# Excavating the Museum of Sensory Absence: Race, Racism and the Everyday (Sensory) Experiences of Post-War Black migrants

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## Abstract

This study provides an understanding of ‘race’ as a complex dynamic force that underpins and permeates, through the senses, the everyday lives and experiences of racialised subjects. The study argues that the ‘senses’ are an alternative form of ‘knowledge’ or way of knowing ‘race’, racism, and ethnicity through the racialised senses. It considers how the sensibility of ‘race’ operates and structures our everyday life in ‘official’ and ‘unofficial’ ways, with real effects, affects, and consequences.

This study fills the gap in various paradigms where the senses and experience have been missing, including the race relations problematic, cultural studies, and post-race theory. In addition, this research contributes to the existing body of literature and studies that have been strictly concerned with the material and structural effects of ‘race’ and racism. The aim is to make a critical intervention and offer a means of moving forward with an understanding of ‘race’ that can bridge the divide between the objective theoretical treatments of ‘race’ or its complete erasure.

Varied methodologies and analytical frameworks are used, including feminist epistemologies, critical realism, phenomenology, ethnomethodology, and grounded theory, to elucidate the racialised sense and racialised sensory epistemologies of the lived experiences of ‘race’ and racism. In addition, a multiple qualitative method will be used, involving oral histories and a range of archived, contemporary, published, and unpublished materials, including a wide range of visual resources and film. These will be applied to a local urban study of Notting Hill and neighbouring wards in North Kensington, which explores the everyday ‘sensory’ experiences of Black and minority ethnic residents against the backdrop of institutions, mechanisms, and key events from the 1950s post-war period in Britain and subsequent decades.

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## Introduction

## Walking, Racial Othering, and the Absence of Racialised Experience

I emphasise the importance of walking at the beginning of my thesis because it is central to an encounter in which I experienced overt racial hate and an aggressive speech act. The lasting visceral, emotional, and embodied impact of that encounter marks a definitive moment of a new form of racial difference generated from a critical heightened racialised sensory awareness that led to the path of the work that follows and my research journey and ethnographic method to that end.

Hence, to provide context to my everyday sensory experience of 'race' and racism, Golborne Ward in North Kensington, West London, is bordered by Ladbroke Grove, the West Way Flyover, and the Grand Union Canal. Golborne is a rich urban archive that holds the evidence of the histories of Black and minority ethnic migrants' settlement in the area, hence its locally known name of 'Little Morocco' due to the number of Moroccan restaurants and shops and renowned Portuguese pâtisseries located on the road. Moreover, situated in the heart of Notting Hill Carnival and overlooked by the iconic Trellick Towers, Golborne Road hosts a daily street market bar Sundays, specialising in fruit and vegetable produce, hot food, vintage fashion and interior furniture, second-hand clothing shops and bric-a-brac stalls, plants and flowers, books, and music, especially at the weekend.

Thus, Golborne Road and its market are also a diverse sensorium of smells, tastes, and sounds, interspersing the bustling and the buzz of its many users, including residents, tourists, traders, and stalls, which bring a unique energy, character, and sense of place (Rhys-Taylor, 2010, 2013). For example, when walking up Golborne Road market from the juncture of Portobello Road Market toward Trellick Towers and the Grand Union Canal, I am immersed in an intense and stimulating local sensorium that utilises a 'democracy of the senses', which Les Back says involves listening and moving between visual, aural, and corporeal registers (Back, 2007).

As I walk, I listen and hear the diverse and competing genres of music blaring at once, whether from a stall selling old vinyl records or traders playing their preferred radio station in the background, or double-parked car owners blasting loud music or music drifting from the open doors of various shops onto the street. Furthermore, as I walk past – or, on occasion, if I stop to browse – I can also feel the bodily sensation of the loud vibration of the music, the hum of multitudinous voices, and the brief, impersonal touch of other bodies as I twist, turn, and contort to navigate the tight spaces between the maze of people visiting the market.

The soundscape of the market is also multi-layered with the distinct registers of the clamouring voices of groups of local men sitting at tables on the pavement outside their usual cafe hangout spots located on both sides of the road, who will also often shout across to each other to communicate a message or plan relevant to their inner social circle. Moreover, I listen to snatches of the swirl of conversations in multiple languages as I weave through the obstacles of tangled knots of groups of tourists, families, and individuals who have stopped to browse the stalls, gaze into shop windows, and congregate in their doors, or come to a complete standstill in the middle of the pavement to eat food bought from the food stalls, often confusingly for no apparent reason.

Furthermore, in terms of the mix and zone of smells that mark Golborne Road and the market as I stroll along the road, I encounter the musty and often overpowering smell of mothballs from the vintage and second-hand clothes stalls and shops, which intermittently wafts through the air and can be felt as an embodied visceral experience when the intense, unpleasant odour of camphor hits the back of the nose and throat and causes me to physically recoil from the object emitting the smell. In addition to the musty smell of old and mouldy paper from the book stalls, the dust and smell of age from the vintage miscellaneous bric-a-brac objects, old upholstery, and wooden furniture pieces are also perceived. Intermixed with the smell of burning incense and the distinct smell of products, ranging from blended spices, pickled olives, and mint, sold both within and outside the Moroccan food and household goods shops, is the smell of meat from the Moroccan halal butcher. Further to this are the various aromas of the assorted cooking ingredients and smell of grease from the hot food stalls and vans, with their loud humming generators and clashing and clanking frying pans and

cooking utensils and the pungent and pervasive fishy odour from open-fronted fish mongers located along the stretch of the road.

The visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, and embodied experience of walking along Golborne and through the market (Rhys-Taylor, 2010) I describe above is a brief snapshot of the essence of my sense of belonging to a historically richly multicultural urban local area and a fragment of its multi-layered sensorium, which constitutes my everyday sensory experience. I have trekked through and along Golborne Road market countless times throughout my life as a resident of the area when navigating my daily life, which involves moving from point A to point B along its familiar streets and roaming or meandering around the market at the weekend. Indeed, I have often stated that I could walk the local streets of North Kensington/Notting Hill with my eyes closed, which, on reflection, speaks of my habituated and embodied multi-sensory sense of familiarity with the sensoria drawn from the full democracy of the senses.

However, I am also highly aware that the act of walking and the experiences of racialised subjects are always significantly more than a pedestrian moving from place to place. Moreover, as a researcher, the practice of walking is not unproblematic, like the trope of the flâneur, which is associated with autonomous white masculinity and can walk anywhere unhindered to watch the urban scene around him while being separate from his surroundings (Benjamin, 2003). Thus, I argue that, in contrast to the anaesthesia of the flaneur, walking, for racialised subjects, is also an experience of ‘walking-with’; that is, the ‘with’ signifies the racialised tensions and difficulties that operate in the everyday lives of racialised others, but remain unaccounted.

For example, I experienced an encounter one hot summer Saturday afternoon while walking at the junction of Golborne Road and Southam Street, which coincidentally is the site of the murder of the early post-war Black immigrant Kelso Cochrane in 1959 during a racially motivated attack. In a busy throng of café chairs and tables, adult bodies, prams and children, and random miscellaneous trinkets spread on the ground for sale that crowded and filled the pavement on that spot, a white woman walked towards me, but looking over her shoulder. It became apparent that the woman’s

lack of attention would result in a physical collision, and we drew parallel and bumped into each other due to the lack of space that hindered me from moving out of the way due to the crush of the crowd.

However, despite immediately apologising and asking if she was okay, the woman shouted at me to look where I was going before inexplicably clutching her handbag to her chest and accusing me of attempting to steal her bag. During that encounter, I experienced being 'hailed' as the hated object (Ahmed**,** 2004**;** Althusser, 1971; Brah, 1999) for the first time. The woman referred to me as 'you black people', 'you black bitch', and, finally, at the end of her unwarranted tirade of racial slurs and abuse, she called me a 'black nigger' and demanded that I 'go back to where [I] come from'.

## Searching the Archives for 'Race', Racism, and Multi-Sensory Everyday Lived Experience

I share this fragment of my lived experience of 'race' and racism, which I continue to carry (Puwar, 2021), for several reasons. Firstly, Ahmed (2004) observes that hate involves movement and fixity, and some bodies move precisely by sealing others as objects of hate. Thus, the white woman could walk on and move away from the encounter after enacting her hate through a speech act of racial violence, which she used to disempower and seal me in the denigrated figure of the hated other in the Black body (Ahmed, 2004). However, in contrast, I was the body that became fixed as the object of hate during the encounter and thus unable to move on emotionally because the violence of the racial hate words the woman shouted at me struck a blow that reverberated deeply in a visceral discomfort and sensation that rippled throughout my body and settled with a devastating effect, leaving my feelings and sense of being in a state of disorder.

Reflecting on Black and feminist multi-sensory knowledge, such as Gail Lewis' (2017) insightful work on the 'Questions of Presence' and how Black women, as embodied sentient beings, are made visible and invisible and attentive to the full democracy of the senses. For example, I realised that I was easily rendered a hyper-visible and degraded racial presence in the daily rhythm and routine of urban life through the entrenched history of racial stereotypes and myths, which circulated in the

woman's racist language and words (Ahmed, 2004); however, the unpleasant sensations that I experienced, emotionally and physically, were overlooked. I argue that my presence was simultaneously quietly rendered invisible and an absence, because the skin's language that can speak of pain, fear, desire, and love (hooks, 2018; Lewis, 2009) is silenced due to its devalued status as a marker of racial difference, and as such, I was considered desensitised in my capacity to feel pain or hurt.

The encounter caused me to ruminate on my visceral and bodily experience of 'race' and racism and the troubling churn of emotions and feelings of anger, confusion, and hurt that remained for weeks beyond my milieu. Puwar (2021) draws multi-sensory attention towards listening to our bodies as archives and how we 'carry' the incidents and experiences from the past, sounds, trauma, and obsessions as embodied researchers. I listened to the archive of my body, which compelled me to want to grasp and interrogate the frustrating mixed feelings and emotions I carried from the encounter. I also searched the archives for a collective of archival bodies (Battaglia et al., 2020) to listen to their multi-sensory experience and knowledge of 'race' and racism. I also look to the broader web of social and historical forces, such as British colonialism and Empire, race thinking and racial ideologies, and existing academic knowledge of structural and institutional theories and studies of race and racism for an analytical space to find answers for my own 'quiet' (Campt, 2017) politics of refusal and resistance.

However, I discovered that my presence as a racialised sentient and embodied being, with valid sensory knowledge and experiences of 'race' and the visceral effects and conflicting emotions and feelings induced by racism, such as those I experienced, was also invisible, neglected, or absent across the mainstream archives, along with state memory and media institutions (Caswell et al., 2017; Featherstone, 2006) in my quest to find meaning in academic libraries and mainstream archives.

Thus, my study emerges from the absence, gaps, and silences I encountered, which led me to question the absence of my own racialised sensory everyday experience, which also led me to

wonder about the absence of other racialised subjects' sensory and embodied experiences of 'race' and racism, the erasure of their different intersectional registers situated in the gap between presence and absence (Lewis, 2017), and what they might yield for a deeper understanding of the effects and impact of 'race' and racism.

## Debating the Continued Salience of 'Race' and the Absence of Lived Experience

Some intellectual, academic, and popular treatments of 'race' would have us believe that 'race' is unreal through abstracted theoretical debates. Furthermore, 'race' is cast as an 'object' of investigation devoid of any capacity to significantly impact real-life experiences and situations that form 'raced' lives. These treatments and discourses on 'race' as unreal or as an object are evident within the 'race relations problematic' approach, and cultural studies focus on identity and post-race theory. For instance, post-race theory has seen arguments for the disposal of 'race' in favour of a move towards a post-race paradigm (Gilroy, 1998, 2001; Nayak, 2006). Indeed, some post-race theorists have gone so far as to propose that 'race' is non-existent and thus conceptually redundant[1]. Relatedly, the race relations problematic approach has dismissed 'race' as reified in concern with the material effects of 'race' on the social circumstances of racialised subjects at the expense of racial experience.

However, I maintain and make a case for the continued salience and value of 'race', and I argue that the presence of 'race' in the lives of racialised subjects is far-reaching in multi-sensory ways that are overlooked, silenced, or lost, which culminate in an absence. This study will develop a position where 'race' re-emerges as a dynamic factor, which underlies and operates in intangible ways that can be found in the details and aspects of occasional and everyday life and evidenced in 'real' or tangible effects and affects and consequences. I argue that utilising the full democracy of the senses introduces different knowledge of how 'race', instead of being a redundant concept, is an active key

[1] Robert Miles argued that 'Race is an idea that should be explicitly and consistently confined to the dustbin of analytically useless terms' (Miles, 1989, p.72).

component in the everyday 'realities' of 'race', racisms, and ethnicity for racialised and minority ethnic subjects.

Drawing on Fanon's (1986) argument, making the invisible visible is itself a political act (Goldberg, 1996). I develop the argument by attending to the full democracy of the senses to disrupt the anonymity and invisibility imposed on Black subjects by 'race' and racisms, for instance, through the dominance of the racial gaze, which conflates the individual Black subject into a highly problematic homogeneous racial group, such as 'Coloureds', 'Blacks', or 'West Indians'. Hence, at the heart of this study is the aim to work within and through the full democracy of the senses as a method of thought (Back, 2007) to bring to the forefront the multi-sensory intersectional lived experiences of racialised and minority ethnic migrants that are essential to understanding, for example, the covert and unapparent ways that 'race' shapes, circulates, and sticks to certain bodies (Ahmed, 2004) within a society on the macro and micro levels of everyday British urban life and Britain's sociopolitical and economic institutions, structure, and critical historical events that impact the everyday lives of individual racialised subjects.

## Unravelling the Knots of a Multi-Sensory Framework Concerning Race

Sekimoto and Brown are thinkers who have explicitly explored 'race' and the senses regarding the felt politics of race. They consider race's sensorial and phenomenological materiality as it is felt and sensed by the racialised subjects and situating the lived body as an active, affective, and sensing participant in racialised realities. They argue that race is not simply marked on bodies, but felt and registered through our senses; in particular, Brown offers thought-provoking theory about the relationship between race and the senses, including race as a sensory assemblage, which is a prosthetic technology that assembles and regulates various visceral sensations to make race a sensible, feel-able event (Sekimoto & Brown, 2020, p.22), and also a phenomenology of the racialised face and tongue, kinaesthetic feelings of Blackness, and the possibility of cross-racial empathy (Sekimoto & Brown, 2020).

However, while taking inspiration from work that focuses on the complex relationship between ‘race’ and the senses (such as Sekimoto and Brown, who contend that ‘race’ is not merely socially constructed, but also multi-sensorially assembled, engaged, and experienced, and individuals feel the racialised world into being), in my labour to frame and express the complexity of the absent sensory experiences of racialised and minority ethnic subjects, which Nirmal Puwar (2021) has aptly described as the process of untangling and reworking the topic that researchers have been carrying within new knowledge-making patterns, I particularly lean into the touch point of connections I encountered between the multi-sensory knowledge from a Black feminist perspective and my own embodied knowledge, life experience, and events that I carried as a racialised gendered subject and my research ideas.

The following thesis draws on the perspectives of Black feminist scholars, writers, and theorists who have engaged with and developed multi-sensory approaches, methods, and thinking (Ahmed, 2004; Brah, 2012; Campt, 2012, 2017; Gunaratnam, 2009; hooks; 2018; Lewis, 2009, 2017; Puwar, 2021), which facilitates my attempt to access and enunciate the different affective registers of the aural, haptic, corporeal, gustatory, and olfactory to extract and offer alternative ways of understanding racial experiences that transcend the visual register.

Building on the insights of Black feminist multi-sensory experiential perspectives and modes of analysis of issues concerning ‘race’ and racism, in the course of this study, I take an approach to the sensory that diverges from the limits imposed by a classic notion of the five senses and use complex imagining and stimulating interpretations developed from the thought-provoking, personal, critically self-aware, politically analytical forms of writing offered by this cadre of Black feminist scholars.

## Listening, Touch, and the Visibility and Images of Early Post-War Racialised Migrants

I draw on Black feminist multi-sensory work that engages with ‘race’ and the audible (Gunaratnam, 2009), sonic frequencies, listening, and the haptic (Campt, 2012, 2017). In doing so, personal and public photographic images of early post-war Black migrants in Britain hold the multi-sensorial registers of their lived experiences, which Tina Campt (2017) says requires listening, which moves beyond sight or merely hearing; it is an attunement to the sonic frequencies of affect and impact, and is an ensemble of seeing, feeling, effect, and contact that moves past the distance of sight and the viewer (Campt, 2017 p.42).

Applying Campt’s multi-sensory approach of listening to photographs within and through the full democracy of the senses in my research prompted a felt response to images of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants. Their visual images framed by multitudinous backgrounds, objects, and seemingly minor and mundane details of everyday life resonated through the silence of the photographs as diverse, embodied, feeling subjects with shared memories and prevalent accounts of the tangible consequences of racialisation and racism on arrival, including acts of physical and verbal violence, discrimination, and lack of access to resources such as adequate housing and employment. Moreover, it evoked a closer and more profound listening to images of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants to hear, imagine, and explore the complicated stories and accounts of the individuals’ lived multi-sensory experiences concealed beyond the surface narrative of the images.

In agreement with Back, there is a need to surpass an entirely visual engagement with photographs and extend the ambit through a broader range of senses to listen to and hear the voices of those in the picture (Back, 2007, p.113). For me, using the full democracy of the sense and listening to the images in my research is to rupture and transform the narrative supported by stock photographs of the anonymous mass of the early post-war colour problem into a generation of Black British citizens-subjects with multiplicity heterogeneity and connection by tuning into the low vibrations that have

touched and resonated in me as a researcher, searching for the fragments of the absent sensory experiences of the racialised and minority ethnic subjects in the archives (Campt, 2017, p.43).

## The Sensory and Corporeal Pleasure of Taste in Memories of 'Race' and Racism

Gail Lewis' multi-sensory approach to her work is an entry into how to interweave intricate links through the full democracy of the senses, between taste and smell within and the complexities of food within the historical context of the hybrid cultures of the Black Atlantic diaspora (Gilroy, 1993). Lewis recounts how, during a social gathering of close friends and family, they all ate a plate of chicken, macaroni and cheese, cornbread, cabbage salad, greens, and potatoes, considered soul food associated with Black South America. Lewis continues to show the linkage between the hybrid cultures of the Black Atlantic diaspora through the gustatory difference and similarity of food and taste, for example, when she describes the American soul food as being strange, a bit like 'our' West Indian food in its similar ingredients, but also different in that American soul food had pork without (Jamaican) 'jerk' spices, non-white sweet potatoes, chicken without rice and peas, and collard greens, but no callaloo or breadfruit (Lewis, 2009, p.12).

The sensory gustatory experience and pleasures in the intimacy of everyday Black life mediate Lewis' deeply complex and moving memories of her white mother's maternal ambivalence toward having Black children and her movement between the emotional economies of whiteness in her response to race and racism, which sadly shaped Lewis' relationship with her mother and the continued birthing of racial difference. Alex Rhys-Taylor (2010) observes that the experiences of the nose, tongue, fingers, and ears are often a backdrop for the sensational performance of real life. However, I argue that the sensory fragments of taste and smell and their more profound meaning that often feature in the background are essential in terms of what they can tell us about the lived experiences of racialised subjects, and I push them forward.

Accordingly, I respond to Lewis' multi-sensory approach to the sense of taste in her focus on 'race', racism, and the lived experience of racialised subjects as a starting point to develop and explore how the Caribbean culture of early post-war Black migrants can be understood through the sensory and corporeal pleasure of eating, drinking, and dancing. For example, by exploring the post-war Black migrants' memories of olfactory and gustatory experiences and the aroma and flavours of food at the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival, we can examine how they claimed and reconfigured the racially hostile streets with their distinct sense of locality in the formation of a diasporic political Black British community.

## Unpacking the Sensory and Racialised Sensory Experience

Unpacking the use of the sensory in this study, I engage with the experiences of racialised and minority ethnic subjects by referring to racialised sensory feelings to attend to and describe the complex multitude of co-occurring and constant slippage between the unspoken affective feelings, emotions, and embodied sensations that are inflected and permeated by 'race' (Campt, 2012, 2017).

The term 'racialised sensory experience' also captures the different ways it registers across the multiple racialised intersections of 'race' that texture the life of racialised subjects and diasporic communities. Racialised sensory feelings and emotions, in the context of this study, are used as a conceptual space that allows an exploration of what the absent multiple invisible registers of 'race' inflected and permeated multi-sensory experiences might tell us about the formation of racialised subjects, their sense of 'being' (Geurts, 2003), and the tribulations, challenges, and triumphs of their journey to becoming Black British in the historical context of early post-war Britain.

Moreover, the embodied sensate memories and subsequent emotions and feelings experienced by racialised migrants and their temporal changing dimensions throughout their lives are crucial to explore, such as the early post-war Black migrants' hopes, dreams, and aspirations on arrival to the

difficult terrain of despair and disappointment in a racially hostile environment on settlement and the love, grief, and loss of loved ones at home in the twilight years of their life in Britain (hooks, 2018).

## Racialised Sensory Knowledge

I also place the multi-sensory aspects of 'race' in tension with well-established and traditional social scientific formulae and social criteria of what constitutes knowledge. The dominant social order within a given society also determines the individual or groups of people entitled to make knowledge claims and what is allowed to be legitimate 'knowledge'. Accordingly, I argue that a multi-sensory understanding of 'race', racism, and ethnicity centred in a critical interrogation through and within the full democracy of the senses can contribute to existing intellectual concerns and theorisation on racial identity, race relations, and the continued analytical relevance of 'race'.

Hence, this study engages the term 'racialised sensory knowledge' to grasp the complexity of the knowledge derived from the multiple intersections of the racialised lived experiences of racial others. Moreover, it refers to the tacit knowledge shaped by 'race', racism, and racialised lived experiences carried in the body (Puwar, 2009), shared intergenerationally by racialised subjects. In his work *Between the World and Me* (2009), Ta-Nehisi Coates illustrates how a Black father shares the racialised knowledge of the sensory, psychological, and physical trauma of racial violence experienced by generations of Black people, the bodily harm institutionalised racism causes Black lives, as well as the historical past of slavery, genocide, and Jim Crow-era racism with his son.

## The Museum of Sensory Absence

Feldman (1994) asserts that the '…sensory histories can be located in the scattered wreckages of the inadmissible; lost biographies, memories, words, pains and faces which cohere into a vast museum of historical absence' (p.104). Feldman's insight into a museum of historical absence drives this project's alternative multi-sensory exploration of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrant

history in Britain from within and through the full democracy of the senses and aims to move beyond a basic understanding of museums as institutions that care for a collection of cultural and artistic artefacts of historical importance.

**Conceptualising The Museum of Sensory Absence**

I will briefly attempt to offer my conceptualisation of the Museum of Sensory Absence, which is multi-dimensional, to try and map out the multi-sensory terrain of my thesis. Feldman's assertion triggered my ideation. I push Feldman's insight further by conceiving the idea of a Museum of Sensory Absence, which troubles the notion of the traditional and institutional museum and archives with their supposed epistemic truths about racialised others. I also synthesise the idea of the archive as an impression and notion associated with a word (Battaglia et al., 2020) and the possibilities this offers to destabilise the traditional idea of the archive. To develop my notion of the Museum of Sensory Absence, which draws on the full democracy of the senses, I challenge the absenting of the lived experiences of racialised subjects and as a means of recovery to account for them in existing studies of issues concerning 'race' and racisms (Gaillet, 2012).

Firstly, the Museum of Sensory Absence is a conceptual intervention that emerges from my concern with the absenting and silence of the experiential forms of knowledge, feelings, emotions, and visceral sensory experiences in traditional and institutional state and museum archives and documentation on Black and minority ethnic migration to Britain in the early post-war years. Moreover, my notion of the Museum of Sensory Absence aims to disrupt the construction of the grand narrative of the story of the Windrush generation that registers a specific and limited rendition of their presence in the history of post-war Britain (Campt, 2012). This is achieved by seeking to inhabit the gaps, silences, and absences through eliciting the intersectional similarity, multiplicity, and differences in the everyday lives of early post-war Black and minority ethnic lives and their muti-sensory experiences of 'race' and racisms.

The absent-presence of the multi-sensory racialised lived experiences of ‘race’ and racism in the traditional museum and archives is also implicitly located in the broader complicated issues of power and politics. For example, museums and archives are part of the institutional matrix of power that authorises and determines the validity of historical knowledge that has constructed and shaped the notion of racial essence, racial identities, and alterities represented in various archive cultures, as well as in the reproduction and organisation of racial differences through the cataloguing and indexing of racial categories (Campt, 2017; Mills, 2013). In addition, it involves the practices and techniques employed in creating and maintaining the museum’s collections and archives, including the gathering of information, artefacts, and antiquities of subjected people and possessing, using, and preserving them according to the dominant group’s racially embedded classification system and knowledge, which conceal their participation in the politics of ‘race’.

Thus, the Museum of Sensory Absence is also a political space in this thesis, where I aim to intervene in the concealed presence and power differentials in the traditional and institutional museum and archives where, for example, the embodied knowledges, multi-sensory experiences, and narratives of subjected people are silenced, closed off, or absent (Featherstone, 2006; Mills, 2013). Further, it is a site where it becomes possible to empower marginalised individuals and communities (Caswell et al., 2017) and to include the unaccounted deeper experiential complexities of ‘race’, racisms, and ethnicity by drawing on the full democracy of the senses alongside other multi-sensory and embodied registers as an alternative method that enables the further production of knowledge regarding how ‘race’ operates in ways that have previously been ill-fitting or remained outside the ‘officially’ defined parameters and structures of ‘knowledge’ (Caswell, 2017, p.18).

In my position as a researcher, I turn to the archives to search for discordant scraps, including ephemera, official historical records, and the words, memories, narratives, and life biographies of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants when seeking to locate the traces of multi-sensory and emotional registers in their experiences of ‘race’ and racism in Britain. The Museum of Sensory Absence also overlays my archival encounters as the location of my sensuous engagement and

affective attachments with what Mills (2013) calls the ‘metaphorical ghosts’ of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants in the archives.

Hence, the Museum of Sensory Absence also holds my unspoken multi-sensory experiences as a researcher in the archive that permeates this study. For example, the quiet moments when reading text-based and other material, such as the oral life testimonies of early post-war Black migrants and looking at photographs and audiovisual material concerning their everyday lives on arrival in Britain, transfigures to a deep immersion and attunement to the multi-sensory registers across the spectrum of the full democracy of the senses that they summon in me. Alternatively, the moments that I experienced through the sensory register of the haptic, defined by Campt (2017) as the multiple forms of touch that register when listening to the lower sonic frequencies and registers of photographs, I also extend to text and the emotionality of text (Ahmed, 2004). This includes my encounter with an early post-war local flat-to-let shop window card found in the local library archives clearly stating ‘no Blacks’, which was a haptic experience of physical touch and the tactility of holding the card, and aroused conflicted feelings and emotions in me and left a lasting impression.

The Museum of Sensory Absence is also where I seek to trouble and rupture the dominant straightforward narratives of the indistinguishability of the arrival and settlement of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants, and frame the intricate entanglements of their differences in the foreground. Moreover, through and within the full democracy of the senses, it is a conceptual space from which I aim to illuminate the multi-sensory complexities of the distinct colonial histories, the diversity of inter-island cultures, the personal decisions to leave homes and families, and the journeys made and experienced by early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants.

In doing so, the Museum of Sensory Absence also becomes a space of imagination where I contemplate and wonder about the past lives and multi-sensory racialised experiences of unknown individuals who have resonated with me through their touching reflections on their life journeys and the intimacy of their memories of Notting Hill/North Kensington, which connect us across time (Brah, 2012). I turn to Black feminist scholars with multi-sensory approaches and engagement with race

and racism for inspiration to bring to life the presence of the early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants I encountered in the archives, and to recover a counter-history and narrative of the early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants' multi-sensory experience that otherwise goes unnoticed. For example, I draw from Saidya Hartman's (2019) innovative multi-sensory historical recovery work of forgotten voices and the presence of wayward Black lives, and bell hooks' (2018) focus on the idea of love, which she explores in the context of its history, meaning, beliefs, and cultural dimensions as well as her personal experiences.

From a methodological perspective, my concept of the Museum of Sensory Absence also moves away from the notion of an archive as a static repository and collection of historical records and documents (Gaillet, 2012). For example, I take forward the idea of 'anarchives', which aims at stimulating and creating compositions and nodes of research creation through a collaborative process (Battaglia, 2020). Thus, unlike an archive concerned with preservation and coding practices that assist in data recovery, 'anarchiving', in my concept of the Museum of Sensory Absence, is thought of as a cross-platform phenomenon activated in the relays between different methodologies and methods that reactivate anarchival traces and, in turn, create new ones. Thus, the Museum of Sensory Absence draws from different compositions and nodes of multi-sensory research, which expands the range of archival methods and tools and, for example, looks to racialised bodies as archives of experience (Battaglia et al., 2020; Puwar, 2021), plural and collective ways of multi-sensory and embodied knowing, remembering, and counter-narrating the multi-sensory lived experiences of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants to the UK.

Some important questions direct this study in its efforts, as follows: What other alternative forms of knowledge or ways of knowing 'race', racism, and ethnicity exist that can capture or reveal the everyday lived experiences of racialised others? Is it possible to situate and understand the diversity of alternative 'inadmissible' ways of knowing alongside socially dominant zones of 'official' knowledge with its attendant social structures, institutions, mechanisms, practices, and criteria? How might we identify the 'racialised epistemologies' that remain outside officially sanctioned and policed sites of knowledge where a repertoire of 'racial ideas' has consistently articulated and produced

racialised and minority ethnic subjects as the 'socially problematic other'? What alternative forms of engagement with 'race', racism, and ethnicity could be used alongside those already established? In what ways can 'inadmissible' epistemologies or ways of knowing 'race', racism, and ethnicity afford a possible opening of critical intervention as a means of moving forward in an understanding of 'race' that bridges the divide between objective theoretical treatments of 'race' or its complete erasure?

Furthermore, these questions point to the number of different, yet interconnected problems that are presented by existing forms of dominant knowledge that lack a means of adequately understanding the experiential intangibility of 'race'. In addition, the control and limitations placed on what is allowed to constitute knowledge of 'race' and who can have knowledge becomes highlighted by the evident exclusion of knowledge of the different experiences and the effects of 'race' that are lived by racialised subjects.

I am also concerned with taking an anti-essentialist approach to 'race' by drawing on Gunaratnam's (2003) 'double research' approach to researching 'race' and ethnicity by linking theory to lived experience in order to object to the essentialism of 'race' and contribute to emphasising racial individuals' heterogeneity and situated differences. I argue for recognising the differences in the lived experiences of 'race' and the multiple complex layered modalities, such as gender, class, and sexuality, intra-group differences, such as inter-island or tribal ethnic cultures and religion, and, at times, conflicted forms of being silenced, erased, or excluded by the common-sense homogeneous categorisations and concepts of 'race' as difference. Consequently, I aim to make an original contribution to the existing body of work on race and racism by addressing the gaps in critically interrogating the differences and heterogeneity of the sentient experiences of 'race' and racism through pushing a multi-sensory approach that seeks to avoid the danger of reifying 'race' as an object or, just as easily, overemphasising racialised experience and ultimately essentialising 'race' (Gunaratnam, 2003).

My study also seeks to avoid constructing and presenting an understanding of the racialised senses and racialised sensory experience in the restrictive terms of a universal racial essence. To this end, I look to critical realism as one theoretical framework concerned with the role of experience. I draw on and extend critical realism's ideas of the relationship between the empirical, the actual, and the real, and the differentiation and stratification of reality (Bhaskar, 2008; Danermark et al., 1997) to enable my theoretical development of significant links between the multiplicities of racialised lived experience and theory in the context of my study.

At its most basic level, critical realism enables the workings of the causal and generative power of 'race' and racism to be evidenced at the level of the real. That is, we take the real to mean the concrete and actual everyday conditions, situations, events, and practices generated and produced by the network and links of mechanisms that structure a racialised society. This level of the concrete realities and impact of 'race' and racism has continually been addressed in multiple approaches to 'race' and racisms. Moreover, there exists a large body of substantive and formal theories focused on issues of social inequalities and different forms of racialised discrimination and exclusionary practices in the fields of housing, employment, and education (Banton, 1992; Brown, 1992; Coard, 1971; Mirza, 1992; Smith, 1977; Solomos & Back, 1996; Troyner, 1987; Troyner & Williams, 1986).

However, as important as this basic component of the analysis is, critical realism enables a further level of analysis that goes beyond 'the real' and 'the actual' and opens up a space for the equally crucial generative power of the abstract, less observable, and tangible mechanisms. Thus, through critical realism and the realisation of the realm of the empirical, the senses, racialised senses, and epistemologies become additional strata of reality that also operate and work to produce the everyday social world (Bhaskar, 2008; Danermark et al., 1997). Critical realism provides an invaluable means of grounding and linking theory and social phenomena that can too easily be dismissed as abstract, invalid, unreliable, or subjective, i.e., 'race', racialised senses, racialised experience and racialised epistemologies in the empirical, concrete, real, and actual domains of social structures and events (Bhaskar, 2008; Danermark et al., 1997; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Thus, for instance, Black and minority ethnic migrants' racialised experiences of fear and violence in North Kensington during the height of the 1958 Notting Hill Riots no longer stay isolated in the realm of the individual experience. Instead, it becomes possible to theoretically and analytically ground their racialised experiences across the different concrete and ideological generative mechanisms that also worked through the underpinning generative mechanism of 'race' and racisms and examine the relationship between them to see what they might tell us.

Therefore, an additional understanding of the 1958 Notting Hill Riots is obtained from the narrative of Black British and minority ethnic post-war migrants' racialised sensory experiences that can also provide a sensory-informed insight into the interrelationship with the broader macro-level concrete generative mechanisms and events in early post-war Britain, such as the political debates on racial immigration, the number of coloured migrants entering Britain, and racial discrimination in unemployment and housing. Equally, it develops an understanding of how 'race' and racism operated on an ideological and emotional level across these different sites and, for example, served to crystallise the moral panic that surrounded the fear of Black and minority ethnic immigrants (Cohen, 1972; Hall, 1984; Layton-Henry, 1984; Powell, 1969; Thatcher, 1978).

## Chapter One: History and Background

### Introduction

The nucleus of this study is Feldman's (1994) argument that it is possible to find sensory histories in the scattered wreckages of the inadmissible: lost biographies, memories, words, pains, and faces, which cohere into a vast secret museum of historical and sensory absence (Feldman,1994, p.104), from which devolves problematic issues surrounding knowledge claims and the delegitimised status of racialised experience. This study examines the intangible forms of sensory knowledge and racialised experiences deemed as simplistic notions of the subject. It examines them as an important working component within the racial structures, racialised mechanisms, institutions, and events that shape our social world.

Examining the nature of what has normally proven to be the inexpressible nature of intangible experiences of 'race' from the perspective of thinking with the senses opens a window into Feldman's secret museum of historical and sensory absence. In this study's conceptual Museum of Sensory Absence, the sensory histories of focus are the racialised sensory experiences of early post-war Black British immigrants and ethnic subjects. Moreover, this study's excavation of this conceptual early post-war museum of sensory absence by way of thinking with the senses serves a purpose. First, it reveals the alternative accounts of 'race' and racisms that can be found, which contest the established negative racialised tropes and stereotypes of Black and racialised people in Britain as 'the coloured problem', a racial threat, or 'victims' (Farrow, 1954; Gilroy, 1982, pp.143–183; Glass, 1960; Hall, 1984; Harris, 1996).

Second, these alternative 'sensory' accounts of Black and racialised post-war subjects' knowledge and experience allow counter articulations of 'race', racisms, and ethnicity. These counter articulations are also important because they evidence the deeper complexities of 'race' that begin to reveal themselves through the presence of the 'racialised senses'. For example, many different

subject positionings within ‘race’ are informed by class, gender, and social and cultural capital, etc. However, the variations in racialised knowledge and experiences situated within these different racialised subject positions become subsumed within a generalisation of the racial other. Furthermore, the generalisation of racial subjects’ racialised experience is a process commonly occurring within sociological debates on ‘race’ and racism. This study will use the senses to show the varied individuality of racialised subject positions in Black and racialised experiences of migration and settlement in post-war Britain. It will also give extra insight into the material and structural effects of race and racisms by situating the complex role that ‘race’ plays in the activities and experiences of everyday life for different post-war Black and racialised subjects.

### 1.1 Understanding the Black Migrant Racialised Sensoria

This study’s approach to sensory themes, such as desire, enables some understanding of how the racialised senses work in terms of structures, mechanisms, and events (Bhaskar, 1975) to create laws and ‘official’ forms of normative discursive racialised or ‘inadmissible’ knowledge as mechanisms of control. Furthermore, the exploration of the intangible side of sensory themes like desire experienced through sensory perception, affective engagements, embodied experiences, and ‘assemblage’ (Sekimoto and Brown, 2020) of sensory feelings and emotions, such as love, fear, or lust, can unearth the inadmissible accounts of everyday racialised lived experience and epistemologies.

Hence, inadmissible forms of racialised sensory epistemologies hold the racialised senses, emotions, feelings, and experiences formed in the diverse range of interpersonal and intimate relationships between Black migrants and white men and women in early post-war Britain. Thus, on closer inspection, they can reveal, for instance, how the racialised feelings and emotional undertones of the ‘colour problem’ were played out in the feverish reactions of hostility and fear of Blacks, Black sexuality, and the illicit dangerous desires of the racial ‘other’ in the intimate living spaces of the local.

The sensory themes in this study also guide the exploration into other areas of Black post-war immigrants' racialised sensory experience and epistemologies that contest normative discursive knowledge construction of them as 'victims' – for example, contrary to popular stock photographic images depicting the arrival of wide-eyed innocent-looking Black migrants in Britain. The sensory theme of desire drawing on the assemblage of feelings, affective engagement, and embodied experiences allows access to concealed racialised sensory epistemologies and experiences in the complexity and diversity of Black and racialised subject positions, such as those that speak of the less morally upright, dissident, raffish, and sometimes criminal undertones of the early post-war Black experience.

Many young, single, Black and racialised men with a spirit of adventure and the bravado of youth came to the 'Mother Country', uninhibited by state laws and normative moral respectability, and carved out their own space in early post-war Britain. Therefore, concerning racialised sexual taboos and the fear surrounding interracial relationships in early post-war Britain, these sorts of experiences can also shed light on how the racialised senses operated within the existing inadmissible and hidden economies of desire in this period. Moreover, exploring the theme of desire provides insight into the absent presence of irregular sensory everyday lived experiences among early post-war Black migrants, such as the young Black male migrants who tapped into the existing 'black economy' of prostitution in Britain following the war, which one argues '… was in the name of sex and love – or sex and lust, whichever one' (Phillips & Phillips, 1991, p.54; McInnes, 1958).

Christopher Brown (2020) posits that while the senses are biased, distorted, and manipulated by and for racism in many ways, it remains true that the 'senses are the medium of possibility' (Sekimoto & Brown 2020, p.135). Consequently, Black post-war immigrants were not merely the passive victims of early post-war English racism and racial discrimination or the one-dimensional racial representation of the 'coloured problem' by the British state and white host population; instead, early Black post-war migrants were active agents in the ways they made themselves and the social fabric of life in post-war Britain. In his work *Negritude: A Humanism of the Twentieth Century*, Senghor

(1970) observed that Africans had a certain way of conceiving life and living it, and that Negritude was ‘a certain active presence in the world’ (Senghor, 1970, p.180; Cartey & Kilson, 1970). This is useful in refiguring the early post-war Black migrants from victims and the racial problem to the active agents they were, as one early Black post-war migrant asserts that the choices he made and things he did in his life were ‘…a means of survival… I am a man, and I am nobody’s tool or nobody’s slave, and I have no superiors… I am a man who is Black. I am not a Black man. I am not the English definition of who I am; I am my own explanation of myself’ (Phillips & Phillips, 1998, p.105).

### 1.2 The Everyday and the Racialised Sensorium

de Certeau (1984) argues that everyday practices should not be concealed as merely the ‘obscure background of social activity’, and that by penetrating this obscurity, it is possible to articulate them (p.xi). The everyday (Highmore, 2002; Lefebvre, 1994; Simmel, 2002) is also an important site, as this is where the underlying racialised sensory feelings and emotions, racialised epistemologies, and experiences of the varied post-war racialised subject positions circulate within the small details and seemingly innocuous events. From a sensory perspective, the everyday is where the hopes, aspirations, or disillusionment of early post-war Black and racialised immigrants on arrival in Britain reside.

The aim will be to identify the presence of hidden ‘inadmissible’ forms of sensory knowledge in the little details such as the emotions, feelings, attitudes, or style and clothing of post-war Black and racialised sensory migrants. The attention to these small details will also emphasise the variation within Black and racialised post-war subjects’ experiences of ‘race’ and racisms. Consequently, this approach will allow a richer understanding of ‘race’ and racisms, which enhances existing literature and structural accounts of ‘race’ and racisms.

The importance of the racialised senses and racialised sensory epistemologies is not limited to the micro-level of society and the individual’s everyday lives and lived experiences. The early post-war Black and racialised alternative articulations and accounts of racialised sensory experience also sit

within the wider workings of the racialised senses and racialised sensory epistemologies on a macro-social level. Therefore, they are equally essential to understand the wider social structures of the dominant society, also formed by the racialised senses and racialised epistemologies and how they use them as a medium for dominance and control.

During the high period of Black and racialised post-war migration and settlement, British society had different zones of normative discursive knowledge on 'the colour problem' that was produced by a collective of institutions and their attendant bodies. Thus, the past documents and records from early post-war British institutions also represent a sensory archive through the lens of the senses. For instance, the racialised senses are evident in different constructions of the British post-war 'coloured problem', founded on racialised sensory epistemologies that drew on ideas of 'race' to maintain and control the dominant white status.

Further, British post-war social institutions and attendant bodies, such as the state, local government, media, and academia, produced official racialised knowledge on 'the coloured problem' through various means. The presence of the racialised senses and negative racialised sensory epistemologies in their construction of the 'racial other' are also found in different documents on post-war legislation or policies on immigration control (i.e., Commonwealth Immigration Act 1962, Race Relations Act 1965) or sexuality (Street Offences Act 1959, the Wolfenden Report 1957).

### 1.3 Official Sensory Knowledge and Racial 'Deviance'

Between 1948 and the 1960s, numerous discussions took place on 'coloured' immigration from Britain's former colonies in the West Indies, Africa, and the Indian subcontinent at the Cabinet level, which held concerns for the homogeneous 'racial character' of white British society (Cab 128/29, CM.39 (55), minute 7, Cabinet Meeting, 3 November 1955). It was felt that unchecked immigration would result in a 'significant change in the racial character of the English people' (Cab 128/29, CM.39 (55), minute 7, Cabinet Meeting, 3 November 1955), so the British government sought to build a

case for legislative controls by constructing the problematic 'racial other' (Fryer, 1984; Goulbourne, 1998; Layton-Henry, 1984; Spencer, 1997).

Extensive discussions at the Cabinet, parliamentary, and civil service levels on the 'Black presence' resulted in the commission of numerous surveys, police surveillance, studies, and information gathering on areas including Black unemployment, numbers, and criminality (CAB, 128/31/57, C.C. (57), Minute 5, Colonial Immigrants, 25 July 1957; D.O. 35/5216, Employment of Coloured People in UK, February 1954; CAB, 129/66/44, (54), 94, Immigration of Coloured People, 9 March 1954; CAB, 129/81/45, C.P. (56) 145, Colonial Immigrants Report to the Committee of Ministers, 22 June 1956; CAB 129/77, C.P. (55) 102, Report of the Committee on the Social and Economic Problems Arising from the Growing Influx into the United Kingdom of Coloured Workers from Other Commonwealth Countries, 3 August 1955). Moreover, the findings of various British government departments, including the Ministry of Labour, the Welfare Department of the Colonial Office, the Home Office, and the Commonwealth Relations Office, were then used to construct the problematic 'racial other' in the case against Black immigration (Carter et al., 1987).

In these government documents, we can see various racial stereotypes being used to conceive the problems created by the Black migrant. For instance, Black immigrants were unemployed, not because of discrimination, but alleged '...irresponsibility, quarrelsomeness and lack of discipline...', and being more '...volatile in temperament than white workers and more easily provoked to violence' (Draft Report of the Working Party on Coloured People Seeking Employment in the United Kingdom, 17 December 1953). Alternatively, in the case of Black women, as opposed to Black men, they were of 'slow mentality'. However, Black women could still give '...reliable service as domestics in hospitals, institutions and private domestic employment' (Draft Report of the Working Party on Coloured People Seeking Employment in the United Kingdom, 17 December 1953).

Moreover, the early post-war period, Black immigrants were thought of as predisposed toward criminality by their very nature. The issue of Black criminality was a regular feature in government documents that emphasised certain types of racial deviance, such as drug trafficking and living on

immoral earnings. For example, the Colonial Office drew heavily on police accounts and reports on how the Black population in London was involved in criminal activity. The normative discursive knowledge of the Colonial Office lent itself to the case against Black immigration in terms of 'vice and crime' running rampant because many Black immigrants were '… engaged in the drug traffic or supplement their incomes by running illicit drinking dens or by prostitution' (CAB 124/1191, Conservative Commonwealth Association, Liverpool Group, The Problem of Colonial Immigrants, January 1954).

Likewise, the normative discursive knowledge of the post-war British national media and local newspapers reflected the criminal deviant 'racial other' construction. For example, the *Kensington Post* article 'West African Found with Drugs in a Drawer' reported that '…The African also had previous convictions, two for minor gaming offences…'. The article then reports that '…police information was that he was a frequenter of gambling dens', and that the magistrate told the defendant that '…it had been a profound misfortune to this country when he had elected to come here' (Bradley, 1950).

Furthermore, institutional mechanisms of social control, law, and order are also found in macro-level systems and social structures, for example, law enforcement agencies such as the police and courts. Moreover, social bodies such as the government department for the colonies and government-commissioned studies by academics or 'experts' on 'the problems' of the 'Black presence' or 'dark strangers' (e.g., Pearl Jephcott's work *A Troubled Area: Notes on Notting Hill*, 1964). Further, more broadly within the wider media, institutions including national and local newspapers and social commentary documentaries (e.g., BFI – Black Britain Collection – *The Negro Next Door*, 1965; *Mixed Marriages*, 1958) fed the underlying racialised moral themes of Black crime and disorder and propagated the threat of Black sexuality and 'swamping' of 'the Black terror' in early post-war Britain's social and political debates on 'the coloured problem'.

Consequently, these post-war institutions collectively produced normative discursive knowledge on the threat of the racial other and determined the boundaries of what was allowed to constitute

legitimate and admissible knowledge about the racial other. This Official racialised sensory knowledge also worked on structuring the macro-level social and political environment, which trickled down to impact racialised subjects' everyday lives and experiences in often unconsidered ways (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). However, the transmission of knowledge is not a one-way process, and the 'unofficial' sensory knowledge of racialised subjects can also work from the bottom up to inform both Official and semi-official knowledge and social life on some occasions.

Hence, this can be understood in relation to the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival as an event with its origins in the unofficial knowledge of post-war Black and racialised migrants, which has clearly influenced contemporary British social and cultural life. On another level, the Carnival contributes to understanding the racialised sensory knowledge of post-war Black and racialised migrants due to their experiences in post-war Britain. For example, in her Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony, early post-war Black migrant Mandy observes that '…there was a kind of sense that Carnival was a claiming of space that you didn't officially occupy, I mean even though there had been a Black presence in London since the fifties, there had not been the experience of the kind of the Notting Hill Riot…. I think there was an emotional sense that, really, you didn't occupy the streets fully. [So] I think Carnival was actually about an occupation of space and a taking over of space for an entirely different sense of what the world could be' (Phillips, 2003).

### 1.4 Race, Desire, and Black Moral Turpitude

An example of thinking with the senses to better understand the workings of 'race' and racism can be demonstrated through the sensory theme of desire, dominant normative discursive knowledge, and post-war British legislation and policies on immigration and sexual regulation. The milieu of everyday life in local boroughs across London is where various forms of interpersonal contact and intimate relationships took place between Blacks and minority ethnic post-war settlers and the English whites. At the heart of early post-war Britain's struggle with these fundamental changes in

British demographics and social life was a mix of racialised sensory feelings and mixed emotions evoked by the perceived 'invasion' of Blacks in post-war Britain, one of which surrounded the core issues of sexuality and sexual relations – specifically, moral concerns and panic surrounding 'Black sexuality' (Hall, 1984).

In this context, the underlying and unspoken racialised sensory themes of desire, love, lust, and fear can begin to highlight understandings of 'race' and racisms through attention to the workings of racialised sensory epistemologies and the sensory lived experiences of racialised subjects. Again, these themes are evident in post-war Britain's official social and public zones of knowledge, such as the zone of public morality in England during the post-war years, where 'fear' of the 'unspeakable' sexual relations between Blacks and whites was central to how attendant state institutions and bodies sought to control and contain the 'unsavoury' elements of sex, desire, and lust through mechanisms of implementing policies and legislation.

The epistemology of the racialised senses underpins the passing of the Street Offences Act 1959 in efforts to curb and control sex in post-war Britain. This can be understood within the context of the 1950s moral panic about the problem of prostitution in Britain, which was seen to be a threat to marriage, family, and the British way of life (Kingsley-Kent, 1999; Newburn, 1992). Furthermore, the problem of racial immigration and the Black presence was linked to the problem of prostitution through white English people's fear of Black sexuality and miscegenation (Magubane, 2004; McClintock, 1995; Young, 1995). In particular, Black and minority ethnic male migrants were the main focus of these fears, and the problem of prostitution was racialised through the association of first Maltese men and, later, West Indian men living on the immoral earnings of white English prostitutes.

For instance, the police gave evidence on the 'colour problem' to the government's Working Party on 'The Employment of Coloured People in the UK' that claimed there had been '…a marked number of convictions of coloured men for living on the immoral earnings of white women' (C.O.1028/22,

STU 91/143/01, CWP (53) 10, 11 July 1953). Furthermore, the Working Party's own report also condemned '…the association formed between coloured men and white women of the lowest type' (C.O.1028/22, Draft Report of Working Party on Coloured People Seeking Employment in the United Kingdom, 17 December 1953).

Equally, a chief constable's report on the colour problem described the perceived exotic traits of the types of 'coloured men' that were reported to be living on the immoral earnings of English white women in the following terms: '… West Africans are all out for a good time, spending money on quaint suits and flashy ornaments and visiting dance halls at every opportunity. The Jamaicans are somewhat similar…. they take great pains with their appearance and use face cream, perfume, etc, to make themselves attractive to the females that they meet at dances, cafes, etc. One feels, however, that they only attract a certain type of female by reason of the fact that they have more money than the average young Englishman' (Police Report upon the Coloured Population in Sheffield, 3 October 1952).

The Street Offences Act 1959 evolved against this background of emotive racial anxiety surrounding 'race' and deviant sex in early post-war Britain that was aligned with a need to curb the problem of prostitution. According to the Home Secretary at that time, prostitution was the embarrassing 'shame in our streets' (Hansard, vol. 596, 26 November 1958/HC Deb, 26 November 1959, vol. 596, c375, c383-384) that endangered the social and moral fabric of British society. The indecency and nuisance of prostitution were also directly attributed to the immigrant 'racial other'. Moreover, the atmosphere of fearful sexual and racial apprehension saw the British Government appoint a special Departmental Committee[2] to consider and report on the law on prostitution and homosexual offences (Newburn, 1992).

