth of the IBNS population. In spite of the internal racism then, "[t]he politics of 'race' becomes a politics of identification: "[t]o understand social reality, then, is not to understand what society is, but what it prevents it from being" (Laclau in Hesse 1993:174). This was the case when, as an interviewee states, "he [a policeman] asked me if I was from Jamaica, I said 'no'. 'You are from one of the Caribbean islands', I said 'no, I am from here'. So it kind of shut him up. So the only thing I could surmise was based on where I was living maybe it had to have been someone from the Caribbean. There is a lot of stuff like that going around" (young professional woman). Place becomes evoked as a means of extending the boundaries of Africadia, seen largely as IBNS, to occupy sites outside of the North End of Halifax or the 'communities' scattered around Dartmouth's periphery. Thus, in this instant, the appeal to Africadia is not that of a defensive strategy but a means of claiming territory. Furthermore, it is a strategy that resists external definitions and the severing

Caribbeans from Africadia.

The challenging of assumptions of blacks in Halifax-Dartmouth may appeal to an Africadian identity through the selective use of speech and actions in specific contexts. One participant, with a flare for narration, elaborates on some of the strategies he has used,

When I lived in Dartmouth, there was a neighbourhood, it was a nice place. I lived in the house right on the bend As I was working on the garden right out front, I watched this fellah come up the road sweepy sweep with briefcase, coming up the road . He saw me. He came in my garden. I stopped doing what I was doing and leaned on my hoe. He goes up to the front door and rings the bell. I watched him and did not say anything. And he rang the bell. I smiled. He looked around. I smiled. He had to walk back down right passed me. He came back down, and as he passed me he said: 'I guess there is nobody home'. And I said: 'I guess there isn't'. You know, I just get a big chuckle out of it. It never crossed his mind that he might say hello to me and ask me do I know where they are or have they left, even if he did not think that I could live there. He could not bring himself to ask the gardener where the people are! So you just let him go on in his ignorance. ...

Another time I am out, ... so I am out doing a little bit of tidying around the garden. So I am sitting down edging. The hedge looks good, it looks pretty good. This fellow who lives close to here, he is walking up. I had just moved in. He is walking up. I don't know what happened to his car and he stops to admire he looked at it and said nice it was, how very good it was. Then he said, when I am finished could I come up. He lives at number 57. I was at 18. ... again it never occurred to him that I lived there. I was a gardener and I was doing a good job, and when I was finished I could come up to his place. I said "sure" and after he was gone I shouted out 'what was that number again?' He said 57, and I said 'thank you'. Now when I did not go and he goes by he will eventually see me coming in and going out. He now will feel like the idiot. Why should I? ... he must be the one who feels like the heel. The next time he sees a black person he must say 'he might be', 'he could be'. (older professional man)

His actions point to a reterritorialization of space place through selective silences that can be revealed if only one looks at the puzzle with an inquiring mind. He occupies the perceived marginality as a site of resistance in an unreservedly racialized space in which the presumed absence wreaks havoc upon the present body. But once signified, he becomes liberated and

detached from the signifier as positions become reversed (see Stewart 1992:614): "he must be the one who feels like the heel. The next time he sees a black person he must say 'he might be', 'he could be'". The reterritorialization of space occurs as he unifies, through resistance, physical, mental and social spaces of the observer. Physically he becomes the gardener, socially he cannot be part of the neighbourhood, mentally he is conceived as IBNS for E. San Juan jr. maintains, "European knowledge-production operates to subdue and domesticate the unrepresentable" (San Juan 1995:201). As the participant does not seek direct confrontation by challenging the assumption that he is IBNS, he opens the doors for alternative means of discovery that permit the latter to become more of a personal and private awareness. The storytelling is not openly declared or displayed (Scott 1990:51) but the act is temporal and as such will not always remain hidden. This space of artifice calls on invisibility as people refuse to see them and provides for the questioning of place and sense of place (Massey 1994:151). It is also an evasion of demarcation.

Another instance where storytelling was elicited as a strategy was also related by this participant. He says,

I remember one time I had a number of pairs of shoes that I had to get repaired. You know they are good shoes so want to fix them up, but you don't get around to it until you reach a point where there are 3, 4 of them. So you need to get them done. It is summer so I have time off. I am not using them so I went into X mall. I went to the cobbler there. I had 4 pairs of shoes. So I took them and I showed them to him. He started talking to me about his travels in the Caribbean and asking me where I was from. I did not tell him I had been living here for 18 years. Talking he looked them over. He asked me 'when does the boat leave?' Then I realize, that this is like Monday. I tell him, "Thursday you know, Thursday morning". He said, 'Alright come and get them Wednesday afternoon'. I left with a straight face. ... Again he is anticipating that no local black man can have 5 pairs of shoes to fix and I have an accent and I am speaking with him. You see I would not say that that guy was racist and I am not offended. It is their ignorance, they are so unknowing. It is how I react, how I take that. If I jump out and tell this man move your go after him ... I would simply be confirming his view of black people. (older professional man)

Thus, the act of being assumed to be a foreigner was also employed as a moment of resistance which unfolded through storytelling, and the overlapping of conceived and lived space (see Stewart 1994:610) modified through use. It was self-exclusion as a form of resistance. If one was not Africadian, then one could not be Canadian. While there was no going home, it was used in a manner that in the future would make the owner question his assumptions, as well as benefitting the participant in the short term - he would get his shoes fixed sooner. The resistance is one characterized by erecting "horizons (movement) not frontiers (ascription), by interdependence and not submission" (Esteva 1987:143).

