Black Scholarly Activism between the Academy and Grassroots

A Bridge for Identities and Social Justice

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palgrave
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I would like to dedicate this book to my Mum, Grandma and Michael for their unending support.

Preface

What an era we are living through! Both at home (in the UK) and abroad (especially in the US and the Global South but increasingly in Europe), we seem to be experiencing the chaos of an unravelling of systemic global white supremacy. In fact, this very unravelling is creating the rise of a populist white supremacy in many of the Anglophone (and European) countries, globally and appears to be fuelled by the equally dangerous and catastrophic rise in (extremist) Islamism and its material effects seen in mass migration. Now that the historically invisible 'whiteness' of (post/neo)colonial expansion and dominance is being questioned and made visible, and furthermore, its progeny, advanced capitalism is beginning to fold into itself and self-cannibalise, as activists on the cold front of the historical fight for social justice, we had better be prepared for a deepening of the chaos that we are already struggling with! This book was written as a provocation to my fellow activists on the ground to urgently continue to debate what our ideological alternatives *need* to be, as the present system has never worked for the marginalised and dispossessed and is now increasingly failing the privileged.

We need to hold the line and fight the good fight but with knowledge and wisdom. So let's keep thinking, let's keep sharing ideas and let's keep striving to apply our shared knowledge to the material challenges at hand!

Manchester, UK   Ornette D. Clennon

Acknowledgements

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Dr. Ornette D. Clennon is a Visiting Research Fellow and a critical race scholar in The Research Centre for Social Change: Community Wellbeing, Manchester Metropolitan University, where he leads the Critical Race and Ethnicity Research Cluster. Ornette is also a Visiting Professor at the Federal University of the Amazonas. Ornette writes for Media Diversified and Open Democracy and is a Public Engagement Ambassador for the National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement (NCCPE). He is a community activist at local, national and international levels and works with The Ubele Initiative, Locality, Alci Matos Community (Manaus, Brazil), MACC, Making Education a Priority (MEaP), Black British Academics and the National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education. Ornette's enterprise and activism work has been recognised with the 2011 NCCPE Beacons New Partnerships Award.

Ornette is widely published and his previous books include *Alternative Education and Community Engagement: Making Education a Priority* (2014), *Urban Dialectics, The Market and Youth Engagement:*

The Black Face of Eurocentrism? (2015), *International Perspectives of Multiculturalism: The Ethical Challenges* (2016) and *The Polemics of CLR James and Contemporary Black Activism* (2017).

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Introduction: Whiteness, Social Justice and Greek Mythology?

Abstract Using Peisander's Heracles and his twelve labours as a metaphor for achieving social justice, Ornette D. Clennon sets out the terrain for the social battle against an invisible Lernaean 'whiteness'. Clennon also introduces us to the material effects of 'whiteness' and its origins in structural (institutional) racism by using the Windrush debacle as a case example.

Keywords Social justice · Whiteness · Windrush · Racism

Introduction

As described by the Ancient Greek epic poet, Peisander, Heracles'[1] twelve labours included the battle with the Lernaean Hydra whose many heads regenerated each time they were cut off. This fable resonates with me in many ways not least in the way that it reflects the fight for social justice; as soon as you win one battle for justice another battle for the same justice springs up around the corner albeit appearing in a different guise (head).

Whether it is the disproportionate numbers of black youths that are stopped and searched[2] in the UK or the disproportionate number of black men being killed by the police[3] in the United States or the *shameful* silence on the *surprising number of black female fatalities*[4] at the hands of US law enforcement, one of the biggest challenges in resisting social inequality is actually defining what it is that we are resisting. If we are faced with the symptoms of inequality, which can result in the uneven application of the law that can leave young black men and women fatally vulnerable, we really have to examine what it is that we are trying to resist. When we peer into the looking glass, we are greeted by dim and barely recognisable shadows that pretend to simulate our reflection.[5] Here, I mean Power and the way it tries to convince us that "we the people" have legitimised it and it reflects/represents us. Power that wields invisible control and privileges those who can best serve its cause. This is a real challenge for activists of all causes but for those who labour to challenge the injustices caused by race and gender (and other modes of oppression, of course!), the challenge becomes truly Heraclean (Herculean).

What Is Whiteness?

So, what is this Power that requires such a Herculean effort to overcome? Without further ado, it is whiteness. Whiteness as a concept goes beyond (but starts with) racism, whereas Stokely Carmichael said, "If a white man wants to lynch me, that's his problem. If he's got the power to lynch me, that's my problem. Racism is not a question of attitude; it's a question of power".[6] This question of power is about a system that confers privilege on whom it chooses to recognise. With such privilege, which could be regarded as resulting from the benefits of Bourdieu's 'habitus',[7] the system can arbitrarily make up the rules as it goes along in order to maintain the status quo of privilege (its survival) at any costs. However, whiteness, as 'Power' becomes trickier to pin down when it shrugs off its racial origins and morphs into market relations where the market itself becomes a socio-economic expression of whiteness. Kamaljeet Gill, whilst exploring James Baldwin's film *I Am Not Your Negro*, insightfully writes:

> Whiteness is not a description of a race, it is rather a position in a power-relationship, which builds itself in opposition to all the people who are produced as not-white, and in particular those who are Black.[8]

I see Gill's "position in a power-relationship" in terms of market relations where the now market actors (who were once social actors) are forced to strategically position themselves in relation to whiteness, in other words, their 'market freedoms' gained by their knowledge of the market. For me, the market is a particularly significant arena to explore because we are currently living in an age of neoliberalism where ever-deregulated and global markets have been given the near-universal power to profoundly affect the workings of all of our (inter/national) institutions and their services. Looking at this chameleon-like transformation of whiteness into a market derivative of what is now known as 'market freedoms' or 'individuality' is crucial for understanding its power and its pathological structures.[9] In Chapter 3, I will expand on this by reconciling my previous writings about the market power of 'popular (urban) culture' and its hidden influence on the ethea of our institutions. I will also explore how the pathological structures of the market (via its 'economies of racism'[10]) underpin and legitimise the unspoken racial contract[11] of hierarchical societal ordering. In this chapter, however, I will introduce whiteness through its 'first-level' manifestation of systemic racism.

So, having a system that is built on what is a near-invisible framework of whiteness, invisible in the sense that it becomes a default, universal (borrowing from Bourdieu again[12]), a priori starting point for everyone, is very hard to fight because this 'invisibility' lends it chameleon-like qualities of many-headed Lernaean transformation.

The Windrush Debacle

A very clear example of this battle for 'Lernaean' social justice can be seen with the Windrush crisis.[13] Windrush migrants[14] who came over from the Caribbean to the UK between 1948 and 1971 at the invitation of the British government and as British nationals (especially in 1948) were given the status of "indefinite leave to remain".[15] The crisis was caused when seventy years later during the 70th Anniversary of

Windrush no less, these now elderly migrants (and their now not so elderly accompanying children) were threatened with deportation (and many had actually been deported since 2015).[16] With an untrumpeted update of the 1999 Immigration Act, the clause referring to the status of "indefinite leave to remain" was removed in its 2014 successor.[17] This seemingly innocuous update was crucial because now only those with 'settled' status were recognised. Although the 1971 Immigration Act, to which both the 1999 and 2014 Acts point, defines 'settled' as including "indefinite leave to remain", the term is overwhelmingly linked to "patrial" status that automatically grants the "right of abode" in the UK. In the 1971 Act, patrial status is interpreted as having pre-existing and close family connections to the UK through which citizenship can be claimed. It is important to note that the 1971 Act also maintained "indefinite leave to remain" as a separate definition to patrial to acknowledge that many black Commonwealth citizens would not have had "patrial" status (post 1971).[18]

With this change in the law driven by the government's creation of a "hostile environment",[19] designed to make staying in the UK as difficult as possible for illegal immigrants, the Windrushers found that they suddenly had no legal entitlement to stay in the UK. Their very Britishness was questioned and in many cases denied.

The Function of Whiteness

Here, we see whiteness as a function of hierarchical social ordering where not only do we witness its arbitrary powers (of 'habitus') to change the terms of engagement (such as immigration law)[20] but in this instance, we can witness its power in the sphere of societal consensus-building. Elsewhere[21] I write extensively about stakeholdership in a national psyche. I examine the conditionality and fragility of a national stakeholdership that is given only to ethnic minorities, *despite* their having co-created that very national psyche in the first place (via Empire). The Windrush scandal was successful in unveiling whiteness (as enacted by the government and its supporters) as a form of "racial rule" that according to Michael Omi and Howard Winant[22] is

a slow and uneven historical process which has moved from dictatorship to democracy, from domination to hegemony. In this transition, hegemonic forms of racial rule – those based on consent – eventually came to supplant those based on coercion. (p. 131)

This form of hegemonic 'consent' is the primary administrative mechanism of the "racial contract" that Charles Mills[23] describes as "creat[ing] a universe of persons and sub persons" who are "destined never to penetrate the normative rights ceiling established for them below white persons".[24] In pandering to the ethnic-purity immigration agenda of the far right over the years but especially during the 2016 Brexit Referendum, the government helped to form a hegemonic consensus that agreed to ideologically maintain ethnic minority (especially Black Commonwealth heritage) national stakeholdership status at the level of the conditional and merely functional (pragmatic). A status subject to political whim rather than as a given, inherent, inalienable and unchanging right, as with the national status of other white British groups. I mean this, as I have written elsewhere, primarily in an ideological, a priori sense rather than as a series of political actions. However, to see this idea of "racial rule" more clearly in a real world setting, we need to very briefly revisit a recent segment of UK history.

Whiteness and Windrush

In a political sense, this conditionality was historically demonstrated by Britain's urgent need for Commonwealth assistance for its post war (second) construction[25] and its invitation to its Commonwealth subjects. At this time when Britain needed desperate assistance, it automatically granted British Citizenship to its Commonwealth subjects under the 1948 British Nationality Act. However, as Britain rebuilt itself, thanks largely to its Commonwealth, now British Citizens, it began to tighten its immigration laws between 1962 and 1971, as a result of growing national opposition to 'black' and 'brown' Commonwealth immigrants entering the country.[26] So the conditionality of their stakeholdership in this context was based solely on their material/economic usefulness to the country, not in their inherent value as equal citizens. So, unsurprisingly

the British colonial process of "racial formation" that Michael Omi and Howard Winant[27] could well have attributed to the British empire as, "the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed", carried on into its treatment of its Commonwealth citizens. Their racial status ultimately made them mere disposable units of labour only good for the economic aggrandisement of a desperate nation in decline, framing them as the 'good immigrant' rather than as bona fide citizens and stakeholders of the nation.

So, if we zoom forward to the present day, this historical idea of black Commonwealth immigrants' citizenship rights being contingent on their disposable functionality as units of labour, lives on as a past echo that partly influenced the forming of the government's ideological basis of consensus building with the far right's racist (anti-immigration) agenda. This ultimately culminated in the government's 2010 "hostile environment" immigration programme, where we see how the racial formation of whiteness ostensibly targeted "black bodies" and placed them under "racial rule". Gary Younge points out that the 2014 Immigration Act, "by design"[28] actually enlisted civic agents such as healthcare professionals, teachers, employers, landlords and the like into the role of border control officers. These agents were required by law to police and monitor the people they were serving by asking for proof of British citizenship on the grounds of mere suspicion (of dubious immigration status). It is important to pause to digest this for a moment because what the government actually instigated was an unspoken (hidden) form of apartheid, where civic agents were given powers to create and enforce internal borders of nationality (resulting in the haves and have-nots in terms of services denied or granted to them upon queried immigration status). These powers are all the more frightening because they grant the agents the ability to question and potentially instigate the stripping away of citizenship on the basis of what amounts to *perceived* race and ethnicity (as proxies for immigration status).[29] So, in separating out citizens into the immigration haves and have-nots, racial rule in practice became a traumatic reality for those, overwhelmingly in number, racialised-as-black and deemed 'non-citizens'. This was made all the more pernicious by the fact that these 'non citizens' had in the main, outgrown their economic usefulness to the nation and were deemed

disposable, as many of them were now elderly (although as a reflection of their socio-economic status, many were still working!).

When whiteness remains invisible it can adopt any head of the Hydra it chooses. It can do this by forcing us to use the very tools or weapons it controls as our only means of conducting our fight and defence. Its stealth means that we are often unaware of the borrowed power we claim as our own in the fight for agency. This bind becomes double when not only are we unaware of the fact that the tools we fight with are not our own but we didn't even notice when or how they were swapped.[30] This facet of whiteness was unwittingly illustrated by the national moral outcry of the treatment of these children of the Windrush, with arguments about their past utility in terms of work done and taxes paid.[31] Although benign and genuinely seeking agency, these sentiments still managed to reinforce the equation of citizenship with economic function (behaviour)[32] not with inherent inalienable rights (being). So, in their way, they still perpetuated the distinction of racial rule between the inalienable citizen (real, permanent and racialised-as-white) and the contingent citizen (ersatz, temporary and racialised-as-black). To amplify this point, Du Bois' term of "psychological wage"[33] would seem to be apposite here, as the status of 'inalienable citizen' can be seen as *the* real "psychological wage" for the racialised-as-white working classes.[34] Because even at the height of national moral outrage against some dubbed as "benefit scroungers"[35] at no point was their lack of productivity or utility ever equated or conditionally linked to their citizenship of the UK. They were regarded as being inherently British even if profoundly 'immorally' lazy, unscrupulous and unproductive.[36]

Discussion of Some of the Themes, So Far: A Theoretical Hinterland

The Material Penalties of the Racial Contract

Antwi Akom (2008) would call the penalties of the racial contract, a "racial tax" (p. 256) for African Americans, where W. E. B. Du Bois' "psychological wage" for the white working classes would be its

converse. The material (economic) penalties of this "racial tax" can be found in Collins and Wanamaker's (2017) study, where between 1880 and 2000, they track how the historical structural barriers that African Americans continue to navigate, impact on their social mobility, which in turn create an insurmountable wealth disparity between themselves and their white counterparts.