[2] The Departmental Committee chaired by Sir John Wolfenden was required to consider the law and practice relating to homosexual offences and the treatment of persons convicted of such offences by the court against criminal law, and the law and practice relating to offences against the criminal law in connection with prostitution and solicitation for immoral purposes (Report of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution, Command Papers No, 247 para 1, The Wolfenden Report, 1957).

This report on the law on prostitution and homosexual offences was the Wolfenden committee, whose deliberations resulted in the Street Offences Act 1959. As chapter 57 of the Act makes clear, it was '…an Act to make provisions against loitering or soliciting in public places for the purpose of prostitution and for the punishment of those guilty of certain offences in connection with the refreshments houses and *those who live on the earnings of or control of prostitutes'* (Street Offences Act, 1959).

The use of the racialised senses is not explicit within the Act, but it is nevertheless present; for example, in the minutes of the 1958 Commons sitting on the 'Report of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution' or Wolfenden Report, one MP stated that '… people living on the immoral earnings of such women… they are the dirtiest, filthiest lot in creation. This is the one weak spot I have found in the Wolfenden Report… I have looked through the report, and I can find no reference to the deportation of people holding British passports' (Hansard, vol. 596, 26 November 1958/HC Deb, 26 November 1959, vol. 596, c403).

Thus, fears over the problem of prostitution, Black sexuality, and miscegenation are present in the MP's veiled reference to Black and minority ethnic migrants when speaking about people living on the immoral earnings of women and people who do not hold British passports or were not born in England. Furthermore, it is evident when the MP asserts about the people living on the immoral earnings of women that '…One of the biggest deterrents to the man who uses this country for that obnoxious purpose is to throw him out of the country as soon as we can'. The MP also states the racialised belief that this type of individual, namely, the Black male migrant, was 'useless to the country and a menace to women' (Hansard, vol. 596, 26 November 1958/HC Deb, 26 November 1959, vol. 596, c403).

Indeed, the presence of the racialised senses in early post-war normative discursive knowledge not only extends across the British state's network of government departments, police, magistrates' court, and popular media's treatment of the 'coloured problem' and concern over prostitution and living on immoral earnings, but it is also evident locally, such as in the *Kensington Post and West*

*London Times,* 7 November 1958 article ‘Crime Marching West? MPs on Increase in Vice and Violence’. On the problem of prostitution, in this article, the MP states that there were a number of very ‘undesirable people who centre their activities around prostitution…. with resultant harm to the morality and peace of any neighbourhood’. The problems presented by prostitution and vice caused by these’ undesirable people’ is then linked by the MP with Black immigrants who, he argues, when they come to Britain, can ‘...open one of these basements clubs in west London...’ that were ‘...multiplying in derelict houses or condemned basement flats, and where the sale of illegal liquor and other things’ occurred (*Kensington Post and West London Times*, 7 November 1958, Front Page Headline).

British newspapers also ran sensationalised reports on the dangers of Black males’ deviant sexuality and behaviour, such as the local press report of 16-year-old white English girls missing from home after becoming ‘friendly with a coloured man’. The article states that after ‘…smoking a funny cigarette which she believed was drugged...’, one of the white English girls ‘...remembered nothing until she woke up in a strange house with a second coloured man’ (*South London Press*, 1948, Tuesday 2 November; Phillips, 1998).

Thus, the Street Offences Act 1959 can be viewed as a normative discursive state mechanism used to control the threat of racial sexual contamination in white British society, as well as illustrating how the racialised senses informed the Street Offences Act 1959 through the association between the undesirable ‘vice’ and immorality of working-class degeneration on the part of white women and the degenerate lust of the Black male. Further, the relationship between post-war Black migrant men and working-class white British women was commonly constructed through the dominant normative discursive knowledge of the British media, which viewed and described these relationships in negative moral terms such as ‘Black pimps’ and ‘white prostitutes’.

Although, undeniably, there was a prostitute-and-pimp relationship between Black men and white women in some cases, normative discursive racialised knowledge on ‘the coloured problem’ stimulated the fear and moral panic of Black sexuality regardless of the true nature of intimate or

otherwise relationships between Blacks and whites. For example, for many early post-war Black migrants, sometimes the white female prostitutes they encountered would be the only people that showed them any generosity of spirit or a helping hand when they arrived and experienced racial hostility in Britain (Phillip & Phillips, 1998). Therefore, in early post-war Britain, complex forms of intimate and non-intimate relationships developed between Black men and white women instead of the negative racialised accounts of degenerate Black men portrayed in the media.

## 1.5 Notting Hill/North Kensington and Black Migrant Experience

'Quam Bonum in Unum Habitare' – what a good thing it is to dwell together in unity – is the motto of the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea's coat of arms. This study will focus on Notting Hill and the wards of North Kensington, located in the London Royal Borough of Kensington, and Chelsea, and the area's local history from the early post-war period onwards. In addition, attention is given to the various issues and aspects, such as race, racisms, and politics of resistance and protest, that constitute the lived experiences of local residents, especially the area's Black and minority ethnic residents.

Notting Hill and North Kensington is an area that has a long history of migrant flows and settlements. This movement included a particular growth in Black migration and settlement in the area during the early 1950s and the subsequent migration and settlement of Spanish, Portuguese, and a large Moroccan community in recent times. This study will think with and through the senses and draw on sensory themes to consider how racialised sensory epistemologies operate in the everyday lives of racialised subjects within the particular idea of the local as a highly racialised sensorial urban environment (Casey, 1996; Ingold, 2000; Tuan, 1974, pp.100–102).

This will be explored through a framework that addresses social life's structure, mechanisms, and events and the salience of 'race' and racisms through the senses and sensory experience. This will be set in the watershed years of the post-war period in British history and the arrival of the 'coloured

problem' in the Notting Hill and North Kensington wards from the start of the 1950s onwards. Furthermore, from a sensory viewpoint, the local area and spaces and places of Notting Hill and North Kensington provide a rich historical backdrop of Black migrant and West Indian arrival and settlement, racial tensions and problems, and race riots. The locale is set within its broader historical development from a former slum into a culturally and ethnically diverse and cosmopolitan area initially carved out and hard-won by its early post-war Black and minority ethnic immigrants and settlers. Additionally, thinking with and through the senses allows a sensory exploration that permits the hidden complexities of racialised epistemologies and the everyday lived sensory experiences of 'race', ethnicity, and racisms to be better understood.

## Chapter Two: Review of Literature and Debates

### Introduction

'…The History of Black settlement in Britain in the post-war years is only just beginning to be written. One of the preconditions of such an account is the collection, preservation, and interpretation of 'documents', public and private, formal, and informal, as well as the oral testimonies "of those who actually went through the experience in the early days. The past cannot speak, except through its 'archive"…' (Hall, 1984, p.252).

So begins the essay 'Reconstruction Work: Images of Post-war Black Settlement' (Hall, 1984) on recovering and rescuing the everyday experiences of post-war Black British immigrants. Hall stresses the need for scholars to attend to the archive of a history of migration, which has remained hidden for the most part, and my response to the impact of his words, alongside Alan Feldman's work *On Cultural Anaesthesia* (1994), generated the Museum of Sensory Absence. Hence, both scholars are also highly important to this study because at the beginning of my research journey, they illuminated a space of absence and the need to unpack the complexities of the role of the senses and racialised sensory experience and develop an alternative understanding of 'race', racism, and ethnicity.

Within the body of work on ethnicity, 'race', and racism, attention has been paid to everyday materials, such as personal reminiscences, empirical observations, and the likes of 'domestic' photography, in a varied focus on different aspects of the everyday lives of Black British people in Britain (Hall, 1976, 1996, 1997, 1998). In this study, Hall's *Reconstruction Work* raises the question of what other ways larger social meanings can be found in the small details of everyday life. This study will consider how this might be achievable concerning the everyday sensory experiences of 'race', racism, and ethnicity and will explore this through the individual experiences of post-war Black and racialised immigrants.

The experiences of early post-war Black and racialised migrants hold insights into the underlying, more minor details of everyday life that become indistinct within the larger social meaning of 'race' in the construction of 'the thirty thousand colour problem'. However, the smaller details of early post-war Black and racialised migrants' everyday lives include the interplay between various gender and class practices, (the making of) racialised identities, cultural customs, traditions, and rituals of particular groups. Furthermore, the interplay between these practices, identities, customs, and rituals also comprises the equally important, less tangible aspects of sensory and emotional life and feelings, which include the aspirations and ambitions, desires and hopes, sorrows and troubles, and struggles and resistance of early post-war Black migrants and settlers (Barry et al., 1992; McMillan, 2003).

Interestingly, the minor details of everyday life within the different subject positions of Black and racialised early post-war subjects and their sensory and emotional life and feelings are also inextricable from the larger historical subtext of British slavery, colonisation, and colonialism. Moreover, Hall (1984, p.257) points out that Britain's colonial and imperialist past locked post-war Black and racialised colonial subjects and white English people into a common, but unequal, uneven history that contains a complexity of positioning.

Hence, the historical legacy of British colonial and imperial race-making is central within this study because it exists on the level of the individual in the sensory dimensions of the everyday experiences of early post-war Black and racialised migrants. Moreover, this historical legacy exists on a broader social level, evident in the early post-war British public's fear and concern surrounding 'the Black presence' in Britain. The basis of the early post-war British fear of the dark invasion was also largely an emotional, visceral, and febrile understanding of 'race' and racial identity. However, it also had roots in common sense understanding embedded in the historical British colonial and imperial intellectual project of 'race' making, which also drew on the senses in laying the foundation of the British Empire (Hall, 1984, pp.252–253; Smith, 2006)[3]. Thus, within this context lies the concern with

[3] The senses played a role in race-making through shaping racial ideologies and thinking. For example, the construction of racial sensory inferiority of blacks enabled whites to believe in their supposed superiority, and

the history of Black British settlement and the bypassed sensory-driven focus on the everyday life and practice in Black communities in Britain, as well as the role of the senses and a sensory epistemology of race, racism, and ethnicity in an alternative history of early post-war Black British everyday racialised (sensory) experience.

In existing works concerned with 'race', the issues of Blackness are addressed in terms of 'Blackness' having a rich interior life of its own and an inner emotional density and complexity (Burke, 1993; Hall, 1984). Additionally, there has been some awareness of a racialised sensory epistemology and intangible and visceral forms of lived experience, such as the feelings and emotions that existed and registered in the everyday lives of post-war Black British settlers. These are found in accounts of the moment of arrival in Britain of early post-war Black British and racialised migrants on the 'boat trains' into London's Victoria or Waterloo Station from Southampton or Tilbury docks and on planes during the mass migration throughout the 1950s and early 1960s (Magee, 1956; Weston, 1955).

These first watershed moments of arrival in Britain are depicted in now-familiar pictures of men, women, and children dressed up to the nines, formally, for '...travelling and even more for arrival… the new life' (Hall, 1984, p.253). These are crucial moments in the history of post-war Black British and racialised migration because they mark the beginnings of a new life and new forms of sensory awareness and epistemologies of being the racialised other in the 'Mother Country'. Moreover, these moments are also the starting point of the early post-war Black migrants' somatosensory, emotional, and sensory feelings in experiences of 'race' and felt bodily dissonance of racisms in Britain (Granger, 2008; Sekimoto & Brown, 2020; Shusterman, 2008) otherwise obscured in public and political debates surrounding the 'colour problem', and the early race relations studies that sought to provide a solution. Therefore, a focus on senses, feelings, and emotions within these critical moments and events in early post-war Black and racialised migrants' lives can fill the gap in the

in doing so, they depicted blacks as both inhuman and animalistic. The construction of black inferiority through the senses is plenty and includes stress placed on black peoples' reliance on the lower order of senses, such as smell, sound, and touch, and less – if at all – on the rational and refined (Howe, 2005; Smith, 2006).

generalising treatment of the early race relations problematic and other official political documents' understandings of post-war Black and racialised experiences of migration to Britain.

## 2.1 A Brief History of the Black Presence in Britain

It is essential to emphasise that the experiences of Black/racialised British post-war settlement and migration cannot be solely confined to the SS Empire Windrush. While the formal and commemorative documents and records of the Windrush generation are undoubtedly a good resource for gaining knowledge of this important event, there remains a gap, from a sociological perspective, in our knowledge about 'race' and racisms to address the diversity and layered complexity that is inherent in individual experiences. The overlooked aspects and factors of post-war Black and racialised subjects' everyday lived experiences include the complexity of class, culture, gender, and family and generational relationships. Moreover, focusing on these factors reveals that seemingly simple moments and arrival scenes are marked by an additional set of unaccounted forms of gendered, intergenerational, racialised sensory epistemologies and experiences.

For instance, these additional unaccounted forms of gendered, intergenerational, and racialised sensory epistemologies include, but are not limited to, those experiences of the children, wives, partners, and other extended family members who arrived in Britain later and lived throughout the Commonwealth Immigrants of Act of 1962, the second Commonwealth Immigrants Act of March 1968, and the Immigration Act 1971, which effectively served to halt immigration from the commonwealth (Fryer, 1984; MacDonald, 1992; Mark, 1992; Martin, 1992; Philips & Phillips, 1998; Sewell, 1998; Spencer, 1997). Therefore, these additional accounts of post-war Black and racialised immigrant experiences must be addressed to broaden our focus beyond the restricting confines of the all-encompassing title of the Windrush Generation.

Any engagement with the history of post-war Black and racialised migration must also be acknowledged within the broader context of the history of movement, migration, and settlement of

Black and racialised subjects within the British Empire. This aspect of history is documented in numerous works describing the long and continuous presence of Africans, Asians, and West Indians in Britain, dating back to the African soldiers and officers who came to occupy Britain with the Roman legions (Fryer, 1984; Myer, 2004; Olugosa, 2016; Shyllon, 1977).

The history of the Black presence within British history also involves Africans in Scotland and England before the age of Western European exploration and expansion from the 16th century onwards. Equally, those who served as house servants, performers, entertainers, or prostitutes arrived due to English merchants trafficking African slaves and bringing them back to Britain or as slaves of West Indian planters returning to England from the Caribbean. Similarly, South Asians in Britain stemmed from the activities of the East India Company and its aristocratic British leaders, who would return from India with their servants. Additionally, there were the Indians, West Africans, and West Indians in the 19th century who came as seamen to British ports and remained after their seafaring days were over; the Black and Asian servicemen and women who fought for their 'Mother Country' in the Second World War; and the ex-servicemen who returned and settled in Britain following their wartime experiences (Bousquet & Douglas, 1991; Fryer, 1984; Goulbourne, 1998; Richmond, 1954; Spencer, 1997; Walvin & Edwards, 1984).

## 2.2 Post-World War Two Black Immigration

Brown (2020) argues that 'race' materialises as a bodily, affective, and sensorial event and is something that happens, rather than something that is, and involves ongoing and emergent entanglements of feeling subjects, lived sensations, symbolic interpretations, and discursive and institutional structures (Sekimoto & Brown, 2020, p.3). Accordingly, a sensorialised exploration into 'race' and racisms allows a fuller understanding of race's felt and embodied dimensions that are materially grounded in historical racial discourse and ideologies, intuitional constructions, and the power and politics of race.

The negative view of Black subjects within British history is present in the interplay between the role of state institutions, agencies, and laws and the tangible, concrete, and material effects of a racialised social structure. For Black migrants, the racialised structure of the British state and its institutions has, in turn, influenced and shaped their racialised sensory experience in Britain. Therefore, the relationship between the early post-war British state and Black migrant racialised sensory experiences will be explored in this study through governmental department responses to Black migration to Britain.

Additionally, British government documents, including commissioned reports and minutes of meetings concerned with racial immigration, will be compared and analysed alongside the oral history life stories of early post-war Black migrants. A particular focus is also placed on material that both links and evinces how 'race' and racisms were central in the British state's view, reaction, and handling of the Black presence in Britain and the daily reality of how it also impacted, in intangible ways, areas of early post-war migrants' personal lives.

The concept of 'events' further holds a host of other sensory absences that can provide a further understanding of the different racialised sensory experiences in post-war Black British history, such as the moment of arrival when people were '...dressed up to the nines' and 'in their Sunday best, determined to make a favourable impression' (Hall, 1978, p.254). The little details of arrival as a sensorial event tell us many things, such as Black and racialised migrants having feelings of self-respect and a sense of pride reflected in their appearance.

Further, early post-war Black migrants' belief in presenting oneself in the best possible way in public is evidenced in their sense of style and smart clothes, which was a positive expression of their characters and a way of presenting their sense of self-worth to the rather dowdy and bedraggled-British people on arrival. Likewise, the suited, hat-wearing, early post-war Black migrant men and women's smart and stylish outfits showed their confidence in who they were in the smallest details of their clothes – for instance, as Hall (1984) keenly observes about their arrival, '... the angle of the hat is universally jaunty: cocky. Already there is *style'* (p.254).

Hence, the early post-war Black migrants' self-respecting position and sense of presence in the world (Csordas, 1993; Geurts, 2005) ran counter to popular white British constructions and representations of Black and racialised migrants being victims or a racial problem. From a sensory viewpoint, early post-war Black migrants' moment of arrival is a (sensory) event where the details speak to a particular 'sense of self or 'being in the world' that conveys an attitude of a strong spirit and determination to survive and start a new life against all odds (Hall, 1984).

Thus, what is important is the idea that the small, seemingly inconsequential details within everyday events, such as the clothes, sense of style, and bodily gestures of the post-war Black British immigrant, can yield alternative and dynamic accounts of Black British settlement in its varied forms. Moreover, these small details within everyday events are alternative sources of additional knowledge in our understanding of 'race' and racisms that is absent within Official accounts of post-war Black and racialised migration.

During the early post-war period in Britain, normative discursive knowledge, and accounts of the arrival of the *'thirty thousand colour problem'* were more concerned with addressing the problems faced by poor beleaguered welfare officers, Red Cross workers, and railway authorities than on accounts of the appearance and demeanour of the immigrants. Therefore, officially, Black and racialised migrants were already being constructed as a burden and problem to the institutions, agencies, and individuals who engaged with them from their first moments in Britain (de Souza, 1960, pp.51–59; Hanson, 2002).

Indeed, complaints from the British authorities and charity workers involved in assisting and organising the arrivants depicted post-war Black and racialised migrants as unworldly and simple innocents who arrived clad in standards of dress that were often deemed inadequate for the British climate. The British authorities and charity workers would also feed the British public's fear of a Black 'invasion' by complaining that they would often encounter the problems of a lack of adequate warning of the arrival of groups and the dispersal of Black migrants (BBC Caribbean Welfare Service, 1954; de Souza, 1960).

Focusing on the moment of arrival as a sensory event also speaks of the objectification of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants who inhabited the space of the racialised other created by these early post-war normative discursive knowledge and accounts of their arrival. However, contrary to objects that have no feelings, early post-war Black migrants would have felt and experienced the objectification of their skin colour as a signifier of (deviant) racial difference. Brown (2020) argues that habituated feelings and bodily sensations speak for themselves, and they can tell us more viscerally how race touches our skins, echoes in our ears, moves our bodies, colours our vision, and scents the air we breathe or tastes on our tongues (Schusterman, 2008; Sekimoto & Brown, 2020, p.15). Therefore, through attention to the sensory events and experiences in the lives of early post-war Black migrants, it becomes possible to consider and explore how 'race' might register feelingly for racialised others, for example, bodily sensations and what it could feel like for marginalised identities (Lee, 2013; Sekimoto & Brown, 2020, p.15).

Goffman's work on corporeality and comportment and Geurts' idea of bodily ways of knowing and sense of balance in the world can provide a way to understand Black and racialised post-war settlers' racialised sense of being in the world. The strength of these works is that they allow a means to explore the interior workings of racialised sensory epistemologies and how they manifest. Moreover, they stimulate alternative sensory ways of understanding post-war Black settlers' attitudes, hopes, aspirations, arrogance, frustrations, uncertainties, and fears; this is in addition to examining the visual cues and listening to first-hand accounts to reveal how these senses might manifest through the body and its insignia, adornments, grooming, and accomplishment of appearance as part of the making and cultivation of the self and others (Bendelow & Williams, 1998; Gilman, 2001; Goffman, 1969; Geurts, 2003; Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Sartre, 1971; Schutz, 1970, 1974).

However, this examination of early post-war Black and racialised post-war migrants' interior sense of being or balance is not concerned with revisiting ground already covered in studies about the politics and formation of Black identity. Instead, the focus here is on the subjects' racialised sense

of being in the world, complementing debates on Black identity formation and politics by evidencing the visceral, emotional, and sensory side of ‘race’ and racisms.

Exploring the forms of a racialised sense of being in the world that Black and racialised post-war migrants experience can shed light on some of the everyday racialised sensory experiences that would not readily be spoken of by racialised subjects themselves, such as the ‘rogues’, ‘rude boys’, and ‘frontier men’ who migrated to post-war Britain in the early years. Instead, these early post-war Black migrant men developed and forged their own particular ‘sense of being-in-the-world’, which manifested itself through distinct forms of style and attitudes, e.g., swagger, and less law-abiding moral codes that speak of a particular kind of racialised experience of everyday life in post-war Britain (Foster, 2006; McInnes, 1957; Phillips & Philips, 1991; Pryce, 1996; Sandhu, 2004; Selvon, 1958).

Thus, examining and addressing these obscured sensory experiences is essential to post-war Black migration and settlement history as they evidence the more deeply submerged aspects of the racialised sensory experiences of early post-war Black migrants, including the darker sides to the different forms of sensory knowledge and understandings of ‘race’ and racisms. For example, some early post-war Black and racialised male migrants’ everyday sensory experiences involved alienation, feelings of unbelonging (D’Aquiar, 2000), and disappointment.

## 2.3 Early Race Relations Studies and the Post-War Black Migrant Stranger

In the race relations studies that took place during the 1940s, ‘50s, and ‘60s (Banton, 1952, 1959, 1967; de Souza, 1960; Glass, 1960; Jephcott, 1964; Little, 1947; Patterson, 1963; Rex, 1964, 1967; Wilson, 1959), British Black West Indians were racially differentiated by frequently being identified as a group, which attracted attention within the general category of ‘coloured’. For example, Patterson (1963) acknowledges using ‘coloured’ throughout her study despite being aware that the term was open to criticism. She also identifies that the primarily West Indian Brixton population was typical of the recent settlements of ‘coloured people’. Additionally, Glass (1960) asserts that West

Indians were chosen for her study because they were ‘the largest coloured minority group’ in the country at that time (Glass, 1960, p.xii; Nava, 2007).

As an object of study, Black British post-war migrants prompted many works with titles such as *The Negro in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (1948), *Colour in Britain’* 1958), *They Came as Strangers* (1959), *The West Indian Comes to England* (1960), *Dark Stranger* (1963), *Colour Prejudice in Britain* (1954), *The Coloured Quarter* (1955), and *Newcomers: The West Indian in London* (1960). The titles of these early race relations studies speak of unfamiliarity, even ‘alienness’, of the ‘racialised other’ felt in early post-war Britain with Black British settlers’ arrival and contact with the white host population.

The sense of a racialised ‘alien invasion’ by early post-war Black migrants also pervaded the body of early race relations studies, which documented Blackness as a ‘strangeness’ experienced by the natives of Britain on being confronted by ‘coloured’ people in the centre of its large industrial cities (Patterson, 1964, p.4). Thus, the early race relations studies and reports commonly reinforced the characterisation of Black migrants as the alien, strange, racial other, depicting them as ‘the Archetypal Stranger’ (Banton, 1959) and Strangers in Our Midst (Plamenatz, 1965). Furthermore, the early race relations studies focused on explaining how white English people perceived Black migrants as an ‘exotic’, even sinister ‘special species of dark visitor’ and ‘dark’ foreigners who were ‘strange’ because they stood out strikingly as the ‘…dark, mysterious stranger’ (Glass, 1960, pp.111, 214).

Moreover, the early race relations studies evidence the affective economy of emotions, which aligns the signs, figures, objects, and ideas of racial ideologies, stereotypes, racial differences, and processes of racialisation that gained affective value and became more potent through circulation (Ahmed, 2004, pp.65–67). Hence the early race relations studies were unconsciously inflected with the collective emotions and feelings of ambivalence, fear and anxiety over danger, and the threat of the figure of the unknown migrant racial other during this period, as reflected in the stickiness of racialised language and idea of ‘the dark stranger’, ‘stranger in our midst’, and ‘exotic’ – that is to

say, racially different – to the object of early post-war Black migrants through repetitive associations, which created and aligned them with an outsider status of marginalised Black bodies, which also dictated their everyday racialised sensory experiences (Ahmed, 2004, pp.89–92).

These early studies aimed to account for the onset of racial conflict and tensions that arose because of previously unknown types of experiences due to the close and, in some cases, intimate inter-group contact between white English and racialised colonial subjects. According to the studies prior to the onset of the large-scale immigration of racialised subjects to Britain, which remained largely unrestricted until the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 (Goulbourne, 1998), the majority of white British people had very little actual knowledge, if any at all, of their fellow, racialised citizens of the British Commonwealth (Patterson, 1963, pp.232–234).

Some sociologists and anthropologists of the early race relations studies also played a part in establishing the normative discursive knowledge production of the 'other'. However, the difference between traditional anthropological studies and early race relations studies was that the dark-skinned inhabitants of the British Commonwealth, encountered in the exotic research fields of Africa or the West Indies, were now found and studied on home soil. Therefore, I argue that the same bias and imperially racialised knowledge in the Western anthropological approach to studying 'the racial other' remained and was directed onto the post-war Black migrants and implicit in the early race relations studies' attempts to address the problems of immigrant–host relationships, such as assimilation, absorption, adaptation, and acceptance.

For example, the sight of coloured men and women going about their daily lives on the streets of South London in 1955 should have been familiar to early race relations scholars, such as Sheila Patterson, after having spent years in Africa and the West Indies undertaking field research. However, in *Dark Stranger* (1963), she describes her 'profound' reaction to seeing multiple coloured people on the South London street, which she describes manifested as a sense of 'something unexpected and alien' and the experience of a 'colour shock' (Patterson, 1963, p.3).

However, Brown (2020) importantly reminds us that it is how white bodies feel and not just what they think that is also crucial to discourse and practices of racism (Sekimoto & Brown, 2020, p.21). Thus, I employ a multi-sensory approach to an alternative reading of the early race relations literature that is alert to the emotionality of the texts (Ahmed, 2004). There is evidence of the concealed discourse and practice of racism and the existence of implicit racial bias in the contradictory feelings and emotions of the early race relations scholars, which accompanies and blurs the lines of visceral cosmopolitanism, antiracist political positioning, the self-professed 'negrophile' (Nava, 2007, p.117; Patterson, 1963), and the embrace of racial difference on a personal level.

Hence, from a multi-sensory perspective, Patterson's experience of 'the colour shock' is telling because, despite seeing Black people and Black bodies en masse during her research in Africa, attention to the embodied senses reveals her sense of discord and disharmony at the sight of Black people en masse in London, which disrupted the racially delineated white status quo. Moreover, Glass (1960) indicates an underlying racialised ambivalence (Nava, 2007) towards the early post-war Black migrants through her embodied experience of emotional disturbance and disruption on encountering Black bodies that transgressed the boundaries of the white elite anthropological academic space of fieldwork in a colonial setting, and are therefore out of place.

Therefore, navigating my reading of the body of early race relations literature on 'race' produced during the late 1940s and mid-1960s through multiple senses is necessary to interrogate the embodied experiences, emotions, and feelings, which unintentionally show up and spill over into the writings in complex ways. Moreover, my project contributes to existing race studies from a position that marks the gap in our understanding of how colonial and imperialist racialised ideas about racial others circulated during this period in multi-sensory ways to reinforce and maintain racial differences and racism.

Hence, my study acknowledges and is in broad agreement with Mica Nava's argument that the early race relations women social scientists and anthropologist researchers were more likely to think internationally and identify with the early post-war Black migrants through their shared

marginalisation and the overlapping regimes of white and male superiority, which denied both power (Nava, 2007, p.99); however, I emphasise and argue that we must also be astute and attend to the multi-sensory hidden racialised and racist subtleties of the early race relations literature and the complex nuances of the undertones of the inconsistencies in the authors' empathetic attitudes and attraction towards the alterity of the early post-war Black migrants in England. Hence, I offer an essential deeper and alternative context to exploring and understanding early post-war racialised Black migrants' everyday sensory experiences of 'race' and racism within the labyrinthine complexities of the structure of feelings, emotions, and attitudes surrounding the arrival of racial migrants in Britain.

Moreover, taking forward a multi-sensory approach to understanding the history of early post-war Black sensory racialised experiences of everyday life in Notting Hill/North Kensington, I situated and centre the racialised lived experiences of the early post-war Black migrants in my study, which, in turn, was also shaped by the contradictory academic, political, and social affective responses to the arrival of racialised migrants in England during this period against the background of Britain's distinct history of colonialism and racial migration.

## 2.4 Race Relations and the Black Migrant as 'Problem' and 'Pathology'

Robert E. Park's (1969) 'race relations cycle' constituted a systematic attempt to account for the origins and evolution of group relationships. Park posited four stages in developing group relations: contact, competition/conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. He argued that when groups first come into contact, for instance, through immigration or conquest, relations tend to be competitive and conflictual, and group conflict requires some form of ethnocentric awareness of group differences – some sense of 'we' versus 'they' – and is a struggle for control of the other group in terms of resources, status, or other scarce commodities (Parks, 1969).

Furthermore, Park (1969, p.735) argued that conflict would tend to move toward an accommodation, which may evolve into assimilation, which is '...a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them into a common cultural life'. Thus, for Park, assimilation merges two or more cultures into a single, shared set of traditions and memories. However, assimilation does not produce uniformity or sameness, but rather a 'unity of experience and orientation, out of which may develop a community of purpose and action' (Park 1969, p.737). Moreover, competition and conflict continue after assimilation, but they are organised along lines other than ethnicity, culture, or race, such as class.

Normative discursive accounts of the history of Black post-war immigration have often focused on the experiences of post-war Black settlers from within a particular set of frameworks, themes, and issues, including the early race relations studies, which focused on contact, competition/conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. Moreover, the early race relations studies sought to explain the problem of race or 'the colour problem' in post-war Britain's history in terms of the overarching issues of labour, economics, attitudes, and behaviour (Little, 1947; Peach, 1968; Wickenden, 1958). However, in doing so, the early race relations approach pays little in-depth attention to the sensory experiences and knowledge of Black and racialised early post-war immigrants. Instead, only minimal references and observations are made about early post-war Black and racialised migrant experiences to advance an overall narrative of the problem and pathology of Black migrants.

The early race relations studies also constructed the problem through the dominant theme of attitudes, and only passing attention is paid to the sensory knowledge of the racial other. Thus, for example, in discussions of psychological types and the problem and difficulties of assimilation, the problem is said to be caused by the failure of the Black and racialised immigrant's ability to discern the 'intangible' distinctions in manners and language of the host nation (Glass, 1960, pp.103–105; Hill, 1958; Patterson, 1969).

However, while this is evidence of some sensory knowledge, the Black and racialised migrants' sensory knowledge is flawed and attributed as the cause of tensions between them and the white host community. Furthermore, early race relations studies considered that Black and racialised migrants had a poor attitude, including being 'oversensitive', having a 'chip on the shoulder', and 'misunderstanding' the white host's ignorance (Glass, 1960). Thus, when early race relations studies did consider the sensory knowledge and experiences of Black and racialised post-war migrants, they were addressed as being inferior and constituting the problem.

Conversely, in the limited instances where the favourable consideration of the sensory knowledge of the racial other is discernible in early race relations studies, they briefly touch on the interior life or emotional dimensions of early post-war Black and minority ethnic immigrants' experiences. However, these aspects are generally overlooked within a broader focus on attitude and behaviour in early race relations studies, which fail to acknowledge the complexities of a racialised sentient epistemology and experiences (Banton, 1959; Wickenden, COI, November 1958, R.4014/Ref. MSS.292/805.7/3/90).

For example, one early race relations study touches on the issue of the 'terror' of irrational hostility suffered by Black and racialised immigrants when racist abuse, i.e., 'where is your tail', is hurled at them daily by white persons in the street (Glass, 1960, p.224). However, although the visceral racialised sensory feeling and experience of 'terror' is raised, from the early race relations study's point of view, this feeling of terror is of no real consequence to the Black or racialised migrant. Instead, in these early studies, what is more important is the number of white bystanders present, how they behave when the Black/racialised immigrant is insulted, and whether the white person chooses to listen passively to the abuse or intervene to protest (Glass, 1960). One of the faults with this early approach to understanding sensory feelings and emotions of 'race' and racism is that early post-war British racism is rather naïvely limited to individual white English people's attitudes, manners, and behaviour. The early race relations studies also tended to compare the behaviour and 'character' of the white English host population to those of the Black migrants, who were lacking in

good character for failing to conform to the expected English standards (Gorer, 1945, 1955; Henderson, 1960; Patterson, 1963).

Moreover, in these studies, white British people's superior morals and sense of fairness towards their racial inferiors are considered more important than the 'subordinate' sensory racialised emotions and feelings that shape Black and racialised migrant sensory experiences. As one early study argues, the Black man finds it easier to forget and shrug off fifteen insults if there is one voice of protest from a white person (Glass, 1960). However, there is no evidence that the study has probed into the Black subject's perspective and inner feelings to know whether the voice of protest from a white person is enough for Black migrants to 'forget' and overcome the negative sensory feelings of racism, race, and racialisation that register in the body and emotions as fear, hurt, anger, or frustration because of racist abuse.

The early race relations scholars' treatment of the effect of racial abuse on the Black and racialised immigrants is also situated within the broader historical context of the British colonial and imperial project. Thus, for example, the unconcerned observation of the Black and racialised post-war migrant's ability to 'forget' and 'shrug off' racial abuse is problematic because it draws on less apparent aspects of the white Western world's highly racialised knowledge of the racial other.

The work of some early post-war white English academics and writers was inscribed with the British colonial and imperial project, which constructed ideas of 'race' and promoted race thinking that included sensory racial stereotypes[4]. Therefore, early race relations academics and writers made assumptions that the sensory effects – or, in this case, non-effects – on racialised Black migrants caused by 'race' and racism can be understood within ideas of 'race' used to advance white

[4] Historical constructions of 'race' were founded on the visual differences and the obvious markers of racialised skin and phenotypic features associated with blackness. The senses also underpinned the shaping of 'race', 'race thinking', and ideology and encouraged an emotional, visceral, and febrile understanding of 'race'. For example, the construction of racialised senses reinforced the sensory inferiority of black slaves as animalistic and inferior humans who sensed differently. Black sensory inferiority was argued to rely more on the lower sensory order of smell, sound, and touch instead of the rational and refined logic of the enlightened eye. Additionally, blacks were considered insensible and impervious to pain, whether physical or emotional, and hostage to primitive passions and outbursts (Jay, 1993; Smith, 2006).

supremacy in the avaricious goal to expand the British Empire. The sensory feelings, emotions, and corporeal experiences of' 'race' and racism are not only a result or effect of the racism or racialisation, but are also impacted and shaped by them.

Moreover, the early race relations studies assisted in asserting the continued relevance of whiteness in the midst of the dissolution and formal end of the Empire, which coincided with the increase in Black migrants in Britain. The close proximity of Black migrants in early post-war Britain prompted early race relations research and studies that constructed and consolidated the racial strangeness of Black migrants and threat to the norm in Britain, which abet the English host population's desire for the former authority and power of the imperial past, which was identified with whiteness (Schwarz, 2011).

The early race relations approach to post-war Black and racialised migration and settlement in Britain fails to fully address the different experiences of Black and racialised post-war immigrants. The more profound implications of aspects such as the terror of irrational hostility experienced by Black and racialised migrants are not considered. Instead, a brief discussion of feelings and emotions in early race relations studies constructs a one-dimensional 'coloured minorities experience' with the main focus on the attitude of white British people.

While the early race relations studies have made significant contributions to later developments in work on 'race' and racism, there is a gap in the interrogation and understanding of 'race' and racism that focuses on the racialised epistemologies of racialised subjects and the nature of racialised sensory experiences and their effects to any great extent. This study will explore this space and introduce ways of thinking about the importance of racialised senses to our understanding of 'race' and racism.

## 2.5 ‘Race’ and Racisms After the Race Relations Problematic Approach

Following the early race relations studies of the 1950s’ focus on ‘race’ and ‘coloured’ people as a ‘problem’ and the perceived strangeness of Black migrants, the cultural and racial shock of first contact, and their non-treatment of the racialised sensory epistemologies of Black and racialised immigrants, the growth of dominant debates, developments, and contemporary concerns in theories and approaches to ‘race’ and racism also seldom focused on the relationship between Black and racialised post-war immigration, ‘race’ and racism, and racialised sensory epistemologies.

The early body of race relations studies garnered much criticism for the absence of a wider global and sociopolitical context and perspective on race relations and its interplay with other social relations, such as class, gender, and culture. In addition, the early race relations studies lacked theoretical grounding and object of analysis (Goulbourne, 1998; Solomos & Back, 1996). However, the growth in the theorisation and study of different forms of migration, settlement, and types of race relations that emerged during the 1960s resulted in race relations studies that took a global and historical perspective into account, with a focus on situations of cultural contact, belief about the nature of ‘race’, and racially constructed social relations (Back & Solomos, 1996; Banton, 1967).

Further, some later race relations work in the 1970s (Rex, 1970; Rex & Tomlinson, 1979) influenced the sociology of race by introducing a class perspective and focusing on race relations that had shifted to a concern with structural forces. From this perspective, social relations became one with race relations when certain structural conditions were present. These conditions included conflict over scarce resources, indentured or slave labour, unusually harsh class exploitation, differentials in access to power and prestige, cultural diversity and limited group interaction, and migrant labourers as an underclass fulfilling stigmatised roles in metropolitan settings. These conditions were all thought to interact with actors’ definitions in such a way as to produce a racially structured social reality (Rex, 1970; Solomos & Back, 1996).

Overall, whilst these structural concerns and the resulting studies and debates served to provide grounds for developing a model of political action and political agendas for Black and racialised peoples, they also notably served to bring racisms to the foreground and provide a framework to find tangible evidence for and an understanding of racism. This was in opposition to the early race relations approaches that put prejudice at the centre of its focus and attributed it to individual attitudes, psychological makeup, and flaws. Equally, these structural concerns and the resulting studies and debates made vital contributions to the study of 'race' and racism through such ideas as racialisation (Miles, 1989, p.75).

Nevertheless, significant attention to people's lives or everyday experiences is missing from this structural paradigm, including the senses, racialised sensory epistemologies, and the experiences of Black and racialised subjects. This omission of the senses and experience from structural accounts of 'race' and racism leaves an important gap in our understanding of the workings of 'race' and racisms and their different impacts, for instance, how the racialised senses and racialised sensory epistemologies operate on the macro level through the ideas of a racial, social, and political order and the institutions and mechanisms that structure society, and how different, and often competing sensory epistemologies and the lived experiences of those within a racialised society operate on the micro level in the smaller details, experiences, and mundane events (Bulmer & Solomos, 2004; Hernan & Feagin, 2004) of everyday life, which remain overlooked.

An additional shift also emerged based on criticisms of the race relations agenda in the early 1980s, which saw the opening up of new areas of debate, which also questioned whether racism should be the object of analysis (Miles, 1982, 1986, 1989, 1993; Solomos & Back, 1996), as well as criticism of the early race relations scholars' inability to record the Black experience, or, if so, without feelings and using theoretical thinking influenced by Eurocentrism (Lawrence, 1981; Solomos & Back, 1994).

Thus, an in-depth focus on the feelings and sensory experience of early Black post-war migrants has been featured marginally in the early race relations problematic studies. Furthermore, there has been a tendency to treat the sense and racialised sensory epistemologies as autonomous,

secondary, or subordinated within a more concrete and tangible structurally focused inquiry framework. However, drawing on critical realism in terms of working across the divide of structure, mechanisms, events, and experience within the empirical, actual, and real domains allows a way to ground and identify the less tangible workings of 'race' and racisms within a given society. Moreover, this approach does not abstract inadmissible forms of knowledge, such as the senses, sensory epistemologies, emotionality, and feelings, as though they have nothing to do with 'race' and racism questions.

## 2.6 Shifting Theorisations of 'Race' and Racism – Multiple Subject Positions

A shift in intellectual concerns and theorisation of 'race' and racism in Britain took place in the 1980s, focusing on the multiple subject positions of the concept of 'Black'. Black feminists introduced this conceptual opening through their concern with issues of sexism and gender and what they saw as the gendered nature of Blackness (Carby, 1982; Parma, 1982; Solomos & Back, 1996). This shift also influenced a focus on and concern with different racial identities in the sociology of race relations. For instance, the Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham (CCCS) held that the concept of 'race' should not be confined to a process of regulation by the state, as its meaning was also contested and fought over. 'Race', from their perspective, became an open political construct where the political meaning of terms such as Black was struggled over (CCCS, 1982; Gilroy, 1987; Solomos & Back, 1996).

Furthermore, the CCCS's concerns included the racial differences obscured by binary oppositions, such as black and white, which gave rise to its focus on ethnicity and 'new ethnicities' (Hall, 1991a, 1991b, 1992). This focus became articulated in terms of putting an end to the essential Black subject and allowed new articulations of multiple identities within the complexity of race (Hall, 1987; Mercer, 1992; Modood, 1988, 1992).

New articulations concerned with the cultural production and politics of identity also emerged, which focused on new syncretic cultures that produced work set within a framework of the global networks of the African and South Asian Diaspora. This period of theoretical development and interest in difference, identities, and discourses also saw a dislocation from 'race' to some extent, as evidenced in later forms of post-race theories and writings that adopted an anti-foundational view that claimed race is a fiction that is only ever given substance through the illusion of performance, action, and utterances, where repetition makes it real (Nayak, 2006).

Developments in post-race theories have seen the argument for a move beyond 'race' and proposals for a 'planetary humanism' toward a post-race paradigm (Gilroy, 1998, 2001; Ware, 2005). However, varied responses to and critiques of post-race theory have counter-argued that an erasure of 'race' could serve to also erase or mark null and void the shared lived experiences of Black and racialised and minority ethnic subjects and groups that historically had been racially marked (Fuss, 1989; Nayak, 2006).

## 2.7 Feminist Interventions: Race and Racism, Experience, and Perception

I use the term Black or Black and minority ethnic feminists in this thesis not in terms of 'race' and skin colour, but in relation to political Blackness, drawing from Brah (1996) and Lewis (1999) in the context of the Black British feminist movement, which saw 'Black' as deracinated and the basis of mobilisation, coalition formations, and politics of solidarity across varieties of diasporic, migrant, and exiled constituencies, spaces, and specificities (Lewis, 2009). Moreover, it is a call to unity through a diasporic consciousness where political Blackness emerges from connected histories of enslavement and colonisation, racist and gendered subordination, and economic exclusion, and foregrounds both similarity and difference, sensitivity to ethnic specificity, and reinscribes subjectivities through appeals to the collective experience, while also constructing shared political strategies to confront intersectional inequality (Brah, 1996).

The various shifts in focus on ‘race’ and racisms have opened space for introducing experience into the study of race relations to some degree. However, the attention paid to the varied aspects of experience has been somewhat limited in focus under the overarching concern with difference and the politics of identities. While work focusing on identity and debates in the sociology of race has raised important issues and criticisms that problematised the reality of ‘the Black experience’, this research stemmed both from a singular perspective and the notion of a unified Black subjectivity that fits both an individual and group experience.

Meanwhile, the characterisation of identities as fluid and the loss of power of binary oppositions did not necessarily result in a move towards a more experiential account that focused attention on the feelings and lived experiences of individuals with different Black and racialised identities. Equally, attention to the senses, racialised sensory epistemologies, and inadmissible intangible forms of racialised knowledge, including the visceral effects and sense of being in the world that are afforded by ‘race’ and racisms in everyday life, is largely absent within the mainstream intellectual shifts and theoretical developments and debates on ‘race’ and racisms that were taking place during that period.

Through the discussions and debates of feminists and Black feminists concerning ‘race’, gender, and class, a more distinct space has appeared for alternative epistemologies, ways of knowing, and the (lived) experiences of racialised subjects. A wide range of feminist insights and theories have been developed, which have granted critical theoretical interventions into the complexities of everyday social processes, which help to configure the intersections and inter-relationships between gender, race, and class, including geographical/national and/or sexual differences from within a multiracial and transnational framework (Bhavnani, 2001; McCann & Kim, 2010).

Early feminist debates saw Black feminists address the absence of ‘race’ and ethnicity as the sources of women’s oppression, which was overlooked due to white feminists’ sole concentration on

patriarchy. A key issue was the difference in women's gendered experiences also shaped by race, ethnicity, nation, and class with gender (McCann & Kim, 2010; Spelman, 1988). Black and other minority ethnic feminists also utilised strategies that placed the core concept of experience at its centre. For example, Hill Collins (1986) argued that African American women scholars could potentially use insights from their experiences at the intersections of race, gender, and class to ask new questions and bring a new lens that reflects a Black woman's standpoint. She further argued that the use of experience enabled alternative ways of offering different experiential narratives that give voice to the experiences and personal lives of Black and minority ethnic women (Combahee River Collective,1977; hooks, 1984; Martinez, 1972; McCann & Kim, 2010; Stone-Mediatore, 2000).

Feminist scholarship has emerged from many different standpoints and origins, focusing on several complex questions and issues concerning 'race' and racism. This scholarship has seen some feminists of colour interrogate and question the interrelation, interplay, and intersections of sexism, gender, sexuality, and class with 'race' (Carby, 1982; hooks, 1981; Parma, 1982; Solomos & Back, 1996). Notably, Black feminism has produced invaluable explorations into the experiences of Black and minority women of colour relegated to the margins of feminist theorising and only used to provide experiential evidence for white feminist theory (hooks, 1984).

For instance, white feminists have focused on the home as a site of oppression for women, emphasising the patriarchal relations beginning in the family and radiating out into civil society, the state, and the economy. However, Black feminist theory has revealed other dimensions to Black women's home experiences, which white feminist analysis failed to capture, for example, the experiences of Black women who, for centuries, were obliged to work outside the home, whether in the fields, factories, or the homes of others (Smith, 1983). Equally significant is the development of feminist epistemology/theory of knowledge that sought to delineate a method for constructing effective knowledge from the insights of women's experiences.

Feminist standpoint theories have been applied differently and have generated much debate about the multiplicity of women's perspectives (Harding, 1986; Hartock, 1983; Hill Collins, 1990; Smith, 1987). Work on situated knowledge has drawn on the strength of standpoint theory to argue for an embodied, situated, and partial feminist knowledge (Haraway, 1988); however, although standpoint theory has been open to challenges, it does enable a starting point for a theoretical and critical engagement with the lived experience of Black and other minority subjects. Further, feminist epistemologies such as standpoint theory and situated knowledge allow a framework for the interior subjective life of 'race', including a racialised sense of being in the world, to be understood.

Nevertheless, despite the attention being paid to the interior subjective life of racialised subjects through a focus on lived experiences, this attention has failed to fully address or account for the role that the senses and embedded racialised senses play in informing and structuring the everyday lives and experiences of racialised subjects. Instead, some Black feminists' attention to experience and marginalised epistemologies has taken place within a strictly goal-orientated approach that has been a specific means of making some form of political gain. Therefore, experience becomes a tool in the efforts to dismantle and contest the different forms and intersections of racial inequality and racisms.

Another failing of feminist scholarship is the varying levels of engagement by scholars seeking to engage with the interior experiences of 'race' and racism because they have done so with inconsistent levels of attention. Feminist engagement and focus on the personal experiences of Black and minority ethnic women have tended to depend on what the scholar considered worthy of being known. Hence, in some cases, feminist engagements with experience are descriptive at best, or end up being abstract or ungrounded and floating in a way that serves to reify 'race' (Alcoff, 2006).

Furthermore, the relationship between the everyday and experience also features in different analyses and theorisations that have focused on 'race' and 'racisms' to varying degrees. The focus on this relationship has moved beyond the early race relations concerns with post-war migration and the problems this raised regarding visible difference, social integration, assimilation, and cultural differences to later focus on the fragmentation of identities according to class and gender, as noted

above. Additionally, the attention given to the dimension of the everyday and the multiple complexities of experiences has included interests relating to space and place, the body and corporeality, and comportment. However, there remains an absence of attention on the nature of racialised sensory experiences, the sense of being in the world, and epistemologies of 'race' and racisms within the everyday (Geurts, 2003; Scott, 1992).

Finally, contrary to feminist engagements with experience and the possible reification of 'race', there is a danger of overinflating experience at the expense of 'race' and, in addition, omitting the different facets of experience, including racialised sensory experiences and epistemologies, which become obscured in a generalisation of 'experience'. Thus, Essed's (1991) study of racism based on the concept of 'Everyday Racism' combines the daily experiences of individuals with a more structural account of racism. The study seeks to connect structural forces of racism with routine situations in everyday life and argues that the concept of everyday racism that is used links ideological dimensions of racism with daily attitudes, and interprets the reproduction of racism in terms of Black women's experience of it in everyday life.

However, while experience is a central concept in Essed's study, and its strength is that she identifies experiences as a suitable source of information for the study of everyday racism and includes personal experiences and vicarious experiences of racism, the study considers experience within a more structural account of racism, where a focus on the role of 'race' is a lesser factor in the study equation.

## 2.8 The Senses and the Field of Sensory Studies

The genesis of a sociological theory of the senses is rooted in the classical sociological theory of Hebert Mead's (1938) philosophy of the act, William James's (1890) psychology of emotions, and John Dewey's (1934) anti-dualist understanding of experience as a form of aesthetic transaction between the individual and their world. These scholars showed how sociologists could gain a better

understanding of social relations by extending aesthetic categories to forms of society, and how sensing is an active and interpretive process rather than a passive reaction to external stimuli endowed with pre-formed meaning (de la Fuentes, 2007; Vannini, 2011).

Moreover, Merleau-Ponty's (1968) phenomenological writings on the embodiment of perception and social existence have influenced the sociology of the senses, including the classical social theory of Georg Simmel (1968, 1976, 1997). Simmel has also been attributed with being one of the first to imagine a sociology of the senses and drawing attention to how the senses and sense experience impact social attitudes and interactions (Low, 2005; Simmel, 1907, 1997)[5]. Following the 'Sensorial Turn' (Howes, 2003) during the 1980s (Feld; 1992; Howe, 1991; 2003; Ingold, 2002; Seremetakis, 1994), significant trends in sensory studies emerged from the development of the anthropology and sociology of the senses, and there has been an ever-growing body of theoretical and conceptual scholarship and research of the senses across a range of disciplines.

The resulting diverse range of work in the field of sensory studies, which has addressed the senses, includes an anthropology of the senses (Feld, 1992; Feld & Basso, 1996; Grasseni, 2007; Howe, 1991, 2003; Ingold, 2002; Jay, 1993; Seremetakis, 1994). Anthropological research experimented with new theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and disciplinary fusions, which pushed forward new epistemologies focused on multisensual ways of knowing (Howes, 2009, 2005; Smith, 2007; Teffer, 2010)[6]. These developments in the anthropology of the senses saw a shift towards new

[5] This is in addition to the senses in communication and interaction (Finnegan, 2002), the sensorium and arts practice (Jones, 2006; Zardini, 2005), the sensoriality of film (MacDougall, 1998, 2005; Marks, 2000), a cultural history of the senses (Classen, 1993, 1998), the sensuous nature of the tourist encounter (Crouch & Desforges, 2003), or of medical practice (Edvardsson & Street, 2007; Hindmarch & Pilnick, 2007; Lammer, 2007), sensory design and architecture (Pallasmaa, 2005), attention to the senses in material culture studies (Tilley, 2006), 'Brand sense' (Lindstrom, 2005), in the multimodality paradigm (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001), and within the notion of 'complex ethnography' (Atkinson et al., 2007; Pink, 2009).

