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COLONIAL EDUCATION AND CARIBBEAN LITERATURE IN C.L.R. JAMES
AND GEORGE LAMMING.

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

to the faculty of the department of

ENGLISH

of

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

at

ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY

New York

by

Sammantha McCalla

Date Submitted 4/15/20

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ABSTRACT

COLONIAL EDUCATION AND CARIBBEAN LITERATURE IN C.L.R. JAMES AND GEORGE LAMMING.

Sammantha McCalla

Caribbean Literature is credited with the purpose of writing an existence for the people of the West Indies, or the Caribbean, with an identity outside of colonialism. The seminal novels by pivotal writers of the Caribbean such as C.L.R. James and George Lamming are groundbreaking texts that engage with the histories of Caribbean colonial subjects. These writers' (among others) colonial educations are the foundation for their exiled writing and subsequent resistance to colonial education and antiblackness it spawns and fosters. In the Anglophone Caribbean, it is British colonial education that is the catalyst for this exile. This text explores the role of British colonial education in the exile of these writers, and what exile means for resistance. In that resistance, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the role of exile is gendered. Some women who were conditioned with British colonial educations prior to their immigration the United States were interviewed and their stories were analyzed through theories of exile, gendered resistance, and antiblackness.

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INTRODUCTION

High school English was supposed to be a breeze, and it was. I attended a specialized high school in Brooklyn, considered college preparatory, among other things. As the years go by I remember less and less, and while age plays a factor in that, English classes weren't anything to write home about. However, one thing stands out within the four years from English class in high school.

The standard book report assignment was disseminated, and students were allowed to choose the text. A Latina classmate said she chose a book in Spanish, to make it 'easy'. She told me to pick a book in Creole, and after I told her I wasn't Haitian, she said to just pick a book where I came from. Though I was born and raised in Brooklyn, I knew she meant where my parents were from. My mother was from Guyana, a South American country considered a part of the Caribbean, West Indies. I had no father to speak of, and in my mind, when that girl told me to pick a book from where I am from, I said to myself, "We don't have those."

Fast forwarding to the present day, I think of many things from those moments. First, what guts did my classmate have to pick a Spanish text. The teacher never gave parameters, and my classmate thought outside the box. It never dawned on me to choose a book in a different language, or even a book outside of what was taught in school. Second, back then I didn't know what a 'canon' was, but I knew what the canon was. I never strayed from those lines. Nothing else in my mind was considered a text. Third, even as I think about it now, I wondered if I thought for even a moment that her assignment wouldn't be good, especially if the teacher didn't know about the book she chose. I am pretty sure I thought that.

Lastly, the most egregious thought of all, “We don’t have those”. I can’t recall how long I thought that way, or what was the shining moment of my discovery of literature outside of white dominant discourse. But I do know that I understood “we don’t have those” as truth for a very long time, and for all of my childhood. Even texts that I read for black history month were relegated only to black history month. I always thought of them as *those* texts, placed specially in black history month because that’s where they belonged. If there was any text from black history month spilled into ‘regular’ English class, I believe Langston Hughes was the only one to enjoy that privilege.

What’s more, I had to face the ugly introspection of what made me think that Guyana had no literature to speak of. First, my specialized high school was diverse, but the curriculum was not (not much of a difference today in higher education). My mother never mentioned any Guyanese writers or books. But is that enough to make a person think those didn’t exist in Guyana? My mother never mentioned roads or cars or even air in Guyana, but I knew they were there. I knew Guyana had people, had buildings, had churches, had schools, yet those things weren’t taught to me as such. How did I get the notion that there were no Guyanese writers? Was I that self-absorbed? Did I think that just because I didn’t know something, it could not exist?

To make matters worse, I never asked my mother for any information refuting my belief. Now, I can readily answer why I didn’t. If she answered that indeed yes, there were Guyanese books, I’d have to read them and that would mean more work. Contrary to popular belief, not every student in a specialized high school was motivated to exceed expectations. Some of us were content to get eighty-fives and above without a drop of studying. But another thought begins to push through to the older me. I am glad I never

asked her. The implication would be that I thought she was unintelligent, and that Guyana, as a whole entire nation, had not one person that could produce something called a text to the understanding of the educational system in the United States. The humiliation then, is all mine. I am forever grateful I never asked her.

Of course, the real epiphany wasn't just learning that there is Caribbean Literature, it was learning about its purpose. I was taught that literature was for pleasure or enjoyment, and believed close reading to be a chore that meant nothing but what the reader wanted it to mean. Imagine an entire genre, spanning the Francophone and Anglophone nations of the Caribbean, sharing a purpose. It almost seems impossible. Edouard Glissant tells us the exact purpose of Caribbean literature is to write the Caribbean body into existence outside of the colonial body (1989). Caribbeans need a history outside of that of the colonizer, and Caribbean literature sets out to do that. Glissant explains that the Caribbean longs for its own history, and that Caribbean literature and Caribbean history are in a reciprocal relationship. This does not mean that Caribbean literature is historical drama, but rather, the Caribbean novel is the movement of the understanding of an existence of the Caribbean body outside of the historical colonial body.

How is this possible? Frantz Fanon gave us the answer. In *Black Skin, White Masks* (2008), Fanon shows us that the problem of colonialism includes the historical condition of being the slave and the colonial subject, and the attitude towards that condition. Inclusive of that attitude is the quest for a solution to that condition, which Glissant tells us the exiled Caribbean writer does, outside of the Caribbean. Such writers explored in this project are C.L.R. James, George Lamming, and Sylvia Wynter. While

these scholars epitomize exiled writers' work for Caribbean identity outside slavery and colonialism, other pivotal writers brought to the forefront the colonial life and culture erasure in the pursuit of colonial rewards: respectability and upward socio-economic mobility.

One such writer is Earl Lovelace. A native of Trinidad and Tobago, he has written several novels including his seminal work *Salt* (1996). He has been hailed as a writer that "is marked by an on-going dialectic between nation and narration, nationhood and diversity, independence and freedom, the individual/community and social responsibility, power and leadership, faith and renewal" (Rahim 2). One of his novels that raised considerable questions was *The Wine of Astonishment* (1986). While the novel is mostly concerned with the religious aspect of spiritualism and worship, other recurring themes such as antiblackness, colorism, and of course colonialism are prevalent. However, when Ivan Morton, a town boy who "turn Catholic and learn their catechism and went to confession and make his first communion" comes back home to his town and begins to show his town that he is no longer their boy, invokes not just modernism (43). Morton's subsequent education at Teachers Training College in Port of Spain create in Morton a man that can now speak for the people, yet is a man who is no longer for those people. He dumps his first girlfriend, Eulalie, who is pregnant, for another girl whose speaks better English, and is lighter skinned. In addition, the townspeople do not rally behind Eulalie for this injustice, but rather blame her because she looked for trouble herself by getting pregnant in the first place. *The Wine of Astonishment* asks the reader to unmask the reconciliation of Eulalie's abandonment, and when one is forced to do so the colonial education becomes the site of institutional violence on the colonial body (Cudjoe 1980).

Colonial education instills the lie of British citizenry, where Caribbean colonized bodies are taught to ask for democracy within that structure that cannot grant them such. When plainly asking for their right to worship as they see fit, some people of the village determine that they should just speak with the authorities and “let them know that we is British citizens too” (38). What role does colonial education have in Morton’s movement away from his own family and religious preferences? Morton is also aware of his limitations; he knows he is not white nor will he ever be when he admonishes that “we can’t be white but we can act white” (13). How does colonial education create an understanding of antiblackness that is adhered to by the colonial body?

Lovelace also credits colonialism with emasculation. While the townspeople have come to respect Morton because of the prestige his education affords him, to the point he is not held accountable for his abandonment of Eulalie and his conversion to Catholicism, his nemesis, Bolo, does not. Not only does Bolo insist that Morton can no longer be a representative for the people, the narrator goes on to praise Bolo for not giving up his manness that easily to allow Morton to speak on his behalf (43). However, Eulalie did not get the same margin Bolo received. How then does colonial education viciousness on Eulalie becomes admitted, while simultaneously accepting of challenges on behalf of Bolo? Does colonial education measure its oppression based upon gender? What does resistance to colonial education look like?

Michelle Cliff pushes these gender boundaries in *Abeng* (1991). In the novel, Clare participates in activities that would exclude her from the respectability politics of colonial life for women. She hunts a boar and experiments sexually with another woman. She is then sent to live with a woman who can teach her to be a proper lady. Merle

Hodge's *Crick Crack Monkey* also challenges the validity of the Caribbean female body. Her characters also vie for respectability, causing shame for those who could not attain it and contempt for those who refused to conform. Exactly how did colonial education make the lives of Caribbean women an outlier to their system? How much onus does colonial education place on the female body for her to achieve her own humanity?

Simon Gikandi reminds us that "colonial education, by presenting the lived experiences of the Caribbean people as invalid, negated the very subjectivity of the colonized by taking them away from their 'own reality' "(1989 18). These novels, while definitely restructuring Caribbean identity and history in opposition to a solid colonial identity, clearly place the institutionalization of racism, oppression, sexual politics, marginalization and erasure of spiritual practice and actions squarely at the feet of the British educational system of the Anglophone Caribbean. The new reality, the colonial reality, is where the Caribbean body is forced to live and create worth to the British overseer. This worth must be measured in tangible wealth, only attainable as a reward for total acquiescence and conformity to the politics of British Colonial Education.

Why didn't I think Guyana had writers and literature? The absence of a deliberate, authentic, Guyanese identity did not exist in my mother. My mother, raised in British Guyana, considered herself a British citizen. Her childhood books were about London, not Guyana. Those (Guyanese) texts were missing, and her identity outside of colonial British Guyana was also missing. If I were to ask her about Guyanese books, she most certainly would be incredulous that I did not know that Guyana indeed had literature. The problem is that she would have produced all British works. In exactly the same way, Gikandi makes it clear that colonial education has produced a new and different reality

for her subjects. I contend that this reality, created by colonial education, has made respectability politics the center of life for women in the Caribbean. In the center of that politic, I contend that language erasure is a large part of the movement upward in respectability and socio-economic mobility. Caribbean novels have created a space for thinking about ways in which colonial education has created this new reality, as well as creating spaces to live outside of these realities.

C.L.R. James' *Beyond a Boundary* takes colonial education through the thread of the sport of cricket. James' clear distinctions with his British school code make his book a perfect place to begin answering the questions of colonial education's role in creating this new reality.

In chapter one, I explore the creation of the new reality from the colonial education James received. Within *Boundary*, I use Sylvia Wynter (1992) to structure an understanding of British power and the building of profit economy. Wynter's theories of "inversion of human value" (85) and "cultural conceptions of power" (66) work to provide a framework for the class building that separated Caribbean people and the yardstick for humanity measured among them. Through a deep look at Mathew Bondman, a man by all accounts should have been a great cricket player on the international stage, Wynter's theories give a clear look at how colonial education created the space for the pity, revulsion, and hatred for Bondman and the love for all things British.

Chapter one also takes a hard look at the role of British education within the game of cricket. The exploration of this game in the West Indies brings to life the role of colonial education in the creation of a national sport that builds nationhood, manhood,

and respectability *inside* the parameters of the British school code. The scholarship of C.L.R. James and Ben Carrington provide the foundation for examination of how sports (cricket in the West Indies, juxtaposed with football in the United States) shape a cultural identity and how race is still foundational in that creation. In an attempt to answer some of the earlier questions raised by the Caribbean novels mentioned earlier, chapter one specifically tries to answer how colonial education create an understanding of antiblackness that is adhered to by the colonial body.

Chapter two takes on the rebellion of colonial education of C.L.R. James and George Lamming. Both of these scholars, educated at home in their respective Caribbean countries, Trinidad and Barbados. They both traveled extensively, and wrote works integral to the investigation of exile's role in colonial resistance. Both Lamming and James make massive contributions to the resistance of colonialism for West Indians, and in this chapter their roles of exiled writers are explored through Simon Gikandi's *Writing in Limbo, Modernism and Caribbean Literature*. Gikandi's work serves to underscore my point that colonialism education is the actual catalyst for exile. Through examining exile, this chapter works to provide an understanding of the necessity of exile in Caribbean resistance to colonialism and these writer's mark on that resistance.

In addition, the works of Jan Carew (1978) and Sylvia Wynter (1968) are also explored in the importance and role of exile. In "We Must Learn to Sit Down Together and Talk About a Little Culture: Reflections on West Indian Writing and Criticism. Part I", Wynter makes a clear argument for awareness, and its role in decision making for resistance. This awareness, coupled with Carew's "brooding spaces" (460) create a foundation for another of the questions raised by the Caribbean novels mentioned earlier

which is, “What does resistance to colonial education look like?” Lastly, Louise Bennet’s poem, “Colonization in Reverse” (1982) is used to examine such questions about gender’s role in the understanding of the difference between exiled and immigrant.

Chapter three is an investigative study on immigrant women from Anglophone Caribbean countries that have been colonially educated in their native Caribbean homes. I successfully applied for and was given IRB/Human Subjects approval from the Office of Institutional Research at St. John’s university for these interviews. The study focuses on these women’s colonial educations, their ideas around that education, how much of that education has translated to their lives in America, and how translations manifest in their daily decision making processes and interactions with others, and how they raise their children. Of considerable interest is colonial education’s effect on Nation languages of these women. In *History of the Voice* (1993) E. Kamau Brathwaite has given a name to the broken englishes, the creoles, the underground maligned languages of the West Indies and called them Nation languages. With this validation he has taken resistance of colonialism by the neck in the Caribbean to the degree in which some have called it a “tireless pursuit of cultural authenticity” (Torres-Saillant 697). The study in chapter three examines these women’s attitudes towards nation language, and the role colonial education played in those attitudes, Shondel Nero’s work in “Language, identity, and Education of Caribbean English Speakers” (2006) provides a structure of the attitude of the educational system in the United States as a backdrop for the decision making of the participants. Alicia Beckford Wassink (1999) and Steven Alvarez (2015) are also used to investigate the relationships between these women and their nation languages.

Chapter three also looks at the ways gender structures the work of the immigrant

female body, and how these women understand that gendering wo work for them. Belinda Edmonson (1999) expressly considers this gendering of work among female immigrants which provides an underscoring for the questions posed earlier such as, “Exactly how did colonial education make the lives of Caribbean women an outlier to their system? And, “How much onus does colonial education place on the female body for her to achieve her own humanity?”

One of the women that participated in the study, Eunice,¹ gave a life story in her interview. This woman deserved her own chapter, and her story pulled the study into a polarizing journey of black American and Afro-Caribbeans in the United States in the post independent years of most Anglophone Caribbean countries. Chapter four explores this woman’s narrative through M. Jacqui Alexander’s Caribbean feminist theories (2006), Derrick Bell’s permanence of racism (2018), and Sylvia Wynter’s non published work entitled “Black Metamorphosis: New Natives in a New World”. The theories presented from these scholars work in a reciprocal fashion with Eunice’s decision making, and as an arrangement of culture, immigration, and black respectability for Eunice.

In Wynter’s “Metamorphosis”, she uses the term abduction to mean the whole current lived experiences of subjects of previously colonized countries in their present-day places, still rife with domination from the currents of slavery, colonialism, and the profit economy. Eunice’s story fits squarely in a place of Wynter’s abduction. In chapter four, the fraction of Eunice’s life that was shared in the study is analyzed through

¹ A pseudonym.

Wynter's abduction, as well as the tenets of the permanence of racism and its effects on the interactions of members of the African Diaspora.

Lastly, M. Jacqui Alexander's theory of recognition is used to dissect Eunice's pragmatic outlook on her life. Alexander's recognition calls for the need to know and understand fellow sister's story, past, and oppression without the yardstick approach of measuring one's pain to feed superiority complexes. This assessing strategy, according to Alexander, causes what she calls misrecognition. Reminiscent of Fanon's truth that the black man is a "comparison...constantly preoccupied with self-evaluation...whenever he comes into contact with someone else, the question of value, of merit, arises." (2008 163). While Fanon is speaking specifically of the Antillean, this recognition, or misrecognition as Alexander calls it, is shown by Eunice to come directly from the false ideal-hood of British citizenry in colonial Anglophone Caribbean countries, and the reverence for all things British in the United States.

Caribbean literature's immeasurable influence on the study of the Anglophone Caribbean identity in and of British colonialism is only equaled by the resonation with each and every reader that examines the literature's impact upon themselves. The journey from "We don't have those", to a present expedition in the study of Caribbean identity is an infinite unlearning of colonial discourse for which I am grateful.

CHAPTER ONE

The Invisible Hand of Colonial Education – C.L.R. James and Cricket.

C.L.R. James' *Beyond a Boundary* (1963) outlines cricket as not only the sport of the West Indies, but as the import of England to her colonies, as the sport of gentlemen, and as an avenue to the world of British culture, domination, genteelism, and socio-economic hierarchal entrance. *Boundary* traces cricket's political and social motivations in the Caribbean, and through James' colonial British education, illustrates how cricket and literature actually bolster James' rebellion against his colonizers, even though these two media (cricket and colonial education) stems from Britain itself. Using *Boundary*, James gives us how colonial education creates the colonial subject that not only appreciates the education of the colonizer, but fosters a spirit of cherishing what that education creates – a newly hierarchized society made in the image of its creator, a class system that rewards the ostracization of any who rebuke that education, and socio-economic upward mobility in an economic system built upon the free labor of slaves and indentured servants (the very forefathers of the colonized).

In the first chapter, *Boundary* gives James' account of his early life in Trinidad. Looking from his window, he imparts to us his early formations of “personality in society” and the stratifications of such (4). What these personalities in society become is a composition of socio-economic hierarchies entrenched into the social framework of colonized peoples to understand, accept, and embody the values of the colonizer. These values, of course, subsist at the expense of the colonized, as the colonized are told they

are citizens of the colonizer, but they are in fact an “inversion of human value” and are the labor, and their land the resources, to uphold the bourgeoisism of their colonizer (Wynter 1992 85). Yet, the colonized are granted the title of ‘citizen’, which has promised a movement upward through this hierarchy through 1) education of the colonizer, and 2) in James’ existence in the Caribbean, cricket.

James indeed understood his British citizenry came with colonization, and he recognized the effect British citizenship made on the political and cultural life in the Caribbean. In rebuttal to Trotsky’s claim that sports distracted the working class from politics, James reply of “I was British...Britain was very familiar to me, both the politics and the sport” makes a claim to his British citizenship (200). This citizenship, born of “Puritanism and cricket”, which he calls his inheritance, makes James’ interface with this socio-economic hierarchy (established in the Caribbean) comprehensible (9). This citizenship, replete with colonization, also explains his family’s disdain for the opposition to this so-called British citizenry: the hatred of Matthew Bondman.

The entire Bondman family, which rented housing from James’ family, was inadequate except for the father. James begins his description of the Bondman family with Matthew as:

“An awful character...generally dirty...[and] would not work. His eyes were fierce, his language violent and his voice was loud. His lips curled back naturally and he intensified it by an almost perpetual snarl. My grandmother and my aunts detested him. He would often without shame walk up the main street barefooted, ‘with his planks on the ground’, as my grandmother would report...The whole Bondman family, except for the father, was unsatisfactory. It was from his mother that Matthew had inherited or absorbed his flair for language and invective. His sister Marie was quiet but bad, and despite all the circumlocutions,

or perhaps because of them, which my aunts employed, I knew it has something to do with ‘men’ “ (4).

Sylvia Wynter explains how the colonization of the Caribbean creates a discourse in which the James family must detest Matthew Bondman and his family, by pointing out Bondman embodies Franz Fanon’s *les damnés* (Eudell 158).² In *Conceptions: The Counterdoctrine of the Jamesian Poiesis* (1992), Wynter explains that in order to subvert the system of power one must understand that system through its foundation. This system of power, or the entire colonization of the Caribbean, then, first must be legitimized by both colonizer and colonized. Wynter’s structure in analyzing *Boundary* includes “dynamics of multiple modes of domination arising from such factors as gender, color, race, class, and education” (63). The passage describing Matthew Bondman and his family use these modes of domination described by Wynter and illustrate the effects of the colonial education on the minds of the colonized in their cultural processes of adhering to established hierarchies in their newly formed British structures.

First, in tackling James’ aunt’s and grandmother’s utter hatred for Matthew Bondman, I use Wynter’s mode of class. The mode of class domination extends to the entire Bondman family in that they are renting from the James family, which automatically places the Bondman family in a lower class structure than that of the James’. James’ family is legitimately superior to the Bondman family because of this class status and land ownership, which Wynter argues is the new aristocracy in the Caribbean. In colonized nations where there are no recognized monarchs or reigning

² In Frantz Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon uses the Marxist term lumpenproletariat which are the lowest class of people in society – those that are unemployed, uneducated and without meaningful jobs, homeless and criminals. While Fanon argues that this group should be included in the movement against colonial rule, colonialism fosters the hatred of this group by their higher class fellow colonized, into which the James’ family flows neatly.

nobles because of indigenous holocaust, slavery and indentured servitude, land ownership becomes the method in which the British equate their blood-line-aristocracy to their colonized 'children' creating what Wynter calls "cultural conceptions of power" (66). For the British, the structure of power was passed down by blood, thereby creating an accepted and legitimized concept that power came from God, or the "metaphorics of natural reason and lack of natural reason" (66). Conversely, in the Caribbean, the accumulation of property, or becoming a landlord, becomes the new source of legitimacy in society, and the natural reason then fell upon those who owned land, leaving those without any land ownership, in a lower class state of lack of natural reason. This creates a colonial social order that replaced blue blood aristocracy with black bourgeoisie land accumulation in the West Indies. The James family, in owning the land the Bondman's rent, enjoy a cultural aspect of power instituted to them by their colonizers.

Several scholars have investigated the social aspect of land ownership in the West Indies. Peter J. Wilson and David Lowenthal argue that "owning land was the most tangible expression of freedom from slavery throughout the Caribbean" (Wilson 68). Wilson goes on to argue that "land must be seen also as a focus of social constraint and competition, as the infrastructure of social relations based on production, and as a backing for social stratification (69). Jean Besson asserts "such land rights were not only economic significance, providing some independence from the plantations and a bargaining position for higher wages when working on them, but also symbolized freedom, personhood, and prestige among the descendants of former slaves" (22). We see these forces at work in the immediate and acceptance higher class level of the James family in relation to their tenants. Although not very different from the American dream

of home ownership in the United States, as well as the socio-economic stratification home ownership encompasses, the differences are still striking. In the United States, home ownership is also accompanied by school districts and property taxes, which dictate resources in said districts. This system supports and valorizes meritocratic approach to education and opportunities to advance socio-economically. In the Caribbean, the schools are not under the resources of home owners' property taxes, but rather a rating system of discipline and adherence to the Puritan values from their colonizers that James continually refers to in *Boundary*. Meritocracy is rife in this system as well, reinforcing Sylvia Wynter's natural reason argument, causing West Indians to judge their fellow colonials' lack of home ownership as their own fault, a result of their lack of hard work, and moral compass, which is often associated with their degree of blackness, as discussed hitherto.

Although James does not expressly reveal the (relative) color of Matthew, the fact is one of his demonizing traits are his lips that naturally curl backwards. It's clear that the distinguishing feature of thicker lips of the African also played a part in the dehumanization of the Bondman clan. In *Scenes of Subjection Terror Slavery and Self-Making in Nineteenth Century America* (1997), Saidiya Hartman discusses the function of the 'darky' in early American minstrelsy. Hartman explains how minstrelsy encouraged chattel slavery, and the coffer's role in the 'spectacularization of black pain and racist conceptions of Negro nature as carefree, infantile, hedonistic, and indifferent to suffering and to an interested misreading of the interdependence of labor and song common among the enslaved" fostered this role the 'darky' plays for the white world and its discourse among black people (22). The blackface of minstrelsy built upon the

subjugation of blacks while creating a definition of blackness around “darky antics – lying, loafing, stealing, and breakdown dancing” while exaggerating the features of Africans’ skin color, size and shape of nose and lips, equating physical features with corruption and duplicity, and the buffoonery surrounding the (black’s) language of the minstrel actor. (28). Bondman’s naturally curling African lips are obviously an embodiment of his dark, ugly, African nature that must be combated with the refinement that British colonial education would afford it’s colonial disciples, at least those willing to learn that refinement.

Hartman’s critique of minstrelsy and blackface permeate the white repressive nature of blackness that is seen in the West Indies through the imperialist nature of British education as she notes

The abrogation of social order and the loosening of the structures of identity enabled by the blackface mask in turn fortified a repressive and restrictive reception of blackness, which, although elastic enough to permit white self exploration, could not trespass the parameters established to maintain racial hierarchies. Thus minstrelsy flouted high culture and cultivated a common sense of whiteness only as it reinforced the subjugated status of blacks...minstrelsy articulated a white working class consciousness (31).

While minstrel shows and blackface were widely known in the United States, Helen Gilbert, a scholar of drama and performance states that minstrel shows “found a colonial audience in India, Jamaica, Nigeria, and South Africa”, obvious sites of European colonialism and imperialism throughout the world that validated racism and it’s imperialist vehicle of slavery (683). With the wide reaching arm of colonialism educating her savage children into the culture of the master, minstrelsy, replete with its aberration of blackness, can only reinforce the anti-blackness of the British educational system in

the colonial West Indies. In other words, the codifying of the black body in minstrelsy physically portrayed the anti-blackness of the colonial educational system, thereby making black skin, large noses and full lips a signifier of repulsion and abhorrent character. Matthew Bondman didn't stand a chance.

While it cannot be expressly stated in Bondman's situation that color is one of the modes of domination, color is expressly connected to blackness, which is anti-white. Therefore, the social value of whiteness is definitely incorporated in the demonization of Matthew, in that he is too black because his lips are too full, and not in enough possession of the modes that could emancipate him of his African traits, those being education and land ownership. Whiteness indeed functions as wealth, giving a West Indian credence to Cheryl Harris' "Whiteness as Property" argument pertaining to the United States of America.

The fact that Matthew's language was unacceptable to James' bourgeoisie family expresses the level in which the James' family adhered to the British structure of language, which indicate a lack of formal British educational training in the Bondman family. Matthew's 'flair' and 'invective' for language, which he inherited from his mother, illustrates his lack of etiquette that reveals itself through the lack of genteelism of the Queen's English. Later will come a discussion on Matthew's mother's failure to her family through this language she has been accredited with passing to her son. The fact that he also spoke too loudly bespoke of a low class stature. His 'invective' speech would not have displayed humility, a characteristic James' aunts and grandmother would have expected and appreciated given their perception of their elevated status to Matthew. Instead, they received from the Bondman clan the rebellion of this social order from their

British colonial masters, directed at the beneficiaries of the cultural capitalism built by said order. The James' family was vested in their status as bourgeoisie land-owners and took immense pride in their role of the cultural conceptions that wielded power, and Matthew Bondman was not ignorant of these tropes. His loud and combative language was a direct act of rebellion against the anti-blackness that colonial education imposed upon the Caribbean.

Inclusive of the educational process of the colonizer is the religious indoctrination of the Caribbean colonial. James continually refers to his inheritance as Puritanism and cricket (9). The Puritan arm of Christianity was very popular after the reformation and aligned itself with being a good person, not a just a good Christian. However, it was the legalism of the Puritan branch that created an effective assessment on the level of black respectability and therefore a cultural conception that informed the social order. Strict adherence to rules that applied to a life in the cold and wet United Kingdom suddenly applied to the tropical existence in the Caribbean. James' grandfather went to church in "the broiling sun in a frock-coat, striped trousers and top-hat...walking stick...surrounded by his family, the underwear of the women crackling with starch" (9). The fact that no amount of heat, discomfort, or sweat could make them amend the clothing to their own climate reinforces the legitimizing of the colonial education that is the foundation for the socio-economic hierarchy that colonization establishes.

James' awareness of this is evident when he defends his aunts' and grandmother's disdain for Matthew Bondman as a symptom of their fear of losing their status and defense of their social standing (9). Matthew, a "ne'er do well...so crude and vulgar in every in every aspect of life, [but] with a bat in his hand was all grace and style" was

“good for nothing except to play cricket” (4-5). In fact, he describes his Aunt Judith as the “English Puritan incarnate,” and describes her queenly life in that although she called Matthew Bondman “a child of the devil”, if he were sick she would nurse him to health as a good Christian woman would do. As was also her duty, she was a consummate homemaker, and being the quintessential good English Christian woman, she literally cooked and cleaned herself to death, a “fitting crown to her life” (15).

While Matthew was the focus and the prime example of the failure of the uncivilized black savage to become a English gentleman, his sister, Marie Bondman, also bore the brunt of the disdain of the middle class blacks in the Caribbean for her failure to reflect the conditioning of the colonizer’s whitewash of culture. “Afro-Caribbean women... were constructed as loose, immoral, loud, independent and sexually available” (Reddock 5). This construct, working intersectionally within racism in the Caribbean, simultaneously formed by slavery and white patriarchy, also produced its antidote. In other words, the very same colonialism that built the racist and patriarchal hierarchy that placed black women at the bottom of the social strata, made claim to teach one how to raise herself from the gutter of class structure. Chastity, purity, quietness, and docility were the hallmarks of a good Christian woman, taught to the hell-bound women of the West Indies, as emulated by white women.

In Michelle Rowley’s critique of liberal humanism in “Whose Time Is It? Gender and Humanism in Contemporary Caribbean Feminist Advocacy” she asserts that:

Humanism depends on more than the idea of a rational, autonomous self, but it establishes its categories through binaristic practices of othering. These practices and technologies are material in effect. For the Caribbean region, colonialism, the tyranny of the Middle Passage and of the Kala Pani (the subsequent enslavement and indentureship), and the

resulting subjects reflect some of the economies and practices that were driven by humanist expansion and colonial self-referencing... These historical antecedents hold specific ontological urgency for women in and of the African diaspora. This urgency arises first from the role that humanistic narratives played in the invention of abject blackness and the second because these racialization turned of the production of gendered tropes for their (ongoing) efficacy (2-3).

Rowley's critique offers an elucidation of the gendered racialization of the black female body in the colonial Caribbean and a pinpointing of the tropes that black women needed for inclusion in the colonial structure of upward class mobility. The 'antecedents' of slavery and colonialism mark the foundation for what Hortense Spillers calls the "mythical prepossessions" referenced earlier that mark the woman of worth, stature, and high caliber (68).