Similarly, rather than erecting frontiers, another participant sought to dismantle them. She states, "I couldn't go out and get an outfit [for her children] that had a black child. It always had a blonde, blue-eyed child on the thing. I remember even receiving gifts with that and I would just take crayons and cray it all over. I'd do things like that because it is almost like you are being told that these are the only people that are important" (older professional woman). Challenging assumptions of who is important or not, found expression on materials that were to be carried around by her children. Instead of allowing the outfits to remain intact, she erased that which sought to erase her and her children's presence. As Joan Cocks states, "[t]he taking up of the emerging and hence still marginal viewpoint in a dominant culture is the only way to shed ideas of belonging to a dying age, ideas mystify real social conditions, and ideas that have been imposed by a fundamental social group with interests antagonistic to the interests and thinker's and new age's own" (Cocks 1989:69). The sites of contestation were not limited to the outfit itself, but extended to the expression of dissatisfaction visually and physically, as the child wore the outfit in public. The body and the outfit became a site of resistance as well as a site of self-affirmation.

Resistance then for the participants was seen as a process which need not always be overt or expressed openly as the changes which are sought are not those that can be implemented overnight. Instead, resistance was viewed as

trying to reach people to instill a spark in them, because that has to be generated. You have to make people think 'yes I can', the world does not belong to them, the world belongs to us. That there is a power within you and I espouse motivation to the group, tell them about Afrocentrism, say yes you can. ... there is a lack of information in the general media about Africa Canadians. So I said you can control some press for yourself. You can start your own magazine. (young professional man)

Afrocentrism, in Halifax-Dartmouth, becomes a means of being heard overcoming marginalization in resisting the inadequacies in Eurocentrism. Afrocentrism as a form of resistance becomes the struggle to regain people's space and so distancing themselves from the "words with which we have been educated" (Esteva 1987:135) regenerating knowledge of the ancestor as the foundation instead. As one participant states, "it is all about transforming a cultural psyche, about empowerment, it is a whole methodology of teaching, teaching by doing. It has all the dynamics that are necessary for the development of the black community" (young professional male). This approach points to the fact that knowledge is socially constructed and that what we learn has an impact on how we view ourselves. In recognition of this, Afrocentrism as a discourse is becoming increasingly influential in Africadia, and in this process resists Eurocentrism through its expression of meanings and events that are perceived of as having the greatest importance for people of African descent.

Programmes are in place to facilitate the provision of alternatives to Eurocentrism. One such one was run by the YMCA. However, according to one young professional man the programme

was run by the YMCA but they could not get the Afrocentric component of it at all, they could not understand what it was because of the same attitudes that they have. Even a lot of black people do not understand what that means. It means trying to provide a forum wherein you can recreate a new cultural paradigm in which to cooperate. So your modus operandi your way of instruction will be different. So even if you are teaching math you are using examples that they could relate to, you teach them in a context that they can relate to.

... it is a home of their own with images around them that are Africa.

As an alternative, an educational centre was opened in Halifax's North End providing Afrocentric instruction in math, English, computer studies and history. In Afrocentric instruction the future is viewed as the "recovery of some continuity with the past mediated by the struggle" (San Juan jr 1995:197) that is engaged to achieve it, as appeals are generally focussed on ancient Africa rather than the Caribbean or North America. However, 'race and 'nation', are presented as immutable categories, used in social struggles to define a group identity (Berg and Kearns 1996:102). While this may be the case, for the participant, it provided a counter discourse to Eurocentrism. However, the question as to whether it breaks with practices of oppression and opposes the language of oppression is far from certain (see Goldberg 1990:314) for discussion on racism). Is it empowering to be surrounded by images of Africa if you do not know what Africa is? In spite of this line of questioning, Afrocentrism is "a philosophy that *reveals the invisible cause* of the destiny of societies and peoples, ignorance of which accounts for degeneration or for the historical power of evil" (Balibar 1990:287).