[6] For example, this has included the concept of 'intersensorality', which refers to the interrelation and/or transmutation of the senses, which may take many forms, such as cooperation/opposition, hierarchy/equality, fusion/separation, and simultaneity/sequentiality (Howes, 2005). Serres (1985) has also used the metaphor of the 'knot' to highlight the mutual imbrication of the senses, and other terms that have been used to describe and analyse the many different forms of interrelation among the senses have included synaesthesia (e.g., where a stimulus in one modality crosses over into another to yield such experiences as hearing colours or seeing sounds) and 'entwinement' (Teffer, 2010).

research, which attended to the senses by focusing on different aspects of modern Western culture and practices from a range of perspectives and concerns (Adams et al., 2007; Irving, 2013; Pink, 2004, 2005; Stevenson, 2013). In addition, the sociology of the senses largely attempted to rediscover humans' sensuous, erotic, and aesthetic transactions with one another and their environment (Simmel, 1968, 1976, 1997).

Sensuous scholarship (Stoller, 1997) also emerged, which rather than treating the reflexive turn as an object of analytical scrutiny, depended on the researcher's embodied presence in the field and the ability to experience with modes of representation that evoke sensuality (Pink, 2009; Vannini, 2011). Sociologists further extended an early link between the senses and sociality in the sociology of the body in the 1990s, such as Anthony Synnott's (1993) exploration of the sociological function of touch and smell and sight in the body social. A sensory approach has also seen significant developments take place in other areas, including sensuous geography (Rodaway, 1994), the sociology of work (Fine, 1996, 2003), the sociology of sports (Hockey, 2006; Spencer, 2012), the sociology of everyday life (Highmore, 2011; Kalekin-Fisherman & Low, 2010; Vannini, 2011), and the sociology of multiculture (Rhys-Taylor, 2010, 2018).

## 2.9 Race, the Senses, and Racialised Sensory Experience

'Race' and racism have been considered and engaged with through the senses and in the field of sensory studies. Early works, which focused on the different sensory dynamics of 'race' and racisms (Berger, 2005; Gerber, 2007), have included a focus on the historical construction of race through the notion of sensory stereotypes, such as insightful studies on the sensory dynamics of the racialising process in the southern United States (Smith, 2006), and also a sensory history of sensations and sensuous substances and taste in terms of the sugar trade, sugar plantations, and slavery (Mintz, 1985)[7].

[7] Mintz's work *Sweetness and Power* provides a sensory history of sensations and sensuous substances, the sociopolitical and economic impact of taste, and how capitalism thrived on the sugar trade, considering the misery caused to the African slaves who worked the sugar plantations.

Moreover, the body of knowledge of the senses and emergent sensory perspectives has foregrounded the senses in studying ‘race’ and racisms and racialised experiences of the world, focusing on the role of the senses in constructing, mediating, performing, and materialising race. Such works include the role of visual perception and the attribution of difference racial differences (Friedman, 2016, pp.47–461; Obasogie, 2014), the racialisation of visions, and through the use of images and photographs (Poole, 1997), the racialised modes of listening (Stoever, 2016), racialised scents of urban communities (Low, 2009; Manalansan, 2006), and the theoretical articulation of the sensory apparatus of race (Sekimoto, 2018).

Further to the sociology and anthropology studies of race and the senses, scholars have considered the phenomenological and philosophical analysis of race and racial embodiment. This attention has centred on the lived body as a site of critical theorising, including accounts of how the white objectifying gaze closely monitors and oppresses Black bodies (Yancy, 2008, 2017) and critical phenological expressions of racial embodiment and the importance of understanding race through the lived body (Lee, 2014; Ngo, 2017).

As noted earlier, intersectionality scholars have focused on the multiplicity of different forms of positioning and social situations, identities, and practices conditioned by various intersecting power relations. However, interventions by critical realist scholars in feminist debates have emerged (Assiter, 2016; Clegg, 2016; Gunnarsson et al., 2016; Mader, 2016; Martinez Dy, 2016; Martinez Dy et al., 2014; Smirthwaite & Swahnberg, 2016), which have engaged with intersectional theorising using critical realism as a philosophical underlabourer (Winch, 1958) to think about different issues, which has arisen out of intersectional theory.

Moreover, some critical feminist scholars have argued that the stratified ontology of critical realism feminism thinking and theory (van Igen, 2016) can not only enable an intersectional analysis that allows an understanding of how forms of inequality, disadvantages, and discriminations operate

together and exacerbate each other, but can also allow an understanding of how they affect the lived experiences of different individuals or groups (Crenshaw, 1989) within the multi-layers of social life, in addition to a non-intersectional analysis that facilitates consideration of how one specific categorical and structural dimension of social life can affect a situation of interest.

## 2.10 Multi-Sensory Approaches and Methods in Thinking About Race, Racism, Racial Difference, and the Sensory Everyday Lived Experiences of Racialised Subjects

A body of scholarship, including Black feminist work, has taken a multi-sensory approach to address, engage, and mediate the intricacies of gender, class, 'race', racisms, racialisation, and embodied ways of knowing. Some Black feminist works, especially Brah (2012), Ahmed (2004), Lewis (2019), Puwar (2021), and Gunaratnam (2009), compellingly show us how to think through what a multi-sensory approach can bring to our research projects and practices. Moreover, they raise methodological questions regarding the less transparent, but equally important sensory ways of knowing and embodied factors that can motivate a research problem, our interest in a project, or possible sense of dis/connection we feel with the subjects whose lives we study.

## 2.11 Multi-Sensory Memories in Personal Narratives and Intimacy Through Memories

For example, Avtar Brah's (2012) essay *The Scent of Memory* explores the complexity of how classed, gendered, and racialised identities and subjectivities are produced in diasporic Britain. Brah's essay specifically focuses on the changing area of Southall in London during the 1970s and '80s through her multi-sensory response to the autobiography of a white male author who seeks to understand the suicide of his mother, Jean, in 1988. One of Brah's concerns in this work, which stood out for me and my project, is her meditation on why Jean, a white English woman, declares hatred for Southall in her suicide note and the differences in their experiences and Brah's memories of the same place. Moreover, Brah argues that she and Jean inhabited Southall together in the present because Jean lived in the intimacy of her memory, despite never meeting.

Brah's essay is an insightful instance of Black feminists' multi-sensory consideration of questions concerning race, racism, gender, class, and place, set within a specific period of British history through the lens of memory work and personal history narratives. Hence, Brah's essay is of value to my project because she reveals to us how it is possible to think in a multi-sensory way through some of the complicatedness of the less easily identifiable, transparent, or inexplicable sensory ways of knowing and the felt and sensed within a historical and socioeconomic context of a changing diasporic locality in London (Brah, 1999, p.19). Therefore, Brah's essay, in this respect, speaks significantly to my study on many levels in its concern to apply a multi-sensory approach to questions and issues concerning, in part, how racialised identities and subjectivities are produced in the historical and socioeconomic context of the changing sensorial diasporic locality of early post-war Notting Hill/North Kensington in London.

Moreover, Brah raises essential questions concerning the less easily identifiable and transparent ways that, for example, colonial discourses play a part in the production of a person's subjectivity, marking the minutiae of their everyday life, and can become their sense of self that permits a multi-sensory space to explore these issues further. This study, driven by my underlying preoccupation with the silences and absences of racialised subjects, felt and sensed ways of knowing and embodied experiences in studies of 'race' and racisms, leans into this space afforded by Brah to explore and find some answers to these questions or even wrestle with additional ones that emerge when applying her insight.

An example of this is engaging, from a multi-sensory perspective, with the archival records of the early post-war British government reports, speeches, and debates on the racial immigration question, 'coloured problem', and subsequent race immigration Acts. I read against the grain to trace the presence of the complex opaque interplay of the relationship between racialised colonial discourses and pseudo-scientific sensory racial categorisations. Additionally, I examine the workings of the 'Cultural Politics of Emotions', which, for Ahmed (2004), consists of emotions as social and cultural practices of the relationships found between the contact surfaces of objects and the

boundaries formed between the 'I,' the 'Other', the 'We', and the 'Others', and apply the evidence to my broader questions concerning the everyday racialised sensory experiences of racialised subjects.

Equally, the space provided by Black feminist work, such as Brah's essay, invites studies such as mine, with its specific emphasis on the racialised sensory lived experiences of early Black and minority ethnic migrants, to position themselves in such a way as to address the lack of attention given to inexplicable racialised sensory and embodied ways of knowing and to discover what the felt and sensed can tell us about 'race' and racisms. Moreover, distinct to my project, how racialised sensory and embodied ways of knowing, the felt and sensed emotions, and overt and small acts of racial aggression that mark the details of our everyday life are also profound in producing a person's subjectivities and are vital to our understanding of their role in the countless unrealised differences in the lived experiences of subjects positioned at the innumerable intersection of 'race'.

Brah's idea of inhabiting a space with others through the intimacy of memory (Brah, 2012, p.21) is also germane to my multi-sensory ethnographic study of the everyday racialised sensory experiences of early post-war back migrants in Notting Hill and North Kensington. Brah's intimacy of memory provides perspicacity in understanding the unrealised multi-sensory aspects that move through my study and in identifying the less transparent multi-sensory experiences, knowledge, also influences that form its structure and framework.

For example, Brah allows a recognition and reflexive understanding of the intricacies of intimacy in memory as a researcher, which evolved during my research journey through inhabiting the same locality – albeit in the present – as the early post-war Black migrants and their oral life testimonies and personal memories of their racialised experiences on arrival during the watershed years of racial immigration in Britain and settlement in Notting Hill/North Kensington. However, my shifting positionality as a researcher, a racialised gendered subject and the differences in my personal racialised experiences of inhabiting the same space as my research subjects, also raises troubling questions that exist alongside the binds of my shared intimacy in memory.

Brah acknowledges that in *some cases,* a sense of intimacy can bind us in disparate ways across the differences, and not only the similarities, to the lived experiences of others (Brah, 2012). Brah leads to more profound questions concerning the opacity of the sense of intimacy with my research subjects. For example, Brah's recognition that differences can also bind us in intimacy led to my realisation that it was more across the differences as racialised subjects positioned at the intersections of 'race', first-generation Black migrants and subsequent second-generation Black Britons, and the shifting racial political, social, and economic and cultural history of post-war Black Britain that the sense of intimacy I had with my research subjects mainly shaped.

## 2.12 Beyond Words: A Multi-Sensory Methodology for Critically Reading and Interpreting the Emotionality of Texts

Sara Ahmed's work (2004) also takes a multi-sensory approach that moves away from an analytical distinction between bodily sensation, emotion, and thought, which are not distinct realms of human experience for Ahmed. Instead, she argues that feelings take the shape of the *contact* we have with objects in the world, whether good or bad, and this gives us the formulation of the 'press of impression' (Ahmed, 2004, p.6).

Moreover, for Ahmed, emotions also 'circulate' and become attached or connected to human and non-human objects. However, her idea of circulation is not the transfer of emotion from individual to individual, but how emotions move and shape us as we become entangled. Thus, in conjunction with Brah's essay, Ahmed's argument allows a more profound way of understanding and theorising, for instance, how anti-racist politics of emotions can circulate when examining the following anti-racist activity to ease racial tension within the Notting Hill area that preceded Kelso's murder, which led to the children's street fayre organised by local residents and community activists as a collective and metamorphosed into the present-day Notting Hill Carnival.

Ahmed's work also shows a multi-sensory methodology for critically reading and interpreting my archival research material. This is in addition to her notion of 'Stickiness', which she argues is 'an effect of the histories of contact between bodies, objects, and signs' (Ahmed, 2004, p.90) and the result of repeated impressions that become attached and give significance to materialities, such as bodies and objects, through experiences of past affects and promises of future potential. Hence, Ahmed gives my project a multi-sensory way to explore, for example, how the stickiness of the historical, cultural, and anthropological imagining of denigrating ideologies of 'race' coheres with racialised senses, emotions, and feelings, such as disgust and fear, to bind 'race' and the association of the inferiority of racialised subjects and their threat of deviant racial sexuality, morality, and criminality to early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants.

Thus, my project contributes to the body of Black feminist work with a multi-sensory approach by taking forward Ahmed's work in analysing the emotionality of the official government archival documents and meeting transcripts. I draw on the theory of affective economy developed by Ahmed, which explores how racism and extreme nationalism gain power from collective emotions and effects, such as hate, that acquire more value through the constant repetition of associated signs and figures, to draw attention to the stickiness of the negative racial ideological repetition in the political discourses on the threat of swamping by the racial other and English way of life.

Ahmed enables a multi-sensory theoretical grounding of my examination of the covert circulation of racially hostile language and slurs used in hate speech acts, for example, found in research documents relating to early post-war British government parliamentary debates on racial immigration and 'the colour problem'. My study utilises Ahmed's work through a multi-sensory interrogation of the racial epithet in political speech acts replete with signs of racist aggression towards early post-war Black migrants.

For example, when engaging with my research material concerning Oswald Mosley and his Union Movement on his 1959 election campaign trail in the parliamentary constituency comprising North Kensington/Notting Hill after the Notting Hill riots, I scrutinised the political theatre of Oswald's

election meetings in the local streets drawing on Ahmed's work in order to extrapolate the hidden stickiness and circulation of racial ideologies in the anti-racial immigration anecdotes Oswald used in his campaign. An example of this is Mosley's reference to the unspeakable 'filthy' customs of 'the Blacks' when he spoke of the black brothels and vice clubs, black people taking houses from the white residents, and the loss of their streets, where they were born and bred, to large numbers of coloured men.

Moreover, on critical reflection, I was able to arrive at a multi-sensory understanding of how disgust participates in the hate speech acts of racial slurs, such as the 'filthy customs of Blacks' spoken by Mosley against the early post-war Black immigrants to maintain the stickiness of racialised signifiers and racist assumptions also attached to the racist slur. I also observed how feelings such as disgust are performative through hate speech acts, such as racial slurs and the attached racialised signifiers, which also attain value, appeal, and more stickiness through repetition and iterations. The insurgent MP Peter Griffith's infamous 1964 campaign in Smethwick, Birmingham, and his unfettered use of racist hate speech and racially insulting and denigrating language and slogans about Black and Asian immigrants is one such example, along with the 1968 'Rivers of Blood' speech of the then-Conservative MP, Enoch Powell.

Moreover, I also take the multi-sensory approach to knowledge on emotions that Ahmed shows us to build in relation to my research project on the linkages between the racist figures of speech and acts that are crucial to the emotionality of text and the stickiness, circulation, and performativity of disgust and hate from of the affective economy of feelings. I then assemble a multi-sensory theoretical framework to connect, for example, the early post-war British political climate of hostile anti-racial immigration policies and inflammatory, racist rhetoric on the threat of Black immigrants, reflected in the early post-war election campaigns with racist anti-immigration sentiments. Alongside racial hate groups' collective hatred, antagonism, and rage towards Black and minority ethnic migrants in the name of love, the English nation presented speech acts lamenting the loss and fragmentation of tradition, which was code for an imagined community of whiteness and used to bind

and concretise British colonial and imperial racial power dynamics and maintain boundaries to protect the fragile British nation from the racial other.

I explore my archival research material of early post-war Black migrants' oral life testimonies and memories to draw insight into how ideologies of 'race' are attached to feelings of disgust and hate, which circulated and were performed in racist slurs and racially hostile speech acts directed against early post-war Black migrants, impacted their everyday lives. Moreover, I examine how it inflicted emotional pain that registers on the body and impressed upon and shaped their sense of being as individual and collective racialised subjects in Britain.

## 2.13 The Eye is No Longer Satisfied with Seeing: Listening with the Eyes and the Acoustics of 'Race' and Racism

In Les Backs' attention to a 'democracy of the sense', for which he argues in his work on the *Art of Listening* (2004) when utilised in 'sociological investigations', there is the potential to see and notice more and also ask different questions of the world (Back, 2004, p.8). This is also of paramount importance in the genesis of my research project's drive to understand and fill the gap in the knowledge on the sensory experiences of racialised subjects, and our understanding of issues concerning 'race and racism' and their profound emotional and corporeal impacts.

Moreover, my absorption with a multi-sensory exploration of what we can learn from the sensory lived experiences of racialised subjects is vivified by Back and Gunaratnam's concentration on the auditory – sound and listening – which enable new ways for my project to engage with its examination of the racialisation of difference, 'race', and racism. In addition, Back's work recognises that hidden connections are traceable through listening, which can also open up researchers to new directions of thoughts and critiques. Hence, my research places itself in this distinct auditory space afforded by Back's guidance on the 'art of listening', which he further argues involves a mode of thought that works within and through a democracy of the senses and listening beyond the visual and words and

sociological attention that moves between the aural, visual, and corporeal registers (Back, 2007, p.25).

I draw inspiration from Back's thoughts on the art of listening in sociological investigations. For instance, when I engage with and process the lived experiences captured in the written words of my research subject's oral testimony transcripts, I make all the senses accessible and draw on them simultaneously when asking myself questions about and interpreting the stories and anecdotes of their memories and incidents that occurred in the everyday lives of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants rather than privileging one sense over another.

Hence, drawing equally on all the senses in a muti-sensory research method of inquiry allows me, as a researcher, to expand, broaden, and open my mind to new ways of registering the world and detecting the hints and traces of the feelings, emotions, moods, and corporeal registers of racialised experience, which are a present-absence in early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrant accounts of leaving home, arrival, and settling in Britain. Further, drawing on all senses as a research method also makes it possible to discover further connections between the racialised sensory experience and existing structural accounts of race and racism and build on them to contribute to new ways of thinking in the area of sensory knowledge of race, racial difference, and racism, a space that Back and Gunaratnam occupy.

Equally, Back's development of a form of sociological attention that also focuses on listening with the eye and translates across the senses, where he argues hearing is also looking and looking is hearing, speaks to my project's multi-sensory approach. For example, as a researcher, I utilised Back's notion of listening with the eye when I explored the photographs of an early-post-war Black photographer who not only documented, but lived and experienced the life of Black migrants in Notting Hill/North Kensington from a situated position during this period.

Listening with the eye when I analysed the photographs invoked emotional reactions and a sense of intimacy and familiarity, as well as unfamiliarity with the striking images that captured the life

moments of Black migrants socialising, partying, drinking, and laughing, showing out in fashionable attire against the backdrop of the slum housing, attending funerals of family members or friends, the realities of the daily racism with images of the 'Keep Britain White' slogans defacing the walls of Notting Hill and housing let signs in windows stating 'No Coloureds'. Thus, Back's suggestion of listening with the eye affords me an intriguing auditory method of listening to my visual primary research material, and I was sensitive and attuned to hearing the other stories, the unrealised racial knowledge they hold, and the spirit of the era captured beyond the visual representation in the photographs. Moreover, building on Back's work and idea of the art of listening enhances the value of my research project's multi-sensory contribution to existing studies of Black British history and experiences of 'race' and racism by registering the hidden sensory absence in the intersections of early post-war Black migrants' racialised experiences of arrival and settlement in Britain.

Furthermore, Yasmin Gunaratnam's (2009) idea of giving an 'ear to the acoustics' of racial difference inspires my project. Gunaratnam declares her interest in how sound can expand and democratise our episteme and the elusive elements of how racialised differences, such as race, materialise, which underpins her article titled '*Auditory Space, Ethics and Hospitality: "Noise", Alterity and Care at the End of Life'*. Gunaratnam's article is particularly relevant to my project because she introduces a space to connect and explore the less obvious relationship between the auditory, 'race', and racism and how they intersect and operate in social life. Thus, Gunaratnam's article also prompted me to contemplate the knowledge that critically engaging with the aural, noise, and sound could yield from a multi-sensory investigation of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants' hidden everyday sensory experiences of 'race' and racism.

Gunaratnam (2009) is inquisitive about the aural and how intersubjective and intercorporeal relations are produced and felt in everyday exchanges in multicultural spaces. In addition, she says that the everyday sounds we make and put into practice can also give an acoustic sense of space and produce emotional space or how they feel. Both are important as, for my project, they suggest alternative ways of thinking about the relationship between sound, 'race', and emotions and feelings

in the lives of early post-war Black migrants and the myriad intricacies of how they operated together and were enacted in the small details of the personal and public spheres of their everyday life.

I redirect the insights from Gunaratnam and draw inspiration from the idea of 'acoustic thinking' to develop my project's focus on the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival, which becomes reframed as a singularly multifaceted, politically contested auditory space and phenomenon. Thus, my attention to the aural, sound, and noise opens up an alternative interpretation that uncovers less discernible multi-sensory ways that 'race', racism, and racial discrimination were the basis of the power relations between the early post-war British state and racialised migrants.

My project extends Gunaratnam's work to develop and contribute to a multi-sensory understanding of the evolution of the Notting Hill Carnival. For example, comprehending the Carnival's basis in the emerging Black British political consciousness after the 1958 riots is one of the ways that Black migrants built a new sense of community through anti-racist politics, which produced a new auditory space where sound, noise, and music were employed to contest, rupture, and control the streets of Notting Hill/North Kensington. Moreover, the increased policing of the Notting Hill Carnival and the military strategy employed to gain greater control of the sound and acoustic practices and containment of racialised bodies inhabiting the streets by the Metropolitan police resulted in violent riots in the 1970s and 1980s, which was also a struggle over a distinct racialised acoustic space where sound and noise were associated with disruption and the disorder of racial others. Additionally, police institutional racism also manifested in the auditory policing of the Carnival, where the authority to maintain public order is part of a process of exclusion that marked the racial and cultural differences of early post-war Black migrants and sought to reinstate the boundaries of the norms of whiteness shaped by English cultural ideals of restrained levels and types of noise and quietness.

In the examination of hospitality through the struggle over auditory space in end-of-life care, Gunaratnam's (2009) article also establishes how sound can construct racial differences. She identifies the complexity of sound as a sensual, psychic, and metaphoric medium for outlining bodily

surfaces within a field of forces across which, she says, we feel and also ossify relationships between inside and outside, and you and me (Gunaratnam, 2009, p.5). For Gunaratnam, the unboundedness of sound and its transgressions of bodily boundaries can also threaten central Western constructions of identity regarding questions of racial difference. Furthermore, she comments that the production and management of acoustic space in hospices can connect moral landscapes to individual bodies and collective nationalities and argues for being alert to Englishness and the specific configurations of sounds.

Hence, my project draws on Gunaratnam's analysis of the emotional textures in the hospice nurse's narratives about an African mother's vocal expression of her pain and grief, which, Gunaratnam argues, the nurse expressed in ontological terms that were racialised, gendered, and connected to emotions. Additionally, her assertion that the permeation of sound with affect and with race and gender in the nurse's narrative also outlined the many tensions between sameness and difference, containment and excessiveness, and rationality and emotion (Gunaratnam, 2009, p.11).

For instance, a recurrent racialised trope in my research material is the portrayal of noisy coloured neighbours accused of lacking the high standards of behaviour and respect for others that the English expect when people live together in overcrowded neighbourhoods ('Blame Living Conditions: Labour Hints at Immigrant Race Relations Act', *The Kensington Post and West London Star*, 26 September 1958, p.4). In addition, loud and noisy Black migrants and, specifically, rowdy West Indian men and their all-night parties ('Colour Crises: Battle Only of Words: Committee Seeks Solution', *Kensington Post and West London Star*, 12 September 1958). Thus, the dire housing problems in early post-war Notting Hill/North Kensington concentrated on the slum housing conditions, competition for scarce housing stock, multiple occupation dwellings, and overcrowding were also central in the narrative on 'the coloured problem' and the racial immigration debate.

Gunaratnam's (2009) article speaks to this aspect of my project regarding her attention to sound or noise, which are out of place. As does her observation about the racial construction of the emotionality of the behaviours, voice, and grieving practices of the West African mother and her

relatives being out of place and time within the quiet order and routinised space of the hospice and perceived as evoking disorder and mayhem. Moreover, Gunaratnam identifies the suggestion that the African mother's grief is primitive and instinct-driven, according to the nurse's association with words such as 'raw' (Gunaratnam, 2009, p.12).

I use these insights from Gunaratnam's article to stimulate and apply auditory, sound, and listening within my project's multi-sensory approach. I also take forward Gunaratnam's ability to hear and extrapolate the complexity of the relationship between the aural, sound, and racial difference in my project to examine and understand the less obvious ways that sound and noise were racialised and used as markers of racial difference between white English people and the Black and minority ethnic migrants on arrival in Britain during the early post-war period, for example, adopting an auditory way of thinking about how, in the intimate space and confines of overcrowded multiple occupation dwelling in early post-war Notting Hill/North Kensington, the sounds and noise of everyday life were adhered with the hidden stickiness and circulation of racial ideologies (Ahmed, 2004) associated with racialised others, which was concealed in the stereotyping narrative on rowdy and loud Black and minority ethnic migrants, and specifically the crowds of Black men on street corners, also alluding to the disorderly and threatening behaviour, a lack of morality, and poor conduct of the coloured migrants.

Thus, extending the connection between race, sound and emotions, sameness and difference, containment and excess, and rationality, highlighted by Gunaratnam (2009), in my exploration of the narrative surrounding the racial immigration problem with its racialised trope of noisy and loud early post-war Black migrants allows an additional multi-sensory auditory-driven awareness and understanding of my research material. Gunaratnam's article's auditory acuities also allow a way to grasp the racialised auditory textures of my research material, such as the early post-war British government debates and newspaper reports on the racial immigration problem and developing our understanding of how the unboundedness of sound and its transgressions of bodily boundaries can threaten central Western constructions of identity, as observed by Gunaratnam.

Moreover, I broaden Gunaratnam's (2009) recognition of the sociocultural importance of quietness in hospice philosophies, which she argues is critical to the English authority inscribed in the church and the state. Furthermore, I expand on her argument that control over acoustic space is significant in hospice philosophies of a good death and patients dying peacefully and with dignity, and that 'noisy' is incongruent, if not antithetical, to peacefulness and dignity, and harnesses racialised differentiation (Gunaratnam, 2009, p.8). For example, when examining the local press reporting on anti-racial immigration, including complaints about the uncontrolled noisy behaviour and practices of early post-war Black migrants in Notting Hill/North Kensington and considering Gunaratnam's ideas on noise out of place and noisy others, Gunaratnam initiates an aural way of thinking, which makes it possible to identify the auditory ways that early post-war Black migrants were racially othered by being maligned as moral corruptors through the racialised excessiveness of noise. Additionally, we can recognise how sound and noise operated to demarcate between them and us regarding the racial sameness of English whiteness or us and the alien racial difference of the early post-war Black migrants in the containment of the flow of racial immigration.

## 2.14 Multi-Sensory Approach to Understanding Racialised Experience and Situated and Embodied Knowledge in Research

Thus, in my position as a researcher, the understandings afforded by Brah's and, amongst others, Nirmal Puwar's (2021) multi-sensory approach and research methods from a Black feminist perspective and as racialised researchers when applied to my study, add a deeper layer that tends to be invisible and hidden in the background of the research process and journey. For instance, Brah's (2012) essay raised questions concerning intimacy in my research and the tensions of my push-and-pull relationship with my research subjects in my multifaceted positionality as a situated and insider researcher.

Moreover, reading Nirmal's work provided me with a profound moment of critical awareness and recognition of the presence-absence of my embodied racialised experiences and personal history in my research project. It also challenged me to acknowledge the 'fragments' of emotions and feelings

I had gathered and carried from my life and to explore how they have manifested, shaped, and had bearing on my research project and position as a researcher.

Puwar's (2021) essay permits a multi-sensory space to acknowledge and admit into my projects the 'sounds, aesthetics, traumas and obsessions' which, she asserts, stay with us and we carry as researchers (p.3). Moreover, her notion of carrying as a method allows a way of exploring and apprehending how the things we carry as researchers are entwined in intergenerational exchanges that work across archives of paper, cultures, sounds and bodily encounters. Puwar also identifies carrying as a method that allows us to understand how carrying is interlaced into our research's methodological encounters as the 'tight knots' between life and research that are grasped in partial fragments (Puwar, 2021, p.20).

Puwar's interrogation of the archives and how we engage with them as researchers in multi-sensory and embodied ways feeds into my study, such as the intergenerational and transnational carrying of an embodied sense of knowledge as a living diasporic archive. Moreover, Puwar acknowledges the existence and validity of archives of feelings, which she posits not only exist in narratives, but also in music, songs, ephemera, objects, placards, novels, and films. She also importantly argues that archives exist in 'DIY' modes of record keeping and inscription often uncovered in fragile and independent media and that archives are emergent and dispersed across technologies, spaces, objects, and bodies. Furthermore, Puwar raises thought-provoking and intriguing questions concerning the challenges of an absent archive and what might be achievable when we stretch our understanding of what an archive is and what it can become.

Thus, Puwar's close and thoughtful attention to the archives is significant to my project because it allows a rich source of knowledge to be drawn from, which enabled me to begin to contextualise and understand the different layers of my 'obsession' with archives and fixation with the omissions in the traditional archive, and to situate my project's desire to (re)constitute an alternative multi-sensory archive of the absent racialised sensory, embodied, feelings, emotions, and experiences of the racial other.

Puwar's essay also shows us how we can understand the relationship between the fragments of the experiences we gather on our life paths and research projects. She highlights the value of paying attention to the 'flashes, snippets, sounds, words, stories, trauma, scenes and incidences' that can keep reoccurring, but we are unsure of how to exactly hold onto them and give them intellectual and creative attention (Puwar, 2021, p.5).

Puwar's observation contributes to my project by calling me to consider the elusive fragments of the often intangible 'things' I had gathered and carried over my life trajectory. In addition, her concept of carrying as a method allows me to extend a multi-sensory examination, understand the unrealised intimate links between my personal life, experiences and events, politics, ideas, and research material, and explore the ways they come together depending on different affective registers (Puwar, 2021, p.6)

For example, I have a compelling childhood memory of an overheard conversation between adults concerning the hospitalisation of a Black male with life-threatening injuries resulting from a severe police beating during a stop and search late one night in North Kensington, and I subconsciously carried this. On reflection, I could unpack that memory and details of that incident with its story of the racial state violence and brutality and the physical and emotional trauma that results from acts of racial violence.

Furthermore, I recall the bodily sensation caused by confusion, disorientation, and an emotional disturbance I could not place as I listened during a heightened moment of tension filled with adult words and feelings of anger and their fear and concern for the victim's recovery. I also recognised that what I could not fully cognitively process concerning 'race' and racism as a child had become embedded as a form of alternative racialised knowledge I was carrying as an adult.

I could also identify in my methodological encounter with my research material how it impacted my interest in exploring the intersectional racialised multi-sensory experiences of early post-war Black

migrant children. Thus, Puwar's work bridges the multi-sensory and the deeper intimate relations between my research and my life experience, which she argues is an integral, if often invisible, part of the process researchers engage with, produce, understand, and translate in our research.

## 2.15 Understanding 'Race', Racism, and Racial Difference Through the Language and Voice of the Skin.

Additionally, Gail Lewis' (2009) poignant work *The Birthing of Racial Difference*, like the work of Puwar, demonstrates how we can examine and understand the intimate entanglement of the social and personal in my research project. Further, my project builds on the invaluable insights of Lewis and other Black feminist multi-sensory approaches to 'race' and racism, which have crafted a multi-sensory space that attends to the multifaceted diasporic history of Black and minority ethnic British experiences in Britain.

Lewis's (2009) work is meaningful to my project because she demonstrated a distinctive multi-sensory way of crafting a revelatory understanding of the complexities of 'race' and racism through the racial difference of skin. For instance, Lewis identifies the 'social and emotional voice of the skin' and contends that there is a 'language of skin' where racialised skin has become undervalued in the invisible traces of social valorisation. Moreover, Ahmed (2004, p.57) also holds that emotions named in speech acts also involve sensations felt by the skin. Importantly, Lewis (2009) also asserts that feelings and emotions are socially attached to the skin, and that differences in the skin can hold feelings of hate, fear, curiosity, love, and passion that can reveal transgressive sexual desires (Lewis, 2009, p.8).

For instance, when Lewis communicates her experience of verbal and physical racial violence during the conversation with her mother, she also exposes an example of how feelings and emotions of hate and hostility for the racial other are socially attached to the undervalued racial difference of skin through speech and physical acts of racial aggression, and how the skin of racial others can experience pain and feelings of fear and hurt, which also involve sensations on the skin.

Hence, Lewis's idea that feelings and emotions are socially attached to the skin, which can also hold feelings and has a social and emotional voice and language, stimulated me to think about how the skin was a multi-sensory instrument to navigate further, interpret, and understand the complexities of 'race' and racism, such as the intangible feelings and emotions of pleasure, pain, and discomforts in the everyday lives of early post-war migrants in Britain.

Thus, drawing from Lewis and extending her insight to my project, I can build a multi-sensory understanding of 'race' and the impact of racism, incorporating skin within my analytical framework of a democracy of the senses. Moreover, the notion that skin has a language and voice and the recognition that skin holds feelings and emotions provides a means to interpret and elucidate concealed sensory data in my research material, such as the accounts of verbal and physical acts of racial abuse and violence found in the oral life testimonies of early Black post-war migrants in Notting Hill/North Kensington.

When examining one early post-war Black migrant's account of his experience of being spat upon and called a 'wog' by white adults driving past in a car as a child when he first arrived in England, implementing a multi-sensory consideration of his racial experience that goes beyond the words he uses to tell his story and express his feelings and emotions is achieved through the idea of listening to the language and voice of racialised skin and what it tells us about the feelings and emotions that it holds triggers new and alternative ways to conceptualise the racialised experiences of racialised subjects (Ahmed, 2004, pp.57, 59). Hence, the research subject's childhood experience of racial aggression, which involves words that indicate his hurt, anger, pain, and confusion, an awareness also involves sensations on the skin, which he holds into adulthood and thus triggers a new way of conceptualising and fully understanding how 'race' and racism impact and operate in the lives of racialised subjects on a deep level as a researcher that can be otherwise challenging to communicate and grasp.

Moreover, my project also opens up thinking about how the birthing of racial difference can emerge in other ways, for instance, at that moment of a racial act of aggression experienced by early post-war Black migrant children on arrival in England, which extends and takes us beyond Lewis' (2009) moving autobiographical account of the complex negotiations, pleasures, pains, and intimacies of maternal relationships marked by differences in skin colour.

Brah (2012) gives attention to the Althusserian idea of interpellation to make sense of simultaneously being situated and hailed socially, culturally, symbolically, and psychically, and her critique from a Black feminist perspective is of Althusserian Structuralist Marxism's lack of attention to women's gender, racism, and sexuality. This study draws from Brah's critique and builds on the Fanonian sense of interpellation that constitutes a subject through visibility (stereotypes, symbols) by broadening its scope based on a 'democracy of the senses' (Back, 2007). Moreover, Althusser posits the idea that the subject is constituted through language and knowledge (discourses, tropes) (Macherey, 2012) that question the different ways that the early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants were racially interpellated at the multiple intersections of 'race' through exploring their felt and sensed experience of arrival in Britain, and incidents of racial aggression in everyday life.

A further example of connecting through the differences between racialised gendered subjects, rather than the similarities, is the racialised sensory, felt, and sensed knowledge inherent to Brah's Asian background and culture that she draws from in the essay. Brah's use of the Urdu concept of 'ajnabi', defined as a stranger or newcomer who is not yet known to a person, but has the potential for friendship, love, and intimacy, and the idea of 'ghair', which moves away from intimacy, is on the razor edge of being neither insider nor outsider and cannot be reduced to a simple and transparent form of difference, provides insights of significant value to this study (Brah, 1999, p.19). The concepts of 'ajnabi' and 'ghair' provide perspicacity when applied to highly significant events in the troubled history of race relations in Notting Hill and North Kensington with the arrival and settlement of early post-war Black migrants in the area and subsequent local Black community activism.

In theorising from a multi-sensory perspective, we consider the possible feelings and emotions that moved the reported over 1,200 attendees at the funeral of early post-war Black migrant, Kelso Cochrane, who lived in Notting Hill when racial tensions were high and died after a racially motivated attack on Southam Street (off Golborne Road), Notting Hill, in 1959 (British Pathé: https://www.britishpathe.com/asset/244904/). Thus, in the context of my study, Kelso represents the Black migrant stranger or a newcomer that became one of their own to the people who attended his funeral and mourned his death through the possibility of friendship, love, and intimacy.

Moreover, Brah (2012) argues that being an 'apna' or 'own kind' can have an important political distinction. She suggests that an imagined community can emerge among 'apne', the plural for own kind, and an engagement in a common political project. Therefore, Brah offers a further means of extending a felt and sensed examination of the many people who attended the funeral to demonstrate solidarity between and with local early post-war Black migrants and a show of defiance against racism locally.

## 2.16 Conclusion

This study addresses the limitations of existing approaches to studying race, attending to structural and intuitional issues of 'race' and racisms. Moreover, while examinations of the social instructions and systems that reproduce racisms are essential, they can tend to be disembodied from the deeper embedded assemblage of feelings, emotions, bodily sensations, and multisensorial dimensions of the racialised experiences of 'race' and racisms that underpin issues of 'race' and racisms.

Hence, by primarily drawing on the senses and sensory experience, this study contributes to this space within existing studies of race by adding to our understanding of how 'race' is lived, embodied, and can be felt in multisensorial ways and inhabited and experienced by racialised others. Further, it draws attention to how 'race' and racisms can manifest and operate within intersubjective sensorial experiences in a racialised society, such as the everyday contact between early post-war Black migrants and the white host population on their arrival and settlement in Britain.

This study draws on the theoretical insights from phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty, 1962), including existing knowledge on a phenomenology of the Black body (Baldwin, 1963; Coates, 2015; Fanon, 1952; Yancy, 2008) to explore the everyday lived racialised sensory experiences as embodied by early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants; this is alongside the multiple scholars, research, and disciplines within sensory studies to attend to the specificity of the racialised sensorial world of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants and their every lived experience of 'race' and racisms. Further, through the racialised senses, the work explores how early post-war Black migrants were historically and culturally coded and socially cultivated through ideas of 'race' and the processes of racialisation through dominant normative discursive knowledge on arrival in Britain.

This study explores the interconnectedness of the senses, 'race', and racisms and attends to the racialised sensory experience of early post-war Black migrants' everyday experiences. The study addresses the importance of racialised senses, and sensory experiences within studies of race and racism, which were unaccounted for in the early race relations studies' preoccupation with the race relations cycle, assimilation, and attitudes and behaviours of the dark strangers and host population at the expense of Black migrants' lived experiences. Moreover, the early race relations focus on class, migrant labour, structural forces, and the resulting racially structured social reality of the underclass group.

Insights from critical realist feminism and intersectional theory and thinking (Clegg, 2016; Martinez Dy, 2016) allow this study to expand on the existing work on intersectionality and analysis by exploring the 'thick (sensory) intersectionalities' of early post-war migrants. It will also fill the absence of knowledge of the multiple sensory lived experiences and biographies obscured by 'the coloured problem' in early post-war Britain. In addition, the work contributes to an examination of the underlying complexities of more nuanced intersections, such as 'race', gender, age, and sexuality amongst post-war Black migrants' lived experiences in-depth and more abstractly through the senses to enable different levels and forms of abstractions.

## Chapter Three: Methodology

### Introduction: Researching the Archives

I turned to official government and local archives from the outset and throughout this project because they presented an ideal conceptual and actual source of material, which allowed me to develop and interrogate an initial interest in the omission of the senses in existing accounts of Black immigrant experiences concerning 'race' and racism. Archives also provided a practical methodological resource for researching and gathering diverse data covering a significant period in British history and Black Britain's history. Consequently, the research I have conducted for this project and the resulting product have evolved primarily from archival work, which has explicitly been attentive to and amplified the full democracy of the senses (Back, 2007).

British government administrative records are never merely neutral reports of events, but are shaped by the political context in which they are produced, underlying widely accepted sexist, patriarchal and racial values, assumptions, and ideas[8]. Therefore, I briefly examine official government archives and the issue they raise (Featherstone, 2006), particularly British post-war government documents and records concerning the immigration, arrival, and presence of Black British and minority ethnic migrants in Britain. Similarly, I address my wide-ranging focus on different types of archives, involving secondary and primary material, including written and audiovisual materials and texts, in addition to interactive archives, such as local talks and exhibitions where I participated, observed,

[8] The records of the Colonial Office (CO) and Dominions Office (DO), which also includes the Commonwealth Office, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and Cabinet Papers (1916–1978), and, in particular, the records of the former colonial administrations: migrated archives (ref FCO 141, CO 1035). These British government records held at the National Archives relate to the British Empire and hold material created by British colonial administrators and ministers as part of their daily activities. They cover a wide range of subject matter that represents what was happening in the territories, mostly before independence and the views of the British government.

walked, and interacted with local residents and individuals, community groups, and organisations in the field.

I also identify and address my research's historical archival sources and resources, such as the local library archival collection, including local community and history group oral history transcripts, council archives, and local newspapers covering the 1950s to the 1970s. In addition, official state-run archives, such as the National Archives and British Film Institute, and other research activities and material, including local Notting Hill and North Kensington history walks, are also used.

Finally, the chapter will focus on the research methods, strategy, and methodology that informed this project and best enabled me to explore and acquire a different understanding of 'race' and racism. I will also highlight how I have drawn on and used the full democracy of the senses alongside more conventional research methods and methodologies. Moreover, I explore the ethical considerations when dealing with participants' lives as people and individuals through the archive, which is lost normative knowledge.

## 3.1 Local Library Research

Some of the archives used in my research have included the obvious traditional and mainstream public sources for data gathering, such as the sanctioned collections in the National Archives, which is the official archive for the UK Government. The Kensington Central Library local studies and archives section and its different collections were also an essential source for finding official local government archives, books, maps, local and national newspapers, general articles, and press cuttings concerning local news, issues, and events, illustrations, manuscripts, historical local council reports, and other government-related archive material.

Microfiche archive data of local newspapers, the *Kensington Post* and the *Kensington News and West London Times*, covering the period from 1945 to 1980 were also found and searched. The

range of news stories and features reported in the local press provided insights into the wider social and cultural mores of the time via the local events reports and issues addressed, and, more specifically, the national and local concerns and reactions to the arrival and settlement of Black and minority ethnic migrants in the area.

Analysing the material from the local press evidenced similar patterns of recurrent topics and issues surrounding the arrival of the coloured migrants that were also found in other types of research materials, such as official British government reports and minutes of cabinet meetings and debates. In addition, interpreting and comparing the data found in the local press archive material revealed, for instance, the constitutive nature of national and local government and newspaper media, as well as how they worked as mechanisms within a broader and complex structure to define and reinforce the racial otherness and fears of Black migrants for the British people.

Thus, the personal nature of my relationship with my research focus, based on my visceral and embodied experience of 'race' and racism and continued absences of embodied multisensory lived experience in the order classification of material in the traditional government, academic, and local library archives, led me to search across a range of disordered archives with loosely or unclassified material, scraps, and 'stuff' in unmarked folders or boxes tucked away on shelves, where I discovered marginal, fragmented, and scattered diasporic or migrant archives of new collective memories and collective bodies of experience (Battaglia et al., 2020; Featherstone, 2006) when I became immersed in the field. For example, the Kensington Central Library local studies basement store of archive records, books, and other historical collections and materials also yielded an invaluable trove of unofficial and less apparent forms of locally generated archives, including local organisations' and community group archives' ephemera and other materials[9]. Through these locally generated archives, I was able to see, handle, and listen to a different range of documents, reports,

[9] For instance, interviews, newspaper clippings, and images, including named localities and events such as the war and Carnival, were collected during the Golbourne Project; Notting Dale Urban Studies Centre project material on the local environment and educational resources on matters of local interest; Gregory Sam Ephemera Collection 1960–2000, including local political activities and local housing politics, and local news-related material. Judith Blakeman Collection comprises Notting Hill Carnival-related publications, ephemera, and local and political news-related material.

and other materials, including video, film, and photographs[10] alongside official documents and material, for example, the Notting Dale Urban Studies Centre archive of news clippings and photographic collections, and Golborne Kensington and Chelsea Community History Group archives[11]. A personal local studies archive collection formed by individuals and the Notting Hill Carnival collection were also available, as well as material such as the 'local environment resource' files, which held a miscellaneous collection of news clippings, leaflets, reports, policies, maps, and images[12].

More specifically, a close search of Kensington and Chelsea Council Town Hall's records of the minutes of meetings covering a period from 1945 to 1980 yielded local council material relating to the special appointment of a West Indian social worker to tackle the problems presented by the arrival of 'coloured' migrants to the borough. Further, the local government archive provided varied insights from different sources, including the West Indian social worker furnishing professional advice on the problems and issues that early Black and minority ethnic migrants to the local area faced and presented as a barrier to assimilation to British life. Buried alongside were reports commissioned by the Kensington and Chelsea London Borough Council from local support agencies and charities rehearsing the normative discursive knowledge of 'race' in their views on the local 'colour problem'.

### 3.2 Sampling and Selection

During the research process, selective sampling is usually shaped by practical necessities, for instance, the researcher's starting and developing interests (Glaser, 1978). Moreover, a researcher

[10] For example, a local film on life in North Kensington during the early 1960s, produced by Colville Community Group (2002), and a film titled 'From You Were Out You Were Black', directed by Colin Prescod. Additionally, one of four local film groups' videos formed a series called 'Struggle for Black Community: Ladbroke Grove' produced by Race & Class Ltd and Channel Four Television (1983). Numerous formal and informal photographs by local photographers, community arts projects, and residents also document daily life and the changing landscape of post-war Notting Hill/North Kensington.

[11] Notting Dale and Golborne are both wards in North Kensington.

[12] The Kensington Central Library local studies section does not hold a specific local black history collection, section, or set of archives. However, the Notting Hill Carnival Collection is the only collection that indicates and signposts material on 'race', racism, and black and minority ethnic post-war migrants in the area. Many other issues and topics related to or concerning 'race' and racisms and general data on the local black and minority ethnic communities and individuals are subsumed within the vast volume of available archives and profiles of the area's local history and its residents.

will also select people, or a sample group, based on the aims of the research; categories such as age, gender, ‘race’, social status, role, or a stated philosophy or ideology may also serve as starting points (Barnett, 1991; Coyne, 1997; Gilbert, 1993; May, 1997; Punch, 1998).

Qualitative sampling strategies can also include purposive sampling. Michael Patton (1990) asserts that the logic and power of purposeful and selective sampling lies in selecting cases that are rich in information for in-depth study and allows the individual to learn a great deal about the issues of central importance to the research purpose. Furthermore, theoretical sampling used in connection with grounded theory refers to sampling executed so that emerging theoretical considerations guide the selection of cases and research participants (Bryman, 2004; Charmaz, 2006; Chenitz & Swanson, 1986; Seale, 2004; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Thus, all sampling in qualitative research is purposeful in the sense that the sample is always intentionally selected according to the needs of the study. I used a combination of theoretical and purposive sampling strategies during my research. In the initial stages of the research, a small selection of local oral history projects focusing on the oral memories of residents in Notting Hill/North Kensington was also found among the other library archive material. The material from these projects included *All Pulling Together: Kensington at War* (1985); *History in Our Bones: Notting Hill Lives Remembered* (1993); *Nice Tastin: Life and Food in the Caribbean* (1991); *The Story of Notting Dale: From Potteries to Piggeries* (1997); and the *Ethnic Memory Groups Caribbean, Spanish, Jewish and North African projects* (1994). The archived material from these projects helped define my research sample group and shed light on different aspects of local life, leading to a more selective and purposeful search for the archives of similar grassroots oral history projects. Due to these archives, I also accessed more in-depth theoretical data on the lived experiences of white English residents and Black and minority ethnic post-war migrants in Notting Hill/North Kensington.

Snowball sampling is another research method that refers to a system of purposive sampling built around referrals or recommendations from one subject to another. The snowball or chain sampling in my research occurred through recommendations made by various individuals, including the local

studies library staff, local community groups and project staff members, and other individuals conducting local research projects. Moreover, snowballing in the early stages of my research eventually enabled me to gain direct access to a further archive collection of oral histories, which were separately funded, but coordinated and held by the HISTORYtalk North Kensington Community Group Archives. The collection of HISTORYtalk oral history projects was stored in temporary 'borrowed' office space staffed by a local researcher who was also the HISTORYtalk director and the initial primary gatekeeper, a local historian, and a local historian researcher/administrative secretary. These staff members were also volunteers, and their attendance at the office amounted to an hour or two on an odd afternoon on unknown days of any given week.

### 3.3 Gaining Access to Local Community Archives and Oral History Projects

Sampling and selection in qualitative research are also linked to negotiating and gaining access to the research field (Burgess, 1991; Feldman et al., 2003; Patton, 2002; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). Gaining access is also critical in research because a researcher must access the site to gain information. Moreover, access quality affects what information is available to the researcher. In addition, though, equally important is maintaining access to the research site and continued engagement with gatekeepers, research groups, or participants, which can also be challenging**.**

The issue of gaining initial access to the local oral history material was one challenge I experienced in the field and became an obstacle during my research due to HISTORYtalk's loss of funding, subsequent loss of premises, and eventual disbandment. I faced the initial problem of locating the HISTORYtalk group because they were trying to secure new funding and premises. As a result, I visited HISTORYtalk's former premises regularly to try and obtain information because it appeared they had ceased to operate, frustrating my goal of gaining access to their oral history archive, which was unattainable.

However, establishing good relationships with individuals during my research, such as a former HISTORYtalk volunteer project worker and, eventually, the director of the Colville Community History group, kept me informed about the progress of HISTORYtalk's efforts to try and obtain funding. In addition, I eventually learned about HISTORYtalk's temporary borrowed office space. After sending numerous emails and weekly drop-in visits to the temporary premises and leaving written and verbal messages at reception, I finally met with the former HISTORYtalk director and gained access to the oral history transcripts after much delay. Further, concerning permission to use the archive for my project under the terms and conditions of the HISTORYtalk archives, I confirmed with the director that I could use the material as cited in my references.

A failure to obtain the full cooperation of gatekeepers with authority to grant access, whether to gain entry to organisations or contact groups or to work with archived material, can make research a less-than-straightforward task (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Madgola, 2000; Wanat, 2008). For example, negotiating and gaining continued access to the archives of Black British post-war migrants in Notting Hill/North Kensington was highly problematic. The former director of the HISTORYtalk group was a gatekeeper who demonstrated many resistance tactics and behaviours, such as not following through after our discussions and not contacting me as we agreed to arrange a suitable time to access the archives on repeated occasions. Moreover, the director did not attend the pre-arranged office appointments to access the HISTORYtalk archives and scheduled periods for data collection**.** However, despite these problems, I also experienced positive cooperation with other HISTORYtalk staff members. In addition, I established good research relationships with the local historian and the administrator/researcher, who acted as informal level gatekeepers of the HISTORYtalk archives.

The HISTORYtalk oral history archive collection also contained the audiotapes and transcripts of interviews with residents, including early Black and minority ethnic post-war migrants sharing their lived experiences in the area as well as local HISTORYtalk-sponsored exhibitions, events, leaflets, and a collection of the group's local newsletters over the years. The oral histories in the collection were broad in their focus and ranged across several interrelated topics, such as the Notting Hill

Carnival, everyday life experiences and various tensions, community politics, and activism in the area. Moreover, the HISTORYtalk archive contained a collection of 'Reminiscence at Home' interviews and projects on the lives of elderly residents. The material in this collection included the spoken memories of the Spanish and Irish communities and the people of North Kensington in general, and histories of specific streets, such as Golborne Road, all within the main focus of chronicling the area from the 1950s onwards.