Meanwhile, Darity Jr., et al. (2018) investigate the possible solutions and strategies that African Americans can employ to address the wealth disparity. However, they debunk these strategies as myths (such as better education (also see Chapter 2), increased entrepreneurial inward investment etc.) because of their minimal impact on the underlying structural barriers that create wealth disparity, in the first place. They argue that responsibilising the African American for the cause of their poverty means nothing will change because it lets the system, where real structural solutions can be found, off the hook.

In terms of finding structural solutions, Coates (2014) presents the case for reparations, where structural interventions (such as returning land that historically belonged to African American communities) are suggested to address structural wealth disparities. For me, the challenge with reparations as a possible solution is that it would only be a short term economic sticking plaster, designed to create equitable strategies for achieving economic equality. However, the system within which this new economic equality would exist would still be based on capitalist principles. Since capitalism was founded on racialised (as 'black' and gendered) labour (Quijano 2000 and also see Chapter 5's Hinterland discussion) whence its drive to generate profit from the abstract labour of its racialised 'workers' (i.e. slaves) came, quite clearly, the racial patriarchy that socially drives the economic system would remain unchanged. This means that the systemic inequalities born out of the market's drive for mastery (to produce profit) would still exist because reparations as vehicles for equity, still would not guarantee a truly open market (in terms of access) for African Americans or for any other from the global African Diaspora. It is important to remember, of course, that due to the globalising nature of colonialism each national setting has its own but remarkably similar historical structural inequalities that profoundly disadvantage their African Diaspora communities.

As Darity et al. point out, the idea of a Black capitalist system is a myth and elsewhere (Clennon, 2016a), I trace the pathological reasons for why this aspiration is essentially an oxymoron. In a roundabout way, I am saying that Althusser's over-determinants of Marx's economic substructure, if left unchecked would still generate the social inequalities that the economic substructure actually needs for its existence (and vice versa!) So, in view of all the evidence of the chronic and negative economic effects of the "racial tax", we can see that the (capitalist derived and driven) racial contract, as a founding, embedded and invisible societal contract underpinning our (Western) democracies will be almost impossible to remove without entirely restructuring the system. By this I mean, that we would have to start from scratch without using the building blocks of 'racial formation' and mastery (domination) in order to reimagine and build Western society and democracy, anew (see Chapter 5's Hinterland discussion). Considering the ebb and flow of Western colonial expansion, this would raise profound existential questions about the nature of the 'West' and whether it would still be 'Western' in the civilisational sense (for problematising the "civilisational" in the Huntington (1998) sense, see Clennon (2015, 2016a). See Clennon (2017) for a detailed exploration of C. L. R. James' vision of what a reimagined alternative would look like and its implications for our nations today, *if* it were at all possible).

Conclusion

For those of us charged with battling with the Lernaean Hydra, fighting against an invisible hand[37] that privileges those it favours is extremely difficult. In order to fight inequality we often have to convince those who benefit from the invisible hand to recognise their privilege and to use it to benefit others. This is often extremely challenging to do because as beneficiaries and sometimes benefactors of the system they are loath to give up their privileges, so become fierce guardians or gatekeepers of the system not unlike Cerberus[38] (back to Hercules). So, now we're having to battle passed Cerberus, who is busy telling us that Hades and the underworld don't exist, before even reaching the gates to

challenge Hades himself. In the real world, without the Windrush scandal, the far reaching civil rights implications of the 2014 Immigration Act's operational *whiteness* would have remained invisible (disavowed) and would have carried on with its implicit racial rule un-noticed and unchallenged. The scandal has also afforded the UK, as a nation the opportunity to continue the conversation about its attitudes towards immigration, how they have been shaped by its past and our current and future standing in the world (under the shadow of Brexit).

On the brighter side, Hercules did in fact complete his twelve labours. He defeated the Lernaean Hydra with the help of his nephew by cortorising the stumps of each decapitated head in so doing preventing regrowth. Our lesson from this, is that we need to build as many alliances as we can to similarly cortorise the heads of injustice we fight against. That's why, for example, we also need to remember and be *vocal* about violence (state or otherwise) enacted against women, trans women and trans men and our LGBTQ and disAbled communities more widely,[39] as well as other minorities when we protest for the lives of our young black men as part of #BlackLivesMatter amongst other important campaigns.[40]

Hercules defeated Cerberus by cleverly negotiating its removal from the underworld so that he could fight it on even terms.[41] For me, this labour is particularly poignant because Hercules had to defeat Cerberus with his bare hands for any victory to count. For us, convincing our gatekeepers to see things from outside of their privileged vantage point is key so that we can win them over with our jointly held humanity. This is where we need to keep 'intersectional' oppression[42] upmost in our minds because for many of us, our humanity is constantly being attacked simultaneously by different 'heads'! However, our biggest (non) weapon *is* our humanity. For a powerful example of this, see Coel's (2018, 32: 57) MacTaggart Lecture when in describing the experience and power of her humanity as feeling like a "misfit", she asks, "but if you're not racist or thoughtless about race, what other thing can you be?" We need to make sure that our humanity remains intact[43] and shines through our labours if we are to achieve real success.

In this chapter, I have given a broad brushstroke introduction to whiteness and its modus operandi in the political domain but by using Hercules (and his nephew) I have also introduced the idea of a

collaborative activism against 'whiteness' in order to produce social change. However, you will have noticed that I created a 'Hinterland' space for theoretical discussion. Throughout this volume, this space will be used by each chapter to pick up on and unpack some of the themes discussed earlier on in the chapter. Each of these 'Hinterlands' will meet and relate to each other across the volume, in so doing creating a background theoretical counterpoint to the main points raised in each chapter and in the volume, as a whole. The reason and inspiration for this use of the 'Hinterland' will very much become apparent in Chapter 5!

In the next chapter, I will explore the impact of 'whiteness' on my childhood and early adulthood and how that later shaped my scholar-activism before, in subsequent chapters, tracing its presence in my activist areas of education, its non-racial market transformation of social relations, Pan-Africanism and the sustainability of grassroots communities.

Notes

1. More commonly known by his later Roman name of Hercules.
2. See Abbott (2014) about the abuses of the 'stop and search' policy.
3. See Wikipedia (2018) for a list of killings by law enforcement officers in the United States.
4. See Dionne (2014) for an account of how African American women are marginalised within the national debate about state-sanctioned violence against the 'black body'.
5. I am deliberately evoking Jean Baudrillard's third simulation from his *Simulacra and Simulation* where he describes a simulation that is deceitful but masquerades as the original with its own self-generated provenance. Also see Chapter 2, note 21; a "covert deceptive distortion (masquerading as a faithful reproduction)".
6. See Ture (1991, 37:18).
7. See Bourdieu (1984), "It [habitus] expresses first the result of an organizing action, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination" p. 2.
8. See Gill (2017) and also see DiAngelo's (2011) "White Fragility".

9. See Clennon (2016a) for a full discussion about how whiteness becomes a market derivative:

   However, it is this concept of [market] 'self-interest' that reminds me of mastery within the context of 'whiteness'. As Altman has already noted, the search for mastery becomes a psychopathological structure when it requires a disavowed opposite (to master). It strikes me that in the search for mastery and freedom; we have a conceptual meeting place between globalisation and 'whiteness'. If we accept that neoliberalism is the driving force behind globalisation where individualism is deified, then what we are actually describing is a form of global 'whiteness' where disavowed antitheses are created in order to service the search for (individual) mastery, which manifests itself as *individual* wealth accumulation in market terms. (p. 108)

10. See Brown and De Lissovoy (2011).
11. See Mills (1997).
12. See Bourdieu (1984), "aestheticism which presents the aesthetic disposition [*habitus*] as a universally valid principle and takes the bourgeois denial of the social world *[i.e. the hardships and inequalities]* to its limit. The detachment of the pure gaze cannot be dissociated from a general disposition towards the world which is the paradoxical product of conditioning by negative economic necessities—a life of ease—that tends to induce an active distance from necessity [*interpreting and viewing the social world through the lens of personal privilege*]" p. 6 (Italics added).
13. See Younge (2018) for an excellent account of how it started and what the implications are for children of the Windrush.
14. Meaning *people* who migrated from one part of the Empire to another.
15. A non time-limited permission to stay in the UK as long as they didn't leave the country for any extended periods of time.
16. See De Noronha (2016) for an account of some of the deportations that did not quite make the attention of the British press.
17. See Taylor (2018).
18. Remember between the 1948 British Nationality Act to the 1971 Immigration Act, Commonwealth citizens had the status of *Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies* (CUKC), which granted them near identical rights to British citizenship.
19. See Elgot (2018).
20. Also the government responsibilised the Windrushers for having to produce four documentary pieces of evidence a year for each year of

their residence in the UK. See Reality Check Team (2018). Also see Lammy's (2018) public protest where he shares a case from one of his constituents whose documentary evidence from 1964 and 1974 detailing the year of his arrival and his allocated National Health Insurance number was rejected by the Home Office, as insufficient evidence. This case formed part of an emerging pattern of behaviour, which created a seemingly impossible burden of proof that had been imposed on the Windrushers, which was shown by the dismissal of documents showing the length of time that they were retained by the applicant and the government's intentional destruction of Windrush landing cards (Gentleman 2018).

21. See Clennon (2016b).
22. See Omi and Winant (1994). Also see Chapter 4, note 11 for a similar process in Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992, p. 167) "symbolic violence".
23. See Mills (1997, pp. 16, 17).
24. See discussion.
25. As well as assistance in the form of RAF pilots during the war itself. See *Caribbean Aircrew in the RAF During WW2* for more details. See Editor (2018).
26. Which Enoch Powell's 1968 Rivers of Blood speech could be seen as the epitome of such growing dissatisfaction with immigration.
27. See Omi and Winant (1994, p. 55).
28. In addition to secretly changing immigration law in ways that were unfavourable to Commonwealth citizens, Perkins and Gentleman (2018) report the government had actually been aware of the consequences of its policies long before it came to the attention of the public.
29. See Perkins and Quinn (2018) for Former Head of the Civil Service, Lord Kerslake's comments about this policy that was "almost reminiscent of Nazi Germany" (an interesting echo of Césaire see Chapter 6, note 3 and see Chapter 2's Hinterland discussion about market "appearances"). Also see Brickell et al. (2015) for the government's own research that warned against the discriminatory practices that the 2014 Immigration Act's "Right to Rent" scheme would generate as a result of the "hostile environment", which compelled landlords to conduct these checks based on mere suspicion, under the threat of £3000 fines.
30. I write at length about this in *Urban Dialectics, The Market and Youth Engagement: The Black Face of Eurocentrism?* I describe how popular

culture, via the image of the 'Black Body' is used to disarm us before re-arming us with weapons fashioned by the system that are conveniently made impotent to render any challenge harmless (to the system). See Chapter 3, note 3. Also see Chapter 6, note 16.

31. See House of Commons Hansard (2018).
32. In other words, 'the good immigrant' trope that Nikesh Shukla explores in his eponymous 2016 edited volume with contributions from a range of BAME voices exploring race, immigration and the meaning of Britishness within a minority ethnic context.
33. See Du Bois (1935 [1998]).
34. The psychological wage of 'whiteness' is further illustrated by Parker et al. (2018), as they write about the potential disparity in the rights of abode between Commonwealth and EU citizens, post Brexit. At the time of writing, EU nationals are watching the Windrush debacle unfold and are looking to apply its lessons to their forthcoming Post Brexit situation. However, their current and future status does not seem to be quite as precarious as that of the Windrushers' or for other Commonwealth citizens because of the necessary freedom of movement concessions Britain will probably have to make as part of her Post Brexit trade deals with the EU. In this instance, their symbolic whiteness will actually find a political and economic form that will both materially *and* psychologically benefit them!
35. See de Vries and Reeves (2017), West (2016), Chase (2016), and Birchall (2017).
36. Malik (2016) makes the point that the overwhelming number of people who have had their British nationalities revoked for their misdemeanours are people of 'colour', thus creating the two types of British nationalities, as discussed, so far. The arbitrary nature of racial rule, the 'habitus' of whiteness, was further emphasised by the Home Secretary ironically granting free citizenship (i.e. not having to pay registration fees) to Windrush applicants (Bartlett 2018) who under the 1948 British Nationality Act already were British citizens (Lidher 2018) before having that status progressively stripped away from them by the establishment.
37. Of course, referring to Adam Smith's ([1776] 1976) 'invisible hand' that rather than being a benign force of societal upliftment has actually become a malign force for keeping certain market actors down for the betterment of the preferred few.

38. A mythical hound that guards Hades, who like the Lernaean Hydra is also (mostly) depicted as having many heads, usually three. For me, this implies that the gatekeepers or their powers come in many different guises and need to be approached differently as each head is 'vanquished'.

39. See Steinmetz (2015) for an account of how the increased visibility of members of the trans* community is seemingly putting them at ever increasing personal risk. Also see Chapter 5, note 7 for the importance of queer politics to Black Radicalism.

40. Such as the status of EU nationals living in the UK, Post Brexit.

41. Fittingly, this was Hercules' final twelfth labour.

42. See Chapter 5, note 7.

43. See Chapter 5, note 26 for a discussion about how our humanity was taken away from us when the "Negro" was first conceived.

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2

Whiteness and My Twelve Labours….

Abstract Ornette D. Clennon reflects on the presence of 'whiteness' in his childhood. Clennon also recollects how, within the wider context of his family, the invisibility of 'whiteness' shaped his formative years as a child and young adult. Clennon then uses these experiences to trace his development into a scholar activist in so doing explaining the importance of social justice to his research.

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I drew upon Greek mythology as inspiration to paint the broader picture of Heraclean labour in the fight for social justice. I also gave a broad-brush stroke description of 'whiteness' as a systemic rather than a racial phenomenon. In this chapter, I will reflect on how 'whiteness' (sub)liminally shaped my childhood, the lived experience of my wider family and my early adulthood.