Unfortunately for Marie, she missed the mark of the prototype of female English gentility. For all her quietness, she was a failure as a woman because of her reputation with men. Without speculation, none of the men she consorted with were mentioned along in her deplorable state, and therefore relegates her behavior to a misstep of her womanhood. In a society built upon the values of the English the bourgeoisie family knew the rules and disdained the "sexual and moral customs of the Black lower classes, for all their vitality and attractiveness, amounted to a rejection of English bourgeoisie sensibility, they were an affront to the morality of the colonial model set before the natives" (Robinson 252). Under the early patriarchal colonial system any sexual impropriety, misconduct, or appearance of immoral activity between men and women fell squarely upon the female. It stands to reason that Marie Bondman, in a family of a non-landowner and without natural reason, was viewed as not possessing the class, mental

ability, and Christian fortitude to keep herself out of any possible situation that would sully her reputation, and thereby her family's.

Interestingly enough, this is all the reader can glean from *Boundary* about Marie. James does not give us anything of depth in regards to her, except her sullied reputation with the opposite sex. She is rendered a singularly dimensional person with only implied fornication as her embodiment. At least her brother Matthew had cricket to redeem himself, even if he somehow refused to take advantage of it. Rowley critiques Franz Fanon's translation of *I Am a Martinican Woman* as "acerbic" and accuses Fanon of painting the protagonists' entire existence around racial situations "reducing Capécia to a simplified, childlike character doggedly pursuing whiteness" (6). Similarly, Marie is reduced to harlotry status without any redeeming qualities modeled after her colonial masters. In James' defense, *Boundary* is not solely about Marie. *Beyond a Boundary*'s centering on cricket rationalizes the extent to which Matthew Bondman's cricket skill is extensively portrayed. However, Marie's swift judgment without any regard to her loves, passions, dreams, and experiences is not only a passing reference in a novel about cricket; it is the reflection of Marie's treatment by James' family and the black middle class of the West Indies that ascribe to the colonial education and imperialist nature of colonialism itself. Marie is dismissed from middle class status, replete with the markings of blackness (hypersexualization) and absence of whiteness (chastity and purity), and her apparent refusal to adhere to the tropes that would spell her admittance to a higher social class. Her lack of Spillers' 'mythical prepossessions' and the reverence for the rules of a good Christian woman that she deliberately chose not to adhere to are her downfall. In fact, Marie doesn't stand a chance at any redemption from her family except through a

man; she would have to marry into respectability. Analogous to colonialism's self-antidote, a man is her only escape from what being with a man has done to her; sex both condemns and redeems.

Lastly, poor Matthew Bondman would not work. In direct contrast to James' aforementioned grandfather, who was held in importance measured by the level of employment held by only white men:

My father's father was an emigrant from one of the smaller islands, and probably landed with nothing. But he made his way, and as a mature man worked as a pan-boiler on a sugar estate, a responsible job involving the critical transition of the boiling cane-juice from liquid to sugar. It was a post in those days usually held by white men. This meant that my grandfather had *raised himself* above the mass of poverty, dirt, ignorance and vice which in those far-off days surrounded the islands of black lower middle class respectability like a sea ever threatening to engulf them" (9). Emphasis mine.

Here again, is the cultural capital of whiteness displayed in the level of employment a black man reached only in contrast to the white man. James surmised the lack of resources in the Caribbean when stating that his grandfather arrived with nothing, but somehow made himself into the kind of person that white people would trust in a job that only a white person would hold, because blacks were unintelligent, unscrupulous, and unwilling to hold the job. James' grandfather then, becomes responsible, ingenious, and resourceful, because that would have to be the bare minimum to compete with the average white person. These characteristics in James' grandfather are everything Matthew Bondman is not. Matthew Bondman materializes into the opposite of the British citizen colonial education is supposed to produce. He is everything anti-white, and whiteness is what is rewarded by British colonial rule. Colonial education not only

created the falsehood of British citizenry, it engulfed every Matthew Bondman into a body of anti-whiteness, culminating in blackness. Therefore, antiblackness is not only a descendant of slavery, but also of colonial education. Bondman's either unwillingness or incapacity to conform and become, in his case, the consummate cricket player he most certainly could've been, is directly related to his anti-whiteness. Colonial education affects all of Caribbean life, not just the classroom and jobs. Bondman shows us it creates a society of antiblackness for blacks, and no one could escape it.

We are not told why Matthew Bondman does not work. In following the cultural conceptions the colonization of the Caribbean created, what work would Bondman get with all of the social capital detractors he maintains? His language, his looks, his lack of resources (evidenced by his walking barefoot and assumed basic education) would automatically disqualify him from any job the James family would consider respectable. In that respect, he is totally at fault for his lack of employment, the result of his lack of natural reason. After all, James' grandfather had the natural reason which was noticed by the white person that allowed him to work that special job, one that Wynter calls "a magical possession", which placed him in a social standing that can allow for land ownership (75). Matthew Bondman, on the other hand, lacked the natural reason to adhere to British colonial education, if not the classroom variety, the sort that he attained from the disdain and ostracization of the James' family and any other bourgeoisie family.

The colonized Caribbean understands this lack of natural reason as a lack of merit. James places immense pride in his grandfather's ability to *raise himself* above inevitable poverty and create the family that James is familiar with. His critique of his grandfather's ability to become employed in a white-only job places meritocracy at the

basis of his grandfather's success. While the myth of meritocracy is discussed as a critique of liberalism by scholars such as Eduardo Bonilla-Silva and Aja Martinez, meritocracy was a colonial approach through Puritanism long before liberalism was even a thing. The legalism of Puritanism began when farmers worked for their food, and one who didn't work, didn't eat. Adherence to rigid religious rules spelled economic success for an agricultural society, and was passed on to a colonized Caribbean stemming from an agricultural economy, albeit one with slave labor.

Colonialism's Cricket and America's Football

The last things about Matthew Bondman are twofold. First, he was an excellent cricket player, and yet, he never became a great cricket player. James called Matthew's ability to bat his "saving grace," however it didn't save Matthew from an abstruse ending in *Boundary*. Yet Matthew Bondman occupies an entire chapter in James' book. It's safe to say that Bondman is not just an undesirable in the life of C.L.R. James. Matthew Bondman is the first teacher in what colonial education has done to create a social structure of black bourgeoisie in the Caribbean. Secondly, Bondman and his family reflect the rebellion toward the colonial education and its tenets. While Bondman's insurrection manifested in the bourgeoisie's eyes as an inhibition, a deficit, and ungodly, it could be seen as a direct attack on the bourgeoisie. However, C.L.R. James processes the life of Matthew Bondman later as unable to rectify Bondman's deficits with a career in cricket.

James makes note that in spite of Bondman's other glaring flaws, he was an excellent cricket player. Because he would not practice regularly nor pay his dues to the cricket club, any days of professional cricket playing were cut short. However, James

alluded that Bondman received aid in the way of shoes and shirts, but it was not enough, and the lament of Bondman wasting his talent of cricket is the final mention of Bondman in *Boundary*.

However, despite all of Bondman's shortcomings, cricket could have 'saved' him. How could a sport wash away the sins of language, African features, unemployment, and lack of natural reason? Cricket represented England, and as James puts it " 'everything began from the basis that Britain was the source of all light and leading, and our business was to admire, wonder, imitate, and learn'. Cricket is introduced to Trinidad, therefore, as an instrument which will enable the colonized subject to envy and act out Englishness" (Diawara 835). In this context we can understand that colonialism taught her subjects that only through Britishness can one become a real human being, complete with traits of civility, morality, decorum, wealth, intelligence, and human worth, which spells whiteness and anti-blackness simultaneously. Therefore, all Matthew Bondman had to do to shed his sinful black nature was to use his talents at cricket, thereby emulating a British gentleman, since that is what cricket did for the West Indies. Manthia Diawara's *Englishness and Blackness: Cricket as a discourse on Colonialism* correctly aligns cricket with reinforcing Britain's monopoly on the credentials its outlines for human citizenship. "A good cricket player is also an all-around Englishman with positive virtues –loyalty and self-sacrifice, unselfishness, co-operation and *esprit de corps*, a sense of honour, the capacity to be a 'good loser' or 'to take it' " (837). Not only does this serve to bring a sense of higher class achievement to the (good and great) players of cricket, but a contempt for those that cannot adhere to the standards that cricket holds. These standards are not in themselves a device of malice. However, they are mechanisms that breed

barricades in social structures that render those that cannot achieve the aforementioned standards unrefined and unable to surpass their pre-colonial state of primitive and uncivilized nature that only England can redeem.

While describing the skills of his cousin Cudjoe, James remarks that the intense competition of a great bowler and batter in cricket is similar to that of American baseball. In this comparison, James gives us the importance of the actual power that cricket has in the Caribbean, since baseball, like most organized male sports in the United States, can prove lucrative for players if they reach the professional level. While football enjoys the top spot of America's favorite sport, in the early twentieth century baseball enjoyed that spot.³ In most professional sports, talented youth from disadvantaged backgrounds may find a way for higher education expenses and subsequently into higher socio-economic classes.

The respectability politics that Matthew Bondman lacked and which are presented as the reasons for his inability to continue to play cricket on a professional level is a lasting cultural conception shaped by colonial systems of power that work to explain away the disproportionate opportunities and lack of access to resources for people of color as well as colonized peoples. Through the lenses of meritocracy, lack of reason, and respectability, the effects of colonialism, imperialism, racism, gender biases, and ramifications of slavery, genocide, and land acquisition are ignored.

C.L.R. James learned from Matthew Bondman and the myriad of cricket clubs about the effects of colonialism on the Caribbean people. Matthew Bondman is the

³ According to Gallup poll January 2018. <http://news.gallup.com/poll/224864/football-americans-favorite-sportwatch.aspx>

representative of every colonial subject in the Caribbean that fell into Sylvia Wynter's lack of natural reason. Bondman is the manifestation of the effect of respectability politics, not much unlike a few athletes of our contemporary time. Ricky Williams, former NFL player lost his football career to marijuana smoking and Aaron Hernandez, former NFL player was incarcerated for murder. The underlying currents were that these players were unable to raise themselves from a lifestyle prior to the more affluent one provided by their lucrative NFL careers. Similar to the head shaking sentiment of Indian man who commented on the wasted talent of Matthew Bondman, many fans remarked on the wasted talent of the two aforementioned NFL players that wasted their talents because of the inability (lack of reason) to leave behind a lifestyle associated with criminality and low class pursuits. Ricky Williams is now an entrepreneur in the legalized cannabis industry and Aaron Hernandez had the worst case of CTE in recorded NFL history.^{4 5} Admittedly, Hernandez's case is extreme and I do not purport to make excuses for the actions that convicted him in a court of law, rather, I point out that he is seen, as Williams, as unable to leave behind a lifestyle that stereotypically pervades communities of people of color which the money and fame of the NFL should be able to eradicate.

⁴ Aaron Hernandez was serving a life sentence for capital murder in Boston, Massachusetts, when he committed suicide in his cell in 2017. His family had his brain donated to Boston University to investigate for signs of CTE (chronic traumatic encephalopathy), which results from repeated blows to the head, concussions, and loss of consciousness. He was found to have one of the worst cases of CTE on record. Belson, Ken (2017-09-21). "[Aaron Hernandez Had Severe C.T.E. When He Died at Age 27](#)". *The New York Times*. [ISSN 0362-4331](#). Retrieved 2017-11-10.

⁵ Ricky Williams lost a \$5million contract in the NFL due to infraction of the marijuana policy in the NFL and another \$5million in endorsements between in 2002 and 2006. His reputation suffered from the failure of the NFL's drug policy and he became the poster-boy for how professional athletes waste their talents because of an inability to shed criminal, and low-class behavior. Bishop, Greg. *Ricky Williams Takes The High Road*. Sports Illustrated Films. <https://www.si.com/longform/2016/ricky-williams-weed/index.html> Accessed 19 June 2018.

Another resonating realization of James of colonialism's reach in the sporting arena brings to mind contemporary sports figures' role in social justice. In James' rebellion of his colonial inheritance through cricket he states:

The British tradition soaked deep into me was that when you entered the sporting arena you left behind you the sordid compromises of everyday existence. Yet for us to do that we would have had to divest ourselves of our skin. From the moment I had to decide which club I would join the contrast between the ideal and the real fascinated me and tore at my insides. Nor could the local populations see it otherwise. The class and racial rivalries were too intense. They could be fought out without much violence or much lost [sic] except pride and honour. Thus the cricket field was a stage on which selected individuals played representative roles which were charged with social significance" (89).

James is clearly speaking about the race and class stratification of players in bold contrast to their white counterparts in cricket, and the significance of their playing with these counterparts on the same field. The implications that Caribbeans, both Afro and Indo, represent their respective races and their ability to successfully navigate the cricket field then elevates their people because they are playing an English game, by English standards. Those aforementioned qualities that cricket affords her best players, can then be amalgamated by non-whites and used for socio-economic ascent. He goes on to defend his use of certain players that emulated their social disadvantage in the game of cricket even though the (non-West Indian) reader may not be familiar with those players. His defense is that these players render a history of oppression as well as perseverance through their skill in the face of that oppression of their people, the colonized and raced in the West Indies, in the game of cricket, and would therefore be of interest. I propose to critique contemporary athletes' activism in the United States illustrating how James' critique of colonialism and its ramifications on Caribbeans through the sport of cricket

not only precedes my observation of contemporary sports figures' activism but lays a foundation for the validation of a critique of racism and classism through sports and the mere presence of players of color in sports.

Although American football is not a sport in which the players are predominantly white, the owners of teams and infrastructure of the game (coaches, general managers, moguls of television rights and contracts) still are. Scholar Ben Carrington has called for the need of more work on sports within sociology. In his essay "Sport, Masculinity, And Black Cultural Resistance" (1998) he argues that cricket was used as a form of resistance to white supremacy by black West Indian cricket players. In specific regard to blacks in the world of sports he correctly traces the beginning of black entry to organized sports as "conditional with formal segregation, particularly in the United States" (277). C.L.R. James has made it crystal clear that the foray of cricket included that segregation which is one of the many manifestations of slavery. His clear reference to the strata to which he had to adhere to join a cricket club illustrates that segregation in the sports world of cricket. Carrington's call "to move toward more sophisticated and nonreductionist models of analysis that do not treat the significance of race as being epiphenomenal to the development of modern sports" is the basis of how I would like to tie in the actions of C.L.R. James and his fellow Caribbean cricket players to the modern day world of the National Football League (278).

In June of 2018, the National Football League (NFL) placed a rule that any player that did not stand during the playing of the national anthem would be subsequently fined.⁶ After the rule was publicized, well known Michael Kay of the Michael Kay show

⁶ This was in response to the protests of players in the National Football League (NFL) to the shooting and killing of unarmed black men in the United States by both police officers and private citizens and the

called the NFL a ‘plantation’ and his co-host, Don LaGreca, also echoed Kay’s sentiment and mentioned that there must be something tangible in the protest of the players for them to risk their lucrative contracts with the NFL.⁷

My goal here is to illustrate the critique of what the players are bringing to their respective games albeit over a century later. From James’ days of cricket to the contemporary football field in the United States, the players of color are not making strides by simply increasing their net worth through the gains of capital. In their action alone of playing a game that is watched by millions of people, their lives are on display and held up to the scrutiny of fans in the United States. Based upon the white dominant discourse of the U.S., the standards outlined for cricket players are foundational principles that underpin the sentiments of the fan base that is openly outraged at the NFL players’ protest of the deaths of unarmed black men by police and civilians alike. James’ mention that cricket players were expected to leave the realities of everyday life and just play the game, is the same as the sentiment of the fan base that are incensed at the players’ protests (James 2005). Fans want their players to just play, and not bring their blackness to the game, which James understood in the game of cricket when he mentions

acquittal of the shooters. Players in the NFL, namely Colin Kaepernick, who knelt during the playing of the national anthem incited the outrage of a fan base of the sport. The president of the United States, Donald Trump, also joined that outrage, and in calling those players ‘sons of bitches’ demanded that any player that does not stand lose their job. In response to a growing dissent of the form of protest, the fan base continued to place pressure on the NFL. Colin Kaepernick no longer plays for any team in the NFL. http://www.espn.com/nfl/story/_/id/23582533/nfl-owners-approve-new-national-anthem-policy. Accessed 19 June 2018.

⁷ The Michael Kay show has been on the air since February 2014 on the YES network and on ESPN radio 98.7 FM in New York, and co-hosted by Donald LaGreca. It has been named the 4th best sports show in the country by Radio Ink magazine, a very influential publication that covers the sports radio industry. Michael Kay won the 2015 New York Emmy award for his work on YES, and YES has won 101 Emmys since it went live on air in 2002. Kay also won the 2017 Emmy award for his work as host on the sports insider show, Center Stage, and in total has won nine Emmys out of his thirty-five Emmy nominations. <http://web.yesnetwork.com/announcers/bio.jsp?id=mkay>. Accessed 19 June 2018.

that doing this would mean that players would have to shed their black and brown skin, which is impossible. Yet the game of cricket and (not just) American football requires the same of its players. Fans, and apparently the current President of the United States, Donald Trump, as well as the NFL, do not want to see the protesting athletes at games. They want their athletes to play their games while leaving their ideals, struggles, and everything else associated with a life of a person of color in the United States at home. For black players, they are constantly under the “terrorizing white gaze” (hooks 1992) and are subject to the regulatory action against their black behavior (Carrington 283). These regulatory actions look like consequences under a “white governmentality” (Hesse 1997) in forms of fines for endzone dancing, and in the case of Colin Kaepernick, blackballing from the NFL for protest in the form of kneeling during the national anthem. Along with this is thug labeling, in the case of Richard Sherman, who in a victory trash talked an opponent and was labeled a thug in the press and by fans. Richard Sherman has no criminal record, and supports low income children with clothing and school supplies. Yet he is judged solely by any action *outside* of acceptable white dominant discourse, hyper-demonizing his blackness which renders his philanthropic qualities, among others, moot.

What this means is that blackness, replete with its criminality, lack of intelligence, and lack of self-control, can be remediated with increased socio-economic status, wealth, and fame, which a contract to play in the NFL offers. This is exactly what cricket was supposed to do for Matthew Bondman, however he failed to take advantage of all it had to offer him in the way of his redemption, similar to Aaron Hernandez and Ricky Williams.

However Michael Messner argues that sports is exactly where resistance takes place, and not simply because cricket or football players have publicity and/or the world stage, but rather because it was a mechanism of domination, therefore it can be used as a vehicle to resist that domination (13). The fact that demonization of black (and in this case male) bodies in society and is repeated in the world of sports, and more succinctly here, football, illustrates the fact that sports is the microcosm of the racism that built the world's human hierarchy. Therefore, it is not immune to racism and dehumanization which make it impossible for players to shed their skin, as C.L.R. James stated would have to be done in order to acquiesce to the unspoken rules of leaving behind life's weight of oppression in cricket.

Education and Cricket: C.L.R. James' Rebellion

Colonialism's cricket also brought to the foray not just race, as race is simply put the construct of colonialism and slavery, but colorism. James' foray into the world of membership into cricket clubs plunged him into a "social and moral crisis" that stayed with James his entire life. The clubs' memberships were based upon class and color. There was the Catholic white only club, the club for plebians (low level job holders), the club for light skinned blacks, and the lower middle class blacks. While these stratifications are consistent with colonialism's racist ideologies, what is interesting to note is James' rationalizations in making his decision. While he prefaces with this causing him substantial moral strife, the impact of his colonial education cannot be ignored in his decision-making processes.

James starts with his ready admittance that there was no chance he would be admitted to the Queen's Park Oval Club on the count that he was not white or an

extremely wealthy mulatto. Membership in the Shamrock club was only for white Catholics. Then, there was the Stingo club, whose members held low class jobs, giving them the label of plebians, which James describes as “the butcher, the tailor, the candlestick maker, the casual labourer, with a sprinkling of unemployed. Totally black and no social status whatever.” James then concluded that “Queen’s Park and Shamrock were too high and Stingo was too low. I accepted this as easily in the one case as I did the other. No problem there. Two more clubs remained and here the trouble began” (66).

My goal here is not to critique James for his ready acceptance of the racist hierarchal structure of the cricket clubs. I endeavor to point out that the conditioned knowledge of these social stations and his self-ranking of membership among the cricket clubs are a product of the English colonial indoctrination he received via his colonial education and life in colonial Trinidad. Stating that there was no problem in his acceptance of the social pecking order is not necessarily his consent but rather an acceptance of what could not be changed with a club membership. Under the restrictions placed upon the colonized, James set out to join a club in which he ‘best fit’.

Once again, it is not different than what American’s face today, even in the quest for diversity and the movement of multiculturalism. For example, while certain restrictions on country club memberships may no longer be explicitly stated as in the past, gatekeeping strategies like cost and fees, accessibility, member endorsements, dress codes, and familial ties place great impetus on race and homogeneity which is inextricably linked to class in the US. While redlining is no longer legal, there are still communities actively restricting sales of homes to people of color and of different religious affiliations. And we, in the U.S., are not only aware of these socio-economic

hierarchical strata but adhere to them through indoctrination via the educational system, media, fashion, arts and culture, and religion. This adherence, through law-abiding lives, does not mean that citizens are in total agreement with every law, custom, and ideology.

It is not my intention that in drawing the previous parallels that American and Caribbean life are the same for people of color. But what is undeniable is the fact that British colonial rule created both the Anglophone Caribbean society and the American Puritan laden meritocratic civilization after indigenous genocide and removal. And this fact shows that some of the criticism that C.L.R. James has taken does not account for the system that built C.L.R. James. It is precisely what *Beyond a Boundary* sets out to do and achieves, which is illustrate the colonial power that created the Anglophone Caribbean and C.L.R. James through education and cricket, and how that in itself creates the rebellion of not only Matthew Bondman and his family, but C.L.R. James as well. James makes this crystal clear when he states:

I mastered thoroughly the principles of cricket and of English Literature, and attained a mastery over my own character which would have done credit to my mother and Aunt Judith if only they could have understood it. I could not explain it to their often tear-stained faces for I did not understand it myself. I look back at that little boy with amazement...but for his unshakeable defiance of the whole word around him, and his determination to stick to his own ideas, nothing could have saved me from winning a scholarship, becoming an Honourable Member of the Legislative Council and ruining my whole life (31).

James is explicitly telling the readers that this self-same colonial structure that forces his family to hate the Matthew Bondmans of the Caribbean and worship those like James' grandfather for owing land, also taught him the indoctrination of living a life of the colonized wipes out who the Caribbean person is. Scholars such as Stuart Hall and Sylvia Wynter point out James' activism. Hall writes that an impassioned C.L.R. James

“redefined the game [of cricket] as one of the civilized ways in which the anti-imperialist struggle is played out through sports” (Henry 13).

Others such as Faith Smith surmises that “if James is indeed waging war, as he asserts, on the bourgeois colonial life, the reader [of *Boundary*] has problems distinguishing between James’ ‘arsenal’ (English sports clippings and novels, and what he calls his ‘Puritan instincts’) and their weapons” (Edmonson 112). It goes without saying that no one can contest the results of his arsenal, whether we consent to his weapons or not. When James speaks of looking back at himself in amazement, at his defiance of the whole world around him, we must remember what the whole world was to an eight-year-old boy in Trinidad in 1909. The whole world was England; the whole world was British values; the whole world was cricket, and all of those things became the Caribbean. What then would Faith Smith expect C.L.R. James *to* use in his activism? If one were to accept my presented rebellion of Matthew Bondman, and make Bondman’s non-compliance with the British public school code the way to protest against British colonialism, it’s safe to say no one, including me, would have anything to say about C.L.R. James. This does not cheapen Matthew Bondman’s story, his impact on C.L.R. James, or his life in the Caribbean that is representative of the masses of the West Indies. On the contrary, Matthew Bondman is the life of the Caribbean mass. What it does say is that there is a recognizable standard that is utilized in the formation of Caribbean identity, and that is Caribbean literature, and those that read that literature are using it to create the Caribbean identity, in rebellion to the identity forced upon them by slavery and British colonial rule. The masses, represented by Matthew Bondman, did not write that literature.

To say that James' playing of cricket and reading English Literature is not rebellion, negates every scholar's activism in their writing and art.

To support James' movement of black nationalist from English Puritan roots does not suggest there were no other dissident groups in the West Indies. In stark contrast to James and other exiled writers is the non-modernist anticolonial movement of Rastafarinism. Extremely pan-African, Rastafari called for the repatriation of all blacks to Africa. However, if Matthew Bondman was an undesirable the Rasta movement suffered an almost irredeemable position in the eyes of the colonized that adhered to the strict code of respectability their colonizers administered. Members of Rastafari were first scrutinized for being non-Christian, the worst of offenses and thereby unworthy of any further thoughts of consortia. If the Stingo cricket club was out of the question because it was totally black and had no social status for James, then Rastafarianism wasn't even on the map.

The religion of Rastafari was founded in Jamaica, West Indies. However, it was not limited to that island, as they were heavily influenced by Marcus Garvey's work both in the Caribbean and the U.S. Rastafarians were poor and working class, already out of the league of the black bourgeoisie. In Jamaica, where color and class lines are strong, economic improvement for citizens remained with brown and middle class citizens. Rastafarianism grew from this place of anti-colonialism and a strong identification with Africa. Therefore, the Rasta movement is already, from its inception, anti-England and Pan-African, which, through colonial education, had been demonized.

Rastafarians took their religion a step further in the Pan-Africanism and called for the repatriation of all blacks to Africa. They "embrace the philosophy contained in the

notion of ‘Scattered Ethiopians’. They see themselves as Africans living in exile...advocate [for] the spiritual and physical disengagement from Western civilization (Babylon), and a return to traditional African customs, traditions, and values” (Lewis 76). In biblical terms, Babylon was a city of immense sin and evil traditions. Rastafarians equate that city with the global system of the imperialism and colonialism of the Western world. In *The Grounding with My Brothers*, Walter Rodney expresses his experiences and strong ties with the Rastafarian community and joined in their expression of black pride and awareness. However, in a system that demonized blackness, black pride is an unconscionable and an obstacle to upward class mobility. Rastafarians aesthetic couldn’t be any more black, in that their hair was ‘locked’, which bespoke the kinky-coily nature of the hair of blacks, as well as the eschewing of the Queen’s English for Jamaican Patois. These aesthetic values signify blackness and anti-whiteness, which was against the movement of the black bourgeoisie in the Caribbean that had been conditioned by their colonial education. In fact, Rodney experienced first-hand the fall from grace he experienced once he associated himself with the black masses:

It was all right when Rodney was asked to address various ‘respectable’ groups on the subject of African history. However, when he began to associate himself with the ‘not so respectable’ Rastafari brethren, it engendered a different kind of response. For not only did middle- and upper-class Jamaicans consider Rastafarians nonentities, but they were also regarded...as a ‘lunatic fringe’ (Lewis 79).

Repatriation for all accounts would be backward and meaningless. Colonial education taught that without England, the Caribbean would be as savage as Africa, and its Caribbean students needed the enlightenment of its colonizers to keep the West Indian

nations from slipping back into the ways of darkness.⁸ As James notably puts it, “the imperialists envisage an eternity of African exploitation: the African is backward, ignorant...They dream dreams.” (James 1989 376). In an effort to remove the Rastafari from the respectable existence of the black bourgeoisie in the Caribbean (and more specifically Jamaica and Guyana) the colonially educated subjects utilized the respectability politics of their education to subordinate the Rasta because they did not fit the British definition of civilized people. Outside of that discourse, the Rasta are not human, since humanity has been defined by European powers and the dehumanization of the black body beginning with the transatlantic slave trade. In Sylvia Wynter’s theory of the human person, “Western ‘man’ instituted himself as “Man” in that he defined all others “natives” (Boyce-Davies 841). In “From: Beyond Miranda’s Meaning: Un/silencing the ‘Demonic Ground’ of Caliban’s ‘Woman’ “, Sylvia Wynter’s ‘demonic ground’ is the space where antiblackness is manifested through dehumanization of the black body by silencing, validation of European knowledge, and the European discourse of humanity on only white men. In this vein, the Rastafari are not only a fringe, but an entity unworthy of the black body striving for the reward of assimilation. Alexander Weheliye (2014) places Wynter’s demonic ground as “the primal scene of the protracted modern colonization of the Americas” (29). This would leave the demonic ground as anywhere colonialism and slavery has touched, and the Caribbean is no exception.

⁸ The Rastafari exemplified a movement outside of colonialism with a full rejection of British citizenry. Their call to go back to Africa was loud in their music and literature. Their rejection of whiteness through colonial education kept them ‘savage’, as did the Maroons of Jamaica, who successfully held free black communities in Jamaica during slavery and plantation economies. These ‘Maroontowns’ (as they are called by native Jamaicans) are held in higher regard currently than the Rastafarians. The Maroons were fierce and were a force to be reckoned with against British troops, while the Rastafarians deal with the backlash of black elite in the Caribbean. See Kathleen Wilson’s *The Performance of Freedom: Maroons and the colonial order in eighteenth-century Jamaica and the Atlantic sound.* *The William and Mary Quarterly* 66.1 (2009): 45-86.

Therefore, to the British educated and colonially acculturated Caribbean, repatriation and Rastafarianism was a step backward and away from the enlightenment that the English were so generously bestowing on the savage. Any non-conformity to the British value system was a deliberate disavowal of morality, refinement and an embarrassment to the black middle class that sought admittance to the superior culture of the British. This defines James' aunts' hatred for Matthew Bondman and his family. It wasn't just Matthew and Marie's insubordination to the "standards of the British Public School Code", which formulated the entire life and living system that included socio-economic hierarchy, but more importantly the defiance of that code by the Bondman family set an example to the British that blacks could not be civilized and thereby created a blockage to the entire race becoming equal with their colonizers (James 1965 2). The inability or more succinctly, the unwillingness of the Bondman family to adhere to the code, places an implication that their non-conformity was somehow based on their blackness. That self-same black skin, which James stated could not be shed, was shared by every native of the Caribbean and from the racial culture that slavery created. It became the trademark of savageness, stupidity, immorality, and evil that only the enlightenment of the British, whiteness, could eradicate. Walter Rodney recognized that the

Colour of our skins is the most fundamental thing about us...
[I chose] skin colour as essentially the most binding factor
in our world. In so doing, I am not saying that is the way
things ought to be. I am simply recognising [sic] the real
world - that is the way things are. Under different
circumstances, it would have been nice to be colour blind, to
choose my fiends solely because their social interests

coincided with mine – but no conscious black man can allow himself such luxuries in the contemporary world (16).

Because of the heritage of slavery and colonialism, race and skin color have become the impetus of cultural hierarchy in not only the Caribbean but the world. As pervasive as it is, it is also subtle, and totally understood by James' family, and every inhabitant of the West Indies.