Afrocentric thought is becoming most pervasive in the educational system. Aside from the Caribbean population seeing education as the key to change, it has become a site of departure in terms of what is identified as important or not. As such, issues which transcend the borders of Halifax-Dartmouth, Africadia and the Caribbean 'community' have come to the forefront in a struggle to ensure a positive self-definition and the end of racism. First, the issue finds its way into assumptions of African students, or students who happened to study in Africa, which have been translated into policies. More specifically, one participant recounts,

Certain assumptions were made about the abilities of the students from the continent [Africa]. When they came here they applied like anyone else were accepted and you would assume that if they were accepted they were accepted on the same terms as everybody else. But we found out just by

accident that African students, except those who were involved in a special programme between X University and Y country, were doing about twice the number of credits than anyone else. They were doing 10 credits for a master's degree while everyone else was doing 5-7 courses. So when we took it up, at that time I happened to be president of the Graduate Student's Association. As President of that Association I sat in on faculty meetings, so I raised the issue there with the commissioner of the students and asked for it to be looked into. I got a lot of excuses about the facilities on the continent, about what some R Country student who came here some years ago, how he had performed, or about some one who had been to R Country and talked to someone in R Country and told him that this is what they wanted, and rubbish like that. So we pursued it and managed to get them to reduce the course loads, so it is 7 1 2 credits from 10, it is still higher than the rest. (young professional woman)

The issue at stake is that of assuming that if you come from an African country that somehow you are inferior - in this case it was attributed to the educational system there, to the African students or professors themselves. The appeals to nation and race that form the basis of Afrocentric thought can be viewed in instances such as this one as a reaction to Eurocentrism's adoption of these categories and posing them in a negative light. However, rather than challenging Eurocentrism completely it adopts its use of a language of race and nation as immutable categories.

But why the concern with African students and the assumptions made as to the quality of education that they received? For one person, the IQ debate and Rushton's work provided the necessary impetus. She states, "I am looking at what is happening in the IQ debate with the blacks where basically I am looking at what whites, at least a group of whites, those people who are producing books and stirring up debate on black intellectual incapacities. I am looking at what they are saying about black children and why they are saying it" (young professional woman). She goes on to discuss the basis of her interest in the topic.

He [a student] started his presentation. He summarized Rushton's "findings". I was appalled.... So as he handed out

his hand outs, I started objecting. The class turned into almost a war zone where I was the target rather than Rushton's ideas. I was there arguing with everybody. The professor was really a bad influence on that class. He was arguing that Rushton's arguments were valid. Why they were valid was because he was an academic. By the time we broke up after 2 hours I was close to tears. I realized that I had to deal with this issue. The class that I was in was a post-graduate class and they were all teachers and nobody except for a paraplegic woman raised an objection to the material. (young professional woman)

Her thesis topic came about from a resistance to erasure that found its expression in the university setting but had consequences for the 'black community' as well as for Africadia and the Caribbean 'community'. In these debates, the question of intelligence is not restricted to a particular segment of the population of the United States as all blacks in all countries become subject to what was written. Through these literatures, the black body is situated in a milieu of alienation and dispersal (San Juan jr 1995:213). Resistance to the attitudes contained in these works unfolds as she makes strategic use of her position as a student. She was consciously able to utilize her position as a black woman, as a student and professional to question the assumptions and how and why they come into play. Through this person's thesis, the black 'community' enters a new space in the negotiation of power relations (see Bhabha 1994:200). "The ideology that emanates from this articulates a process of positive assertion (of local values and lifestyles) and resistance to intervening values of domination ... This remembered tradition of loss and anger is a powerful determinant of peoples' attitudes ... and to their senses of home." (Withers 1996:340).

Appeals to a black identity and a 'black community' are not shaped solely through racist acts, but may find voice in the actions of people of African descent and literature that have 'black issues' as their focus. One participant discusses how this flow of information influenced her attitude towards life.

I first heard of Malcolm X a few years after he died, it must

have been around 1970 around that period when a lot of our students, our students who had come abroad in North America to study were coming back home and bringing back ideas of Black Power and the revolutions that were occurring. By that time these books started coming to the shop and I read his autobiography. It really had a great impact on my life. Not for some of the reasons people normally claim for - his militancy and so. I think that the greatest idea I got from Malcolm X was the need to be honest with yourself to be able to grow, to self-reflect. If you look at what is happening in life as his experiences expanded his views changed. He fundamentally remained the same, the issues changed as his life experiences expanded. He was not afraid to say OK I was wrong there, and grow from those experiences. I was about 14 or 15 at the time. (young professional woman)

The spread of ideas of a 'black community' is not done on only an oral basis. Through the printing and dispersal of ideas, ideas, rather than being localized, span across space, making space smaller and preserving moments. Matt Masuda states that "the memory ... described ... was beholden to evolving organisms, it also surged to electric, mechanical, and industrial rhythms, the whirling of the print-drum, the hammers of engines, and the charge ... of coils and telegraphs" (Masuda 1996:13). However, the moments may be reinterpreted as the ideas of what transpired shift and change with time, over space and according to political needs, for the gap between symbol of black power and its circulation may produce a rumour effect (Bhabha 1994:203) wherein there is a reinterpretation of the symbol to fit the current situations where "the past will seem to disappear, while the present will gain ever increasing technical capacity to investigate and record and generate references too that disappear" (Masuda 1996:11). While these changes may transpire, with widespread circulation of printed material on black issues the construction of 'black community' is perhaps more viable today than when Marcus Garvey established the UNIA.