I Was One of the Lucky Ones…

Life experiences informed my decision to become a critical race scholar even before I became aware of it. I was one of the 'lucky' ones! My parents came over from Kingston, Jamaica in the 60s, following my grandparents a decade earlier.[1] Why lucky? I wasn't quite the statistic of a black boy growing up in 70s Manchester from a typical West Indian background.[2] As an only child, I grew up in an extended family in the leafy Manchester suburb of Whalley Range. My family were middle-class Jamaicans[3] who emigrated to the UK for a better life, a family which valued education above all.[4] My mother wasn't afraid to invest in my education, whether by making sure that she attended all the PTA meetings where she closely monitored my progress and held the teachers to account[5] or by buying in the services of private tutors to help me in my weaker subject areas. That was the lucky bit.

However, when my family came over to the UK, all of their appreciation of education and British culture (and remember they were educated under the English educational system), was simply wiped away and replaced with everyday racial abuse on the streets (especially experienced by my grandparents, who found jobs as a nurse and British rail worker). As an adult, my grandmother would tell me of the many incidents of racist name calling on the streets that she had to endure from strangers or even worse, from her hospital patients—much like some war veterans, my folks would not directly talk about their painful experiences of racism to me as a child. They preferred, instead to stoically instil an everyday grit and toughness in me with the ear-burning mantra— "you very well know that you have to be 10 times better than your white friends….so, why aren't you doing your homework?"[6]

However, this wilful forgetting of my family's status as children of the Mother country[7] inevitably did fall onto me not helped by my being brought up, by this time, by a young single mother, although we were living with my grandparents (and later great grandmother!). The 'black single mother' stereotypes still tried to tie me down as a child.[8] But my mother through sometimes working multiple jobs and with the help of my grandparents fought heroically to insulate me against the extremes of an education system that had already consigned me to the scrap heap of Black underachievement.[9]

You Very Well Know That You Have to Be 10 Times Better Than Your White Friends….So, Why Aren't You Doing Your Homework?

So, I was brought up with books—my mum managed to go to university part-time, I was fortunate enough to receive private music lessons, I owned my own clarinets, thanks to my mum's multiple jobs and I played in the school and regional youth orchestras. All of this was made possible by a generous music department in Manchester City Council, at the time, that provided all these free musical activities, for which you had to audition. I had decided from a very early age that I was going to be a classical musician. Music for me has always been exhilarating. It was always a space where I could shine and set my own technical and artistic challenges unhindered by the imposed doubt of others. I had an incredible clarinet teacher (Barry Hodgson), to whom I owe a great deal! Before leaving high school, I had easily surpassed grade 8 and had already earned two diplomas, one for performance and the other for teaching, from the London College of Music and the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, respectively, and I had already written my first symphony amongst an assortment of other shorter pieces. So naturally, wanting to pursue a career as a clarinettist and composer, I dreamed of training at a music college.

But my mother had other ideas, as she had intended for me to go to university! She would always say that a degree would open more doors for me than a music college diploma.[10] Thankfully, all of my family's efforts counterbalanced the extreme battles that we had to endure through my school (and university) days. I remember the days where virtually all my schoolteachers would constantly give me lower marks than I deserved[11] and in the early days, my mother would have to traipse in and challenge these grades.[12] That was until I fell in with a mixed group of competitive and ambitious boys of colour (mostly) who were also fed up with being under-marked. Looking back on those days, my falling into this crowd, well small group of five, was pivotal to my development and embryonic awareness of critical race studies because the friendly competition between us driving us to outdo each other's grades made up for the total lack of expectation that our teachers had

for us.[13] For example, like too many young black boys/men, I was told in my last year at school that I would never get into a university.[14]

So, at school, we became known as the "one percent" boys because we would regularly challenge our teachers to justify why they had down-marked our work whilst positively rewarding others for the same answers! We were quite happy to be regarded as troublemakers by the teachers because we desperately wanted those lost 'one percents'! One peer in par-ticular inspired me by his grit because he resolutely refused to be phys-ically bullied because of his Pakistani heritage. His implacable sense of identity was at times truly heroic. These were indeed the bad old days that led to our school being dubbed the "school of shame" for a fatal racist stabbing that had occurred when I was in my final year, there.[15] The local and national press had sardonically named it after the then popular TV series "school of fame". However, the irony wasn't lost on my mum, as she had fought hard to send me to that school because of its glory years of having been a former grammar school. A fight made harder because it was not in my local school catchment area. The stabbing took place in the late 80s, which was a decade that would later be known for its national slew of riots against unfair police harassment predominantly against people of colour that took place in Brixton, in London, Moss Side in Manchester, Toxteth in Liverpool and other UK cities. The decade also became known for the landmark Scarman enquiry into the then 'rogue' actions of police. We had to wait around eighteen years for another landmark report prompted by another racial stabbing to be told what we already knew—that is, the actions of the police were indeed not rogue but institutional in terms of their systemic discriminatory treatment of people of colour.[16] Anyway, all of this I call the battling bit, at least *is* the usual story of those of us who hail from the Caribbean Diaspora….

My Discovery of Critical Race Studies and Stuart Hall

So imagine my awe when I later discovered Stuart Hall's work in my mum's study book collection when she was a mature student. It rep-resented an intellectual awakening for me where he introduced me to a whole new world of black writers, such as Paul Gilroy, Homi K.

Bhabha, Cornel West, bell hooks, Frantz Fanon, Marcus Garvey and more. Stuart Hall, the Jamaican-born cultural theorist, sometimes known as the Godfather of cultural studies, who was also one of the founders of the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies immediately grabbed me with the importance he attached to culture as a viable seat of knowledge—my Caribbean British culture.

This was a whole new critical discourse that gave me permission to ask questions about myself and my cultural identity. Questions like, why weren't we taught about pre-slavery Caribbean and African history at school?[17] And why was it assumed that people who looked like me were devoid of any academic potential and why were we only pushed into sports?[18] Hall was inspiring me to ask these questions from the perspective of someone from the Caribbean. This resonated with me as rather naively before encountering Stuart Hall, I was unaware of such a critical black perspective—although now looking back my family did practise this perspective if not theorise it. My family's constant emphasis on education was reflected in Hall's work, as he mentored me in my critical thinking about my own identity as a Black Briton because as a Black Briton to stand a chance of making it in anyway, I had to be educated and not just educated but extremely well educated. He gave me the courage to think about and challenge mainstream views about my national and cultural British identities (for example, the low expectations of those around me at school[19]) *and* make sense of the sacrifices my family had made for my education.

Hall encouraged me to ask questions about who had the power to make things the way they were[20]—and still are, despite appearances. Questions about why this power had the ability to touch my life in such negative ways. Of course, I am talking about structural racism, the ever-present cloud under which many from the Caribbean diaspora (and beyond) live.[21]

Stuart Hall's Impact on My Work as a Composer and an Emerging Critical Race Scholar

As a community musician and composer, I have worked across a vast spectrum of community areas exploring forms of advocacy and

self-empowerment in settings ranging from adults with learning disA-bilities and special needs to mental health projects and psychiatric units, grass roots community education groups, residential care settings, head injury units, physical disAbility centres, youth clubs, schools, nurseries and universities. However, the one area where Hall's work had really helped me was in my early work with young male offenders in the Sonic [db] Music Technology in Prisons project.[22]

Helping young people to write and record their own music, Hall showed me how to use music to chart our cultural histories and their journeys towards this wonderful hybridity, we call urban culture. This was my first project that used music to help the young men I worked with to examine their cultural identities and attitudes towards hom-ophobia, misogyny and racism and the impact of all of that on their criminal behaviour.[23]

This project in the young offenders' institution very much marked the beginning of my conscious journey towards becoming a critical race scholar because it put me into contact with young boys on the cusp of adulthood who unlike me, did not fall into a competitive educa-tion-obsessed clique at school. Who unlike me did not have a mother who pushed hard against the education system to give her son the best chance she could. Who unlike me didn't have a passion for music that enabled me to develop my other personal and intellectual qualities against a backdrop of unfettered disinterest. However, I later discovered that they did indeed have a passion for music and it was in this project that we were able to share a cultural space to truly explore the develop-ment of their personal and intellectual qualities.

Over the years, I developed into a scholar whose work is heavily informed by his grassroots activism. Since my project with the young offenders, my work with community groups from disadvantaged back-grounds has led me further away from asking theoretical questions about the nature of disadvantage because I have grown to understand that intense theorising of this sort (by itself) does little to improve the lower health, education and employment outcomes of these communities. So, the activist in me drives towards finding ways of using my scholarly knowledge in service of finding practical, on-the-ground solutions to the structural challenges faced by the communities with whom I work.[24]

Discussion of Some of the Themes, So Far: A Theoretical Hinterland

A Heritable Identity

See Austin-Broos (1994, p. 219) for discussion about Jamaica's "heritable identity", where the notion of race and class meet within the specifically creolised context of Jamaica. Austin-Broos argues that although Jamaican social hierarchy is undoubtedly rooted in notions of race, as signalled by skin colour and phenotype (e.g. Smith M. G. 1984; Hoetink 1973; Alexander 1977; Smith R. T. 1982, 1987; Douglass 1992), the notion of "heritable identity" focuses on learned beliefs and behaviours, gained initially from racialised (colour-coded) identities, which are then transmitted between generations. Austin-Broos contends that it is actually those beliefs and behaviours, which more strongly place and fix the subject within Jamaica's creolised hierarchy and she calls this 'class'. Within this thesis, Austin-Broos identifies two categories of "heritable identity" that seem to form Jamaican social stratifications (p. 221); category one—"….the civilizing power of colonialism [that] has not entirely reached the black lower classes" and category two—"'black working class' proposes that disadvantage….is the inheritance of the poor and black". Austin-Broos further identifies within category one, a middle class propensity for exclusively valuing individual achievement (e.g. educational attainment) as a means of overcoming historical structural challenges and within category two, a liberatory movement coming out of some sort of collectivist actions that are historically based (e.g. inspiration from slave rebellions), although still predicated on individual effort to a degree.

For me this is interesting because we are, in effect, discussing a psychic "disposition" (c.f. Bourdieu (1984, p. 26)) shaped by whiteness that is signalled by skin colour (colour tone). Franz Fanon's sociogeny (Maldonado Torres 2005) speaks to the interiority of a blackness that is created and shaped by whiteness within the subject that results in a deep sense of not having agency. Fanon's work with his patients would have entailed his facilitation of their finding of their agency by

restructuring their interior landscapes outside of references to whiteness. What Austin-Broos seems to be describing with her "heritable identity" is the interior psychic landscapes of the subjects that are honed by whiteness. Whiteness as a 'civilising' power that emphasises individual effort (to escape structural oppression) obviously becomes even more pernicious, when lighter skin tones ascribe this interior quality (narrative) to the subject, whether they want it or not.

However, this proximity to whiteness appears to confer privilege to the subject, in so doing making their psychological adjustment to the racial hierarchy palatable. In market terms, whiteness acts as a derivative of 'individuality' or market freedoms (Clennon 2016), which goads the market actor into thinking that they have the complete market freedom to enact their individuality (Simmel 1971). On the other end of the spectrum, blackness as ascribed to darker skinned subjects, encapsulates the struggles and lack of agency of slavery and somehow 'traps' the subject in that particular part of the market (i.e. having no market freedoms or individuality). It is interesting to observe how this market tendency appeared in Austin-Broos' study, where she did not record (from her working-class subjects) an explicit "heritable indentity" of the privileges accorded by proximities to whiteness because they were somehow tacitly assumed to be gained by individual effort (e.g. engagement with education, adherence to civility codes of conduct etc.), although silently still signalled by skin tone. But her middle-class subjects were all too eager to ascribe a "heritable indentity" of blackness that comprised collective struggle and failure, in an almost fatalistically determined way that although is signalled by skin tone, also exists independently of it (and is somehow 'portable'). A sort of negatively '(in)heritable' blackness but a positively 'earned' (proximity to) whiteness (whose '(in)heritability' is disavowed). For a market transformation of this idea, see Clennon (2015a, p. 46) for an account of the market commodification of Baudrillardian "sign value" and how distorted 'historical memories' can be traded positively or negatively in the (cultural) market to influence institutional ethea.

So it would appear that the strict racial delineations of interior qualities, generated by polygenism, that was imposed on the original African slaves in Caribbean, through miscegeny have been replaced with a 'quasi genetic coding' of the interior qualities (self-stories or distorted

'historical memories') themselves, almost acting as proxies for race within the hierarchy of colourism in Jamaica (and the Caribbean more widely). It is this that Austin-Broos calls "heritable identity" and says this is more class than race based. However, I would definitely contend that these (later-distorted) historical memories were born out of the treatment that was derived directly from the process of racialisation and hierarchical subordination. So these psychic narratives are still race-produced in terms of their liminal manifestations of whiteness (c.f. Fanon's sociogeny and Du Bois' double consciousness) within the subject.

Ironically, the fact that my middle-class Jamaican family, whose "heritable identity" will have been shaped by the enduring myth of whiteness' self responsibilation (in terms of individual effort and its rewards) and who also chose to leave Jamaica for the Mother Country (supposedly) laden with opportunities, must have indeed been given a rude awakening when upon arrival, *their* skin tone ascribed to them the very same "heritable identity" that they will have societally reserved for their darker-skinned compatriots 'back home'. Elsewhere, (see Clennon (2017)) I write about my interpretation of CLR James' polemics that strongly implies that class is an economic sub-structural expression of race, where race is the fundamental building block of capitalism.

The Myth of Black Under-Attainment in the Academy, a 'Heritable Identity'?