The Bondman family, and others like them, served as a constant reminder to the James family that they would never be equal in the eyes of their colonizers, and therefore took the brunt of the hatred of the James family who would blame the Bondman's for their second class status as citizens of the British crown.

While James was fully aware of the black masses and their revolutionary culture, it would be the black writers in exile, "a radical intelligentsia speaking on behalf of the dominated [that] would have historical consequences quite different from those that resulted from the Black masses (Robinson 274). In *Black Marxism*, Cedric Robinson grants to a chapter to James' activism called "C.L.R. James and The Black Radical Tradition". Robinson effectively illustrates James' movement *with and for* the black masses, although he recognizes the intelligentsia's different outcomes. Walter Rodney's call for the transformation of the "Black intelligentsia into the servants of the black masses" would be answered by James (32). Robinson places a significant turning point in James' black radicalism after the Italian Army had killed thousands of peasants. James' anger at the "complicity of the bourgeois democracies" led James to a radical position that

Africans and people of African descent, especially those who have been poisoned by British Imperialist education, needed a lesson. They have got it. Every succeeding day

show exactly the real motives which move imperialism in its contact with Africa, shows the incredible savagery and duplicity of European Imperialism in its quest for markets and raw materials. Let the lesson sink deep (qu in Robinson 272).

Robinson illustrates a paved road in which black radical tradition and the demands of the black masses come together and thereby “form a new theory and ideology in James’ writings” (272). The Black Jacobins becomes James’ most significant “contribution to radical Black historiography” (274).

In Race, Tradition, and the Construction of the Caribbean Aesthetic, Belinda

Edmonson makes a case for James’ activism when she states that

It was precisely this ‘Englishness,’ the code of gentlemanly conduct, sportsmanship, and all the other attributes of a cricket player, that united the cricket players across classes and races, by providing a system through which they all became equals. And indeed, the West Indian cricket team, world champions for over fifteen years in a row, has become one of the most potent signs of Caribbean political and social unity; and cricket, with its attendant ‘European’ ideology, has given access to a common West Indianness across national and cultural lines. Can *this* be oppositionality? (113).

Clearly Edmonson validates the role of a Pan Caribbean movement in cricket and James’ role in the sport as well as his formulations of identity within and around cricket and its ‘Englishness’. In asking why cricket would be the vehicle for political and cultural unity, it stands to reason that it is not the vehicle, it is one vehicle, and of course, there would be no need for a movement had the West Indies not been colonized in the first place. The colonial Caribbean, which England created, is where the vehicle for a Pan Caribbean will come from. While this may not dismantle the masters house altogether, it has made a

terrible effect, one that cannot be ignored and one that C.L.R. James credits with his movement to becoming a West Indian writer.

Yet, in *C.L.R. James: A Political Biography* by Kent Worcester, James states that in order for Caribbeans to “move beyond the colonial mentality, they would have to appropriate and transform, rather than reject wholesale, the political and cultural traditions they had inherited” (165). Does this mean acquiescence through conformity? And if so, does that disqualify James’ form of activism against British colonial rule in Trinidad and the rest of the Anglophone West Indies? Worcester agrees with James in that the playing of cricket “constituted the means whereby the colonial showed his human equivalent to the colonizer” (Eudell 158). This means that cricket and literature are two means by which resistance of the colonizer are indeed a tangible and effective means of rebellion.

The editors of *C.L.R. James’s Caribbean*, Paget Henry and Paul Buhl directly support James’ ‘appropriate and transform’ methodology, when they assert, “instead of focusing on the losses that resulted from de-Africanization, James considers the potential gains of Europeanization. Consequently, his scholarly and ideological works constitute a mode of literary praxis that boldly appropriates for the Caribbean nation the modern possibilities that Westernization opens” (x). James then advocates for a movement to modernity for the Caribbean, albeit a Pan Caribbean one. *Beyond a Boundary* then becomes a bastion of the anti-colonial movement through modernist means, making the game of cricket an “anticolonial metaphor” while chronicling James’ use of cricket and literature to become one of the most recognizable figures in the Caribbean anti-colonial writers (Bulatansky 240).

In support of the modernist approach of utilizing James' self-proclaimed heritage of British citizenry, is the fact the Caribbean is not immune to globalized capitalism and the effects of Westernization. What land ownership did for James' family and those in the Anglophone Caribbean, so materialism and consumerism of the West serve the masses in the West Indies. Because of this, only a modernist approach could work in a cultural movement against imperialist colonizers. James himself, in the opening of *The Black Jacobins*, tells us "the leaders of a revolution are usually those who have been able to profit by the cultural advantages of the system they are attacking... (19).

Matthew Bondman's rebellion was not one that could afford change as long as the black middle class and elite in the West Indies were continually rewarded and 'classed up' by conforming behavior to colonial education. Bondman illustrates exactly why writers like James and George Lamming found exile the only place to exact their brand of rebellion through their writing and activism. As long as the Bondman's at home were caste out into the black masses, the black elites could not be allied with the black masses to be a part of a rebellion against the antiblackness colonial education wields to its subjects.

James had to be exiled in order to rebel against his colonial heritage and make a case for not only Matthew Bondman, but himself as well. Colonial education is the exact place where the Othering of Matthew Bondman becomes the necessary exile for James' rebellion.

CHAPTER TWO

Reverse Colonization vs. Colonial Education Reversal

The previous chapter looked at the insidious nature in which British colonial education taught its subjects the benefits of being a British citizen although their citizenry was never fully recognized by Britain. Through colonial education, we saw the social caste that the Puritan heritage C.L.R. James talks about creates, in not only cricket but all of Caribbean life, and how the colonial subjects themselves work hard to maintain that caste. Exiled writers, such as C.L.R. James and George Lamming, are some of the Black colonial intellectuals that activate their resistance to this colonization of the mind through their writing and activism. Their exile proves to be the necessary element in their activism.

How important is exile to these movements of resistance? As mentioned, it cannot be ignored that the tools with which these activists have used came from the colonizer's educational stronghold. Since we have been able to investigate C.L.R. James' use of that education to become one of the Caribbean's foremost Pan African activists, it's time to look deeper into exile's role of the Caribbean intellectual's entry into the space of activism. Using Simon Gikandi's *Writing in Limbo Modernism and Caribbean Literature* and Jan Carew's "The Caribbean Writer and Exile", I examine exile's role in C.L.R. James and George Lamming's activism and rebellion of colonialism, and colonial education. I look closely at Lamming's theories of the intellectual, and their roles in exile and activism.

In *Coming, Coming Home* (1995), George Lamming explores several identities associated with or meant by the word intellectual. The first is the "person primarily

concerned with ideas – the origin and history of ideas, the ways in which the ideas have influenced and directed social practice (12). This is the philosopher, who we can certainly place the likes of James and Lamming himself. The second identity ascribed to the intellectuals are the “producers or instructors...engaged in work which requires a consistent intellectual activity (13). These are teachers and what Lamming calls technocrats: academics. Groups one and two sound similar, and Lamming makes the delineation here:

The Caribbean academic, often a specialist of great competence and very limited interests, is not necessarily an intellectual in the first sense since he or she may have little or no interest in the nature of ideas or the correlation which exists between separate disciplines. It is not difficult to find in our ranks a historian or social scientist who has very little knowledge of the imaginative literature or the general cultural history of the region whose past he is reconstructing. And a novelist or a poet may be an excellent writer with little or no interest in the philosophical questions raised by those particular forms of expression called the poem or the novel. They may indeed consider it unwise to be distracted by such speculation (14).

Lamming draws very bold lines between these two groups of intellectuals, almost giving them, in a sense, a ranking of purpose. In his definition of the second group, he adds an aspect of less rigor (13). This casts their breadth as less encompassing and therefore more rote, one dimensional, and dangerously linear. Here, the specialization that Western education stresses is the actual goal, illustrated by the folly in pursuing the outer dimensional and/or philosophical ideas the intellectual of the first group may find unavoidable.

Third, Lamming calls a group of people whose “tastes and interests favor, and even focus on, the products of a certain intellectual activity” (14). Here, Lamming is talking about those who have a passion for what we have come to know as the arts –

music, literature, art, and theater. However, this third group can comprise itself of teachers and academics as well, and he makes no excuse for that overlap.

Lastly, Lamming has a fourth group of intellectuals, and that is the everyday person, the masses. While he admits this may take a “stretch of the mind,” he is sure to explain that the stretch is necessary because of the “social stratification which is created by the division of labour, and the legacy of an educational system which is designed to reinforce such a division in our modes of perceiving social reality” (19). This group is the working class, who are considered intellectuals because of the nature of their work. Their expertise and labor have created an intellectual harbor of knowledge in their own industries and fields. This means those who build roads and bridges are intellectuals of these trades, due to their extensive experiences. These different categories of intellectuals include every Caribbean, from the highly educated to the working masses. These delineations serve to present the ‘how’ of each group’s rebellion against colonial education and its effects. Educated Caribbean men enjoy the implications of exile, while women mostly are coined immigrants. However, their status abroad does not stamp out their lived experiences that inform their rebellion against colonial education.

In terms of the Caribbean intellectual and exile, I’d like to compare exile in terms of not only the Caribbean writer, but the Caribbean colonized body, by discussing the role of the colonial education of Britain on these intellectuals. In a move similar to Louise Bennett’s (affectionately known as Miss Lou) poem *Colonization in Reverse*, exiled Caribbean writers in England turn their colonial educational rites in on themselves and become nationalists through their literature as well as political involvement. I’m cautious yet bold in asserting that if I had to place Miss Lou in one of Lamming’s intellectual

categories, it would be the third. Bennett's work in both literature and theatre have made her an integral part of colonial resistance in the Caribbean. Her valuation and validation of Jamaican Patois is rebellion toward the British education system that marginalizes the language of the Jamaican, and simultaneously the dissemination of knowledge through Patois which creates meaning in and through Patois. This makes Patois a form of education, in direct opposition to the education that teaches Patois is backward, useless, and the language of the uneducated.

Bennett's poem literarily uses the bodies of West Indians to show the effects of colonization on those bodies in both the West Indies and England, not just merely the literal emigration of those bodies. I would like to discuss the poem in a two-pronged approach, both through George Lamming's theory of exile that awareness of the colonially trained mind in the exiled writer is always present. This awareness continues to remind the exiled and the immigrant (Lamming distinguishes between the two) and is a continual oppression on the colonized body.

The first prong would be to illustrate the culture that colonial education rendered in the minds of her subjects (meaning an illustration of the colonized mind with a simultaneous rebellion to it), and second to the actual physicality of a reverse colonization in England that may or may not have led to a nationalist attitude of the Jamaican immigrants.

- 1 Wat a joyful news, Miss Mattie,
I feel like me heart gwine burs
Jamaica people colonizin
Englan in Reverse

- 5 By de hundred, by de tousan
Fro country and from town,
By de ship-load, by de plane load
Jamaica is Englan boun.
- 9 Dem a pour out a Jamaica,
Everybody future plan
Is fe get a big-time job
An settle in de mother lan.
- 13 What an islan! What a people!
Man an woman, old an young
Jus a pack dem bag an baggage
An turn history upside dung!
- 17 Some people doan like travel,
But fe show dem loyalty
Dem all a open up cheap-fare-
To-England agency.
- 21 An week by week dem shipping off
Dem countryman like fire,
Fe immigrate an populate
De seat a de Empire.
- 25 Oonoo see how life is funny,
Oonoo see da turnabout?
Jamaica live fe box bread
Out a English people mout'.
- 29 For wen dem ketch a Englan,
An start play dem different role,
Some will settle down to work
An some will settle fe de dole.
- 33 Jane says de dole is not too bad
Because dey paying she
Two pounds a week fe seek a job
dat suit her dignity
- 37 me say Jane will never fine work
At de rate how she dah look,
For all day she stay pon Aunt Fan couch
An read love-story book.
- 41 Wat a devilment a Englan!

Dem face war an brave de worse,
But me wondering how dem gwine stan
Colonizin in reverse.

Before exploring the content of the poem the obvious cannot be ignored. Miss Lou's poem is in Patois. The poem then gets the stamp of approval for its genuineness and for 'sounding real'; being in authentic Jamaican language. But the fact is that the poem couldn't be written in any other way. If it were written in Standard English, or the Queens English, it would then be someone reading an English person reading the words of a Jamaican. The poem would then be diluted. Standard English places Englishness at the center of the narrative, when in fact the poem is trying to place England *outside* the narrative, placing the migrating Jamaican at the center. In fact, colonial education makes everything Caribbean 'Other', including religion and language. By creating this poem in Patois, the Other not only becomes England via mass Jamaican migration, the Queen's English becomes Other to the Jamaican people. The language of this poem and its implication in Caribbean life in relation to colonial education will be explored further in chapter three.

The first stanza indicates a happiness that Jamaicans are migrating to England. We must investigate *why* any person would be ecstatic at the thought that their countryman are fleeing and leaving home en masse (as stated in stanza two) to a place foreign to them. I believe the explanation comes from the falsehood of the 'citizenry' of colonized subjects in the Caribbean.

Colonized subjects in the Caribbean were taught through the British education system that they were now citizens of the British Empire. They were conditioned with loyalty to their Queen, reverence for her language, and to pursue the standards of

Englishness. While the first stanza illustrates a joy that Jamaicans are able to migrate to England to possess and benefit from the status of their British citizenry, the implication is that Jamaicans know they are not fully welcome as equal citizens. Therefore, they relish in the fact that the British can't necessarily stop the migration, even though the British are not accepting of their colonized subjects coming to live among them in Britain. In *The Pleasures of Exile*, George Lamming notes that "colonialism is at the very base and structure of the West Indian's cultural awareness" (35). The Caribbean knows their body is colonized in the form of their secondary status to the English, and works towards a goal of becoming more English. What better way to become more English, which is better in every way, than to be in England.

In the third stanza, the goal then is to have a job in England that would bear the status of a successful citizen. But as evidenced in stanzas eight and nine, Jamaicans are not going to England to take over and rule there as a reverse colonization would imply. Instead, they become eye witnesses and experience England with its lack of 'big jobs' that are not immune to the racism that is born of its slave trade, imperialism, and colonization that renders the colonized constantly trying to prove their worth and humanity. On the face of it, a critique of Jane being on the 'dole', or what we would call unemployment in the United States, would be her laziness and contentment to lie on the couch reading romance novels. Instead, Lamming gives us a look into a more nuanced critique into the exiled Caribbean, although he specifically refers to the writer when he states

The exile is a universal figure...we are made to feel a sense of exile by our inadequacy and our irrelevance of function in a society whose

past we can't alter, and whose future is always beyond us. Idleness can easily guide us into accepting this as a condition (24).

Caribbeans are not immigrating to England to rule her. Instead they are faced with the reality that their colonial education made them subjects, not equals. Any thoughts that their home land of Jamaica, or Trinidad, or Guyana, to name a few, is unfit to create and sustain a superior English life for an educated Caribbean and that being in England is the only way to achieve that status, is squashed by the reality of the empire's only way of achieving its empire status which is through the resources of the Caribbean, including its slaves; its people. To make them equal in humanity is to undermine the use of the entire slave trade and system of colonialism, yet through that exile the Caribbean can understand their status and how it came to be. Frank D. Wilderson explains this succinctly when he talks about Dred Scott's court case in 1857 to be returned to slavery, not because he ran away from his master, but because he is not a person; "he's not a subject of humanity" (Wilderson et al 17). Jan Carew (1978) also explores the dehumanization of the Caribbean through transatlantic slavery and the eventual rise of the Caribbean exiled intellectual. His theory of the "colonizing zeal" will be explored later in this chapter.

Bennett's interplay of the empire and the motherland in lines twenty-four and twelve, respectively, show the contradiction between the conditioning of colonial education to understand that England is the motherland, instead of Africa, the empire that takes what isn't its own. The fact that Jamaican's must play their different role, in line 30, once they are in Britain bespeaks the point that they cannot *be* Jamaican in England. They would have to be other than themselves, in a land that is truly not the motherland. It is all

counterfeit – a conditioning necessary to convey and keep the power in the hands of the colonizer. Lamming also attributes this myth, as he calls it, to colonial education:

This is what I mean by the *myth*. It has little to do with lack of intelligence. It has nothing to do with one's origins in class. It is deeper and more natural. It is akin to the nutritive function of milk which all sorts of men receive at birth. It is *myth* as the source of spiritual food absorbed, and learnt for exercise in the future. This *myth* begins with in the West Indian from the earliest stages of his education...It begins with the fact of England's supremacy in taste and judgment: a fact which can only have meaning and weight by a calculated cutting down to size of all things non-England. The first to be cut down is the colonial himself (26-27).

I agree with Lamming that the myth begins with colonial education as soon as the Caribbean is sent to a classroom. England's supremacy is the sole departure point for the entire educational system by the colonizer in the Caribbean. And Lamming's unapologetic point that the colonial subject is the first to be cut down is not hyperbole. If the first thing a person is taught is that they are lacking and need refinement and that refinement can only come from their overseer, the innate desire to be accepted and better, will allow the power to remain with the oppressor in exchange for the necessary tools and information to become better. Those tools and information align and bolster the meritocracy and self-righteousness of legalistic Christianity and British education.

This is evident in the fifth stanza where Bennett makes the claim that even those who are afraid to go to England show their patriotism to the crown by facilitating the travel of their Jamaican brethren to England. They then are doing their part to advance their people, even if they do not advance themselves by emigrating. The motivation to emigrate itself shows the ambition of the native to undertake what is necessary to be English. The fourth stanza praises Jamaicans with this ambition. Lines thirteen and fourteen applaud the courage and stamina of old and young, men and women who dare to

make the journey, and rightly so. It is the need to immigrate that I believe stems from the insidious nature of British education that fosters inferiority as well as the rape of natural-resource-rich countries that make the colonizer prosperous and the colonized nations poor and unstable. This is where both the exiled writer and the immigrant share the “need to get out” (Lamming 41).

The last thing I want to do with Bennett’s poem is to use it as a platform to show the beginning of a nationalist ideology by not only Louise Bennett, but by those living in England in exile from the West Indies. In the last stanza, Bennett leaves the poem off asking how in the world will England, replete with its battle scars of conquests, and victorious in its imperialism, will be able to handle the Jamaicans emigrating there – the unwanted they have oppressed.⁹ Conversely, I ask how will those Jamaicans handle their welcome to their new world. Will they become idle like Jane in Bennett’s poem? Or will they try to shed every aspect of blackness to attain the level of English citizenry like Moses in Samuel Selvon’s *Moses Ascending*? Or will they become black nationalists out of the conditions that exile bear on the colonized Caribbean subject? I answer yes to all of these, and venture to discuss exile and those Caribbean Black Nationalist writers borne of colonialism and exile.

⁹ I’m not comfortable calling the black and brown people of England’s Caribbean colonies colonists. It has been taught that the colonists of Britain were the United States, in that it was Europeans who immigrated to the New World. Black and brown people were slaves and indentured laborers, and did not hold the status of the colonists in America, who were white and held complete citizenship to the crown and its human benefits, although the colonized in the Caribbean saw themselves as citizens (equal in rights and humanity) of England. The Middle Passage was not one of choice, and therefore the “natives” of the West Indies could not share a term that was meant for whites that emigrated from Europe. In the sense in which I have learned the word colonist, a loaded term to mean the white pilgrims in America, the only form of the word colony to express the totality of the imperialist and racist nature of colonization in the Caribbean is ‘colonized’. However, I am aware of the notion of the Caribbeans of pre-independent West Indian nations as holding their colonist status very seriously, as it meant they were British citizens.

Colonial Education's Formation of the Exiled Intellectual

Simon Gikandi asserts that exile is the “ground zero” for Caribbean Literature, citing some of the greatest West Indian literary works which came from exiled Caribbean writers (Gikandi 1992 33). Frantz Fanon, C.L.R. James, and George Lamming are among those named and their works *Black Skin, White Masks*, *The Black Jacobins*, and *In the Castle of My Skin*, respectively, are all argued to be some of the loudest and deepest calls to nationalism for West Indian nations. Indeed, Gikandi argues that it is exile that engenders a nationalist spirit and an aspiration for a decolonization of the West Indies (1992 33).

How is it then that exile, the place of loss and un-belonging, becomes the springboard for an anti-imperial ideology that underlies these and other exiled writers of the colonial Caribbean? In discussing C.L.R. James' transition from conditioned child of Puritanism and the British school system to black nationalist, arguments can be made that exile itself catapults the writer into a sense of why and how they (colonized subjects) do not belong in their colonizers homeland. George Lamming argues that being in the country of the colonizer places more weight of being colonized on the shoulders of the exiled writer, stating “One reason is that although the new circumstances are quite different, and even more favorable than those he left in the West Indies, his reservations, his psychology, his whole sense of cultural expectation have not greatly changed. He arrives and travels with the memory, the habitual weight of a colonial relation” (Lamming 1984 25). Even though the writers are in the metropole, England, which may spell better living conditions, who they are - their blackness, colonially-trained and British-educated minds - are evident and all encompassing. This continuity almost forces

a “Sankofa” experience, a desire to ‘go back’ and understand the structure and system of imperialism and colonialism against the people in the Caribbean and therefore use literature to investigate this in Caribbean lives and project their life experiences (Gikandi 35).¹⁰

In this Sankofa experience, it is necessary to realize the conditioning of the colonial education itself. C.L.R. James’ *Beyond a Boundary* is a testimony to the understanding of the effects of the colonial education he received which imprinted upon him his ‘Puritan inheritance’, which he works to undo while utilizing that exact colonial education to undermine itself, producing the exiled black nationalist writer (9). This self-same colonial education conditions the colonized subject to not only accept the colonized state as better than the savage place it was before Britain came in to save the people from savagery, backwardness, ignorance and illiteracy, but to abhor those that do not ascribe to the righteous work that it is to convert the savage native, or in the case of the Caribbean, the transplanted slave and indentured servant. James understands this is a part of his inheritance. He recognizes his British school days as the entry point into the middle class West Indian world, and in his exile sees the limits of the colonized body in the metropole.

This is the duty of the colonizer: to educate its savage children in the colonized world. George Lamming describes the conquest of Columbus on the New World through genocide and the rationalization of that the natives would “make fine servants...we could

¹⁰ Sankofa is the word (and Adinkra symbol) to mean go back and fetch it. It is from the Twi language of Ghana, Africa. Sankofa is widely used to describe the experience of learning from the past, and using that knowledge to go forward. Two symbols for Sankofa, one resembling a heart and the other a bird with its body facing forward and its head backwards, usually with something in its mouth, are used in place of the word Sankofa.

subjugate then all and make them do whatever we want” (Lamming 1995 4). With this as his starting point, Europe’s colonizing powers uses the “dichotomy of civilised and uncivilised, Christian Prince and Noble Savage...neatly carving the world up into those who have retained pre-Newtonian conception of reality, and those for whose the real world is a construct of systematic thought and scrupulous intellectual order” (Lamming 1995 11). Therefore, we begin with genocide and slavery, and then the colonial education that marginalizes all culture outside of English tradition and whiteness where:

Within this context of historical and geo-political reality...a substantial body of literature about the Caribbean, in all its languages, created a script or text of its own with all the contours of race and class stratification that is the most familiar substance of our legacy. It is within this context, with its formidable historical and philosophical monument of knowledge and power, that the Caribbean intellectual was formed and in whom was deposited ‘an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory’ of its own (Lamming 1995 12).

Lamming gives us a starting point for the Caribbean intellectual, placing significant importance on the fact that “colonialism is at the very base and structure of the West Indian’s cultural awareness” (1984 35). At the very beginning, the Caribbean intellectual is conditioned with the weight of his or her colonial state, their savage status and the need for refinement, governance, civilization, and liberation, while simultaneously shedding nativism and blackness, indicative of savagery. The Caribbean intellectual is born of the colonial education. S/He can come from no other place.

George Lamming makes a strong case for the birthplace of the Caribbean intellectual within the confines of the colonizer’s education system. Lamming’s sketch of the Caribbean intellectual (which from here on in refers to his description of intellectual group number one) states his or her dichotomous relationship toward both their home

country and the nation in which they are exiled, and how it challenges their purpose of resistance:

“Man of two worlds,” “split personality” are among the cliché descriptions which impede free dialogue between Europe and those aliens who have mastered the grammar of European thought and employ it for purposes that are in conflict with Europe’s conception of itself as the original and ultimate custodian of all human thought. This is not an easy mountain to climb if you are in any mood to go climbing; to be Noble Savage is to become invisible to the other. To be Converted Savage is to be lost in an intellectual schizophrenia that cannot be redeemed (Lamming 1995 6).

Lamming illustrates the challenges of the Caribbean intellectual faces once they have reached the pinnacle of their educational strata, gaining the mastery of not only the English language of the colonizer, but also the language of the British intellectual. However, this mastery that promised full British citizenship does not trump the white supremacy that filters the Caribbean intellectual through the racist gaze that creates the Noble Savage, and the Converted Savage. Because the Noble Savage is invisible, his or her achievements are a credit to their race only, and not applicable nor wanted in any Western thought. Lamming alluded to this when he wrote about meeting an English novelist who had conducted a talk in the West Indies. Their encounter was in England, and the English novelist told Lamming that his time at the lecture in the West Indies was irritating because while “intelligent as those young men were, their opinions of certain contemporary writers were so exasperating, that he would have to put an end to the talk by saying: ‘But I happen to know personally the writers you’re talking about, and they mean no such thing. You are not talking about them. You are using them as a subject for debate about literature’ “ (Lamming 1984 40). The English novelist *gave* credence to the intellect, the Noble Savage, but could not ascribe any of that intellect *outside* of the

thought, theory, or personality of Englishness, or more succinctly, whiteness that belonged to the English.

Therefore, the philosophical questions raised by the Caribbean intellectuals at the lecture did not fit inside the cast made by the mold of colonial education. That is because “the Western tradition of imperial tutelage” feeds its subjects a “colonial allegiance to the institutional requirements and the hallowed agenda of the metropolitan institution” (Lamming 1995 15). Anything perceived outside of this allegiance can easily be (and was by that English novelist) reduced as a non-understanding or a bastardization of that grammar of European thought. At that talk, those West Indian intellectuals were not only rendered invisible because they were not in agreement with the English novelist, they were silenced, literally and figuratively, by the termination of the lecture by the English novelist.

Could that produce the schizophrenia Lamming describes? The choices after the ending of that lecture are few. The debaters that invited the English novelist could have decided that they could no longer actively debate their English guests for fear of none returning, which would reduce their legitimacy in the circles of English literary intellect. This repression and silencing of the intellectual debate surrounding their literary topics would most certainly create an atmosphere of the clichéd “split personality” and “Man of two worlds” that not only Lamming mentions, but W.E.B. Du Bois terms in *Souls of Black Folk* (1989) - the double consciousness. The debate team in the Caribbean would most certainly reevaluate themselves through the racist white gaze of the English novelist thereby creating the double consciousness and split personality within themselves. (Whether they acted negatively or positively upon that reevaluation is unknown.) While

Lamming's example of the lecture took place in the West Indies, his conversation with the English novelist was in England, where Lamming resided at the time. The English novelist then tried to silence Lamming as well, by repeating the incident to Lamming, which would place Lamming in a seat of choice: 1) be silenced as well by not commenting, 2) be rendered invisible by commenting in opposition to the novelist and have his point be labeled as veering *outside* the grammar of English thought thereby being completely wrong, 3) (the most vile), agree with the novelist in the schizophrenic Caribbean intellectual voice of the totally indoctrinated Caribbean intellectual. Lamming did not record his response in his text, *The Pleasures of Exile*.

Lamming's position there cannot be understated. In *Making Men* (1999), Belinda Edmonson points out that male Caribbean intellectual writers exiled in England were labeled 'exiles' and not 'emigrants'. This distinction is important because these terms were associated with intellectual labor and physical labor respectively (13). In terms of this gendered work, or exile vs. immigrant, it cannot be understated that colonial education is the foundation of this kind of demarcation, in that "males are esteemed for their virility and are granted freedom which they are expected to exploit. Females are, ideally, constrained in their sexual activities before and after marriage, and are expected to observe these constraints and other allied modes of behavior (such as modesty and obedience)" (Wilson 71).¹¹ The freedom that Lamming and James have as men to exercise their exiled status is dependent upon their maleness and their education, which is

¹¹ This is not to say that there are no black women that have been immersed in work of resistance aligned with that of James, Lamming, and other exiled male Caribbean writers. Notably absent from the conversation is Claudia Jones, whose work in resistance, activism, and black feminism was instrumental during the mass immigration from the Caribbean to the United States, Canada and England in the 1950's through the 1960's. See Davies, Carol Boyce. "Sisters Outside: Tracing the Caribbean/Black Radical Intellectual Tradition." *small axe* 13.1. 2009. 217-229.

colonial. When these men immigrate to the metropole, England, they are in the master's house, where that colonial education not only originated, but places its colonial subjects as the solid rock foundation for the master to live in superiority. Colonial education is not only the catalyst for exile, it is responsible for the gendering of exile as well. Lamming and James, then, are forced to reside within this structure not only in the Caribbean but in exile in London, and must utilize the patriarchy that oppresses women, especially black women, to exert a rejection of the colonial education and oppression it upholds. However, what they have done, in their resistance, is define intelligence *outside* of European terms, thereby opening the restriction to Caribbean culture. By rejecting the absorption of European discourse in exile, they can also reject the "dominant white male disease of sexism" (Lorde 63). This is not to say that James and Lamming did not master English texts, or display that mastery. On the contrary, the aforementioned example with Lamming and the English novelist questioning the Caribbean debaters illustrates that mastery of English literature is necessary to remain 'exiled' and not 'immigrant'.

Lamming distinguishes himself as a literary scholar through mastery of the English text, which of course he did, but he must also remain in those literary circles as a master of English canonical texts and English gentlemen (Wheat 20). This depends too, on the stamp of approval of the white English gentlemen, the gatekeeper of this imperialist gift of knowledge. Lamming's (speculative) disagreement with the English novelist could result in the questioning of his literary aptitude, which the novelist did to the Caribbean debaters.

The English novelist in this example epitomizes the ideology of the imperialist view that colonial education is the "gift of empire from those whom color has denied the

status of personhood [which] has a long, resilient tradition in European consciousness” (Lamming 1995 8). This gift implicates knowledge as property, the English being in possession of it, and in their benevolence to their savages they impart it upon their subjects. Any perversion of this gift, therefore, is heresy. This gift is the result of the great myth Lamming refers to in *Pleasures*, mentioned earlier in the analysis of Louise Bennett’s poem.