The creation of one's own centres creation of own concepts may be likened to "a *living tissue* which folds and unfolds as if under the effect of its organic expandings and contractings.

in perfect opposition to the Cartesian concept of extension which is punctual and regulated by the shock" (Badiou 1994:55 emphasis in original). The organic expandings and contractings are visible in the educational process in Halifax-Dartmouth. "No history can be pure event, pure evolution: each is rather a repetition, a return, a return to a story which must be retold, distinguished from its previous tellings. The past is not a truth upon which to build, but a truth sought, a rememorializing over which to struggle" (Masuda 1996:15). The repetition of the story occurred in Halifax-Dartmouth as the Black Power movement in the United States also had an influence in Nova Scotia, providing people with the impetus to initiate change and to end discriminatory laws. Organizations such as the Black United Front were formed from this philosophy. According to a participant, in Nova Scotia

all that developed because of what was happening in the United States, the civil rights movement. Nobody here was pushing the government that hard initially to make changes of that nature because people were satisfied. If they were comfortable, they were complacent. Blacks were satisfied to go elsewhere seeking a black barbershop. (older professional man)

While the ideas have made impressions on outlooks on life to forms of mobilization in parts of North America and the Caribbean (for example in Trinidad in the 1970s there was a Black Power movement against discriminatory hiring practices, in part inspired by the civil rights movement in the US), their manifestations varied, and as such acquired different characteristics over space and time. However, the question does arise as to whether there is a privileging of a particular black experience in the construction of a 'black community'. While appeals are made to a 'community' that transcends national boundaries the discourse upon which it rests is decidedly from the United States.

According to one participant,

When they are talking about the black experience and black role modelling, it is nice to know about Martin Luther King, it is nice to know about Malcolm X and it is nice to know all of those things ... for me, those are nice to have but can you point out to me any Canadian kid who did well because he knew who all the Prime Ministers were? You know what I am

saying? Can you point out to me any West Indian kid who did well because they know who this black person was? No. We lived it. It was part of our experience ... So if I can teach the kids, I must first build that confidence in them, a desire, and create an environment that they can have opportunity .. The example you needed, the role model you needed comes from your neighbour who went to University and succeeded; you next door kid has a much greater chance of doing it than if he knew everything about Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, because you know how he managed to do it. (older professional man)

Rather than promoting figures that have been influential in the struggle for civil rights, this participant believes that experience is the definitive means of establishing self-confidence and creating an environment of opportunity. Where experience cannot be directly obtained, then role modelling gained from contact with successful neighbours would inspire the necessary confidence. Rather than professing knowledge of Malcolm X or Martin Luther King, the area under contention is not a definite physical space but a mental one, as he is working against Eurocentric thought that excludes, intentionally or not, any positive idea of black. The battle over physical space manifests itself in his desire to focus on Africadia and the Caribbean 'community' as sources of inspiration rather than entreating the 'black community' where black, as seen in Chapter 4, tends to be constructed as fixed. The argument then lends itself to the fact that if black identity is fixed in Eurocentric thought the participants want to at least secure it in a site favourable to blacks. However, rather than debating what is best for whom, one participant states

do whatever you can do to make a change in the world, in yourself, in your family with your people. I do not want to regret yesterday. I think of every situation as an opportunity, but I think that we have to look out for ourselves. To develop who we are. To dream dreams as to where you think that we must go, to aspire what there is to aspire towards. (young professional man)

The 'black community' then becomes a nation of resistance and with that label an idea of

essence emerges, for what is key in its existence is resisting marginalization, negative self images, harmful labelling among others. It is a reactive resistance as a means of self-authentication (Spivak 1994; Lavie and Swedenburg 1996:12) in which provisional closures, that is the re-use of stereotypes developed by whites or by blacks to advocate their 'emancipation', the play on modernity in which there is a search for coherence in incoherence, and a unity in difference (see Woods 1988:x) are used.

I know a lot of things that make me do all kinds of things and make me behave a particular way, but it is up to me to know who I am, what I believe in, and how I can best use all of these adversities to my best advantage. (older professional man)

As such, the sites of resistance bring into question senses of places as they appropriate and reappropriate understandings of locales. Through interactions and changes in government policies and peoples attitudes boundaries are redrawn as linkages to alternative ways of acting, viewing and understanding the world are developed. An understanding of resistance then entails an awareness of what constitutes a threat, what is threatened and how one reacts to the threat. The threats may have different spatial formulations. These differences permit varied forms of resistances as engaged by individuals and 'communities'. 'Community' resistances appeal to theories, among which is Afrocentrism, while individuals, although working through preconceived ideas of identity and 'community', employ strategies that may not be linked to any movement connected to their 'community'. Be it a group or individual act, differential strategies of resistance are often most effective means for the moment (Lavie and Swedenburg 1996:17).