Austin-Broos' 'heritable identities' thesis can be seen at play in the UK's Higher Education sector. See Millward (2018) for an account of 'black' under-attainment at universities. However, even though, in their study Richardson et al. (2015, p. 570) found that there was "no evidence that ethnic minority students received feedback on their assignments that was not commensurate with the marks that they had been awarded for those assignments", they did find that "the black students tended to receive more negative reactions". Richardson et al. do admit that further study needed to have been conducted to ascertain the reasons behind this observation in their study. However, perhaps in response to this observation, Bhopal (2018) says that the culture within universities as a whole needs to be

changed to acknowledge their structural tendencies to marginalise some of their ethnic minority students. Even though Richardson, et al. did not find any discrepancies between feedback and grades, they did not investigate the level of support given to students before the submission of assessments. Although the study does appear to have tracked feedback for formative assessments of coursework (in addition to their summative assessments), it would have been interesting to see just how much structured support was given to students before all of their assessment points.

How, in terms of the spirit, this structured support is delivered, will very much depend on the cultural environment of the institution. So, Bhopal (2018) suggests that in order to change (often) exclusionary cultural environments of universities, there needs to be an acknowledgement of racism in the first place (e.g. see Madriga, (2018)), unconscious bias training to tackle personal prejudice, better accountability to tackle structural biases and more diversity of senior leadership both academic and management.

On this last point about the diversity of senior leadership, Khan (2017) notes that the lack diversity of staff in leadership stems from the disparity between the numbers of ethnic minority and white 2:1 degree awards. Khan argues that graduates with lower degrees are less likely to pursue postgraduate study, less likely to gain employment in academia and are also less likely to be promoted. For me, tackling the lack of diversity of senior leadership is a good start. However, it is ultimately meaningless without structural change (also see Hall (1996)). It is structural change that will actually empower ethnic minority leaders (*if* they so choose) to facilitate the changes necessary to create more inclusive environments. Deborah Gabriel, as cited by Kahn (2017) intimates this when she says, "[w]hen you present students with different ideas that don't sync with their view of the world, it's going to be less comfortable for you because you're challenging the very thing which has become their norms." Gabriel could also well have been talking about staff!

Coloniality of Whiteness in the Academy

However, the problem goes deeper than 'representation versus agency' because the 'coloniality of whiteness' (adapting Quijano's (2000) idea)

is a more entrenched obstacle to remove. Elsewhere, (Clennon 2015a, p. 92) I write that Quijano's "coloniality of power" is a description of "a Eurocentric tool of hegemony used by the colonisers to colonialise their subjects in their ways of thinking and being". Quijano locates this coloniality in Enlightenment and later German Philosophical values and the Atlantic slave trade emergence of the 'modern world'. Although 'whiteness' was forged from these beginnings (and even from before in embryonic form during the Crusades with Christendom and early Orientalism (Appiah 2016)) I am more interested in its market morphology where domination is characterised by keeping socially dead (Graeber 2006) market actors fragmented by hyper-complex (Hayek 1976) or hyper-surveilled (Bentham 1787) market structures. See Chapters 3 and 6, for more discussion. It is whiteness' market transformation that exhorts marketeers to paradoxically come together (unite) in their individual "pursuit of happiness" that interests me the most.

In the market place, market actors who can adopt positions closest to 'whiteness' (masquerading as 'market freedoms' aka 'pursuits of happiness') will reap the greatest rewards (profits). So, the market with both Bourdesian and Foucauldian institutional powers will inevitably try to *interpellate* the actor into market submission. In the real world setting of academia, this means that many ethnic minority senior leaders will submit to the (market) 'coloniality of whiteness' because it keeps them in their (precarious) positions with what influence they might have. Here, we can see that the wages of success (or 'racial tax', c.f. Akom (2008)) for an ethnic minority actor within a predominantly white (market) space is one of constant negotiation and existential compromise with what is essentially an invisible (and malevolent) set of norms (Puwar 2004).

This is what a (whiteness derived) market hegemony looks like. On top of all of this, black *graduates* are two and a half times more likely than their white counterparts to be unemployed (Allen 2016) and will on average earn £7000 a year less than their white peers (Andrews 2018b). My mum's Jamaican middle-class "heritable identity" centred around education, despite her best intentions, seemed all the more based on the myth of self-responsibilisation.

Anti-Racist School Policies in the 1980s

If we now move from university to secondary school education, we can read Gillborn (1995) and Modood and May (2001) for contextual accounts of the antiracist policies in education in the eighties. However, imagine my surprise to learn that my school, Burnage High, the site of the racist stabbing, had a landmark report written about it (MacDonald et al. 1989). And in that report, the school's antiracist policy was being criticised. Having actually attended Burnage High in that very same year in question, imagine (again) my disbelief in discovering that my school actually had an antiracist policy! The report's criticism of my school's policy as being; essentialist in terms of rooting itself in static ideas about race at the expense of class and gender, focusing on a black and white binary and petrifying white agency by blaming "all" white people, would perhaps explain why I had felt no benefit whatsoever from having an antiracist policy in the school.

Looking back on it now, of course, in the eighties we can see that there was a type of performative (in the non-Butlerian sense) multiculturalism consisting of the infamous "samosas, saris and steelbands" variety (Alibhai-Brown 2000), where only brushstroke superficial cultural proxis for race (Balibar 1991) were engaged with. This superficial treatment of 'culture as spectacle' within a black and white dichotomy only served to paper over the important differences in cultural narratives, as played out by the lived experiences of the components of the acronym BAME (Black, Asian, Minority Ethnic). This is illustrated by Modood and May's observation of how 'blackness' was at the time and has been since, rejected by certain sections of the British South Asian community only to be adopted and appropriated as a political term of self-identification, more recently (also see Hall (1996)).

However, the Burnage report's criticism of the school's black/white dichotomy was indeed accurate because such an oversimplification made no room for "anti-blackness", which either appears as the previously discussed 'heritable identity' or as a specific form of colourism, as practiced by some South Asian communities, used to discriminate within caste systems or against people of African descent (see Chapter 5's Hinterland discussions about 'political blackness'). On the other hand, the report's criticism about white racism and its stultifying culpability was very

much of its time before a concept of institutional or systemic racism was widely understood. So criticising white culpability as an inhibitor of racial agency is only partially true if looking at the problem from the individual level of prejudice. What the report was not quite able to grasp at the time, were the overarching structures of whiteness that pervaded the school, which (un)consciously enabled racist practices (in the playground and in the classroom) to flourish with impunity despite its anti-racist policies. But hindsight is a wonderful thing, of course!

The Black Role Model in Schools and Whiteness

In attempting to raise ethnic educational aspirations in schools, Odih (2002) warns against an uncritical approach to using role models, especially 'black' male role models because of the temptation to essentialise black masculinity into a particular form of cis-gendered heteronormativity. Also see Chapter 5's Hinterland discussions about Black Radical education. However, see Doharty (2015), Demie (2005), Rhamie and Hallam (2002), and Rhamie (2012) for examples of how teaching ethnic minority children about their culture and heritage within and outside school can often act as a successful insulation against the many structural barriers of mainstream education. Also see Chapter 4's Hinterland discussion about 'connected histories' and Ubuntu.

As will be discussed in Chapter 3, this essentialised form of black masculinity is tightly controlled by 'whiteness'. This latter point is particularly interesting because it speaks to an intriguing intersection of ideas around knowledge and its (somatic) embodiment. In using black male role models to improve attainment through aspiration (via the Lacanian 'imago' see Clennon (2016) and Chapter 6), we are beginning to associate a particular type of black masculinity with a process of knowledge (co)production that is acceptable to the market (i.e. racial patriarchy). This is an example of how a Baudrillardian 'sign value' (in this case, the black male body) can be repurposed for further market exploitation. The erstwhile image of the 'black man' as 'brute' and 'animal' that was historically constructed using hyper-exaggerated and distorted qualities of the 'black' male body, (which most obviously reflected the psyche of the viewer (i.e. fear see Fanon (1986 [1952])),

originally served to keep the 'black man' from achieving psychic agency by reducing him to his body (parts). The damaging echo of this type of objectification had been felt up until recently, in education with young black males rejecting mainstream 'education' because of its perceived contradictions to their curated 'black' cis-gendered heteronormative masculinities (Clennon 2013; Frosh et al. 2002).

However, with the uncritical use of the 'black' male role model, we now have a toned down (and admittedly less hyper) cis-gendered heteronormative image of the 'black man' but this time 'he' is used to engender participation and success within mainstream education (in terms of attainment). In presenting this version of black masculinity as the *only* viable type that can successfully negotiate the knowledge market, we are, in effect, citizenising our young black boys into gatekeeping a racial patriarchy that has constructed and intentionally frozen them into this type of ('respectable') black masculinity (i.e. forcing them into submission whilst simultaneously gaining their loyalty by bestowing upon them market benefits, although not full benefits, according to Andrews (2018b)), in so doing exhorting them to disassociate other different types of black masculinities (and gender orientations that are unsettling to the market) with successful knowledge (co)production, see Hall 1996, p. 45, "black radical politics has frequently been stabilised around particular conceptions of black masculinity, which are only now being put into question by black women and black gay men". Also see Andrews (2018a, p. 169) who echoes Hall, "[t]he more serious, critique the idea of essentialism…for Blackness…There is no space in this logic for men who are not protectors, women who are not domesticated or anyone who is not straight and reproducing the Black family". Also see Clennon (2017); Chapter 6 for a discussion about fundamental Garveyism and a contemporary construction of Fanon's 'sociogeny' that counters it.

So, the idealised 'black' male role model (when used uncritically) moves from being the 'brute' of the market (via the joker/buffoon trope) to the 'house slave' of the market (see Chapter 5's Hinterland discussion for Robinson's "Negro"). Here, I am deliberately evoking Tarantino's "Stephen" trope (Sher et al. 2012), as a hyperbolic example, in order to emphasise the deeply insidious impact of this repurposing of 'sign value' beneath the apparent surface 'respectability' of success and aspiration.

Becoming the "Ideal" Student (Whilst 'Black')

See Archer (2008) for an account of how the ethnic minority "ideal pupil" still manages to be pathologised into deficit even when performing academically well. In her study, Archer reports how some of the teachers that she interviewed pathologised Chinese pupils as being too passive in their approach to work to the extent that they were even described as machines, in so doing undermining their academic success by somehow ascribing an inherent lack of value to their work ethic.

On the other hand, Muslim and Black children were described as being too loud and aggressively hyper(hetero)sexual as a pathological reason for their relative lack of the academic attainment. This seems to demonstrate the law (taste) making powers (the habitus) of whiteness that in order to survive in terms of *its* pathological desire to master (Altman 2006) it needs to create a disavowed opposition to itself to justify its desire for mastery and as a result will arbitrarily change the rules of engagement to do this. Pathology comes into the picture because whiteness will invent a subject to master, even if there isn't one, in order to maintain its very existence but crucially, cannot admit to what has become its "passionate attachment" (Butler 1997, p. 4) to that which it subordinates. So, in market terms, negative 'sign values' (cultural narratives) were applied to all of the ethnic minority children in the study, irrespective of their performance. In differing ways their access to the 'market' was restricted; not high enough grades and lacking (innate) intelligence or too high grades but lacking (innate) creativity, where innate intelligence and creativity are markers of whiteness or 'universal' humanity. Also read Fukui (2018) for a great account of how the pressure of being a dehumanised 'model minority' causes her great frustration and anger.

So, being told to work harder to achieve the same recognition as my white peers was always going to be ultimately futile without the means of keeping the goal posts fixed! I suppose this was the middle-class Jamaican self-responsibilising effect of whiteness ('heritable identity') rearing its ugly head, yet again.

"Who Had the Power to Make Things the Way They Were?"

The Analogue Market and 'Common Sense'

In order to grapple with the answer to this question, see Hall (1986) for his rereading of Classical Marxism that attempts to transpose the ideas of the market structure across to social relations in real world settings. Hall argues that ideology is neither fixed to a certain class nor fixed in itself but is most powerfully defined in real word settings by its appearance of being "common sense". It is only when it is accepted as "common sense" that ideology can connect with people and effect social change. However, what constitutes "common sense" is contestable (and synthetic) and is also a movable feast of 'positioning'. Hall takes us through his reading of Marx to explain that the nexus of power relies on the ability to position ideology as "common sense" (in the sense of Althusserian interpellation) whilst being fully aware that ideological ideas can mean different things to different people at different times. Hall advocates that understanding how "common sense" is accepted and internally adopted requires the use of a psychoanalytical register. Who can successfully manage this (Gramscian) positioning (more commonly known as hegemony) successfully wields societal power. Hall also reminds us that Marx warns us that the visible workings of the market (e.g. the receipt of wages) are only half the story (so not a lie or 'deception', per se), as the hidden or invisible parts of the market (e.g. the extraction of surplus labour) are what really drive the market. Hall also says that ideology that can enlighten both the visible and hidden parts of the system is the most useful (powerful). I would tentatively argue, however, that those who wield power are able to do this precisely because of the anonymity that the hidden part of the market gives them and with having the market privilege to see (nearly) the whole picture via a complete ideology, it is also in their interests to keep what is hidden, hidden.

In direct response to Hall, Larrain (1996) on the other hand, understands ideology as a specific device whose job is to mask or to hide the contradictions of the market. Larrain locates the Marxist view of the 'market' of consisting of appearances whilst its inner workings are the 'production'.

So, for Larrain, Marx sees ideology as an 'inversion' where the market in terms of its appearance (of freedom, equity, property and Bentham) is portrayed as the reality not the production (which constitutes the material 'reality' of the market). So, ideology in this sense is not about what is visible and what is unseen, it is more about the presentation of this 'inversion' as a reality. Crucially, Larrain argues that ideology is not used as a conscious device by the ruling classes, as they are equally unaware of the inversion because it is a spontaneous product of the market itself. Larrain is keen to point out that ideology should not be conflated with false consciousness because ideology is a specific distortion 'designed' to conceal the true market relations that are generated by inversion, whereas false consciousness can have other more general connotations involving error or deceit. However, I would argue that Larrain and Hall are both talking about a "common sense" positioning, whether derived by intentional obscuration or systemic inversion. For the sake of simplicity (using an easier to grasp image as shorthand), I will characterise this description as an 'analogue' version of the market. See Austin (2018) for a classic example of our modern analogue market 'inversion' of drugs, their supply and their middle-class consumption.