The myth itself is the seed of the colonial education the West Indian receives as soon as s/he can speak. The myth “begins with the fact of England’s supremacy in taste and judgment: a fact which can only have meaning and weight by a calculated cutting down to size of all non-England. The first to be cut down in the colonial himself” (27). From this cutting down of the colonial there is the departure of the Caribbean writer to explore those philosophical questions that are ignored and nullified by the English, embodied by the English novelist in Lamming’s earlier example. These intellectuals cannot ignore the philosophical questions and the subsequent removal of culture and *history* of the colonial West Indian. The colonial education is at the root of that erasure, as Lamming explains:

The West Indian’s education was imported in much the same way that flour and butter are imported from Canada. Since the cultural negotiation was strictly between England and the natives, and England had acquired, somehow, the divine right to organize the natives reading, it is to be expected that England’s export of literature would be English. Deliberately and exclusively English...How in the name of Heavens could a colonial native taught by an English native within a strict curriculum diligently guarded by yet another English native who functioned as a reliable watch dog...how could he ever get out from under this ancient mausoleum of historic achievement?” (27).

Lamming underscores not only construction of the erasure of any West Indian culture through inclusive of language, religion, and art, but the subsequent need of the intellectual built by colonial education to leave that structure for the metropole, or England. These intellectuals become what he calls in *Coming Coming Home* “mediators”, and their role as mediators are resistance to Western hegemony, which, “cannot be cultivated where the critic/intellectual functions almost exclusively within an academic enclave...[that] define and limit[s] the terrain of mediation” (17). In other words, the colonial education system meets not only its limit in educating the intellectual, but it builds a society that confines the intellectual and does not allow them to resist the colonizer. The emergence of the respect the educated middle class enjoys stems from the myth the education they received. This education imparts and keeps the stratification of class in place for them to continue to enjoy their elevated status. Colonialism has done its job in indoctrinating the natives to keep their system of oppression alive. Therefore, there is no space for the Caribbean intellectual to resist because there should be no resistance to British indoctrination. Because English text is canonical, the West Indian writer themselves become non-entity – they should be British writers. There is no history of the West Indies to write and make meaning of, because colonialism has wiped it out and created a British history. Lamming makes an excellent point of this by stating that the question of why Caribbean writers go to England is superficial because colonialism has done its job so well that “the greater mystery is that there should be West Indian writers at all. For a writer cannot function as writer if those who read and teach reading in his society have started their education by questioning his very right to write” (1984 27). The myth is where the rejection of the West Indian writer comes from, the “myth of

Europe which rejects” (Wynter 1996 312). At this point, if the Caribbean intellectual is to resist, s/he has no choice but to go to England.

Negotiating Exile

If we agree with Gikandi that exile is ground zero for Caribbean literature, then I assert that colonialism is ground zero for exile. As Lamming so eloquently states, “Colonialism is at the very base and structure of the West Indian’s cultural awareness”, it goes without saying that one’s cultural awareness is either in agreement with or the antithesis of the culture inscribed upon him or her by their society (1985 34). What awareness does the colonized West Indian *know*? By this I mean, the actual awareness that Lamming speaks about – how much of that awareness is outside of the colonial indoctrination of England’s colonial education? Sylvia Wynter praises Lamming because “he knows himself and his perspective [is] moulded by a historical process imposed on his being. He writes from a point of view inside the process. He knows that he does. Awareness is all” (2005 337). That historical process that Wynter describes includes colonial education, and that colonial education is the site of the birth of the West Indian writer’s need for exile. When speaking of one who is of Caribbean birth and exile, Lamming asserts that “to be an exile is to be alive” (1984 24). Colonial education births this life of the West Indian writer because once one reaches the small educated middle class space assigned him/her by the colonizer, there are only two place to go. One, to stay and navigate the home country within the newly minted capitalist structure awarding the educated with jobs that were only outlined for their white overseers, or two, to continue their educative process and writing in a climate where the standard of living is better and

where one has earned, intellectually, the occupation of the space afforded British citizens, even colonized ones. For the West Indies, that space is England.

Colonial education itself, in building this educated middle class, first creates this middle class to perpetuate the allegiance to the colonizer. Lamming recalls the

atmosphere in which all of us grew up. On the one hand a mass of people who were either illiterate, or if not had no connection whatever to literature since they were too poor or too tired to read; and on the other hand a colonial middle-class educated, it seemed, for the specific purpose of sneering at anything which grew or was made on native soil" (1984 40).

On the one hand, Lamming presents the notion that the colonial education process not only taught disdain for their home country and culture to its pupils, it taught contempt for their fellow Caribbean. This is evident in C.L.R. James' family's utter derision of Matthew Bondman, which leaked onto Matthew's family members. What's interesting to note is that the elite didn't hate themselves, (to the extent that they were no longer the savage native) for they too were born and raised on native soil. The task of educating, and the process of colonial education, became the indoctrination tool to aspire to be better than (someone else), which could only be achieved by believing one is better than (someone else), through the shedding of everything Caribbean, language and religion being the top two facets. This is part of the myth of colonization. This shedding could only be done through the refining process of colonial education, and the acceptance that this educational refinement is anti-Caribbean, pro-England, and pro-white, thereby anti-black. Any unwillingness or inability to conform to the refinement was regarded as an act of the unfortunate or the unwilling, both earning the same consequence: dehumanization. This dehumanization is not limited to the lower classes and peasants of the Caribbean, for the intellectuals know all too well that they cannot shed the one factor that makes their

process into becoming English, complete: their color. In Earl Lovelace's Trinidadian novel *The Wine of Astonishment* (1982), the character of Ivan Morton, a promising young man who becomes educated (although not college) realizes the limitations his skin places upon him, all the while not abandoning that prize of whiteness when he declares "we can't be white, but we can act white" (13). This presents what Lamming calls the "old dichotomy of civilised [sic] and uncivilized, Christian Prince and Noble Savage...neatly carving the world up into those who have retained a pre-Newtonian conception of reality, and those for whom the real world is a construct of systematic thought and scrupulous intellectual order" (2000 11).

What this means for the exiled writers in discussion here, James and Lamming, is that there is a time when their thinking becomes unpopular with the very people they are a part of, but have been removed from because of their education. Lamming talks about the sentiment among these writers, that "the atmosphere was too oppressive to get any writing done" (1984 41). This is not to say that their countrymen drove them out of their homes. What it does reveal is an atmosphere that is created by the colonized education that rendered a socio-economic hierarchy dependent upon the colonized system that promised a higher standard of living, civilized form of government and religion, and a meritocratic belief that if it were unachieved, it was one's own fault and was therefore undeserving of those markers of a higher class life. These elements raise an allegiance and affinity to the colonizer, as well as a population that had no need for books outside of the classroom, because the education system made the masses

...excluded from the culture of book reading. Even where there was critical literacy, and a lively intelligence for dealing with the hazards of survival, the structure of the school had not prepared the broad mass of our people for the book as a companion which followed

them beyond the school. And the gradual formation of an educated middle class suffered the defects of the context in which it was schooled. Reflecting the political economy which shaped their values, the book, like other kinds of social commodity, *achieved respect only as an imported object*. It lost all reality when it appeared as an indigenous creation. Education had made this class a serious obstacle to development, and a hostile enemy against any struggle for cultural authenticity, for the compiling of the native inventory (2000 17) emphasis mine.

The bigger impact, of course, on the contempt for all things created on native soil, meant the native writers producing native writing for the Caribbean would be disregarded. As true as a prophet is not accepted in his hometown, these critics were not regarded in their home countries of the Caribbean because of the education system's culture-washing methods. Any of their writing would not be taken seriously, attributing to the oppressive atmosphere. These writers were either then consigned to give up those aspirations and conform to the socio-economic structures that the educational system built, or, leave. The natural choice for that departure is the place that has taught these intellectuals that will further their movements in to higher class, education, and ultimately, validation. Via colonial education in the Anglophone Caribbean, that place is England.

In Jan Carew's "The Caribbean Writer and Exile" (1978), Carew examines the reason for exile as well as the Caribbean intellectual's negotiation of exile. He states that "exile can be voluntary or it can be imposed by stress of circumstances; it can be punishment or pleasure" (453). Examining Lamming's experiences through Carew's essay not only validates Lamming's experiences and motives for exile, it reinforces the notion of what Carew calls the "colonizing zeal" of the colonizer that indeed created the exiled Caribbean writer (453). The danger of my argument is to lead one to assume that this zeal is manifested in colonial education only. Not so, as this zeal encompasses

genocide, slavery, and imperialism with all their facets and consequences as well. With this zeal, the colonizer creates exiles in his/her own country, not only in England, as evidenced in the hostile environment at home these intellectuals experience. Carew also gives us a glimpse of their world in the metropole, likening their negotiation of that space (England) to a “performer in a circus of civilization” (454). How true this is when we recall Lamming’s run-in with the unhappy English novelist that derided the West Indian writers.

Carew first implores us to understand the zeal to understand the exile. In what he labels as the “five centuries of the Columbian Era” he chronicles their “lust for gold” through the genocide of Hispaniola, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Amerindians in South America, and so on (457-458). What Carew does is create a foundation for understanding exactly how exile comes to be a natural progression of colonialism. In this foundation, he draws solid lines from this historical picture (complete with diary entries from Cortez and Columbus) and illustrates colonialism’s far reaching impact, not only geographically, but temporally, emotionally, and spiritually. *The Caribbean Writer and Exile* poetically immerses the reader in historical consequence, effectively rendering time without its power. Carew is placing the colonized body at the point of colonization, and the point of exile, and the end of exile at the same time. Since colonized bodies inhabit all of these spaces at the same time:

As one penetrates into those brooding spaces, one feels the pain and suffering of the dead Amerindian hosts, and at that moment once begins to realize that the real dead are the sowers of death, not its victims; at that moment one understands the unwritten histories of the victims intuitively and enters into the heart of the suffering. One feels their anguish in the same way that an amputee feels a persistent ache in the limb he has lost; and at that moment one also becomes the inheritor of the dauntless courage and the humanity of the

victims, and at that moment suffering is no longer suffering and death is no longer death (460).

There is no ignoring the immensity of the catharsis of the passage. The slave, the descendant of the slave, and the spirits of the victims of genocide, all come together to form an army of consciousness that empowers the victim to no longer be victim. These 'brooding spaces' are the unwritten, ignored, and whitewashed histories of the western world that paint colonialism as the great modernizing power to the entire world. As the intellectual moves between poor and middle class, uneducated and educated status, home and abroad, s/he carries the weight of the past, their voices permeating Lamming's aforementioned 'split personality' and DuBois' veiled consciousness. How loud can these voices get in the recesses of the minds of these intellectuals? Of the colonized bodies? Of the ones whose awareness has led them to the banks of feeling the past, of hearing the dead, and of utter and desolate choice? (I will speak on this choice later). Carew paints the colonizer as the 'real dead', not the murdered indigenous peoples of the colonized world, and makes that understanding the point of awareness in this passage. By doing so, the colonized body is choosing life, by rebelling against the power of colonial structures (death), which emboldens him/her with 'dauntless courage' to act through this awareness. The intellectual, the exiled writer, inhabits this space and conducts their resistance through their exile. Thus, exile is not just necessary for revolution, it became a natural progression from this awareness which can only be made possible because of the murderous greed of the colonizer. If not, then what are we becoming aware of?

Of course, there are other ways to deal with this awareness, one being the model given by the recording of history by the colonizers, and that is to either ignore, change, or acquiesce. Indeed, great writers have straddled the line of the benefits of colonialism's

child, capitalism, to all the world's inhabitants, even those descended from the victims of its destruction. Eugenio María de Hostos of Puerto Rico, is one, and in one of his essays titled "The Day of America", he condemns Columbus and the discovery of the New World for its genocide, greed, and wars, and simultaneously praises its outcome by "enumerat[ing] with sober rejoicing the goods with which our Continent of Columbus has contributed to the physical and intellectual development of Humanity" (2). María de Hostos is considered one of Puerto Rico's greatest citizens, as he worked as not only an educator, philosopher, and social activist, but a colossal proponent of independence, while he simultaneously spoke against the idea of annexation by the United States. He is clearly the child of the colonizers powers, its destruction, imperialism, racism and theft, both of resources and culture, but makes it clear that there are benefits to the 'discovery' of the new world and its child of colonialism. Is María de Hostos' awareness of these benefits a marker of acquiescence or a nod of understanding that intellectuals that can emulate the master's language may enjoy a piece of the created wealth of the capitalist system? I am careful not to pass harsh judgment, especially since there is no way I, as the recipient of such knowledge, cannot attest to the luxuries capitalism affords me to research, write, engage, and share in this historical and cultural awakening. However, as a descendant of the victims, do I then thank the problem for this activism? Do I thank slavery for the bravery of Harriet Tubman, or Jim Crow for MLK and Malcolm X? Who on earth would we thank for Ché?

Is this the point of awareness Sylvia Wynter's describes in *We Must Learn to Sit Down*? She firmly notes that Lamming writes from inside this knowledge, inside this awakening, a point of awareness, and declares that this "awareness is all" (337). While

Wynter adds a dimension of a “taking of consciousness” to this awareness, I believe this consciousness to be Carew’s direct link of history, to knowledge, to freedom (Wynter 331). In *Pleasures*, Lamming also places awareness as “the minimum condition for attaining freedom” (xx). All three of these scholars agree then that exile is not only a result of colonialism, and more to my point, colonial education, but a natural progression of the awakening of the West Indian colonized body.

Awareness almost always results in decision-making, this being the choice referenced earlier. The exiled writers are no different, and in fact, their choices have consequences for their entire cultures. Carew knew this to be true when he stated that “the Caribbean writer is faced with harsh choices. The end of his marginal status is now in sight. As an honorary member of the marginal class he has both consciously and unconsciously internalized the mounting chaos that is pushing the class inexorably, not into revolution but revolutionary situations” (462). The exiled writer can see his marginalized status coming to an end when s/he enjoys the uplift in socio-economic status from his uneducated, uncivilized colonial brethren. The myth of colonialism runs rampant in the meritocratic message of the achievements and eventual attainments of these educated colonials. As evidenced in Bennett’s poem, the exiled writer does not emigrate to England and achieve full British citizenship and enjoy the properties of that citizenship. It is made very clear right away that citizenship of Britain does not include equality, which can only be achieved through whiteness, and not just whiteness, but *being white*. Our intellectuals realize they cannot be full citizens, but instead have to navigate yet another ‘circus’ of civilization, with its unwritten rules. This brings to mind Edmonson’s point on exiled writer’s enjoyment of the status of exiles, not immigrants,

which these writers must maintain, if not for status in intelligentsia, but for grounding in revolution in the metropole. Otherwise, they could have stayed home, not as intellectuals of Lamming's philosophical group, but of the

Ranks...swelled by unemployed graduates from high schools and universities, by preachers of cults and fads, by corks, pushers, choke-and-rob practitioners, political louts and bouncers, by political louts and bouncers, by instant prophets...their dress, their speech, their music, the mumbo-jumbo they invent and discard seasonally are all imaginative forms of protest; they are often unsure of what they're against; the corrupt, bullying, pompous, dishonest, cruel, incompetent, and often mindless regimes under which they live (Carew 462).

These are the Matthew Bondman's of C.L.R. James' *Beyond a Boundary*, the Tantie's in Merle Hodge's *Crick Crack Monkey*, Buntin and his shop in Earl Lovelace's *The Wine of Astonishment*, and the shoemaker in Lamming's *In the Castle of My Skin*. These exiled writer's works, both fiction and non-fiction, effortlessly place their fellow intellectuals squarely in the revolutionary ring right with them, although they are not exiled. Each one of these intellectuals made choices, and they lived by them in their spaces. Our exiled writers' choices determine their revolutionary status, and their eventual choice to end their exile as well.

Carew calls these exiled writers 'honorary marginals' and unapologetically marks some of the choices they have made by claiming that "some went into hiding, others wore the gaudy costumes and transformed the slogans into academic canons" (463). He illustrates the delicacy of their 'performance' in the 'circus' by illustrating their tightrope walk of not making too much noise and/or not sounding too militant. He agrees with Lamming that these intellectuals have perfected the English grammar and is a "supreme mimic...[who] can perform...literary ventriloquism. He can imitate his master so

perfectly that the master hears himself speaking through the servant” (463). This mimicry plays an important role in what Carew calls the three stages of the Caribbean intellectual that is exiled. These three stages are imitator, disgruntled colonial, and revolutionary.

Carew makes it clear that the initial goal of the Caribbean intellectual is to prove his worth by his acceptance, adherence, and practice of the colonial tenets. He is ready to accept his honorary membership in whiteness and believes he has fulfilled all the criteria to do so through his mimicry, and thus is in stage one.

The second stage is one I would like to examine more fully. Here, Carew states that the Caribbean intellectual somehow has seen that he is not fully accepted in England, and has not achieved full citizenship and equal status with his white counterparts. Carew notes that the exiled writer now knows the “language...better than the colonizer himself is used like a stick to beat...[him], but the beating is handed out guardedly. The intention is more to make noise than to inflict pain. It is, in essence, a protest inspired by petulance, a signal to the colonizer, a plea for recognition, a cry from the emptiness of the creole soul which says: accept me as an honorary white man and I will commit new and unspeakable treacheries against my own” (463-4). Carew’s embodiment of Fanon’s creolized body and mask to perpetuate a longing for the white identity is evident, yet the argument is too aggregate. While there is definite support that the Carew’s stages of the intellectual is true, as evidenced by both Lamming and James’ testimonies in *Pleasures* and *Boundary* respectively, these same substantiations suggest a rupture from Carew’s implication that when in this stage, the intellectual is still looking for validation from the colonizer *in exchange for disassociation, renouncing, and even betrayal* of the peoples

and cultures of the home of the writers. It is not unreasonable to suggest that our exiled writers are always hopeful of the validation of their human status by the oppressors, however it is what Carew states they (exiled writers) are willing to do in exchange for this endorsement.

Evidence of this breakaway is C.L.R. James's search for membership in a cricket club. As he pondered which club he would seek admission, he recounted the criteria for each: White and wealthy for the Queens Park Club; white and catholic for Shamrock; low class uneducated blacks for Stingo; brown skinned middle class for Maple; and black lower-middle class for Shannon (James 2005).

While still in Trinidad, this is a clear-cut indication that James' is fully aware of his race and its implications and limitations. While this can be seen as acceptance and acquiescence to the colonial racialized hierarchy, it can also be seen as the understanding that he will never be white, which is what it would take to be a member of Queens Park or Shamrock Clubs. He does not seek the admittance to these clubs with the caveat that he would be an honorary white man, replete with repudiation of all that is Caribbean, black, and non-British. The same argument could be applied to James' admittance to the Catholic only club, yet James does not switch to Catholicism. The argument could be made that he wouldn't become Catholic because of his colonial Protestant (Puritan) roots which are a clear indoctrination of his colonial education, however, his colonial programming also taught him that he was to shed all that is not white. The Catholic Club, Shamrock, was also all white, which is still superior to black. Becoming a Catholic, while not English (at that time) would still have been advantageous to a black colonial body. Although James ended up joining Maple, which was for light skinned blacks and James is

considered dark, he knew the social lines that were drawn on class and color, and adhered to them until powers above him could alter them. James' adherence to these rules are not acquiescence or betrayal. Instead it is his validation as a human being to belong to such a club, because his admittance into the light skinned club starts to blur the lines of the racist and classist rules. James debunks Carew's intellectual need for validation of the colonizer. If he sought membership in the white only clubs, Carew's argument would ring true.

George Lamming debunks Carew's second stage of the Caribbean intellectual, and his is while he is exiled in England as well. In *Pleasures* he recounts his coverage of the funeral of George VI. His colleague Thomasos, a fellow West Indian, was there as well and was considered a nationalist. Yet, when a member of the West Indian political party approached Thomasos to converse, Thomasos rudely ran away to avoid being seen with the official. His reasoning was the outfit the official wore; to Thomasos it was rife with buffoonery. The regalia was described as over the top, unnecessary, and as if the official tried too hard to wear the regalia of an English officer. The officer knew Thomasos; they were countrymen. Lamming goes on to describe the scene in which

this black apparition was no joke to Thomasos who was now beginning to feel the arrows of civilization pierce his pride...he strode toward Thomasos, his equally lost brother, his safest rescue. But Thomasos, of all people! Proud, courageous and strong, how could you have done such a thing for all those English eyes to see? For when the gentleman was about to speak, Thomasos ran! I say Thomasos ran; and Thomasos whose pride and courage have always been his greatest boast admitted that he ran (55).

Thomasos admits to running because he could not be associated with his countryman to all the English eyes around him. He could not let them think he and the officer were from the same place, as is the custom of humans to judge every person in a group as the same.

Thomasos could not bear being lumped with the black buffoon. However, Lamming clearly calls both the officer and Thomasos his brethren 'lost', in that they both needed to shed the Caribbeanness in different ways to procure their validation from their colonizers. Although Thomasos was seen as a nationalist, he still needed to distance himself from his own countryman. Lamming actually repeats Thomasos running away, with exclamation points, signifying not only his surprise but his disappointment. While Lamming is fully aware that the English are watching and blacks are always on display for judgment or use of the colonizer, Lamming notes that what he would rather the English witness was loyalty, camaraderie and pride, not shame, in the meeting of Thomasos and his countryman. Had Lamming exemplified the implication of Carew's second stage of Caribbean intellectuals, he would not have found Thomasos' behavior shameful or damning, even though Thomasos was supposed to be a nationalist.

The last stage of Carew's exiled intellectual is that of "unequivocal adherence to the cause of liberation" (464). By all means, the exiled writers of note from the Caribbean have all solidified their place in this arena. However, Carew goes on to state that the Caribbean writer is

compelled by the exigencies of history to move back and forth from the heart of those cultural survivals and others into whatever regions of the twentieth century the island, the continent or the cosmos his imagination encompasses; and, in roaming across the ages of an in this bloodstained hemisphere, he must penetrate into the unfathomable silences where a part of the Amerindian past is entombed, he must gnaw at the universal grief's, and the reservoir of compassion in his heart for the dispossessed must be limitless" (466-467).

For the exiled writer, I assert this is stage four. The exile brought on by colonialism is also pulling the writer to end the exile. It is the need for ending the exile in which the

writer is bringing the resistance to its full circle. This includes the negotiation of the exile itself. As we have seen the Caribbean exiled writer is placed into a dichotomous dimension that continually pulls him in the direction of the needs. Those needs are both metaphysical and physical; the physical needs are met through the labor, while the metaphysical needs are those created by those ‘exigencies of history’. The negotiation is the survival of exile. These writers know their goal, and work toward it in the environment of the exigencies of history.

Lastly, between George Lamming and Jan Carew there is mention of the sea as a perpetually moving space of entry and exit. From the arrival of Columbus, to the Middle Passage, and the immigration waves before the aircraft, the sea emulated the vast spatial fluidity of the unknown, the unconquered, death, and hope. I align this river to the metaphysical journey of these exiled writers discussed here. The sea is used as a way of experiencing Sankofa – to go back to one’s roots. The sea is definitely used broadly in describing a full circle, exile experience. It would seem in the search for identity some travel across the seas to the land of the colonizer. The job of the Caribbean writer is this: “Caliban had got a hold of Prospero’s weapons and decided that he would never again seek his master’s permission” (Lamming 1984 63). Our exiled writers used colonial education on its face to achieve exactly that.

CHAPTER THREE

Caribbean Women: Colonial Education, Immigration, and Resistance.

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 2, the British colonial education of the people in the Anglophone Caribbean¹² had a cultural impact outside of their school buildings. Colonial education created a new caste category that enabled a Black middle class in these countries to not only learn the language, history, religion, and cultural models and standards of the colonizer, but an assimilationist comportment that ridiculed their own culture. It amassed an understanding of the betterment that colonial education afforded its pupils, thereby rendering a misunderstanding of those that could not or would not conform to that betterment. Religion and education created a bastion of meritocracy and veneration for all things British, while reciprocating a disparity for the Other.

In this situation, all things Other are the Africanized religions and languages of the people of the West Indies. After the genocide of the indigenous Indians of the colonized Anglo-Caribbean (and all the Caribbean for that matter), transplanted peoples of Africa (slaves) and India and China (indentured servants) remain with the remnants of their past lives from their home countries. The anti-blackness that ensues from the colonial education of these people is the embodiment of the regard for all things British, all things bright and beautiful.¹³

¹² Anglophone Caribbean specifically includes those countries that are officially English speaking in the West Indies. For this study, those included are Barbados (paternal), Jamaica, Grenada, Trinidad and Tobago, and Guyana. While most of these are in the Caribbean Sea geographically, Guyana is on the northern coast of South America, yet shares the history of British colonization, transatlantic African slave trade, and indigenous genocide. These similarities incorporate Guyana with the Caribbean (as well as Central-American Belize, but there are no Belize descended participants in this paper).

¹³ "All Things Bright and Beautiful" is nineteenth century Anglican hymn that is very popular in the British Caribbean Christian canon for children. Lyrics are by Cecil F. Alexander and sung to different melodies, the

In the first two chapters, I discussed the many different aspects of Caribbeaness that is unacceptable to British standards, inclusive of ideologies but also physiology that are near impossible to shed. This chapter will identify the roles these Caribbean languages have in the lives of Caribbean women who have immigrated to the United States, the impact colonial education has on these languages, and more importantly, the speakers of these languages, even long after these speakers have emigrated to shores far away.

In *History of the Voice* (1979), E. Kamau Brathwaite talks about the development of Nation Language, his term for the language of each respective Caribbean nation, which is not standardized British English. British English, Brathwaite remarks, is the “imposed language...an imperial language” which he knows does not represent and inhabit the lives and languages of the West Indian native (259). Instead, he notes:

The educational system did not recognize the presence of these various languages. What our [the British] educational system did was to recognize and maintain the language of the conquistador – the language of the planter, the language of the official, the language of the Anglican preacher. It insisted that not only would English be spoken in the Anglophone Caribbean, but that the education system would carry the contours of an English heritage (262).

Brathwaite eloquently states the imperialist nature of colonial education and also positions religion squarely in the forefront of the English lifestyle that represented authority. The Anglican preacher is listed with the official, the conquistador, and the plantation owner- making him a lord over the Caribbean colonial body, and more so, a righteous one. This places Christianity in its early legalistic form as a foundation for the meritocracy that underlie C.L.R. James’ family’s pride in their father’s bootstrap move

17th century Royal Oak melody being the favorite among Protestant Christians in the Caribbean. I use this song title to illustrate the link between what is taught as “bright” and “beautiful” – all things British.

from penniless black man to one that was afforded a station in a white man's job. In fact, James mentions much about his Puritan heritage being the catalyst for middle class respectability (Boundary 9).

Brathwaite goes on to talk about the discourses that colonial education taught its subjects which held "no relevance to themselves...The people educated in this system came to know more...about English kings and Queens than they do about...our own national heroes, our own slave rebels...We are more excited by...Sherwood Forest and Robin Hood, than we are about Nanny of the Maroons" (263).¹⁴ This is the beginning of what I would call a living outside of ourselves, a movement into what George Lamming called the "man of two worlds" (1995 6). While Lamming's example is the culmination of the colonial education's work upon the colonized body, it is precisely what this chapter's study is investigating. Brathwaite and Lamming bring to the forefront what the women in this study have become: children of the colonial system brought into an exile via the immigrated body to the United States from the West Indies. Both Lamming and Brathwaite lived in England, and embodied the 'exiled' status because of the education afforded them back in their native countries because of patriarchy and colonial education (Edmonson 13). The women in this study have varying degrees of education, yet they were all under the colonial structure of Great Britain, and would hardly call themselves exiled. However, Brathwaite illustrates the underpinnings of these women's educational

¹⁴ The Maroons were a contingent of African slaves that successfully rebelled against their slave masters and inhabited sections of their countries that were mountainous and inaccessible to the white slave masters. They created societies outside the rule of the slave masters and operated autonomously. A large society of the Maroons lived in Jamaica, called Maroontown by their fellow Jamaicans. "Nanny of the Maroons, and ex-Ashanti (?) Queen Mother, is regarded as one of the greatest of the Jamaican freedom fighters. See Edward Kamau Brathwaite, *Wars of Respect: Nanny, Sam Sharpe, and the Struggle for People's Liberation* (Kingston, Jamaica: Agency for Public Information, 1977)." As quoted in E.K. Brathwaite. "History of the Voice". *Roots: Essays in Caribbean Culture*. U of Michigan Press. 1993.

background, while Lamming then exhorts the resulting split-lives they live - Caribbean-born and Caribbean transplant in the United States. In Brathwaite and Lamming's descriptions of colonial education and the dichotomous lives that result from such, I saw these theories in the living bodies of immigrant Caribbean women in New York. This, along with C.L.R. James' accounts in *Boundary*, prompted me to pursue a study of these women to draw implicit connections from their motives behind specific language and educational choices to their colonial educations they received back in their respective British colonized countries in the Caribbean.

My research focuses on the ways colonial education has impacted the relevance and importance of the home languages of those that have immigrated from Anglophone British West Indies to the United States. More succinctly, I investigate the patterns of attitudes towards Nation Language (NL) in those that have been parented by immigrants who were born in Anglophone Caribbean countries prior to independence (years prior to 1962 for Jamaica and Trinidad, 1966 for Guyana and Barbados, and 1974 for Grenada), which were educated by the British colonial educational system. These NL's are basically "Creole languages [that have] emerged as a result of European-controlled plantation systems bringing together Africans as slaves and other ethnic groups from Asia and Europe as indentured laborers" (Nero 1997 586). I surmise the immigrated women in this study have internalized, accepted, and emulated a home system (toward NL) that promulgates the British colonial education's marginalization of NL. Alejandro Portes and Lingxin Hao conducted a study entitled *E Pluribus Unum: Bilingualism and the Language Loss in the Second Generation* in 1998. They found that "West Indian origin has the only negative influence on foreign language knowledge, a result readily

attributable to English monolingualism among West Indian immigrants” (277). I would add that this ‘negative influence’ stems not only from the monolingualistic English home, but the colonial education’s effect that has taught the colonized body all too well that anything, any language, outside the Queen’s English, is not only unacceptable, but will spell a cessation in socio-economic upward movement. I hypothesize the research will show the children of colonially educated immigrants will emphasize socio-economic mobility as one of the factors in whether or not they choose to/can speak their NL’s.