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CONCLUSION: WHEN SPIDERS UNITE THEY CAN TIE DOWN A LION¹

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The discovery of this instability inherent in the nature is a frightening experience for leaders of the rebellion. At first they are completely bewildered; then they are made to realize by this new drift of things that explanation is very necessary ... Fanon 1967:107

To start off the discussion of how to close an open text, to pose ideas for discussion on social change, to query the ideas that lay behind such concepts as resistance, community and identity, I will introduce a statement made by Stuart Hall in the *Fact of Blackness*. Hall states that there is an inevitable "two-sided ambivalence of the structure we call nation, and the complicated relationship between things that are national and nationalism. There is a need to break down some of these equivalencies" (Hall 1996d:42). In this thesis, ideas of 'community' - the "little state of Africadia", the Caribbean, and Afrocentrism Pan-Africanism - are bound up in considerations of belonging, identity and resistance wherein they are (re)articulations of the local and the global in a manner that does not entail an obliteration of either (Hall 1996d:42). Existing in a heterogeneous space, the fracturing, the ambivalence, the questioning indeed complicates the relationship between nation and nationalism. In short, what I have sought to illustrate in this work is that in the struggle for equality and justice people have overlooked the value of difference, and by overlooking it limits are placed upon the possibilities for change and the potential for effective challenges to racism, oppression and discrimination.

The idea of thirdspace, as David Slater states, allows "notions of heterogeneity, difference, and plurality [to] replace more established precepts of singularity, presumed unity, and necessity" (on Chantal Mouffe's ideas in Slater 1997:62). What results is an enactment that wavers between separation, dissonance, change, plurality and disparity on the one hand, and unity,

¹ Traditional Ethiopian proverb

presence, permanence, foundation, structures and essences on the other. It is a movement that encompasses all at more or less the same moment (see Woods 1988:ix). In this thesis, the concept of thirdspace permitted the exploration of English-speaking Afro-Caribbeans in Halifax-Dartmouth that draws out the complexities in the ideas of a singular black identity and the 'black community'.

The rugged edges in the relationships among black peoples, and within the 'black communities', are highlighted when issues of identity and belonging are presented for discussion as they, rather than occupying a pristine site, display ambiguity as presence absence unfolds. The social relations embodied in this interplay between and within presence absence, be it relations related to country of origin, income profession, accent, skin colour or attitudes towards racism, present themselves as a means of constructing a multiplicity of meanings and interactions (Massey 1994:4). However, all may not accept the actuality of such a multiplicity, preferring instead to construct an exclusive (hooks, Garvey, Fanon, Asante) and or homogenous space (Garvey, Asante) as the basis upon which to recognize and engage with the emancipation of the black individual from the negative attributes with which he/she is strewn. Through these practices and desires, alternatives emerge in the black philosophies that can work through an assumed conformity and an overwriting of heterogeneity. Identity becomes a container. As such, ideas and practices including those of homespace, self-recovery and positive self images are deemed desirable and prioritised, and as the diversity with which these communities are inscribed is ignored and negated, leaving discourses of universalism to operate as delimitations, border guards of an imaginary black state.

Along the lines of Elizabeth Spelman's discussion of gender in *Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought*, a fixed black identity "occurs and helps perpetuate the 'hierarchical and differential social worlds we inhabit'" (Spelman 1988:82). A fixed black identity is a commodified one, one that is capable of production and reproduction without variation, and so is slotted into those guaranteed activities regardless of the differences between

individuals. However, through the participants' discussion of black identity in Halifax-Dartmouth, the meaning and consequences of being black are shown to be in partly dependent upon one's profession, nationality, gender and sexuality (Spelman 1988:80), though these categories too are fraught with ambiguity, and as such it cannot be surmised that the experience of one is equivalent to the experience of all. In this way, the concept of a black identity cannot be viewed as something that is inherent to particular individuals, and instead must be viewed as a process of becoming black wherein the 'adoption' of blackness functions as a means of limiting one's social, and at times economic, isolation within a province with a predominantly, though not exclusively, white population. Moreover, it should be emphasized that this process of self-identification does not necessarily lead to a simple either-or outcome, as the participants demonstrated strategic uses of differences and sameness to the local black population in order to overcome discrimination and racism that they could potentially encounter. Furthermore, the politics of blackness, as seen in this study, is not constrained by provincial or national boundaries, but rather finds expression in political dialogues of an international nature, where evidence of social movements, civil rights, political mobilization, alternative discourses on black identities all function as images of potentiality. However, while there is an interplay between the local and the global, the particular and the universal, it is not possible to attach a fixed quality to identity, and instead it must be viewed as a web of relations, one with many holes and gaps, leading to permit a constant re-envisioning and reinterpretation - it is fluid, defining and redefining itself according to the needs or expectations of society, community and oneself.

Identity is relational and situated. It is a process of becoming and learning, where the nod of approval shifts from that of an amusing characteristic to one of group recognition, where there is an intertwining, merging and reappearing, a complex process of ever-shifting lines. In this process it is not possible to define identities as determined and self-determined since, while identities may be informed, and hence considered determined, by one's economic position, gender, sexuality or 'race', they are also shaped by the attitude and approach of the individual.