The Digital Market, 'Common Sense' and The Way Things Are, Now!

This idea of the "common sense" is important to me because of its implications on Thatcherism (the period in which I grew up, from which my political questions came about). Up until the late seventies, due to the post-war settlement, capitalism became stagnant as the traditional relationships between capital and labour (i.e. the 'cosy' but superficially combative relationship between the unions and corporatists) began to slow down accumulation (see Clennon (2017); Chapter 4 for an account of this process). So, to shake things up, Thatcher had to return to pre-1945 economics of market administration. In order to shrink the state in favour of the markets, to stimulate growth, ironically Thatcher had to present the 'inversion' of the market as a 'common sense' *ideology*. In other words, Thatcherite ideology promoted the idea that it was 'common sense' to generate individual wealth (and a stronger national economy via a dramatic increase in consumer spending) with

the necessary components of freedom, equity, property and self-interest (Bentham) which she also promoted as 'crucial' democratic building blocks for creating a 'free democratic' nation. This ideology masked the (negative) *reality* of production that entailed longer working hours for less pay, weakening of workers' rights, the increase of debt via borrowing, the profiteering from debt etc. by promoting the (positive) *appearance* of the (free) market and the generation of profit. So, in order to make sure that the market had free reign to administer services that once were run by the state (i.e. New Public Management, see Archer and Francis (2007)), in so doing expanding its reach, Thatcher had to invent political imperatives that would justify the defence of the expanded rule of the market. Larrain (1996, p. 68) sums this up really well and is worth directly quoting:

> Hence the new ideological forms, which emphasise the sense of authority, hard work, law and order, family and tradition, Victorian values, patriotism: a strong nation which defeats the enemy within (trade unions) and the enemy without (Argentinians). These forms serve as devices to misunderstand and displace the real origin of those conflictive manifestations and to justify the way in which they are dealt with….Thus unemployment is treated as laziness and pricing yourself out of a job, workers' strikes are transformed into a problem of public order. Criminality and new forms of violence are treated as the result of lack of authority in the family, not enough law and order, lack of Victorian values…

So for me, the embedded social inequalities in the market (Coburn 2004) had indeed found political support in their existential defence. And these 'authoritarian' policies that for example had manifested in more "law and order" for some members of my family who at the time were being disproportionately stopped and searched by the police under the then 'suss laws' because of a supposed "lack of authority in the family", began to make sense, in this review of Thatcherite ideology. So the structural racism that I felt keenly as a child, not least at school can be described as the result of a sharp return of postcolonialism (signalled by imperial (neo)Victorian values) rebooted as advanced capitalism and early neoliberalism. Of course, I am strongly implying here

that an economic return to postcolonial values of the Victorian kind, signals an explicit link between the market and whiteness, as the latter's colonial values are given a fresh market-supported political mandate. See Clennon (2017); Chapter 3 for a fuller account of synthetic nation building via contemporary domestic colonialism. If we continue down the line of Thatcherite 'ideology' as 'inversion' (i.e. promotion of 'appearances' via the transformation of the worker into a consumer), then we can't ignore the prime importance of 'appearances' in our (postmodern) contemporary market.

Today, Baudrillard's (1998 [1970]) important work around consumerism (and the centrality of 'appearance'), where he replaces the four pillars of Classical Marxism with four equally compelling descriptors of market value (i.e. function, exchange, sign and symbolic) and consumer-relations, occupies a particular 'common sense' resonance. We are currently living in a market-driven era where 'appearance' is now everything. So, as consumers, it is our relationship to the product that has the most importance not how it was produced. Appearance has now become a tradable commodity in terms of how well the product appears to work (function), how much it is apparently worth in relation to other products (exchange), how much apparent value the product has to the consumer (sign) and finally, what the product says about the consumer and *their* apparent worth (symbolic). So, Marxian 'inversion' is no longer about the 'appearance' of a market of products (and services) but is now about how those products, themselves are *perceived*. So, (to stress, again) value is now generated and categorised by perception ('appearance') rather than by the products or their relationships (e.g. see Cole (2018) for the deleterious material effects of "appearances" on Black women's mental health). So the market in effect, becomes a holographic representation that forms its own reality that varyingly relates to but is disconnected from the products themselves and by extension, lies even further away from their production (e.g. Cole's (2018) "appearances" seeming to do more harm in her account than the (inverted) structural effects of discrimination, themselves! Or see Webster's (2017) account of how "motivation porn" has obscured market inequality with "appearances" of grit and determination that are presented as genuine

mitigating factors. In this particular instance, we are clearly discussing Bourdieu's symbolic violence; see Chapter 4).

To understand and navigate this holographic operation in the market, Baudrillard's 1981 *Simulacra and Simulation* characterises this market representation ('appearance') into four orders (of magnitude) namely; faithful reproduction, intentional distortion, covert deceptive distortion (masquerading as a faithful reproduction) and overt deceptive distortion (that is self-referential). Elsewhere, (Clennon 2015a) I write about market 'sign value' within the context of Baudrillardian simulation to describe the process of the market commodification of cultural narratives 'embodied' by market 'signs' and 'signifiers' of market products such as the 'black male body', perhaps explaining why and how certain narratives (i.e. imbued 'signs' such as the synonymity of the 'black male body' with inherent deviancy, as in 'black boys are troublemakers and lack academic aptitude') are so difficult to overcome within our now market-driven institutions (see Chapter 3). For the sake of simplicity (using an easier to grasp image as shorthand), I will characterise this description as a 'digital' version of the market. Also see Chapter 6, notes 11 and 16 about the pathological tendency of whiteness to "empty out" the interiority of the 'black' subject.

Conclusion

In this chapter, using the briefest outline of some of the key moments of my growing awareness of structural racism (and what was later to become an awareness of whiteness), I have marked out some of the areas in which whiteness operated in my childhood and early adulthood. In the next chapter, I will use a case example from the Sonic [db] Music Technology project that I briefly mentioned, here. In the next chapter, I will also begin a discussion that more fully explores what whiteness is, as I attempt to synthesise my previous ideas around an artificial form of blackness, for which I have previously coined the term, Afro Neo Romanticism. I will also begin to outline a pathological analysis of whiteness, its market transformation and its role in the administration of the societal 'racial contract'.

Notes

1. See Chapter 1 about the Windrush.
2. For assumptions around the "typical" when it referring to West Indian children we can infer from Rampton (1981, p. 13) that

> there seemed to be a fairly widespread opinion among teachers to whom we spoke that West Indian pupils inevitably caused difficulties. These pupils were, therefore, seen either as problems to be put up with or, at best, deserving sympathy. Such negative and patronising attitudes, focusing as they do on West Indian children as problems, cannot lead to a constructive or balanced approach to their education. Teacher education, both initial and in-service, by concentrating on the difficulties of multi-racial schools, has done little to encourage more positive attitudes towards West Indian children.

The above excerpt from the report broadly cites non-structural racism in terms of widespread individual prejudice as a main factor for West Indian lower attainment levels. The report did intimate that certain structural barriers, such as lack of decent preschool provision, were also to blame for lower attainment. Lower teacher-expectation and lower recognition of academic potential were also cited as elements contributing to the attainment disparity between West Indian children and the rest. However, the report did bravely (and unpopularly) call for a re-evaluation of the then GCE and CSE curricula to better reflect the UK's increasing multicultural demographic. This is significant because Rampton is at pains to make clear that because these West Indian children are British born, "[t]hey are therefore in no way 'immigrants'. They are a permanent and integral part of our society which has a responsibility to ensure as satisfactory an education for them as for any other British child" (p. 3). In the context of the last chapter's outline of the Windrush scandal, this sentiment in 1981 is all the more significant. In the later 1985 Swann Report (p. 29), we do see an early admission of

> [I]nstitutional racism [that] is just as much a cause for concern as the prejudiced attitudes which some individuals may hold since the establishment, in this way, of racism within the 'system' itself can serve to reinforce, to magnify and to perpetuate such attitudes even where individual attitudes may be open to change. It is, for example, harder to convince individuals of the damaging effects

which their actions may have on particular groups of children if they can argue that they are simply 'following the normal procedure' and therefore cannot in any way be said to be prejudiced against a particular group.

The excerpt above, is important not only because it contradicted the earlier landmark 1981 Scarman report (that concluded that "institutional racism" did not exist) but because it did introduce the idea of "institutional racism" (albeit in the context of education) fourteen years before the landmark 1999 MacPherson police report.

3. See discussion.
4. See Clennon (2018) for details about a research project that looks at pre-arrival Windrush-expectations of education for their children and how those expectations adapted to their lived experiences of the UK educational system. Also see Mckenley (2001) for an account of some of the forgotten voices from the Windrush era who talk about their experiences of education from the perspectives of child, parent and statutory provider. Also see note 2.
5. See Vincent et al. (2013) for an account of the subtle forms of racism that 'black' parents face when negotiating their children's education with their schools. They argue that race is not an add on to class but actually effects how class itself is transacted.
6. See discussion.
7. See Chapter 1.
8. See James (2012), Harris-Perry (2011), Coles and Green (2010), Kennelly (1999) for accounts of how this damaging stereotype exacerbates social and racial inequalities in both the workplace and in education.
9. See note 2.
10. See discussion.
11. See note 6.
12. See Crozier (2005) for contextual examples of these battles from a parent's perspective.
13. See note 2.
14. I got into the University of Edinburgh that year, with the highest mark in the then music faculty entrance exam and my three-movement symphony also impressed, the late Reid Professor, Kenneth Leighton, who later went on to tutor me in composition in my first year.
15. See discussion.
16. See note 2.

17. See discussion.
18. From an early age, my music saved me from this fate—as choir and orchestra rehearsals seemed to trump extra-curricula track and field activities in our school.
19. See note 2.
20. See discussion.
21. See discussion.
22. See Lee (2007) for a BBC Radio interview that gives a great account of the project. Also see Clennon (2015b). Also see Chapter 3.
23. As a composer, Hall's thinking helped me to understand the cultural significance of what we call urban music; its "cut and mix" (Hall 1996, p. 447) genius, which naturally lends itself to inclusivity and "multi-culturalism". I was particularly blown away by his take on 'articulated' (Hall 1986b) discourse because his use of this discursive tool reminded me of a master musician riffing on a theme until he uncovers another and yet another until he reaches the master theme, to which all the previous themes belonged. Hall would call this a "line of tendential force" (Hall 1986b, p. 53). In my musical work with communities and especially with young people, Hall taught me to be mindful and to (be) 'articulate' in using music to chart our cultural histories and their journeys towards this wonderful hybridity, we call urban culture. Instead of bemoaning the appropriation of my musical heritage by the popular mainstream, Hall taught me to take pride in my culture's huge influence in shaping the culture of modern Britain. Perhaps, as importantly, Hall showed me how to 'articulate' the stories of my cultural heritage as heard through the transitions of ska, rocksteady and the early sound systems of the UK dancehalls, who produced the Toasters and Masters of Ceremonies, who we now know as MCs.

    Hall's views about the hybridity of my Caribbean heritage were liberating because he taught me to celebrate the diversity and innovation of my cultural heritage (see Chapter 5, note 7). All the things about my cultural heritage and history that were somehow communicated to me, through my formal education, as being "genetically or environmentally inferior" (Darder 1991, p. 3) he taught me to see them as strengths. He taught me to see how the dynamic process of hybridisation of my cultural heritage or as he called it the "diaspora experience" (Hall 1996, p. 447) continues until this present day to shape the modern Britain, in which I live. He taught me to really appreciate and defend the 'new

ethnicities' and new cultures in the UK that my creolised cultural heritage has helped to shape.

As the so-called 'God father of multiculturalism', Hall managed to make the work of Williams and Thompson (especially, Thompson (2018)) relevant to me. He brought to life the common struggles of the white working classes and the then newly-arrived Caribbean sons and later daughters of the Mother country but with a subtle nuance which acknowledged their (and our) differences.

24. See Choudry (2015) for an excellent analysis of the different types of formal and situated learning that are generated by the various agents in social movements.

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Whiteness: The Relationship Between the Market and Blackness

Abstract In this chapter, Ornette D. Clennon uncovers the invisibility of whiteness in urban popular music, especially in the UK export of Grime. Clennon also demonstrates how the focused use of Liberation Psychology and a creative application of Freirean critical pedagogy can enable the subject to treat their personal histories as sites of liberation once they understand how the popular culture they consume can act as tools of oppression.

Keywords Whiteness · Liberation psychology · Critical pedagogy Conscientisation · Historical memory

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I described how whiteness subliminally shaped my upbringing. In this chapter, I will use a case example of my earlier work to show how interrogating 'urban music', and unpacking commercial 'blackness' led me to a deeper understanding of 'whiteness' as a theoretical construct with *material* effects.

Background

My professional and theoretical encounter with 'whiteness' started when I worked with young inmates from HMPYOI Werrington on a Grime music project as part of the Sonic [db] Music Technology in Prisons Project. It was then when I became intensely aware of the cultural importance of commercial 'blackness' and how it was shaped by an invisible 'whiteness'. The project ran for two years and has already been well summarised in my previous writings, *"Keeping it Real": Liberation through Creativity and resistance* and *Holdin' On: A case study into performing masculinities at a young offenders' institution*. So, in this chapter, I will borrow from these works to form a case example of how an arts-led educational project was used as a vehicle to open out and explore deeper discussions about 'whiteness' and its role in shaping Urban Culture and 'Black Masculinities'.

So, to provide some background to the project[1]

Sonic [db] Music Technology Project [was] a unique music technology and music industry programme that took place in Youth Offending Institutions across Staffordshire and Stoke on Trent. Staffordshire Arts and Museum Service and Make Some Noise set up Sonic [db] with additional help from Arts Council England, West Midlands.

In this project, we worked as a multidisciplinary staff team that included artists, researchers and an HMPYOI Werrington Education Officer, who integrated our work with the institution's education programme. Our sessions were also attended by Prison Officers who were assigned to assist us in moments of physical conflict. The young men, ("trainees") took part in creative writing and music technology activities. The way in which the music technology elements and creative writing activities were delivered was always trainee-led, with trainees encouraged to help and support each other even when this very act was a new social skill for them.