In “Historic Low Prestige and Seeds of Change: Attitudes toward Jamaican Creole” (1999), Alicia Beckford Wassink explores in a study a community of Jamaicans and their belief of the role of Jamaican Creole, or Patois. Her study asked questions about a person’s character that uses Patois, and the answers recorded opened a door to my study. Wassink’s study was not limited to females, but it addressed attitudes towards Patois of Jamaicans. Her study prompted me to investigate how women, in particular, whose parents were colonially educated in their home countries, felt and/or interpreted their NL’s in their own lives and that of their children.

In addition to these scholars, it occurred to me that there is much in the way of the Caribbean novel that exemplifies the exiled, the immigrant, and more explicitly the absorption of the colonial heritage and it’s haunting of future generations. What I mean here is, novels such as *Crick Crack Monkey* by Merle Hodge (1970), *In the Castle of My Skin* by George Lamming (1953), *Moses Ascending* by Samuel Selvon (1975), not only exhibited these cultural tropes, but they caused me to wonder whose stories are really being told. The authors are clearly engaging in their conversation with their colonial pasts, but I thought of the real women I knew who immigrated to the United States and

started to wonder how they live their own colonial histories. Édouard Glissant tells us in *Caribbean Discourse* (1989) that Caribbean Literature takes a central role in constructing new cultural identities outside of the colonial ones and to write the Caribbean body into existence, engages in histories of Caribbean, and, more importantly for my interpretations, that the Caribbean intellectual has looked outside of their native homes for solutions to identity and history questions, namely, in exile. Glissant's theories raised questions of how history is created through education, and how (the writing/teaching/learning of) Western history annihilates the Caribbean (and the entire non-European) world. Selwyn Cudjoe asserts that the colonial education of the Caribbean is an act of institutional violence in the colony, which makes perfect sense (1986). We are all taught that education is to refine the individual - after all, the term 'better yourself' is widely used synonymously as becoming educated. Arguably, the colonial education works to indoctrinate for the betterment of the colonial power. So then, Caribbean literature works against this to place an identity outside of colonial restraints – yet it is borne of these power relations. It is interesting to note the dichotomy of the institutional violence of the colonial education in the British colonies, and the institutional violence of the prohibition of educating blacks in the United States. Both of these are born from interest convergence¹⁵, which both benefitted the colonial power (in the Caribbean) and the white supremacist governing body and white citizens in the United States (Bell 2008).

¹⁵ Interest convergence is the term created by Derrick Bell, often credited as the father of Critical Race Theory. It explains the phenomenon where an act is seemingly done for the betterment of blacks in a white supremacist culture, it is not for the betterment of the black population. Instead it is beneficial to the power structure which belongs to Whites to maintain their power in any way, while it may or may not collaterally benefit the black population. See Bell, Derek. *And We Are Not Saved: The Elusive Quest for Racial Justice*. Basic Books, 2008

Glissant and Cudjoe's voices as well as the authors of the previously mentioned novels are what caused me to pose an ethnographical study of these Caribbean women. I decided that these women needed a platform to contribute to the world what the novels and the theories that Glissant and Cudjoe have contributed to the world of the Caribbean colonial. Similar to what C.L.R. James did in *Boundary*, these women in this study are also children of a colonial heritage that have immigrated with them to a land outside their own, borne of the same power relations that Caribbean Literature came from.

What these scholars and authors have outlined in their research and novels created a platform for me to set out to 1) understand the root cause of the marginalization of their Nation Languages, 2) crystallize what these women believe colonial education has done in the way of their mobility in socio-economic hierarchy both in their respective countries and as immigrants in the United States, 3) explore possible links to Nation Language loss to not only immigration and assimilation to American life, but persistent colonial legacies in family dynamics even in the United States that may inform decision making pursuant to Nation Language, 4) determine associations to possible negative outcomes of socio-economic mobility with non-adherence to tenets of colonial education, and 5) observe possible ways these women are performing resistance to their colonial pasts here in the United States.

Critical Ethnography

In this study it is my aim to illustrate the impacts of colonial education through analyzing points one through five in the preceding paragraph. In addition, it is my hope that through the study, the women can show resistance to the injustice of their colonial training and to share their stories to further build an identity politics (while borne of

colonialism) outside of the colonial structures. Michelle Fine's three positions in qualitative research are the ventriloquist stance, the positionality of voices, and the activism stance (17). The ventriloquist stance is merely a transmitter, void of politics. I am not sure that is even possible; the absence of politics is a political move to ratify the research since so much approval is in tandem neutrality. It is indeed a political choice to leave out a political voice. In the second stance of positionality of voices, Fine asserts that these are structures in which researchers either use to emulate stereotypical group behavior, exoticize the voices or use them for pain performance, or over edit for research purposes, or worse, leave out a theoretical analysis, which are all "decoy[s] for an extended version of dis-stance and ventriloquy" (21-22). The last, which is the activism stance, works to illuminate problems, expose their sources, and creates conversations in theory and practice (23). I contend to conduct my critical ethnography in this stance, since I propose to expose British colonial education as the basic cause of the Caribbean women's marginalization of their own Nation Languages, as well as the insidious nature of 'reward' white dominant discourse affirms to these women. In pursuit of validating the Nation Languages of the Caribbean, I invoke Marsha Houston Stanback's "Feminist Theory and Black Women's Talk" (1989) call to not only recognize the marginalization of these women, but to

Represent black women's talk as a unique communicative system, the outcome of simultaneous and continuous cultural, gender, and class influences; that is, as we talk which is simultaneously defined by the speaker's socio-economic class as well as her Afro-American culture and gender (193).

While Stanback is expressly concerned with African American women's talk in feminist theory, the Nation Languages of the women in this study are directly linked to their

socio-economic status and do define their culture. Eudine Barrister Foster in her work “The Construct of a Postmodernist Feminist Theory for Caribbean Social Science Research” (1992) clearly advocates for a feminist theoretical model for Caribbean women through Linda Alcoff’s (1989) assertion that the “Caribbean woman’s identity...is fluid. It is a constantly shifting context that includes the objective historical, economic, cultural, and political institutions and ideologies of Caribbean society. The Caribbean woman identity results from how she interacts with, interprets, and reconstructs her environment” (quoted in Foster 25).

I would like to append ‘British colonial education’ to the historical arm of the ideologies this framework utilizes. Through this framework, I contend to conduct this study through a lens of the specific British colonial education that informs these women’s histories and cultural ideologies through Nation Language, or rather, their marginalization of Nation Language. I venture to include in this framework M. Jacqui Alexander’s *Pedagogies of Crossing; Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred* (2005). Alexander specifically includes exile her Caribbean feminism and Caribbean women’s interaction with the environment here in the United States. It is here where both Alexander and Foster’s theories intersect to form a framework I will use to conduct this ethnography on these immigrated Caribbean women.

Admittedly, I share the status of a descendant of a Caribbean immigrant woman who was educated in an Anglophone Caribbean country pre independence. This commonality places me as an ‘insider researcher’. While industry practice has been to denounce such researchers from conducting this kind of study because of their closeness, (Morse 1998), Teresa Brannick and David Coghlan make a strong case for those close to

a particular sample population and argue they should be viewed as a benefit to the study. “In Defense of Being ‘Native’, The Case for Insider Academic Research” (2007) validates research conducted by individuals that are “members of organizational systems and communities” (59). By naming several different research paradigms and uses of theoretical praxis for research, Brannick and Coghlan substantiate insider research because of the epistemological value, theoretical structures for the research, methodology, and contribution to the conversation in the field. Two recognized approaches to research are positivism, which is objective and generalized, and hermeneutic which is subjective and precise. The third, which is my approach, is critical realism. In this approach, there is objectivity in ontology but subjectivity in epistemology, specific theories, and the researcher is close to the data (63). I engage in the participants’ accounts, reflections, and through Alexander’s and others’ theories evolve an understanding of this community’s discourse and their management of change. Brannick and Coghlan conclude that this ‘action research’ embodied in my study is beneficial and validated since “organizational members offer interesting contributions to developing understanding the role of the manager [researcher] and the internal dynamics of organizations (66). Their advantages to insider research include participation without suspicion (from participants), use of insider jargon and follow up on replies thereby obtaining more meaningful data, seeing past objective of participants that are counterfeit, and know critical events/histories that inform organizational/community culture (69).

However, Brannick and Coghlan list five dynamics that present challenges to insider research (67):

Access – getting into the workings and systems of the organization/community to which insiders may only be allowed certain levels based on their currently held positions/sites/ranks. Outsider researches, once granted access, usually gets access to all levels based on negotiations for access itself.

Preunderstanding – insider knowledge of organizational/community discourses which may present problems of assumptions and the researcher thinking she may already know the ‘answer’.

Role Duality – because of the researchers need to supplement their current role within the organization/community, they may encounter awkwardness or contradictory feelings of loyalty to participants vs. illustrating tenets of academic rigor in their research.

Organization Politics – awareness that research can undermine an organization/community’s own discourse and can cause the researcher to lose their status or even membership in that organization/community. This is represented as a reason for researchers to augment their research to suit the agendas of the organization/community being researched, to keep the researcher’s own status within the organization/community, or both.

Brannick and Coghlan left it to the reader to understand these challenges while conducting research. They did not individually tackle each of these challenges with rebuttals, which I take the liberty to do here. First, it stands to reason that each of these challenges can certainly be met by outside researchers, yet, they are not presented as such and they certainly do not disqualify a researcher from conducting her research nor vilify her research as invalid. The most obvious of shared challenges is access, where an

outsider who may think she has gained access is only rendered access that is restrictive, based upon the organization/community's political motivations as to what is suitable for outside consumption. Also, access that is granted to an outsider can be viewed as a tool to garner certain support from outsider organizations/communities, which (based on the type of research) can flood the research with fallacies.

Secondly, preunderstanding is rife in outsider research. The notion that outsiders engage in their research as *tabula rasa* is naïve and excludes the conditioning of education and culture, as well as the institutionalization of racism and gendered politics to name a few, on the body of the researcher. However, any preunderstanding in an inside researcher may serve to repudiate research done by outsider researchers that may not only be erroneous, but serve to further conditioning in the conversation and field of that particular research. Consider James Anthony Froude's book, *The English and the West Indies*, where Froude sets out to 'study' the West Indies by driving through it, nary speaking to a single West Indian. It was John Jacob Thomas' book *Froudacity: West Indian Fables* that debunked Froude's 'research', with which Thomas was recognized for his scholarship. Thomas is an insider, born in a low economic class in Trinidad. A more contemporary but subtle example is that of Michelle Alexander's book *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (2010) which serves to undermine the research that has shown that blacks are not disproportionately affected by the criminal justice system in America.¹⁶ Alexander, a civil rights activist as well as a scholar, is certainly an insider.

¹⁶ See James Forman Jr., "The Racial Critiques of Mass Incarceration: Beyond the New Jim Crow." NYUL Review 87. 2012. 101-147.

It is not necessarily role duality that is a challenge for outside researchers, but rather an occupancy of a role in binary opposition to the research population. For example, a Christian white male doing ethnographical research on a polygamous marriage of an Islamic sub-society in Suriname can have implications on the researchers interpretations. D. Soyini Madison (2011) takes great pains to illustrate that “representing Others is always going to be a complicated and contentious undertaking” (3). If we, active researchers and ethnographers, recognize our power when conducting research over our participants, then participants have become Othered in that power dynamic. That happens in every research project that undertakes the study of human beings, whether it purports to be ethnographic or not. Madison is correct in her assertion that even a “documentary...[is] ethnographic in that the author or interpreter spent time in a location interacting with others within that prescribed space; furthermore...interpreted and recorded what she found there and then, through her own interpretive standpoint, [and] represented those findings to us....interpretation held a great deal of power” (4). While Madison is critiquing a specific documentary, her point stands true to every work that engages in the recording, study, and presentation of such a study of human beings. If this were not the case, the IRB would be useless.¹⁷ Therefore, outside researchers also have to acknowledge their role of power, which can affect their interpretations, just as insider researchers must recognize their positionality as insiders as well as their own power over their subjects (5).

¹⁷ The Institutional Review Board is the overseer of every research project in the United States pertaining to human participants for the protection of those participants. The board approves or rejects research projects with the understanding that ethics are in place for every research project undertaken.

Lastly, I would like to critique the challenge to insider researchers of organizational politics. Every researcher is required to engage in ethics that demand the safety and security of the participants. While this challenge is definitely a concern for the insider, it goes without saying that outside researchers can become affected through prolonged interactions with their subjects. It is possible for outside researchers to become emotionally involved and can cause damage to their study. Certain aspects of this include issues of attachment, detachment and participant rescue (Owton, et.al 2013).

The challenges presented to insider researchers either directly or conversely affect outside researchers as well. Cases have been made for insider research (Brackenridge 1999; Hoffman 2007) and through their analysis and the case for I have presented, I proceeded with a critical ethnography of these Caribbean women.

Participants

The use of the word children may be misleading. Indeed, the participants are children of immigrants from Anglophone Caribbean countries. These immigrants were in school in their home countries while they were not yet independent from Great Britain. Their children, therefore, are quite grown. My focus was on women only--participants are women and their mothers, daughters aged 40-50 years of age, and their mothers aged 60 and older. All but one have school-aged children, and they are considered middle-class. The rationale in choosing women (mostly mothers) stems from society's understanding that women were mostly responsible for the rearing of children and instilling in them the virtues of respectability.¹⁸ In fact, I believe no one has summed up the woman's place in Western culture & society better than Audre Lorde, when she told us that it is education

¹⁸ See Katharine Ferrel Fouquier "The Concept of Motherhood Among Three Generations of African American Women". *The Journal of Nursing Scholarship* 43.2. 2011. 145-153.

that tells women that if they are good, pretty, sweet, and quiet enough, if they teach their kids to behave, if they marry the right man, if they hate the right folks, then they can co-exist peacefully with the powers that be, until of course, the powers decide they cannot (2012 119). Lorde gives us, in less than a paragraph, the respectability politics that education gives women from the time they leave the womb, replete with instructions well past motherhood. Women hold the brunt of sexual activity both tangibly and intangibly, as she is expected to pass down respectability to her children for upward socio-economic movement. Peter Wilson (1973) argues that since slavery women had a higher status than men in the Caribbean and it is this preferential status that has infiltrated down to the present day commitment to this colonial system. This responsibility lies with women then since “a woman’s social life centers on household, family, and kinship, and she in turn retains effective control in these domains” (148). Understanding that “respectability is based on Eurocentric norms and values, embedded in class-color systems of stratification and promoted by white churches, European marriage and a colonial educational system”, Caribbean women are not merely passive actors in these discourses (Green 9). On the contrary, these women recognize a reward system to the adherence of European colonial discourse and worked in those discourses, even inclusive of resistance. These resistances include women holding family land rights, leaders in Afro-Caribbean church revival worship, successful in the market place and had children out of wedlock (Besson 21). Of course, the latter would render such a woman to a lower social status, unless she decided to marry a man with a good reputation.

In this way it is the females’ right in the West Indian household to hold disdain for the young and the female that do not adhere to the Puritan values of respectability

outlined in purity, chasteness, decorum (which includes language), and preparedness for the world as a worker and what is numerously called a ‘functioning member of society.’¹⁹ When one falls short of this standard, to properly function, it is often the parenting that is called into question, and that question invariably being, “Where was the mother?” Conversely, the male is excused as he has done his job of planting the seed of the newly created individual and exonerated of most other duties in child rearing.²⁰ He is only responsible for his own respectability; the mother is responsible for everyone else’s, and the passing down of that respectability is sifted through her sieve, constructed by the education given her, and in the case of this set of research, by her mother’s colonial education. Traditionally in the Caribbean, women were more active in the church, while men were more aligned with establishing a reputation that did not align with values. Instead, men were rewarded with status for sexual virility and prowess and “male supremacy and subordination” (Green 10). With this legacy only women were capable of fulfilling the role of internalizing, interpreting, and passing down of a value system of colonial respectability politics.

I recruited for this study through an announcement on the communication channels of two international women’s groups, one of which I am a part. Membership in these group require the current active pursuit or the possession of a bachelor’s degree. However, I expressed that members could extend the invitation to participate to their acquaintances outside their organizations. Through word of mouth and emails to

¹⁹ As evidenced in *Boundary* where James points out that his “grandmother and aunts detested” Matthew Bondman (4). In the text, it is the women that are constantly holding disdain for non-conformists, while men would only express their inability to understand how one could throw away athletic talent (as in the case of Bondman).

²⁰ See Carl Gustave Jung. “Psychological Aspects of the Mother Archetype.” *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*. Routledge, 2014.

presidents of chapters of the organizations in the downstate New York area, I received about thirty interested prospective participants. Many of those that responded were excluded because they were from Francophone speaking Caribbean countries. I did not receive any Spanish-speaking participants, as the women's groups are historically and predominantly black (non-Latina). Of the ten women that met the criteria of being daughters of women that immigrated from Anglophone Caribbean countries, only six had living mothers in the United States that were willing to participate (or the daughters felt confident they could get their mothers to participate), had active ability to recollect experiences, and were educated in the colonial West Indies by Britain.

Of the women that participated in this study, four are the daughters of the other four women that have immigrated from Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad, and Grenada. These countries achieved independence from Britain in 1966, 1962, 1962, and 1974, respectively. The participants have varied marital statuses, and their socio-economic classes contrast. All reported annual (combined) incomes of anywhere between \$40,000 and \$250,000. The participants live in Brooklyn, Queens, and Long Island, New York; Prince Georges County, Maryland; and one has retired to Florida. The daughters in the study have children ranging in ages of 5-17. They are all employed (the daughters of the immigrated women), and they work in the industries of education, higher education, information technology, banking, health care, and real estate. Four of the participants hold Master Degrees, one an associate's degree, and one has a high school diploma that incorporates a vocational component.

In thinking about this data set, I think about the similarities and differences between mine and other studies I encountered. "Brokering the immigrant Bargain:

Second-Generation Immigrant Youth Negotiating Orientations to Literacy” by Steven Alvarez considers the sacrificial roles Latinx immigrant parents assume for the sake of the educational and subsequent economic success of their children. Alvarez also touches on meritocracy, the role of literacy in upward socio-economic mobility, and translanguaging²¹ of students in relations to writing and their heritage in America which spells illegality and unbelonging. Alvarez’s research raised questions of the colonial heritage of Caribbean immigrants (referred to multiple times by C.L.R. James in *Boundary*), the main question being: How did that colonial education affect not only students but their parents who raised them in an American (exile for the parents) setting? Another that comes to mind is “Language, Identity, and Education of Caribbean English Speakers” by Shondel Nero (2006). Her study is centralized on students that attend school in New York City and their interactions with their teachers in regard to their (proper) English speaking abilities or lack of such. Her research touches on the marginalization of NL, while my study here includes parents that were colonially educated. Nero’s study brings challenges of these students when it comes to the American school system. I wanted to add to this conversation with the structural and insidious nature of colonial education that these students’ parents may have undertaken in their respective colonial Caribbean countries. This is important because connections made from British colonial education and American socio-economic mobility (of which education is a precursor) affects these women who have immigrated to the United States.

²¹ Translanguaging is a term used in direct binary opposition to monolingualism in which the United States operates. As opposed to monolingualism which is seen as the norm, translanguaging purports that language difference and diversity is real and is therefore the norm. See Lu, Min-Zhan, and Bruce Horner. “Translingual Literacy, Language Difference, and Matters of Agency.” *College English*, Volume 75, Number 6, July 2013.

Their understanding of what facilitates their (and their children's) social and economic success are deeply rooted in what they learned as young women in the colonial Caribbean. Their stories need to be told as much as C.L.R. James and George Lamming. I find that the exile these men experienced in *writing* the Caribbean into existence, is fully represented in the exile these women are *living* into existence.

Sources of Data

The data was collected by a questionnaire I developed followed by face-to-face interviews I conducted. The purpose of the questionnaire was to determine education level, income, residence, and parents' country prior to immigration. This educational and economic information was needed to add depth to determine whether or not class played a factor in their attitudes toward language. Wassink's work referenced above also indicated that "social class proved to be a good predictor of language attitudes" (59). I tend to agree with Wassink's findings and I believe my research will also illustrate that link between socio-economic status and attitude toward Nation Language. The interviews were an in-depth conversation about their attitudes toward NL, their parents' thoughts on NL, current family life, their educational experiences, and their childhoods with their immigrant parents.

A short questionnaire was created for the participants. It was completely quantitative; it asked demographical questions. Noted was difference in the recording of the answers. I was expected to write the responses in for the mothers. In each interview, I first asked the participants to fill out a short questionnaire about themselves. In all of the cases of the mothers, there was a slight hesitation, with two asking what it was they needed to answer in exasperation. After assuring them the simplicity and speed of the

questionnaire, they all gave nonverbal cues to tell me I should write their responses for them. One nodded their head toward the questionnaire, another yelled for someone in the house to bring *me* a pen, another sat far from me in the living room while folding her hands on her lap, and so forth. None of them were concerned about confidentiality of their responses; rather they were concerned with what they could possibly tell me that could aid in any research of mine. On the other hand, the daughters interviewed were all prepared to fill out the questionnaire for themselves. There was no hesitation at all, and they were extremely motivated to participate.

As an insider researcher, I am fully aware of the respect Caribbean matriarchs carry in their families, especially those that have immigrated to America. Within the Caribbean immigrated community in New York, matriarchs are not questioned by children, nieces and nephews, nor grandchildren. Situations that make their wisdom or knowledge seem incomplete or flawed are taboo. Therefore, when posed with a questionnaire, there was considerable angst as to whether or not the questions would suit their positions as matriarchs. Of course, this was not so, but these women asserted themselves by positioning me as a junior member of the community by making me fill out their responses. This a) reminded me of my junior status b) put me on notice that I must make sure they are not portrayed as unable to answer any questions. While the latter point may seem to pose a challenge to the researcher about presenting the research and painting these women in lights of supreme knowledge holders, it was not a concern for me in that these women were all capable of telling me historical lived experiences as it pertained to their colonial educations back in their respective Caribbean countries.

The interview questions were different for the mothers and the daughters. Questions for the mothers that immigrated were shorter and were open-ended. The reason for this was twofold: 1) older generations of Caribbean women do not like to feel interrogated by a younger person. However, it was made known to them the research was for an educational pursuit which gave me greater leeway. This is because education among the West Indian middle class population is second only to God. While that gave me some validity to ask them questions in the first place, my age difference with these women would eventually keep me from tiring them out. I kept my questions less in number, but very open ended to give the respondents latitude in their responses. They only had four interview questions, with only one question being two pronged. 2) These women are seen as matriarchs in their families. Open-ended questions gave them the platform of an elder educating the younger generation, the latter of which I represent. The questions are not quantitative; rather a more qualitative question set was formulated to give these women the space to educate the interviewer and solidify their positions as matriarchal while passing down histories through their experiences.

The questions for the daughters of the immigrated mothers were more numerous. Posed were a total of fourteen questions, some having several micro questions within them. Both qualitative and quantitative questions were asked of the daughters.

Interviews

Carla and Paulette

Carla²² is the 44-year-old daughter of Paulette, who immigrated to the United States from Guyana in 1962. Carla grew up in a middle-class suburb in Long Island, New

²² All participant names are pseudonyms.

York, and is married to a Jamaican-descended husband and they have one son, aged 5. They now live in Prince Georges County in Maryland--the nation's wealthiest African American residential county (Anacker et al. 2). Carla has a Master's Degree in Public Health Administration and works from home.

Carla noted that her mother did not speak anything but Standard English in the home growing up: "It was plain English, no dialect, not...you know, West Indian. It was just English." Carla does not think that the language in Guyana is a language at all. She continually referred to the Guyanese language as 'slang' or 'dialect' and stated that it's a "Guyanese accent – there's no language per sé". After explaining that both her parents were born in Guyana (mother) and Barbados (father), she mentioned that her parents both attended college here in the United States. Her father has a bachelor's and her mother an associate's degree. Carla equated the erosion of her parents 'accents' to their schooling in higher education in the United States. Carla couldn't recall a time her parents spoke to her or her brother in any language except Standard English. However, she did recall a time that her mother made an explicit deterrence to speaking Guyanese after Carla and her brother spent six weeks over the summer in Guyana on the farm when she was around five years old. When they returned, Carla said she:

Would not talk English at all...I think she said I was basically talking like if I lived in Guyana, was like, a native child growing up in Guyana ...I mean the way I was speaking and she was like, "Really? Just six weeks and this is what happens?"...And she called, my grandmother I guess, my grandmother like, "What did you do to my child?" And it was just again, like, just in terms of culture, and learning about their culture and how they grew up, and how they learn things because you don't have power, you don't have all the luxuries we have in the U.S. so, it was a good education.

Carla clearly remembered this time in her life as a turning point with language, and spoke in total agreement with her mother's assessment of the 'picking up' of the Guyanese dialect. She rationalizes lower level of the Standard English language spoken in Guyana that she learned with her grandmother because of the lack of infrastructure in Guyana. The lack of resources to know "proper" English, as she states, is what creates the dialect of English that Guyanese people speak. Because there was no electricity and television, Carla surmised that there was no way for them back on the farm in Guyana to know what the proper English was and then emulate it. They were in no position to understand the deficit of their culture because the culture was lacking in electricity and luxuries afforded those in the United States. This meant that Carla thought "they educated themselves," and had to do so because of the lack of electricity.

Carla thought that maybe her mother would slip into Guyanese dialect with her long time Guyanese friends, but thought better of that when she stated exactly who those friends are. Although they are not her relatives, she called her mother's longtime female friends 'Aunts,' as a term of respect afforded elders in the West Indian community that are very close to one's parents. After talking about them, she recalled that one Aunty has a doctorate from York University in Toronto and so "She's not talking, like, Guyanese. No way." Carla clearly associates not speaking Guyanese with being highly educated, but specifically said she thought the reason why her mother doesn't speak Guyanese is geographical. She thought that it was fine for people in Guyana to speak that way, but "We live in America. America is White. And we are not. We are the minority." Carla recognizes that power lies in whiteness, and that Standard English is a trait of whiteness, and the United States is a place built upon whiteness that is homogenized and

benchmarked. She believes that she must speak Standard English to perform in the white world we all live in, and makes sure her son will also be able to do that.

Carla spoke about the advice she takes from other moms while raising her son, in regard to language. She said she would not speak to him in Guyanese because other mothers have said to her, “Don’t talk baby talk to him. Talk to him like how you would talk to the person next to you.” Here, Carla equated baby talk to the Guyanese ‘dialect.’ To her, it is not just useless, it is an actual deterrent to her son’s (and anyone’s) development and ultimately, ability to function in the white world of the United States. As she continued in her discussion about the importance she places on her son’s education, she mentioned that since we are in a white world, that “it doesn’t make sense to go to an HBCU”.²³

There has been a traditional controversy over whether or not HBCUs need to keep their mission, and some have even stated that students do not receive a well-rounded, rigorous curriculum at these institutions (Sowell 1972). Of course, there is a mountain of research that suggests this is not the case, and instead prove that HBCUs actually “do a better job of promoting growth and development for African American students’ outcomes, including cognitive development, academic achievement, educational aspirations, degree attainment, and college satisfaction” (Berger et al 381). However, Carla assumes that HBCUs have no place in white America, because white America could not possibly value an education from an HBCU. Carla stated that she attended Boston University, a predominantly white institution (PWI), and would seek that avenue

²³ HBCU is an acronym for Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Established for the education of African American’s in the United States because of segregation and Jim Crow, HBCUs were created after the Civil War (except for Cheney and Lincoln Universities, both in Pennsylvania) and are still in operation.

of higher education for her own son. When asked to explain her stance on the HBCU, she stated:

I just feel that I know black history is important, black culture is important, and it is important to educate our children about – and they should know about those things, but for me, the only piece about that is to educate them. And that's us educating our children within the home, you know, to me, if it's not taught in school, I don't think my feelings are gonna be hurt the way I see some people's feelings are hurt. Umm, now if you're teaching the wrong thing, ok fine, you know we should be teaching the correct thing in schools, but, I feel like that's for us to be teaching, to going to different places, umm, going to see where Harriet Tubman, did the umm, you know with the ummm, going to see Harriet, like different historical places, and historical people, you know, going to Alabama and different things and looking at our culture. But I don't know or it hasn't been told to me or expressed to me by people who have gone to a historically black school, what they got out of it. And my thing is, we live in a white society. And so, if I'm going to spend money on college, I'm going to have to spend it at a school that can- that will be recognized, you know what I mean? Like, I don't know that it will be recognized that I went to Howard, over me going to BU where I went. You know what I mean?

What is evident is Carla's understanding of the power structure in the United States. The marginalized difference between black schools and white schools was normal and acceptable to her, which is directly in line with Roderick Ferguson's idea that power normalizes difference (2012). While she is fully aware of the "pathological" aspect to Guyanese culture and language, her answer is "assimilation" (Omi et al. 18). Her correlation with a college education and socio-economic success is rooted deeply in the fact that the U.S. has a power structure that is held by whites and for whites, and those that are recognized by whites. It is interesting that her commentary went from language to college education, without any prompting from the investigator (me) about higher education. Carla made a clear connection to her son speaking proper English with academic success, which meant collegiate success, which meant socio-economic success.

In stating that her Auntie with a doctorate would never speak Guyanese, the expansion of her comments to include that HBCUs would not be acceptable to white America seems to stem from Guyanese language not being acceptable to white America, not excluding anything else she may think is also unacceptable. Carla also attributes her academic success to her mother, Paulette.

Paulette attended elementary school in the capital city of Georgetown, Guyana. She immigrated to America shortly thereafter in 1962 and attended high school and a two-year college in New York. Paulette resides with her husband in a middle-class neighborhood on Long Island, New York, but visits her daughter frequently in Maryland. Paulette recalled her schooling in Guyana with pride. She attended an all-girls catholic school called St. Joseph's. At that time, Guyana had not yet achieved independence from Britain. Her parents emigrated to America in 1959, and so she stayed in Guyana and lived with her grandparents in Georgetown to attend the school. Originally, she and her parents resided in Mackenzie, a more rural part of Guyana.

Paulette rode her bicycle to school and wore a uniform that had to be pristine. Although she couldn't recall specific curriculum, she remembered she had English, Math, and Latin daily. She recollected that although there was no corporal punishment in her school, the nuns were very strict and wielded different types of punishments for infractions such as untidy uniform, dirty fingernails, and any unacceptable behavior. Paulette stressed no one dared disobey them, and they all worked hard to avoid detention, or writing thousands of lines on the board and such.

When asked about the language spoken in school, Paulette was a bit taken aback:

In Guyana, the rural language was spoken mostly in the rural areas, not in the city. That was spoken like in Berbice, and those things where they had a different dialect.