Conducting archival research raises ethical questions concerning the impact of the passage of time, fairly and ethically representing the lives of deceased individuals, and being sensitive to understanding an individual's life and communities in the context of a particular era. The archival research work for this project centres around written text and material, including the local archive collection of HISTORYtalk and Reminiscence and Carnival life story interviews. However, I was also aware that the people and communities represented in these archives are also embodied as a living presence in the archive materials (Kirsch and Rohan, 2008; Ramsey et al., 2010; Ranney, 2010). Moreover, I felt obligated to treat the life stories and experiences in the local archive material with dignity and respect despite the passage of time, because the participants are still people who have shared intimate details of their backgrounds and everyday personal lives.

McKee and Porter (2012) argue that in archival research, there exists permeable boundaries and connections between the past/present, living/dead, and text/person, further to the emergence of persons in the text during the research process. The local HISTORYtalk oral history archive collection, the Reminiscence at Home interviews I worked with, represented more than a collection of papers; they constituted an archive and were regarded as a form of an archive of persons sharing details of their lives and lived (sensory) experiences.

Hence, I experienced the local archive materials as an intimate and dynamic interaction with the individuals and their lives rather than static documents. I intentionally address the early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrant individuals I encountered on my research journey by their first names rather than adhering to the expected academic convention of using an individual's surname.

Firstly, using their first names humanises them as research subjects and participants I met in the archive. It also removes the barrier of formality in my position as a researcher that can be distancing and an obstacle to the ability of their life stories to move and touch me and evoke feelings such as empathy beyond being an image in a photograph and words on the page.

Secondly, using the first names of the early post-war Black migrant narrators of the oral life testimonies also quietly speaks of the complex sense of intimacy and familiarity, despite the differences I developed with them during my research journey. Through imagining the details, the little things and scenarios of their everyday lived experiences pieced together from the fragments of their stories of achievements, failures, life-changing or mundane events, relationships, and embodied knowledge that they share, it is possible to fill the gaps and pauses between the memories and the words on the pages of their archival oral life testimony transcripts, which are impossible to capture fully (Mills, 2013; Puwar, 2021).

I also return to Brah's (1999) Urdu concept of 'ajnabi', defined as a stranger or newcomer who is not yet known to a person, but has the potential for friendship, love, and intimacy, which perfectly elucidates the first stages of connecting with the local early post-war migrants in my research and moving towards the use of first names. It equally describes my experience of temporally inhabiting the local urban space of Notting Hill/North Kensington with them through the intimacy of memory (Brah, 1999).

Thirdly, and on a personal note, the use of their first name, rooted in the sense of intimacy through my research, also less clearly emerges from how I have been touched and affected by the noticeable passing and disappearing presence of the generation of early post-Black migrants in Notting Hill/North Kensington, some of whom are the oral history narrators in my research. Therefore, in their multiple absences, the intimacy conveyed by using their first name strengthens their presence in the gap and silence in the multisensory lived experience of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants on arrival in Britain, which my original research contribution aims to fill.

Conversely, it is also deliberate that surnames are intentionally used to address some narrators of the oral life testimony as a strategy to switch between the different empirical registers of the early Black migrants and the normative registers of the British state and government, such as local police officers and police superintendents in the Carnival oral history archive.

### 3.4 Alternative Archives and Research Materials: Exhibitions, Walking, Public Talks, and Audiovisual Media

The oral record is not the only alternative to public documentary archives. As Hamilton et al. (2002) observe, literature, landscape, dance, art, and a host of other forms offer archival possibilities capable of releasing different kinds of information about the past, shaped by different record-keeping processes. In addition, different spaces, forms, and media can be used to gather research material alongside academic texts and research papers, including published and unpublished fiction and non-fiction literature, poetry, and photography.

These forms of alternative historical archives and materials presented different perspectives in this study's process of researching the history of post-war Black migration to Britain and exploring the sensory experiences of 'race' and racism. Visual materials, such as photography and film, offered alternative routes to understanding and making sense of everyday life in post-war Britain, particularly Black migrant lives. For instance, Paul Gilroy's (2007) *Black Britain: A Photographic History* offered a visual history of the social life of Black British people, which documents the past moment of everyday life and its struggles. In addition, English photographer Roger Mayne's work *Portrait of Southam Street*[13] features his 'Black and White' (1959) and 'West Indians' (1956) pictures.

I found a small collection of original photographic contact sheets and unpublished prints of early post-war Black migrant everyday life in the area by local early post-war Black migrant photographer

[13] Roger Mayne is widely known for his photographic work on Southam Street in North Kensington in 1956, documenting its post-war community and way of life. Mayne's work captures the poverty and rotting slums of North Kensington in the post-war era through its portrayal of everyday street life (Maynard, 2001: *The Street Photographs of Roger Mayne*. London: Jonathan Cape (www.rogermayne.com)).

Charlie Philips[14] in a box of other miscellaneous items from the archive basement stores of Kensington Central Library. The striking Black and white imagery of Charlie's once unappreciated and overlooked photographic work presented stimulating primary visual research material for this project that captured the early Black British experience. In addition, it opened a means of developing a multi-layered insight into the local atmosphere and spirit of post-war Britain and Notting Hill/North Kensington during this period from a Black West Indian migrant's perspective of everyday life.

Furthermore, Charlie's photography represents an example of an important unofficial historical visual archive of the informal moments in the lives of residents in North Kensington /Notting Hill, particularly the transitions in the area's Black communities. Additionally, the images grant us an alternative way of seeing local Black life against the bulk of media photographs of well-established dominant normative discursive knowledge and stereotypes of Black migrants of the time that reflected how white English people saw them. Finally, his work also provides a document that records the changes in the area's human and physical geography.

Local audiovisual media and projects were also a form of unofficial historically focused visual archive that I found while searching for material relating to 'race' and racisms, the senses, early post-war local life, and Black migrants. I attended several local community art group presentations to view their local film projects as different data sources for my research project. These included a series of 50 years of local community action exhibitions and talks by the Portobello Tabernacle, North Kensington, and Colville Community history project groups, including Mas in the Grove; the Carnival History Lecture; The Notting Hill Carnival History Exhibition; Carnival 73; and the Mass in the Ghetto talk and exhibition[15]. Moreover, public film screenings of locally produced film projects, including The Real Rachman talk and film[16]; 58 Riot Film; Oswald Mosley: The North Kensington Leader talk and

[14] Charlie Philips came to Britain as a child in 1956 from Jamaica and joined his family, who had settled in Ladbroke Grove, North Kensington.

[15] *Mas in the Grove Carnival History Exhibition*, 23 September 2012, curated by Sue McAlpine and North Kensington History Group; *The Carnival History Lecture*, 28 September 2013, Tabernacle Powis Square Community History Project; *The Notting Hill Carnival Exhibition*, 5 November 2013; *Carnival 73*, 9 August 2012; and *Mass in the Ghetto*, 20 September 2013.

[16] *The Real Rachman Talk and Film*, 23 February 2012, Colville Community History Project. By the late 1950s, approximately seven thousand black people had settled in Notting Hill, mainly in the Colville area of North

film; Notting Hill Caribbean Culture Past and Present talk; and the screening and Q&A of the Grove Roots film on the pivotal history of the Ladbroke Grove area in North Kensington from the 1958 race riots to the present[17] were also included.

The British Film Institute (BFI) film and TV database archives and Mediatheque Black Britain collection were official film and audio archives, which I also visited for obtaining material relating to the post-war history of Black Britain. I found interesting audiovisual material at the BFI, which broadened my understanding of the dominant discursive normative knowledge and changing colonial attitudes, stereotypes, and controversies involving 'race' and racisms in post-war Britain in addition to the hidden histories found in Black British stories and representation on film and in television.

The material ranged from films such as 'West Indies Calling' (1944), which featured Caribbean servicemen and women at Broadcasting House for a special transmission home on their contribution to the war effort. In addition, the film 'Ten Bob in Winter' (1963) focuses on a West Indian student's tribulations during a workless Christmas vacation. Documentaries including 'Mixed Marriages' (1958) examined racism and mixed marriages, and television plays such as 'Man From the Sun' (1956) focused on West Indian immigrants' lives in Britain. Furthermore, related searches for material in the other BFI Mediatheque collections found sub-archives such as 'Bombs at Teatime' and 'Essentially British'[18], which, for example, featured the film 'The Colony' (1964) in which immigrants from the Caribbean to Birmingham told of their experiences.

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Kensington, known as 'Brown Town'. Peter Rachman was the notorious local slum landlord who rented flats to many Black migrants to the area, and he became well known through his link to the 1963 Profumo affair political sex scandal. Hedgegate Court on Powis Square of Portobello Road became one of the first and most notorious Rachman slums as he acquired most houses on that street.

[17] *58 Riot Film* by Westway TV, 2013, 4 June 2013; *Oswald Mosley: The North Kensington Leader* featuring Mark Olden & Cathi Unsworth, 7 May 2013; *Grove Roots*, 2009, dirs. Bankole Adegbulujbe, Kaye Adejei et al., The Octavia Foundation.

[18] The 'Essentially British' collection explores the histories, people, and places of the United Kingdom and looks at the clichés and stereotypes of what united and separated and what it is and was to be British through 100 films and television programmes. Moreover, the 'Bombs Before Teatime' archive collection depicted life in Britain in the shadow of war from 1940 through films and documentaries. The Colonial Film Archive Moving Images of the British Empire was also a data source.

A further source of snowball sampling and access to network groupings, new ideas, and my research material came from various local exhibition events and public talks, community group project meetings, and local history walks. These local venues, events, and exhibitions provided access to insightful discussions and multimedia material focused on different life experiences of living in the area during the early post-war period in Britain. I also had the opportunity to meet and talk with various individuals, including local historians, filmmakers and photographers, and diverse local community members. These events and talks also featured the oral histories of the older generation of residents who shared their experiences and memories of aspects of everyday life and critical events in the area, such as the 1958 ‘race’ riots and Notting Hill Carnival following the arrival and the presence of Black and ethnic migrants.

### 3.5 Walking Routes as a Research Methodology

Sarah Pink (2009) identifies that the idea of walking with others, sharing their step, style, and rhythm, and creating an affinity, empathy, or sense of belonging with them is long acknowledged in ethnography. The possibilities that walking presents as a sensory ethnography method has generated literature, which has included a focus on participant observation in the form of sharing walks with different people, and walking routes as a form of place-making (Lee 2008; Lee & Ingold, 2006; Lund, 2005, 2008). Walking was one method used during my research. I participated in several local groups’ walking tours and routes focused on the history of North Kensington/Notting Hill, such as the ‘The Wall of Sound’, ‘Black History Routes in North Kensington’, and the 1958 riots walking tour. The HISTORYtalk Rambles were also included, which involved historically noteworthy places, buildings, and streets, which, in some cases, no longer exist.

The purpose of these local walks by the local community, art, and history groups was to show an alternative history of the local urban environment of Notting Hill, particularly the ward of North Kensington. Walking these routes allowed me to experience an emplaced and active form of participant observation, and they also opened an alternative sensory engagement to a knowledge of

the past. Solnit (2001) recognises that a history of walking is invested with different cultural meanings and the different kinds of pleasures and freedoms pursued at different times by different types of walks and walkers. Furthermore, she observes that a history of walking is also a history of different limitations placed on the freedom of movement by different types of walkers, particularly categories of people or groups assigned deviant identities and subject to some form of controlling legal measures of the state and dominant social mores (Solnit, 2001, pp.234–244)**.**

As a research method, walking enabled me to access an alternative racialised history of Notting Hill/North Kensington, which involves the different pleasures, freedoms, and limitations due to racial discrimination and racism that have helped shape the Black minority ethnic migrant experience. For instance, the Notting Hill Carnival is an example of how a racialised history of walking has emerged from global movements and flows of migration. An essential element in the geneses of the Notting Hill /North Kensington Carnival was walking as a means of protesting and claiming freedom on the streets against racism, racial fear, and tension in the early 1950s Notting Hill/North Kensington. Another element is the influence and expression of Caribbean culture through the sensory pleasures such as sonic dominance (Henriques, 2003) and the corporal pleasures of eating, drinking, dancing, and walking with others.

Researchers have sought to understand the embodied practice of walking as part of the research process. More general work on embodiment in fieldwork has seen the act of walking as a way for both the researcher and researched to make sense of, and sensuously engage with, their environment (Edensor, 2008; Ingold & Vergunst, 2008; Thurnell-Read, 2011; Vergunst, 2010). Moreover, it has been argued that 'the movement of walking is itself a way of knowing' (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008, p.5), and Kusenbach (2003) recommended 'go-alongs' as a methodological tool and form of participatory walking, which is 'intentionally aimed at capturing the stream of perception, emotions and interpretations that informants usually keep to themselves' (Kusenbach, 2003, p.464)**.**

Thus, my participation in the local walking tours allowed me to engage with and develop my project in new ways through the experience of an embodied practice of walking and participatory walking

outside the confines of the traditional setting of libraries and archive buildings. I gathered primary research material on the local walking tours, which involved listening to the history of the early post-war years in Notting Hill/North Kensington from local historians, as well as the first-hand oral history accounts of early post-war Black migrant and white English residents who participated in the HISTORYtalk reminisce walking project. The lived experiences, stories, and memories that these older early post-war residents shared with the walking group combined with the other forms of written and visual research material, such as the maps and information sheets provided and referred to during the walking tour.

The ‘58 riots walking tour mapped the timeline of key moments and events that led to the eruption of the 1958 Notting Hill race riots on the streets of North Kensington. In addition, the early post-war Black migrant and white English residents/tour guides also shared their first-hand experiences of the riots. Hence, as a research method, the walking tour initiated thoughts about how (sensory) racialised places and spaces existed and operated in the early post-war years, as well as the broader implications of how ‘race’, racism, and (sensory) racialised spaces have impacted British history. For example, the five nights of rioting and violence on the streets of Notting Hill in 1958 pushed the volatile issues of ‘race’ and racism on home soil to the forefront of the British public’s consciousness. They also sparked ongoing political debates on the levels of racial immigration and race relations in Britain.

Furthermore, the research data gathered from the Black History Routes in North Kensington Walking Tour also identified how threats of racial violence and acts of violence are an indispensable part of the racialised spaces and history of walking in Notting Hill/North Kensington. The street corner of Golborne Road and Southam Street[19] in North Kensington, on the site of the Earl of Warwick pub,

[19] This is the same Southam Street featured in Roger Mayne’s 1956 photograph of early black male West Indian migrants titled 'The West Indian Hustlers'. The houses on Southam Street were later declared unfit for human habitation in 1963 and subsequently demolished for new housing in the Greater London Council bid for urban renewal and to house the urban masses after the Second World War.

was the scene of the racially motivated murder of the local Black West Indian migrant, Kelso Cochrane, by a group of white men on 17 May 1959[20].

Finally, archived local and national newspaper articles on early post-war migrants' presence in Notting Hill/North Kensington was an additional source of research material alongside the local tour guides' first-hand personal oral memories and experiences. Moreover, the first-hand accounts of Black and minority ethnic early post-war experiences I gathered on the walking tour were cross-referenced and combined with the local and national newspaper reports. Old ordinance and local council planning street maps from 1940 onwards in the local library's archives also allowed me to trace the streets or roads featured on the tour routes and in the life stories of the tour guides that now no longer exist.

### 3.6 State Archives: The National Archives

The government-run National Archives provided the primary research data for this project. Initial visits began with general online and in-person searches on-site at the National Archive building. My search of the state archives loosely covered the historical subjects of colonial history, foreign affairs, parliament, health and social welfare, migration, and citizenship from 1945 onwards. Moreover, any miscellaneous government department documents and records within these areas that naturally emerged or stood out concerning 'race', racial immigration, 'the colour problem', West Indians and other racialised and minority ethnic groups (e.g., Africans, Maltese, Cypriot and Asians), and race relations were also included.

The archives documents of the Home Office and Commonwealth and Foreign Office; Colonial and Dominion Office and Empire Marketing Board; Cabinet Office; Commission for Racial Equality and

[20] A gang of white youths stabbed Kelso Cochrane, a 32-year-old carpenter from Antigua, on 17 May 1959. At the time, police described it as a robbery, but many people, then and now, saw it as a racist attack. No arrest for the murder was ever made. The incident happened during a period of high tension after the Notting Hill Riots the previous year. Over 1,000 people attended the funeral procession along Ladbroke Grove (http://www.britishpathe.com/video/funeral-of-kelso-cochrane). Some believe that Kelso's brutal murder marked a turning point in race relations in North Kensington. A commemorative Blue Plaque now marks the site.

Metropolitan Police Office; Ministry of Health and Department of Health; and Social Security and Medical Office of Public Health and West Indian Department records; and internal memos and minute meetings provided insightful data on the British government's normative discursive views on, stance towards, and handling of Black migrants, the colour problem, and Black immigration.

Mark Smith (2007a) argues that paying attention to the senses in diplomatic history gives a better understanding of the construction of 'The Other' that frequently guides official foreign policies in quiet ways. He also identifies how the cultural conceits about the senses and foreigners held by powerful nation-states about weaker nation-states fed the terse and diplomatic discourse that, by their nature, tended not to make obvious statements about smelly foreigners and the like in publicly released documents.

Smith's insight on paying attention to the senses in diplomatic history and the sensory and cultural conceits of powerful states shows how the senses operate across the post-war British government documents and records, which I accessed through the National Archives. Hence, a focused sensory analysis of the different archived post-war British government department's diplomatic historical documents and reports yielded the presence of the senses in the British state's construction and, at times, the racial discriminatory reinforcement of 'coloured' migrants as 'other'.

For instance, during the reading and analysis of the government records, part of the focus was on identifying different sensory themes, references, or phenomena embedded in the documents. The sensory data embedded in the official historical government documents revealed how the racialised senses were central, yet obscured, in the British government's racialist-inflected discourse on coloured colonial immigration and 'the coloured problem'.

Moreover, in one form or another, the senses, such as touch, consistently featured throughout the British state's concerns about the intimate proximity of the British Empire's racially inferior colonial subjects on English home soil (Smith & Mamo, 2014). Thus, for example, some of the records and documents of government papers and debates in the House of Lords show support for restrictions

on immigration, which linked the immigration problem and strong push for entry restrictions to the unsatisfactory ill health and diseases of racialised immigrants from the West Indies and other Colonies (West Indian Immigrants, 20 November 1956, vol.200, pp.391–400, Hansard).

Further, when researching the government's historical archives of documents, the additional focus on the senses also offered a broader insight into the less-apparent complexities of the colonial and imperial relationship between the British Empire and her colonies and colonial subjects. Thus, contrary to Britain's self-image as the 'Mother Country' of a multiracial Commonwealth, the British government's racialised construction of Britishness drew on notions of 'belonging' and 'community' built on racially inflected emotional attachments to a sense of national identity organised around skin colour.

### 3.7 Research Strategy and Methods

Barney Glaser and Anslem Strauss (1967) have argued that generating a theory from data means that most propositions and ideas come from the data and are also worked out systematically regarding the data during the research**.** Thus, a central aim of grounded theory is to 'generate or discover a theory' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). I was initially drawn to grounded theory at the start of my research journey because it presented a methodology that was open to generating multi-sensory theories and concepts through and within the full democracy of the senses (Back, 2007), which translated and moved across the senses in ways that can produce alternative and creative modes of sensory knowledge that extend the visual.

For instance, in the space of sensory knowledge that goes beyond the visual sense, as Back (2007) says, listening is also a way of looking at visual images to hear the untold, and I would add suppressed and silenced stories and experiences that register in the lower sonic frequencies of the photographic images (Back, 2007; Campt, 2017). In addition, embodied sensory knowledge derives from the haptic's quiet sensory register and the multiple forms of touch that register on the body

physically, but also on the feelings and emotions when individuals hold, view, and listen to visual images, which questions the primacy of visual with knowledge (Campt, 2017). Moreover, there is an acknowledgement of the challenge to visual knowledge through acoustic knowledge of racial difference, such as sounds and noise, which produce a racialised auditory sense of space and emotional space (Gunaratnam, 2009). In addition, the sensory knowledge afforded by smell and taste is a marker of the racial other and cultural and class differences that intersect and become meshed in urban space and place (Rhys-Taylor, 2010, p.18).

Concerning the importance of sensory knowledge derived from auditory, olfactory, gustatory, and haptic senses and embodied and corporeal registers, the sense of vision has traditionally been ranked first among all of the senses in the West. However, I do not argue that vision is not important, as, for example, the visual is significant as an item of historical apparatus in race making and racialisation and is important for understanding the complexities of how 'race' and racism continue to operate. I build on the existing multi-sensory knowledge of scholars and Black and minority ethnic feminist work and approaches attuned to the full democracy of the senses. I take forward my multi-sensory method of studying 'race' and racism, which accounts for their effects on the everyday lived experiences of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants, which contributes original knowledge to dominating structural accounts and theories of 'race' and racism.

Some research projects can have distinct data collection and analysis stages (Bryant & Charmaz, 2010; Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). However, my multi-sensory approach to analysis through the full democracy of the senses (Back, 2007) blurred any rigid distinctions between fieldwork/data collection, generating knowledge and analysis. I found that these activities co-occur during my research encounter at various locations and times when I viewed, physically touched and was touched by, smelled, and listened to different research material as it was simultaneously being discovered and collected. For example, during my cross-platform 'anarchive' approach (Battaglia et al., 2020) to data collection, I went to the 58 Riots Tour: A Hidden History of Notting Hill film screening

and lecture at the historic Tabernacle in North Kensington, and I engaged with haptic visibility or embodied viewing as a multi-sensory form of viewing and experiencing the visual narrative of the film.

My non-audiovisual haptic sensory experience of the film mediated the Black and minority ethnic migrants' shared memories of their experience of the racial tensions in early-post-war Notting Hill/North Kensington. I responded to the visual images of the rioting and violence between Latimer Road's white mobs and early Black-post-war migrants and their memories of life in the area during that time in an embodied way that touched me through other bodily sensations in the process of seeing. This multi-sensory and embodied research encounter that I had in the field and when collecting data registered in meaningful ways, stimulating modes of thinking with the full democracy of the senses, and generated knowledge and conceptualisations, such as my multi-sensory notion of the historically racialised sensorium of Notting Hill/North Kensington and racialised experiences of place (Campt, 2012, 2017; Marks, 2000).

The different research sources, multi-sensory methods deployed, and materials I gathered during my research combined to provide primary archival research data. I reviewed existing literature and primary material as a starting point for generating knowledge and an understanding of broad topics and questions. In the early stages, I achieved concurrent collection/analysis of theoretical data sensitivity by immersing myself in the data to try and understand what stood out in the area of interest as important or significant. I also focused on finding the presence of the full democracy of the senses across all of my research material, whether it be a fiction novel, life story transcript, or audiovisual, film, or other media, for references to sensory categories, the senses, feelings, emotions, embodied knowledge, or phenomena that might be embedded.

I especially leaned heavily into the erudition of Black and minority ethnic feminists' multi-sensory thinking, approaches, and work to find and grasp the deeper multi-sensory, embodied knowledge

and emotional textures and registers in verbal and textual material, which the archive and memories mediate. For example, Hartmann's concept of 'critical fabulations' and her work *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experience* (2019), which opposes the countless gaps and omissions in the archives and historical records of enslaved and racial others, speak to my research. I take forward her method of using the young women's words in her study to inhabit the intimate dimensions of their lives in my approach to the oral testimonies of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants' lived experiences on arrival and settlement in Britain. Hartman's (2019) methods also aim to convey the sensory experience of the city and capture the rich landscape of Black social life by employing a close narration that places the voice of the narrator and character inseparably (Hartman, 2019). This is in addition to Ahmed's (2004) insight into the emotionality of text, which further advances a multi-sensory method to find the sensory in verbal and textual material, and her notion of 'stickiness', which is 'an effect of the histories of contact between bodies, objects, and signs' (Ahmed, 2004, p.90) and how emotions also 'circulate' and become attached or connected to human and move and shape individuals as they become entangled.

In the context of my research methods concerning verbal and textual material, I searched for words, memories, and voices that held traces or hinted at the presence of the textured sensory intimacy of life that registers the multi-sensory dimensions of racialised lived experience at lower frequencies (Campt, 2017) when listening though the full democracy of the senses. I not only discovered significant underlying multi-sensory themes and topics in the life testimony accounts of the early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants who came to Britain during the 1950s and '60s, but also identified early Black immigrants' everyday interests and concerns that spoke of the complexities of the emotional textures that shaped their intimate life during my multi-sensory close reading and analysis of the HISTORYtalk Carnival oral history and life story research material.

I used the full democracy of the senses as a filter to engage with the memories and words used by early post-war Black migrants in their oral life testimonies. I was able to push beyond the mere words

on a page to register multi-sensory impressions, knowledge, and experiences of life on arrival in Britain and illuminate recurring feelings of sadness, pleasure, disgust, dirt, disappointment, or loneliness entangled within broad narratives of their experiences of struggles with financial hardship and racial discrimination. Moreover, I connected these to the other intimate aspects of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants' daily life across the complex intersections of 'race', which involve family and personal relationships, work, and social life in an often racially hostile environment.

I also applied the same close multi-sensory reading of textual material from state and institutional archive records and documents concerning the early post-war British government racial immigration policies to interrogate the covert circulation of ideologies of 'race' and how they operated as causal mechanisms in politics of immigration control. For example, I looked for words and listened to the tone of voices in records and documents produced across the British political system that concealed the circulation and stickiness of denigrating ideologies of 'race' that cohered with racialised senses, emotions, and feelings, such as disgust and fear of swamping to bind 'race'. Moreover, I associated the inferiority of racialised subjects and the Commonwealth immigration problem with early post-war and minority ethnic migrants, which resulted in the subsequent highly discriminatory racial immigration controls from 1962 onwards, which effectively halted Black immigration to Britain.

Ethnomethodological approaches were also helpful, such as the study of everyday practical reasoning used by ordinary members of society to make sense of, find their way around, and act on the circumstances they find themselves in. Ethnomethodology also focuses on ordinary, everyday, practical activities and the study of everyday talk or accounts that people present to describe their experiences and activities (Blaike, 2007; Francis & Hester, 2004; Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984). However, I divert from the ethnomethodological approach in its rejection of internal processes, such as emotions and the lack of focus on the bigger picture of large-scale social events, institutions or

processes, or current social problems within which social activity takes place (Blaike, 2007; Francis & Hester, 2004; Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984).

Theoretical frameworks also developed and took shape during my concurrent data collection and analysis. For example, I identified broader historical structural and social processes surrounding the construction and debates on 'the coloured problem' and post-war immigration in Britain through analysing official government documents, which led me to understand the complex network of interaction between structural, social, and economic factors; the presence and workings of 'race'; and migrants' racialised sensory experiences. Moreover, I developed an overall theoretical framework of the racialised structures, mechanisms, and events they generate.

I conceptualise how these significant areas might relate to and help integrate the sensory and multi-sensory knowledge into a theory. For example, synthesising the research data on Black migrants' everyday racialised multi-sensory experiences and the haptics of British people's fears of interracial touch and miscegenation with the arrival of Black migrants in Britain is combined with an examination of the role of 'race' and the senses in the formation of English social values and morals, developing a cohesive theory concerning how the racialised senses, knowledge, and experience operated as causal mechanisms in generating the colour bar system in Britain.

### 3.8 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework and Critical Realism

Critical realism and feminist epistemologies have guided the theoretical position underlying this project; however, the version of critical realism that I have used is most closely associated with the early work of the philosopher Roy Bhaskar. He maintains the distinction between causal laws, a pattern of events, and the constant conjunction between the two through a conception or picture of the mechanisms or structures at work.

Moreover, the three overlapping levels or domains of the actual, the real, and the empirical constitute Bhaskar's view of reality. The actual domain refers to events and outcomes that occur in the world. The real domain refers to the underlying relations and tendencies that have the power to cause changes in the actual realm. Finally, the empirical dimension refers to human perspectives of the world of the actual and the real domains, which could be the perspective, or, for this project, the experiences of an individual, or, in a sense, of scientific inquiry (Bhaskar, 2008; Blaikie, 2007; Sayer, 1992).

Thus, critical realism works with this project's focus on the absence of the senses and sensory experience in existing understandings of 'race' and racisms. Critical realism provides a means of locating underlying structures or mechanisms, such as sensory experience, which is not directly observable, but is also responsible for producing observed regularity or patterns, such as racial discrimination in housing and employment. Critical realism also acknowledges and allows an understanding of the role or influence of 'race', racism, and the senses as underlying and imperceptible structures and mechanisms within a wider set of causal relations. Moreover, causal relations are the powers or tendencies of things that interact with other tendencies such that an observable event may or may not be produced or observed (Bhaskar, 2008; Danermark et al., 2002).

These three overlapping levels or domains of reality in critical realism are particularly compatible with research focused on lived experience because it is a theory that pays attention to what people experience directly or indirectly, as well as the structures and mechanisms producing the events that happen, whether experienced or not (Archer et al., 1998, 2002; Bhaskar, 2008; Blaikie, 2007). Finally, critical realism also views the reality of social structures as the relations between social agents in social positions. These structures, it is argued, influence social activities in that they both enable and constrain actions. Furthermore, only through the activities of the social agents are social structures reproduced, continue in existence, and possibly transformed by them (Bhaskar, 2008; Blaikie, 2007; Danermark et al., 2002).

Critical realism's theory of social structures, relations between social agents who occupy different social and power positions, and the possibility that social agents can also transform these social structures are helpful to this project. The approach accommodates a bottom-up conceptual and theoretical framework and model in opposition to the construction of Black migrants as victims or 'the coloured problem' in Britain's dominant normative discursive knowledge accounts of racial immigration. This aspect of critical realism enables a theory of Black post-war migrants as active social agents in the critical shift from 'coloured migrants' to Black Britons who forever transformed Britain's social and cultural landscape.

Hence, the aspects of critical realism highlighted above can also open up ways of explaining the continued salience and effects of 'race' and lead to a deeper understanding of how 'race' works through unobservable phenomena, such as the senses and sensory experiences. Furthermore, critical realism's overlapping domains of the actual, real, and empirical help build a basic model of structures and mechanisms in understanding the role of 'race' in the history of Black British migration.

In the actual domain of reality, a series of observable events, such as the labour shortage in Britain, its decimated post-war economy, and the recruitment of workers from the West Indies after the Second World War ended. In addition, the 1948 British Nationality Act, which conferred the status of British subjects as Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies and the docking of SS Empire Windrush in 1948, is considered to represent the beginning of the period of mass Black migration from the Caribbean. These are all observable events in the domain of the actual, when combined, generated the observable outcomes of the Commonwealth Immigration Acts of 1962 and 1968 and the crucial Immigration Act of 1971 that halted the immigration flow of Black migrants.

### 3.9 Feminist Epistemologies, Theories, and Research Methodology

Critical realism has worked well in underpinning a grounded theory and focused sensory approach. At the same time, intersectionality and feminist theory have informed this project as an overall

feminist epistemology and research methodology instead of representing a single set of epistemological commitments or a single methodological approach. For example, early feminist critique of the social sciences (Harding, 1986; Millman & Kantre, 1975) identified several problematic assumptions that previously directed sociological research. For example, they argued that sociological research mainly ignored the role of emotions in social life. Furthermore, sociology focuses on social life's visual, dramatic, and public spheres and largely excluded the invisible, less-dramatic private and informal spheres.

Feminist epistemologies have explored and addressed the complexity of women's experiences, focusing on the private, invisible, and informal spheres of women's everyday lives. For instance, feminist standpoint theorists from several disciplines[21] have extended and reframed numerous different positions within a feminist standpoint that have proved insightful in their focus on experience. However, despite their differences, feminist standpoint theories share the central claims that knowledge is grounded in experience and socially situated; moreover, the ways that marginalised groups are socially situated make it more possible for them to be aware of things and ask questions than non-marginalised groups. Additionally, research focusing on power relations should begin with the lives of the marginalised.

From a research perspective, feminist standpoint theorists (Harding, 2004, 1993) have argued that the epistemic and political advantages of beginning enquiries from within women's lives are not limited to providing a truer account of those lives, but all of the lives and sociopolitical relations within which those lives are enmeshed. Moreover, what such standpoints make visible are aspects of social relations that are unavailable from dominant perspectives, and in doing so, generate the kinds of questions that will lead to a more complete and true account of those relations.

[21] Such as philosopher of science Sandra Harding, 1991, 2004; sociologists Patricia Hill-Collins, 1986, 1990, and Dorothy Smith, 2004; political philosopher Nancy Hartsock, 2004; sociologist of science Hilary Rose, 2004; Alison Wylie, 2004.

Intersectionality is a concept and methodological tool that also advances this project's concern with the lived experiences of racialised subjects. It places the complexity of subjects' experiences, which have otherwise largely been ignored or excluded, at the centre of a broader framework of structural and sociopolitical factors and mechanisms underpinned by the workings of 'race' and racism. Intersectionality also importantly underscores the 'multidimensionality' of marginalised subjects' lived experiences (Crenshaw, 1989, p.139, 1991, 1992).

Initially, the concept sought to address the problematic experiences and struggles of women of colour at the intersection of discrimination, such as sex or 'race' [22] (Crenshaw, 1989, p.149). Thus, intersectionality was primarily associated with American Black feminist theory and the political agenda of theorising the relationship between 'race', gender, and class[23]. American Black Feminist scholars also sought to analyse how 'race' and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's experiences (Crenshaw, 1991, p.1244)**.** Intersectional theorists have also argued that marginalised subjects have an epistemic advantage, a particular perspective that scholars should at least consider – if not adopt – when crafting a normative vision of a just society (Matsuda, 1987).

Intersectionality has also sought to acknowledge differences among women within feminist scholarship (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Lykke, 2011; Phoenix, 2006). Intersectional scholarship has argued that diversity exists within the social category of woman, and gender does not fully account for women's lived experiences. Furthermore, they have deconstructed women's social positioning to show how interlocking power relations inform it (Brah & Phoenix, 2004). Intersectionality scholarship has also accounted for how the intersections of social categories produce lived experiences and how

[22] Feminist scholars often trace intersectionality back to the activism of Black feminists during the 1970s and 1980s, such as the work of the Black lesbian feminist activists of the Combahee River Collective (Levine-Rasky, 2011). In addition, feminist scholars argue that Black feminist activists, such as Sojourner Truth, Anna Julia Cooper, and Ida B. Wells, were addressing the complex social realities of marginalised women before this. Moreover, they were instrumental in putting the experiences of black women's experiences at the centre of their work and acknowledging the intersecting oppressions that had formed their lives (Hill-Collins, 2000, p.44).

[23] Feminist scholars have provided a lengthy list of differences, including gender, sexuality, 'races' or skin colours, ethnicity, national belonging, class, culture, religion, able-bodiedness, age, sedentariness, property ownership, geographical location, and status in terms of tradition and development (Davis, 2008).

experience is also dependent on the historical and sociocultural context within which women exist (Thompson, 2002; Yuval-Davis, 2007).

Additionally, intersectional theorists have focused on the difficulties of crafting an intersectional method attentive to the complexity that arises when the subject of analysis expands to include multiple dimensions of social life and categories of analysis (McCall, 2005, p.1772). For example, McCall has suggested three distinct interactional methodologies, namely, 'anti-categorical complexity', which starts from the theoretical assumption that categories, including race, class, and gender, are too simplistic to capture the complexity of lived experience; 'intra-categorical complexity', where the marginalised intersectional identities are taken as an analytical starting point to reveal the complexity of lived experience within such groups, which this project has also used; and finally, and most relevant to the methodology employed in this project, 'inter-categorical complexity', where scholars provisionally adopt existing analytical categories to document relationships of inequality among social groups and changing configurations of inequalities along multiple and conflicting dimensions (McCall, 2005, pp.1773–1785).

### 3.10 Critical Realism, Intersectionality, and Feminist Epistemology

The focus on the varied experiences of post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants also explores additional accounts of 'race', which have remained largely unavailable within dominant and well-established areas of normative discursive knowledge on 'race' and racisms. However, contrary to adopting an individualistic view that separates individual migrants' narratives of experience from their broader social and political locations, instead, lived experience is theorised within a methodology that draws on critical realism's three domains of reality and intersectionality theory and combine for a theoretical and conceptual framework that is attentive to the historical complexity of racialised sensory and lived experiences of Black migrants in the early post-war years in Britain.

As for other methodological approaches, feminist epistemologies and theories are also helpful in understanding the complex relationship between 'race', racism, and racialised experience in the lives of racialised subjects. For instance, feminist theorists' response to the history of essentialism of marginalised experiences and their efforts to place 'race' and racialised experience at the centre of various theoretical debates inform the theoretical framework of this study and the interrogation of the multiple configurations and forms of oppressions and inequalities experienced by marginalised groups in different social and historical contexts.

This project also draws on feminist epistemologies to explore the uniqueness of marginalised sensory experiences from the standpoint of early post-war Black and minority ethnic racialised subjects. For example, critical race scholars have explored and proposed an array of terms to describe a methodology of drawing upon marginalised subjects' experiences or vantage points, such as 'looking to the bottom' (Matsuda, 1987), exploring 'iterative energy' (Wing, 1990), or 'outsider scholar' status (Matsuda, 1992). They also consider that these methodologies can be used as strategies to draw on marginalised subjects' ostensibly unique epistemological positions (Nash, 2008).

Engaging with the experiences of post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants as multiple marginalised or intersectional subjects is also a means of disputing the normative discursive knowledge of 'The Coloured People', 'The West Indians', 'Our Jamaican Problem', or the 'British Colour Problem'. The insights of intersectionality make it possible to account for the differences between post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants and address the internal intersections of exclusions and marginalisation among and between post-war Black migrants. The internal intersections may include the additional complexity of the connection between privilege and oppression experienced by and between post-war Black migrants along such axes as gender, age, the British colonial legacy of inter-island or ethnic rivalry, the hierarchy of skin shade, or class (Nash, 2008; Wing, 1990).

Thus, drawing on feminist epistemologies, intersectional paradigms, and critical realism provides a theoretical framework for producing a disunity of the monolithic representation of the 'colour problem' in early post-war Britain. It allows for a fuller conception of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants that considers their sense of being or identities. Moreover, a theoretical framework allows a theory of agency that captures the complexity of early post-war Black minority ethnic migrant identities through their lived experiences of personhood and the ways that they viewed, asserted, and reformulated themselves and their sense of being.

Additionally, the critical realism domains of the actual, the empirical, and the real and associated framework of structure, mechanisms, and events allow this theoretical methodology to account for the particular and distinct historical, social, cultural, representational, and legal workings of 'race' and racisms in early post-war Britain. This formation of early post-war Black British migrant identities and lived experiences does not treat Black British migrant experiences as trans-historical constants that are all similar or, to a great extent, the same.

## 3.11 Conclusion

From the outset of conducting the research and engaging with material for this project, it soon became apparent that 'race', class, and gender alone were too simplistic to capture the complexity of post-war Black migrant lived sensory experience. Furthermore, these aspects alone fail to document the different relationships and configurations of racialised inequalities along the multiple and conflicting dimensions that emerged from the oral life history testimonies. The main theoretical and methodological framework of feminist epistemologies of intersectionality and critical realism used in this project allows a way to theorise and understand the difficulties and intricacies involved in developing a multidimensional focus on the workings of 'race' and racisms within racialised structures, social processes, mechanisms, and events and within racialised lived experience.

Hence, intersectionality as a theory and research methodology helps in thinking about and understanding the connections between individuals, lived experiences, and socially constructed institutional arrangements (Crenshaw, 1991), which also works with critical realism and attention to experience. It enables the many constellations of intersecting lines of difference in the lives of early post-war Black migrants to emerge, in addition to the intricacies of early post-war Black migrants' everyday lived experiences of 'race' and racisms during a significant moment in Black British history set within broader political, social, and economic shifts in early post-war Britain.

Critical realism theory is compatible with research focused on lived experience because it pays particular notice to what people experience directly or indirectly and the structures and mechanisms that produce the events that happen, whether experienced or not. Hence, the feminist focus on 'race', racism, and experience, such as the standpoint and intersectional approach and theories, complements and provides additional depth to examining the three overlapping levels or domains of reality in critical realism.

The assemblage of these theoretical and epistemological approaches widens the scope for exploring the lives of early post-war Black migrants and the complexity of their experiences of 'race' and racisms, in addition to highlighting the workings of multiple processes of racialisation, including the underlying racial sensory categorisation of the racial 'other' and racial exclusions and hierarchy, which drew, marked, and maintained racial boundaries and discrimination in early post-war Britain.

## Chapter Four: Reframing the Arrival of Black and Minority Ethnic Migrants in Early Post-War Britain

### Introduction

This project excavates a range of unpublished primary research material that comprises the Notting Hill/North Kensington HISTORYtalk Community Group oral history project interviews – in particular, their Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival-related oral history community project material, including oral interviews and records. Local historical photographic material and filmmakers' projects, ephemera, and local council minutes and documents are also examined to gather content that reflects the different racialised and sensory aspects of the early Black and minority ethnic post-war migrants' everyday experiences in Britain.

The individual testimonies of early post-war Black migrant settlers and their life stories particularly allow for discovering patterns and meanings that might have been neglected or unrecognised in studies of 'race' and racisms solely focused on structural inequalities. Additionally, the life stories contribute in new ways toward a nuanced understanding of the multi-dimensional sensory affects and effects of 'race' and racisms, which are present in everyday sensory epistemologies, which comprise emotions and feelings such as fear, anger, doubt, loneliness, love, and hate.

The everyday experiences of 'race' and racisms experienced by Black migrants during the early post-war years in Britain are examined through the lens of local life in Notting Hill/North Kensington. Haight (2001) argues that telling and sharing life stories are acts of intimacy that allow people to forge connections across memories and with others. This study addresses the local oral history group participants by their first names to capture a sense of the person behind the story and a stronger human connection with the stories of early post-war Black migrants' racialised sensory experiences. Moreover, the primary focus is on the racialised senses and emotions, including the future hopes and dreams, aspirations, or expectations underlying an individual's positionality and intersectionality, which contributes to an astute analysis. Furthermore, it contributes to

understanding the early post-war Black migrants' lived experiences missing from the traditional institutional archives.

## 4.1 A Sensory Reframing of Early Post-War Black and Minority Ethnic Migrants' Arrival in Britain

The reasons and motivations behind Black post-war migrants coming to Britain to start a new life are neither uniform nor evident, as presented in the dominant normative discursive knowledge construction of 'the coloured problem' or popular accounts of the history of Black Britain. Instead, an assemblage of the senses, feelings, and mixed emotions are the additional driving forces and motivations that underlie the common academic analytical framework of historical, social, and economic push factors that brought early post-war Black migrants to England.

Thus, examining unpublished local oral history project research material consisting of the life testimonies of Notting Hill/North Kensington's early Black post-war migrants allows an exploration of the deep-seated mixed emotions and sensory feelings of Black migrants. This chapter's overarching theme is the arrival of early Black post-war Black migrants. It includes attention to emerging sensory themes in exploring the mixed emotions and sensory feelings in the formative childhood years and early adult life of early post-war migrants and their lived experiences in the West Indies prior to arrival in Britain. Moreover, the individual circumstances of early post-war Black migrants, life events before and at the point of leaving, and decisions to come to England are also explored. The focus on local oral life testimonies and research material and the role of the senses, feelings, and mixed emotions informing the dreams, perceptions, and expectations of the early Black migrants before and on arrival in Britain also runs throughout this chapter.

This chapter will consider the intersectional identities and different experiences of early post-war Black migrants who would make a life in Britain. Furthermore, it draws on the senses, feelings, and mixed emotions of post-war Black migrants in the early settlement years following their arrival in Britain to understand, for instance, the vitality and hopes of a new life that spurred Black migrants'

sense of strength and perseverance despite everyday experiences of ‘race’ and racisms, and their sense of racial alienation and disenchantment with the ‘Mother Country’, which, for some, would culminate in a strong desire to return home.

### 4.2 Race and the Racialisation of Early Post-War Racial Migrants’ Arrival in Britain

Early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants’ arrival in Britain was predetermined by the continuity of racism from the historical linkage between Western ideas of race-making and racialisation. Thus, ‘race’, racism, and the process of racialisation were the nexus of the early post-war discourse and normative discursive knowledge on racial immigration to Britain. The link between ‘race’, racialisation, and immigration was present from the outset in the discourse on the arrival of ‘coloured’ Commonwealth immigrants in the 1950s through to the later political discourse and response to increasing immigration in the 1960s, which overwhelmingly shifted to more stringent controls to regulate the arrival of the racially undesirable ‘other’.

Official British accounts of the Black migrants leaving their islands and their arrival in Britain provide apt examples of the undertone of the anxiety surrounding racial immigration and the racially biased reported arrival of hordes of racial migrants entering Britain and their impact on the English way of life. The dominant British normative discursive documentation and reporting of West Indian migrants about to embark on their new lives in England dehumanised the arriving Black migrants by likening them to ‘human cargo’. Moreover, they viewed Black migrants as lacking intelligence or common sense and consequential thinking skills because of their impulsive nature.

Thus, the image perpetuated was hordes of unintelligent and impetuous Black migrants rushing to Britain from their island homes drawn from Western European racialised sensory ideas of the racial other. For instance, non-white people were imagined to be more sensuous than whites and led by their passions in all its forms. Gobineau (1853) argued that the Negroid was the lowest of the human species and stood at the foot of the ladder. Moreover, the animal character of the Negro was stamped

from birth, and while he had ‘dull or even non-existent’ mental faculties, he possessed a terrible ‘intensity for desire’ (Gobineau, 1853, p.205).

Furthermore, in the Western European imperial imagination, non-white people were considered visually lacking and thus intellectually benighted in their sensory brutality due to their supposed reliance on the ‘lower senses’ of touch, taste, and smell. For example, Jamaican historian Edward Long argued that the disparity between whites and Negroes was evident in the facilities of the mind, which for the Negro had remained unchanged for two thousand years. As such, Negroes, in their animal-like state, were devoid of genius in general, and they had ‘no moral sensations’ (Long, 1774, p.353). Additionally, Kant (1764), in his anthropological writings, revealed his feelings that Blacks were inferior intellectually and morally due to their phenotypical difference related to the Blackness of their skin – as expressed in his view that a Negro man was ‘…quite black from head to foot...’ which stood as ‘… clear proof that what he said was stupid’ (Kant, 1764, pp.254–255).

The racialised sensory-informed dominant normative discursive knowledge also shaped the racialised feelings and sometimes deeply vitriolic racism perpetrated by ordinary white English people towards early post-war Black immigrants in British everyday life. As the early race relations sociologist Kenneth Little (1944) asserted, it was a period when many English men, women, and children absorbed prejudicial ideas and notions concerning ‘Coloured People’. Moreover, he argued it was due to the popular knowledge and cultural atmosphere in post-war Britain that was ‘pseudo-anthropological’ and concerned the ‘mental inferiority of Coloured People; the biological ‘ill-effects’ of racial crossing and a variety of other superstitions’ (Little, 1944, p.51).

The early post-war British media depicted Black migrants as desperately earnest to leave their islands for no other reason than to find work and training and primarily reap Britain’s economic rewards and gains. The British media actively promoted the idea that Britain was being inundated by hordes of hopeless Black migrants and minority ethnic migrants with no prospects in life. For example, *The Times* newspaper published early race relations scholar Ruth Glass’ article, which described a scene where West Indians were ‘…packed onto an Italian liner…’. Also published was

how the West Indians would '…take any passage to England they can get, by ship or charter plane…' in their mounting urgency to depart their homes (*The Times*, November 22, 1961, p.13).

The British media also engendered and stimulated the racial fears of Black migrants' arrival in Britain. For instance, the 1954 *The Times* article 'The West Indian Settlers' warned the British people that '…the West Indians are coming not singly or in small batches, but in weekly *battalions*; and all evidence suggests that those who have already come are merely a token for what might be called, not extravagantly, a mass exodus of coloured workers from islands, in which they feel economic blight has fallen….' (*The Times*, November 8, 1954, p.7).

Moreover, the early post-war British media perpetuated the idea that 'coloured' immigrants were ignorantly flocking over to England and arriving from the West Indies to burden the economic resources of their host society. For example, *The Times* newspaper article reported how coloured immigrants, bewildered and unprepared for life and work in Britain, were stepping out of the train on their arrival with '…. nothing more than one small suitcase or a paper carrier bag…' and with '… few of the immigrants having jobs awaiting them. Many are finding temporary accommodation with other West Indians. Until they could find room or jobs…' (*The Times*, August 7, 1956, pp.6–7).

## 4.3 Early Post-War Black Migrant Life, Experiences of Home, and the Decision to Leave

However, in contrast to racially biased British media reports on the arrival and subsequent problems presented by the 'coloured' migrants, the intersection of multiple categories and the differences and complexities of Black and minority ethnic migrant experiences reveals a much more intricate and interesting understanding of Black British immigration. Hence, exploring Black migrants' everyday lived experiences with an intra-categorical complexity approach is helpful, as the focus is placed on particular social groups at neglected points of intersections to reveal the complexity of lived experience and the range of diversity and difference within such groups. As McCall argues, '… broad racial, national, class and gender structures of inequality have an impact and must be discussed, but do not determine the complex nature of day-to-day life for individual members of the social group under study' (McCall, 2005, pp.1774, 1782).

Life in the West Indies before coming to Britain is equally essential to understanding the Black migrant experiences of arrival and life in Britain. It gives an insight into the complex natures, mixed emotions, and feelings of the individuals behind the official and media accounts of the 'coloured' migrants. Furthermore, it also reveals the broader historical racial narrative of British imperialism and colonialism and their legacy of racialised affects and impact in the lives of Britain's colonial subjects. For example, in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony, Wilf Walker reflects on his childhood. Wilf felt his childhood in Trinidad and Tobago was happy until he was around nine or ten years old, when he started to feel negative emotions about the colour and shade of his skin. Wilf felt being 'very Black' was hard because '…you are at the bottom of the pile [and] have not got any opportunity…'. He also says of his childhood experience, '…anyone who is a shade lighter than you… felt they were superior to you. So, there were shades of Blackness, and if you were blue-black, you were at the bottom of the pile… everyone aspired to be white… to be as close to this rule as possible' (Walker, 2003).

Thus, even from an early age, Wilf was aware of the structure and influence of the racial hierarchy introduced to the Caribbean Islands due to British colonial and imperial rule, which negatively affected his own sense of being in his formative years. Wilf's awareness of being Black and experience of colour shadism produced a miserable experience at home that would become a critical mechanism in his drive and desire to leave and start a new life in England.

During the oral testimony of his life, Wilf also explained how his father left Trinidad and came to England in 1959, followed by his mother in 1960, while Wilf remained in Trinidad. Wilf describes how by the age of 15, he had reached a stage where he lost his sense of belongingness in Trinidad, and he says, '… I had got into a situation where I just did not feel I belonged anywhere… I was really miserable there. The more the sun beat down on me, the more wretched I felt… and so I got myself together. I got my ticket. I got my passport. I got my papers… I really just wanted to get out of there. And I got on that boat, and I forgot to even wave… I didn't even wave to the place, I just wanted to get out… so that was Trinidad for me, [a] very, very miserable place' (Walker, 2003).