Our Creative Participatory Approach[2]

We used creative writing because

> It was through the structured use of creative writing sessions that an attempt was made at encouraging the trainees to examine their own thought processes and attitudes towards issues, such as gun crime, [that] they [had] brought to the group. Using their written material as a starting point, we were able to have discussions with the trainees about their lyrics and track developments in both their ideological and lyrical thinking.

Exploring Urban Music, Touching on Whiteness

We were very keen to explore the influence of the sort of music that they were listening to, in order to understand their cultural starting points.[3]

Here is an example of how one of our inmates reflected on commercial "blackness"[4]

> "Nigger" and Slavery
>
> F revealed that his upbringing has been challenging as he, his mum and brother moved from flat to flat on a regular basis. This transient upbringing led him to sell drugs in order to raise money for the family, in his earlier days. However, F soon found legal ways of making money through music (in partnership with a producer) by selling instrumental tracks to Producers, Managers and the like.
>
> F's family loves his music, which is not normally gun related. F said that he never uses the word "nigger" in his lyrics because it "creates more wars". When asked about the idea of reclaiming the word towards desensitising it, F said that he believed his peers are only "copying or using it to be offensive" and no real thought was put into its usage on their part. F said he would only use the word to refer to and contextualise Slavery.

> For F the word "nigger" opens up a line of thought towards his emerging Black consciousness (awareness of History). "It's good to know your roots" F said as he described that he was brought up by his white "nan". Because of his cultural awareness, the word "nigger" does not "phase" him. F's appreciation of Black History also manifests itself in his taste in music and how he feels that without Motown and the music of Sam Cooke there would be no hip hop, as he feels that especially the music of Sam Cooke deals with the experience of Slavery. *(Session 15 notes)*

The excerpt above is interesting for two reasons: F charts his own "recovery of historical memory"[5] (Martin-Baró 1994, p. 30) and the implied importance of his family.

The process of recovering "historical memory" as, will be discussed later, is very much akin to treating one's personal history as a set of cultural artefacts, from which deep knowledge of the self can be gained. See Chapter 4 where this process is called ethno-philosophy when applied to cultural reflexion, more widely.

The Recovery of Historical Memory

Rivera et al. (2013) write about both the contextual and symbolic use of language in defining the terms of personal liberation. They assert that 'language serves as a social mediator between the person and his/her community, and between the individual experience and the social order' (p. 33). In other words, for Rivera et al., language shapes an individual's perception of reality, so working within a liberation framework, it is really important to understand how an individual uses language. For F, "nigger" represents a historical narrative that encapsulates the experience of Black people during slavery. For F, the concept of the African Diaspora is one of hybridity, as he counts his "white nan" as part of his diasporic existence. Hall (1996) talks about the 'diaspora experience' which is about the 'process of unsettling, recombination, hybridisation and 'cut-and-mix' in short a process of cultural diaspora-isation' which is constantly trying to make sense of its reconstructed recollection of Africa. It is this 'cut-and-mix' view of his historical memory that F values and communicates through his use of the word nigger.

F's view of Hip Hop and its political debt to Sam Cooke illustrates the value that he attaches to this process of "cut-and-mix". As F says, "it's good to know your roots" because in this way, F can reclaim the value and esteem of his cultural heritage and carry that with pride as part of his resistance against the desire of the dominant power structure to use his historical memory to oppress him. It is F's process of "conscientisation" that enables him to challenge his peers about their more commercial usage of the word nigger, which "creates more wars" and involves "copying or using it to be offensive".

Exploring Black Masculinities, Touching on Whiteness

As we worked with the young men on their lyrics[6] themes around black masculinity and masculinities organically emerged in their writing. From their work, we explored what it meant to them to be a man. We found that for these young men being a "man" was inextricably linked to violence on the street. One inmate recounted the news of his cousin who got shot and how devastating it was for his aunt (his cousin's mother) and by extension for the rest of the family. The trauma that the young man suffered manifested itself into a resigned acceptance of 'that was how life on the 'streets' was meant to be and how that was not going to change'.[7] We found that their artistic expression in their music entrenched this feeling of resignation. We also found that being "tough"[8] was equated with keeping one's distance and not expressing one's emotions.[9]

Maintaining your 'distance'

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) describe the avoidance of any perceived vulnerability as an aspect of "hegemonic masculinity", which they describe as a constructed ideal of masculinity. They continue to explain that this concept of masculinity, originally postulated by Connell (1987), 'embodied the currently most honored way of being a man, it required

all other men to position themselves in relation to it and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men' (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p, 832). When we touched on homophobia during one of our lyric writing sessions, this performative[10] form of masculinity was played out 'through a series of hierarchical relations: rejection and suppression of femininity and homosexual desire, command and control' (Segal 1990, p. 205).

Homosexuality and homophobia

During the ILP (Individual Learning Plan) assessment, L expressed his personal views about Homosexuality and Religion. L said homosexuals should be stoned for being who they are. When challenged by OB [whose much loved and valued cousin is a lesbian], who asked him what his family would do if someone in the family were found to be gay, L said that his family would disown them. After a quiet intervention from the researcher, reminding him that people such as Hitler also held such views, L adjusted his thinking slightly and said that they would be punished by God but he himself did not condone harming (killing) them (or anyone else). L explained that he was conditioned to think in a homophobic way from his Jamaican upbringing and did not really know any other way of viewing the subject until the dialogue that ensued. *(Session 6 notes)*

What is interesting to note from above is how the process of problematisation encouraged the young men to think critically about where their homophobic opinions originated. This led one of the participants to defetishisise the culturally normed homophobic views being expressed by humanising the discussion with the introduction of his family. The almost redemptive or liberating effect of relocating their masculinities into the context of family will be discussed shortly.

Musically, the most prominent aspect of hegemonic masculinity was expressed in their attitudes towards those who were deemed to have broken their 'solidarity and the unwritten code' (Newton 1994, p. 195), usually constructed in opposition to the authority figures in the institution. The young men appeared to form a fratriarchy (patriarchy and fraternity combined) that Remy (1990) describes as a system "based simply

on the self-interest of the association of men itself." (p. 45). However, people perceived as breaking the solidarity of the fratriarchy were called "Snitches".

De-essentialising 'Black' Masculinity?

Some of the well-being outcomes of the project were as follows[11]:

> It would appear that liberation for the young men came from thinking about the impact of their actions on their families. The need to be part of a family unit and the desire to show people how they felt seemed to be important turning points in the reconstruction of their masculinities and a force for resistance against the hegemonic masculinities they were encouraged to perform whilst on the inside.

> Being deprived of their family's everyday love and support seemed to galvanise the intentions of some of the young men towards personal reform. Here is a brief case example of one young person's journey that illustrates liberation and personal reform.

> OB's Discussion with the Researcher

> OB reflected on his previous behaviour prior to arriving at Werrington and said that it would be the main cause of problems for him upon his release, as he still maintains that people will have grudges against him so his working in Avenues [an out of hours Youth Project in London] will not be a smooth ride for him. OB said that he also would not have the same quality of time to write as he does in Werrington.

> However, OB feels that he has grown up in Werrington, as he has spent two and half years on the inside. He also recognises that some of the people on the outside who hold grudges against him will have also grown up and have jobs. OB agreed with the Researcher's assertion that he must show how he has changed by living his life differently by giving people respect and curbing his outbursts and frustrations at not being listened to. OB agreed that he had to find positive ways of expressing himself, as he

wants to achieve and not find himself back in jail. In order to facilitate a smooth transition to the outside, OB intends not to tell anyone from his wider community about his release for three to four months, whilst he sorts himself out.

OB was eager to record his new lyrics that he had written in the morning because he said that he was using words and writing about subjects that he had not done before. His remix of Holdin' On was about love and had a softer vibe to it, as it was inspired by Mariah Carey's *We Belong Together*. *(Session 20 notes)*

The excerpt above highlights two aspects of personal reform: improving well-being and conscientisation.

Improving well-being

OB felt that he had grown up over the two and half years he had spent at HMPYOI Werrington. Sonic [db] had helped him to reflect on the progress of his personal development, as he acknowledged that he had to find more constructive ways of expressing himself, especially when he was frustrated. OB's realisation about his ability to be creative rather than destructive in resisting adversity illustrated an important outcome of his discovery of a more diverse, inclusive and expressive form of masculinity.

Conscientisation

In OB's defetishisation process, he realised that as a human agent, he was able to make choices for himself about his future. In addition to looking at employment opportunities and joining youth projects, like Avenues (The Avenues Youth Project 2014), OB wanted to carry on the conscientisation process with other young people, as a means of helping them to make alternative lifestyle choices that did not lead to crime. This desire to "consciousness raise" with others seemed to be motivated by his personal 'recovery of historical memory' where he appeared to take responsibility for having been a "tear-away determined to follow his own path, when he was younger" and his reflections on the social and political context with respect to for example,

challenging homophobia in the group. Finally, OB's journey towards Liberation is musically reflected in the song, "Holdin' on" (HMPYOI Werrington Album 2007), the title of this chapter, where his more expressive and inclusive masculinity finally allowed him to write about love and relationships.

The case example above is significant because it was clear that the young people had been enculturated both on the inside and on the outside to consider themselves to be insignificant cogs (dehumanised elements) in a system of oppression that they were forced to maintain. Working in a creative way with the young men, enabled us to touch upon some of the complex and deep-seated issues around 'received' masculinities that kept them from realising their potential as self-determining human agents.

Discussion of Some of the Themes, So Far: A Theoretical Hinterland

Exploring Urban Music, Touching on Whiteness

So, it can be seen that the type of commercial 'blackness' found in much urban music (Grime and Hip hop) is an evolution of Cedric J Robinson's "Negro" (see Chapter 5's Hinterland discussion). As will be discussed later, the creation of the "Negro" was also the creation of 'whiteness' (also see Wallerstein (1997), (2003); Mignolo and Escobar (2010)). And it was this whiteness that controlled the (analogue) 'market'. In order for whiteness to maintain control of the market it had to 'invert' it (see Chapter 2's Hinterland discussion). As has also been discussed, in this 'analogue' market, the inversion became a 'common sense' (Marxian) ideology that 'concealed' its modes of production. However, the 'common sense' of this market ideology was crystallised and 'enforced' using the 'racial contract' (see Chapter 1's Hinterland discussion).

The Commercial Construction of the "Negro"

So, if we now move to the Baudrillardian 'digital' market of "appearances", then it is no longer the "Negro's" body that is the 'concealed' engine of the market but its image, "the black (fe)male body". It is in Baudrillard's consumer-led market of "appearances" or "simulations" that we see how these "sign values" of 'black' toxic masculinity are created, controlled and communicated. As will be later discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, the interiority of the then African subject was "emptied out" to form the "Negro" and this "Negro" husk was once again "emptied out" to form the 'black body'. Interestingly, via the widespread slave rebellions, the interiority of the "Negro" could not be entirely emptied out (thankfully) but their bodies were (perhaps) easier to violently bring under control (see Chapter 5's Hinterland discussion). However, in the 'holographic' market of "appearances", the rebellious "Negro" has been fully subdued by controlling its "image". It is now the 'image' that can be put to work for the market in much the same way as the 'body' used to be. So since this 'image' is in effect a market construct created and controlled by whiteness. The 'black body' is in effect 'whiteness' in 'black face' (Gubar 1997)—i.e. a "nigger". Fanon (1986 [1952], p. 6) saw exactly this when he said that 'blackness' was as an "artefact" of whiteness. An interesting point to note, here, that F from the Sonic [db] project was keen to reclaim from commercial usage (and to 're-fill') the word "nigger" with its rebellious slave history à la Martin-Baró (see note 5). So we can see that in the cultural market, 'blackness' is traded as a market commodity (Collins 2006). Also see Clennon (2016) and Chapter 6, notes 16, 18 and 19 for a discussion exploring how the market transforms itself into a commercial hegemony via its neo-liberal cults of 'market freedom' and 'individuality' (Graeber 2006; De Angelis 2001; Bentham 1787; Hayek 1976). Whiteness and its blackface alter ego for me, marks a new direction that brings together the concepts of globalisation and postcolonial theory as two sides of the same coin (Krishnaswarmy 2002, also see Chapter 6, note 16).

Toni Morrison (1993) also guides us in our thinking about the artificial construct of 'blackness' when she describes an 'Africanist' presence of 'blackness' in American literature that acts as an existentially dialectic

tool of 'whiteness'. When Toni Morrison uses the term "Africanist", she is not using it to denote an African Philosophy (see Chapter 4, about African Philosophy of Education). Morrison uses the term to connote a type of 'shadowy presence', as she describes how the white protagonists in the pieces of literature she highlights such as the *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Twain 1884) are subtly framed or hailed into existence against 'blackness'. However, it is the idea that this 'blackness' is disavowed (and remains a shadowy 'Africanist' presence) that points towards a pathology of denial (Altman 2006). This psychoanalytical register helps us to better define 'whiteness' underlying drives behind its manifestly political intent (Hook 2005). This is important because the invisibility of 'whiteness' in terms of its universal "eye" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 3) couches its drive for mastery in its guise of 'blackness'. See Chapter 6, note 11 for an expanded discussion about the pathology of 'whiteness'.