In the city, that was not the norm, no. We would marvel at the people who came from the rural areas that could speak that they call it Patios or whatever; but uhm, not in the city, no. So I'm not familiar with that. Whereas my cousins that lived in the outlier rural areas, they were, but I was not...Everybody spoke proper English. Because remember all the nuns were from England. All the priests were from England, you know.

Paulette remarked that the school was not free and some people sent their children from the country, namely Berbice and Bartica, to be educated. These were the students that came from a very rural area and had a "learning curve" with the language at the school. Those students came with a "different dialect" and were "corrected" by the nuns until "they got it right."

It was Paulette's discussion about the high school she attended in New York, The Mary Louis Academy, a Catholic all-girls school in Queens, which illustrated what exactly her British education did for her and meant to her. Paulette stated that she didn't have any language transition at all "because remember at that time our quality of education, our standards were very high, now I don't know. But in my day, [in Guyana] no. And that's, remember, that's before independence and all those things so...We were well read in those days, I don't know about now. We had these novels from England that we were reading and things like that, magazines and... so it was mostly the English influence." Paulette clearly associates being educated by the British as an advantage, one that she benefitted from immensely when she immigrated to the United States. While she makes it clear that she had no problem acclimating language wise, she did state that children in school would ask her if she lived in a house where she was from, and if she ate with a knife and fork. She remarked that back then, everyone associated a black person that emigrated as coming from Africa, and associated that with the lack of Africa represented by media of people living in poverty, huts, and the like. She admitted to small

conformities with her language in relation to pronunciation only, citing “to mā’ to, to mä’ to”. Beyond that, it is clear that Paulette associates her colonial education with her intellectual success in school in the United States. The fact that she cited independence as a turning point for the rigor in the educational system suggests not only her appreciation, but her understanding of all things British being the correct, proper, and right way to learn and be intellectually challenged.

In talking about her parents, Paulette remarked how talented they both were. In Guyana, they both had jobs that were recognized by their British overseers. Her father worked in Bauxite town,²⁴ and her mother was a seamstress for the ‘expatriates’. Paulette stated that her mother’s sewing abilities were extraordinary, as she was a select few that would make clothing for the British nationals in Guyana. She remarked that the expatriates and native Guyanese were segregated, as the expatriates lived in Watuka Hill, which was white only. When they emigrated, Paulette told the story that her mother became not only a seamstress for the garment district, but a designer, the only black female designer in the garment district in Manhattan, New York. Paulette took great pride in the fact that her mother only got the job because she went to the garment district with her white Jewish girlfriend, and once her talent shone she rose to the top.

Paulette’s story about her mother is ubiquitous with the meritocratic influence of the colonial education she received, making it clear that her mother not only deserved a job held for and by whites only but that her transcendence in that job from seamstress to designer attested that the educational merit her mother stressed to her, just as Paulette did

²⁴ Bauxite town is the nickname of the second largest city in the country of Guyana, South America, called Linden. Linden was a major mining area for bauxite, which is a rock that contains large amounts of aluminum.

with her children, worked and proved to have real results. Her mother worked for the white expatriates in Guyana and then got a job held only by whites in America. This invokes C.L.R. James' praise of his grandfather, who started with nothing and managed to get a job also held by whites only. The segregated infrastructure Paulette recalled in Guyana was not only geographical, it also served a purpose to establish a pecking order of a socio-economic hierarchy in which a British colonial education could provide societal-navigation training. Culture shedding, language erasure, and assimilation of all things British is what spelled success, and the elevation of Paulette's mother was the evidence that assimilation of all things British equated to socio-economic upward mobility. It is also interesting to note that it was not Paulette's mother that had Carla and her brother that summer in Guyana, as Carla assumed. Paulette stated it was some aunts that her children stayed with in the summer of Guyana, and that her mother, Carla's grandmother, did not speak in the 'Guyanese dialect.'

Paulette remarked that her children cannot speak the dialect of Guyana because she cannot speak it. "I don't know it so they don't know it." It is clear that Paulette credits her success in the United States with her colonial education in Guyana. While she had fond memories of high school in New York, she made it clear that because of her British educational training her transition to American high school was not only painless, it was smooth and relatively simple. Her remarks about her British education being "equal to the United States" gave her better footing to be accepted by her peers. While she did admit she may have had a small accent, it was minor and she quickly lost it. She also attributed this to her coming to America as a teenager, and not a full-grown adult.

Carla's comments call to mind not only the question of how much of her mother's colonial education seeps into her decision-making processes on the college that she attended and the marginalized place she holds the Guyanese language, or dialect as she explains it, but a common theme to the destructive antiblackness colonialism and slavery have infused in the modern culture. Michael Dumas' work on antiblackness talks about the "civic estrangement of Black people –their exclusion from the public sphere [and how]-one can theorize that the Black is still socially positioned as the slave" (14). Here, we can see how the pervasiveness of antiblackness is apparent in the colonial structure when we look at Paulette's and Carla's comments in regard to HBCUs and the general attitude toward Guyanese dialect. This attitude is a definite effect as we live in "the afterlife of slavery" (Hartman 2007 6). The colonial state is that of the afterlife of slavery, and the colonial education Paulette received, is evidence of the pervasive antiblackness that colonial education imparts when glorifying and legitimizing all things British, all things white, including language. Hartman also talks about how the mulatto (usually women) made blackness more "palatable" to white society (28). While this is (still) true I venture to place the words 'proper English' in place of mulatto. Carla recognizes acceptance by whites is needed in the white world she describes in which we all live. That acceptance is initially barred because of blackness, which we then must shed in order to gain entry. Carla maneuvers this shedding of black markers, which materialize to her as attending an HBCU, and, of course, Guyanese language. To Carla, these markers of blackness can be shed by the black person in white America, and so it is up to the black person to do what they need to do to assimilate.

Hartman also explains that

Blackness can be attributed to the spectacularization of black pain and racist conceptions of Negro nature as carefree, infantile, hedonistic, and indifferent to suffering...the constitution of blackness as an abject and degraded condition and the fascination with the other's enjoyment went hand in hand...blacks were envisioned fundamentally as vehicles for white enjoyment" (22).

Here Hartman is giving us the nature in which chattel slavery and all its manifestations: the auction block, coffles, minstrelsy, torture, and familial destruction are a stage for a spectacle for whites. I contend that Carla internalizes blackness through language as a spectacle for whites in America. Paulette also recognizes any deviation from the proper English she learned in Guyana is a deviation and therefore a spectacle to whites who would see this language deviation, such as the degraded condition referred to by Hartman, as a defect that needs correcting. Both Carla and Paulette view their rejection of Guyanese language as a resistance to white judgment in that they are refusing to have their own bodies becoming the spectacle for whites that speak proper English. Carla goes further by remarking that an education from Howard University may not be recognized, and here she means white America, which holds power. Her rejection of an HBCU education crystallizes her vision of white spectacularization of HBCUs, a 'black education', and any student coming from that education. Her motive in attending a predominantly white institution is to resist against her body being a spectacle of substandard intellect because of an education from a black institution.

Beth and Dinah

Beth is the 48 year old daughter of Dinah, and immigrant from Grenada. Beth is a high school English teacher and has a Master's Degree in Education. Dinah holds the same degree and is a retired schoolteacher.

Unlike Paulette, Dinah cut in and out of her nation language of Grenada in the home. However, Dinah attended college and graduate school in the United States. Beth stated that Dinah “ruled with an iron fist” and made sure that all her children “had to speak right”. Dinah was in charge of all of the homework and school related activities with Beth and her siblings, and Dinah took great pains to make sure her children did very well in school.

What Dinah did in her home has been studied by scholar Vershawn Young. Dinah’s cutting in and out of her Grenadian language, although not African American Language, or Black American English (BAE), is what Young refers to as code-switching. Young uses this to talk about BAE, however the definition fits what Dinah did in her home with her small children. Young expresses that code-switching does not decrease the language marginalization, but is instead a “racial compromise for blacks” when communicating to prove that they have some mastery of standardized English, which forces blacks to view their language and culture as antithetical to U.S. mainstream (9). I would agree that Dinah’s code-switching was certainly seen to herself as a compromise, but I would add that her compromise came not only from the racism and antiblackness in the United States, but that of her colonial education which instilled in her the inadequacy of her NL of Grenada.

Beth noted that “when we were with family, her [Dinah’s] accent would kick in, but when we were around professionals, or out in the street, she would sound, more, high class and educated.” Beth clearly associates Standard English with education and class, and the NL of Grenada to be indicative of the opposite. In fact, when she was talking about doing her homework as a child with her mother, it was reiterated that her mother

always told her and her siblings that they had to “speak right, and you can’t go to school sounding like you didn’t have a brain in your head.” Beth ascribed this upbringing of language marginalization to ruling with an iron fist with education being the paramount goal. Beth spoke about this part of her life with her mother with respect and admiration.

She went on to say that:

Unfortunately, it’s true. Uh, you never want anyone to think or believe, and there’s a misconception, with Caribbean people, that they are uneducated. And, my mother understood that. So, you are going to speak, the proper English, when you were in front of people. Especially your teachers, your elders, or, anyone else. Other races.

Beth notes that it is not only people outside of the West Indies that think Caribbeans are uneducated. Her comment reflects the pervasive, insidious nature of colonial education that told Caribbeans that their own language identified them as uneducated and low class. The only way one was to show that they were educated was to speak standardized English. Her mother, Dinah, made it clear that they were to show that they were educated, and not only to people outside of their family, but within their own community to elders.

Dinah’s placement of importance on how Beth and her siblings spoke to elders in the family cemented her place as a ‘good mother’ to other elders in the family as well. It is squarely on the shoulders of the mother that children are taught to emulate class, manners, and brilliance. The fact that Dinah’s children could ‘speak proper’ to their elders in their family and community illustrated the good work Dinah had done to raise her children and would garner her not only the respect of her children’s teachers, but within her own community of West Indians as well.

Beth went on to discuss her schooling in Brooklyn, New York as a young child. She lived in a Caribbean immigrant enclave, and attended school with a plethora of students whose parents emigrated from the West Indies, both Anglophone and Francophone speaking countries. She shared an interesting story about a classmate:

One of my girlfriends, from elementary all the way through high school, she, she...hmm, the teacher had asked her something and she kinda flipped and was like, "Wha wrong wid yu?" And the teacher was like, "Excuse me?" And of course, once the mother was called, because it escalated, her mom was like, "Well why would you talk like that? We don't talk like that to other people." I would say her mother was mad at that why would you talk back to the teacher first, and then second was why would let them *see* that you don't sound correct. Why would you let them know that you sound like this. Now they looking at me like I sound like this. But I have seen many parents who start off in a meeting very proper, very classy, and then flip the minute the child is in trouble or the teacher is questioning a parent about their parenting skills and then the accents come right back out.

Beth recalls a good friend's debacle with a teacher about code switching in school. Her friend reverts to a Caribbean NL (we don't know which country) and once her parent is called, the mother is upset at not only the lack in manners of her daughter in rudely corresponding with the teacher, but is equally horrified that the secret uneducated, unrefined language of the home has leaked out for judgement of the teacher. The mother feels as though her parenting is called into question, because she has somehow not taught her daughter how to speak correctly. Conversely, Beth, as a high school teacher, finds herself now in the role of teacher and comments on her interactions with West Indian parents. Although Beth lives in a Long Island suburb, she teaches at a diverse high school in Queens New York, which is an area heavily populated with whites as well as immigrants from the West Indies, the Middle East, and Asia. She also witnesses code switching from West Indian parents and said will talk to them in her NL to calm them

down when they are alone. Beth feels this lets them know they have an ally, but Beth would not do it in front of her colleagues, supervisors, or administrators, even if they are black.

Beth continued to talk about her mother and made a comment that her father never dropped his accent. When asked about it, she said that “He didn’t play the game.” Beth spoke about her father’s master’s degree in finance and that he worked in banking and made a prosperous living. She felt that because he was making money for himself and his firm, he didn’t have to drop his accent, because “he knew he was good at his job”. She remembered being taken to his job once and how he spoke to everyone in his accent, and she saw no backlash. However, Beth was careful to note that her father spoke “proper, but his accent was thick”, delineating accented Trinidadian speech and a different Trinidadian language. Even so, Beth never referred to either of her parents’ NL’s as ‘language’. It was always referred to as an accent.

Beth’s reference to ‘the game’ is similar to Carla’s mantra on what is acceptable in the white world. It would seem that Beth’s father was able to get away with his speech because he was lucrative to his firm. However, what we don’t know is whether or not he dropped his accent (or if he was even able to do so) for the interview for that job. For both of these women, ‘the game’ refers to the way in which one plays a role to be accepted in the power plays of the capitalist system to earn money and socio-economic status. Both women are fully aware, even if they make different choices how they will interact, of the power structures at play and how language plays a role in those power structures. Beth also did mention that it is easier for men to get away with things that women cannot, suggesting that it is not only economic status that can shield an immigrant

(or anyone) from the discriminatory structures in place, but that patriarchy can shield as well. Beth also spoke about her composite of friends her age from the West Indies. She said they all “toe the line” and “speak standard English in our jobs”. I sensed an awareness in Beth as she spoke about ‘playing the game’ and she continued to say that:

Playing the game was doing what our white counterparts expect of us. So we play the game. So if I’m at work, as an educated black women, that’s what they see, that’s what they expect, they don’t wanna hear the dip into a Caribbean dialogue, ‘cause it’s like, where’d that come from? Why you sound like that? Why, you know, they don’t get that. They don’t see it, they don’t want to hear it. They expect, every time, for you to sound educated. They want crisp, clean, standard English. And, I think that can be said for so many different things. Whether it’s how you speak, it’s how you perform, you have to play the game. If you’re an athlete and you’re on the field, that’s what you’re supposed to do - you play the game, you’re an athlete. When you’re in the classroom, you’re not supposed to be bouncing the basketball. Everybody has to play the game. We all wear multiple hats, for multiple things... We always wanna have your best foot forward. You always want to give them more than they expect of you. Because already when they see you, they’re thinking you don’t qualify. From the minute they see you, out the gate. So we have been taught, we have been raised, we have been uh, shown, that in order for us to be accepted in society we have to act and speak and walk and talk a certain way. The white way. I don’t know how many times I’ve heard, “Oh you speak really great for a black woman.” Yeah, so we have to play the game. Every time we step out of our protective homes. That’s what we have to do.

Beth’s analysis of the game invoked for me DuBois’ double consciousness. The veil DuBois speaks of is evident in Beth’s sports analogy. Leaving her home is the parting of the veil, stepping out from the protective barrier of her own home. She remarked that the ‘you speak so well’ comment was from a parent, and it jars her to reality. She is not really and truly accepted, she is like an imposter in the white world. Here again we can hear Carla’s intimation of ‘the white world’ in which Beth is all too aware of. Beth calls this

world a game, of which she is a player. And she notes that she is only allowed to play by the powers that allow her to play because she can walk and talk their way.

How much of this knowledge that Caribbean language is marginal comes from Dinah? And how much of that came from colonial education Dinah received in Grenada? When Dinah spoke of her education in Grenada, she too attended a Catholic school. She was also educated prior to independence. However, unlike Paulette's school, Dinah's all Catholic girls school utilized corporal punishment. Dinah recalled things that would require punishment by the nuns: a dirty or unpresented uniform, if you were late to school, untidy appearance, or any type of rudeness. Dinah was able to recall her schooling in Grenada, however she attended school a short time in Trinidad before immigrating to the United States, and she could not recall her schooling there.

In Grenada, Dinah's school would often "go outside, and there was this gigantic mango tree, and we would sit there, and we would read or have whatever lesson was, under the mango tree to read our lessons...It was so beautiful, it looked over the port. We had storybooks – the storybooks, you know they would do a lot of, uhm, stories pertaining to animals, zoo animals...we read about the zoo animals...it was nice."

Dinah's school, similar to Paulette, imported their English curriculum, replete with books about the zoo, a concept that is as foreign to Grenada as Britain is to the West Indies.

Dinah lived in St. George, a city in Grenada, which was near her school. Similar to Paulette, she recalled children coming from the country to attend her school and their language deficits.

The people who came from the country, they had, more like a, an accent...We lived in the town, St. Georges, and we spoke proper English. We were corrected a lot if you said something that was not appropriate or didn't sound right. So you had to speak the Queens

English. If you said something and it had like a little twang, or something, they would correct you and say, ‘oh no you’re supposed to say *that*, you know you’re not supposed to say like *that*’. We weren’t allowed to speak that way. We were always constantly corrected...by teachers, or where we lived, or family members, elders, you know, they would correct you, yes. They would correct your pronunciation. Like to say cat, they would say cyat, and they would be corrected. We weren’t allowed to speak that way.

Dinah clearly associates Standard English with being correct. Her British education not only normalized the ‘Queen’s English’ but it demonized her NL. Dinah made sure that her children would also speak correctly because she feared ostracization for them at school. While she admitted to code switching in the home, her children were made aware that they were to speak proper English outside of the home. She recollected a time where children from Haiti were all thought to have AIDS, and the other children made fun of them and their accents and creole. Dinah stated she would never want that for her children. She said in Grenada they never made fun of the children who spoke the “dialect”.

Dinah also exhibits what Robert Park calls the situation of the ‘marginal man’, which immigrants are pulled in both directions of their home culture and newly immigrated to country’s culture. Dinah desperately wanted to save her children from being made fun of and excommunication.

Neither of Beth’s children, aged 9 and 17, can speak any Caribbean Nation language, and Beth admitted she doesn’t speak it at home. She immediately surmised that she doesn’t speak it because her husband is a black American, and maybe if she were married to a West Indian, things would be different.

Diane and Desiree

Desiree is the 42 year old daughter of Grenadian immigrant Diane, aged 69.

Desiree is the only participant that currently does not have children. She holds two masters degrees, and is the first in her family to attend college. She is the only member in her nucleic family that holds a degree from an institution of higher learning. She has 4 siblings, one of whom is deceased.

Early in her interview, Desiree recalled with fondness her Brooklyn neighborhood and the multitude of West Indians living there. She made many references to her childhood friends that could speak Patois and when asked if she could speak Patois, she paused and replied that she could, because it's simple and it's the same as English, the "same dialect as here" with only a few words that have different meanings. She stated that growing up in her home, the language spoken was not a Patois, rather it was a "Caribbean dialect-slash-English. They were...my parents came from Grenada so they was under British rule so it was a little bit of British slash English. It was typically the same English it was just the spelling of certain words that was a difference...it was the same actual wording. I would say a broken English not a Patois."

Desiree did speak this dialect outside the home, mostly at school. All her friends at school were children of immigrants from the West Indies and so when they conversed they conversed in their dialects. She stated only a small amount were children that were born in their home Caribbean countries. However, when conversing with teachers and other authority figures, Desiree and her friends spoke "proper English". Her friends would joke about how their parents would tell them they must always speak properly

when at school. This was her experience from elementary school all the way through high school, but college was very different.

Desiree expressed that college was where she “encountered more Caucasian students than minority students”. She attended a predominantly white institution and gravitated to minorities and found that group to have much in common with her in the way of first generations college students and children of West Indian immigrants. Desiree stated

I would make sure everything was properly spoken to them, there was no slang, umm, you know, I was more conscious of my wording. Taking time to talk, and thinking before you speak, and making sure that you were expressing yourself you’re not doing it in a dialect or you know, using the proper wording that they would understand. You have to be very conscious of what you’re saying because you want to be accepted, want to show that I was educated as well, and for them to make sure that, you know, I did belong in that environment as well, the college environment, the academic world.

Desiree also stated that her parents did not say that she could or should not speak a certain way inside or outside the home, which adds to the narrative that they all thought they were speaking proper English. With that in mind, it is interesting to note that she and her primary school peers knew not to talk in the Nation languages to teachers and authority figures in school. This would appear to make her understanding of how and when to speak a school taught behavior, from other children, whose parents taught *them* to code switch. This proved valuable to her in college, where Desiree clearly felt the need to prove herself when conversing with whites, both peers and professors. Further in her interview, Desiree expressed the sometimes hostile nature of administration and staff towards her in college, as she was one of only three black women in the business school.

She was always on her guard to make sure her speech was perfect English around them. This tells us that she internalized the nature of the ‘dialect’ she says she can speak, and equates it with being uneducated, even though her parents did not express that to her. Desiree’s experience with Nation Language is quite different than the others in the study, however, it still shows that language discrimination permeates society as a form of white supremacy that delineated whether or not she deserved to be in the ‘academic world’. She subconsciously downgraded her dialect with slang, and made sure she code switched to cement her standing as a college student.

This would seem to substantiate a feeling of imposter syndrome students experience in higher education (Ramsey, Brown 2018; Parkman, 2018; Peteet, et.al 2015). In fact, Desiree fit the mold of those who would most likely suffer from imposter syndrome as they are usually “members of minority groups, first-generation professionals, people with high achieving parents, and students” (Sherman, 2). While she felt she belonged in college, she recalled how in her freshman year, she recognized the ‘lack’ of her public school education. In her classes, she noted the disparity in literature that others read, and noted that her white counterparts’ “vocabulary was superior” to hers.

Diane immigrated to the United States from the island of Grenada in 1967 at the age of 17. She attended Grover Cleveland high school in Brooklyn, New York. She was actually born in Mt. Pleasant, Carriacou, a small island belonging to Grenada, and moved to the mainland of Grenada when she was 10 years old. Diane states that she attended school in the country of Grenada, not the city.

Unlike Paulette and Dinah, Diane attended a rural public school. Her teachers were all black Grenadians, and she mentioned that some of her teachers were even

relatives and close family friends. Although her school was not parochial, curriculum was Christianity centered. If one were to follow the discourse of Paulette and Dinah, Diane fits the bill of the ‘country educated’ Caribbean and would therefore have been educated outside of the city limits and speak the ‘rural’ language of Patois. On the contrary, Diane recalled that “We only speak one language, which was English. I don’t know that [Patois]. It was no other language. It was those from the country-country that had a different language and you couldn’t understand it.”

Diane remarked that her education at her school as all British centered. She recalled her reading material to be the ‘Caribbean Reader’ and the ‘Royal Reader’.²⁵ Diane proudly stated those materials were of British origin and that everything in there was English. She stated that the British education she received was thorough.

Of particular interest in Diane’s assertion that in her school, there was no distinction between “common and proper English. We didn’t have a definition for English dictation, not proper to common, it was all straight English.” Diane’s experience begs the question of relativity in regards to the language conformity to the ‘Queen’s English’. Her reference to those from the ‘country-country’ draws a hierarchal approach to just how rural is rural in Grenada. Diane’s assertion that she and her peers, as well as the educators, all spoke English, and that’s all there was, but those from the ‘country-

²⁵ The Royal Reader was a series of books for primary (elementary) school aged children, comprised only of English literature and poetry. It was the basis of the education of children and stressed Christian values. History was included and was exclusively British, including British expansion painted in the aspect of spreading civilization. The Royal Reader was all subjects wrapped into one literary piece; it included geography, food, animals, and even living standards, which were all exclusively British. Illustrations were of European design; all children were white, and houses and family life that was depicted was that of European influence. The Caribbean Reader was a companion to the literature, sometimes also called the West Indian Reader, and was also of European origin. Some illustration in that reader included white and brown children. Both readers were published in Britain and were by Thomas Nelson.

country' spoke a language no one could understand. However, Diane revealed that when she immigrated to America, she was made to understand that the English she spoke was not proper English at all.

What I was taught was proper English. But when I came here they didn't think so. When I first came to this country I was accepted at ahh, Grover Cleveland High School. My interview there, they had, ahh, we had speech. They had to give you speech in order to enhance your pronunciation, which we were like, lacking. For instance, you wanna say have, we say 'ave, it's like they wasn't hearing the h's. You know the pronunciation was off and they...my English speaking wasn't up to their par here, because we used the Royal Reader, and Caribbean Reader, and they used...they didn't even have no textbook here, as far as I learned, it was just books, but we had specific, like Caribbean Reader, the Royal Reader, which pertained to the English. We were governed under the English/British, you know.

It is interesting to note that Diane never actually admitted having an English problem. In her interview, she stated that it was the American's not hearing the h's, and the speech that she was given in High School was merely a way for her to learn the American English, which in her mind, did not reach the level of her British education of the English language she received in Grenada. She held the Royal Reader and British Readers she learned from in higher esteem than that of what she surmised were inferior texts she had at Grover Cleveland High School in Queens, NY.

Both Diane and Desiree share the idea that there is not a Patois in Grenada, instead there is a British English not well understood by Americans. Although Diane does not hold a college degree, she worked at Merrill Lynch for most of her career, and Desiree is still in the corporate arena. They both share the sentiment that they do not speak Patois at all and that it is very 'country'.

Diane's experience at Grover Cleveland continues today (Norton, Nero 1997; Nero 2000). Many immigrants from the British colonial West Indies consider themselves English speakers, and more precisely proper 'Queen's English' speakers, which was instilled in them to accept and use as a tool for upward social mobility, even though they are many Englishes spread out this way among Caribbean countries. A. Suresh Canagarajah notes that "indigenized variants of English developed in postcolonial communities [and] many here would consider themselves native speakers of these Englishes" (1999, 78). For these Caribbeans, these 'Englishes' are proper because it is the Queen's English. What we see in Diane's experience is a clash with that perception, which is what Robert Phillipson calls the "native speaker fallacy" (194). Diane's perception of her English speaking being totally fine was instilled because of the privileged status proper English speakers in the Caribbean aspired to, which was not what American standard English could even perceive as such.

Desiree's childhood in a West Indian enclave in Brooklyn could be seen as a disadvantage to assimilation in American society (Warner and Srole, 1945), while a strong support system within such as enclave might serve as a benefit. Mary Waters lists a host of factors that impede success for immigrant families, and the neighborhood is one of them, however, it is the impoverishment that is the key element, not the fact that the neighborhood is predominantly immigrant, although those two factors usually intersect. Waters contends that the "factors that contribute include serial migration, the isolation of nuclear families, the long hours parents spend at work, conflicts between immigrants and American norms about discipline for children, the role of racial discrimination, and the disinvestment of American society in inner-city neighborhoods and institutions,

particularly schools” (81). We share the impoverishment of the schools and neighborhoods as a key factor, and while I agree with all of these elements Waters raises, I would add the limitation of assimilation older immigrants do not seem to make. I contend language plays a large part in that assimilation and if immigrants truly believe their English is proper, then they don’t conform to American English, which will certainly impede socio-economic success.

However, in Diane’s interview, she stated she had no problem assimilating to American English, and I assert that is because she attended high school in America. For immigrants that do not get the assimilation American schooling provides, they are left to assimilate in other arenas, and that is where the isolation of an immigrant enclave may prove to be an inhibitor. Diane was able to make a good living and provide for her children after divorce, but she worked long hours at Merrill Lynch. Desiree, while she felt the inadequacy of her inner city schooling, managed to also become economically successful. Although the factors represented would spell failure for Diane and Desiree (economically disadvantaged neighborhood and schools, parent working long hours, and living in an immigrant enclave), Desiree embodies that those negative “effects are greatly reduced in each of the successive generations, since native born generations adopt English as the primary means of communication and become more and more similar to the earlier American population in life skills, manner, and outlook (Zhou 977). I would add American as an adjective to English here, because of the vast amount of Englishes in the Caribbean.

Analysis

What many women in the study employ is what I believe is a sibling to code switching; a private celebration of nation language and a public disparity of it. Donald Winford (1994) describes this dichotomy many West Indians and their children wrestle with and categorizes it as attitudes. If code switching of Caribbean languages and dichotomy of attitude toward nation language are siblings, their parent is none other than British colonial education, with its enforcement of English as official language. The pillory of creolized Englishes and Patois are a “vexing legac[y] of British colonization” and render Caribbeans with no choice but to follow this dichotomy or suffer the consequences of ostracization by those that wield socio-economic power and dispersion (Nero 2000 487).

Alejandro Portes and Lingxin Hao express how language among immigrants and second generation immigrants is lost:

The immigrant generation learns as much English as it can but speaks the mother tongue at home; the second generation may speak the mother tongue at home but shifts to unaccented English at school and in the workplace; by the third generation, English becomes the home language, and effective knowledge of the parental tongue disappears (269).

What is important to note here is that in my study, the language loss occurs in only *one* generation after immigration. I contend that this is due to the fact that the immigrants themselves, the colonially educated Caribbeans, do not see their Nation Languages as a language at all. Most of the participants call their Nation Languages accents, dialects, and broken English. Their British education did not even acknowledge their languages. Instead it was just a way of talking that made no sense to any ‘civilized’ person and was to be shed to gain civility. Of course, the Nation Languages of the Caribbean are indeed

languages because those that speak it can understand it. Their communication is effective with each other, but because it was not effective with their colonizer it was rendered useless, low class, and uneducated. Portes and Hoa were able to find in their study that “West Indian origin had the only negative influence on foreign language proficiency, a result that can be readily attributable to English monolingualism among most West Indian immigrants” (277). What this meant was that West Indians (except Haitians) were not able to keep their languages alive at home as long as the other immigrant groups they studied (Spanish speaking Latin Americans and Asians). However, Portes and Hoa’s reasoning is not complete. It is true that English is the only official language in the Anglophone Caribbean, but the imperialist nature and the insidious prohibition of the native languages cannot be ignored. What colonial education did was render the native language of these colonized countries counteractive to success and rewards of basic human citizenship. Those that spoke outside of the Queen’s English were dehumanized, scorned, and judged unworthy of basic human qualities such as intelligence and merit, which gave license to those that did conform to and buy into the fallacy of “British English equals intelligence” to regard their fellow countrymen as somehow undeserving of fellowship, rights to socio-economic advantage, and on a more human level, plain respect.

Another glaring omission by Portes and Hoa is that Spanish *is* the language of the colonizer. In regards to their research for immigrants to the United States where English is king, this omission works. But it requires noting that indigenous peoples and languages of Central America and the Caribbean were obliterated by the conquistadors and Spanish was brought through imperialism.

A common theme among the participants is the desire for their children to continue in the mode of speaking properly or proper English for the purpose of class identity and acceptance for educational and socio-economic upward mobility. This is done at the sacrifice of passing down Nation Languages of the Caribbean countries from which they immigrated. Some of the participants, Diane in particular, didn't see that there was any language to pass down, while her daughter Desiree recognized a language difference and code switched in safe spaces, specifically her elementary and middle schools with a Caribbean population.