Identity may then be conceptualized as the product of manoeuvring between being and becoming, emerging in places and through events. Thus, while the invoking a unified identity may be seen to strengthen the black identity by some, the manner in which it is done may in fact work against this goal. As Bhabha states, there are

attempts to conflate race and ethnic identity with sociobiological categories and ideas of cultural nationalism - and this at a time when conservative intellectuals and policy makers are turning increasingly to social Darwinism in their deliberations on the governance of minorities and multicultural populations. Disarming such determinism turns race and ethnic identity into a sign of identification and solidarity, rather than an essentialized or atavistic form of cultural origin written on the skin. (Bhabha 1995a:17)

In light of these attitudes, I have argued throughout this thesis that recognition of diversity in the understanding and approaches to black identity opens a way to move beyond those categories which have been mediated through Eurocentric discourses, such as deviant, insignificant, criminal, intellectually deficient or poor, permitting instead a learning through discovery and an appreciation of difference. The very fact that we are all strangers is indicative of the problematics of assuming a singular identity rather than viewing it as positions of consciousness each working off each other.

So, at the basis of conceptualizations of community is the idea of a singular identity, an idea that has been reiterated from Du Bois to Garvey to Asante to hooks to some of the participants in this thesis. Du Bois anticipated a Hegelian dialectical moment wherein black would emerge unified and ready to combat societal malevolence; Garvey worked towards the establishment of an independent black State; Asante advocated the unification of blacks on the basis of cultural similarities. Through each of these positions on the 'black community', there was an attempt to remake what was lost or make visible what was or had been absent. The attempts to construct a homogenous community, as found within Afrocentric texts where there is a slippage from physical similarity to cultural similarity and where the belief is expounded upon that African peoples' cultural similarities are 'genetically' predispositioned, have fallen short

of the mesh as some people refuse to identify with Africans, with Afro-Caribbean peoples and so on, while continuing to appeal to an invented Africa. As well, although the theorists in question, including Garvey, Du Bois, Gilroy and hooks, have discussed the fractions within the community they have not done so beyond colour and class, assuming that if only these obstacles can be transcended a homogenous 'community' will result. 'Community', like identity, is a process of becoming wherein the overlapping, merging and disappearance of 'communities' along with their meanings and symbols may be interpreted in numerous ways (Dalby and Mackenzie 1997:102). Constructing fictitious, homogenous 'communities', 'communities' that inevitably exclude those for whom they appear to be tailored, is among the problems that manifest among those who fail to appreciate difference.

In Halifax-Dartmouth, the imagining of community unveils itself in multitudinous ways, the most evident of which are the 'black community', Africadia and the Caribbean 'community'. However, while it is possible to identify membership, comradeship, and converging pasts, within each of these 'communities', in each case there is a certain hesitancy in definition and delimitation. As such, how meaning is conferred on 'community' and for what purposes it has come into being becomes fractured and multitudinous when these three 'communities' are examined. But, as Anderson states, 'communities' are "to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson 1991:6). What the thesis is concerned with is the silencing of differences within these imagined communities, a concern with which Gilroy and to a lesser extent hooks have concerned themselves. In this thesis, I engaged in an exploration of black thought on the 'black community' in Halifax-Dartmouth, not an exposé on racism at the hands of white society, but rather as an exploration of processes of identity and community formation. However, in no way is this meant to detract from the severity of racism in the contemporary era for it is recognized that: "It is not people of color who operate or control the major institutions of [North] American life: not governments, not cooperations, not financial markets, not the media." (Browser and Hunt 1996:xiv).

Generally speaking, blacks were shunted to the margins of Halifax-Dartmouth prior to the 1960 and 1970s. Today, all of the participants I interviewed lived within the city limits of Halifax-Dartmouth, as that is where most of Nova Scotia's Afro-Caribbean population is found, however, many blacks still live on the outskirts of Halifax-Dartmouth in towns such as Preston and Cherrybrooke. Nonetheless, signs of blackness become predetermined means for belonging, functioning as forms of identification rather than differentiation, thereby deferring the presence of social, economic and cultural differences. The assumed commonality, within Nova Scotia, finds its articulation through what Clarke has termed Africadia. In his conceptualization of Africadia, he argues that Africadia is in fact formed out of violence and desire, with networks functioning as mechanisms through which a homespace (hooks 1992) and a collective memory which works to interpret and reinterpret events, identities and histories. In this process, memory serves as a means of reterritorializing public spaces with private discourse which then in turn become public. A case in point is the Seaview picnic which is held every August to commemorate Africville. Through the construction of Africadia, belonging by means of an insider outsider geometry establishes a particular notion of inside but, once boundaries become drawn is it difficult to establish who belongs. It is a brotherhood sisterhood that emerges from an assumed common interest, that is a historically contingent process, based on the development of territorial, symbolic and institutional factors, fashioned out of struggle for social and economic equity. However, while there may be an interest in combatting racism, the manners and approaches to this struggle may vary, may be misunderstood, may stray from 'traditional' practices; and it is from this that an ambiguous space emerges and in which the boundary drawing becomes complicated. Overall, Africadia may be viewed as a place that changes over space-time: a place that is dependent upon context, functioning as passages, transmutations, events more than essences (see Derrida 1986:19).