Exploring Black Masculinities, Touching on Whiteness

This market shaping of the 'black male' (also see Chapter 2's Hinterland discussion about 'black' role models) is insidious, as this 'tough man' image of the 'black male' has become a market norm. This form of 'tough man' image is sold as a particular form of 'toxic masculinity' that is, of course, attractive across all ethnicities. However, in Clennon (2013, 2015b), I found that the ('white') young men with whom I worked in Staffordshire on the Reson8r Project were able to both wear and divest themselves of this 'sign' value at will. They were able to do this without any sort of penalty from the institutions (in that case, the Neighbourhood Police Unit with whom we were working), unlike the 'black' young men, with whom I also worked.[12]

> [S]tereotypes of 'Blackness' [can be] based on a dangerous form of exaggerated hyper masculinity (female artists can wear it too although it will mean slightly different things for them). This commercial 'Blackness' is a fantasy based on violence, aggression and sexual exploitation. If our young people see these images but no commercial alternatives, they may

think that they are the only way to perform masculinity. This 'fantasy' may also condition young women to accept the misogyny that is part of it, such as the depictions of young women in music promos 'performing' in ways often described as 'sexy'; but sexy for whom? We see the dangers of this commercial fantasy of 'Blackness', and the homophobia prevalent within it, in its resolute refusal to accept any other forms of masculinity or 'Blackness' This commercial fantasy does not accept that Black men can be educated, or soft, but cleverly obscures the actual experiences of Black men and women: Britain's colonial history, racial tensions and institutional discriminatory practices, and the history of the Black experience that informs its cultural merchandise, such as the Windrush generation's Toasters.

Coloniality of Blackness and Complicity of Governing Institutions

But the commercial 'blackness' that the young inmates in my Grime project were consuming and reproducing made me think of a Eurocentric expansion (via neo-liberalism) that has now taken the form of a soft global power that commodifies popular (urban) culture (Adorno 1991) as a commercialised form of 'blackness'. As the foremost American cultural export, I believe that commercial 'blackness' is used to pervade Eurocentric institutions (Hobson 2012) via its "coloniality of power" (Mignolo 2002) of the market. Here, what I mean is, that the (digital) 'sign' values of the 'black body' connoting it as hyperviolent, hypersexual, and brutish give the institutions licence to administer the "racial contract" using its market 'appearances' as justification. (See Chapter 2's Hinterland discussion and also see Thrasher (2016) for a great account of how the practices of the 'analogue' slave market have become a 'digital' market through the confluence of 'sign value' and massive profits in the Sports market). It is through direct collusion with our institutions (such as the criminal justice system and its disproportionate punishment of 'black men', see Chapter 6's Hinterland discussion) that makes the Baudrillardian 'appearance' *real* by converting 'appearance' into 'material' effects that *materially affect* the market subject in deleterious ways! In other words, the Baudrillardian third-order

simulation of a 'covert deceptive distortion (masquerading as a faithful reproduction)' is made concrete and legitimised by our governing institutions.

From this perspective, I tend to position commercial 'black' culture as a form of global romanticism (Kvifte 2001) called Afro Neo Romanticism (Clennon 2015b). For me, Afro Neo Romanticism's function is to (re)present a market-driven (post)modern image of Eurocentrism (and postcolonialism) that uses 'black' visual and cultural signifiers (Baudrillard 1972) to expand its global cultural expansion whilst further subjugating the people from whom the signifiers originate. So, in this project, via our process of Freirean problematisation (see note 5), we tried in our very small way to call out the inherent political and institutional power of popular (urban) culture and its consumption, alongside its role in structural oppression and especially how it related to the young men, personally.

Commercial Urban Culture as Political Acts of Resistance?

So, can we ever truly use commercial urban culture as a 'political' act of resistance against the "coloniality" of 'blackness'. Here I am thinking of both civil and cultural (intellectual) forms of resistance. A parting thought: in terms of using commercial subversions of marketised 'blackness' as forms of resistance, are artists such as Beyoncé, with her *Lemonade* album (Beyoncé 2016) and her cultivated-authenticity (Benjamin 1999; Lewandowski 2005) or more recently Childish Gambino's *This is America* (Glover and Göransson 2018) resisting the 'coloniality of blackness' or are they complicit in its domination? I wonder if Lorde's (2015, p. 95) well-known comments famously delivered at 'The Personal and Political Panel', part of the 29th October 1979 *Second Sex Conference*, "[f]or the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change" can be applied, here? Since the ('digital') market is so powerful that it extends and presides over a "coloniality" of blackness, this question needs to be asked, urgently. See Chapter 4's Hinterland discussion for a similar

debate concerning historical sociology and attempting to de-centre Eurocentricity. Also see Hinterland discussions in Chapter 5 for a continuation of this discourse within the context of Black Radicalism.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to very briefly illustrate the use of creative education to interrogate and make visible 'whiteness' in an accessible way for young people. In the next chapter, I will discuss the broader implications of the purpose of mainstream education and the urgent need for a critical pedagogy that lays the ground for a Black Radical education based in the grassroots community.

Notes

1. See Clennon (2015a, pp. 49–50).
2. See Clennon (2015a, p. 52). We were loosely following the 'Arts to enrich the prison curriculum' approach that uses arts-based activities that are designed to enhance the in situ education curriculum by encouraging the acquisition of transferable skills. See Halsey et al. (2002) for an example of this type of practice, the 'Family Man' and 'Fathers inside' programmes delivered by Safe Ground that looked at parenting skills within complex family dynamics. The transferable skills we were keen to nurture (via peer to peer mentoring) in the inmates focused on 'process-directed education' (Bolhuis and Kluvers 2000) techniques (via the group negotiation of its own rules and boundaries) designed to encourage the empathic, communication and negotiation skills of the participants.
3. See discussion.
4. See Clennon (2015a, pp. 58–59).
5. Martin-Baró believes that in order to achieve Liberation, we have to re-evaluate our histories because our memories of our histories (both personal and cultural) have often been shaped and crafted by our oppressors. In other words, because our histories have been framed to highlight the negatives, it is this context that forms the basis of our

oppression. Martin-Baró suggests that we need to reframe our histories to highlight the positives so that we can use our reframed pasts to move towards Liberation from oppression. Also see Chapter 5, Hinterland and note 25 for discussions around similar processes within a framework of Black Radicalism. Also see Chapter 4's Hinterland for a similar methodological discussion about historical sociology and the need for a 'connected histories' approach.

6. See Clennon (2015a, p. 52)

> In this project, I borrowed heavily from Liberation Psychology in the way that I encouraged the young men to use their lyric-writing as an opportunity to reflect on their pasts to plot their future (Martin-Baró 1994). It was also important for them to critically evaluate their pasts against the cultural signifiers and norms they were expected to follow on the 'streets'.

> What is interesting is that this Liberation Psychology approach very much echoes the ethno-philosophical approach that I will outline in Chapter 4, note 24 when I will discuss Ubuntu and its uncovering of cultural knowledge. In this instance, by using their lyrics to encourage the young men to look at their personal histories, we treated their histories as a (personal) 'culture' for them to uncover their personal truths about their past behaviours and beliefs. This process of uncovering is also called 'conscientisation' or 'consciousness-raising' and was developed by Paulo Freire (1973). We believed that this process would allow them to see that they had choices and that indeed they did not have to conform to the 'street' image of the 'black man' (see Chapter 6, note 16). We also found that using education in this creative and participatory way, enabled us to challenge some of the facets of 'black (male) essentialism' that we will discuss in Chapter 5, note 7.

7. See Bourdieu (1984) for a description of 'habitus'. See Chapter 1, note 7. It was important to work with the young men to see beyond the confines of their 'street'-habitus.

8. See discussion.

9. See Clennon (2015a, pp. 56–57).

10. Butler (1997) describes a process of 'performativity' where we act out what society expects of us but then we own this 'acting out' as though it is our very own identity that comes from us and not societal expectation. Butler uses the word "Power" to describe societal norms and

"power" to describe our owning of it as our authentic expression of self. Butler asserts that we are brought into social existence through Power whilst at the same time wielding power of our own which has the capacity to change the very Power that brought us into existence in the first place. Also see Chapter 6, note 9.

11. See Clennon (2015a, pp. 60–61).
12. See Clennon et al. (2015).

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4

What Is Education For?
Is It for Learning Whiteness?

Abstract In asking about the intrinsic purpose of both formal and informal education, Ornette D. Clennon discusses the need to challenge Eurocentric epistemologies by discussing Gurminder Bhambra's concept of "connected histories" that challenges the field of historical sociology to take a less Eurocentric approach to espistemology and historiography. Clennon also looks at supplementary education as a potential site for an African Philosophy of Education, namely Ubuntu that by using a social justice based critical pedagogy, embodies elements of "connected histories" in its use of ethno-philosophy.

Keywords Connected histories · Ubuntu · Supplementary education

Introduction

What is Education for? This is a question which keeps coming back to haunt me. In Chapter 2, I described my tricky relationship with mainstream education as an ethnic minority student but from what I can glean, the situation has not vastly changed since I was at school.[1]

So, is education about preparing young people for the job market or is it about self-development, or is it about a bit of both? In this chapter and subsequent chapters, I will present a flavour of the conversations that I am currently having with my community partners, Making Education a Priority (MEaP) and the National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education (NRCSE)[2] about these issues.

Education for Employment

If we take the job-market preparation role of education, then what we are saying is that learning needs to be tailored exclusively for the jobs available in the market. So, learning becomes commodified and gains its value from how much profit it can generate (via economic productivity[3]). This means that self-development is not as important as contributing to national productivity and GDP. Education in this context becomes all about training people to become cogs in a wheel of the market.[4] If capitalism, as outlined in Chapter 3 was founded by race and its extracted labour then in this model, we are saying that education is essentially about upholding the status quo. Education in this context is then about the 'unthinking' application of skills learned through the education system that the worker can apply in order to maximise efficiency of their units of work. So, education can be seen to facilitate better ways for the corporatists to extract maximum surplus labour from their workers.[5] In an ever-deregulated market where workers' rights are growing less protected, this is a worrying but longstanding trend. In manufacturing or highly skilled manual jobs, this is more apparent with more job closures and transfers of labour to cheaper markets. But in the service industry and knowledge economy to where more of our education is directed, this equivalent erosion can be observed with rise of zero hour contracts and portfolio (freelance) working, sometimes known as the 'gig economy'.[6]

But in order to do that, it must have a 'common sense' ideology that people can buy into. I'm not going to call it a false consciousness that Marx never used and Engels only used once, I am going stay with "ideology".[7] I think an 'inversion' of the market towards 'appearances'

is more accurate. So we can see in this model of education that it is important for the existential survival of the market that we educate people with the ability to serve the market's interests, in so doing becoming consumers who can further serve the market by trading in its simulation (or 'holographic representation'[8]). This means that via becoming a consumer, the ability to buy (or trade in) 'appearances' that promote individual gain becomes an important role for education.

What many economists, commentators and scholars of neoliberalism tend to forget[9] is that the ideology only becomes 'common sense' to the consumer because their social knowledge (of history) is erased upon entering the market. Education in this model plays a key role in teaching young minds not to value social knowledge (e.g. connected histories,[10] cultural heritages, social justice, etc.). This is an important point because it means that without social knowledge the market actor is not easily able to see (through) the ideology as an inversion. So education becomes complicit in delivering learning that promotes the value of 'appearances'. For example, the 'appearance' of science and technology is that they are valuable areas to promote because of their direct contribution to the national economy, where the 'common sense' thinking is that the stronger the economy, the more jobs there will be. The more consumers that will be created means the more stimulated the economy will be and ultimately the more individual wealth is created. So education in this setting, promotes a 'market knowledge' that promises better navigation through the 'hologram'. Education becomes about commodifying attitudes (and embedded cultural narratives) that are useful for strengthening the market, for example, grit and resilience (see Chapter 2 and "motivation porn"). In other words, education teaches a form of 'whiteness' that is a set of rules of engagement for maximum market participation, where grit and resilience are just code words for putting up and shutting up because things are the way they are and will continue to be so.[11] If we look at our market in terms of consumption rather than production and that consumption is valued by 'appearance', then what we are really talking about is the influence of the pathological mastery of whiteness. In the Marxian market, competition between market actors was the driving force for creating market value of products and services. In the Baudrillardian market, competition is no

longer directly between market actors, per se but is transferred to the strength of 'sign' value or narrative that is liminally attached to the 'old market' product. Competing narratives, competing realities are the present-day market drivers. Whoever wields the strongest 'sign' values, wins.

So what does this mean for ethnic minorities? If we keep in mind that capitalism was built on the maximum extraction of surplus labour possible through slavery,[12] then the template for this modus operandi has already been set.[13] Ethnic minorities and the white working classes have been set to occupy the lowest jobs in the market because more surplus labour can be extracted from them. But the 'common sense' ideology of 'appearances' is ingrained in the market as racialised-as-white workers have been educated[14] to believe that although they are lowly in the market hierarchy, they are still higher up than ethnic minorities[15] and therefore more inherently deserving of market favour.[16] So when in 2011, the Department of Education stated

> Education for economic well-being and financial capability aims to equip students with the knowledge, skills and attributes to make the most of changing opportunities in learning and work. Through their learning and experiences inside and outside school, students begin to understand the nature of the world of work, the diversity and function of business, and its contribution to national prosperity. They develop as questioning and informed consumers and learn to manage their money and finances effectively. (p. 3)[17]

They were openly admitting their role in teaching young people to reproduce the social inequalities of the market through becoming "informed consumers".

Education for Self-Development and Social Knowledge (Co)Production

The central question here is that within our present capitalist system; what does self-development mean? Does it mean developing the self in order to better navigate the market?[18] If so, then this is no different to education for employment, obviously. So, if education is about

liberation and social knowledge, this poses other questions. For example, if social knowledge is not valued in the market because the only currency of knowledge is market knowledge, then what is its purpose? It can and indeed should be argued that social knowledge exists outside of the market whether or not it is supressed or ignored. This is true especially in a community context, which we will discuss later. But I am making the massive assumption that the market and its participation is all we have. But is it? I would argue that on a global level in terms of our financial institutions perhaps this is the case but on local levels there are opportunities for communities to develop bespoke systems of cooperative economies. So, here being taught about the production of social knowledge is about a form of envisioning a future and an alternative to our present market paradigm.