Hence, some early post-war migrants, such as Wilf, felt unhappy, disassociated, and alienated from their island homes and lives, or were experiencing problems for different reasons, which manifested in a strong desire to leave home. This was in contrast to other Black migrants who felt distressed because they did not want to leave their homes and family. For instance, in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Oral History Project life story, Lepke Anderson shared that he came to England in 1962 from Jamaica when he was seven years old. As an early post-war migrant child, Lepke had no choice but to come to England based on his parents' decision, but recalled how he felt and dealt with the emotional stress of having to leave his home: '…I did not want to come [to England], so I ran away when in Jamaica… but in the end, I had to…' (Anderson, 2002). The feelings and mixed emotions involved in the decision to leave home and start a new life in the 'Mother Country' also involved the desire for new adventures and opportunities. A spirit and passion for adventure and experience of the world was also a driving force that pushed many early post-war Black migrants, and not the limiting account of economic factors as the principal reason that brought them to England.

McClintock argues that an anachronistic space is where colonised people like women and the working class in the imperial metropolis and the racial other who do not inhabit history proper existed in a permanently anterior time within the geographic space of the modern Empire. Furthermore, they were perceived as anachronistic humans that were prehistoric, atavistic, bereft of human agency, and irrational, and inherently out of place in the historical time of modernity (McClintock, 1995, p.40).

White Western Europeans' use of the racialised senses to define their moral self-superiority has also placed the (sensory) experiences of 'the racial other' outside history in an 'anachronistic space'. Early post-war British normative discursive knowledge deemed that racialised colonial subjects existed in an anachronistic space without world experience and characterised them as unsophisticated, simple-minded peoples from small, poverty-stricken islands, attracted to Britain under the misguided perception that it was a land flowing with milk and honey. However, early Black post-war migrants, with no involvement with the British Army, had a worldly sensibility, outlook, and lived experiences of life outside of their islands. Before coming to the 'Mother Country', they travelled and lived in other countries worldwide. For instance, as Rocky Byron (2002), born in Trinidad in 1928, shared in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony, 'I had already travelled the world before arriving in England and danced in Russia, Europe and Brazil…' and '…I took a ship from there to Newcastle as a stowaway' (Byron, 2002).

### 4.4 Black Migrant Women's Mixed Emotions, Feelings, and Arrival Experiences

Understanding the arrival of West Indians has largely been masculine-centred (e.g., Hinds, 1966; Selvon, 1956). The focus on male immigration from the colonies in the early years has tended to dominate over an equal stress being placed on West Indian female migrants' arrival experiences. On the one hand, this can be partially understood since predominantly Black male migrants came to England in the early years to establish a secure footing before sending for their partners, wives, mothers, and children.

However, female experiences of leaving home and arrival, such as the West Indian wives who later followed their husbands to start a new life in England, were difficult for some of them. This runs contrary to British media reports, which gave the impression that masses of Black migrants were leaving their homes on the islands and travelling to England on a whim. Instead, the desire to maintain their marital relationships and family life, which included their children, was one of the main reasons why many early post-war Black migrant women chose to come to England. Moreover, they experienced a variety of mixed emotions and feelings about coming to England, such as excitement and anticipation or trepidation at the prospect of the unknown or reluctance to leave the security of their home life and the support of their extended family members, friends, and close-knit island communities in the West Indies.

Connie Mark (1992) shared her life testimony as part of the Notting Dale Urban Ethnic Communities Oral History Project (Barry et al., 1992), which focused on senior citizens from the Caribbean and their experiences of coming to Britain. Connie was born in Jamaica and had a successful ten-year career as a lance corporal and corporal in the British Army in Jamaica before she came to England in 1954 with her three-month-old daughter to join her husband. Connie reveals an example of the mixed emotions and feelings behind the arrival of early post-war Black migrants, in contrast to feeling desperately earnest to leave her life, home, and immediate and extended family members in Jamaica for no other reason than to find work and training, which the British media attributed as a cause of the swarm of arriving Black migrants.

Connie's love for her husband and child and her commitment to keeping her small family together overruled her aversion to moving and settling in Britain. As Connie explained, 'I just got married to my husband 18 months before, and his daughter was born while he was in England… obviously, he would like to see his child… so when I came here, I did not come here to better myself, I just came here because I just got married and I had this young baby, and my husband wanted to see his child… I literally came for one year but not to live… I left all my stuff, everything in Jamaica because I thought

I was going back to my house, to my family' (Marks, 1992; *The Motherland Calls: Ethnic Communities Oral History Project*, Hammersmith United Charities, 2018).

Moreover, amidst these difficult mixed emotions of leaving home and arrival, a sense of shock was also commonly experienced by many early post-war Black migrants who felt disbelief at the poor conditions of the 'Mother Country'. For instance, Connie also identifies that her arrival experience was '...very hard, very difficult…' because her family had problems finding a home, had to move several times, and lived in Notting Hill/North Kensington during the 1958 race riots. However, Connie further gives some insight into the arrival experience for Black migrant women who were mothers with babies and young children and how their disappointed expectations of England would also give rise to feelings of discomfiture and indignation – for example, when Connie and her husband thought it was normal to rent a room that had a bath when you had a baby. However, she says that on arrival in Britain, they ended up living in '…a little tiny little room and we could only bathe once a week, and that was on a Thursday in the landlord's kitchen… half the time you say to yourself 'My God!' what have I come to' (Marks, 1992; *The Motherland Calls: Ethnic Communities Oral History Project*, Hammersmith United Charities, 2018)

The emotions of leaving home and experiences of arrival in post-war Britain for Black women migrants are varied and not always directly connected to male migrants' stories of arrival from the position of being a wife who later followed their spouse to England. For example, many post-war Black female migrants were women who had a clear sense of purpose and were driven to come to England, whether by a desire for new adventures, to forge a career, or to pursue their education. In his Notting Hill/North Kensington oral life testimony, Colin Prescod (2003) recalls that his mother came to England from Trinidad in 1955 to undertake a singing and performance scholarship at Guilford School of Music and Drama before he arrived to join her in 1958 (Prescod, 2003).

Additionally, in her HISTORYtalk and Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimonies, Pansy Jefferies shared that her purpose for coming to England in 1946 was to educate herself. Pansy came from an educated and middle-class background in the Crown Colony of British

Guiana before she arrived in England with her brother, who became a judge in the High Court of Independent Guyana. Her father was headmaster of a primary school, her mother was a teacher before marrying her father, and Pansy explains that they had a gardener and a cook in British Guiana and that '… a number of white officials lived in our street' (Jefferies, 2001a; 2001b). Pansy recalls that she travelled to England via the United States, where her aunt, a lawyer, wanted her to stay to study and practice law. However, Pansy decided to follow her original career aspirations to study in England. She subsequently completed her studies, became a nurse, married in 1951, returned home to Guiana, and worked as a trained nurse before returning to England in 1956 with her family.

Thus, early Black migrant women also had clear career aspirations and a strong sense of ambition, purpose, and determination to achieve goals, which informed their decision to leave their homes and come to England. However, contrary to these intentions, official race relations studies further reinforced the British misconception that Black migrants came from unlearned backgrounds and lived a simple bush life in the colonies before they arrived in England. Moreover, they perpetuated the impression that West Indians did not know better due to their lack of advancement in the civilising process, for instance, as race relations scholar Pearl Jephcott (1964) argued, '…the primitive to which some, if a minority, of West Indians, have been accustomed – the poverty and yaws of certain rural areas of Jamaica, or the mud and mosquito-ridden villages of much of the coastal plain in Guiana…' (Jephcott, 1964, p.84).

Pansy also says she encountered racism on the Queen Mary ship during her voyage from New York to England. She recalls that a white English man refused to sit with her at the same dining table, and she was made to move and sit with a Brazilian woman instead. Pansy remembers her hurt, embarrassment, and disappointment due to the racist treatment and how it tainted her experience of coming to England and affected her. She says, '...For two days, I stayed in my cabin and only came out for meals on the third day…', but only because, eventually, '…I managed to ignore the situation…' (Jefferies, 2001b).

Pansy's experience of travelling to England gives insight into early young Black women's migrant emotions, feelings, and sensory experiences at the juncture of leaving home and arrival. Further, it also marks the beginning of a heightened sense of racial awareness that emerges with being positioned as a minority racial other, a common experience for many early post-war Black migrants when they came to Britain. For example, Pansy identifies how she suddenly experienced a heightened sense of racial awareness and its sensory effects following her feeling of hurt and demoralisation due to the racist incident. Pansy says she eventually also found the courage to venture out onto the ship's deck and realised that, besides herself, '… there were only two other non-white passengers, a Chinese and an Indian' (Jefferies, 2001b).

In her North Kensington Tabernacle, Colville Community History Group Britain at Work Project oral life testimony, early post-war Black female migrant Velma 'Vee' Davis also shared experiences, including her arrival and experiences in Britain. Vee was born and brought up in Trinidad and arrived in Notting Hill/North Kensington in 1957 as a young single woman in her early 20s. She came to England not for economic or work reasons, but because her young female friend, who was already in the country as a trainee nurse, felt miserable and lonely, so she asked her to come over. Hence, although other Black migrants had relatives they could call on, Vee was a lone young Black migrant woman who, as she states, always had a sense of 'making it' in England no matter the difficulties and felt '…it was something I had in me from home, I'll get through this…I had no relatives here… I could not run to somebody… So, I had to look after myself' (Davis, 2012).

On her arrival in England, Vee went straight to North Kensington and immediately encountered the British racism that post-war Black migrants commonly experienced. She says, '…I remember looking around for somewhere to live, and you see all the signs with 'no blacks, no children, no Irish, no dogs', and you knew that you ain't [sic] going to ask. They say that there are rooms to rent, but you're not going to ask because you know you're one of those… you know you're Black, so keep out' (Davis, 2012). Moreover, due to early post-war British racism directed towards Black migrants, Vee, a young Black single woman, became a Rachman tenant in the slums of Powis Square. She remembers the sensory emotions and feelings of intimidation, fear, and menace experienced by Rachman tenants

and says, '… it was a hell of a time, you don't dare complain, who are you going to complain to? Your [sic] so glad to have a roof over your head… you just made sure you worked and get the money to pay him (Davis, 2012).

Vee's experiences of arrival and settling in post-war Britain also reveal an example of the complexity of lived experiences and day-to-day life, which are less documented at the neglected points of the intersections within post-war Black British migrant experiences. Black female migrant experiences of arrival in early post-war Notting Hill/North Kensington were also one of caution due to the dangers of city life facing single young women. For example, Vee's oral life testimony reveals the fear of crime victimisation experienced by some early post-war Black female migrants. Vee identifies the anxiety and fear she felt over her safety as a lone woman with no relatives in Britain as the reason she would never drink alcohol on a night out. She states, '…. I was never into drinks; I could go to these clubs, and you drink, and I always used to think to myself, I don't want to drink because it will go to my head. Then the next morning I'll wonder how [did] you get in here, what did you do last night? I don't want to have to worry about that. Because you had to look after yourself' (Davis, 2012).

Moreover, the white British population's nervousness about Black migrant sexuality extended to early post-war Black female migrants. A 1956 *Picture Post* article entitled 'Thirty Thousand Colour Problems' reported on young West Indian women arriving in Southampton and disembarking from the SS Irpina. The article's images depict respectable-looking West Indian women sitting with their suitcases. However, the headline reads 'Trouble and Distress Are Brewing' and the article reports that young Black early post-war migrant women came '…with only a vague idea of what job they want to do, and their qualifications are even vaguer, except perhaps for their good looks. It is unknown that the economic that drove her off the shores of her home have driven her onto the streets of London. A walk around the West End of London or some provincial city like Birmingham readily confirms this' (Marchant, 1956, p.38).

Vannini et al. (2012) have discussed how the sexual dynamics of touch and sensuous mean-making or sensual ways of knowing, whether evoking desirable or undesirable sensations, can also be a principle by which we know and understand the world. Moreover, touch was thought to be a crude and uncivilised mode of perception by Western Europeans, and it was considered that societies that touched did not think much and had yet to rise above the animal life of the body (Classen, 2012). Hence, this animal life of the body, based on the lower senses, including touch, saw primitive peoples as sexually licentious and having a non-human animal sexuality compared to the mind and sight being the higher part of human nature in the 'civilised' white man who, through 'reason', was believed to be in constant battle with the lower parts of human nature with the demands of the flesh and the body (Bland, 1995).

However, as Stallybrass and White (1986) argue, '…disgust always bears the imprint of desire. These low domains, apparently expelled as 'other', return as the object of nostalgia, longing, and fascination' (Stallybrass & White, 1986, p.191). Stallybrass and White (1986) further argue that 'the savage… placed at the outer limits of civil society… becomes symbolic content of bourgeoisie desire' (Stallybrass & White, 1986, p.191). Thus, white Western Europeans' ambivalent desire for the racial other manifested in terms of the lower sense of touch. Various links have also been made between the ways that sex was at the heart of the development of 'race' and racism of the 19th Century, particularly through a 'compulsive libidinal attraction disavowed by an equal insistence repulsion' for Black people (Bland, 1995; Gilman,1985; McClintock, 1995; Young, 1995, p.149).

Western Europeans have a long history of identifying and marking 'the other' through deviant sexuality and sexual behaviour along the axis of desire and repulsion to inscribe a racial hierarchy. Moreover, women were often mobilised to indicate the savagery and sexual dangerousness of non-white people and a threat to Western white masculinity. For instance, the concern with the lower sense of touch, in terms of 'race', sex, and desire, was a constant theme in the travel writing of early modern European men. Their travel writing also contained the conflict and contradiction of their feelings of attraction and desire toward the Black and non-white women they encountered (Ligon,

1657, p.15[24]; Vespucci, 1505, pp.8, 11[25]). Simultaneously, disgust and repulsion were uniformly applied to Black and non-white varieties of human races (Ligon, 1657). Evident in the explorers and travellers to the New World and Africa is their focus on the sexuality and sexual behaviour of non-white women as evidence of their insatiability. For example, for the early travellers, non-white women were '… immoderately libidinous, more so than the men' and '…have inordinate lust' (Vespucci, 1505, p.10).

Hence, the underlying racialised characterisation of newly arrived young Black West Indian migrant women as morally and sexually slack and opportunistic in the *Picture Post* article reinforces and peddles the Western sensory history of 'race' making, the racialised senses, sexualised racial stereotypes, and fear of miscegenation under a seeming concern for their moral welfare. However, as Miller has argued, contempt is an emotion that asserts a superior ranking against its object, and it often informs the seemingly benevolent and polite treatment of the inferior (Miller, 1997, p.32).

The personal experiences of West Indian women who were subjected to the threat of sexual exploitation on arrival in Britain in the 1950s by both white and Black men are less frequently noted in the history of Black Britain. For instance, in her oral life testimony, Vee also recalls that when she lived in Colville Square on her arrival in Britain, 'Michael was a guy I'd known from Trinidad… Michael de Freitas, they used to call him Michael X[26]… when I asked about looking for somewhere to live, he sent me to see this man… I remember just walking in there and saying to the man I am looking for a place, and he asked me if I wanted it for business… I was green and stupid, and all I said to the man was mister, I don't have no money to open a business…'. However, Vee later finds out that the man was the slum landlord, Peter Ranchman, and she says '...he thought I should be a prostitute,

[24] Ligon, R. (1657) *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados.* London: Humphrey Moseley.
[25] Vespucci, A. (1505–6) (trans M.K. 1885) *Vespucci (Amerigo) Letters Concerning the Isles Newly Discovered in his Four Voyages*. London: Bernard Quaritch.
[26] Infamous Michael de Freitas, or Michael X, immigrated to London from Trinidad in 1957 and was known as a gambling racketeer and rent collector for slum landlord Peter Rachman who ran a brothel and acted as a pimp for local prostitutes in Coville, North Kensington. Michael would later also style himself as a self-proclaimed black activist.

and he would be my pimp… it clicked, and it all came together that the business that man asked about was to go on the streets' (Davis, 2012).

However, the murkier side of arrival experiences in England for early post-war Black women was also mixed with good times from the social and leisure life that Black migrants created for themselves in the local area. For example, young single Black migrant women could also experience the joys and freedom of a full social life. Vee further recounts during her oral life testimony that '…as soon as the weekend come [sic] you just had to party, you'd buy a top or a skirt or whatever and you look good and just party until Monday morning and go back to work'. Vee also says, '...we were having fun, there were so few of us that when we meet each other, we were happy to be together and party the night away… I had no parents or nobody to tell me what time to come in; I come in in the morning when I'm tired…' (Davis, 2012).

## 4.5 Early Black Migrant Children's Experiences of Arrival and Racism at the Intersections of Black Migrant Experiences

Early post-war Black migrant men and women's stories and experiences of coming to England intersect with early post-war Black migrant children's arrival experiences, which usually emerged from their parents' decision to forge a new life. Black migrant children who arrived in early post-war Britain experienced considerable differences from their previous lifestyles. For instance, growing up in the West Indies prior to leaving home would commonly have included a network of extended family members and friends that provided a safety net and offered a high level of security in the setting of an island community. For many children, life in the Caribbean also provided a sense of social ease and spaces such as beaches, fields, and rivers close to villages where they felt a sense of liberty and could play.

Conversely, many early post-war Black migrant children were not accustomed to life in Britain on their arrival and found themselves living in conditions very different from home. For example, when

early post-war Black migrant children came to England, they suddenly lived in cramped and tightly contained urban conditions surrounded by a hostile and abusive white local community. In his Notting Hill/North Kensington Oral History Project life testimony, Colin clearly defines his experience of arriving and settling in North Kensington as a child in terms of coming to live in a ghetto. As Colin identifies, '…yes, an old-fashioned word, but I use it deliberately. I am talking about a very poor quarter. I lived in Ladbroke Grove, North Kensington, very, very poor quarter, poor before the new Black working-class migrant arrived. Poor is a cliché, well known because there are slum properties with slum landlords, who were the only ones prepared to give these people places to live…' (Prescod, 2003).

Moreover, Basil Jarvis, who came to England aged twelve from Antigua in 1959, shared in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Oral History Project life testimony that he lived in a one-storey wooden house in Antigua as a child. He says he was not from a rich or poor family, but had the best of both worlds before coming to England (Jarvis, 2003). Basil recalls that he lived in St Stephen Garden in North Kensington on his arrival in Britain, which was well known as a street located in the heart of Rachmanism in the Colville Ward. Basil says that it was '…one of those houses you could still see in Ledbury Road… My mother and myself was on a ground floor, a family of seven in the basement, another family of six on the first floor, a family of four on the second floor and a family of eight in the top. Over 20 people…' (Jarvis, 2003).

Basil also remembers his arrival in Britain as an extremely unpleasant, upsetting, and disappointing experience. He says that '…apart from living in the houses, which were owned by Rachman, being a nightmare, I found this country to be a nightmare. It was not what I had been told it would be like when I left Antigua… it was awful, it was a whole different experience from the expectations I had before I left. You were given a brochure and we always looked at England as the 'Mother Country'. To be coming to a situation, what you see and what you are told and to live this experience was totally different…' (Jarvis, 2003).

Loftus Burton (2003) also arrived in Britain in the winter of 1958, aged eight, from Dominica and came to live in North Kensington. In his Notting Hill/North Kensington Oral History Project life testimony, Loftus also recollects his childhood experience of the living conditions in the area on his arrival and conveys his childhood sense of disheartenment at the deplorable substandard housing. For instance, he and his family found themselves in a poorly located house, which was overcrowded and lacked basic facilities. Loftus says that '… the housing conditions for Black people generally, were very sort of…we had a two-bedroom flat, which basically, my parents actually had their own room, which was partitioned. Bedroom sort of living room, sitting room, and my cousin was living with us. He had the other room, which he shared with me. We had a bathroom on the other landing, and the kitchen was two landings down. So basically, [it] sort of went down two landings to a very small kitchen, and the toilet was on the next landing. We would share them with a doctor's surgery… we had the bathroom on the same landing, small bathroom, but again at that time, most people didn't actually use the baths; they tended to go to the public baths…' (Burton, 2003).

Moreover, in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Oral History Project life testimony, Loftus recalls being immediately exposed to racism and prejudice when he arrived. Loftus reveals that early Black migrant children's arrival experience was also of everyday racisms and racist abuse. For example, as an eight-year-old boy, Loftus was racially abused en route to a local shop from his house, and he recalls how the white adult occupants of a car that was passing '…wound down the window, spat at me. They said the usual words, you know, you're a Black bastard, go back to your country' (Burton, 2003).

Similarly, Michael La Rose came to England from Trinidad in 1963, aged seven. In his Notting Hill/North Kensington Oral History Project life testimony, Michael recalls the casual racism he experienced as a child on his arrival. Michael says a person was giving him change in a sweet shop and said, 'thank you, little wog', but as a child, he did not understand what it meant, and he remembers his mother was angry when she found out and returned to the shop and argued with the shopkeeper (La Rose, 2001).

Brown's (2020) methodology of the sensuous holds that personal experience is a form of phenomenological reflection, which includes descriptions of visceral sensations, somatic observations, sequences of events, emotions, and thoughts on how 'race' happens as a sensuous event (Sekimoto & Brown, 2020, p.15). Hence, for Loftus and many other early post-war Black migrant children, these racialised everyday experiences of racisms on their arrival in Britain are important because they are pivotal moments for early post-war Black migrant children when 'race' starts to become real experientially and 'registered feelingly' (Brown, 2020) as a racialised other in new ways. Moreover, as an adult in later life, Loftus describes the racist abuse as 'the usual words'. However, as a child, that experience of 'race' happening as a sensuous event at that moment and the visceral affectivity of fear and confusion from the hateful act of violent racial othering would have registered painfully on his feelings and emotions and damaged his growing sense of self and belonging.

## 4.6 Early Post-War Black Migrants' (Sensory) Experiences and Impressions on Arrival in Britain

The first impression of the 'Mother Country' for many early post-war Black migrants arriving in Britain is also an important event because it reveals a mixture of sensory and visceral bodily sensations and emotional reactions. The BBC Windrush documentary that focuses on the journey and arrival of early post-war Black migrants in Britain evidences the interplay of bodily sensations and emotions of arrival. For example, a white English cook on the SS Windrush recalled that the West Indian migrants disembarking from the ship '… were feeling cold… you could see they were feeling cold…' and '…all tensed up with fear of what was to come' (BBC Windrush Documentary, 1998[27]).

Indeed, the senses are important to capture the sensory experiences of arrival and first impressions in the history of Black Britain. For example, it was common for many early post-war Black migrants to associate their first sensory impression of England with the weather, particularly the cold, and their

[27] 'Arrival': Episode One. *Windrush,* BBC 2 Television Documentary, 1998.

bodily sensations and reactions. For example, Colin Fullerton recalls that when he arrived in England in 1948, 'my first impression of Britain was that it was cold…' (Fullerton, 1992, p.8). Further, Thomas Joseph, who came to England from Guyana in 1965 to live with his wife and daughter, stated, 'my first impression of England was that it was too damn cold. If it was possible, I would have turned back immediately…' (Joseph, 1992, p.15; *The Motherland Calls: Ethnic Communities Oral History Project*, Hammersmith United Charities, 2018).

However, Vee also remembers the sense of visual deprivation, sensory disorientation, and fear that she experienced on the streets of Notting Hill on her arrival due to the dense London smog. In her North Kensington Tabernacle, Colville Community History Group Britain at Work Project oral life testimony, Vee says, '… the place is dark, you're dark, and you're wondering who's behind you because you don't know, you can't see, you can't see faces… no matter how white you are, you can't see the faces… and sometimes you bump into people… and [say] sorry, sorry…' (Davis, 2012).

Basil also recalls in his local HISTORYtalk project oral life testimony that he initially felt overjoyed that he was coming to meet his mother when he was twelve years old. However, it turned out to be a 'different nightmare' once he arrived. Loftus left Antigua in August and, following a difficult voyage on an Italian ship called the Escania, arrived in September when it was '...freezing cold'. He recalls, '…my mother met me at Waterloo… and had a coat for me. But then after that, I wanted to go back…' (Jarvis, 2003). Moreover, Loftus, who arrived during the middle of a very bitter British winter when he was eight in 1958, remembers his first impressions of England in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Oral History Project life testimony. He recalls that it was '…completely confusing' because he had never seen snow or fog before, and interestingly, also says feeling the 'coldness of the British people' became quite apparent as soon as he arrived (Burton, 2003).

However, some post-war Black migrants experienced a positive sensory impression of England when they first arrived. For example, Alberta Blackman-Thomas (1992) came to England in 1961 to join her adult son and young grandchildren. Alberta left the warm climate of Guyana one December morning, and she vividly remembers her first experience of the British winter and snow on arrival in

England after a long-delayed and difficult flight from New York. Alberta positively expresses how the snow evoked feelings of 'wonder' and 'awe' when she arrived at Manchester Airport. Moreover, she remembers her feelings of joy on arrival: '…Well, when we landed, everyone was happy; I was happy, I was glad, but I was more excited with the white snow. I saw snow in our Royal Reader books when we read about it and saw it in pictures but had never seen it in person' (Blackman-Thomas, 1992, pp.19–20; *The Motherland Calls: Ethnic Communities Oral History Project,* Hammersmith United Charities, 2018).

Moreover, the sight and experience of snow made a strong sensory impression on Alberta, which she expressed by writing a short verse about her arrival experience. She says, 'As I travelled by coach to London that ole year night, cold and shivering, shaken by the anxiety of the flight, I watched with amazement and joyous delight; the frost-covered windows, Christmas tree twinkling with light…'. In addition, Alberta states that '…It was a never-to-be-forgotten scene for me because I had never before in my life seen this scenery, and I looked as I travelled all the way in amazement… it was indeed a marvellous sight for me. I was still a bit cold but with happiness in my heart' (Blackman-Thomas, 1995, pp.19–20; *The Motherland Calls: Ethnic Communities Oral History Project,* Hammersmith United Charities, 2018).

Contrary to the sense and feelings of wonder, joy, and some extent, awe experienced by Black migrants, such as Alberta, on their arrival in Britain, the emotions and feelings of arrival were not always pleasant ones and were often more of a jarring experience of shock, surprise, and disappointment for many Black migrants. For example, one early post-war West Indian migrant featured in the BBC documentary on the Windrush generation recalls that he felt 'excitement tinged with uncertainty' when he came to England because he had no idea what would happen next. He also recalls that '…I saw the chimneys and thought they were factories and thought there was 'nuff' work not knowing they were houses' but felt 'shocked' and 'surprised' when he saw a white engine driver on the train and white porters because he thought only Black people did this kind of work, as was the case in Jamaica (BBC Windrush Documentary, 1998).

West Indian migrant Ros Howells also stated in his Windrush documentary interview that he expected England to be wonderful after reading classics such as Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre and Shakespeare, but felt 'shocked' at the grey and dismal country that he arrived in because he had the sense that England was more prosperous-looking than it actually was. Instead, he found England to be shabby; it 'felt poor', and had an alien, strange, and cold landscape (BBC Windrush Documentary, 1998). In addition, Alfred Harvey, another early Black post-war migrant interviewed for the Windrush documentary, also felt shocked by the shabby conditions of post-war Britain. He was further shocked by the indifference and antagonism of the British people because he was expecting to be welcomed, but was instead surprised by the English people's ignorance and lack of knowledge of the significance of who the West Indians were (BBC Windrush Documentary, 1998).

Thus, the image of the 'Mother Country' taught in the colonies was tarnished for many early post-war Black migrants when confronted by the poor conditions of England and its people. Accordingly, as Miller further observes, the emotion of contempt can move upwards. The lower person need not necessarily hold himself superior in some respect to the higher person to experience contempt for him, but need only discern that the higher person is lower than the higher level he claims for himself (Miller, 1997, p.220).

## 4.7 Early Post-War Black Migrant Lives in Britain and the Mixed Emotions and Feelings of Nostalgia, Loss, and Longing for Home

*The Times* newspaper article 'Nostalgia for Salt Fish and Sunshine' reported how '…many *(West Indians)* say they want to go back; they long for sunshine, for their friends, for ackee and salt fish, for time to stand still and gossip. But for many, going back will be a dream that is put off from year to year. More will come; those here will have children; Jamaicans and their descendants will be with us for a long time, a visibly different minority' (*The Times*, August 3, 1962, p.xi).

Most early post-war British media coverage of Black migrants focused on building and fuelling the panic surrounding racial immigration and the number of Black migrants arriving. Moreover, the constant stress was on the 'influx of racial migrants' and keeping a regular tally on their numbers with headlines, for example, announcing to its British readers that 'Nearly 700 Coloured Immigrants Arrived' (*The Times*, August 1956, p.6).

However, a few media reports commented on the early post-war Black migrants who chose to return home because life in England had failed to live up to their expectations and desires. For example, one article in *The Times,* '20 Jamaicans Going Home', cites '…the ice, snow, and fog' as one reason behind West Indians returning home (*The Times*, May 27, 1955, p.7). Another article reported that although the newcomers far outnumbered those departing, Britain's cold weather was the leading complaint of coloured immigrants; moreover, the number of coloured migrants going home increased in winter because '...many West Indians do not become acclimatised to the cold' (*The Times*, November 18, 1955, p.13).

Nonetheless, the different factors and reasons behind Black migrants' desire to return home go far beyond their inability to acclimatise to the cold British winters. For instance, the assemblage of mixed emotions and feelings of leaving home and arrival that Black migrants experienced would become further complicated by a sense of disillusioned love for the 'Mother Country' and hurt following the racist treatment they were subject to on arrival in England because, as Connie says in her heart and mind, 'I was born British, educated British… we were brought up to love the King, love the Queen, to love England and to respect England, and then you see a sign saying 'No Blacks'… that hurt, that really hurt…' (Marks, 1992; *The Motherland Calls: Ethnic Communities Oral History Project*, Hammersmith United Charities, 2018).

In addition, the mixed emotions and feelings of arrival in England for many early post-war Black migrants also included emotions of melancholy, nostalgia, and a longing to return home. Moreover, a sense of loneliness emerged from missing family members they had left behind and, for some migrants, a sad feeling of resignation that they would have to remain in England. For instance, in his

Notting Hill/North Kensington Oral History Project life testimony, Ron Biggs, who came to England alone from Jamaica in 1959, says that on his arrival in England '….my impression is how am I going home… I missed my mother… for about five years I couldn't settle down because of she [sic], wondering how she was getting on….' but '…she persuade [sic] me to stay because I wanted to come home...' (Biggs, 2003).

Ron also states, '…I planned to come for five years for the opportunities that people are telling me that you have in England… it was cold, oh boy. I felt that if I had had a ticket to go back, I would have gone back in the first two months…' and '… it was not easy for none of us… some have gone back, six months they were here and then they went back because their parents could send money for them to come back home. My mother did not have the money to bring me back to Jamaica, so I stick it [sic]. I'm here 42 years. Long time' (Biggs, 2003).

Finally, the mixed emotions of leaving home, arrival, and early settlement in England are also ones of grief and living with a continued sense of loss over time. Some post-war Black migrants, as they grew old in England, looked back at their youth and former lives in the Caribbean and the loss of loved ones who remained (hooks, 2018). For instance, when talking about when his father died, Darcus Howe identified in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony what he called the 'The Immigrant Condition', and says '… from the moment you leave that boat, and it heads to the ocean, and you wave to your parents, you are haunted by every postal delivery unless the telegram comes and says he's dead or my mum's dead. That's the condition we've had to live with' (Howe, 2004).

## Chapter Five: The Empire Comes Home: Space, Place, and 'Race' and a Local Sensory History of Black Migrant Experiences in British Post-War Cities

### Introduction

Space and place are important in the lives of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants in Britain because this is where the daily problems they encountered and overcame in their lives are documented and found. The experiences of leaving home and arriving in Britain are also the starting point to understanding early post-war Black migrants' racialised sensory experiences in England. In their effort to settle and make a new life in an unfamiliar environment, early post-war Black migrants would have to endure the tribulations and challenges of finding adequate housing and employment and gaining access to social and public spaces and places, such as clubs and pubs. Moreover, they would suffer the adversity of everyday racisms and a lack of respect and common decency from some British people.

Following the 1958 outbreak of racial violence in Notting Hill/North Kensington, the Borough of Kensington council's General Purpose Committee members[28] commissioned an investigation into the 'inter-racial antagonism'. Consequently, the General Purpose Committee members concluded that '… a coloured welfare officer who could personally investigate the problems in the area, would help to solve many of the present difficulties' (The Royal Borough of Kensington Minutes of Proceedings from January to December 1958: Report of the General Purpose Committee, 9 December 1958, p.368). Subsequently, the early post-war Black migrant Pansy, whose experience of arrival was presented in the previous chapter, was appointed as one of the first West Indian social workers in 1959 by the Citizen's Advice Bureau (CAB) in North Kensington. According to the General

[28] Following the Notting Hill riot, the Mayor of Kensington investigated the 'inter-racial antagonism' in the borough after the outbreak of violence. Consequently, a Co-coordinating Committee, with two further sub-committees, of 'both white and coloured representatives' was constituted to establish '…better relations between the black and white communities'. The Co-ordinating Committee suggested the most immediate need for the appointment of a '… whole-time coloured social worker in the area'. Accordingly, the General Purpose Committee recommended the appointment to the full Council with a grant for the Family Welfare Association to pay their salary for a one-year period (The Royal Borough of Kensington Minutes of Proceedings from January to December 1958: Report on the General Purpose Committee, 9 December 1958, p.368).

Purpose Committee, Pansy's role was to tackle the 'Inter-Racial Problems' in the wake of the Notting Hill race riots.

The air of racial discontent and the problems in Notting Hill/North Kensington, which Black migrants experienced when they began to arrive and strived to settle in the area, were documented by Pansy in her first report to the Kensington and Chelsea Council's General Purpose Committee. The members of the Committee were elected Councillors and Aldermen, whose remit was to consider proposals to amend the Council's constitution. Moreover, the Committee made recommendations to the full Council in connection with the discharge of any of its functions, including taxation, planning and zoning by-laws, and housing, economic, and community development.

The report covering the period from 14 September to 30 October 1959 noted '…a great deal of tension and potential antagonism among the bi-racial inhabitants of North Kensington…'. Pansy also reported that housing issues in the form of landlord and tenant relationships were where Black migrants in the area experienced the most problems. Moreover, she asserts that the difficulties were due to 'old and illogical prejudices' or the white locals and landlords hearing about the experiences of others, so they '…approached the new coloureds … with scepticism and hostility as soon as the slightest misunderstanding occurs' (The Royal Borough of Kensington Minutes of Proceedings from January to December 1959: Report of the General Purpose Committee, 8 December 1959, p.413*).*

Pansy's welfare officer report to the Royal Borough of Kensington Council's General Purpose Committee also noted the types of personal problems experienced by Black migrants new to the area, for example, Black migrant parents with children left in the West Indies seeking advice on '…how to bring their children over, once they have been established in accommodation and employment' (The Royal Borough of Kensington Minutes of Proceedings from January to December 1959, Report of the General Purpose Committee, 13 November 1959, pp.2–4). Moreover, Black migrant young unmarried mothers and their babies, whom Pansy says experienced difficulties getting settled satisfactorily, and West Indian migrant children experiencing problems adjusting to their new environment also encountered difficulties, and she referred them to the Child Guidance

Clinic (Family Welfare Association Kensington Citizen Advice Bureau, Report by Mrs Jefferies, West Indian Social Worker for the year ending 30 October 1960, pp.2–4).

Thus, Pansy's experiences as an early post-war Black migrant social worker also provide a nuanced sensory-informed understanding of the history of the early post-war Black British experience. For instance, through Pansy's social worker reports detailing her contact with her early post-war Black migrant clients and their personal lives and problems, we can connect the underlying racialised senses, feelings, and emotions at the multiple intersections of Black migrant experiences, such as women and children with the structural impact of 'race', racism, and racial discrimination in unemployment and housing.

In Pansy's later reports to the Council's General Purpose Committee, she identifies that little had changed, and 'race' and racism were persistent causes of the friction between Black migrants and white English residents. For instance, the problems that arose from the landlord and tenant relationship and unemployment among 'coloured' residents in the area had continued, and Pansy reports that it was '… always a problem' (Family Welfare Association Kensington Citizen Advice Bureau report for year ending 30 October 1960, pp.2–4).

Moreover, Pansy's later social worker reports also observed the impact of coming to England and living in the local area on the personal and private lives of the early post-war Black migrants and the type of difficulties they experienced. For example, she identified that '…the stress of living in a highly industrialised society is a great strain on the new arrivals to this country, and they have to make many adjustments, some of which inevitably upset their marriages…'. Equally, Pansy felt that the impact of '…this environment is also felt by the younger West Indian age group age 8 to 18 coming to this country and may give rise to adolescence problems in the future'. (The Royal Borough of Kensington Minutes of Proceedings from January to December 1960: Report on the General Purpose Committee, December 1960, p.199).

As the local West Indian social worker and an early post-war Black migrant herself, Pansy shows an awareness of the role of space and place in the lives of the newly arrived post-war Black migrants in Notting Hill/North Kensington. For example, she argues to the Council's General Purpose Committee that '…The [racial] situation in Notting Hill was not purely a local one, but a worldwide one...'. Moreover, she asserts that the situation did not '… arise merely through the absorption of one minority into a community but through both the environment (urban with little community spirit) and the problem of integrating into it a racial minority, which is predominately rural in background' (Family Welfare Association Kensington Citizen Advice Bureau report for year ending 30 October 1960, pp.2–4).

Thus, the West Indian Social Worker's reports connect the structural and emotional impact of racialisation and racisms on the everyday lives of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants within the context of the local urban spaces where they settled on arrival. For example, racism and racial discrimination in housing and employment in Notting Hill/North Kensington were crucial factors determining early post-war migrants' ability to survive and their quality of life in a hostile country. Moreover, the racial inequality and exclusion they experienced in housing and employment would aggravate emotional stress and pressures in the early post-war Black migrants' personal and private lives and in their attempts to settle and start a new life.

## 5.1 Situating the Everyday Racialised (Sensory) Experience of Early Post-War Black Migrant Settlement in Notting Hill/North Kensington

Theoretical ideas related to place and space have resulted in different approaches to the sensory city (Bull, 2000; Bull & Back, 2004; Urry, 2002). How communities experience their environment is central to my focus on post-war Black and racialised settlement. Moreover, my multi-sensory exploration, including a focus on the mixed feelings and emotions entangled in post-war Black migrants' reasons for leaving home and their experience of arrival in Britain led to a closer focus on the local spaces and places in the cities and towns where they settled to start a new life.

I draw on the insight of existing academic literature and debates on space and place to develop a multi-sensory understanding of the local urban areas where the early post-war Black migrants lived, which moves beyond a static notion of 'place'. I conceptualise an alternative framework for exploring the complexities of the urban local as a racialised multi-sensory site and environment consisting of diverse dwellers, and borrow from and synthesise Ingold's notion of a 'zone of entanglements' and meshwork (Ingold, 2008, 2011).

Entanglements, for Ingold, occur via encounters with others, and he proposes an understanding of social life as being lived along 'lines of becoming' that open even as they become entangled with the lines of others. Further, while lines of becoming cross other lines, they do not connect, and instead, he describes them as the entwining of ever-extending trajectories. Ingold also sees entanglement as a meshwork of interwoven lines of growth and movement (Ingold, 2011) and as a metaphor to describe the lived paths of lives that include histories, stories, and trajectories that are full of loose ends and are always on the move.

I use the ideas of entanglement and meshwork to orientate my study within an idea of place and space that allows for the complexity and heterogeneity of the movement and flow and life trajectories of early post-war migrant lives and diasporic communities within local urban spaces. The idea of entanglement allows for the differentiation between different lines or threads while also identifying the myriad occurrences when they become enmeshed or interwoven. Hence, I build on the idea of the different crossing lines of becoming and threads and use the continuous points where they transverse to focus on the myriad entanglements and knots of personal histories, knowledge claims, place-based stories, values, and imaginaries of the future that take place when one individual's path crosses another.

I also use idea of entanglement and concern with processes or lines of becoming that situate the meshwork of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrant lives within the crossed lines of Notting Hill/North Kensington as an urban racialised and sensorial zone of entanglement where the

meshwork of multiple people, lives, narratives, discourses, sensations, and forms of knowledge cross, entangle, and become knotted. I also acknowledge and critically attend to the wider threads of historical racialised power imbalances in historical global, social, and political configurations beyond the intensity of the local.

Locations, such as London, Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, and urban neighbourhoods, such as Brixton and Notting Hill/North Kensington[29], were places where substantial numbers of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants settled. These were also locations where early Black post-war migrants consolidated stable and permanent residential communities in the early years of post-war racial immigration (Davidson, 1961; Hall, 2007; Jephcott, 1964; Patterson, 1963). In my focus on a local archive of Black British Migration, I consider the textured background to Notting Hill/North Kensington's social, sensory, material, political, and ideological environment before the arrival of Black post-war migrants in more detail by examining both official and unofficial accounts and knowledge of the borough. The multi-sensory local exploration will also concentrate on the social issues and existing problems before the arrival of the so-called 'dark strangers', the composition of the area's local white English population, and previous othered migrants and settlers to the area.

Notting Hill/North Kensington is also significant in the history of the making of Black Britain. However, it has yet to have the same depth and rich critical attention as equivalent studies of local Black British and minority ethnic communities in other locations and sites across Britain (Brown, 2005; Farrar, 2003; Palmer, 2020). My historical multi-sensory study of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants' everyday racialised lived experiences of 'race' and racism in Notting Hill/North Kensington is an original contribution to the knowledge on the early post-war period of Black and minority ethnic migration to the UK and their presence through protest and resistance in the shaping of a location renowned for its controversial history of the 1958 Notting Hill race riots, the All Saints Road known locally as the Front Line Black activist protest against racially motivated police harassment of the

[29] Until the end of the Second World War, the usual description of the neighbourhood north of Holland Park and beyond was North Kensington, where many post-war BlackBlack migrants would later come to settle. 'Notting Hill' had yet to be used, as it tended to be known as a journalistic shorthand for the whole area.

local Black community and the subsequent Mangrove Nine landmark trial against the British state and police institutional racism, and the Notting Hill Carnival, which has become synonymous with London.

Notting Hill and North Kensington, situated in the northern portion of the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (formerly The Royal Borough of Kensington), was created in 1965 because of a merger between earlier metropolitan boroughs. The borough is located on the west side of inner London and comprises 18 different local government wards. The north of Kensington has a rich, vibrant, and chequered history. It is predominantly a working-class area historically rife with poverty and overcrowding. It is also the main location for the various migrant groups that have settled in the area over the centuries and profoundly shaped its character.

Notting Hill/North Kensington and its five wards, including Notting Dale, which saw the arrival and settlement of a large number of Black and racialised post-war migrants in the post-war era, is the local space and place where this study will examine early post-war migrant experiences. In the immediate post-war years, the area emerged from the bombing damage of the Second World War, and the white residents lived in poverty and deprivation in tenement slums (HISTORYtalk Community Group Black History Routes in North Kensington Walk Tour, 2012). For example, in his local HISTORYtalk Community Project oral life story, white resident Derek Jones recalls living in the tenement slums at that time. Jones identifies that the substandard houses consisted of '…three rooms to each floor, two outside lavatories, no hot and cold running water… we had no electricity, the place was lit by gas, the streets were lit with gas...' and '…at the back was a bomb site… with loads of derelict or bomb-damaged, or neglected buildings at that time…' (Jones, 2006).

## 5.2 The Senses, Racialised Emotions, and Outsider Groups in the History of Notting Hill/North Kensington Slum Life and Post-War Black Migrants as the New Racial Urban Other

Scholars that have focused on sensory cities and, in particular, the Victorian sensorium have engaged with the subject of the fascination with the urban other[30], such as the poor (Burgan, 1996; Cohen & Johnson, 2005; Mancoff & Trela, 1996; Picker, 2003; Stallybrass & White, 1989). The history of poverty and deprivation in early post-war era Notting Hill/North Kensington and its tenement slums has a racialised sensory history with the sensory characteristics of the dirt, the disgust and fear of disease, and the danger of contagion resulting from Western European racial ideologies (Denny, 1993; London County Council, 1973; Whetlor, 1998). In the geographical and urban space of pre-Second World War Notting/North Kensington, the slums where Irish migrant settlers (Bayly, 1859, 1990; Denny, 1993; London County Council, 1973; Whetlor, 1998) and the English poor resided marked not only the broken boundaries between animals and humans, but also those between the high and the low, and the desirable and undesirable (Bayly, 1895, 1990; Malcomson & Mastoris, 2001).

The historical process of racialising and othering outsider groups and placing them outside the bounds of purity through the senses existed before post-war racial immigration to Britain and the arrival of early post-war Black migrants in Notting Hill/North Kensington. Nineteenth-century fears of dirt, disease, pollution, and contagion were attributed to the urban malady of overcrowding and unsanitary slum life of the poor white working class and white 'other' Irish migrant settlers in urban areas (Koven, 2004). As Mary Douglas argued, the dangerous and contaminating are those things that do not fit within the ordering structures, and, thus, the anomalous becomes polluting. Moreover, she contends that 'dirt then, is never a unique, isolated event, and where there is dirt there is a system, and dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter … it is nothing but matter out of place' (Douglas, 1966, pp.2, 35, 36).

[30] For example, the nineteenth-century fascination with the urban other would manifest itself in the form of illicit tourism called slumming, which emerged from the curiosity, excitement, and thrill of various groups of upper and middle classes, which not only included the philanthropists and social investigator motivated by moral, religious, and altruistic reasons, but rich people seeking disrespectable amusements in the slums and taboo intimacies with members of the lower classes (Koven, S. (2004) *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London.* USA: Princeton University Press).

Furthermore, the systematic ordering and classification of ‘race’ are evident in the traditional Western model of ‘the five senses’, which 18th- and 19th-century anthropologists, philosophers, and historians used to categorise and rank different races. For instance, the grand taxonomy of the natural historian Lorenz Oken’s (1874) work *The Five Races of Man* distinguishes between the races by associating them with bodily senses because of his frustration with the inability of skin colour to elaborate a typology of ‘race’. Furthermore, in Oken’s construction of the sensory racial order of man, he posited a sensory hierarchy in which ‘The Skin-Man is the *Black*, African’ at the bottom of the development of the sensory organs and ‘The Eye Man is the White, European’ at the top (Oken, 1874, p.651). Oken’s theory also maintains a clear racialised sensory distinction between the varieties of men, which placed Africans firmly at the lowest class of the human species where ‘…the lowest man is still higher than the uppermost Ape’ (Oken, 1874, p.653). Hence, the insensitivity of Black African skin and the Black African’s inferior sensory development was considered akin to animals of the lower class and order and explicitly apes.

The sensory racial order of man is one example of how Western Europe’s ruling classes’ dominant ideology used the racialised senses to construct sensory ideas of ‘race’. Furthermore, the racialised senses inform the racial ideology, which links the inferiority of Black skin with dirt, disease, filth, contamination, smell, touch, and lack of moral purity embedded in the complexities of class and gender. For example, smell and odour were part of a prevalent discourse that divided and marked out ‘the racial other’ and other undesirables. Also, Bland argues that other outside groups included the degenerate working class, the poor, and mentally slow and tainted, represented by criminals, vagrants, and prostitutes thought to present a danger to the superior stock of the British ‘race’ (Bland, 1995).

Scholars have examined how olfaction features in relations of power, the politics of smell, and how groups or individuals on the periphery are marked as (mal)odorous. For example, women were identified as fragrant or foul, ethnic and racial groups exuded a ‘foreign’ and undesirable odour, and the working classes reeked of poverty (Classen, Howes, & Synnott, 1994; Corbin, 1986). Moreover, in the fragrance of civilisation, the difference between social classes was marked out by a perceived

foul-smelling odour of the working class. In the nineteenth-century, Western European ruling classes also drew class distinctions through strategic reference to filth, disease, crime, contamination, disgust, repulsion, and the smell of the poor and working class in the slums of the city (Classen, Howes, & Synnott, 1994; Miller, 1997; Stallybrass & White, 1986).

Hence, the stench of the poor man was attributed to the odours of poverty that emanated from their skin and clothes, and the bourgeoisie and middle class thought engendered corresponding poverty of ideas and feelings among the masses. Similarly, 'race' was marked by the 'stink of savagery', and various malodours ascribed to Black people repelled white people because it engendered feelings of repugnance for the unpleasantness of racial odour (Smith, 2006, p.15; Tullet, 2016).

Historically, the perceived racial stink of Black people was attributed to such factors as a 'disagreeable acrid smell' and a 'strong fetid odour which exhales from the skin' (Smith, 2006[31]; Tullet, 2016). Indeed, according to plantation and slave owner Edward Long (1774), all Negroes had a bestial and fetid smell to a lesser or greater degree. He also located the nature and origins of their racial odour to dancing and physical activity, which exacerbated a Black scent that he described as a 'complication of stinks, rather than any one in particular, and so rank and powerful, as [to] totally overcome those who have the delicacy in the frame of their nostrils' (Long, 1774, p.265). Furthermore, Negroes were considered 'dark, wild and unpleasant to the sense of smell' (Long, 1774, p.265).

Stallybrass and White (1986) also consider how the nineteenth century established the other's body with the city's scum by mapping the city and separating the suburb and the slum. They argue that the slum was connected to sewage, disease, filth, moral degradation, the poor, the working class,

[31] Smith (2006) identifies how Olaudah Equiano (1789) countered the white racist sensory stereotypes by showing whites that the images of filthy-smelling Africans were exaggerated and misleading. For instance, he asserts that before Africans taste food, they always wash their hands and that their cleanliness habits on all occasions are extreme. He also stresses that 'Our principal luxury is in perfumes' and particularly an 'odoriferous wood of delicious fragrance', which 'resembles musk in strength, but is more delicious in scent, and is not unlike the smell of a rose'. He also instructs whites that 'the fragrance is then impregnated into black bodies; beaten into power, the wood is mixed with palm oil and women perfume themselves' (quoted in Smith, 2006, p.30).

and contaminated touch and smell, which encoded feelings of revulsion and disgust (Stallybrass & White, 1986, pp.125–148). Furthermore, they argue that this mapping of English cities in terms of dirt, cleanliness, and the slum is also evident in the racial discourse of colonial anthropology, which produced observations on the 'filth of savages' (Stallybrass & White, 1986, pp.130–131).

Thus, racialised subjects were historically well established in the imperial racialised sensory imagination with the racial scum of the unclean effluvium of 'race' and disgusting sensory moral depravities, such as the gustatory taboo of cannibalism (Gobineau, 1853; Lopes, 1578[32]; Matthews, 1788[33]). Moreover, the mapping of English cities in terms of dirt, cleanliness, and the slum also extended to the racial discourse on Britain's distant colonial outposts, which the former prime minister David Lloyd George caustically called 'the slums of the empire'[34]. Consequently, the association of early post-war Black migrants with the perceived dirt and contagion of the slums was reinforced in British people's minds when they arrived and settled in the metropolitan slums of Britain's cities, such as post-war Notting Hill and North Kensington.

The anxiety and fear caused by the disruption of gendered, class, and racial order systems in nineteenth-century urban city life were attributed to the contagion, disease, and pollution from the unknown urban other. These same anxieties and fears are also evident in the concerns surrounding post-war racial migration to Britain – the unknown racial urban other, urban poverty, crime, and the illicit leisure and pleasures of sex, drink, and drugs. For instance, in 1957, the Home Office Nationality Division commissioned a New Scotland Yard police report to Ministers on the growing Black immigrant population. The report recommended that given the marked increase in the number of 'coloured people' entering Britain, focus needed to be placed on the issues of assimilation, public

[32] Lopes, D. (1578) *A Report Of The Kingdom Of Congo, A Region Of Africa And The Countries That Border Round About The Same.* Drawn from the writings and discourse of Odbardo Lopez a Portingall, by Philippo Pigafetta. Translated from Italian by Abraham Hartwell. London: I Wolfe.