Caribbean 'community' emerges as an interplay between the universal and the particular, and through its hybridity it acts as a point of departure in which there is an awareness of

translations, transitions and graftings in our interpretation of the present (Bhabha 1995b:16), thereby disarming the complacency within constructed nationalities. As Africadia exists through a process of becoming Africadian in its reappropriation of symbols differences, so too does the Caribbean 'community'. The latter, viewed as similar to Africadia yet different, allows places to become referential nodes upon which ideas of community and belonging are developed. Place is used in the defining of difference - outsider on account of accent, parentage, colour ... The Caribbean 'community', I have argued, while refraining from drawing upon symbolic references from Africadia or anything outside of what is considered expatriate Caribbean, is not an isolated 'community', but is one working through networks in Africadia, is on the periphery of Africadia and is contingent to Africadia. Continually fractured and incomplete, the 'communities' struggle for meaning and representation in a manner that does not monopolise one particular site but capitalizes upon linkages that extend beyond the Caribbean, Africadia, the 'black community'.

What is the 'black community'? Within this thesis I have sought to illustrate that the 'black community' exists somewhere between Pan-Africanism and Afrocentrism as a united black struggle against oppression and discrimination at times functions under the parameters of an archetypical African. Afrocentric ideologies selectively reproduce ideas of African in which 'the ancient African' becomes the exemplary type. It is a 'community' that is in part established through the call for struggles to surmount exclusion and manufactured antagonisms among blacks. However, this 'community' is eroded as issues of belonging come into play as belonging at times may refer only to how far back one can trace their roots, for example in Nova Scotia. Moreover, with this universalist discourse on 'community', a static vision of Africa emerges as a reductive representation that disavows complexity in the pursuit of self-pride and self-representations. Further complicating the issue of a universalist discourse is the fact that the Caribbean participants become both the same and the other as universal commonality works as a counter-current to difference brought about through nearness, rupturing any complacency

in definition or descriptions. Moreover, how Afrocentrism in particular attempts to bridge the gap is unclear, as appeals to Blackness are countered by claims to particularity grounded in religions and ancestry. The meshing of black and generality on the one hand, and indigenous and specificity on the other, translates itself into the life activities of a number of the participants where 'community' is delimited by 'race', that is to say by people of African descent.

However, this 'community' based upon race, oppression and discrimination, is not a passive victim, but is one that constructs ways of resisting the onslaughts faced. In conceptualizing resistance, Fanon conceived of a dislocated black body struggling in a predominantly white space for recognition as a person; and the only way to succeed in this struggle was through collective action, intra-African solidarity, and alternative sources of knowledge to precipitate change. Informing this struggle is the concept of violence where violence becomes a legitimate act in regaining what was lost, allowing people to move from where we are now to where we wish to be. Alternative knowledge, power to define and technology, Fanon assumed, would subvert the efficacy of exclusion as the body, as an agent in resistance, can mimic representations and thereby defy them. Other means of resisting discussed by theorists were music as resistance (Gilroy 1991) and retaining memory through the establishment of a homespace (hooks 1992). Homespace is located on the margins, functioning as a potential for creating change through the sharing of information. Spivak asserts that action is only possible if you can make sense of what exists (Spivak 1996:151).

In making sense of what exists, understandings of racism become important. Racism may be understood as the "battlefield, the minds of your people and the establishment ... your inability to actualize based on my perceptions of you" (male 30-40 professional). Among the forms of perception as those which find expression is the media. As James Taylor discusses in 'Racialized Representations in British and American Advertising', black characters feature disproportionately in background roles, with black males featuring more than black females (Taylor 1997:165). It is through these means that Africadian identities and black women

become the easels used in the painting of Eurocentric constructions of Blackness - absent in the picture but an important factor in its creation. The means advocated for resisting absence have been that of creating our own centres, as suggested by Garvey, hooks, and some of the participants. However, ways of combatting racism vary according to the individual as well as the event. Among the resistance strategies employed by participants is the act of 'fronting' wherein the black body becomes a site of struggle through which identity, 'community' and desire for change are articulated. In this process people of Afro-Caribbean descent advocate for the rejection of racism and the adoption strategies that encourage self-acceptance and self-pride. Acts of resistance have also entailed the construction of their own space through employment centres, training centres, associations and educational institutions, which purposefully setting out to alter the discourses on blackness by confronting them. Resistance permits the decolonization of the mind through alternative forms of learning knowledge acting and, through these, the (re)gaining of a space that distances us from the "words with which we have been educated" (Esteva 1987:135). The spaces of resistance extend to service places, workplaces, streets, universities schools, clothing and sites of artifice wherein a reterritorialization of space place unfolds through selective silences, silences that can be revealed if only one looks at the puzzle with an enquiring mind. For a word need not be uttered to know that it exists: the lost dreams, the battle over the mind, the avoidance and oversight in everyday life are challenged through resistance - whether it be in the physical, mental and social spaces of the observer.