Considerably, there were pauses and deliberate thought processes happening when asked if they thought these nation languages were 'real languages'. While most of the older women (all the immigrants) replied no and called the languages dialects or accents, the younger women (all American born) seemed to have answers that straddled the fence. All of the younger participants paused and gave thought to their answer. They couldn't quite seem to validate their Caribbean home country's language with the label of language. Instead they would say things like "talk like that" or "speak like they do back home". Beth's father is Trinidadian and once in the interview said that he speaks fluent "Trini", although, when asked if it is its own real language, she squinted and tilted her head as if to say she couldn't be sure. Through their answers and body language, the younger women seemed to recognize their Nation Languages as legitimate languages in the meta sense, in a subconscious understanding that the language is indeed fulfilling the parameters of a recognized language since it fulfills the communication between people with acknowledgment and understanding. But in a physiological sense, a sense that is open and public to the scrutiny of the powers that judge those that use these languages,

there was no reconciliation that allowed them to legitimize these languages with their spoken words, as they have also internalized the labels of these Nation Languages as uneducated, low class, and country.

I pause here to recognize the latitude I take to infer the thoughts behind the body language of the participants. Madison calls on researchers to undertake positionality in their ethnographical studies. She states “positionality is vital because it forces us to acknowledge our own power, privilege, and biases just as we are denouncing the power structures that surround our subject” (2011 7). Just how I do this is new to me – it requires an introspection that is antithetic to the notion of my own non privileged status of a black woman in the United States. Exactly how much power I have in this study, over the subject, and my interpretation, is exponentially determined by the interpretations of the readers of my interpretations. A matter not to be taken lightly, Madison asks researchers to “turn back on ourselves” to be responsible for our research design and our “moral responsibility relative to representation and interpretation” (7). I cannot extrapolate Sankofa from this turning back on ourselves she requires accountable ethnographers to engage in. Sankofa, meaning to go back and fetch it in the Ghanaian language of Twi, brings to the surface my positionality in this research. In going back and learning who I am as a researcher, I realize I share a history of colonization and marginalization with these women. Yet, this turning back shows me that as the researcher, I gain power in my methods and ultimately over the subjects. Nevertheless my being an actual part of the community I am studying and as well as a researcher adds to the legitimacy of my interpretations. My interpretations of their body language can be

accepted as a real valid source of information, because of my status as an insider in this community of women I have studied.

These women see their choices in regard to Nation Language as resistance to antiblackness, because of the association of criminality, not caring about education, and not being educated at all. Their choice to use proper English is a conscious choice to resist the spectacularization of the black body as uneducated. However, this is done within the confines of a colonial heritage. C.L.R. James and George Lamming have done the same within their contexts, which is writing. These women have absorbed their colonial heritage and passed the legacy on to their children, yet they use it in resistance. The marginalization and subsequent loss of Nation Language is not just unfortunate. It is not an accident and it is more than collateral damage. It is seen as a necessary evil to navigate the waters of a white capitalist structure that rewards assimilation, but worse it is also viewed as 'classing up'.

Faith Smith regards this as a "difficult process of figuring out what survives and what gets jettisoned requires a set of rules dictating how to strike the right balance between being cosmopolitan and hip, and remaining grounded" (45). Here Smith is referring to mostly American born children of Caribbean immigrated parents that are *choosing for themselves* what aspects of Caribbean culture they will continue in public venues for American consumption and subsequent judgement. Specifically, the aspects she explores are sexual liberation and lifestyles, cuisine (including certain ingredients), style of dress, music, leisurely literary pursuits, and types of material possessions. Their Nation Language is long gone before the thought of making these choices has even dawned on them. The colonizers have already made that choice for them; their Nation

Languages have been erased by their parents' British colonial education and have done so expeditiously as some of the parents have been conditioned to believe there is no language to preserve. In that regard, I fear that one day Caribbean languages will be only known by the few who give talks and puppet shows to tell children of the languages of their pasts, which will find their places in half hour assembly times at schools and exhibits in museums. Its survival will be academic, and will be wielded by academics for when and where it is acceptable, or worse, commodified by the academic community (Ferguson 2012).

CHAPTER FOUR

Caribbean Meritocracy

While conducting the research for the previous chapter, one grandmother's story stood out with a colonial *tour de force*. Her interview went beyond the realm of the scope of the study of colonial education's pervasive effects and reached into a world of immigration, assimilations (or lack thereof), religion, secularity, and the politics between Caribbeans and Black Americans. Eunice Partridge's²⁶ testimony is indeed colonial education and exile made manifest. C.L.R. James and George Lamming may or may not have imagined or even seen the likes of her story, but this woman imperfectly embodies the unneatness her figure fits into the fabric of the nettled American world of the immigrant. Her quest for immigration itself, her options for a mate in the United States, and her work in a factory all attest to the label of immigrant and not exile upon her. On the face of it, James and Lamming could have much to say on the experiences of the life of this woman as her story is about to be told, however, it is M. Jacqui Alexander's scholarship in *Pedagogies of Crossing* (2006) that lends itself specifically to this immigrant woman's geographical, spiritual, and political movement, inclusive of immigration and work politics, that truly embody the life of this woman with which we are about to engage.

As expressed in chapter 2, Belinda Edmondson (1999) pointed out the gendered work economy for Afro Caribbean immigrants and successfully illustrated the stark male marker of the exiled versus the imprint of immigrant labor on the female immigrant body (13). I would also add to this the necessary educational level necessary to work in circles

²⁶ Pseudonym.

of those men labeled exiles, which were socially limited to women in the early 20th century. The Caribbean family achieved upward socio-economic ability through the female head of the family's respectability, which in the Caribbean community also includes her education level, wealth, and reputation. Peter Wilson (1969) has argued that "respectability is a value derived from the conformity to the ideals of the total society or the legal society. Marriage is the chief way in which respectability is affirmed" (78). I would add that in his paternistic approach, Wilson refers to the respectability of the family that is headed by the male. Yet it is the heterosexual marriage to a woman that cements the upward socio-economic mobility of the Caribbean family through her ability to carry her respectability through sexual purity, chasteness, adherence to religion, and childbearing and childrearing.

Wilson wrote the article for the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland entitled "Reputation and Respectability: A Suggestion for Caribbean Ethnology." In it he describes a Caribbean "value system" composed of factors such as manhood, the economics of reputation, respectability, and womanhood (71). Because Wilson's text was written around the time Eunice experienced life in the Caribbean, his research then becomes relevant, even if his text is written in a misleading and, if I may borrow and reappropriate the term, Orientalist way.²⁷ Specifically, I'd like to open the discussion of Eunice in this chapter with the understanding of her society by its colonizer,

²⁷ Edward Said's Orientalism explains that the Orient, a fictitious exoticized version of the Middle East and China were invented to create superiority in the culture and humanity of the West. In his statement that the "Orient was almost a European invention", he conversely notes that "the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) (9). Analogously, Peter Wilson's text is written in fashion of educating the already enlightened about the dark races of the Caribbean and their motivations for their actions. His text, while tracing actions and culture, fails to assert colonialism, slavery, and indentured servitude as any catalyst for the formation of his observed society and culture in the Caribbean.

the British crown, and her learned counterparts that had the autonomy and license to codify an entire region of the Earth's surface.

Wilson contends that the women of the Caribbean “always subscribe to a value system based upon respectability...men, on the other hand, are completely involved in a value system based on ‘reputation’ “(78). Men’s reputation, according to Wilson, is based solely on their masculinity, which is built upon sexual prowess with women, their ability to handle liquor, providing for their households, and having a wife that is demure, respectable, and obedient (74). While a woman’s role was mostly domestic, her ability to make her husband look good (thereby boosting his reputation) by having the aforementioned attributes subsequently made her respectable. Nowhere in his argument is there a space for a woman to attain scholastic education for economic independence or mobility. The education she is to receive is how to be a good wife, homemaker, and mother. Respectability for females is centered on beauty, sexual purity, giving her husband children, and rearing them.

What Wilson so effortlessly leaves out is the source of this “value system.” A white British writer, writing for a white British audience, has deftly ignored the actual creator of this value system, and instead opted to have his readers believe that it was borne “directly from the processes of interaction with the system itself” (71). Akin to the pied piper placing the rats in the town for his own economic gain, Britain gave the colonial Caribbean the problem of Caribbean culture, and the solution of British citizenry, albeit false. However, it does not fall on the British to teach a woman love for her mate or children. In fact, the transatlantic slave trade stayed alive with propaganda that slaves were not human and therefore selling the children of slaves posed no threat to

a family structure, or the inexplicable bond of birthing a child. Instead, posed as a rational, legal, and lucrative move, selling slaves deeply embedded the antiblackness that rationalizes the very thought that an Englishman must explain to English people the mystical origins of respectability politics of Caribbean women, which, Wilson alludes to, comes from the Church.

What Wilson does then is place Britain as the destructor and the savior of the Caribbean, simultaneously. The colonizer created an educational system replete with all things British, marginalizing any culture outside of Britain's and creating a self-hatred of all things not British. As her subjects strive to basically just live in the imposed imperialist, colonist system, they are rewarded for their assimilation. Therefore, those not rewarded do not deserve the reward, and have no one to blame but themselves, since the benevolent government wants all of her subjects to be successful and demonstrates that in the peppering of economic rewards to her most assimilationist colonials. We see this in the outright rejection of Matthew Bondman in C.L.R. James *Boundary*. This is also noted in chapter 3, when some of the participants mentioned their ability to speak well because they learned and wanted to better themselves and not remain ignorant, as some of their peers have done. Lastly, we can see this in the many novels of the Caribbean writer who long to construct Caribbean identities outside of colonial ones (Glissant 1989). One such novel, Earl Lovelace's *Wine of Astonishment* (1982), recounts a small-town battling with an imposed colonial law against African spiritual worship. Lovelace's novel utilizes true to life sanctions on the lives of the colonials, and the costs and reward of one young man's assimilation to the colonial structure. The young man, named Morton, embodies the modernization of the Caribbean via colonial education, and his character documents

the meritocratic approach to his success as becoming one of *them*, the people with power in the colony. Morton converts to Catholicism to achieve education at a lower cost, and becomes a gentry-man to his own people when he returns to his hometown from schooling. The townspeople look the other way at his conversion because the end justifies the means; if he can become educated, and accepted, he can bring the rest of the town with him in his socio-economic reward. Lastly, Morton's rejection of his hometown girlfriend, Eulalie, even after she has become pregnant with his child, for a lighter skinned woman that speaks the Queens English, is seen as Eulalie's own fault, as any sexual indiscretion rests on the woman's shoulders.

This brings to the forefront the meritocratic belief that underpins the reward for assimilation in the West Indies, and the subsequent meritocratic belief system of colonials that emigrate from their homelands.

Bolstering the meritocratic attitude is also the well documented cultural differences of the afterlives of slavery in the Anglophone Caribbean versus the (southern) United States. Thomas Sowell has written much in the way of cultural attributes in the differences in the immigrant experiences in the United States. He states Afro Caribbeans bring with them upon immigration to the United States a different outlook on their economic chances than their African American brethren due to the differences in the post slavery structure in the Caribbean that included earlier emancipation and the absence of a system akin to Jim Crow (1978).

This historical difference fostered then a mindset that reinforces the meritocratic one, producing Caribbeans that "believe...hard work and self-sacrifice bring economic rewards, and they act accordingly" (Model 1995 536). The differences in the post-

slavery era inform the “current ideas about race, the relations between socially defined races, and the degree to which issues of slavery and race permeate day to day interactions in the United States and the Caribbean” (Waters 25). These post-slavery histories that inform such a difference in the African Diaspora permeate in contemporary lived people descended from slaves. Although the socio economic hierarchy in the United States indeed is built upon race (Omi & Winant 1986), those historic differences create a dynamic between Afro Caribbeans and Black Americans that post colonial structures utilize to critique legislation and other movements against racial oppression in the United States. These critiques and other ideologies that undermine procedures such as affirmative action, diversity efforts in schools and in the workplace, and consequences for discriminatory housing and lending practices work to keep racism a permanent fixture in a globally connected world. Even liberal views like ‘not seeing color’ and former President Obama’s tenure creating a ‘post racial society’ work to white-wash racism, taking it from a permanent, institutionalized, fixed way of living to a bad-apple-in-the-bunch view (Bonilla-Silva 2006). With these permanent fixtures of ideological ways of seeing raced bodies, it is no surprise that people within the African Diaspora work against these ideologies for what they are conditioned to see as reward: antiblackness and its socio-economic upward movement. In working against these ideologies, blacks within the Diaspora *recognize* each other’s blackness and because of differing post slavery histories, interact to each other within the Diaspora according to colonial conditioning.

Black vs. Black- Diasporic Interrelations

In *Faces at the Bottom of the Well* (1992), Derrick Bell makes clear the case for the permanence of racism and outlines five rules of racial standing that uphold the claim of the permanence of racism. These rules are:

- 1) Black's complaints (in court) are "special pleading" and therefore not considered (111).
- 2) Black witnesses are less effective in court than white witnesses and that Blacks cannot be objective on racial issues.
- 3) Blacks that praise and/or support other Blacks are silenced while Blacks disparaging other Blacks are highly vocalized and publicized.
- 4) Blacks who condemn other Blacks are given superstanding status and are even recruited
- 5) Rules one through four are ever present, non-repealing and non-preventable.

Of particular importance to the discussion here are rules three and four. The aforementioned historical differences of the aftermath of slavery, as well as the power that whites hold in regard to employment and social standing, are both illustrated in a study by Jennifer Jackson and Mary Cothran. Within the study, Bell's fourth and fifth rules are substantiated.

In "BLACK VERSUS BLACK, The Relationships Among African, African American, and African Caribbean Persons" (2003), Jackson and Cothran examine relationships between these groups in the United States. Their study references Mary Waters' assertion of the differences in slavery systems across the Diaspora and its effects on contemporary relations between these groups in contemporary American society. Other considerations of the "general view...that the groups did not relate well" were blamed on the "history of slavery, its divisiveness, and the doctrine of divide and

conquer. Black people were set up against each other and told not to associate with other Blacks because of negative attributes” (595).

Interesting to note in this study is the prevailing belief among Caribbeans that their (colonial) educations in their home countries²⁸ “under the British system...[was] superior to that of African Americans” (598). Coupled with the esteem Americans (including Whites) place on British culture (Fussell 1983), Afro-Caribbean’s belief that their education is superior to that of African American’s education is ratified through their higher status over African Americans by whites. Indeed, (white) employers prefer hiring (Afro) Caribbeans over African Americans:

If I had one position open and if it was a West Indian versus an American black, I’d go with the West Indian ...their reliability, their willingness to do the job...they have different drive than American blacks (Waters 1994 quoted in Model 1995 535).

The fact that employers would rather hire West Indian immigrants over African Americans builds resentment between these two groups. This practice reinforces the idea that Caribbean are more deserving of these jobs than African Americans. Coupled with the colonial education of meritocracy, Caribbeans buy into this philosophy and blame their brethren of the Diaspora for their own unemployment and stance in the eyes of white America. Not only does meritocracy rear its ugly head here, it tells Caribbeans and African Americans that Caribbeans are indeed better than African Americans, and the rhetoric is reinforced, bolstering the fourth rule in Bell’s case of the permanence of racism. W.A. Domingo wrote that “black immigrants were more persistent and ambitious” and that rhetoric exists to this day. The thought that Black Americans still have a “slave mentality” (Jackson & Cothran 597) and therefore do not work to their

²⁸ Anglophone Caribbean countries of Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad, and Grenada.

potential remains. Of course, many jobs given to Caribbean immigrants were not well paid jobs if they didn't require American education, and African Americans during the Civil Rights movements were trying to get jobs that had decent wages. Immigrants taking jobs from American citizens because they are willing to work for less wages is not a new phenomenon. However, relations between these two groups were also "exacerbated by West Indians' tendency to view themselves as being set apart from African Americans (Vickerman 85).

I do not contend that the permanence of racism is because of poor interrelations of the African Diaspora. I endeavor to illustrate that the British colonial system in the Anglophone West Indies, the American eminence afforded all things British, coupled with the prevailing stereotype that black Americans are lazy, do not work hard, and do not value education, work to undermine the truths of the insidious and current nature of racism in the United States. The historical foundation of the Transatlantic Slave Trade built the wealth of nations that continue to occupy the space of world powers. These countries are built on foundations of slavery, imperialism, and colonialism, and their histories resonate throughout modernity. As these powers continued to reap the benefits from free slave labor, human capital, and natural resources from other lands (in this particular case sugar, tobacco, and bauxite from the Caribbean) with the understanding that the very human capital that affords that wealth is not human (Fanon 2008, Wynter 2003), it only stands to reason the society built from it will have that same belief.

What white dominant discourse invokes is that The Emancipation Proclamation and the Civil Rights Movement leveled the playing field, so the white belief the racism still exists is minimal. Indeed, the poster children for the prevailing mindset that it's

blacks' own fault who haven't 'made it' after the civil rights movement, includes the Afro Caribbean that has immigrated to this country and worked hard and achieved the American Dream. The African American that has achieved high education and middle class status also shares that burden of casting the 'if they can do it why can't you' look at communities of color that are plagued with poverty.

Rules four and five of Bell's theory (whether he meant them to or not) include the West Indian immigrant that separates themselves from African Americans to (among other reasons) win favor with whites that wield socio-economic power through employment, educational opportunities, and social standing. However, the Afro Caribbean is not a malicious player in this game even though the poor relations within the African Diaspora have malicious effects. Rather, what Bell's theory illustrates is that power is still held in white dominance and people of African descent in the Diaspora recognize that. They recognize it and navigate, and success is a double edged sword, in that any success may call for separation from the meaning of blackness, while recognizing they (Caribbeans) are still Black.

Bell's theory as well as the nature of these social problems between Afro Caribbeans and Black Americans is one lens in a kaleidoscope in which the story of an Afro Caribbean elder woman will be analyzed. The politics of her choices is definitely informed by racism, by her status as immigrant woman and not exiled woman, British colonial education, and American racism and antiblackness.

Admittedly, Derrick Bell's Critical Race Theory was formulated in the arena of law. However, it clearly resonates in the effects of slavery and colonialism through the interrelations among Blacks within the African Diaspora. A serious side effect of the

belief that it is simply hard work that brings great socio-economic reward is that racism is a thing of the past, and even worse, that a person still affected by racism begins to believe we are in a post racial society. While it is true that education continues to open doors to better jobs, what is also true is discriminatory housing, hiring and retention practices, underserved schools, and poor health care still plague communities of color in the United States. Of course those communities include West Indians, and because of antiblackness' nature of its terrible stereotypes and the socio-economic ramifications, there is a constant need to delineate between African Americans who embody blackness and Afro Caribbeans that rely on the British colonial heritage C.L.R. James references to distance themselves from that blackness. However, West Indians are fully aware of their blackness and work against its implications through meritocracy that they know whites in the United States buy into and value. All people of African descent are aware of the empire that slavery built, and recognize they are working in living in that empire. The evidence of the strained inter relations between Black Americans and Caribbean Americans suggest the understanding that economic power is held by whites and wielded to those they deem worthy within the empire borne of antiblackness.

Recognition

M. Jacqui Alexander takes great pains to explain how the building of empires is replete with violence and nowhere democratic in its process; that the total power of such empires require the relinquishment of the consent of the people. *Pedagogies of Crossing – Mediations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred* (2005) disrupts certain operations of power, namely gendered, raced, classed, and hegemonic powers.

Alexander also attacks nationalist formations of nation states and the hegemonic constructions that delineate Other and enemies within and across the aforementioned structures.

Within these paradigms, Alexander makes a clear delineation between Black consciousness and women of color consciousness.

There is a difference, for instance, between black consciousness (and its differentiation) and a woman of color consciousness. At the very least the latter requires collective fluency in our particular histories, and understanding of how different, gendered racisms operate, their old institutionalized link to the histories of slavery in the United States as well as their newer manifestations that party rely on the ‘foreignness’ of immigrants who have not been socialized into the racial/racist geographies of the United States (269).

Alexander’s distinction between black consciousness and woman of color consciousness is necessary to understand how women of color relate to one another. This relation relies heavily upon the fact that being a woman of color does not simply lump us all into a ball of cookie cutter experiences that are evenly explained away with intersectionality. If it were so, intersectionality wouldn’t be so easily co-opted by white women.²⁹ Instead, Alexander is calling us to recognize the roots of the misrecognitions between us – between women of color. With the recognition of these constructions of empires and their ramifications on entire populations of Others and Othered, we can then correctly recognize each other as those that have been oppressed by the constructions of first world powers and not mistake each other for the catalysts behind one’s own oppression.

²⁹ As evidenced in academia, white women have coopted intersectionality to battle a pattern of discrimination against themselves. In one case, white female adjuncts used intersectionality to illustrate their being discriminated against as women, and as lower level adjunct employees. Kimberle Crenshaw in 1989 coined intersectionality when exposing the inhuman label of blackness on abused black women.

Alexander makes a case for learning each other's histories when she states that "we are not borne women of color. We *become* women of color" (269). In this becoming, (emphasis hers) we do not just put on the garment of oppression. We are responsible for learning our shared pasts and understanding the lineage of oppression and how it applies to our sisters and ourselves. Alexander calls us to resist the urge to perform pain in order to measure whose past is more oppressive to measure our worth by how much has been overcome, or by who has overcome it.

I would add this compulsion to do such measuring is in itself a child of meritocratic conditioning that has been instilled in our society to allow restitution and reward to those only deemed worthy of such. It is indeed difficult to remove the mental scales when trying to decipher status. Alexander's call to "unlearn an impulse that allows mythologies about each other to replace knowing about one another" (269) would require a basic consciousness that another is worth knowing about. This is where I believe it is much more difficult than Alexander either believes or wants us to believe.

The very structure of racism and antiblackness is what keeps this from occurring. There is an ominous movement to continually remove oneself further and further away from everything that embodies lack of whiteness in all its cultural forms. To further oneself from blackness and its lack, its criminality, its immoral and valueless system that rebuffs education and propriety is what consistently guarantees reward to black dissonance. As such, the socio-economic rewards of antiblackness efforts make it counterintuitive to embrace blackness and black bodies, even if they are our own. To be a Black that must be antiblack for prosperity and abandon recognizing each other, is indeed the "colonial condemnation that has been the lot of blacks will extend to encompass

humanity” (Kamugisha 176). This entire colonial condemnation is what Sylvia Wynter calls a current experience of ‘abduction’.

Abduction

In *Beyond Coloniality Citizenship and Freedom in the Caribbean Intellectual Tradition*, Aaron Kamugisha explores in a chapter a non-published work of Sylvia Wynter titled “Black Metamorphosis: New Natives in a New World”. Kamugisha deeply explores Wynter’s concentration on black lived experience through her terms of ‘indigenization’ and ‘abduction’. Wynter’s indigenization is a secretive process by which the dominated culture survives and resists (quoted in Kamugisha 170). Abduction, on the other hand, is the term Wynter uses to encapsulate the lived experience of the colonial subject in *current* domination as the result of colonialism. Wynter used abduction in “Beyond the Categories of the Master Conception: The Counterdoctrine of the Jamesian Poesis”, however Kamugisha takes the term to account for a “more universal theory of the colonial condition” and the “‘semiotic foundations of bourgeoisie thought’ and the colonial polis and its system of social rewards and punishments” (Kamugisha 178).

I am interested in this term abduction and Kamugisha’s extension of it to encompass the entire lived experience of contemporary coloniality. It is not farfetched to reimagine the scope of the global capitalist society we live in as not just a product of the fall of the Soviet Union and the West winning wars. Instead, thinking of the ‘West’ in Glissantian terms of not a place but an undertaking (Glissant 2) and Othering all non “bourgeoisie cultural models” (Kamugisha 178) paves a more colorful picture of how colonialism built a world around white dominant discourse, or Kamugisha’s bourgeoisie cultural models. The understanding of abduction in Wynter’s terms refashions the west’s

power from winning wars, industrial revolutions, and civilizing the savage to a mechanistic stationing of hegemonic power simultaneously creating human capital from lands that are raped of natural resources, colonial states that uphold the ravaging of lands, and chattel propriety of human beings. Therefore the foundation of imperialism, of slavery, of indigenous genocide, is colonialism.

What Kamugisha does with Wynter's abduction is almost render post coloniality an impossibility. I am inclined to agree with this as it implies a continuance of coloniality, or more so a modern lived experience of coloniality. This is manifest in the aforementioned colonial life of the Anglophone Caribbean and its effects, rendering a friction with other blacks of the Diaspora. This abduction goes even beyond the after effects of slavery, as it encompasses those products. Similar to Bruno Latour's *We Have Never Been Modern*, I posit that Wynter's abduction theory declares we have never been post-colonial. We are in a constant movement within the capitalist state from the plantation to the current mode of "ghettos and prisons...the new forms of the plantation archipelago" (Kamugisha 172).

Of course, by placing black struggle within a world-wide "colonial condemnation", Wynter sets up a "pathway to an epistemological uprising...the demand for the human after Western man, a quest for a future beyond coloniality" (Kamugisha 180-1). It is in this vein I would like to begin unraveling the interview with our middle aged Guyanese immigrant.

The following narrative of the grandmother from Guyana embodies modes of meritocracy, Black vs. Black frictions in the Diaspora, recognition, and abduction. It is here I would like to introduce Eunice.

Method and Positionality

Eunice was interviewed with the other participants in the study in the previous chapter. The questions posed to all immigrant women were the same, however, Eunice's answers took varied trajectories, and went in the directions of her way of explaining things. Eunice often took liberties to divulge aspects of her decision making as if she were asking her own self why she did certain things. The end result was a rich telling of the underpinnings of her life choices and their origins.

In the course of one interview, Eunice produced over an hour and a half of testimony. In her home, she sat at the kitchen table, and reminisced and even laughed to herself as she recounted her life from colonial Guyana, to immigration and marriage, to working as a single mother in poverty, to semi-retirement. Never once did she reach to fill out the initial questionnaire, even though a pen was there in front of her on the table. She asked me what the questions were and orally answered them, motioning me to write in the answers for her. Like the other immigrant women in her age bracket, Eunice used this as a way of positioning herself as elder, placing herself in a seat of privilege in our encounter. As an insider in this study, I readily understood these gestures as a form of establishing her status as an elder and reorienting the power relation between us.

Interestingly, Eunice also recognized my positionality and expected constant agreement with her rationalizations, even though I am younger than she. Eunice, seeing me as a child of an Afro-Caribbean immigrant woman her age, expected me to understand the meanings of her life choices in the vignettes of her life. She motioned her head nods while saying "right?" to garner my comprehension and "yuh know de ting" when I affirmed my understanding of concepts and situations.

A concern about the positionality and the affirmation of my status as beneath Eunice may be that she would not divulge things that she may find embarrassing or for “young ears.” While I certainly wish I were as youthful as I used to be, in the eyes of Eunice I am still a young person that has yet to live and see things as she has. Eunice is definitely what one would call a respectable old church lady, and as such, has a reputation to uphold. While she had no problem signing forms of confidentiality for the study, she may find it difficult to honestly portray certain situations in her life that would not be becoming of such a lady. However, the questions in the study did not ask such detailed questions, and Eunice, in particular, constantly went off on tangents in her answers. She voluntarily went in personal directions that the questions did not warrant, and shared willfully until she didn’t want to share anymore. When she decided she would go no further in a particular answer, she changed the subject and went in a different direction. While this may have stopped her from sharing something with the interviewer, she managed to say other things of great interest.

Interview and Analysis

Eunice is a 67-year-old grandmother of four. She was born and raised in the very rural part of Guyana called Middlesex, on the coast of the Essequibo River. When asked about her education growing up, she delved into her entire childhood. Eunice began her explanation of her childhood education in terms of comparison with post independent Guyana. In all her contrasts, post independent Guyana fell horrendously short of British Guiana in her eyes. When asked about her schooling, she didn’t talk about what she learned. Instead, she talked about tangibles that she received:

Everything...the British...in the morning, sometimes you don’t have to eat breakfast, because when you go to school they have powder milk, and with

the water they're turning and turning...and everybody get a glass of milk and cookies or biscuit, sweet biscuit, and every day, you look out for that. At least it was good...it was good. It was very good. That's why I always say, I love the British.³⁰

Eunice recalled her grammar school moments with a reverence for the British. Her memory paints a British benevolence that overrides any sentiment of abhorrence to British occupation. She recalled the breakfasts with an appreciation that implied she may not have had those things without the British schooling. In her rural hometown, without indoor plumbing, schools past the equivalent of the eighth grade, and full twenty-four hour electricity, a biscuit with milk that was guaranteed in the mornings signified a government that cared about its citizens, since Eunice, to this day, considers herself a British Guyanese person. However, when she spoke of her early time in America, she mentioned that she never ever received welfare. While she allowed for some that may have needed welfare, she mentioned that some 'just don't want to work'. Whether true or not, Eunice didn't see the biscuits and milk in the morning from the British as a handout. Instead, her view was that the British did things 'right' and because she and her family bought into the value system taught by British colonialism, she saw the milk and biscuit as her right and reward as a good British citizen. As we will see later, Eunice worked very hard for very little in the United States but was content with the little she had since she worked for it. We will revisit her colonial meritocratic upbringing and the effects it had on her decision making around work.

Besides the fact that high school and Catholic schools were only available in the city, they also had an associated cost, unlike grammar school. Eunice was not allowed to attend high school nor did she expect to attend. "You had to pay for high school so daddy

³⁰ Personal Interview with Eunice Partridge (pseudonym) June 25th, 2019.

only sent my brother.” Eunice understood and never questioned the natural selection of her brother attending high school and not her older sister, who could have also attended. Indicative of Edmonson’s gendered work silos (13), Eunice knew that education past a certain point was for men. After grammar school, she set her sights on America.

Eunice did not elaborate on her brother’s schooling or his career. She remarked that she and only one sister remain alive and so all of her other siblings have passed on. After that, she went on a track that underscored a regret for Guyana’s independence from the British:

You got everything- you want for nothing and we all took it- well we did not take it for granted, we loved it, yes. You want for nothing but when we became independent and the prime minister start changing the rules, that’s when we realize...a lot of people don’t understand they said ‘Yes, we want to be... rule our own country, yes, we want to become independence’ [sic], but it one way, you’re listening to the prime minister and you think ‘Yes, yes, yes’, but when they start to rule then you realize and see the big mistake, after the way he starting to treat people, you realize. When we were British, you want for nothing. Everything was fine, everything was good. Well that’s how they want to rule and that’s how they are. We become independence I think, um, 1963. By the time ‘73, things were starting to get out of hand. But thank God, I, came to the States.³¹

British Guiana gained independence from Great Britain in 1966. What Eunice refers to in regard to things getting out of hand is the turn life took after British rule was no longer in place. Her comparison is clearly situated in a stance of regret towards Guyanese independence from Great Britain. Eunice’s face as she spoke was one of longing and regret. Her memories were happy at first; she recalled the lack of ‘want’ with smiles and head nodding, and the prime minister with head shaking and sloped shoulders. In this instance, Eunice displayed what I believe to be a physiological manifestation of Sylvia

³¹ Personal Interview with Eunice Partridge (pseudonym) June 25th, 2019.