**[33]** Matthews, J. (1788) *A Voyage To The River Of Sierra-Leone On The Coast of Africa: Containing An Account Of The Trade And Productions Of The Country And Of The Civil And Religious Customs And Manners Of The People In A Series Of Letters To A Friend In England By John Matthews, Lieutenant In The Royal Navy During His Residence In That Country In The Years 1785, 1786 And 1787 With Additional Letter On The Subject of The Slave Trade*. London: Printed For B White and Son.

**[34]** Greene, M. (1947) 'Slums of Empire', 14 August, p.7, *Spectator* Archives. www.archive .spectator.co.uk

order, crime, miscegenation, illegitimacy, and living conditions (Public Record Office ref PRO/HO 344/122). The report further states how '…little had changed in the living conditions of coloured people since 1953…'; moreover, that '... in the main, coloured people were living in poor conditions...' and '…it is thought that they suffer the condition as much from choice as necessity …even when they are in regular employment their homes are very often poorly kept and dirty' (Public Record Office ref PRO/HO 344/122).

Additionally, the 'problems' of racial immigration and the existing uncleanliness, dirt, and filthy squalid conditions of early post-war Notting Hill/North Kensington slums were linked and attributed to early Black post-war migrants by some academic and official government social research. For instance, as the new unknown urban racial other, early post-war Black West Indian migrants were accused of having inherently low living standards and considered 'sluttish housekeepers' (Jephcott, 1964)[35].

British people's fears surrounding Black migrants driven by the threat of contagion, pollution, uncleanliness, and dirt also extended to the issue of their employment. In the early years of post-war racial migration to Britain, racial discrimination in employment directed against Black migrants meant many employers would only employ Black people in jobs if they were not visible to the British public. For instance, Home Office official Jack Howard-Drake (1999) spotlights how the racialised fear of dirt, uncleanliness, and contamination manifested in this form of discriminatory racial treatment of early post-war Black migrants. Following a Home Office study in local authority areas with large numbers of 'coloured' immigrants and interviews with the major employers, Howard-Drake recalls that it became clear how British employers 'were quite willing to employ coloured people, provided they weren't visible… in other words, if they worked in the kitchens, that was all right… but employers felt that shoppers would not like to see coloured hands handling food over the counters…' (BBC Playing the Race Card interview, Episode 2, 1999).

[35] An offensive term for a woman regarded as not concerned about conventional standards of domestic cleanliness.

The British people's feeling of distaste and the disagreeable association with the touch of racial other and offensive sight of 'coloured people' in close contact with white English people in public life reflects the shift of what is considered distasteful behind closed doors and away from the sight of society, which Norbert Elias argued was characteristic of the process called civilisation (Elias, 1994, p.103). Elias also argued that emotions and feelings were important characteristics of the civilising process through the structure of feelings or structure-affect, with the advancing of a delicate sensibility or rather repugnance and highly developed feelings for what was embarrassing in Western society. Therefore, in the civilising process, the transformation of human feelings and attitudes, as opposed to rational understanding, was the motor of the 'civilising' of ways to behave (Elias, 1994, p.97).

Thus, Elias' civilising process provides a sensory-informed way to understand the willingness of British employers only to employ coloured migrants in the kitchen so that white British shoppers did not have to see coloured hands handling food over the counters. However, the employer's justification for racially discriminating against early Black post-war migrant employees was not based solely on rational hygiene grounds (Elias, 1994, p.97), but also on racialised emotions and sensory ideas of 'race' that are characteristic of an equally highly racialised civilising process particular to British colonialism and imperialism.

Stallybrass and White (1986) argue the nineteenth-century fear of differences was articulated through the body of the city: '… the separations and interpenetrations of the suburb and the slum, of grand buildings and the sewer, of the respectable classes and the lumpenproletariat (what 'Marx called 'the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass thrown hither and thither' (Marx, 1951, I, p.267)' (Stallybrass & White, 1986, p.125). However, this nineteenth-century fear of difference was not only class-based, but racial in its concern with the unknown urban other. Non-English or white 'other' immigrants in Britain's dense metropolitan cities represented a dangerous urban threat of moral and sexual corruption and contagion to the English racial stock and British society (Beddoe, 1885, p.10).

The English urban fear of racial difference drew from popular imagery of the Empire, such as the savagery of the racial others encountered during the exploration of the dark continents of Africa during British imperialism. Similarly, the English ruling classes and their dominant ideologies used this racialised narrative to describe the degraded life of the poor in the darkest parts of London through the themes of poverty, crime, the illicit leisure and pleasures of drink and drugs, sex and prostitution, dirt, pollution, and disease. For example, in his *Maps Descriptive of London Poverty*, Charles Booth's (1902) classification system of poverty showed that the 'lowest class, vicious and semi-criminal' lived in the city's slums, which included the Notting Dale ward in North Kensington. Moreover, the English fear of dirt, uncleanliness, and contagion attributed to racial others were mapped onto and articulated through the body of the city by Booth, who likened the white lower classes to uncivilised 'savages' when he argued that '… theirs is the life of savages, with vicissitudes of extreme hardship and their only luxury is drink' (Booth, 1902).

## 5.3 No Irish, No Dogs, No Blacks: Racial Ideology, Racism, and the Racial Alignment of Post-War Black and Irish Migrants in Notting Hill/North Kensington

In nineteenth-century Notting Dale in North Kensington, early Irish migrants were identified as 'Irish of the low type' (Bayly, 1859, 1990). In addition, they were at the bottom of the social and moral order of the slum and the racial hierarchy due to negative British attitudes directed toward them. The unfavourable British attitudes and feelings reflected anti-Irish sentiment and Irish racism that drew on the same pseudo-scientific ideologies of 'race' to closely align Irish people with the inferior races of Africans, Negroes, and Black savages (Augstein, 1996; Beate-Borgstede, 2011; Curtis, 1971; Knox, 1850; Stepan, 1982).

Miller observes that the emotion of disgust is an insistent feature in social rank ordering, which includes 'race' as well as class, caste, religion, and gender (Miller, 1998, p.245). The white British people's racist attitudes and racism towards the Irish had established the local racialised hierarchy and structure of early nineteenth-century Notting Hill/North Kensington. Thus, by the time early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants arrived in England, the existing local racial hierarchy quickly

shifted to incorporate post-war Black migrants and bind the two supposedly racially inferior migrant groups. For example, the underlying racial ideologies linking the West Indians and the Irish as two alien migrant groups and 'urban racial others' in the popular mind of post-war Britain saw Black migrants and Irish people ranked with no higher worth than animals and alongside dogs, more specifically.

In everyday racism and racial housing discrimination, the racial ideology ranking Blacks and Irish migrants with animals was commonly and casually communicated, for instance, in the infamous 'no Blacks, no Irish and no dogs' notices on lettings and advertisements posted in local shops and newspapers, house windows, and front doors of local white people and landlords. As a West Indian migrant, Evan Rowe had first-hand experience of the 'colour bar' rejection on his arrival in 1956. Evan identifies this during his local HISTORYtalk Community Project oral life testimony: 'When I first come in '56, all over the place you see signs. 'No coloureds', 'no Irish', and 'no dogs'. Sometimes they are kinder to the Irish and put 'Irish not required'… when I knock at a house… the woman didn't even wait for me to say anything, she just shoo me away with her hand and shut the door' (Rowe, 2001).

In addition, West Indian migrant David Tyndale, who came to live in Britain in 1960, similarly recalls during his local HISTORYtalk project oral life testimony interview that '… you had to rent from fellow West Indians. You would see rooms to let in shop windows or notice boards, but they usually said 'sorry, no Blacks' or 'no Irish'. There was no law to say you couldn't do that. So Black people just walked around until they met someone who could point them in the right direction to a vacant room' (Tyndale, 2001).

However, 'No Irish, no dogs and no Blacks' has become an oft-repeated and, to some extent, disconnected saying in accounts of Britain's history of racial immigration. Thus, foregrounding the salience of the traces of historicity and spatiality in making sense of the multicultural city, as argued by Michael Keith (1993), is important (Keith, 1993, p.263). Moreover, considering the racial historicity and spatiality of British cities and urban spaces allows Britain's history of racial immigration to be

placed and understood within the broader structure of the history of Western ideologies of ‘race’ and ‘racialisation of the other’. In addition, it allows an understanding of the implications and real effects of this racism on the lived experiences of post-war Black migrant residents and their sense of being within the local environment.

Hence, the ideas of ‘race’ that were already embedded in the minds of local white English residents went unchecked and freely circulated as common-sense knowledge in everyday local life during this period, as, for example, in the reactions of white residents to the Black migrants. Indeed, during his HISTORYtalk Community Project oral life testimony, Derek Jones recalls the racial thinking and responses of white English people, and he says, ‘…in some areas, we’re going back to before 1950. If you saw a Black person, you’d run out and touch them for luck, they were very rare, you’d rarely see them...’, but that this ‘...can no longer be dismissed as ‘just how thing were in those days’ (Jones, 2006).

Thus, for early Black post-war migrants, the racial ideologies driving the normative discursive knowledge and common-sense racist attitudes and reactions of white English people undoubtedly adversely affected their ability to secure housing and jobs. However, when early Black migrants were also denied humanity by being ranked with dogs as unworthy, sub-human, and insufficiently clean enough to inhabit English houses is when structural racism also registers at a deeper sensory level, such as early post-war Black migrants’ feelings and emotions, negatively affecting their sense of self. As early post-war Black child migrant Basil declares in his Carnival Oral History Project life story testimony, ‘You are coming to England, the ‘Mother Country’, the doors of opportunity are open to you and arriving here and seeing noticeboards outside paper shops (newsagents) with ‘room to let, sorry no coloureds, no wogs, no coon, no Irish. No dogs as we were known in those days. Awful…’ (Jarvis, 2003).

## 5.4 New Formations in the Racialisation of Space, Place, and Racism in Notting Hill/North Kensington and the arrival of Post-War Black Migrant Settlers

The nineteenth-century racialisation of space in Notting Hill/North Kensington's pottery and piggery slums gradually developed and transformed into a new form of slum or ghetto that would come to accommodate the post-war Black migrants. For example, East of Ladbroke Grove in North Kensington, the Colville Town area would largely replace the poor white working-class Notting Dale area as the transient migrant ghetto with the arrival and settlement of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants in the area (Vague, 1998). However, before the end of the Second World War, the first Black community members settled in the Colville and Powis Square area in the 1920s (Notting Hill Interzone, 1968). By the 1930s, Powis and Colville Squares became known as largely slum areas with one-room tenements and small flats. Moreover, with the establishment of the Wren College for the Indian Civil Service and the accompanying boarding houses for men of 'oriental birth' that appeared, the Colville area then became known as 'Little India' (Vague, 1998).

Hence, by the early post-war era, the local slum area of Coville would experience an additional transition in the local racialisation of place and space with the arrival of Black migrants. For example, the West Indian writer Sam Selvon, who arrived in London in the 1950s, would come to live in a basement room in Notting Hill, where he would write *The Lonely Londoners* (Selvon, 1959, 2006). Selvon's work is illuminating because it depicted the West Indian migrant's experiences of life in British post-war slums, such as Colville and Powis Square, on arrival and settlement. Moreover, it created and introduced an alternative view of the racialised inner city and how Black migrants inhabited, reinvented, and sought to survive at that time.

By 1958, the conditions in the Colville area of North Kensington had deteriorated further into a version of 1850s Notting Dale, with the stucco crumbling off the once elegant five-storey terraced houses and some of the houses collapsing altogether. In addition, the fumes from the local factories competed with those emanating from the all-purpose open rubbish dump in the slum areas, such as Powis Square, where a large population of West Indian migrants came to settle in Notting Hill and

the Colville ward. To make matters worse, the Coville ward, which would become known as ‘Brown Town’, was also located at the heart of the infamous slum landlord, Peter Rachman’s, empire (Colville Community History Project, Issue 2, March 2013; Pilkington, 1988).

Hence, Notting Hill/North Kensington’s deplorable slum conditions in the 1950s were directly linked to racial immigration despite its long pre-existence. In addition, the ‘Blacks’ were considered the cause of the decay in all its moral and physical forms. However, the reality was far different, and once again, Black migrants would become a convenient scapegoat. This was illustrated by the infamous West Indian Michael de Freitas (aka Michael X, aka Abdul Malik) when he recalled his experience in the Notting Hill/North Kensington slums when he arrived in 1958 and lived in Southam Street ‘… it was impossible to believe you were in twentieth-century England: terraced houses with shabby, crumbling stonework… windows broken, garbage and dirt strewn all over the road, every second house deserted... a legion of filthy white children swarming everywhere and people lying drunk across the pavement…’ (Abdul Malik, 1968, p.56).

Local white North Kensington resident Bill Richardson (2003) also recalls, during his local HISTORYtalk Community Project oral life story interview, the local white prejudice during the early 1950s. He explained that from the ordinary white point of view, ‘the Blacks’ were seen as the cause of the street problems of filth, dirt, and decay in the Colville and Powis Square slum area (Richardson, 2003). According to Richardson, ‘…what was happening was as every fresh boatload of West Indian came in, they were naturally orientating towards Notting Hill because it was already set up as a Black Ghetto area…’. Richardson also felt that white prejudice against ‘the Blacks’ increased because they held that ‘…. the Blacks came in and prostitution and the bloody houses, the dust bins because of course they were so overcrowded with Black people. The dustbins were overspilling, and the place became an absolute shamble…’ (Richardson, 2003).

In addition, the link between the ‘coloured problem’ and racial immigration as the root cause of the area’s decay, dirt, filth, pollution, and racial tension was also circulated and reinforced in The Times article ‘Slums Houses in Notting Hill’ (1960). The report quotes Lord Balfour as saying that ‘…the

influx of large numbers of coloured people into North Kensington had brought about a delicate racial relationship in that area…' and a '…very difficult and dangerous situation had arisen…'. An article in *The Times* reported that local councillor Baldwin stated he '…had never seen housing in a more disgusting state of slovenliness…'. Moreover, '… this once respectable property had been reduced to a slum condition in a relatively short space of time (and) while this has been going on, neighbours had been frightened and fuel had been added to the racial fires' (*The Times*, April 1960, p.9).

During the 1950s, the white working-class enclave of Notting Dale witnessed the most significant change with the arrival of Black and racialised migrants' families and workers. In opposition to 'Brown Town,' the early post-war Notting Dale (also known as the potteries and piggeries) marked the racial frontline in North Kensington. This predominantly white British working-class area of Notting Dale still had the same levels of overcrowding, prostitution, and dilapidated conditions as Colville district's 'Brown Town'. However, the area had become more insular and closer-knit with the integrated descendants of the migrant gypsies and Irish settlers who had little time for the colonial Black and minority ethnic newcomers. Thus, the poor English working-class parochial prejudice in the area increased as they slipped far down the social scale. Hence, they viewed West Indians or 'The Blacks' as dirty and ostentatious, at the same time as the root of all their problems, and thus became a factor in local poor white working-class anti-Black resentment toward Black migrants (Shepherd, 1973b; Vague, 1998).

The local white working-class anti-Black sentiment was further strengthened and underpinned by hardcore racist extremist groups on the fringes of British politics, such as the Fascist Union Movement, White Defence League, and National Front (Lunn, 1989). For example, the fascist leader Oswald Mosley attempted his political comeback standing as the Union Movement candidate for North Kensington in the 1959 election. Oswald, appearing in Notting Dale and Ladbroke Grove at the juncture of Lancaster Road, Portobello Road, and Kensington Park Road, sought to influence white British locals living in uncertain times in Britain by scapegoating the Black migrants. Oswald capitalised on existing racially charged local spaces and anti-Black sentiments by telling white locals

that it was the fault of ‘the Blacks’ that they had poor housing and providing them with instant solutions such as the forced repatriation of Black immigrants (Grundy, 1998; Vague, 2009c; Whetlor, 1998).

Thus, the history of the slums of the piggeries and potteries in early post-war Notting Hill/North Kensington reveals the existing local structure of racialised space and a sensory environment before the arrival of post-war Black British racial migration after the Second World War, as well as how the Western European ruling class’s ideologies of ‘race’ and racialised social and moral hierarchy and sensory order were used to ‘other’ outsider groups, such as early post-war Black migrants, and to mark the boundaries of racial belonging. Equally, focusing on the history of early post-war Notting Hill/North Kensington allows us to move beyond the limitation of the official narratives of the ‘Windrush’ history of early Black British post-war migrants and early post-war racial immigration in Britain and to historically and spatially situate the local everyday lives and experiences of early post-war Black British and minority ethnic migrants within the deeper complexities of the marginalisation and exclusion of outsider groups and the racial ‘other’ in post-war British society.

Furthermore, early post-war Black migrants’ arrival and their everyday racialised sensory experiences in local inner-city urban spaces and places, such as Notting Hill/North Kensington, can also be understood and explored within the shift of ideal notions of British national identity. For instance, the arrival of racial Commonwealth subjects was seen as a threat to white British livelihoods or creating competition for services, and ‘race’ was pushed to the forefront and became explicit with the obvious visual marker of skin colour. This resulted in new forms of post-war British racism and racial prejudice centred and structured around the post-war Black migrant as the alien racial other. Hence, the shift towards a new form of post-war British racism and prejudice during this period is also important because it marks the rupture of the popular fallacy of a monocultural character of Britishness and white British society. In addition, it illustrates new forms of racism and prejudices that operated through the British state policies and practices to curb racial immigration with far-reaching damaging effects on the everyday lives of early post-war Black migrants and

subsequent generations (Carter et al., 1993; de Noronha, 2019; Gilroy, 2007; Hall, 2007; Salven, 2022).

## Chapter Six: Racism and the Racialised Senses in Early Post-War Black Migrants' Pursuit of Routine Everyday Activities in Notting Hill and North Kensington

### Introduction

Knowles (2003) argued that 'we can learn things about 'race' from space that are not revealed by other means' because space '… has its own narratives in the moment and use of it by raced bodies in pursuit of routine everyday activities' (Knowles, 2003, p.105). However, a lack of serious attention to racialised sensory experiences has been paid within urban or ethnographic studies and studies more generally concerned with 'race' and racisms. For instance, the archive of work that is the body of early race relations studies (Banton, 1967, 1952; de Souza, 1960; Jephcott, 1964; Rex & Moore, 1967; Wickenden, 1958; Wilson, 1959) were also partly concerned with the urban spaces and places of migrant settlement, but from within the context of various formulations and concerns with the emergent, early post-war British 'colour problem'. Moreover, early race relations studies' concentration on 'the colour problem' did not address the experiences of Black post-war migrants in great depth outside of the problems they were thought to present to their local environment and the white host community.

Attention to space and place in this project involves the effort to apply a spatial lens to the North Kensington HISTORYtalk Community Project oral life stories of early Black post-war migrants and a means of critically interrogating 'race' and racisms in a way that theoretically grounds and combines sensory experience amongst existing studies of race and racisms. Moreover, it addresses the structural and concrete material inequalities, e.g., housing, urban segregation, and institutional racisms.

Within this study, the conceptualisation of Notting Hill and North Kensington is not as one-dimensional geographical spaces and places within London, nor do they act as static or blank backdrops to an ethnographic study of post-Black and racialised immigrant experiences. Moreover, as in the case of the early race relations approach, Notting Hill/North Kensington does not become 'the area' that is reduced to a brief introduction and features as a crime scene where 'the colour

problem' is perpetrated against the poor victims, which, in this case, are the unsuspecting white English people, e.g., Jephcott's (1964) *Notting Hill: A Troubled Area*.

This study stands in opposition to the rule in early race relations studies, where a focus on the local area was always accompanied by the official seal of authoritative quantitative data and various numerical figures on the number of racial migrants given entry into post-war Britain. Equally, the official tables, maps, and scatter diagrams that plot the different concentrated clusters of Black settlements in areas of London served as a means of charting the British experience with post-war urban racial patterns of residential segregation, which also commonly featured in the studies (Glass, 1960; Knowles, 2003; Little, 1948; Patterson, 1963). This project's focus on the area of Notting Hill and North Kensington goes beyond normative discursive versions of Black and racialised post-war immigration and settlement, which bypassed experience.

## 6.1 Emotions, Phenomenology, and Psychodynamic Perspectives in Understanding Post-War Black Migrant Accounts of Lived Experiences in Britain

Lupton (1998) contends that while academic literature has sought to distinguish between the different emotions, what has often failed to be recognised is '…the very mutability, ephemerality, and intangible nature of emotions, as well as their inextricable interlinking with and emergence from constantly changing social, cultural and historical contexts' (Lupton, 1998, p.25). Moreover, our emotions and feelings and how we experience them are not isolated to the individual, but also gain their meanings as part of a broader social and cultural framework. Hence, the relationships between the senses, feelings, emotion, the self, the body, and the social world give critical insight to understanding post-war Black migrant life experiences in Britain.

On arrival in Britain, early post-war Black migrant bodies, emotions, feelings, and sense of self often shifted during their pursuit of everyday activities that were imbued with racialised sensory experiences of 'race' and racisms. Consequently, a new form of post-war racial migrants would

develop and emerge, shaped by their racialised experiences in the new social, cultural, and physical local environment of the post-war British cities where they settled. Thus, an assemblage of the racialised senses, feelings, and emotions is the missing link to understanding not only the workings of 'race' and racisms, but a wider conception of the post-war Black migrants' sense of themselves, the meaning they gave and provided to their own lives, and why they responded to life events, other people around them, and places in certain ways.

Experience and the social relation dimensions of emotions have been the work focus across diverse fields. For example, psychodynamic perspectives (Holloway, 1984, 1989; Klein, 1979; Minsky, 1996; Stein, 1985, 1995) have explored the extra-discursive and extra-rational dimensions of emotional experience by focusing on how the emotions underpin human motivation and action in ways that an individual is often not consciously aware of, and such, offer insight for understanding the unconscious dimensions of the emotional self.

Phenomenology of the emotional self has focused on how individuals think about, express, and give meaning to their lived emotional experiences and the sociocultural and historical underpinnings of this state of being-in-the-world (Geurts, 2002; Lupton, 1998; Merleau-Ponty, 1984). Moreover, Merleau-Ponty argued that a sense of being-in-the-world involved not only thought and bodily action, but also emotionality, which are all interrelated as part of the same phenomenon of lived experience (Merleau-Ponty, 1984). Thus, for phenomenologists, an individual's lived experience or the self-understandings and judgement built up from an individual's membership and experiences in a particular social milieu are also considered the key to the emotional experience (Crossley, 1996; Finklestein, 1980).

Additionally, sociologist Norman Denzin (1984) has argued that emotions are nothing less than central to the ontology of human existence and that people are their emotions, and to understand who a person is, it is necessary to understand emotions (Denzin, 1984, p.1). Furthermore, psychodynamic perspectives on emotions and the unconscious have included psychoanalytical

theory, which recognises the interrelationship between emotion, sociocultural processes, discourse, individual experience, and the unconscious. For example, Julian Henriques (1984) focuses on issues of 'race' and racism through attention to social psychology and the politics of racism and a psychoanalytic account of British Racism (Henriques et al., 1995; Sherwood, 1980).

These approaches to emotions and selfhood provide valuable insights into the ontology of the emotional self and personal biography concerning post-war Black migrant experiences and exploring their sense of being-in-the-world. Moreover, Lupton (1998) observes that space and place are central features of the experience of 'being-in-the-world' as an embodied subject, as embodiment is always experienced through spatial dimensions. Lupton also contends that '…the perception of place and space that individuals gather from their senses – the sights, sounds, smells, states and feel of the environment – have a potentially powerful role in the production of emotions and accreted personal experience is also an important part of the emotions inspired by place' (Lupton, 1998, pp.36, 152).

In her work *Who's afraid of Notting Hill?,* Margaret Busby (2000) recalls her time living in the area following her arrival in London during the early 1960s. She distinguishes this period as a time of 'mixed emotions' and the daily racial consciousness that crystallised in West London because it was close enough to the 1958 race riots. Moreover, Busby asserts: 'Yes, there was fear in Notting Hill when I first knew it; fear lurked in the shadowy exits from the Underground station making me shoot looks over my shoulder at every turn' (Busby, 2007, p.135).

Thus, space and place are central features of the experience of 'being-in-the-world' as an embodied subject, for embodiment is always experienced through racialised dimensions. Furthermore, Busby's recollection of her experience is one example of the connection between the spatial dimension of mixed emotions, such as fear and anxiousness and a new racially heightened sense of being or emotional self that some of the early post-war Black migrants felt on arrival in Notting Hill/North Kensington during this period. Finally, Busby's experience of the spatial environment of early-post-war Notting Hill also highlights the relationship between the intangible operations of 'race', racialised sensory experiences, feelings, mixed emotions, and space and place.

Lupton (1998) argues that just as people can shape aspects of their physical environment, the environment can shape subjectivity (Lupton, 1998, pp. 8, 21, 152). The spatial environment of early post-war Notting Hill combined with the spatial dimensions of race and racism, the senses, mixed emotions and feelings, and sense of being or emotional self also challenge the normative discursive construction and narratives of a single 'coloured' or West Indian migrant (sensory) experience. The intersections of early post-war Black migrant experiences of 'being-in-the-world' as an embodied subject and their perception of place and space assembled through the sights, sounds, smells, states, and feel of their environment are discernible through an exploration of these spatial dimensions.

For instance, in his local HISTORYtalk project oral life testimony (2003)**,** Colin shares a story of his experience of everyday life in Notting Hill/North Kensington, which shows how space and place work as a feature in the sense of being-in-the-world that post-war Black migrants experienced as embodied subjects, as well as how early Black migrants' (sensory) environment and, as such, the emotional states it evoked also shaped their subjectivity. Colin's spatial awareness of the emotional effect of the racialised sensorium and living in the slum conditions of post-war Notting Hill is evident when he recalls his sense of being-in-the-world (Merleau-Ponty, 1962) positioned at the intersections of 'race', class, and social disadvantage as a Black migrant child.

Colin talked about his walking route as a child from Ladbroke Grove in North Kensington to Holland Park, an exceptionally wealthy part of the Notting Hill area, on his journey to Holland Park School, where he was a pupil. Collin recalls arriving at the point on his walking route to school where a 'very real and sharp change' in the physical appearance of the local street occurred. As he states in his HISTORYtalk oral life testimony, '…I walked out of the ghetto into a place where you could look into and see in windows of people who were confident that their windows weren't curtained. Open, clean, and you could see into these wonderful clean interiors, beautifully painted walls of solid walls; unlike the wallpaper that fell off the damp and all the rest of it, like in my own house… unlike the basement that I had come out of… so yes I grew up like that… which is why I call it the ghetto, as a term… to

use it meant you were contrasting with the other lifestyle that I used to look at through these windows and envy, I suppose…' (Prescod, 2003).

Thus, at that moment of sensory spatial awareness, Colin experiences an acute sense of self shaped by his emotional state of envy, evoked by an underlying awareness of 'race' and class. Moreover, his feeling of envy came into sharp focus from the glaring disparity in his lifestyle and those of the people whose windows he was peering into, which, in many ways, asserted the wealthy homeowners' confidence in themselves, the entitlements of their affluence, and sense of wellbeing as a result of their middle/upper-class white privilege.

Moreover, Colin's sense of being-in-the-world stems from an emotional state and feelings of wonderment, admiration, and, in some sense, a yearning for the same cleanliness, sense of openness, and well-lit rooms and attractive interiors on display in the rich people's homes. In stark contrast, Colin's home life as a child of the new working-class early post-war Black migrants whose experience of living in the same local area was dilapidated working-class conditions, where these attractive home features were absent. Colin's sense of self and being-in-the-world as a Black post-war migrant child is strongly tied to what is seemingly a mundane everyday experience of walking to and from school and, hence, evidences the importance of the complex relationship between the sense, mixed emotions, feelings, sense of self and 'race', space, and place in the everyday lived experiences of Black migrants.

## 6.2 Race, Space, and Place and Early Black Migrants' (Sensory) Experiences of Home, Work, and the Pursuit of Everyday Activities in Notting Hill/North Kensington

The relationship between the making of place and urban space has been well established in the social sciences alongside a focus on sensory experience (Ingold, 2000; Lefebvre, 1996; Pink, 2009; Porteous, 1990; Rodway, 1994; Soja, 1989; Thrift, 2006, 2004; Tuan, 1977, 1993). Moreover, conceptual strands of thinking on space and place include a phenomenological theory of place

(Casey, 1996; Feld & Basso, 1996), the politic of space and place (Massey, 2005), and place formulated in terms of entanglements (Ingold, 2005; Pink, 2000).

Hence, early post-war Notting Hill and North Kensington is conceptualised as a racialised sensorium informed by a multi-layered idea of space and place, involving the politics of space and place-making, for example, racial belonging and boundaries, and sensory experiences of urban space and entanglements. Moreover, this is a spatial environment where the complexities of normative discursive and common-sense ideologies of 'race' combine with a dynamic blend of competing traditions, cultures, values, and morality, and different ideas and imagined ways of belonging to one's physical and social environment (Adams et al., 2007).

The idea of place as a zone of entanglement', which gives primacy to the movement of human beings (Ingold, 2008, p.1808), enables a spatial perspective on the complex links between the movement of racialised migrants from Britain's crown colonies or independent Commonwealth states to the local urban spaces of the motherland and the construction of the racialised 'coloured' inner-city urban problem by the post-war British state. Moreover, white English peoples respond to changes in their spatial environment and perceive racial threats to their habitual and intimate local space and place.

The post-war racialisation of space and the spatialisation of 'race' (Lipsitz, 2011) in Britain are tied to the racial problematisation of inner-city areas with the emergence of significant 'minority' concentrations of Black and minority ethnic migrants in the 1960s and 1970s. Black immigrants were constructed as a problem through the emergence of a new discourse of integration/assimilation and their spatial concentration into inner-city areas, which was considered a threat to assimilation. Furthermore, the settlement of early post-war Black migrants in Britain's decaying inner-city slum areas was considered evidence of their cultural pathologies and racial otherness, which also saw the rise of English cultural racism.

Moreover, the early post-war Black migrants were considered more of a racial and political problem following the 1958 Notting Hill riots, resulting in the explicit conflation of space and 'race' by the

British state in policy and political discourse concerning housing, employment, and crime and the rising number of Black migrants (Rhodes & Brown, 2019; Small & Solomos 2006). For example, Enoch Powell's 'rivers of blood' speech played on the spatial nature of white fears of alien cultures and Black migrant hoards invading Britain by locating his argument of the supposed marginalisation of the English white people and their racial subordination by the Black intrusion in inner cities, which would become alien territories. In addition, Margaret Thatcher denounced 'foreign culture' and the 'swamping (of) white spaces' in Britain (Powell, 1969; Thatcher, 1978).

The local spatial effects of racial anxieties and concerns of the white English population fuelled by the British state's political racialisation of the inner-city crisis purportedly caused by the Black presence is also evidenced in the spatially related racisms. For instance, in 1958, the active British Union of Fascists held rabble-rousing rallies to crowds outside Latimer Road underground station in North Kensington, asserting the dangers of the 'triumphant alien' steadily taking over Britain (Vague, 2009), which excluded the racial other from a local public space and place and explicitly racially demarcated who belonged.

Moreover, local white English resident Mervyn Jones recalls in his local HISTORYtalk oral life story that 'Oswald Mosley's Union Movement had offices on Kensington Park Road, just off Portobello Road… and Mosley Union Movement leaflets were being handed out by Mosley's sons outside Ladbroke Grove [underground] station, which featured a cartoon of an African in a grass skirt and spear and the '1984'-style propaganda bulletin "people of Kensington act now. Your country is worth fighting for. Stop colour immigration. Houses for white people not coloured immigrants"' (Jones, 2006).

The local spatial effects of racial anxieties and concerns of the white English were also directed towards early post-war migrants in other ways on arrival in Notting Hill/North Kensington. For example, as previously noted, one of Pansy's welfare officer's reports to the Royal Borough of Kensington Council's General Purpose Committee relays her concern about the excitement of the

General Election and the advent of Sir Oswald Mosley as a candidate with his ‘anti-coloured campaign’. It also details her relief about the election not causing as much trouble as expected in the district. Pansy also reports the feeling of a great deal of tension and potential antagonism between Black and white inhabitants in the area and her concern that the assistance of Sir Oswald Mosley was sought by white tenants when they had problems with Black landlords (Inter-Racial Problems Report of Social Worker, The Royal Borough of Kensington Minutes of Proceedings from January to December 1959. No 5, Report on the General-Purpose Committee, November 17, 1959, p.2).

The spatial dimensions of safe and unsafe spaces and places are also considered through the idea of zones of entanglement and applying a spatial lens to the everyday pursuits of early post-war Black migrants to explore the different sensory engagements, events, and racialised sensory experiences of ‘race’ and racisms, as well as the divergent and competing mixed emotions, visceral feelings, and racialised sense of being or embodied self and perceptions of the same urban local space and place that existed among early post-war Black migrants.

## 6.3 Racialised Emotions, Racism, and the Marking of Racialised Territory and Boundaries in Notting Hill/North Kensington In Places and Non-Safe Spaces

The racialised sense of territoriality or racialised place-making by the white English residents of Notting Hill/North Kensington manifested and imprinted itself on the local area’s racialised sensorium through highly charged no-go zones. For instance, some Black and racialised migrants in pursuit of everyday activities, such as travelling to and from home, work, or school, would avoid them due to a fear of racist attack or, in some cases, becoming victims of racially motivated physical violence.

The assemblage of sensory experience, including mixed emotions and visceral feelings and the dynamics of their operation, adds a further layer of knowledge to the body of writing and studies on racialised spaces, the spatialisation of race, and the construction of the urban problem through a

range of sociopolitical concerns in terms of race and space. Moreover, the approach considers the relationship between these elements and the issues they raised for early Black post-war migrants on arrival and settlement in Britain.

As previously noted, the racialisation of space conducted by the early post-war British state was tied to the spatial politics of ‘race’ articulated through racial anxieties over the urban crisis of the inner city and the problem of post-war racial immigration and the Black presence in Britain. Michael Keith (1993) and Paul Fraser (1996) observed that inner cities are shaped by national-level discourses and processes and specific local histories. Hence, on the national level, the early post-war British state, local government, and the national and local press influenced and sustained the early post-war normative discursive knowledge and sociopolitical racialised anxieties concerning law and order, housing and employment said to be caused by the excessive numbers of ‘coloured’ migrants in areas such as Notting Hill and North Kensington.

For example, a 1959 British government Commonwealth Department’s paper on the proposed fieldwork/survey was ‘…directed towards effecting an all-round improvement in environment and behaviour of people living in the neighbourhood’ and ‘the situation’ in Notting Hill to alleviate the ‘…problem in the area’ (WIS-158/462/04-West Indian Immigrants CO1031/2541, National Archives; WI Immigrants in the UK–Notting Hill the Situation, CO103/2541, National Archives).

Thus, the Commonwealth Department’s paper reflects an example of how the perceived problems of the ‘coloured’ settlement of early post-war Black migrants in Notting Hill were being shaped and defined by their spatial location on a national level. The racialised anxieties of the white host population centred around early post-war Black migrants’ patterns and settlement areas, which they viewed as generative of the poverty, decay, crime, and vice characteristic of a proliferation of Black inner-city ghettos. Furthermore, as a direct result of the 1958 Notting Hill race riots, the issue was also spatialised in terms of the tangled Black pathology of ‘coloured’ or West Indian migrants, which the British state took as an index of the area’s problematic Black inhabitants’ lack of values and poor

behavioural inclinations, which required state interventions to resist and tackle the spread of Black inner-city ghettoisation within the British nation.

There are numerous editions of the local *Kensington Post* of the 1950s and 1960s in which the process of racialising space and place and 'race' spatialisation occurred through various articles and reports on 'the local problem'. For example, according to one *Kensington Post* article, the local coloured immigrant problem needed to be understood in terms of 'the increasing number of colonial peoples moving to North Kensington' and the 'lack of accurate figures on colonial immigrants in the borough…'. The article further argued that there was, in fact, '…a sizable community of them [colonial immigrants] that is constantly growing…'. Furthermore, it postulated that in response, the white community should pose the question of '… what can be done to check the continuous flow of immigrants into a district, part of which is now most overcrowded in London' (*Kensington Post*, 1954, November 12, p.4).

Hence, on a local level, the press reporting, such as the *Kensington Post* article on early Black post-war migrants' arrival and concentrated settlement in North Kensington, asserts the spatial nature of the 'Black problem' purportedly confronting the white English population due to racial immigration. Moreover, local and national press reporting on the 'colour' problem shaped the racialisation of space and place and the spatialisation of 'race' informed by the early post-war political preoccupation with racial immigration and associating the growing Black presence of early post-war Black migrants in the area with the fear of excessive numbers of Black bodies, which were inextricably linked with the imputed differences of the 'racial other' posing a threat to the white English way of life and culture.

Simultaneously, the process of racialised place-making by white English residents shaped the racialised sensorium of early post-war Britain's urban inner-city spaces, such as Notting Hill/North Kensington, through a sense of emplacement in the form of territory and boundary marking using sensory-informed practices such as 'topophilia' (Howe, 2005; Tuan, 1974, 1977). In addition, the pre-war British nation's racialised imaginaries of Black people, formed by the Empire and the history

of Western racial (sensory) ideologies, also structured the white English population's racial perception of early post-war Black migrant arrival and subsequent settlement in poor-quality housing. Despite the reality of systematic racism and racial inequalities, such as excluding or limiting Black migrants' access to housing and employment (Rex & Moore, 1967; Rhodes & Brown, 2019; Smith, 1989), the spatial concentration of early post-war Black migrants, mainly in areas with decaying properties marked out for slum clearance, was considered spurious evidence that their racially inferior attitudes, values, behaviour, and social norms were different from the white English population and caused and created a specific type of dangerous Black slum.

The above consideration of the relationship between the racialisation of space, 'race' spatialisation, and racialised space-making provides the framework for situating and exploring Black migrants' experiences of early post-war British racialised urban inner city and sensoria at the local level. Focusing on the pursuit of everyday activities by Black migrants from the combined perspective of the senses, the idea emerges of zones of entanglement and the spatial dimensions of safe and unsafe spaces and places.

The racialisation of space and place-making formulated by a racially informed sense of belonging in the white English population resulted in racist processes and actions in contestation over the intrusion of the Black presence into white neighbourhoods. Such processes included asserting ownership and control over public venues, spaces, and places occupied and used by the white English people before the arrival of Black and racialised post-war migrants, often by various means. Overt racist practices forged by the racialised sense of emplacement and territorial boundary marking is evident through what early post-war migrant Pepe Francis called the 'Teddy Boys situation', about a time when he was badly beaten by five or six Teddy Boys whilst walking home in Notting Hill Gate after work one night. Pepe lived in Notting Hill/North Kensington during the 1950s, and he recalls during his Carnival Oral History Project life testimony: 'I got a good beating that night, and I was laid up for weeks' and the 'Teddy Boys were the kind of people who did not like foreigners or Black people… they did not like foreigners per se' (Francis, 2003).

The ‘Teddy Boy situation’ was a shared experience told by many early post-war Black and racialised immigrants in Notting Hill and North Kensington, which involved being subjected to verbal and physical attacks, often from the local Teddy Boys. This form of a racially informed sense of belonging, on the part of some of the post-war local white working-class English residents, illustrates how the racialisation of public space served to regulate and exercise ownership over the various streets of Notting Hill and North Kensington on the arrival of Black and racialised post-war migrants.

Pepe’s testimony also draws attention to a nuanced spatial understanding of ‘race’ and racism from the perspective of the intersectional experiences of early post-war Black migrants. Moreover, the experiential complexities of early post-war Black migrants at times competing or differing feelings, emotions and racialised sense of safety, risk, or danger were experienced in the private and public spaces and places around early post-war British inner cities.

Early post-war Black migrant Loftus Burton, who arrived in London in 1958 aged 18, experienced the Notting Hill riots in 1958. Loftus recalls in his Carnival Oral History Project life testimony that there were certain places he would not go as a Black person. ‘Golborne Road area and Kensal New Town was very sort of off-limits in that sort of sense… Black people looked out for each other, and you knew there were certain places you didn’t walk, you didn’t go out without friends… it just became part of your life. I don’t think it was a case of you trying to forget it, blank it out of your mind; in a way, you became immune to it, immune is the wrong word; it became part and parcel of your life if you were to target all the incidents, racism that you encountered, one could go on for weeks’ (Burton, 2003).

Basil Jarvis, who arrived in London after the 1958 riots aged 12, shares his Teddy Boy situation from the perspective of an early post-war teenage Black migrant’s experience of the local racialised sensorium. Basil remembers in his Carnival Oral History Project oral life testimony that ‘… I arrived on the Sunday and started (Holland Park) school on the Monday …coming out on the street was a different scenario… at the age of 12 going on 13. I was scared; it was very frightening… You

encountered Teddy Boys every day. The walk from Holland Park to St Stephen's Gardens was a 10-minute walk. I used to take half an hour because I would walk all the way down Bayswater and come up the back of Whiteley's around Porchester Hall and Westbourne Gardens. I would not dare come down Latimer Road or Ladbroke Grove to avoid attacks. You had to run because they were normally in gangs… I got hit by a bottle once on my shin, and I had to run for my life; it was one of the most frightening experiences. I was lucky in comparison to a lot of other guys who were attacked and got stabbed…' (Jarvis, 2003).

A further example of the racialised sensory awareness and experience of living within the racialised sensorium of Notting Hill/North Kensington is given by Colin, a member of the younger generation of early post-war migrants. Colin arrived in 1958 as a 14-year-old boy, and in his HISTORYtalk Oral History Project life testimony, he states that 'Walking from the ghetto in that '58, '59 period, and all that tension on the streets and the riots and all the rest of it, at that point, it seems to me children wouldn't have been attacked by grown-up mobs, by grown-up people….. [so] I think I would not have been directly menaced when I went out on the street… The streets were places where I would have had a sense that the adults were being menaced, but I was not big enough to be a real target' (Prescod, 2003).

Hence, the racialised sensory experiences evoked on the local streets of Notting Hill and North Kensington illustrate Black migrant experiences, which often become subsumed within the generalising tendencies of focusing on the material and structural effects of 'race' and racism. Moreover, Basil and Colin draw attention to the experiential complexities of competing perspectives of early post-ear migrants' spatial experiences of the racialised sensorium of Notting Hill/North Kensington.

Rodman argued that multilocality, in one sense, implies a way of seeking to understand the construction of place from multiple viewpoints 'through recognising that a single physical landscape can be multilocal in a sense, that it shapes and expresses polysemic meaning of place for different users' (Rodman, 2003, p.212). Drawing on the idea of multilocality allows Notting Hill/North

Kensington to be understood as an urban space, which phenomenologically can be experienced as many types of places simultaneously, depending on who is experiencing/making the space (Pink, 2008). Moreover, it allows an understanding of the racialised sensorium of Notting Hill/North Kensington, which is not irreducible to a single Black and minority ethnic experience, as Basil and Colin's perspective of risk, threat, and safety demonstrates the heterogeneity of sensory experiences among Black migrants and the intricacies of the multiple occurrences that comprise the racialised sensorium of Notting Hill/North Kensington.

The ontology of the emotional self and personal biography concerning post-war Black migrants' sense of being-in-the-world and experience and Lupton's argument that accreted personal experience is also an important part of the emotions inspired by place (Lupton, 1998, pp. 36, 152) further add a unique perspective to understanding Basil and Colin's competing sense of threat, risk, and safety as young early Black migrants in the racialised sensorium of Notting Hill and North Kensington.

Colin Prescod identifies that on arrival in Notting Hill/North Kensington as a 13-year-old Black boy in 1958, he may have been too innocent to feel any menace from the racisms, riots, and Teddy Boys and 'could not understand that stuff'. However, as Colin further states, 'it grows on me that there is a sense of anxiety around the community as my mother's friends are leaving in groups from my house after they had rehearsals of play readings and there is talk about being careful'. He then goes on to recall 'one man, famously carrying a bible after one day [of] being in our house saying that the bible would protect him, and we would see him a couple of days later with a bandage around his head' (Prescod, 2003).

Thus, young Colin's awareness of the sense of threat, safety, and risk emerges from the racialised spatial experience of the adults around him. However, Colin's clear demarcation between the adults' perception of threats, safety, and risks and his own as a child further illustrates the nuances of the multilocality and complexities of racialised experiences and the racialised sensorium of Notting Hill/North Kensington. Furthermore, Colin also ascribes his lack of fear walking the streets of North

Kensington to his childhood innocence, which he felt was influenced and protected by the actions of the adults around him. Colin recalls that, as an early post-war Black migrant child, he would have been shielded and chaperoned by the adults around him, and he was not allowed to be on the streets too much. Moreover, he identifies that as an early Black migrant child, school was his all: '…you're either at home or school because of the tension of the street. At the time, I would not have been running around as a little child' (Prescod, 2003).

Colin's biography also reveals the role of accreted personal experience in the different viewpoints of multilocality among early post-war Black migrants and how they understood and experienced racialised space. Colin's childhood feelings of safety and lack of risk on the streets of North Kensington were due to his experience with the adults around him and, in particular, his mother's influence on his sense of being in the world as a child. For instance, he identifies his appreciation as an adult for his mother, whose contribution he says was 'the platform for how to live my life... she was an exuberant, outgoing, confident woman, this was transferred to me, this was how I was. So I talk about the riots and all the rest of it, but there this no sense that any of this cowered me into thinking that I did not have rights' (Prescod, 2003).

However, Basil's biography also reveals how his accreted experience informed his sense of threat and risk as a child on the streets of North Kensington. Unlike Colin, Basil's experience of the same racialised sensorium was shaped by his first-hand visceral experience of racialised violence. Furthermore, Basil's accreted personal experience reveals that his father's experience of racism on the streets also influenced his sense of being-in-the-world and the threat and risk as a child. For instance, Basil explained in his HISTORYtalk oral life testimony how his father had, 'on a couple of occasions, experienced racist incidents coming home from work at night' when asked whether he felt frightened of walking in the streets of Notting Hill/North Kensington on his own as a child. Thus, Basil revealed the link between the importance of his father's experience of racist physical incidents to his sense of threat and risk as a child and the racialised restrictions this placed on his freedom of movement. He states that he '...went to school in the morning and came home, but did not go out in the evenings, and if I did go out, it was basically with my parents' (Jarvis, 2003).

The complexity of Black migrants' racialised sensory experiences, emotions, feelings, and sense of multilocality based on their different perspectives of early post-war British inner-city areas, such as Notting Hill and North Kensington, were also shaped and heavily influenced by the systemic racism of the era. In addition, early post-war Black migrants' fear of verbal racial antagonism and physical attacks in public spaces and places was realised through acts of racial violence that emerged from the racialised emotions of the local white perpetrators (Hernan & Feagin, 2004). These occurrences in the racialised sensorium of Notting Hill/North Kensington were entangled with the systemic racism in the Metropolitan Police Service and local police, which also shaped and reinforced the spatially marked boundary of racial belonging played out at the local level.

The entanglement of acts of violence perpetrated against Black migrants by white English residents and differential policing meted out against the early Black post-war migrants and their impact on Black migrant's racialised sensory experience is also evident in Wilf's Carnival Oral History Project life testimony reminiscence of living in early post-war Notting Hill/North Kensington. Wilf arrived in North Kensington in 1959, and he illustrates the ominous feelings of fear and a sense of danger and risk he experienced as an early post-war Black migrant on the streets of North Kensington.

Wilf recalls that '..to get to Ladbroke Grove, I used to still go down to Shepherd's Bush and come around on the Metropolitan Line, although I could have just walked through Portland Road and got to Ladbroke Grove…' because '… in those days, it seemed so dark and dangerous… as a foreigner, someone new to the area, and also being Black; because it was so dangerous' and '… if I come down Portobello Road, I wouldn't go further than, say, Blenheim Crescent to Westbourne Park Road, I wouldn't actually go up Golborne Road, you know it was like a no man's land in those days to me… what was I scared of? Well, I don't know, this was before it was a smokeless zone and it was always dark and horrible, just dangerous, so I never used to go into the Grove' (Walker, 2003).

The almost unexplainable racialised sense of fear of the streets in Notting Hill and North Kensington experienced by Wilf Walker is later physically actualised when a group of Teddy Boys attacked him.

In addition to his racialised fear and anxiety, Wilf's Teddy Boys situation was further overlayed by feelings of bitterness and frustration, which emerge during his first experience of problems with the police. For example, Wilf goes on to say '…coming back from the theatre one night in Portland Road, just a few doors from where I lived, and being attacked by a bunch of Teddy Boys, and being kicked to the pavement and my wallet taken, and managing to get myself up and go to the [police] station to complain, and then being told I suppose you want an ambulance? That was my first experience with the police. I actually described these guys, they live on my street, I knew them and described them. And they never did anything about it' (Walker, 2003).

Wilf reveals another perspective on early post-war migrants' sense of threat, risk, and safety, compared to Basil and Colin's, which is further complicated by an assemblage of mixed emotions of fear and trauma from his racist attack overlain with feelings of resentment and anger at the police for their dismissive attitude of his complaint and lack of action. In addition, Wilf's experience reveals that the early post-war racialised sensorium of Notting Hill/North Kensington also comprised racist institutional practices and how they shaped the multiple layers of sensory experiences and daily occurrences of racial hostility, discrimination, and racisms against early post-war Black migrants.

Thus, how the police also marked, reinforced, and responded to the spatialisation of 'race', racisms, and discrimination is essential to understanding the multiplicity of competing early post-war Black migrant experiences and the racialised sensorium of Notting Hill and North Kensington during that period. The early post-war police officers that Wilf and other Black migrants encountered were also from the host country and shared the English people's racialised colonial attitudes and prejudices towards the 'racial other'.

Hence, Wilf, like other early post-war migrants that would approach the local police seeking help as victims or confronted with issues of racial prejudice, violence, and racism, would experience police neutrality or inaction. In addition, racist institutional practices of the police would have seemingly condoned the racist physical attack against Wilf, which also damaged his trust and confidence in the British system of law and order and his sense of being in the world.

## 6.4 Conclusion

Moving away from treating ‘race’, space, place, and place-making as discrete units allows a perspective that accounts for the inherent complexities through which post-war Black and racialised immigrants’ experiences are lived and constituted through the racialised sensorium of space and place. Hence, early post-war Notting Hill/North Kensington is constituted by all of the above, and the sensory racialised public and private space and place of its neighbourhoods are revealed as dynamic in their simultaneous, multiple, parallel, and, at times, competing interwoven forms of multilocality and place-making through all its residents, including racialised and minority ethnic post-war settlers (Knowles, 2003; Pink, 2009).

Furthermore, tracing the historical spatiality of early post-war inner cities reveals the role of the British state and white English residents’ concerns about racial immigration in the racialisation of space to mark out and control racial spatial boundaries to keep out the perceived threat of the racial other. The ways that Black migrants moved around, navigated, and experienced their local environment as multiple sites of racial hostility, antagonism, and violence also provide potential avenues to interrogate alternative forms of knowledge and epistemologies and the complexities of racialised sensory experience in multiple ways.