However, not all forms of resistance are considered acts of defiance as often non-vocal acts are viewed as a failure to confront the 'aggressor' by those who are more vocal or militant about change (young professional woman), and because of this resistance becomes almost a duty and a 'necessity' in the name of the 'black community'. In this construction of the 'black community', the discourse of resistance relies much more heavily upon the American experience, to the neglect of forms of resistance that have originated within the Caribbean (Buzz Butler, Toussaint L'Overture, Castro, Walter Rodney, the maroons) and Africa (Mau Mau, Kenyatta,

Nelson Mandela, Kwame Nkrumah). However, rather than ranking the effectiveness of particular forms of resistance, it is perhaps more useful to recognize and respect the difference in acts of defiance, for as Elizabeth Elam, writing on feminism, states:

the main concern becomes a question of: who's a good feminist and who's a bad daughter? What is correct feminist theory and political action? In this (dis)guise, feminism also threatens to become an old girls' (and sometimes boys') club, organized around the same power structure of the patriarchy that it set out to displace. (Elam 1994:7)

In evaluating how one resists, it becomes a question who is black? Who is a 'sell-out'? What is the correct response? Operating at the level of categories of exclusion and oppression, such questions so perpetuate the power structures they seek to dismantle.

However, this in turn raises the question of what is difference? While it is understood as Derrida's play on presence absence, it is also grounded within ideas of necessity and emancipation working both as "irreducible, contingent, constituting forces" (May 1994:40) and "disruptive in resisting all accounts of these constituting forces that would bring them under the sway of a unifying principle that would make them ... merely derivations from or reflections of one true world or source" (May 1994:40). Difference works to thwart created concepts taken as truths by examining their practices, their productive capacities and their operation and so introduces new points and ways of expressing everyday life. Then, as Deleuze states, "[t]here is, then, a philosophy of 'life' ...: it consists precisely in denouncing all that separates us from life, all these transcendent values that turn against life, these values that are tied to the conditions and illusions of consciousness" (Deleuze in May 1994:37). While challenging the unifying principles embodied within the concepts of identity and 'community', it is done to identify "the differences between the terms which compose it" (in May 1994:39). "Thus, Deleuze asks us to think of difference as constitutive all the way down, and of unity as a product of the play of difference" (in May 1994:39).

Does difference necessarily imply the end to unity? May succinctly states, "[i]f meaning

were merely the product of difference, there would be no meaning, only noises unrelated to each other. In order for meaning to occur, identity must exist within difference, or better, each must exist within the other" (May 1994:46). As such, by operating through difference, that is to say by preserving it rather than undermining it, it is possible to resist homogenization in such a way that individuals are conceived as active agents, each producing their own space as a work of art (Routledge and Simons 1997:478). However, in appealing to networks of support there is a levelling of the suspicions of difference, permitting the merging and blending and at the same time deforming and reforming ideas of belonging to Africadia, the Caribbean 'community' or the 'black community'. In the process of valuing difference, manufactured gaps rather than differences in themselves are sources of antagonism (older professional man). As such, if value were placed in difference, there would be a greater opportunity to unite and work together for the betterment of the 'black community' in general. In the recognition of difference there is an element of self-sacrifice through the rationalization that each act of altruism would in the long run benefit the 'black community'. Based on this understanding of difference, the latter is understood not as privileging difference over unity but rather as unity that privileges difference (see May on Deleuze 1994:33).

In investigating these issues, matters of concern to geography as a discipline include all those issues related to the (re)territorialization of space, politics of identity, and the linking of the local and the global as black issues become imbued with the dynamic of transnational migration, integration, racism, and international struggle to end oppression and discrimination. These ideas have been linked to the concept of difference to offer insights into how a particular group of Afro-Caribbean people understand and interpret their present environment. Through this linkage, light was cast upon processes of community and identity formation and how resistance is tailored to particular needs threats. In this way, it might be argued, following Iain Chambers, that "it then surely becomes necessary for all of us to exceed the problems of our inheritances, to breach categories that author and authorize us, and become more than ... 'black'" (Chambers

1996:53). In doing this, the hope is that rather than engaging in battles over constructed identities and communities, efforts may be focussed on issues that ought to be the sources of contention, namely that of racism.

In the folds of this European civilization I was born and shall die, imprisoned, conditioned, depressed, exalted and inspired. Integrally a part of it and yet, much more significant, one of its rejected parts: one who expressed in life and action and made vocal to many; a single whirlpool of social entanglement and inner psychological paradox, which always seem to me more significant for the meaning of the world today than other similar and related problems. Little indeed did I do, or could I conceivably have done, to make this problem or loose it. Crucified on the vast wheel of time, I flew round and round with the Zeitgeist, waving my pen and lifting faint voices to explain, expound and exhort: to see, foresee and prophesy, to the few who could or would listen. Thus very evidently to me and to others I did little to create my day or greatly change it: but I did exemplify it and thus for all time my life is significantly for all lives of men (Du Bois 1968:3-4)

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