Wynter's abduction, which Kamugisha further explored. However, Eunice takes an auxiliary stem to this abduction because she longs to continue to be colonized, even though that longing infers she is still colonized.

Eunice solidifies abduction in her immigrant (though now a naturalized U.S. Citizen) status. Because she continually in her interview exclaimed "I am British" she renders not only her United States citizenship a formality, she also nullifies any correlation to an independent Guyanese citizen. Wynter's abduction encompasses Eunice's declaration because it is precisely the colonial construction of Eunice's (counterfeit) British citizenship that builds her loyalty to a capitalist construction that simultaneously wins her loyalty while using her body as a commodity to build the system on which she believes she not only benefits but inherits.

Eunice's limited understanding of the ramifications of coloniality as well as the western powers that destabilize countries, making the third world a creation of European colonialism and imperialism only serves to keep her coloniality solidified in her current life in America. Simultaneously, because colonialism, inclusive of the commodification of the black body, "Europe is literally the creation of the Third World" (Fanon 2008 81). This dichotomy that has interchangeably brought about the abduction of the black body as well as in Eunice's mind in relation to any thought of a Guyana that could exist outside of colonial rule. Because she immigrated to the U.S. at the time of independence and radical change in Guyana, her vision is limited to benefits she experienced (food availability and medical care which will be explored later) to "an increasingly

impoverished society whose political and economic image was being compared to Papa Doc's Haiti" (Premdas 140).³²

With this political backdrop, Eunice's description of Guyana becomes crystallized when she remarked that her father wrote her a stern letter not to return to Guyana after she's immigrated. She recalled how "Burnham treating [sic] all those people...no flour, no split peas, no sardine...does what he want, take to do". In stark contrast to "want for nothing" when Britain was in power, the lack of basic food staples turned Guyana into a starving nation. Burnham became the face of evil as his country became impoverished and the people faced starvation. Eunice has good reason to long for British rule for her country – no one wants see their family go through insurmountable need for basic living necessities. However, James' call to educate the masses rings true because without their edification all is lost (James, Boundary Talk 1965). Eunice did not remark about the dangers of the Marxist, Leninist, and socialist policies that brought about the nation's impoverishment. Nor did she seem at all well versed in the intricacies of relations with Cuba. She never mentioned Walter Rodney's murder by Burnham once. Eunice's limitation of the realm of controlling governments by Western powers, misappropriation of funds from other countries, was only matched by her stark loyalty to Britain.

³² A crash course in Guyanese political history circa 1960s-1070s might be useful to understand Eunice's position. The first post independent prime minister of Guyana was Forbes Burnham. He operated within political circles prior to Guyanese Independence. The two political parties formed by this time in Guyana were the People's Progressive Party (PPP) headed by Cheddi Jagan, a supporter of Fidel Castro, and Forbes Burnham, leader of the People's National Congress (PNC). The parties were starkly divided by ethnicity: Jagan's party was supported by Indo-Guyanese and Burnham's PNC was the party of the Afro-Guyanese. Both men considered themselves socialists and Marxists, although Jagan would continuously critique the PNC with a faux socialism and collaboration with the CIA of the United States. The United States helped position Burnham in power because of Jagan's relationship with Castro and Cuba, but Burnham continuously maintained relationships with China, and later Cuba, and was even hosted by Mao Tse-tung (Premdas 1978).

Conceivably, her limitations of familiarity in these areas could be linked to the abrupt end to her education. The only education she did receive, was one that taught British values and rewards for the assimilation to those values. The colonial education she received left her at a place that only illustrated to a young Eunice the rewards of colonialism, and the destruction of a country without the British control. What's more, Eunice was also not immune to the antiblackness that pervades colonialism.

In talking about Eunice's marriage in the United States, she diverted for a while to the Brooklyn community where she lived and its changing demographic at that time. When she remarked about being sponsored by her employer to stay in the United States, she started catching the eye of the African American men moving into the neighborhood. Eunice was an anomaly as most Caribbean immigrants that came to New York resided in the Flatbush and East Flatbush sections. Instead, Eunice was in the Prospect Heights area, where whites were moving out in large numbers to suburbs in Queens and Long Island. In this part of her interview, we get a taste of the antiblackness that was instilled in her from colonialism and brought with her to the United States. In regard to an African American man she dated:

I was seeing one and when he found out I was working and trying to get my papers I never heard from him again. I don't even remember what job he had, but I was working. And I was working to stay here, and what he was doing? They don't want to work.

Eunice couldn't remember what job the man she dated had, but her recollection implied that whatever it was, it was not worth remembering. Her aim to work to stay in America underscores the meritocracy and the antiblackness in her judgment of him ending the relationship. Here, Eunice's idea that because the young man couldn't relate or

understand why she was ‘working to stay’ rendered him undeserving of the reward of American socio-economic upward mobility, as well as permanent status. Although she couldn’t remember if he had a job or not, Eunice melted him with every black American in the narrative of their laziness by not just merely stating *he* didn’t want to work, but that *they* don’t want to work. The former boyfriend became the embodiment of the lazy black American that lacks work ethic. The danger in this analysis is the lack of any psychological ramifications of love lost in the relationship. However, Eunice’s recollection held no reminiscence of romance, and her understanding of the ending of the relationship had nothing to do with romance, and all to do with a difference in work ethic. Here, antiblackness is embodied in the fact that Eunice clearly believed that she had a better work ethic than her African American brethren and her work ethic would reward her with permanent U.S. status and subsequently upward economic movement. Although Eunice is black, her idea of blackness is not wrapped into her identity, instead it is a non-British black identity. This is not to say that Afro-Caribbeans think they are white. Instead, I am purporting that the British education of colonial subjects of the West Indies that immigrate to the United States mitigate a separation from Black Americans through the Puritan work ethic and a reward system for those that assimilate, instilled by the British colonial system, propelled through the colonial education. One cannot overstate the impact of the British school system, or the British school code, as C.L.R. James puts it, because it is not mere education. James recalls that “from the eight years of school life, this code became the moral framework of my existence” (James, Boundary Talk 2). In his talk, James expands on the way the British school code impacted every aspect of his life, including cricket. The dichotomy of his colonial indoctrination and the rebellion against

it lays in the admittance that this specific code has never left his mind. Eunice also identifies with this colonial rope, tied around her mind, fastening her to the imaginary British citizenship that creates a Caribbean subject that is above those that do not share this heritage. This Black American, non-British identity creates a space between the Caribbean colonial and the Black American. Eunice's schooling, though complete by what America would call 8th grade, became the first and only mechanism that solidified an identity for Eunice; one nowhere near a Pan–African ideology.

The brief time Eunice spent on her schooling in Guyana was in a rural schooling environment. True to the findings in the study of the other Caribbean immigrated women to the United States in the previous chapter, the rural schools were not as strongly structured and did not have a cost associated with them as the schools in the cities. The same was true for Guyana; Eunice's school in the country was not Catholic or another parochial school instituted by the colonial government. She remarked that church members were teachers and the small countryside made the school a very intimate setting. However, she did remark that “everyone spoke the Queens English” and they all “spoke properly”. In this vein, Eunice went on to talk about the “old way”:

I love how we were brought up. I love my British. The Queen used to come and visit. She was very nice and she was young then...sit in the car waving, the steel band would come in the afternoon and play...it was very nice, very nice...everybody have to have manners...it was very disciplined and you speak properly and have manners and respect...you speak the Queens English.³³

Eunice clearly associates all things good with British rule. Her memory of the Queens visit to Guyana led straight into the proper way of life which she immediately linked to

³³ Personal Interview with Eunice Partridge (pseudonym) June 25th, 2019.

her school days. C.L.R. James was no different; he recognized the colonial education system as the root of the conditioning of a middle class in the Caribbean which rewards abandonment of Othered cultures. Language, religion, and appreciation of British culture are the markers of British acculturation, and James' education and exile led to his rebellion of British colonization. However, Eunice's education stopped before high school, and her immigration to the U.S., not exile, rendered her a black female worker in the United States that only fed her with more meritocracy and Black vs. Black stigmas that reinforced the already colonized mind and cemented her body in the uneducated labor force.

Eunice's direct link from the Queen to the discipline in her school days with their manners and language implies a deep allegiance to the British school system. She speaks as though she owes a great debt to the British, and credits them with the civilization of Guyana as she knows it. Whether Eunice realizes it or not, the British school system has created her entire knowledge base of culture, government, politics, class, religion, work ethic, judgments in taste, and meritocracy. School then, takes credit for the disrupter of the entire cultural life of Eunice.

In *Pedagogies of Crossing*, M. Jacqui Alexander introduces what she calls nodes of instability, sites where hegemony is produced (4). More succinctly, she calls for an understanding of the relationship between "neo-imperial state formations (those advanced capitalist states that are the dominant partners in the global 'order') and neo-colonial state formations (those that emerged from the colonial from the colonial 'order' as the forfeiters to nationalist claims to sovereignty and autonomy) when discussing the production of hegemony (4). In her description, Guyana would be the latter while Britain

is the former. The hegemonic forces formed at these nodes would create power structures that form nationalist empires, subjects, loyalties, hierarchies, and global economies through “institutions, knowledges, and practices” (4). Here, the British school system is so instrumental because it would not simply be placed in the institution section of nodes of instability. Instead, it has proven to be not just a state institution; it *is* the knowledge produced as well as the practice.

Attending a British school was not simply to gain knowledge, pass exams and move up into the next phase of schooling to get a job. British schooling in colonial West Indies is a central node of instability where the knowledge to be gained was *being* a British school student. Learning to speak the Queen’s English was the product of that being. Attendance meant adherence; it meant an assimilation into the code that delineated a good colonial subject, as long one continued to attend. In addition, the school itself is also the practice of that assimilation. Being a colonial subject in the British colonial school system also created a continual practice to be British. School was where one learned to be British, and in Eunice’s eyes they succeeded. Her manners, ability to speak properly, and the fact that she was fed in school by the British illustrate the unspoken pact a colonial and the British colonizers make between each other for British citizenry. However, British citizenship in the Caribbean in nothing more than subjection to the colonial rule and the rewards for assimilation never include achieving whiteness. Colonial subjects in the Anglo Caribbean are fully aware that whiteness can never be achieved because of the class system colorism built around mulattoes and other mixed races of the Caribbean. However, those (gendered) classes are still marked with color, and create a bastion of believers that colonial education and British acculturation can

create a more palatable Black colonial body. This palatability in class movement is the embodiment of the British school systems practices upon the colonial body. It approves the abduction Wynter refers to, and the colonial body is abducted before one even knew of a post-colonial life when either immigrated or exiled. This embodies Alexander's stance of the empire building itself which requires the sacrifice of its own citizen's consent, and in this case, the sacrifice of the colonial body (3). This sacrifice give the colonizer freedom to colonize; "the freedom to betray freedom through gratuitous exploitation" (Lamming 1960 158).

Of course, speculation would arise in regard to whether or not Eunice would still think this way if her education passed the post collegiate level. While the great minds of exiled male Caribbean scholars would prove a resounding no, the fact remains that Edmonson's gendered title of exile remains true. Very few if any Caribbean female writers enjoy the term exile, and instead are immigrants. Without question, more education would have radically changed Eunice's life and outlook, but the fact remains her immigrant status still would render her with a limited approach to what her body could achieve in the way of acceptable work for immigrant women.

Eunice worked in a factory sewing garments in Queens, New York for the first half of her life in the United States. During a brief marriage, she had two children and remained a single mother throughout her life. She stayed in the small apartment in the Prospect Heights section of Brooklyn that, until recent gentrification in the 2010's, was inhabited by poor and working class black Americans and Latinos. She shared a one bedroom apartment with her two children above a deli throughout the crack epidemic of

the 80's, poor dilapidated schools and a crime ridden neighborhood. Eunice described the factory job fondly:

Oh it was good. Very nice. I used to sew pillowcase, used to sew shirts, pants, comforters, everything. It was good, at least you was working you had a job. There were Trinidadians, Guyanese, and they had one Chinese and one Spanish girl. And the men were Haitian, oh yes and Haitian ladies...majority was Haitian. And we would speak Creole at the machines so I learned a little. But we spoke to them properly... And before I got paid by the hour, then that factory close and went to Jersey...it was too far. And I start sewing in the factory on Lorimer, and then I start doing piecework. That was like, ten cents apiece, but I go fast. And when he see we going fast... he lowered it to five cents... And we make a squawk, and he said you girls making too much.³⁴

At both factories Eunice described, there were no Black American employees. All of the women that sewed were immigrants, mainly from the Caribbean. While Eunice recalled her limited knowledge of Creole from her Haitian coworkers, she quickly added that when talking to 'them' they all spoke properly. Eunice was referring to her supervisors, who were Italian men at her first factory, and a Jewish man with an Hispanic male assistant at the other. Eunice's story implies that every woman worker understood the language hierarchy and reserved their own Patois and languages for themselves. She also noted that the proper language was what they spoke to their supervisors, rendering their own languages as inferior as they were in the eyes of their employers. While she spoke with a smile about her factory jobs and the women she met there, it would seem that she was defending her admiration for the job. By stating that at least she had a job, Eunice implies her awareness that others did not think her job at the factory was a good one to have. The only other women Eunice was exposed to were the Black American's in the neighborhood. As mentioned before, she didn't live in the Caribbean immigrant enclaves

³⁴ Personal Interview with Eunice Partridge (pseudonym) June 25th, 2019.

of New York. The Black American women in her neighborhood were “mostly on welfare or did babysitting”. It would stand to reason that her job at the factory earned her ridicule from the Black American women in the neighborhood.

It is here I would like to reintroduce the Black vs. Black dynamic within the Diaspora. Caribbean Blacks were often seen by Black Americans as doing jobs that were menial and for low pay. These were the jobs Black Americans were trying to raise the pay for, and Caribbeans were coming and taking those jobs for lower pay, reinforcing the rhetoric that Black Americans were lazy and did not want to work (Waters 1994b). Of course, Eunice’s lack of education closed many doors to other jobs to her, but she clearly did not spite the factory job. In fact, she laughed when she remarked that the boss reduced their pay by half because the women worked too fast. The women collected their pay on Friday, and on Monday morning they were informed their pay was reduced. But Eunice made no mention of any woman walking out, quitting, or mentioning anything rebellious. While they may have been upset for a short while, they remained at their jobs, and sewed even faster.

Obviously time would temper the telling of this story – anyone would understandably be infuriated at the prospect of their pay being reduced in that manner, or in any way. However, Eunice seemed to take pride in the fact that all of them worked even harder, and were still able to earn a living at the factory with the reduced pay scale. The fact that they sewed even faster gave her a satisfaction that she at least still had a job, and beat the supervisor at his own game, while the women in the neighborhood where she lived were still on welfare. Eunice saw her continued employment by whites in America as a reward for her steadfastness, and welfare as a penalty of low class branding to those

who refused to work. The meritocracy and the black vs. black rhetoric was reinforced by the fact that only Caribbeans and few other immigrants worked at the factory, that most Black Americans in her neighborhood were on welfare, and that her hard work emulated in sewing even faster rewarded her with her keeping her job.

Of course, we cannot ignore the glaring abuse of the employees in the factory. The supervisor had no qualms in telling the workers that their pay was reduced, and there were no labor repercussions. Labor unions paved the way for people, more specifically people of Irish descent, to enter 'whiteness', and created a system that built an entire white middle class that didn't need a college education (Ignatiev 1995). The labor unions became a mechanism for poor and Irish whites that experienced discrimination a vehicle toward a white middle class structure that enabled them to distance themselves from stigmas of being poor and lumped in with blacks. While this elevated whites (and more specifically, the Irish who were continuously lumped in with blacks) to a class above Blacks and in a middle class position, Black laborers enjoyed no such elevation. More specifically, Black women, especially the uneducated, still had no laws protecting them in the workforce. Afro-Caribbean immigrant women, doing work for which Black Americans demanded more pay, were relegated to keeping quiet and enduring such treatment or becoming unemployed, or worse, having to get welfare, which no decent Caribbean would do.

Yet, in another way, Eunice's implication that none of the women made serious complaints or quit over the pay cut seems brings to mind the conditioning of the understanding of one's status. Clearly, these women understood the hierarchy of society and where they fit, and whether they fully accepted it or not, worked within the confines

for their own benefit. I could argue that their act of sewing even faster, their furious hands to earn money, was in itself an act of rebellion. In this way, the women were trying to show that the supervisor would still have to pay the wages he had before the pay cut, because their seamstress skills were top notch. Within this rebellion, however, the owner received more product at a lower cost, and therefore does not feel a rebellion. Lastly, yet probably the most significant, is that this approach adds to the meritocratic agreement between the immigrant laborer and her supervisor, that meritocratic agreement between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The women work harder and faster, therefore still earning close to what they made before, earning the respect of their supervisor, while they are rewarded with keeping their jobs and the entitlement of deserving to keep those jobs.

This places the factory job for Eunice as a clear node of instability. The women in the factory came together in unison, albeit unspoken, to work toward a strategy of beating the supervisor at his own game and sew even faster. However, deeply imbedded in this action is a misrecognition of Black American women that are then placed beneath these factory women because the Black American either refused to even take that job in the first place, or they didn't have the wherewithal to be persevering and endure such treatment and continue to earn. Instead, Black American women then become the catalyst for their own placement at the bottom of the well and even made to be the scapegoat for the way all black women are treated. Alexander tackles this very misrecognition when she talks about the "fractures of class and skin color, the different economic and cultural positions to which our countries of origin adhere in the capitalist hierarchy, all of these objectives and lived conditions add considerable contention to this category of women of

color” (276). The factory women may believe this narrative entirely, and the fact that they know the employers would rather hire them over Black American women brood and reinforce the superiority Caribbean Blacks employ over Black Americans. Alexander references this superiority and its danger to oppressed groups:

One of the habits of privilege is that it spawns superiority, beckoning its owners to don a veil of false protection so that they never see themselves. Privilege and superiority blunt the loss that issues from enforced alienation and segregations of different kinds (2).

One could never call those factory women privileged. I mean to use Alexander’s point of the superiority spawned in such a situation to illustrate the misrecognition between Afro Caribbean and African American Blacks, specifically in the field of work. The factory workers’ ‘privilege’ here, in Eunice’s historical moment, is the privilege they *believed* they had over Black American women. That belief, buttressed by their favored status in being hired in the eyes of white employers, and the strengthening it received from meritocratic ideology both from British colonial education and American capitalism, made this misrecognition Alexander talks about a firmament in the separation of Afro Caribbeans and Black Americans.

Further, Alexander’s point of the veil that enables false protection is prevalent in the factory workers. This is not to say that they thought they were unreplaceable; on the contrary, they worked hard to keep their jobs. They knew they weren’t irreplaceable. In fact, their willingness to sew even faster was in small part to the knowledge that there were probably ten immigrant women waiting for their spot in the factory. No, the false protection to which I am referring is the protection from being associated with Black American women that lacked the blanket colonial education afforded these Caribbean

women. This blanket, replete with morality, respectability, and meritocracy, shielded these women from the blackness associated with laziness and inhibition to hard work. Similar to the suggestion that the Irish needed to separate themselves and show abhorrence for the black body in the United States to achieve ‘whiteness’ (Ignatiev 1995), the factory women, whether knowingly or not, distanced themselves from their Black American female counterparts through a disdain for the narrative painted on the black body, resulting, among other things, in this misrecognition.

The other result, whether Eunice knew it or not, or even cared, was the view of the rest of America upon them, including African Americans. Their jobs, already relegated to immigrant women, were seen as jobs *for* them, those that were uneducated and those that would work for low pay, and of course, by employers that cut pay at their whim. Eunice and her coworkers embodied the “immigrant women in sweatshops who sew[ed] their alienation into the seams of frayed democracy in the mass production of the U.S. flag” (Alexander 267). These women were not only alienated from a growing population of educated people that were becoming middle class, they were alienated from each other in a Pan-African sense. Colonial education did its work to fracture the Caribbean identity, and stayed flowing through the veins of American capitalism and democracy to alienate them from Blacks throughout the Diaspora.

Not that America needed any help with discriminatory politics. Meritocracy in itself is a very effective way to victim blame and showcase extraordinary cases of Blacks that are able to transcend class status, pointing the finger at those that cannot. African Americans in the “black middle class...distanced themselves from Africa and refused its proximity, believing they had arrived” (Alexander 273). Once again, the promise of

reward for assimilation underscores the ‘wasteful errors of recognition’ that Alexander further shows involve

Fissures of class, skin color, shades of yellow and brown...linguistic and regional differences that have created their own insiders and outsiders...[and] at what historical moment does heterogeneity become homogeneity – that is, the moment to create an outside enemy? Neither of us as African American no Caribbean people created those earlier conditions of colonialism and Atlantic slavery. Yet we continue to live through them in a state of selective forgetting, setting up an artificial antipathy between them in their earlier incarnation, behaving now as if they have ceased to be first cousins (273).

Alexander’s ‘moment’ is the point of Sylvia Wynter’s abduction. It is the moment of the first African stolen and put in chains so that Europe can have her sugar, and America its cotton. It is the moment of the genocide of indigenous peoples for their land to be appropriated and watered with their blood, fertilized with the bones of slaves, pollinated by the winds of lost cultures and erased languages. This abduction places every person of African descent within the diaspora inside the confines of a modernity that never was, a time still encompassed in the colonality of our being. Even the Revolutionary War of the United States did not sever the adherence to British values and reverence; instead, it created an autonomous field for its own racial heritage of colonality, met with the Afro Caribbean’s British colonial educated mind to adhere to and respect as well, the infrastructure that demands their acquiescence. Eunice, as well as the women in the study in the previous chapter, all in their own way recognized the power structure whites hold and maintain. With that understanding they all in several ways maneuver that power structure for socio-economic gain. Almost every one of them sacrificed something from their Caribbean past and/or culture to do so. Of main concern to me as the researcher, was the sacrifice of their Nation Languages. However, Eunice brought to my attention the

sacrifice of *being* and *moving* without the advantage of learning, of learning outside the British school code C.L.R. James referred to so explicitly.

Alexander's 'selective forgetting' is a bit harsh, but true (269). It also implies that each and every woman of the Diaspora has the time and philosophical insight to forge through recognition of our Diasporic sisters, rendering a type of selective forgetting obsolete. Unfortunately, there is a defense to living in the state of selective forgetting, and it lies in the time and effort it takes to learn what there is to remember. Alexander realizes the work involved when she says "we need to become fluent in each other's histories, to resist and unlearn an impulse to claim first oppression, most-devastating oppression, one-of-a kind oppression, defying comparison oppression. We would have to unlearn an impulse that allows mythologies about each other to replace *knowing* about one another" (269). Alexander goes on to a spiritual stance of recognition and learning of one another. However, an understanding Eunice's struggle to just *be* in the United States as an immigrant Black woman with no real education to speak of in the eyes of American collegiate standards, with her colonial education and upbringing, makes it almost unfair to ask her of such a feat.

I believe Eunice's deeply ingrained colonial heritage could only be revised and reworked successfully with her peers' reworking, a sort of refashioning of their ideals. Outside of her peer group, Eunice would only feel like a stranger that has different beliefs, which she fiercely guards against being wiped away. The selective forgetting Alexander refers to may be true, but in the case of Eunice, there is nothing to forget in her eyes. Her British colonial education was the only education she had, and therefore she was immersed in only that conditioning. To selectively un-forget requires the knowledge

that Alexander herself tells us is required to know to not forget. Everyone does not know, may not have the capacity to know, or just don't even have the time to recognize that there is something else to know. This defense does not include those that just plain don't want to know, and I'm sure Alexander knows about those women who are at the bottom of the well making their lives only work to uphold the wealthy. Her awareness of this is made evident by stating "at times forgetting stands in for never having known or never having learned something" (276). Even so, it must be affirmed that those that may never have known or may have never learned something were conditioned to this state of unknowing and its roots of colonialism, watered by capitalism, make their unknowing inevitable. Their unwitting participation which is a part of Alexander's 'wasteful errors of recognition' can only be expunged with a non-colonial educational process that validates the Caribbean identity.

C.L.R. James understood the importance of building an educational structure around the education outside of the British school code. In a talk at the University of the West Indies, James stated that the "West Indian native, in order to establish his own identity, must seek ideas and develop conceptions about history and the fine arts that are way beyond what the British and the others are doing" (1). James is calling for the Caribbean to venture past the British colonial identity through an educational process that encompasses a non-British code. According to Glissant, this is exactly what Caribbean Literature does. James goes on to say that "Caliban (that is I, and any of you who wish to come in) after three centuries must himself pioneer into regions Caesar never knew" (1). This is no small feat, especially for the immigrant woman whose body is only for labor. Michelle Rowley, in her call for Caribbean Feminist theory remarks that there is an

“ontological crisis that black women face: the uncertainty and ambiguity that is constantly part of the struggle for existence” (7). This crisis is exactly what Eunice exemplifies in her story at the factory.

Eunice didn't expound on what the conversation was exactly that took place when they were speaking Haitian Creole. Since she was just learning, speculation would suggest it was light banter, even at the expense of supervisors and such. There is serious doubt as to the conversation taking a tone of the results of colonialism on the Black female body, the fissures between their own groups, between women of the African Diaspora, and between women of color. The doubt doesn't come from the thought that these women are unaware of these fissures, but that their time for these types of discussions were limited, and most of their time spent with each other was in union to keep their jobs and their pay at a decent scale. Their *knowing* of each other was the factory work, their recognition of each other was their labor. While it perpetuated the fissure between Afro-Caribbean and African American women, the recognition between the Caribbean women was evident.

Eunice's story serves to underscore the theories of Alexander, Bell, and Wynter in an almost perfect fashion. Their theories of recognition, permanence of racism, and abduction, respectively, serve to illustrate the progress of the Caribbean intellectual's resistance to colonialism and according to Wynter, the falsehood of post-coloniality. Eunice's story show us that indeed, C.L.R. James, George Lamming, and Sylvia Wynter's scholarship did more than just put Caribbean literature on the map. Eunice's story serves to ignite the *awareness* that Wynter and Lamming dictate is absolutely necessary for James' call to educate the masses. In Eunice's retelling, an awareness to her

colonial state, her colonial education, and its insidious effects in her new home of New York, bring an understanding to the reasons for resistance and the continued struggle for humanity for the Black body.

Colonial education's effects are shown to not only affect her subjects in the Anglophone Caribbean, but also the ongoing relations between those of the Diaspora in the United States as well. Eunice's account of her early dating in New York raise questions about status within the Black vs. Black dilemma, and cause us to think critically about the origins of such a rift between Afro-Caribbeans and African Americans. Eunice's story also brings to light the incomplete critique on American liberalism as it pertains to race. Our own thoughts about liberalism as it pertains to race in the United States must be rethought when it comes to Blacks and the effects of slavery, colonialism, migration, and immigration. The questions raised in the introduction of this project by the Caribbean novels serve to call for the investigation into the lived histories of those that call themselves exiled, and those that are called immigrant. This is exactly what M. Jacqui Alexander demands in the theory of recognition. Eunice's story is the call to arms for the recognizing each other, or more specifically, recognition between Black women within the Diaspora.

While Eunice's story fits near perfectly as previously stated, nothing is perfect. Frank Wilderson's approach to the African Diaspora may render recognition much more difficult. In an interview with Samira Spatezek and Paul von Gleich, Wilderson expresses Diaspora as not only dispersal, but with homeland. He states that "'Homeland' cannot be reconciled with 'Africa', in part, because Africa is a continent, and the word homeland implies a cartographic scale smaller and more intimate than a continent" (8). I believe

that in order to achieve recognition in Alexander's theory, women of African descent must be willing to be of African descent. The blackness that cannot be shed, or hidden, is the badge of Africa whether one believes race to be a social construct or not.

Antiblackness is a social construct as well, and it is a direct violence upon blackness.

Without Africa as a Diasporic center of blackness, of origin, and of the beginning of the genocide and fracture of the black body from human stature, recognition becomes a dream.

Eunice's story is a bridge in that recognition. Her story illustrates the need for the history that Caribbean Literature undertakes to accomplish. Alexander and Wynter's theories of recognition and abduction remind us that Eunice's past is a necessary experience to know, in order to be aware and become resistant.

I am thankful for her story.

APPENDICES

Questionnaire for Interview Participants of Caribbean (heritage) Parents

Name:

Age: _____

Ethnicity: _____

Country of Origin: _____

Annual Salary: _____

Educational Level: _____

Do you own your home? Yes _____ No _____

City and State of Residence: _____

Child(ren)'s name(s), age(s) and gender:

Questions for recorded Interview of Caribbean Grandparents

This list of questions is for the purpose of research for a doctoral dissertation. Answers are completely confidential. Names will not be made available.

1. Tell me about the languages you spoke growing up.
2. Tell me what going to school was like for you.
3. Can you remember a particular moment or time that stands out to you about your childhood in school?
4. Why did you emigrate to the U.S?
 - a. Were your children already born?

Questions for recorded Interview of Caribbean (heritage) Parents

This list of questions is for the purpose of research for a doctoral dissertation. Answers are completely confidential. Names will not be made available.

1. Tell me about the languages you and your parents spoke growing up.
2. How did your parents feel about speaking Patois/Guyanese/Trini inside and outside the home?
3. Tell me what you think about that.
4. Did your parents speak Patois/Guyanese/Trini outside the home to strangers?
5. Did they want you to speak Patois/Guyanese/Trini?
6. Tell me about the languages your children speak at home.
 - i. How do you feel about that?
 - ii. If yes, do your parents intervene about their speech?
7. Can you speak with Patois/Guyanese/Trini?
8. How would you describe your relationship to American English?
9. If you were born in another country, how old were you when you immigrated to the U.S.?
10. Tell me what going to school was like for you.
 - a. Take me through a week of studies at your school.
11. Tell me what you think going to school is like for your kids. How is it different?
12. Can you remember a particular moment or time that stands out to you about your childhood in school?
13. Which education would you rate better, your home country's or the U.S.? Why?
14. Do you consider Patois/Guyanese/Trini a real language? Why or why not?

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