Thus, space and place are central to knowledge production, whether they are imagined or materially actualised in terms of the built environment, i.e., architecture, concrete, and stone buildings and structures, or whether they are viewed in relation to representations conceived through normative discursive knowledge and the mechanisms of policies on regeneration, urban planning, and legislation (Lefebvre, 1991). Moreover, space and place are not neutral to the presence and influence of the workings of ‘race’ in the process of racialisation, and the racialisation of space and place in relation to cities or urban environments takes many different forms (Anderson, 1990, 1994, 1999; Ballis, 1990; Drake & Cayton, 1945; Dubois, 1899; Hannerz, 1969; Katznelson, 1975, 1981; Kennedy, 2002; Knowles, 2003; Liebow, 1967; Park & Burgess, 1921, 1925; Park, 1950, 1952; Whyte, 1955; Wirth, 1956), for instance, the small daily personal encounters that take place between

people who live in the same place or mechanism of the state and local government political discourses, and policies that draw on common sense knowledge and ideas of ‘race’ in the racial stereotyping of the problematic urban ‘other’ (Cross & Keith, 1992; Keith, 2004; Keith & Pile, 1993; McCann, 1999; Solomos, 1991).

## Chapter Seven: The Sensory Recreational Life and Politics of Resistance in the Lives of Early Post-War Black Migrants

### Introduction

This chapter will examine the everyday (sensory) leisure and recreation pursuits, activities, and experiences of early post-war Black migrants that were essential to adapting to Britain's hostile inner-city environment. Moreover, the chapter assesses how the leisure and recreational pursuits served to counteract the everyday experiences of racisms and discrimination problems that the migrants encountered on arrival and settling in Britain as well as considering how early post-war Black migrant leisure and recreational pursuits and experiences also forged a new post-war Black Britain despite the differences and ruptures of being Caribbean, West Indian, or a 'coloured migrant' (Hall, 1990).

The overarching theoretical framework/lens of racialised space and place and racialised sensorium remains. Broader considerations of historical racial ideologies and discourses, economic processes, racist British state policies and intuitional practices also inform the examination of the racisms and discrimination experienced by early post-war Black migrants in British social spaces, such as pubs, churches, and social halls, further to the historical, contextual, and political factors embedded in early Black migrants' development of a new sense of self through their leisure and social life and practices. The chapter also explores the repositioning of early Black post-war migrants as active agents in constructing knowledge, as opposed to being passive recipients of the dominant racial pathology, e.g., the 'Thirty Thousand Coloured Problem' categorisations placed upon them.

Early post-war Black migrants' leisure, recreational, and social activities in the home and collective leisure and social pursuits such as late-night clubs, formal dances, beauty pageants, and the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival are important. These are sites where new Black British consciousness among early Black post-war migrants and an imagined diasporic community developed and emerged in opposition to being treated as second-class citizens. However, the idea of a collective early Black post-war migrant and the making of a new Black British identity in this study is not to speak to an

identitarian logic, but instead to acknowledge the multiple forms of ‘belonging-in-difference’ that adhere to belonging to a collective (Munoz, 2009, p.20).

This chapter examines the racial discrimination and prejudices against Black migrants in Britain, which were commonplace in all areas of their daily lives, and, more precisely, focuses on the leisure and social pursuits of Black migrants, particularly in British pubs, clubs, and dance halls. Further, the chapter considers the accounts of early post-war migrants to explore how they experienced, perceived, and felt in predominantly white spaces within the racialised sensorium of early post-war Britain’s inner cities. The utilisation of English leisure spaces and places, such as local pubs, by early post-war Black migrants where new and alternative forms of creative inter-ethnic cultural and diasporic social spaces emerged is also explored.

An additional focus is placed on the feelings and emotions of early post-war Black migrants, such as the feelings of loneliness and alienation many experienced daily and how they influenced the emergence of new Black leisure places and spaces in early post-war Britain. Moreover, there is an exploration of the reconfiguration of local diasporic spaces and places of Notting Hill/North Kensington, such as Black-owned restaurants and clubs, as problematic and politically dynamic sites where the formation of new forms of Black migrant social life and leisure experiences were impinged by British racial politics and institutional police racisms and practices. Furthermore, this section examines the British state’s appropriation of early post-war Black migrant leisure and recreational pursuits and experiences for gain in official representations of multicultural Britain underpinned by a consideration of the long-established history of colonial powers rewriting and misrepresenting the history and sensory experiences of its racialised colonial people.

## 7.1 Rethinking Diasporic Communities and Theorising Leisure and Recreational Pursuits and the Politics of Resistance in the Everyday Lives and (Sensory) Experiences of Early Post-War Black Migrants

Scholars (Brah, 1996; Kivel, Johnson, & Scraton, 2009) have devised a practical framework to consider the reconfiguration of power in local diasporic spaces through recreation and to consider how marginalised groups – in this case, early Black post-war migrants – 'situated' themselves using recreation as a form of resistance against the harmful racialising practices in early post-war Britain. For instance, Brah's (1996) theorising of the diaspora as an emerging space and interpretive framework allows the differences, diversity, and commonality of early post-war Black migrants' experiences to emerge in the forefront against the racially homogeneous identity of the West Indian migrant.

Bloch (1954, 1955, 1959) argues that traces of hope permeate everyday life, including familiar and ordinary aspects of everyday experience, which contain untapped emancipatory potential. Exploring the (sensory) emotions and racialised everyday experiences of an early post-war Black migrant on arriving and settling in Britain through ideas, such as the diaspora as an emerging space and interpretive framework and the untapped emancipatory potential of feelings and emotions that permeate daily life, also sits within the framework of leisure and recreation in everyday life (Duncan, 2002).

Thus, early leisure studies have attempted to understand leisure experiences in terms of phenomenology (Harper, 1981; Tinsley & Tinsley, 1986) and psychology (Neulinger,1974) as well as from a social–psychological perspective where examinations of leisure, leisure experiences, and identity have centred around the individual's interpretation of leisure experiences (Iso-Ahola, 1980). However, the criticism against early leisure studies has included a failure to include essential discussions of ideologies, such as 'race' and the discourses that structure leisure experiences (Kivel, Johnson & Scraton, 2009). There has also been a failure of the attempts made to capture and

represent the leisure experiences of individuals based on different identity politics ('race', gender, sexual orientation) to consider or theorise the role of institutional structures and oppressions and how racism, sexism, and heterosexism operate in leisure settings (Smith, 1987).

Feminists, however, have recognised that everyday lived experience is a legitimate source of knowledge and question patriarchal ideas of a common leisure experience that is defined and dominated by white males (Bella, 1989; Bialeschki & Pearce, 1997; Henderson et al., 1996; Johnson, 2000, 2005; Kivel, 1994, 2000). Further, Kivel, Johnson, and Scraton (2009) suggest that talking about 'race' in terms of a social construct involves explicitly acknowledging the meaning that 'race' holds in various contexts, including leisure. They argue for conceptualising 'experience' in new ways that account for the intersection of experience with 'race', gender, and sexuality, locating experience within sociohistorical and political contexts and acknowledging the fluidity of identity and identity categories as a way to begin conceptualising leisure experiences (Kivel, Johnson, & Scraton, 2009).

## 7.2 A Newly Imagined Early Post-War Black Migrant Community: The Early Post-War Black British Media, Leisure, and Social Life and the Integration of a New 'Black Local.'

Jose Esteban Muñoz's (2014) conceptualisation of queerness and diasporic scholar Nadia Ellis' (2015) work on queerness are valuable in exploring the sensory leisure spaces, places, and experiences of early post-war Black migrants in Britain. Work such as Muñoz's enables an understanding of diasporic belonging as queer in terms of diasporic subjects seeking ways of being outside the heteronormative modes sanctioned by British colonialism, Englishness, and Caribbean nationalism. Ellis's argument also maintains that ordinary citizens can transform the impossible loss and difficulty of the Black diaspora into 'extraordinary' cultural practices of identity, space, and culture. Moreover, Ellis asserts that these extraordinary cultural practices can create a sense of belonging among diasporic subjects across boundaries of geography, class, nation, genre, and time, not despite, but rather because they remain at a distance (Ellis, 2015, p.92).

Thus, even as the geo-cultural degrees of separation between them and ‘back home’ increased (Jarrett, 2007; McKay, 1937), early post-war Black migrants created a sense of belonging as diasporic subjects that crossed boundaries of geography, class, nation, islands, and genre. In the racially hostile environment of early post-war Britain, early post-war migrants formed new diasporic spaces and places where they could interact and new diasporic communities and cultural and social groups with different people for support and to feel at home. One way early post-war Black migrants sought to imagine and forge the new early post-war Black migrant community was through their leisure life, interests, social experiences, and pursuits. The early post-war Black British press, such as the *West Indian Gazette* (WIG), Britain’s first Black newspaper, sought to unify West Indian migrants divided by island nationalism through their leisure pursuits, social life, and cultural activities. *WIG*’s page 4 feature regularly focuses on spotlighting theatre productions with Black actors. The ‘Gazette Diary’ section also announced ‘West Indians in The West End’ and a review of the London Soho musical with Jamaican and Trinidadian lead actors and a Caribbean dance troupe (*WIG*, September 1960, p.3), along with book reviews.

*WIG* also reflected the growing cultural consciousness among early post-war Black migrants and the presence of a Black ‘highbrow culture’ and arts scene in London. It opposed the racialised normative discursive knowledge and stereotypes used by the British national and local press to portray early post-war Black migrants as simple country folk and a racially intellectual inferior and uneducated population, which some English people believed them to be. Moreover, the *West Indian Gazette* also reported on Carnival Queen competitions to promote and celebrate Black beauty, with front page headlines declaring ‘Our Beauties Compete for Caribbean Queen Prize’ (*West Indian Gazette and Afro-Asian-Caribbean News,* Vol. 3., January 1960). Furthermore, *WIG* featured advertising columns that announced meetings and West Indian clubs and restaurants in London.

## 7.3 'Race' and Racisms in Leisure and Recreational Life of Black Migrants in Britain: 'We Don't Serve Coloured People Here'… The Ladbroke Grove Pub Colour Bar

Racial discrimination against early post-war Black migrants in Britain and cases of prejudice were commonplace on a daily basis in all areas of life, and racism was a collective experience in the leisure pursuits of Black migrants, particularly in the pubs, clubs, and dance halls. The *WIG* and one of two Black commercial magazines, *Flamingo*, also reported on the incidents of racism experienced by early post-war Black migrants in the leisure spheres of their life and public spaces, places, and venues in the racialised sensorium of British inner cities.

Pubs are one of the cornerstones of British culture, and they remain the centre of some inner-city local communities (BFI Player Virtual Pub Crawl, 2022)[36]. During the early post-war years, Black migrants were subject to a colour bar in some British public houses, which included segregation from white drinkers by being forced to drink in a separate room to an outright ban on early post-war Black migrants being allowed on the premises. Hence, the early Black post-war press and magazine articles reported on the colour bar that operated against early post-war Black migrants. For example, the *West Indian Gazette* article 'Ladbroke Grove Pub Colour Bar' reported the colour bar experience of a Jamaican man called Archie Spencer in Notting Hill/North Kensington. The article reported that the publican refused to serve Archie a glass of bitter in a Ladbroke Grove Pub that did not serve coloured people because he claimed '... we have trouble with them' (*WIG*, April 1961, Vol.3, No.6, p.1).

*Flamingo* magazine also featured a regular article on the 'experiences of a West Indian in London' called 'Jason vs London' that used satire to critique various aspects of English leisure life. For example, Jason vs London identified Sunday football matches and the English pub as the social cornerstones of English life. In addition, Jason parodied the experience of a social night out at the local English pub from the perspective of a West Indian migrant. Jason described the English pub

[36] https://player.bfi.org.uk/free/collection/virtual-pub-crawl.

as a lifeless and lacklustre place with a dire social atmosphere, where ‘the bartender wiped a glass and surveyed the glum, silent room with satisfaction that all was as it should be’ (Jason vs Pub, Jason vs London Episodes in the Life of a West Indian by Ann Crouch, pp.13–14, *Flamingo*, October 1962).

The article also described how, on an evening in English pubs at 8.30 pm, white English regulars would get down to the serious task of effacing their solid and uninteresting suppers with as many pints as they could safely put away before closing time. Further, it argued that early post-war Black migrants’ drinking in English pubs felt like white English people treated them with disapproval because they ‘sensed’ West Indians ‘… were an alien, disturbing influence who had arrived in their midst’ (Jason vs Pub, Jason vs London Episodes in the Life of a West Indian by Ann Crouch, pp.13–14, *Flamingo*, October 1962).

Initially, British pub culture was an uncustomary leisure setting for some, if not most early Black post-war migrants who came to England. However, some utilised it to their advantage, shaping a distinct diasporic presence in early post-war Britain despite the racially hostile and discriminatory pub culture they faced and experienced. For example, early Black post-war migrant Dexter Khan (2004) came to England in June 1961 from Trinidad. In his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Project oral life testimony, he recalls that English pubs were open from 12 to 2 pm in the early days. Dexter also remembers going to the local pub named the Coleherne, where he says all the Trinidadians used to hang out on a Sunday for something to do. Moreover, Dexter says the Coleherne pub eventually became a place where all different musicians would go to a gig on a Sunday regardless of their music (Khan, 2004).

Hence, some local pubs in Notting Hill/North Kensington were leisure spaces where the overt discriminatory, racist treatment of early post-war Black migrants, such as the colour bar, was not strictly enforced. Early post-war Black migrants in the area would use their local pubs, such as the Coleherne, to add a more affirmative dimension to their settlement experience, including a new

sense of local Black migrant collective diasporic self and being in the world and forging interracial and cultural friendships between social groups and communities.

The Coleherne public house became a leisure space where Dexter and his friends would hang around together as Trinidadians and as a newly formed group and community of early post-war Black migrants. Thus, the oral testimonies of early post-war migrants provide additional insight into the early post-war Black migrant experiences of racialised leisure spaces and places and their underlying complexities. For instance, Dexter felt that socialising in places like the Coleherne was important because it brought, he says, 'people from all the different islands together...' who were in a '...cold country and trying to stick together (Khan, 2004). Hence, Dexter's life testimony also reveals inter-island differences at the intersections of early post-war Black migrant experiences in Britain on arrival.

Russ Henderson came to Britain from the West Indies in 1951 and worked as a musician and band leader. In his Carnival Oral History Project life story interview, he recalls his experience at the Coleherne pub. Russ remembered that West Indian students also used to hang out at the pub and says they galvanised and asked to put on a band for one night. He also says that he and the West Indian students used to go to the pub on Sunday mornings, and people started calling it 'Sunday school', which eventually 'became known all over the place and somewhere to go on Sundays if West Indians got to London' (Henderson, 2001). Similarly, early post-war local Black migrant Pepe Francis came to London in 1961 and lived in Ladbroke Grove. Pepe also recalls in his Carnival Oral History Project life testimony that mainly West Indians would gather at the Coleherne pub on a Sunday afternoon and 'all other types of people, including whites'. He says they would 'come out to mix, play and enjoy the spontaneous jam session between jazz musicians who brought their instruments' (Francis, 2003).

Thus, Pepe's, Dexter's, and Russ's memories shed light on how early Black migrants established and asserted themselves through their social and leisure pursuits by entering and shaping previously predominantly white public leisure places in early post-war British inner cities, like the Coleherne pub

in Notting Hill/North Kensington. They opened an emancipatory space where they could experiment with their new sense of Britishness and produce new forms of creative inter-ethnic cultural and diasporic social spaces.

## 7.4 Senses, Feelings, and Mixed Emotions of Early Post-War Black Migrants in the Making of Black Social and Leisure Spaces and Places

Early post-war Black migrants were able to reconfigure some racialised leisure spaces, such as English pubs, and create new social and recreational diasporic and interracial spaces that emerged in Britain. However, early post-war migrants' social and leisure life, recreational spaces, and places also emerged from the assemblage of the feelings and mixed emotions that developed from starting a new life in Britain as an alienated racial other subjected to daily racism and racial discrimination. For example, Sterling Betancourt (2001) came to Britain to play the steel pans at the 1951 Festival of Britain. Sterling recalls in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History life story that he found early post-war Britain depressing when the Trinidad All Steel Percussion Orchestra (TAPSO) returned to Trinidad. However, Sterling decided to stay and find work (Betancourt, 2001).

Sterling further says that when he played the steel pans at the 1951 Festival of Britain, white English people had never seen anything like it before, and they thought '…it was black magic, they could not understand how we were getting music from a steel drum' (Betancourt, 2001). Moreover, when Sterling first came to Britain and his band used to play at the Lyceum and Savoy, he observed some white British people would dance the foxtrot to Calypso, and he argued that it was because the music was strange to them, and they did not know what to do (Betancourt, 2001).

Hence, Sterling's experiences of the recreational activities and social pursuits of the white English host population, his perception of the idiosyncrasies of English culture, and their behaviour at the unfamiliarity of West Indian musical culture are insightful. For instance, Sterling turns the racialised gaze and narrative of otherness generally reserved for the early post-war Black migrants onto white British people's social practices. Moreover, his memories add a further layer to the racialised

experience and knowledge of the perceived threat or risk of harm experienced by early post-war Black migrants explored in the earlier chapter. Further, Sterling's experience at the 1951 Festival of Britain raises questions about the multiple ways that early post-war Black migrants experienced, perceived, and felt in predominantly white spaces as another facet within the racialised sensorium of early post-war Britain's inner cities.

Sterling's sensory encounter with 'white space' (Anderson, 2015, 2022) and observations on the behaviour of early post-war white English people's response to Black musical culture also signal the question of how the senses and the space and place in leisure activities and social life work, and for whom, when seeking to understand the workings of 'race' and racisms. Sterling's perspicacity to recognise the racial disruption and confusion caused by the Black presence in a white leisure space highlights how early Black migrants experienced social spaces differently to white English people, who would generally regard and experience space as unremarkable or customarily taken for granted as a reflection of the English way of life. Moreover, their social activities and practices, such as ballroom dances and the 'foxtrot', ironically developed in Black American nightclubs as an established part of British popular culture and leisure activities.

Additionally, Sterling's experience of white English people equating the strange steel pan music with 'black magic' calls attention to the presence of the racist colonial-inflected stereotypes and perceptions of early post-war Black migrants pervading white leisure spaces. 'White leisure spaces' also subtly operated to create the sense of estrangement and social distance experienced by early post-war Black migrants that reinforced the structural and institutional racisms that sustained their outsider status as the racial other.

A feeling of loneliness was a shared experience among early post-war Black attempting to settle and start a new life as the racial other in Britain. Sterling remembers in his Carnival Oral History life testimony that he found it tough living in Britain when he arrived and felt lonely before he eventually met a friend (Betancourt, 2001). Sterling also shows evidence of the feelings of loneliness experienced by early Black post-war migrants who were far from home, family, and friends and who

were racially othered by the host population when they arrived in Britain. However, the racialised sensory emotions and feelings experienced by early post-war migrants, such as their sense of loneliness, propelled the choices and strategies they employed to shape their leisure and recreational spaces and places and begin developing a sense of Black Britishness.

Thus, the senses, feelings, and mixed emotions and recreational and leisure spaces and places are central in early post-war Black migrants' racialised experiences of arrival and settlement in Britain. In the early days of their entry into Britain, some post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants looked for the company of others because they had no friendship group or connection to other individuals from their country. In his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Project oral life story, Sterling further recollects how early Black post-war migrants used to 'keep together'. He says, '…when you get to know somebody, you introduce them [to other Black migrants] and then we have a lot of friends, and we can have social parties and different things like that…'. Further, he asserts that '…we had to do our own thing in those days because no one [did] it for you. And in those days, they used to have 'no coloured people, no dogs, no Irish'…it was really tough days' (Betancourt, 2001).

Russ Henderson (2001) came to Britain in 1951 from Trinidad**.** In his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life story, he says he played as a musician in various early post-war leisure and social venues. Russ recalls that he used to go to a famous club in London's Carnaby Street called the Sunset Strip, which was '...owned by a Black man called Lesley, and it was where any Black artist coming to London would have to go'. Russ felt that whilst Carnaby Street was a famous place where The Beatles and all other famous people went, it also had a history that people should know about because it was '…really a Black meeting place, a Black club and it was Lesley from Jamaica who ran the club' (Henderson, 2001).

Thus, Russ's recollections of his experience of Black-owned clubs also identify them as important leisure and social spaces and places where early post-war Black migrants could make new friends and express the artistry of Black culture through music. However, Russ also expresses his frustration and dissatisfaction that not enough is known about this aspect of Black British marginalised history

that was a crucial influence on early post-war London nightlife. Thus, Russ raises the critical absence in the history of early post-war Black arrival and settlement in Britain and Black British History.

Carnaby Street in London is iconic for being one of the birthplaces of 'swinging' London in the 1960s, which became a symbol of cultural upheaval and revolution, and saw a flourish in art, music, and fashion following the Second World War in Britain. However, the presence of early Black post-war music clubs, such as the Sunset Club in Carnaby Street, Soho[37], The Contemporanean in Mayfair, and Club 77 (Sullivan, 2013), was also a vital part of the counter and subcultures of 'Swinging London', but are overlooked in the popular narrative of the 'Swinging '60s' and London as the capital of style.

Hence, early post-war Black migrants' social pursuits and experiences of sensory leisure spaces and places in Britain are critical to understanding the complex ways that 'race' and racisms operate. Moreover, the sensory leisure and social spheres of early Black post-war migrants' lives provide insights beyond the existing consideration of the overt pernicious racial discrimination of the colour bar in English pubs and social clubs. Social spaces like the Sunset Soho Club created exciting, dynamic, creative, and stimulating places for early post-war Black migrants to meet. These were also sensory environments where racially mixed club-goers could appreciate and enjoy the pleasures of live jazz and Calypso music performances and dancing, and forge new friendship groups. Black jazz and Calypso clubs like the Soho Club were also spaces where interracial romantic relationships could take place in a perceived 'safe' or 'in' space (Back, 1996) that was on the cutting edge of the London social scene and an influence on the city's nightlife.

Thus, early post-war Black migrants' sensory awareness of 'race' and racisms and assemblage of feelings and mixed emotions, such as Sterling's, shed light on the neglect of racialised sensory knowledge in understanding the deeper workings of 'race' and racisms. Russ' memories and racialised sensory experience of playing as a musician in famous London clubs, including those run

[37] https://committees.westminster.gov.uk/documents/s35779/2.5%20Sohos%20Sunset%20Club.pdf.

by and for the Black migrant community, are also insightful. His experience further reveals a Black social scene created by early post-war Black migrants that had a prominent influence on London's nightlife and British culture and the persuasive influence of West Indian culture on British youths during the 1960s (Hebdige, 1979). Russ' feelings of dissatisfaction with the silence on the Black presence in the history of 'Swinging London' also signal the absence of the Black sensory experience, perspective, and nuanced understanding of how they utilise and transformed these leisure places and spaces as Black owners and patrons during a pivotal moment in British cultural history.

## 7.5 Emergence of the Black Migrant Presence in Early Post-War Britain in Sensory Leisure Spaces in the Fight for Rights and Resistance against Racism

The new Black leisure and social places, spaces, and activities that emerged with the arrival of early post-war Black migrants took different forms. For instance, early post-war Black migrants would organise community day outings to British seaside areas such as Brighton beach, as well as social dances and late-night rent and house (blue beat) parties, which progressed to pay-for-entry blues parties and the cellar clubs that 'mushroomed' in early post-war British inner cities. However, these post-war Black migrant leisure activities were also sites that operated as safe spaces where people could socialise in a supportive environment with a support network of peers, friends, or family members in a country that did not welcome them. Moreover, early post-war Black migrants' leisure social places, spaces, and participation in social activities also affected their sense of being in the world as sites where they felt a reduced risk of racism and respite from the indignities of racial hostility. It also afforded them an inclusive, interactive, social, and culturally creative space for people of different ethnicities to intermingle and for new forms of multilocal experiences to emerge.

Conversely, early post-war Black migrant leisure spaces and places could also be problematic as dynamic, politically contested sites. For example, the Black presence in local white spaces and places represented a threatening racial symbol of danger to the host population and the English way of life due to the racial stigma assigned to early post-war Black migrants as the 'coloured problem'

and associated racial deviances, such as hypersexuality and criminality. Hence, early post-war Black migrants' social pursuits, such as 'house parties', resulted in complaints to the police by some white British people concerning accusations of racialised illegal behaviours and activities, such as drug selling, prostitution, and pimping, considered to be a fundamental feature of the Black presence. Moreover, the investigation by the police would also evoke further conflict and tension between Black migrants and police officers.

Thus, clubs run by and for early Black migrants were also crucial in reconfiguring Notting Hill/North Kensington's local spaces and places and forming new diasporic spaces and forms of local Black migrant social life and leisure experiences. Furthermore, they were important alternative spaces and places that afforded some visceral respite and protection from the barrage of everyday racisms and the challenges they faced in a hostile racialised sensorium through their leisure pursuits that provided a sense of belonging. They were politically contested sites where early Black migrants further resisted the racism and racial discrimination they experienced daily. However, the complexity of early post-war Black migrants' leisure and social spaces meant all these different aspects could, at times, operate simultaneously.

For instance, Frank Critchlow (2001) came to Britain in 1959 when he was ten. He eventually became a Black activist and an important figure in the local political Black history of North Kensington/Notting Hill due to his later involvement in the Mangrove Nine protest and trials[38]. Like Russ, Frank also gives insight into how the mixed feelings and emotions of racial isolation and alienation in early post-war Britain led Black migrants to seek and develop inter-island relationships with each other. Frank asserts in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History life testimony that the English people he worked with did not know how to relate to Black people. So, he started hanging out in a popular club called Johnson's, which he says a Jamaican ran, and people looked forward to going

[38] Frank was one of the Mangrove Nine who, in 1970, marched on the Notting Hill Police Station to protest against police victimisation. As a result, the Mangrove Nine were arrested by the police and charged with incitement to riot and affray. However, after a famous trial in 1975, they were acquitted of the most serious charges. Frank later started the Mangrove Community Association, providing advice and assistance to the black community to improve their housing in the area, establish services for the elderly, and help ex-offenders and substance abusers.

to, and then other venues mushroomed from there (Critchlow, 2001). Importantly, Frank also lays the traces and acknowledges the absent presence of other local early Black post-war migrant pioneers who shaped Black leisure places, spaces, and social experiences in North Kensington/Notting Hill. He also recalls during his Carnival oral history life story that '…Count Suckle had a club. Bayjee from Barbados had a club in Talbot Road, and Fullerton the Tailor used to have dances' [39] and revealed his emotions of respect and admiration (Critchlow, 2001).

Frank would eventually open his own club/restaurant on Portobello Road when he was twenty. The Rio Restaurant would become well known in North Kensington/Notting Hill's Black historical archives. Moreover, Frank asserts that it was the 'in place' and a 'hot spot' where many people would go after they left the Roaring Twenties club in London's Carnaby Street (Critchlow, 2001). Frank also gives a sense of the sensory experience of Black social spaces at the time; he says people would come to the Rio to eat their chicken and rice, and he expressed his love of cooking and his sense of pride that '…the chicken would be fried with salt, pepper, and garlic powder sprinkled on it while [it was] hot'. He also recalls that the Rio would play 'blue note' music in the background and describes his club as having a bohemian setting where Jamaicans and Trinidadians used to meet and play cards (Critchlow, 2001). Frank also remembers the everyday sensory leisure and social experiences of the post-war Black migrant in the early years in North Kensington/Notting Hill as a 'melting pot' with a 'little posse of Trinidadians, the Jamaicans, Dominicans, and Guyanese'. Moreover, in reflecting on that time of his life, Frank felt he played an important role in 'breaking down island rivalries when all the different Black migrants came down to the Rio' (Critchlow, 2001).

Frank also owned The Mangrove in Notting Hill, which opened in 1968. He would subsequently submit a complaint to the Race Relations Board on 23 November 1969 concerning his experience of racist police practices. The Mangrove was a centre for the Black community, attracting

[39] Count Suckle was a sound system proprietor and nightclub owner of the Roaring Twenties club that operated on Carnaby Street in the West End during the 1960s. He is credited with introducing Ska music to British audiences. Clifford Fullerton 'the Tailor' lived in North Kensington and owned his own tailoring business. He also started a Blues club in his basement before moving to All Saints Road, which would become the Mangrove in 1952.

intellectuals, creatives, and campaigners. However, Frank experienced problems and conflict with the police, who would repeatedly raid his premises on 'alleged' drug charges. Thus, Frank felt the Metropolitan police racially targeted him, and he asserted in his complaint to the Race Relations Board '…because I know it is because I am a Black citizen of Britain that I am discriminated against (National Archives, ref: CK 2/690, Critchlow vs Borough of Kensington and Chelsea).

Frank's experience of racial discrimination and harassment by the police reflects how British racial politics and institutional racisms also negatively impinged on all areas in the daily lives of early post-war Black migrants, including their leisure spaces, pursuits, and social life. In addition to the racist treatment by the police, Frank's Race Relations complaint further highlights the local council's complicity in the institutional racism tied to the broader racial politics of the British state surrounding 'the immigrant problem' and the associated criminality and sexual deviancy of early post-war Black migrants. For example, the local council also refused to renew Frank's licence to operate an all-night café at the time of the police raids. Frank's Race Relations complaint reveals that the council's decision was made on the grounds that '…people with criminal records, prostitutes, and convicted persons use the premises, and the manager allowed them to have meals' (Critchlow, National Archives, ref: CK 2/690, Critchlow vs Borough of Kensington and Chelsea). Hence, the emergence of early post-war Black migrant leisure and recreational spaces and experiences were also politically hard-fought in the making of Black Britain.

Frank also foregrounds how 'race' and racisms, the fight against racial discrimination and inequality in racialised leisure spaces, places, and their social life also impacted early post-war Black migrants' sense of being and their feelings and emotions on a deeper level. For instance, in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony, Frank reflects on when he was still a young Black migrant restaurant owner in North Kensington and the emotions and feelings it continued to evoke in him. He says, '…looking back at the history of the Mangrove and the Rio, I get tired and frightened…' (Critchlow, 2001). Frank also identifies his feelings of doubt and curiosity about being a young Black man on arrival in Britain, who felt nervous, uncomfortable, and ill at ease. Frank also reflects on the shift in his sense of being when he settled in Britain that determined his

decisions, actions, and achievements as a Black British community activist and civil rights campaigner and reveals his wonderment when asking himself, '…did I do that? A shy young man. Did I do that?' (Critchlow, 2001).

## 7.6 State Appropriation of Black Migrant Leisure Pursuits in the Official Representations of Multicultural Britain

The leisure spaces, experiences, and activities of early Black migrants are equally crucial in the reimagining and remaking of the 'West Indian' or 'coloured migrant' as the 'coloured problem' to a new Black British presence within the continually shifting, negotiated, and contested ideas of Britishness (Anderson, 2006; Hobsbawm, 1991; Modood, 2010). However, the long history of colonial powers rewriting and misrepresenting the history and sensory experiences of its racialised colonial people also permeates early post-war Britain's leisure spaces and places.

Leslie Palmer came to Britain in 1964 from Trinidad. In his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony, Leslie observed how the British state used the Carnival as a 'multicultural' instrument. Leslie does not specify which African nations, but describes how, on travelling to Africa, he noticed the British embassy using pictures of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival in their exhibition space to portray Britain as a 'peaceful multicultural society' (Palmer, 2002). Further, Leslie says the Home Office and British Tourist Board also promoted the idea of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival as a melting of cultures, which featured as a prominent part of the event. Some carnival bands had also worked very closely with the British Council, travelling worldwide on their behalf to talk about and promote Britain's cultural diversity (Palmer, 2002).

Leslie's experience points to the British state's cultural appropriation of the leisure life, activities, art, and culture of early post-war Black migrants. The British government revealed a double standard of racist hostility towards what they considered the 'Thirty Thousand Colour Problem' and racially discriminatory immigration policies to curb the entry of non-white people, while also utilising for its benefit and interests the leisure and recreational festivities of the Notting Hill/North Kensington

Carnival, which reflected the Black diasporic artistry of the masquerade costumes, the rhythm of the steel pan, and Calypso music, which showcased the art of dialogue through song. Further, the British government's cultural exploitation and misrepresentation of the leisure life and activities of early post-war Black migrants in Britain served to silence, invalidate, and archive the intersectional complexities of their racialised sensory experiences that also created Notting Hill/North Kensington in the museum of sensory absence.

The British government's cultural appropriation of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival also sits within the broader changes in British culture. The British Empire was a fundamental part of the British national identity. However, with decolonisation after 1945, Britain's international standing and sense of self were in jeopardy in a non-imperial context. Therefore, during this period, the British government sought to position Britain as the head of a Commonwealth sphere, which included cultural, economic, political, and business ties with several of its former dependencies (Ashcroft & Bevir, 2018; Tickner. 2012). Furthermore, Britain sought to re-evaluate its culture and introduce the distinction of a unique identity while also balancing its commerce and business gains (Tickner, 2012).

Hence, Leslie's encounters with the British embassies and British Tourist Board were part of the British government's commodification of Black leisure life, sensory experience, and culture to promote a racially diverse conception of Britishness to their former and newly independent colonies, such as Africa. Moreover, although early post-war West Indian migrants' sensory experiences were not allowed a presence in Britain, they were allowed a controlled presence in Africa and other parts of the world. Furthermore, carefully selected elements of the arts and culture of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival, such as steel pan music and early post-war Black migrant musicians, were used in the British government's commercial and cultural exhibitions to promote business and trade for the country's economic gain.

Thus, the shift in Britain's overseas image by culturally redefining it was partly because the British government capitalised on early post-war Black migrants' leisure lives. The cultural appropriation of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival by the British state in its official representations of

multicultural Britain also erased the history of racial marginalisation as the subordinate racial other under British colonial rule. Crucially, elements of early post-war Black migrants' everyday racialised sensory experience of 'race' and racism in Britain were also erased, such as the racism, discrimination, and racial violence at the centre of the politics of an emerging Black British culture and the genesis of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival.

Dr Claire Holder's (2001) family came to early post-war Britain from Trinidad and lived in Notting Hill/North Kensington. Claire was involved in the Carnival from an early age, and she became the longest-running Chief Executive of the Notting Hill Carnival from 1989 to 2002. Claire also argued in her Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony that the British government and British Arts Council sought to capitalise on the Carnival by using it abroad to symbolise the success of what she termed 'multicultural Britain' for their own agenda and gains.

However, Claire importantly observed and highlighted the positive role of early Black post-war Black migrants' leisure and social life and the historical legacy that Black arts and culture played in shaping post-war Britain. She felt pride that the Carnival had benefited Britain as a fantastic cultural event involving nearly every culturally identifiable group. Moreover, she argues that the Carnival was the catalyst that achieved what the British government could not do through its policies, which, she says, was to bring various ethnic groups together within the particular format of celebrating people's freedom and individuality (Holder, 2001).

## 7.7 Not Yet Being and the Making of Diasporic Space in the Everyday Lives of Early Post-War Black Migrants Through the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival

Bloch (1954, 1955, 1959) examines how we both hide and express our hopes and dreams in fairy tales, sport, music, and love, and he argues that these are all expressions of hope that cannot yet be realised. Bloch's idea of the not-yet-realised and the ontology of the not-yet-being is that we are continually building a concrete utopia. Moreover, he argues that the utopia is concrete in the sense of a growing together of tendencies and latencies within the relationship between material reality and

human intervention, which are always full of potential, but cannot be realised because the material conditions for the realisation are not yet complete.

Thus, the British state suppressed early post-war Black migrants' leisure pursuits, social life, and sensory racialised experiences by imposing restrictive criteria of inclusion, exclusion, and the inadmissibility of the racialised 'other' (Sandell, 2002, 2006). Bloch (1954, 1955, 1959), however, allows a helpful way to think about how some early Black migrants' expressions of emotions and feelings, such as hope in the making of self and the 'not-yet-realised', engendered a shift from the 'Thirty Thousand Coloured Problem' and 'swamping hordes' of coloured West Indians and attributed Black pathology to being Black and British. Hence, an alternative way to understand the emergence of Black Britain in the early post-war is by exploring the intangible sensory and emotional aspects of early post-war Black migrants' leisure and recreational experiences, such as the Notting Hill Carnival.

Bloch (1954) also argues that hope is superior to fear and is not passive like fear, and that the emotion of hope goes out of itself and makes people broad rather than confining them. He further argues that the work of the emotion of hope requires people to throw themselves actively into what is becoming, to which they themselves belong. Hence, his ideas are insightful because they identify what lies at the heart of the intangible sensory politics and the assemblage of the racialised feelings and mixed emotions of early Black migrants.

The early post-war migrants were the pioneers and driving force behind the creation of the as-yet unknown, new Black Britain, which they forged in their everyday life through new diasporic leisure spaces and pursuits, such as the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival. For example, the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival allowed them to express their emotions of hope, politics, and the potential of the yet-to-be fully realised sense of being Black British through the arts and culture of the masquerade bands and sound systems, local artistic creativity in the Mas camps, and forms of syncretic self-expression of former West Indian and African colonies expressed in the stunning Carnival costume themes and float parade.

Pearl Conner (2001) was born in Trinidad in 1924, and she initially came to Britain in 1948 to study Law at Kings College. Pearl also says in her Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History

project life testimony that she immediately joined the milieu on her arrival. Pearl was also active in the Black arts and culture when she met her first husband, Edric Conner, a Trinidadian folk singer and representative of Trinidadian and Tobago for the Arts for the BBC, who brought the first steel pan player to Britain in 1951 for the Festival of Britain (Conner, 2001).

Pearl also argues in her Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony that early Black post-war migrants came to Britain to make a new life and community. She also says that early post-war Black migrants came to Britain looking for a new way of life with '.... some enjoyment'. For example, Pearl remembers the early street parades that Claudia Jones organised in 1955 where friends would meet at a fete in costumes and have '…a jump up, enjoying life together, when white English people had never seen Black people en masse going down a street before'. Indeed, on reflection, Pearl argues that when the early migrant West Indians arrived, '…we were all in our own corner, trying to survive, sorting ourselves out, we were not thinking of the impact we were going to have on this society at the time' (Conner, 2001).

Thus, early post-war Black migrants' racialised sensory leisure space, places, social life, and cultural and artistic activities were critical to forming new diasporic cross-cultural connections and belonging. Moreover, they were crucial for early Black migrants to explore, forge, and define a multiform sense of self on arrival and settlement in Britain, which is inextricable from the politics of Black Britain. By 1966, the early indoor Carnival would become the Notting Hill/North Kensington street festival under the organisation of local community activists Rhaune Laslett, Andre Shevington, and others to ease the persistent ongoing racial tensions. Moreover, by 1976, the racial politics of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival would see another shift with the greater conflict between local white residents. A growing police presence led to the 1976 Carnival clash between the Black community and the police. British media coverage also firmly linked the Carnival to racial crime rates and disorder (Gutzmore,1993; Winston & Clive Harris, 1993).

Ellis' work (2011, 2015) also offers several helpful reconceptualisations of the African diaspora, which includes an exploration of how individuals and intellectuals have transformed the loss and difficulty of the diaspora into 'extraordinary practices of identity and space' and culture (Ellis, 2015,

p.192). Ellis' idea of the ability to turn the loss and difficulty of the diaspora into extraordinary practices of identity, space, and culture is valuable when thinking about the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival as a hyper-sensory leisure pursuit and as the sensory, racialised, lived experience of the arrival and settlement of early Black post-war migrants and the formation of a new Black British identity and culture. Additionally, Ellis argues that diaspora disruptions are most potent when unfinished and for the idea of a productive and eccentric Black diaspora belonging or consciousness. Thus, his argument opens a means of thinking through the senses about the different types of productive, eccentric, and meaningful disruptive moments in British and Black British culture, such as the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival.

Hence, the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival is a diasporic disruptive moment that emerged during the unfinished period between the arrival and settlement in the 'Mother Country' of early post-war 'coloured' migrants and the shift to a new sense of being as Black British people. Therefore, rethinking the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival as a diasporic disruption provides another way of framing the archival sensory absent presence of early Black migrant racialised experiences and exploring it through the narratives of the early experiences and years of the local Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival. The Carnival was a disruptive diasporic moment of extraordinary practices of identity, space, art, and culture. Moreover, a new multilocal sense of diasporic community and belonging was forged in and through the multiple differences, intersections, and the '…rupture and discontinuities', which constitutes precisely the 'Caribbean's uniqueness' that marks the early black post-war migrants' racialised experiences in Britain (Hall, 1990, p.225).

Thus, the early post-war Black migrants disrupted and transformed the spaces and culture of Britain in their unique way when they came and settled in Britain. Michael La Rose was born in Trinidad and came to Britain in 1961 via Venezuela. In his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony, Michael talks about the 'Carnival community' and argues that the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival represented a unique festival and art form. Moreover, he asserts that the Carnival was about '…people having control of the streets for two days' and '...making street theatre with costumes and their bodies as they dance, it's about people coming to see them and not

only watching but taking part, following them. How many artistic forms include all that?' (La Rose, 2001).

The presence-absence of the different experiences of these disruptive diasporic moments in the museum of sensory absence are also discoverable in the archives of local Notting Hill/North Kensington early Black migrants' participants and contributors to the Carnival. For instance, Russ Henderson came to Britain in 1951 from Trinidad and lived in Britain for nearly 50 years. In his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History project life story, he says that he felt that the spirit of the early Carnival years brought all kinds of people together and generated harmony and good times. Moreover, on further reflection, Russ expressed his feelings of hope to see '…that same spirit going into everyday life, where people can meet each other, [it] doesn't matter who you are, you can say hello, do you want to help, can I help you, that is what I would like to see' (Henderson, 2001).

## Chapter Eight: The Making of Self and Black Community and the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival as a Sensory Site of the Mixed Emotions and Feelings of Politics, Resistance, and Protest

### Introduction

Early post-war Black migrants' sensory experiences of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival and their emotions and feelings provide important insights into the recreational life of early post-war Black migrants, diasporic community making, and the unrealised self (Bloch,1954, 1955, 1959). Thus, this chapter will consider the complexity and multi-layered practices of early post-war Black migrants' sensory-informed self-making and belonging in the broader context of the making of Black Britain and the micro level of the early post-war Black migrant community in Notting Hill/North Kensington. The focus is on how early post-war Black migrants defined themselves through their style, dress, and fashion as a practice of belonging within their social and friendship groups and the developing wider local Black community of Notting Hill/North Kensington. This chapter considers the role of the early post-war Black press that sought to unite early Black post-war migrants by bridging the gap between back home and the new diasporic space of Britain.

This chapter also explores the importance of early post-war Black migrants developing a sense of closeness, belonging, and camaraderie to unite as a Black community in Notting Hill/North Kensington in the face of the racisms, racial inequality, and discrimination they experienced on arrival in Britain. Furthermore, the chapter considers Carnival as a leisure and social experience where Black migrants could show what they were capable of in a particular and unique way and define a new sense of Black identity contrary to being considered a 'coloured' or racial immigration problem. The oral life testimonies of early post-war migrants in Notting Hill/North Kensington are essential in understanding developing inter-island relationships and in considering the shift in their awareness of a new sense of Blackness central to shaping the politics, protest, and resistance against the racisms experienced by Black communities across Britain's inner-cities in early post-war Britain.

This chapter also examines the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival as a unique multisensory sensory experience and its presence as a sensory diasporic disruptive moment in British history. It will explore the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival as a racialised sensory leisure experience and pursuit through the oral life testimonies of the local early Black post-war migrants who were participants, organisers, and contributors through the early decades of the Carnival. The focus is on the Carnival Mas camps as a sensory and emotive leisure space where local Black migrants worked hard to contribute and create the Carnival on their terms during the early years. In addition, it will consider how some early post-war migrants experienced Carnival culture as an internal emotional phenomenon. The visceral and intense feelings and emotions experienced by early post-war migrants are paid particular attention to understand, from a sensory perspective, the deeper drive and underlying motivation, interest, passion, and commitment to participate in the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival.

Finally, the chapter will consider the politics, protest, and resistance against racism and racial discrimination in sensory leisure and social spaces, such as the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival. The emphasis is on the sensory experiences, emotions, and feelings of early post-war Black migrants and the impact of police institutional racism. In particular, it explores the early post-war Metropolitan police culture in North Kensington and the racialisation of the early post-war Black community. It also examines the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival as a sensory-charged site and the volatile relationship between police and the Black community in Britain at the time. The oral life testimonies of early post-war Black migrants provide insight into their experiences of the Notting/North Kensington riot and conflict with the police. Moreover, they provide a deeper understanding of how the sensory disruption and shift during the Carnival from joy to tension and subsequent violent battles with the police affected the early post-war migrants who witnessed the riots through attention to the senses and their feelings and emotions.

## 8.1 Everyday (Sensory) Leisure and Social Experiences of Self-Making and the Formation of a New Black British Community in Notting Hill/North Kensington

The creation of the early North Kensington/Notting Hill Carnival was a vital diasporic disruptive moment of creative, cultural, and artistic resistance and performance reflected in mass recreation. However, the complexity and multi-layered practices of early post-war Black migrants' self-making and sense of being in daily life took many forms. For instance, Carole Tulloch's work (2016) explores the dress associated with the African diaspora and the clothed Black body in diasporic practices. Tulloch argues that style, fashion, and dress, from Black to post-Black, encompass myriad routes and connections, flows, and tensions that derive from the analytical framework of Africa and its diaspora (Tulloch, 2009). Furthermore, she asserts that early post-war Black migrants' style was a 'form of levitation' over their everyday experience of discrimination and racisms.

Hence, post-war early Black migrants developed a self-defining style narrative that asserted a positive and proud sense of being, self-image, and personal style statements that expressed resistance in the journey toward becoming Black British (Tulloch, 2016, pp.193–194). For example, Dexter, in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral history project life testimony, says he started to feel that Britain was a good place when he experienced the music of the 1960 and clubs in London. Dexter says there was also a change in how white British people dressed like West Indians.

Moreover, Dexter remembers buying his first coat in Britain, which he describes as a long grey belted wool gabardine. He says that despite the freezing cold weather, his friends refused to walk with him and made him take it off on a night out in Piccadilly, London, because they felt it looked like an '… old white man coat'. Dexter recalls that he saved for six weeks after that incident to buy a leather coat, and he says after that, '…I became one of the boys… fashion was a big deal for the West Indian community in those days because everyone watch you!' (Khan, 2004).

Muñoz (2014) contends that the 'we' of a collective can speak to a 'we' that is 'not yet conscious', and the future society that is being invoked and addressed at the same moment. The *West Indian Gazette* newspaper often spoke to and of the 'we' in the early years of the making of Black Britain. For instance, the *West Indian Gazette* sought to unite early Black post-war migrants by bridging the gap between 'back home' and the new diasporic space of Britain. The publication organised the Second Annual 1960 Caribbean Carnival. The report on the preparations of the Carnival asserted that the Carnival would reflect the 'spirit of 'home', which West Indians and their '...friends in England would recreate in Seymour Hall' and 'thus infuse the Carnival spirit of Friendship, Gaiety and Joy into every British home' (Caribbean Carnival Ball, *WIG and Afro-Asian-Caribbean News*, Vol.3, No.1, January 1960). The *Gazette* also cultivated the not-yet consciousness of Black Britain by contesting the material reality and condition of 'race' discrimination and racisms from the British people.

Additionally, on the micro everyday level of early Black post-war leisure experiences, early post-war Black migrants also spoke of the emerging 'we' in the making of Black Britain. In his Carnival Oral History Project life testimony, Leslie describes Ladbroke Grove in the 1960s as multi-West Indian. He says if you were friends with the Dominican and Jamaican guys … you were friends with everybody so you would [be] very silly to stick to a Trinidadian thing…' (Palmer, 2002).

In his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony, Russ also says one of the changes he experienced in the early days was the sense of closeness within the Black community, such as everybody coming together and meeting foreign island friends from all over the world. Russ also found that there was tolerance when he returned home to the West Indies. However, he felt that the camaraderie felt in early post-war Britain among early post-war Black migrants no longer exists amongst later Black Britons (Henderson, 2001).

Thus, a significant aspect of Russ's everyday sensory racialised experience of living in early post-war Britain was meeting and developing close friendships with other Black migrants across the different islands. He also felt that being in Britain made Black post-war migrants know who they were and who they were with the English man, and he asserts, '…so we become one… when I came here,

I realised there's no you are this and that one…. we are all one' (Henderson, 2001). Hence, Russ' experience of developing close inter-island friendships with other early post-war Black migrants united them in defining their own identity within the racial inequality and racism of early post-war Britain. Moreover, it speaks of the growing sense of Blackness among early post-war migrants that also shaped the communal space and place in the making of new Black British inner-city communities in early post-war Britain.

## 8.2 Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival and the Sensory Experiences, Feelings, and Mixed Emotions of Black Post-War Migrants

Tulloch (2009) argues that rather than seeing Blackness as a multifaceted framing mechanism for individual or group identities, it should be seen as a trope in the shaping and constructing of a city's communal spaces. Tulloch further opens a perspective on Blackness that is no longer about deviance, but creativity. Creativity, she argues, is a channelling of the power of invisibility, a presence that can be felt, but supposedly not seen, to sense its spectral quality, to pervade the fabric of the society and culture of cities such as London (Godwin, 2009; Tulloch, 2010). Tulloch's notion of Blackness enables a move away from the early post-war British state's racialised normative knowledge of Blackness as a trope in the deviance and Black pathology of West Indians and 'the coloured problem' in Britain's inner-city slums, such as Notting Hill after the war. The sense of Blackness as creativity defined by Tulloch is used to explore early post-war Black migrants' sensory experiences and the assemblage of racialised sensory feelings and mixed emotions that also shaped and created the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival.

Leslie[40] was also a musician and organiser of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival. Leslie says in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony that he felt that the local Black migrants '…could make a wonderful contribution to the community in which we lived'.

[40] Leslie would later become the Director of Notting Hill Carnival from 1973 to 1975. He was vital in shaping the modern Carnival's template by inviting Jamaican sound systems and black music bands to play.

Furthermore, he says that as a young man in the area, the police had Black migrants '…down as villains, no-gooders and abused us at every possible turn' (Palmer, 2002). Thus, Leslie says he was motivated to participate and contribute to the Carnival because of his knowledge that the local early post-war Black migrants in Notting Hill/North Kensington could be excellent organisers and artists, as well as his desire to '...not only show the local police and establishment that we are worthy people, but we could do something that would make the hairs on the back of your neck stand up' (Palmer, 2002).

Similarly, Elma Betancourt was born in 1930 and arrived in Britain in 1956 to join her husband. She played steel pans in clubs and pubs and was an active participant in the early organisation of the Notting Hill Carnival. In her Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony, Elma felt the Carnival was a leisure and social experience where Black migrants could show what they were capable of in a particular and unique way. Moreover, she argues that the Carnival was also a way for Black migrants in Britain to show they could do not only 'bad things', but '…we could do good things, can do nice things… and it comes out in Carnival' (Betancourt, 2001).

Participation in the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival preparations was a leisure experience and social pursuit of choice, which many local Black migrants were committed to, and dedicated much of their limited spare time to after a long day at work. Indeed, Carnival Mas camps were an important extracurricular leisure activity for early local Black migrants in Notting Hill/North Kensington. For instance, Elma also worked in the Carnival Mas camps, often in local schools, churches, or factories, which were creative sensory, social spaces, where she says 'tons of people' were '...like a family, chatting and fun' (Betancourt, 2001). Elma also says that she used to go to work, come home, and then go on to the Mas camp until one or two o'clock in the morning, where everyone was helping (Betancourt, 2001).

Likewise, Loftus also recalls the sense of commitment many Black migrants made to the Carnival, spending much of their spare time in the Mas camps. The Carnival Mas camp also represents a sensory leisure space that enabled local Black migrants to carve out a sense of belonging and mould

the Carnival on their own terms during the early years. As argued by Loftus, Mas camps were somewhere people could go to look at the artistic world and imagination of early post-war migrant artists. Moreover, he says it was an artistic world, which reflected the sweat and long hours that had gone into it by '…people who are doing an ordinary job and then going into the Mas camp in the evening, staying until one o'clock in the morning making their costumes' (Burton, 2003).

Moreover, Loftus argues that the Carnival was not simply about a '...whole bunch of Black people jumping up and down in Ladbroke Grove and doing what some people think is their 'jungle beat''. Instead, he says, the Carnival was about the streets and the '...people working very hard, enjoying working hard, the whole family, vibrancy and atmosphere, heat and debate'. Thus, Loftus gives a sense of the underlying senses, feelings, and mixed emotions involved and experienced by early Black migrants in their commitment to the Carnival and his sense of pride and passion. For example, he further says that despite the people working on the Carnival becoming very frustrated and 'cursing each other', it was at the end of the two days that '...they come together, they worked hard, [and] they've achieved something they put together from the whole collection and fusion of individual people [into] this wonderful spectacle' (Burton, 2003).

Thus, the early post-war Black migrant participants and other contributors worked hard to produce the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival, creating a unique multisensory experience foreign to English people. The Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival was a sensory diasporic disruptive moment of visually stimulating costumes, new tastes, and smells from an array of food from the Caribbean and the auditory dominance of various music genres and styles, such as the visceral Carnival's walls of sound ranging from the procession of floats playing live steel pan percussive and melodic music. Mas bands blared out Soca and Calypso music with their camp's visual parading spectacle of stunning costumes with sequins, plumes, and feathers parading around them. Ther was also the clashing and competing music from the static Reggae sound system and live stage bands in the bays under the Portobello motorway flyover (Henriques, 2010).

The olfactory sensory experience of the cooking smells permeated the streets from various Caribbean foods and recipes. For example, Doris Burke was born in Rosa, Dominica, in 1927, and she came to Britain in October 1957 and settled in North Kensington. Doris calls what she cooked good ‘carnival food’ in her Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony. She says, ‘...I cooked a big thing of bruff dumplings and green banana and knuckle, like bacon, and cabbage with okra, [and I] squeeze lime over that put garlic in it and put everything in one pot, and we call that bruff, soup with body, it absorbs your liquor, your rum. You are drinking your rum, so you need bruff, that’s what you eat, no joke’ (Burke, 2001).

However, it was not only through the Mas camp that early Black migrants built new diasporic spaces and communities, but also on the streets, whether directly outside their houses or business as entrepreneurs selling food and drinks and playing music with family, friends, or even strangers passing by. For example, Ron Briggs recalls in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life story hiring a sound system and selling food and drinks in the early days of the Notting Hill/North Kensington carnival. Ron asserts with pride that most people from Jamaica could cook and says he set up rice and peas and curry to sell in the Carnival and played music, which would draw many people. He also owned a garage business located in the centre of Carnival and would clear out a section, take out the bits and pieces of cars, lay new carpets, and install cookers, and a few women, including relatives and friends, would come and cook (Briggs, 2003).

The broader carnival enterprise also evidences the multiple micro-sensory diasporic leisure spaces created by local early Black migrants within the overarching diasporic space of Notting Hill/North Kensington. Moreover, a personal and intimate sensory experience of leisure space is shown by Ron, when he also recalls that during his experience of the day, ‘…people [would] always look for family. [So] I can sit here and drink, and Carnival is going on around me’ (Briggs, 2003). Furthermore, in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History life story, Dexter also identifies the preparation for the Notting Hill Carnival as the pinnacle of what the Carnival meant to him on a deeper emotional level. He describes the moment when the bands would leave the (Mas) camp after all the ‘sweat and quarrels and confusion...’ and when he saw all the band together in large numbers,

and everyone is ‘happy’, which he says was such ‘…a very emotional scene, you can’t express it’ (Khan, 2004).

Brown (2020) argues that belonging to a community is to share a greater degree of synchronicity in bodily ways of being – physiological, affective, and kinaesthetic states – in particular sensorial environments (Sekimoto & Brown, 2020). Thus, it becomes possible to understand Dexter’s connection to the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival on a deep emotional level through his sense of belonging to the Carnival and Mas Camp community, as well as the intersensorial and intercorporeal connectivity, which community members sense and feel intensely. Hence, Dexter’s experience of the emotional scene he could not explain speaks of the underlying sensory complexity of early post-war Black migrants’ sense of being and belonging to a Black community that feels deeply with and for each other through their shared experience of the Mas camp, ‘race’, and everyday racisms in early post-war Britain (Sekimoto & Brown, 2020).

Moreover, Dexter’s, Elma’s, and Loftus’s visceral and emotional relationship and bond with their Mas camp community and the feelings and mixed emotions involved indicate the ways that early post-war Black migrants shaped and developed various sensory ways of belonging in their daily lives. This is through their feelings and emotions, such as love and affection, a sense of affinity, and the proximity of social interactions, which involves the sensory dimensions of sharing physical space and feeling the physical presence of one another (Sekimoto & Brown, 2020).

### 8.3 Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival as an Emotional Phenomenon

In his Carnival Oral History Project life testimony, Dexter also felt that Carnival culture was an internal emotional phenomenon that compelled him to be involved and partake on a visceral level. Dexter says he did not know where the passion and visceral feeling came from, but describes it as ‘a culture that drives me...’. Dexter also maintains the feeling was like something called carnival ‘jumbie’ back home in Trinidad, which was a ‘…bogie man, it come out of the jungle, you never see a jumbie’. He

also says about the jumbie that '...it's a bad thing, but it pushes you, like one of the bands that was called 'Sukuya' from the folk days, like a vampire sucking your blood, and a jumbie is something like that, you can't describe it; it pushes you, don't know why' (Khan, 2004).

Brown (2020) argues that felt sensations are necessarily elusive, ephemeral, and often escape linguistic fixity. Moreover, he further argues that felt sensations linger in bodies and memories, which remain within us and that a self emerges as an ongoing accumulation of lived experiences, memories, and other lived bodies that make impressions on our bodies (Sekimoto & Brown, 2020, p.146). Thus, Dexter's sensations escape linguistic fixity when he tries to describe the visceral and intense feelings and emotions that drove his passionate interest and participation in the Notting Hill Carnival. Instead, Dexter draws on an assemblage of the senses, an accumulated sense of self from his sensory experiences growing up in Trinidad. His sensory memories of the 'Sukuya' or 'Soucouyant' and the 'jumbie'[41] dancing spirits in Trinidadian folklore culture are a way to explain his felt experience of passion, drive, and enthusiasm to participate in the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival. Moreover, Dexter's use of Trinidadian folklore to process his felt sensation and emotions indicates the underlying diasporic complexities of the points of similarity, ruptures, and discontinuities that characterise differences in the cultures and customs and ethnic diversity of the Caribbean (Hall, 1990, pp.225–227; Hall, 1995), which also existed in how early post-war Black migrants made sense of the sensory content of their lives and shared experiences of 'race' and racism in Britain.

In his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History life testimony, Loftus also described his sense of awe at the creative imagination of the Mas bands and costumes. However, he also felt unable to articulate his joy at seeing two or three hundred people in one band performing, which he says was his motivation for getting up in the morning and being on the street waiting to see the first carnival costumes. Indeed, Loftus questioned whether there was a feeling of romance in hankering

[41] Moko jumbies in Trinidad and Tobago are mischievous or malevolent spirits or creatures, and Soucouyants are shape-shifting vampiric spirits that are considered to be and are also called jumbies.

for the days of the early Carnival as a ‘carnivalite’, which he describes as someone who is into the Carnival (Burton, 2003).

In Carnival Oral History life testimony, Dexter also says he felt a sense of pride in the ‘heritage’ that the early Black post-war migrants built in the Notting Hill Carnival. Moreover, he argues, the next generation of youngsters can come to ‘…look at the archives, and the archive will tell the truth – [as] there is too many people out there putting out papers out that is not telling de truth...’ (Khan, 2004). Dexter also understands his contribution to the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival and the making of Black Britain in terms of a sensory experience. For example, Dexter also attributes what he has achieved and given to the Carnival over the years to his felt sensations, something visceral, a gut instinct or feeling, which he says was ‘…from my stomach’. Dexter also says that all of the other ‘old boys’ in the club like him that gave to the Carnival were the same, and he reveals the feelings and emotions that underpinned the important legacy they created: ‘….we have given, we are happy to see it happen. We can stand back, [and] our children will take over, [our] children’s children will take over. We don’t want it as no wee ting anymore’ (Khan, 2004).

Hence, Dexter reveals a sensory awareness of the silence and what he feels is the need for a Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival archive, which is vital to Black British History and the heritage of future Black Britons. Moreover, he challenges the official knowledge of national and local governments, journalists, academics, intellectuals, and state-run archives of institutions such as the British Embassy, the British Arts Council, and the British Tourist Board. Conversely, Dexter asserts the legitimacy of racialised sensory knowledge and his visceral and felt sensation and sensory experience, which are equally – if not more – valid and authentic forms of knowledge. Furthermore, he contests the lack of acknowledgement of all the hard work of early post-war migrants and the silence on what they gave of themselves to build the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival due to what he calls an ‘untruthful’ archive of inexact ‘papers’ or documents (Khan, 2004).

The narratives of early post-war Black migrants’ leisure experiences, activities, and pursuits also give insight into the sensory motivation driving the politics and resistance against the British state’s

institutional racisms and everyday acts of racist microaggressions, racial abuse, and violence. The leisure life and experiences of early Black post-war migrants also highlight how they reclaimed and redefined Notting Hill/North Kensington as a particular type of diasporic space on their terms through the Carnival as an expression of West Indian cultures, with the later vital input from a distinctly Black British culture. However, the cultural syncretism between Caribbean cultures and the emerging Black British culture also holds traces of the intangible sensory tension of contested space that is evident in the leisure experience of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival, for example, the relationships between the various carnival bands, the sound systems, and the live performers, when the mobile steel bands or floats and the costumed masquerades required freedom of movement on the streets, which was often incompatible with the static sound systems.

Dennis Ferdinand (1989) recalls in his Carnival Oral History Project life testimony that during one Carnival year, he experienced being in a crowd of over one thousand people listening and dancing to a sound system on a narrow street. He says they all had to part to make way for a steel band float and its followers. The moment the crowd parted marked the point a sensory, auditory tension, and contest of space and bodies was experienced when Dennis says in that sudden moment, the '…clearly auditory became inaudible, and the discomfort was heightened by the pressing of bodies...' (Ferdinand, 1989). Thus, the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival is also a site of early Black post-war migrant and emerging Black British leisure experience where there was both cultural syncretism and a rupture between two main opposing cultures in its metamorphosis from an early Black post-war sensory and political leisure and recreational experience into 'London's biggest street party' (Notting Hill Carnival: A Love Letter to London's Biggest Parade, 20 August 2019, *The Guardian*, YouTube).

## 8.4 'Villains and No Gooders': Local Black West Indian Migrants, Racism, and Policing the North Kensington/Notting Hill Carnival

Western Europe's long history of ideas of 'race' and racial discourse used to establish racial stereotypes informed ideas around policing the 'West Indian problem' in early post-war Britain.

Further, the racial ideologies, discourse and stereotypes were used to construct a particular narrative around the criminalisation of early Black migrants and Black British leisure spaces, places, and experiences. House parties, clubs, and the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival riots were considered to be plagued by the rioting of wild, angry, and aggressive Blacks (Gutzmore, 1993; Winston & Clive Harris, 1993).

Thus, the presence of the racialised sensory politics of early post-war Black migrants in their leisure and recreational experiences is also inseparable from the tangible everyday reality of racisms driven by racist thinking embedded across British state institutions, especially the British police. The racist, discriminatory behaviour perpetrated by the British police against early Black migrants and Black British people is now recognised. However, it is a sensory-focused exploration and understanding of the intangible experiences of racist police behaviour, and racisms against early post-war migrants are mostly absent.

The troubled and complex interplay of racialised sensory emotions and feelings is evident in the history of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival. For instance, in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony, Michael argues that by the mid-'70s, Carnival in Britain had become politicised. He says there was a '… a political issue about the relationship between Black people, especially Black people and British society, about the relationship about Black people and the police in society...' and that it '…raised the universal issue of who controlled the streets (La Rose, 2001). Andrew Perry, the first Director of the North Kensington Amenities Trust, helped develop and transform the Carnival under his directorship. He also acknowledges the 'unchecked North Ken police racism' in his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony (Perry, 2003).

The evident racist views and discriminatory practices of the British police also marked the leisure and social experiences of early Black post-war migrants and later Black British generations. The interactions between the local police and early Black post-war migrants were evident during the troubled 'riot years' of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival. In the early sixties, former police

officer Richard Wells performed his early operational duties in Notting Hill. Wells recalls in his Noting Hill/North Kensington Carnival Oral History Project life testimony what he calls a very strong adversarial relationship between the community and the police at Notting Hill Gate, where the '…sharpness of focus was amongst the Black community...' (Wells, 2002).

Wells also reveals the racist feelings and attitudes and the racisms that were prevalent among the police at the time. For example, he recalls listening to his police colleagues at Bow Street threatening to leave the force when the proposal was introduced in the early sixties to recruit the first Black policeman. However, the traces of the intangible racialised sensory nature of racist thinking, which operated among the Met police, is also evident when Wells says that racism was '...not known or defined' in those days, but they would have called it racial prejudice, which Wells felt existed in large quantities. Wells also admits that he was part of that racism, and he further recalls how on one occasion, he entered Bow Street police station and said to the surprise of some colleagues how he had just seen '…a Black man being chauffeured by white people, which was peculiar...' (Wells, 2002).

Wells also identifies that when it came to 'sus'[42] laws, local police officers had developed a 'subjective' view of 'goodies and baddies' and that often the grounds for using the 'sus' law by the police was 'imaginary'. Moreover, he says that local police constables would not stop a white person unless the circumstances were suspicious. However, Wells goes on to say that '…Black people did not fall into that category, they were always stoppable, and because of that [police] behaviour in the '60s, young Black people were criminalised' (Wells, 2002).

[42] 'Sus' was a law under Section 4 of the 1842 Vagrancy Act that gave police officers the discretionary power to arrest anyone suspected of loitering with intent to commit an arrestable offence. It was used from the 1960s onwards against black men in Britain who were being stopped, searched, and arrested by police on the streets based on the suspicion that they might commit a crime.

Wells later became a command Police Superintendent for a particular area of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival in 1976. He felt it was the decisive year when the Carnival became problematic and cited an incident on Golborne Road in North Kensington when bands, floats, and the police started clashing over directions and access on the Carnival route. Moreover, Wells recalls his sensory impression of that moment, which he felt was the decisive turning point in the history of the Notting Hill Carnival clashes and rioting. Wells says '…it started with a wonderful sunny day with the infectious rhythms of the steel bands and sort of rumble of thunder in the background, a basso profundo, boom, boom of the sound systems which were eerie, and the crowds jammed together against each other, happily…', and then '…before we knew it, we were involved in a series of running conflict, battles' (Wells, 2002).

Wells's sensory impression of the decisive moment in the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival when the 1976 riot ignited exposes the dynamic, volatile, and mercurial nature of the Notting Hill/North Kensington racialised sensorium. Moreover, how the racialised senses, feelings, and mixed emotions pervaded one of the most significant leisure spaces and pursuits established by early post-war Black migrants in Britain was also critical to understanding the history of Black resistance, protest, and revolution in Britain. For instance, the first Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival riot in August 1976 took place during a period that saw the disillusionment of Black post-war migrants and young second-generation Black British males. This disillusionment stemmed from their experiences of high unemployment, racial alienation, and disenchantment with the entrenched institutional police racisms, such as daily racial harassment and violence from the police. Moreover, there was the racially stereotyped (sensory) perception in the British imaginary of Black bodies as a threat of uncontrolled aggression, the violence of uncontrolled Black masculinity, and criminality, which the police response used to control, regulate, and immobilise Black males through law.

The sensory disruption and shift during the Carnival that Wells recounts can be understood to have occurred when the feelings of joy were experienced from the intense, immersive, and visceral sensations from the auditory domination and sonic vibrations of the steel and Mas bands, Calypso, Soca music, and sound systems. The smells, tastes, and visual artistry of the Mas camp costume

parade, which all culminated in the sensorial pleasures shared by the carnival crowd, intersected with the racialised policing of Black bodies. Thus, the combination of the increase in policing the Carnival, efforts to take back the streets by the police, and the feelings of anger and frustration of the Black community in Notting Hill/North Kensington resulted in the sensuously palpable tension and subsequent clashes between early Black post-war migrants and the younger generation of Black British-born males and the police.

Basil (Jarvis, 2003) recalls his experience of the 1976 Carnival riot and running battle between the police and the Black community from a Black migrant perspective in his Carnival Oral History Project life testimony. Basil remembers policemen in gas masks and shields, which he argues showed that 'they premediated to started trouble because you are not coming to Carnival if you have shields and gas masks'. Basil also described the police storming and chasing people running in the direction of the Mangrove crowd, smashing his music decks, and beating him with their truncheons. He says he saw '...a young lady, who had her arm broken, who I know well, and a gentleman who had 16 stitches in his head… that was terrible...'. Some people were '... cut unnecessarily because they jumped out of windows to get out, terrible… Can you imagine, you are in a space, everyone is enjoying themselves, music is playing, people are eating and… and all of sudden, thirty-odd policemen come through the door. A nightmare' (Jarvis, 2003).

Basil gives more profound insight into Wells's sensory impression of the Carnival riots and the Black community's experience of police violence during the riot. He also provides an additional sensory layer through the feelings and emotions, such as the fear he experienced during the riot. Basil further says, '.... my feelings at the time were that I hated the police. I have seen too many things that they had orchestrated, which give cause to hate them. I have seen them terrorise elderly Caribbeans who were so scared of PC Bully that they have just stood there and wet themselves. I have seen that with my own eyes on more than one occasion. I never had no liking for the police' (Jarvis, 2003).

Russ also witnessed the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival riots. He reflects on his experience and the feeling and emotions that it evoked in him during his Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival

Oral History Project life testimony. Russ describes how frightening it was how some policemen 'just saw predominantly Black faces and immediately [attacked]… as though they were the enemy and [like] it was war'. Further, he suddenly saw '…a phalanx of policemen coming down with these batons and the shields and this whole [wall of] black uniform...'. He also experienced shock at witnessing police '...batons just going totally indiscriminate, you know, not really sort of thinking who is innocent, who is guilty… and seeing people actually sort of, you know, beaten' (Henderson, 2001).

Russ further says he felt disturbed to see the Carnival, an event of joy, descend into the violence he witnessed used as an excuse for the power battle between the British establishment and the Black community. Moreover, Russ felt sadness at the time of the Carnival battle on the streets of Notting Hill/North Kensington, and he says a '…tremendous, bitter… disappointment in human beings. Because I couldn't understand why, in the early part of the Carnival, you would see policemen actually dancing with people and getting drunk and actually enjoying themselves… and [then] to see that suddenly flip, and to see those shields coming down the road' (Henderson, 2001).

## 8.5 Conclusion

The leisure space and places, recreational time, and pursuits of early post-war Black migrants, which emerged on their arrival in Britain, were a driving force in the cultural transformation of Britain on their arrival. However, notably, there was also the formation of a new sense of being, which counteracted the everyday experiences of racisms and problems they encountered on arriving and settling in Britain and the politics of protest, resistance, and liberation from racialisation and racisms in Britain experienced in everyday life and in the making of Black Britain.

The leisure and recreational life, interests, and experiences of early Black post-war migrants are also a rich and vital source of alternative knowledge and sensory-informed insight into the complexities of Black racialised sensory everyday experiences of 'race' and racism in Britain. Furthermore, the leisure life and experiences of early post-war Black migrants are a site of the multiple presence-

absences in the museum of sensory absence. Interrogating the racialised sensory experiences, feelings, and mixed emotions of early post-war Black migrants can reveal a more profound layer of the myriad alternative ways that ‘race’ and racisms operated in the different areas of Black post-war migrants’ lives in Britain.

An awareness of the intersectionality of Black post-war migrants’ racialised sensory experience when focusing on Black leisure and recreational life enables an understanding of the complex and alternative ways that Black post-war migrants remade and transformed spaces for themselves in Britain’s inner city. Additionally, it gives an understanding of how they worked as sites of racisms and racialised discrimination, as well as alternative sites where early post-war Black migrants challenged, fought, and protested the hostile and racist discourses and practices emanating from the British state, press, and media reports on racial immigration and the ‘coloured problem’.

Paying attention to the senses allows an examination of the dynamic and multisensory dimensions of diasporic cultural form, such as music, art, literature, and creative practices, that early post-war Black migrants brought to their leisure and recreational lives. A sensory-informed understanding is also developed as to how early post-war migrants’ feelings and emotions shaped a new diasporic sense of belonging and Blackness central to the politics of resistance and protest and an emerging Black Britain.

## Chapter Nine: Conclusion

### 9.1 Museum of Sensory Absence and the (Sensory) Archive

Various scholars have critiqued the traditional museum on different grounds (Dodd & Sandell, 2001; Hooper-Greenhill, 1997; Riegel, 1998; Young, 2001). Moreover, the museum has also been viewed as being dialectical in nature, so that while it serves to bury the past, it can also form a site for the reflection and foregrounding of counter-hegemonic forms of knowledge and engagement (Francis et al., 2005; Huyssen, 1995; McMillan, 2003). However, from this project's inception, Feldman's (1994) idea of the sensory absence museum opened a site that functioned as a burial chamber in terms of the continued forgetting, marginalisation, exclusion, and confinement of Black and racialised sensory experiences of 'race' and racism in everyday life. Moreover, this was a site that could hold multiple forms of counter-hegemonic knowledge of racialised others and potential engagements.

Furthermore, in formulating this project's research topic, the idea of the museum of sensory absence was the primary stimulus and link between combining a keen interest in interrogating and understanding the workings of 'race' and racism and thinking with the senses. This project's museum of sensory absence was also a site that holds multiple forms of counter-hegemonic knowledge of racialised others and potential engagements that were the conceptual starting point for the desire to understand the particular within the process of the racialisation of the other.

Feldman's (1994) assertion that sensory histories can be found in the scattered wreckages of the inadmissible lost biographies and memories led me to question what inadmissible multi-sensory histories and lived experiences I might find. I also wondered what could be learnt from the multi-sensory lived and embodied experiences of 'race' and racism that register viscerally, and as affective feelings and emotional sensations (Brown, 2020) when listening to the silence and gaps through and within the full democracy of the senses. Equally, I wondered how the senses could elucidate insight

into other quiet ways that ‘race’ and racism work, which are missing from existing studies that have sought to understand and address ‘race’, racism, and racial inequality in its varied manifestations.

Consequently, the museum of sensory absence was synthesised into this project’s examination of the early post-war Black migrants’ everyday racialised sensory experiences of ‘race’ and racism in Britain. Sekimoto and Brown (2020) posit that in the historical sensory hierarchy, whiteness is an embodied location of sensory authority entitled to claim how non-white others feel (Sekimoto & Brown, 2020, p.31). Thus, the lived (sensory) experiences of early post-war migrants are the nucleus of this study, and they provide a rich illustration of lost and inadmissible sensory histories and the absence of sensuous knowledge of ‘race’ and racism rendered invalid by the long history of dominant ‘official’ normative discursive knowledge on the ‘racial other’. Moreover, they give insight into the power relations inherent in the historical dominant normative discursive knowledge of ‘race’, racism, and racialised subjects that repressed or treated the visceral, felt, and emotional dimensions of ‘race’ and racism as simply incidental phenomena (Granger, 2010).

Thus, this project sought to discover new considerations of the sensory knowledge of ‘race’ and racism and its intangible impact on the lives of racialised subjects that challenge purely cognitive and intellectual focus and interrogations. It contributes alternative knowledge to and complements socioeconomic and political structural- and institutional-focused accounts, studies, and understandings of ‘race’ and racism and balances the disembodiment of the multiple workings, issues, and impact of ‘race’ and racism from the lived emotional, visceral, and multi-sensorial experiences of racialised subjects. The objectification of Black people and other racial minorities is complete when their subjective sensory experiences are in doubt (Sekimoto & Brown, 2020, p.31). Therefore, this project argues for instating the validity of sensory knowledge, specifically the racialised senses and racialised subjects’ sensory ways of knowing as additional forms of inquiry in the intervention and contestation of racism.

This project has also been concerned with the archives, which have been problematised over recent years (Chatterjee, 1997; Derrida, 1996; Foucault, 2002; Hall, 1984, 1999, 2000; Steedman, 2002;

Stoler, 2002, 2010), including a focus on the power issues and mechanisms in the constitution of colonial archives that sought to document, categorise, and record the racial other in various forms. Hence, this project sought to constitute an alternative archive through the experiences of Black and minority ethnic racialised subjects that includes searching and extracting information from the 'traditional' colonial-inflected British state-run archives and attending to the inherent complexities of 'race' and imperialism.

The problems raised by the colonial-inflected archives' construction of the racial other were also a primary concern underlying this project's metaphorically conceptual sensory archive of 'race' and racism. Moreover, it is a sensory-inflected archive where the generally overlooked intersectional diversity of marginalised sensory experiences of racialised subjects is examined as means of social inquiry. In addition, this project considers what is being repressed in the traditional British archives' lack of attention to the experiences of post-war Black British people. It also questions how and whose history is being recorded in the racialised colonial archives of the British state, and how and in what ways elite points of view and histories, such as the hegemonic views of white English colonisers, are imbedded within 'traditional' archives at the expense of the racialised other (Schwartz & Cook, 2002; Trace, 2002).

Derrida (1996) observed that archiving represents an attempt to preserve something to be remembered and leave something out to be forgotten. This project argues that the early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants encountered among the documents and records of the traditional colonial state-run archives have a highly selective and constructed racialised presence. Consequently, early post-war Black and racialised migrants' lived experiences that belie the race-making categories and taxonomies of colonialism and racial knowledge of 'the other' and consequent racial stereotypes assigned to the 'coloured' migrants and 'West Indians' are left out and invalidated.

However, this project contends that constituting alternative archives is a space of intervention to document the silences and the forgotten in traditional colonial inflected archives, which have been completely excluded or omitted, or have had different beginnings and endings constructed for those

subjects or peoples who have been subjected to the imperial and colonial domination and rule of the British Empire. This project intended to constitute an alternative archive of sorts that not only accounts for the intangible everyday lived experience of post-war Black and racialised migrants, but also argues for the continued salience of 'race', and a focus on the racialised senses as a means of enquiry that counteracts the generalising tendencies of social science treatments of the Black and minority ethnic racialised experience in Britain.

## 9.2 Historicising Black Migrants' Racialised Sensory Everyday Experiences of Race and Racism in Early Post-War Britain

A concern of this project was the minor details of everyday life within the different subject positions of Black and racialised early post-war subjects and their sensory and emotional life and feelings, which, I argue, are also inextricable from the broader historical subtext of British slavery, colonisation, and colonialism. Furthermore, the historical legacy of British colonial and imperial race-making was central within this study because I argue that it continues to have a presence and an impact on the lives and experiences of racialised subjects. Therefore, I traced the broader historical subtext of British slavery, colonisation, colonialism, Western European pseudo-scientific thinking and ideologies of 'race', and different racialisation processes within the various aspects and core themes of the focus on the senses and the everyday racialised sensory experiences of early post-war Black migrants.

I focused on overt acts or events of explicit racism, such as the 1958 Notting Hill race riots, where the local white English population's speech, behaviours, or attitudes demonstrated racist beliefs, which were examined and linked to the entrenched historical ideologies of 'race' that underpinned the racial intolerance of racial immigration and Black migrants and resulted in the racial violence that broke out. This is in addition to the covert traces of historical racial ideologies of 'race' and the legacy of British colonialism and imperialism on the structural and institutional level of the early post-war British state, where historical (sensory) ideologies of 'race' and racialisation were present, but

concealed, or were subtle in British government documents, including commissioned reports and minutes of meetings concerned with racial immigration. The British state's view, reaction, and handling of the Black presence in Britain and racialised sociopolitical normative discursive knowledge, policies, and practices devalued, distorted, or restricted racialised subjects' and denied them equal access to employment, housing, education, or subjected them to discriminatory law and order on racial grounds that also impacted, in intangible ways, these areas of early post-war migrants' personal lives.

I argue that early post-war British institutions and attendant bodies, such as the state, local government, media, and academia, collectively produced dominant normative discursive knowledge that constructed the racial narrative of early post-war Black migrants as the swamping, threatening, racial other and the 'coloured problem' on their arrival in Britain. Moreover, these British institutions and attendant bodies determined the boundaries of what was allowed to constitute legitimate and admissible knowledge about the racial other. Therefore, alternative forms of knowledge, such as early post-war Black migrants' racialised sensory ways of knowing, were an unseen presence-absence.

I employed thinking with the senses to examine and better understand the workings of 'race' and racism used in the dominant normative discursive knowledge of the British state and media through the sensory themes, such as desire, racial deviance, and the threat of Black sexuality and racialised moral themes of Black crime and disorder. I scrutinised the dominant normative discursive knowledge of British newspapers' sensationalised reports on the dangers of Black males' deviant sexuality and behaviour and surrounding early post-war British political debates, legislation, and policies on racial immigration and sexual regulation.

I argued that sensory themes, such as desire, reveal how the racialised senses work in the context of the structures, mechanisms, and events of early post-war Britain (Bhaskar, 1975) to create laws and 'official' forms of normative discursive racialised or 'inadmissible' knowledge as mechanisms of control. However, attending to the intangible side of sensory themes like desire experienced through

sensory perception, affective engagements, embodied experiences, and 'assemblage' (Sekimoto & Brown, 2020) of sensory feelings and emotions, such as love, fear, lust, can unearth the lost and inadmissible accounts of early post-war Black migrants' everyday racialised lived experience and epistemologies, contrary to their erasure by the dominant racial normative discursive knowledge and narrative of the problem of the racial other.

## 9.3 Everyday, Space, and Place and Situating Early Post-War Migrant Lives and Racialised Sensory Experiences of 'Race' and Racism in Notting Hill/North Kensington

The sensory dimensions of the everyday experiences of early post-war Black and racialised migrants are also pivotal to this study's focus on the senses and racialised sensory experience. Accordingly, I treated the everyday (Highmore, 2002; Lefebvre, 1994; Simmel, 2002) as an excavation site where underlying racialised sensory feelings and emotions, racialised epistemologies, and experiences of the varied post-war racialised subject positions reside and circulate within the small details and seemingly innocuous events. I argue that hidden 'inadmissible' forms of sensory knowledge are in the small details and variations within Black and racialised post-war subjects' experiences of 'race' and racisms, which, if examined, can enhance the existing literature and structural accounts of 'race' and racisms. Moreover, paying attention to the inadmissible epistemologies of those who are racially othered, such as racialised sensory and visceral ways of knowing, can deepen our understanding of how 'racial' ideologies, racialisation, and racisms also work and impact in unseen ways to reinforce and maintain systemic racial inequalities, for example, in employment, education, health, criminal justice, and housing (Byrne et al., 2020).

I set this study's sensory focus on 'race', racism, and racialised sensory experiences within the rich history of early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrant settlement in the local inner-city borough of Kensington and Chelsea during the early post-war period. The subjectivities revealed in the local oral life testimonies featured in this project add a unique perspective to the standard narrative about the 'Windrush years or generation' and early post-war migrants' experiences coming to England

during this period. Moreover, I further situated the history of early post-war Black migrant lives and racialised experience in the locale within the broader setting of the history of 'othered' migrant settlement in the area and its development from a former slum to a culturally and ethnically diverse and cosmopolitan area.

Space and place are central themes in this project and form the conceptual framework for a multifaceted exploration that connects the everyday and racialised sensory experiences of early post-war Black migrants. I argue that the area of Notting Hill/North Kensington is a spatial environment where the complexities of dominant normative discursive and common-sense ideologies of 'race' converge with a dynamic blend of competing traditions, cultures, values, and morality, and different ideas and imagined ways of belonging to a physical and social environment (Adams et al., 2007). Moreover, this study conceptualised the 'local' as a highly racialised sensorial urban environment (Casey, 1996; Ingold, 2000; Tuan, 1974, pp.100–102). I also argue that Notting Hill/North Kensington is a complex racialised sensorium where the politics of space and place-making, such as racial belonging and boundaries, were marked out, contested, and fought for in multiple (sensory) ways by the local white English host population and newly arrived early post-war Black migrants.

I explored the complexities of the local racialised sensorium of Notting Hill/North Kensington through the spatial dimensions of 'safe' and 'unsafe' spaces and places, highly racially charged no-go zones, and early post-war Black migrant sensory experiences while in the pursuit of their everyday activities, such as travelling to school or work. Brown (2020) argues that racialised subjects live with a skin consciousness and that they are highly conscious of the implications of their skin colour in various social contexts, while the skin itself actively feels the touch, texture, and heat of racially charged interactions and spaces (Sekimoto & Brown, 2020, p.138). He further argues that for racialised subjects, 'skin consciousness' becomes a bodily organ for assessing risk, affirming racial solidarity, sensing belonging, feeling 'out of place', or buffering microaggressions (Sekimoto & Brown, 2020, p.136).

Thus, I examined the oral life testimonies of early post-war Black migrants for their everyday sensory racialised experiences of the spatial dimensions of the racialised sensorium and its racialised safe and unsafe spaces and places in Notting Hill/North Kensington. I analysed the oral life testimonies and identified the experiential intricacies of early post-war Black migrants' visceral sensations, feelings, mixed emotions, and racialised sense of safety, risk, or danger they experienced in the private and public spaces and places of Notting Hill/North Kensington. More specifically, I focused on the early post-war Black migrant children's racialised sensory experiences of 'race' and racism and their awareness of the sense of threat, safety, and risk that emerged from living in the racialised sensorium of Notting Hill/North Kensington on arrival in Britain.

Additionally, I explored adult early post-war Black males' racialised sensory awareness of the sense of threat, safety, risk, and their sensory experiences and incidents of racialised acts of violence. Moreover, I considered how the racialised (sensory) environment and sensorium and the emotional states they evoked in early post-war Black migrant males shaped their subjectivity. I also argue that early post-war Black migrants' racialised sensory awareness and experiences of risk, threat, and safety demonstrate the heterogeneity of sensory experiences among early post-war Black migrants and the intricacies of the multiple occurrences that comprise the racialised sensorium of Notting Hill/North Kensington.

I argue that the intersections of early post-war Black migrants' sense of 'being-in-the-world' as embodied subjects and their perception of place and space assembled through the sights, sounds, smells, states, and feel of their environment are evident through their spatial racialised sensory experiences of negotiating the racialised sensorium of Notting/Hill North Kensington in pursuit of their everyday activities. Furthermore, I argue that racialised subjects experience a racially heightened sense of being or emotional self that emerges from living in a racialised sensorium and being in a racialised space or place.

This study's intersectional focus on early post-war Black migrants' lived experiences in Notting Hill/North Kensington and Britain, combined with the spatial dimensions of race and racism, the

senses, mixed emotions and feelings, and sense of being or emotional self, challenges the normative discursive construction and narratives of a single Black migrant (sensory) experience. It contributes to knowledge and structural accounts of race and racism through the subtle details of everyday life, sensory feelings and emotions, and the intersectional perspectives and experiences of racialised subjects. I argue that the senses and racialised sensory experiences are equally crucial in interrogating race and racisms, and Black migrant racialised sensory experiences illustrate the manifold intersections and hidden racialised epistemologies, which are often subsumed or generalised when focusing on the material and structural effects of 'race' and racism.

I used the idea of multilocality (Rodman, 2003) to illustrate and argue that phenomenologically early post-war Black migrants experienced and understood their local urban environment as many types of places simultaneously, depending on who was using, experiencing, or making the space or place in question (Pink, 2008). It allowed for a dynamic, multifaceted, and dimensional understanding of 'race' and racisms, which is not reducible to a single Black and minority ethnic experience and contributes to knowledge of 'race' and racism by opening further potential avenues of understanding the deeper underlying impact and subtle factors at play in material and structural forms of racism and racial inequality, such as in housing, urban inner-city deprivation and crime, or racial and minority ethnic poverty.

## 9.4 Arrival in Early Post-War England and Intersectional Early Post-War Black Migrants' Racialised Sensory Experience

The theme of arrival was also central in this project's focus on the senses and early post-war Black migrants' racialised sensory experiences of 'race' and racism in their everyday lives. Moreover, a critical argument in this study is that the arrival of early post-war Black migrants is a pivotal moment in many of their lives because it is also the beginning of a new form of a heightened sense of racial awareness with the shift to being an unfamiliar and disturbing 'racial other' in a predominantly white and overtly racially hostile environment.

I examined individual oral life testimonies of early post-war Black migrants who lived in Notting Hill/North Kensington with attention to their experiences of arrival in early post-war Britain and emerging sensory themes. By drawing out and accentuating the intersectional identities and different racialised sensory experiences of ‘race’ and racisms of early post-war Black migrants through the theme of arrival, this project’s contribution to knowledge addresses and reframes the inattention to the intersectional experiential complexity of Black and minority ethnic experiences of ‘race’ and racisms in the early race relations studies and subsequent studies concerned with structural racism and generalities of the Black British experience in Britain.

I focused on exploring the mixed emotions and feelings in the formative childhood years and early adulthood of early post-war migrants and their lived sensory experiences in the West Indies before they arrived in Britain. Moreover, I explored the different individual circumstances of early post-war Black migrants, life events before and at the point of leaving, and decisions to come to England. I argue that a sensory-informed analysis reveals that the reasons and motivations behind Black post-war migrants coming to Britain to start a new life were more complicated than presented in the dominant normative discursive knowledge construction of ‘the coloured problem’ by the British state or popular accounts of the history of Black Britain. I further argue that an assemblage of the senses, feelings, and mixed emotions was a vital and overlooked driving force and motivation that underlay the Caribbean migration to Britain in the early post-war years. Thus, this study challenges and contributes knowledge to general accounts and academic analytical frameworks of historical, social, and economic push factors that argue primarily that these were the only factors that brought early post-war Black migrants to England.

Early post-war Black and minority ethnic migrants’ experiences of arrival in Britain were further examined in the context of the sensory history of Western ideas of race-making and racialisation, British imperialism, and the early post-war dominant racialised discourse and normative discursive knowledge on racial immigration to Britain. I examined the sensory ideas of ‘race’, linked to the racism and racialisation of immigration, which, I argued, are present in the discourse on the arrival of ‘coloured’ Commonwealth immigrants in the 1950s through to the later political discourse and

response to increasing immigration in the 1960s, and the later stringent controls to regulate the arrival of the racially undesirable 'other'. This is in juxtaposition to examining the missing complexity of early post-war Black migrants' sensory experiences and mixed emotions and feelings of leaving home, their journeys to England, and their arrival.

Moreover, having argued that early post-war Black migrants' sensory experiences, mixed emotions, and feelings were central to fully understanding their reasons, motivations, and decision to come to Britain and start a new life, I contested the early post-war media and British state institutions' racially biased depictions of naive, earnest, early post-war Black migrants clamouring desperately to leave their islands for the sole reason of finding work and exploiting Britain's economic rewards and gains. Thus, this project further contributes to the knowledge of the workings of 'race' and racism through its sensory-informed examination of the early post-war Black migrants' arrival experiences that is not limited to the precise moment of the event, but brings a broader and more profound account of the intangible causes that brought them to that juncture in their lives. Further, this project's argument for the validity of inadmissible forms of knowledge, such as the racialised sensory ways of knowing, opens a counter-narrative of the Black and minority ethnic racialised experiences in Britain that problematise and interrogate 'official' accounts and of Black British History often found in state-run archives.

I chose to explore Black migrants' everyday experiences with an intra-categorical complexity approach because the project focuses on specific social groups at neglected intersections to reveal the underlying intangible complexity of lived experience and the range of diversity and difference within such groups. In addition, I interrogated the broader legacy of the historical racial narrative of British imperialism and colonialism and their internal intangible racialised effect on early post-war Black migrants through the feelings and mixed emotions behind the decisions to leave home and arrival.

By analysing the oral life testimonies of the early post-war Black migrants who settled in Notting Hill/North Kensington through a sensory lens, I encountered early post-war migrants' experiences of

colour shadism and its negative impact on their sense of being and feelings of alienation during their childhood in the Caribbean. Consequently, the racialised sensory knowledge and experience of colour shadism was a critical mechanism in their inner drive and desire to leave and start a new life in England as an adult. Thus, this project worked to connect the structure and influence of the racial hierarchy introduced to the Caribbean islands due to British colonial and imperial rule and the sensory and emotional effects throughout the lives of colonial subjects. Moreover, this focus contributes knowledge that provides alternative perspectives and accounts of the arrival of early post-war Black migrants that moves beyond the dominant normative discursive monolithic version of Black British post-war immigration to Britain.

Exploring the sensory theme of arrival also revealed that some early post-war Black migrants were opposed or reluctant to come to England for different reasons, contrary to the racialised image portrayed by the early post-war British media of eager hordes of Black migrants rushing to Britain in their droves. I analysed different aspects of the female Black migrants' decisions to leave their island homes, the mixed emotions and feelings involved, and the racialised sensory experiences of their journey to England and arrival through this project's oral life testimonies research material. I found that the feelings, mixed emotions about leaving home, and experiences of arrival in post-war Britain for some early post-war Black women migrants varied. The reasons ranged from Black female migrants deciding to leave the secure environment of their island home and immediate and extended family members because of their love for a spouse and children. Hence, I argue that the emotions and mixed feelings underlying early post-war Black migrant women's commitment to keeping their family unit together pushed them to move and settle in England at the expense of sacrificing their dreams, desires, and happiness.

Conversely, I argue that early post-war Black migrant women's experiences of arrival were not always directly connected to male migrants' stories of arrival, such as from the position of being a wife who later followed their spouse to England. I further argue that early Black migrant women also had clear career aspirations and a strong sense of ambition, purpose, and determination to achieve goals, which informed their decision to leave their homes and come to England. Moreover, the Black

female migrant experience of arrival in early post-war Notting Hill/North Kensington was also one of the dangers of city life facing single young women, the fear of crime and victimisation, and the threat of sexual exploitation, which is an element in the focus and studies on ‘race’ and racism that is silent. Thus, this study’s focus on the senses and racialised sensory experiences of ‘race’ and racism provides a starting point to begin filling the gaps in the neglected areas of knowledge on race and racisms and suggests possible issues for future research.

This study brings attention to the intersectional erasure of the racialised sensory experiences of early post-war Black migrant children and women overlooked in favour of the experiences of early post-war Black males. Its focus on the intangible feeling and mixed emotions of early post-war Black migrant children and women and the recognition of the intersections between these two marginalised racialised groups also fills a gap in existing studies of ‘race’ and racisms that have commonly treated experience and intangible and visceral forms of knowledge as largely irrelevant to understanding ‘race’ and racisms. This study also contributes knowledge through the sensory-informed research of ‘race’ and racism that accounts for experience and alternative ways of knowing to broaden and enrich understandings of hidden issues concerning these issues.

This study’s focus on the theme of arrival also took a holistic view of early post-war Black migrants’ racialised sensory experiences of leaving home and their arrival in Britain, allowing further insights from their sensory reflections on the years that had passed since the point of arrival in Britain and the life and loved ones they left behind. I argue that the mixed emotions and feelings on arrival in England for many early post-war Black migrants became emotions of melancholy, nostalgia, loneliness, and a yearning to return home in later life. The sensory themes I encountered in the oral life testimony research material were the feelings and mixed emotions of loneliness, sadness, disappointment, and disillusion with life in Britain experienced by early post-war Black migrants in later years. In addition, there were feelings of grief and living with a continued sense of loss over time in old age, which one early post-war Black migrant termed ‘The Immigrant Condition.’

## 9.5 Racialised Sensory Knowledge and Experience in the Leisure Life and Recreational Pursuits of Early Post-War Black Migrants

Attention to space and place also forms the framework of this study's sensory focus on the leisure and recreational life and pursuits of early post-war Black migrants. This study examined the racism, prejudice, and racial discrimination perpetrated against early post-war Black migrants in Britain's leisure and recreational life and spaces and places, particularly the colour bar in British pubs. I argue that local pubs in Notting Hill/North Kensington, where overt discrimination, such as the colour bar, was not strictly enforced, were turned into Black diasporic leisure and recreational spaces where early post-war Black migrants shaped a distinct diasporic presence in early post-war Britain. I revealed that early post-war Black migrants in Notting Hill/North Kensington reconfigured predominantly white public leisure places like the traditional local English pub and established and asserted themselves through their social and leisure pursuits to create an affirmative dimension to their settlement experience in Britain. I argued that early post-war Black migrants created a new sense of belonging as diasporic subjects and diasporic local Black migrant collective. Additionally, they developed a new sense of self and being in the world by opening an emancipatory space where they could experiment with their new sense of Britishness and produce new forms of creative inter-ethnic cultural and diasporic social spaces.

Analysing the oral testimonies of early post-war Black migrants also provided insight into the particularities between these migrants, such as the inter-island differences at the intersections of early post-war Black migrant experiences in Britain on arrival contrary to the undifferentiating identification as 'coloured West Indians'. This insight contributes to the knowledge by further demonstrating the additional types of layering that also factor into the (sensory) experiences of 'race' and racism among racialised subjects that underlie the tangible structural and material effects of racism and racial inequalities affecting racialised and minority ethnic others.

This study argues that early post-war Black migrant (sensory) experiences of 'white leisure spaces' also formed their sense of estrangement and social distance, further reinforcing the structural and

institutional racisms in such areas as housing and employment that produced and maintained their outsider status as the racial other. I focus on examining emotions and feelings, such as the loneliness experienced by early post-war Black migrants attempting to settle and start a new life positioned as the alien racial other in Britain. I further argue that early post-war migrants' sense of loneliness drove the choices and strategies they used to shape their own leisure and recreational spaces and places and begin developing a sense of Black Britishness through their collective racialised sensory experiences. Early post-war Black migrants with no friendship group or connection to other individuals from their country on arrival sought the company of each other, and I explore how they accomplished this through social and leisure sensory pursuits, such as house parties and establishing Black-owned restaurants.

I argue that the local and West End London nightclubs run by and for early Black migrants were exciting, dynamic, and stimulating sensory sites that afforded them an inclusive social and creative cultural space. These were also places where racially mixed club-goers could enjoy and share the pleasures of live jazz and Calypso music and were safe spaces for interracial romantic relationships to be out in the open. Thus, this study argues that the senses, feelings and mixed emotions, and recreational and leisure spaces and places are imperative in early post-war Black migrants' racialised experiences of arrival and settlement in Britain**.** Moreover, I argue that they were critical alternative spaces and places that afforded some respite and shelter from the barrage of everyday racisms and the challenges early post-war migrants faced in a hostile, racialised sensorium.

## 9.6 Notting Hill Carnival as a Sensory Leisure Site of Mixed Emotions and Sensory Politics of Protest and Resistance

The Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival was also a central focus of this study's examination of early post-war racialised sensory knowledge and experiences of 'race' and racism through their leisure life and recreational pursuits. I argue that the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival represents a disruptive sensory diasporic moment in British history. Moreover, I argue that the early years of the Carnival were a sensory leisure and recreational site where early post-war Black

migrants developed a sense of closeness, belonging, and camaraderie, uniting them as a Black diasporic community in the face of the racism, racial inequality, and discrimination they experienced in the local area on arrival in Britain. Furthermore, the Carnival was a unique leisure space and social sensory experience where early post-war Black migrants showed their creative abilities in a particular and distinctive way. It was also a unique sensory space where they defined a new sense of Black identity in defiance of the dominant discursive knowledge of the British state and white English host population that cast them as 'coloured' or the racial immigration problem.

This study's focus on Notting Hill Carnival explored the Carnival Mas camps as sensory and emotive leisure and creative workspaces where, I argue, local Black migrants worked hard to contribute, create, and express their artistic world and imagination in the spirit of the Carnival on their terms and carved out a sense of belonging during the early years. In addition, I explored how some early post-war migrants experienced Carnival culture as an internal emotional phenomenon. I further argue that the visceral and intense feelings and emotions experienced by early post-war migrants were vital to understand, from a sensory-informed perspective, the deeper intangible emotional drive and the sense of purpose underlying their motivation, interest, passion, and commitment to create and participate in the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival. I also argue that early post-war Black migrants produced a dynamic multisensory sensory Carnival sensorium and experiences that were foreign to English people, comprising visually stimulating costumes, tastes, smells of Caribbean food, and the auditory dominance of various clashing and competing music genres and styles.

The focus on the leisure life and experiences of early Black post-war migrants also highlights how they reclaimed and redefined Notting Hill/North Kensington as a particular type of diasporic space on their terms through the Carnival as an expression of the rich complexity of similarities and differences between West Indian cultures with the later vital input from a distinctly Black British culture. However, I argue that the cultural syncretism between Caribbean cultures and the emerging Black British culture also holds traces of the intangible sensory tension of contested space that is evident in the leisure experience of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival. Sensory dissonance occurs when different carnival bands, sound systems, live performers, mobile steel bands or floats,

and the costumed masquerades all compete and demand freedom of movement and primary auditory dominance on the streets.

This study further explored early post-war Black migrants' protest and resistance against racism and racial discrimination within the sensory leisure and social space of the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival. This study focused on early post-war Black migrants' experiences of the Carnival as an emotional phenomenon, which contributes an alternative knowledge to existing understandings of 'race' and racisms by giving insight into the racialised sensory experiences and hidden mixed emotions and visceral feelings that pervaded and motivated early Black post-war politics of resistance against the British state's institutional racisms and everyday racial abuse, violence, and discrimination. A particular focus was placed on the sensory racialised experiences, emotions, and feelings of early post-war Black migrants, the early post-war Metropolitan police culture in North Kensington, and the racialisation of the early post-war Black community.

I also argue that the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival was a sensory-charged site where the volatile relationship between the police and the Black community in Britain at the time erupted in violent battles. I examined a crucial moment of sensory disruption when the sensory shift during the Notting Hill/North Kensington Carnival went from joyful celebration to a heightened sensory racialised tension that sparked violent conflict with the police. Furthermore, I examine this focus within the historical context of the racial discourse and stereotypes that informed ideas around policing the 'West Indian problem' in early post-war Britain. I also explore the criminalisation of early Black migrants and second-generation Black Britons who were also experiencing high unemployment, racial alienation, and disenchantment with the entrenched institutional police racisms, such as daily racial harassment and violence from the police.

I explore the racialised sensory experiences of the early post-war migrants who witnessed the riots with attention to the senses and their feelings and mixed emotions surrounding the incident. I argue that the racialised senses, feelings, and mixed emotions pervaded and helped produce one of the most significant leisure spaces and pursuits established by early post-war Black migrants in Britain

and, therefore, are also critical to understanding the history of Black resistance, protest, and revolution in Britain. Moreover, I argue that attending to the sensory racialised experiences of early post-war Black migrants can enable profound insight into the unique racialised sensorium of the Carnival, and important moments in Black British History, such as the Black community's experience of police violence during the riot, and add sensory layers to existing studies and understandings of the impact of institutionally racist practices through sensory impression and feelings and emotions, such as the fear, anger, and disillusionment experienced during and in the aftermath of the Carnival riots.

Finally, this study contributes to the knowledge in its effort to apply a spatial lens to the sensory experience of early Black post-war migrants and as a means of critically interrogating 'race' and racisms in a way that theoretically grounds and combines sensory experience amongst existing studies of race and racisms and addresses the historical legacy of racial ideologies and structural and concrete material racial inequalities. This study hopes to act as a starting point to more detailed, historically informed excavations of the relationship between the senses and further overlooked issues concerning the workings of 'race' and racism in the lives of racialised others and modes of sociopolitical moments.

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