In this context, self-development and social knowledge are two important arms of the envisioning process. Education for self-development could be described as being taught about our 'situated' place within the system. This would entail being taught about the "inversion" and appearance of the market. On a curriculum level, this would perhaps look like learning about "connected histories",[19] learning about the way institutions work, learning about how democracies are formed. Much of this already exists in the Citizenship GCSE. However, these points of learning are only symptomatic of deep-rooted systemic thinking. What I mean here is that market already embodies social inequality, as it was constructed on social inequality. What this really means is that 'sign' values that are designed to keep power with the elite need to be problematised. Problematising 'common sense' ideology is difficult when everything around you is screaming the contrary and paints you as the problem for challenging assumptions. But challenging assumptions around race and gender and how racial patriarchy was formed into a racial rule and crystallised into an invisible racial contract is becoming very important.

So how would we actually go about doing this? It could be argued that these challenges have to come directly from within our ancestral histories and traditions.[20] This is why supplementary schools are so important.[21] They are able to provide spaces that exist outside of the mainstream education system. Supplementary schools have the ability

to coproduce social knowledge that is native to their communities. Teaching their children about their native languages, culture and histories is an important radical[22] act for supplementary schools because this act alone challenges the market at large, which is determined to excise this knowledge from its actors. A quick example of this would be a young African Diaspora woman told that wearing her natural hair in a hairstyle representative of her native culture is deemed unprofessional for the office she works in. Such a young woman, in this scenario, having been educated in a supplementary school, might as a result of this office policy, see her hairstyle as a political statement of cultural and historical integrity, where she refuses to view her heritage negatively or buy into the dominant culture's negative projection of her "historical memories". In other words, the young woman might be emboldened to continue wearing her hairstyle as a visible means of calling out the pervasive hegemonic whiteness of the (employment) market. Also see Kai (2018) for an example of this in a school environment.

Making Education a Priority (MEaP), a Case Example

In the schools I work with in the MEaP consortium, where we are having these very same conversations, we are looking at ways of making our schools more sustainable and are looking at other governance models that will bring us closer together.[23] We found that Ubuntu as an African Philosophy of Education[24] that is built on communitarian values of social justice is a unifying pedagogy across our African- and Caribbean-led schools. Ubuntu is about exploring the balance between the rights of the individual and their responsibilities to their communities and vice versa.

The key overarching areas of Ubuntu are ethno-philosophy and critical philosophy. Ethno-philosophy aims to foreground our native sayings, metaphors, poetry and songs, as a way of extracting home wisdoms. When we look at our cultural components with a critical eye we can begin to draw out the common truths that are present in our cultural practices. Once we have uncovered our native knowledge, we can then apply critical philosophy to look at reflecting on and evaluating

this knowledge. Using questions such as; how is this knowledge useful for my self-development and for the development of my community? What new knowledge or ways of seeing the world do we gain from our cultural practices that we don't get from the mainstream culture around us? Are there harmful beliefs embedded within some of our cultural practices? How do we change them but on our terms?

To help us with some of these questions, our focus on social justice is divided into the three Ubuntu justice categories:

- Moral Justice—pursuing equality, freedom and inclusion
- Compassionate Justice—recognising and acknowledging ours and others' vulnerabilities
- Restorative Justice—honestly looking at how hurts can be healed and what steps need to be taken to achieve this?

We are currently working to try to embed this approach and ethos across all the subjects we teach.

Back to the Market…

Supplementary schools have the power to create spaces that exist outside of the market space of whiteness and its conformity. So, within this model of radical education, just being taught about one's heritage, as radical as it is, alone would not be quite enough. The next step would be using this social knowledge as a starting point to begin to problematise native racial patriarchies[25] within these native traditions. This is important because if these native lines of oppression are not challenged then we run the risk of reproducing the very same oppressions that we are trying to remove our children from in our own schools.

So, this idea of a radical education that challenges native forms of racial patriarchy is crucial for truly equipping our young people with the knowledge to see (through) the dominant ideology of the market. This knowledge gives our young people the opportunities to "dream" of alternatives to the market from their native traditions. So the radical nature of supplementary education is not just about learning about

one's history it should be also about learning how to envision a future with social justice at the core from one's own historical traditions. In reality, our young people will still need to work in the system and I have often asked, will this awakened knowledge of the system be of any actual use to them? This is an obvious dilemma to which there are no real answers. However, what this approach will do will be to decentralise Eurocentric knowledge centres or whiteness within the psyche of our children. It is important to remember that formal (state) education is about shaping the internal landscape of the citizen to accept the dominant ideology as 'common sense', meaning that challenge is not even thought about. If we can create knowledge systems in our communities that are sites for producing a social knowledge that our children can use to help them keep a sense of who they are upon entry into the market, this will be, in time destabilising to the market, as other alternative visions for the future will grow organically.

Discussion of Some of the Themes, So Far: A Theoretical Hinterland

Connected Histories

See Bhambra (2007, 2010) for a full discussion about "connected histories". Bhambra believes that the three most recent developments in historical sociology (i.e. Neo-Weberian IR theory, Civilisational analysis; 'multiple modernities' and the USA, UK and European Third wave 'cultural turn') all share the Eurocentric preoccupation with exceptionalism in terms of a spontaneous (but also an endogenous) European generation of ideas. Bhambra writes that Neo-Weberian reliance on comparative study as a methodological framework (e.g. as questioned by Bonnell (1980, p. 162) "how do historical sociologists select, organize, and interpret historical evidence?") still relies on a Eurocentric starting point in terms of choosing which events to compare and the manner in which they are compared. This is an important critique because the 'events' themselves exist in a complex social narrative, whose context itself exists as a series of important 'events' that in themselves need

to be fully understood (see Abbott (1991, p. 228) "the meaning of an event is determined by the story in which it appears and by the ensemble of contemporaneous events"). However, Bhambra (2010, p. 130) argues that the "complex...description" of agency (rather than structure within which agency can take place, which Bhambra argues as an analytical 'weakness' of this approach) that is used as a comparative metric between cases is still heavily weighted in favour Eurocentric narrative 'ideals', so comparisons remain skewed despite the best efforts to avoid bias.

In the 'multiple modernities' approach to historical sociology (see for example Eisenstadt (2000, 2001); Eisenstadt and Schluchter (1998)), there is an underlying assumption that 'multiple modernities' are created by a unilateral interaction "between Western modernity and...cultural traditions and historical experiences" (Eisenstadt 2000, p. 23). This is interesting because the belief in the "European Miracle" (Mann 2006, p. 549) that implies that the West developed 'modernity' in a vacuum devoid of any external contact with or any influence from the rest of the world, is still strong amongst many scholars. Bhambra argues that to ignore the central role that slavery and colonialism played in European development is somewhat blinkered. Bhambra (2010, p. 128) acknowledges the attempt at incorporating 'interconnectedness' within the materialist branch of IR theory, when she observes that the, "intersocietal interconnection" branch of Marxian historical materialism (e.g. Wallerstein 1974, 1979, 2003; Teschke 2005; Rosenberg 2006, 2007) recognises the interconnectivity between societies but they only focus on the 'modes of production' and their ensuing (non-social) processes. But even they assume a European modern 'world system' starting point that only analyses colonialism as an inflection on the process rather than as a constitutive element.

With the Third Wave 'cultural turn' Bhambra (2010, p. 135) appreciates the efforts of Julia Adams et al. (2005a) to "draw together a variety of scholars who all engage, to a lesser or greater degree, with the project of critiquing and reconstructing 'the modernist categories that have informed historical sociology to date'". However, Bhambra remains critical of what in the end she calls "historical cultural studies, which evades the difficult questions raised in its problematization of grand narratives

through a descent into relativistic multiplicity" (p. 136). Bhambra agrees that the third wave is about, "capturing people's changing ideas of what is or is not modern, and assessing the valences of emotion and moral judgment that these mappings assume in varieties of discourse and institutions" (Adams et al. 2005b, p. 15). However, Bhambra (2010, p. 136) still feels that it "leaves the standard Eurocentric (macro) narrative intact in its own 'particular' domain and fails to make the interconnections among those histories a specific focus of attention".

Bhambra (2010, p. 139) feels that the underlying tension common to all the three forms of historical sociology mentioned is that they

generally render[ed] invisible in most considerations of modernity the colonial relationships which have comprised a significant aspect of modernity from its inception and have been no less systematic than the interconnections that have otherwise been represented within those accounts.

I would argue further that we also need to carefully examine the 'international interconnectedness' of the global Mediaeval era (that supposedly gave way to 'modernity' (colonialism) via a European Enlightenment and expansion). This happened at the 2018 *Leeds International Mediaeval Congress* (Editor 2018) where amongst the 1900 independent sessions, sessions about mediaeval global interconnectedness, such as "Reclaiming the Middle Ages for Africa", "Between Memory and Imagination, I: Medieval Religious Encounters from the Silk Road to the Indian Ocean" and "Remembering and Misremembering the Islamic World, I and II" were tabled. With a caveat from Sabaratnam (2013) that as western scholars, we might not ever be able to entirely free ourselves from Eurocentric thinking, I would, as a result of that admission, also suggest that we always acknowledge our 'situated' knowledge at the outset. With this in mind, I now contextually read Bhambra (2010, p. 140) as finally concluding that

Connected histories and connected sociologies, together with a recognition of 'international interconnectedness', allows for the deconstruction of dominant narratives at the same time as being open to different

perspectives and seeks to reconcile them systematically both in terms of the reconstruction of theoretical categories and in the incorporation of new data and evidence.

Despite Bhambra's critique of the Third wave as "historical cultural studies", I don't think in the probing of the European grand narrative that 'connected histories' as a methodological framework is very far away from Hall's (1986) use of 'articulation' to probe the context of the context of the context until a "line of tendential force" (p. 53) is reached. So, perhaps "historical cultural studies" ought not to be dismissed entirely just yet, just repurposed for 'articulating' the European grand narrative (more closely).

For me, this discussion about connected histories (and connected sociologies) very much maps out the terrain for the epistemological site of whiteness. As mentioned in Chapter 3, whiteness pathologically emerged out of violent European expansion (also see Chapter 5's Hinterland discussion). However, what constituted a European epistemology (that remember was bloodily imposed onto 'others' via colonialisation; domination is not the same as reason) was itself a composite of knowledge absorbed from the cultures and 'nations' from around the world that European nations were in constant contact with via trade and various political alliances. So, I am in essence, decoupling the emergence of whiteness with 'modernity', as their synonymity and their composite structural origins need to be urgently problematised (see Chapter 5's Hinterland discussion for expansion of this idea). So, whiteness in later trying to distinguish itself from blackness in order to justify its economic exploitation of human beings, ironically had already been shaped by the very thing it sought to 'master'. It is this disavowed 'passionate attachment' to that which whiteness subordinates but is actually subordinated by, that is played out in the historical sociology-debate under the guise of epistemology, culture, structure and agency. Following on from this, the tendency to render constitutive relationships invisible is very much a scholarly process akin to the pathological processes of Lewis Gordon's (1999) bad faith, where 'blackness' is in a constant state of being purged (disavowed) from the

racialised-as-white subject. In so doing, continuing to liminally exist in the psyche of the subject much like Toni Morrison's (1993) 'Africanist' presence in American literature (see, Clennon (2016)).

A Local Application of the Third Wave 'Cultural Turn' in Community Education?

Within the current government interest in finding out whether cultural provision in schools raises pupil attainment (Londesborough 2016), broadening the concept of culture to include ideas around heritage and cultural traditions also becomes important. It is broadly within this context that the MEaP consortium of supplementary schools operates. MEaP currently consists of four core African- and Caribbean-led supplementary schools with two more schools about to join the cohort. Even though the cultural heritages of the schools hail from the Caribbean, Nigeria and Namibia, the schools have decided to focus their educational provision on the core curriculum subjects, believing that in depth cultural and heritage-related activities can be pursued elsewhere via high-quality extracurricula activities and projects. However, despite the focused attention paid to core curriculum learning, the ethos behind the schools' pedagogy seems to be influenced by an African Philosophical Approach to education.

Waghid (2016) describes this philosophical approach as being:

invariably geared towards addressing the continent's injustices and inequalities. A university education that is guided by a concern for educational justice – an advocacy for freedom, autonomy, democratic engagement and responsiveness to the other – is one that takes African philosophy of education seriously.

The conceptual vehicle for this philosophical enquiry into justice is Ubuntu. Ubuntu is a South African Zulu term that denotes "human kindness" or "humaneness". Ubuntu seeks to examine the relationship between the individual and their community; i.e. at what point is a community formed by individuals and at what point is the individual subsumed into community? This creative tension between the

perception of individual and communal rights forms the bedrock of Ubuntu enquiry into social justice in educational terms (Dzobo 1992; Gyekye 1992). In order to explore these questions, Ubuntu uses two conceptual frameworks; firstly, an ethno-philosophy of education that examines the oral stories, poetry, songs, legends and proverbs as sources of knowledge that underpin the perception of educational experiences (Mbiti 1970; Oruka 1990; Sefa Dei 2014). Secondly, Ubuntu uses a critical philosophy of education that seeks to explore the justification of using heritage and culture (ethno-philosophy) as analytical lenses through which to examine social justice issues (Higgs 2012; Gyekye 1995, 1997). Ubuntu pedagogy organises its exploration of social justice using three broad interlinked categories; moral, compassionate and restorative justice (Waghid and Smeyers 2012). These forms of social justice (also known as Ubuntu Justice) were particularly important in the setting up of the 1994 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa. Even though Ubuntu Justice gained political significance in post-Apartheid South Africa, these forms of social justice are equally relevant to African and Caribbean diaspora communities living in the UK, who also face forms of systemic discrimination.

MEaP has found that delivering the core curriculum subjects within a pedagogical framework that recognises the importance of culture and heritage towards social justice has encouraged a more holistic approach to learning. This African Philosophical Approach to education has also been instrumental in galvanising parental and wider community support and participation in the delivery of supplementary school activities. See Chapter 5's Hinterland discussion for how this ethno-philosophical approach could be used more widely to interrogate social justice issues outside of the 'gaze of Eurocentrism'.

Conclusion

This is perhaps education's prime worry to the elite and the system's gatekeepers and is why it is so closely policed by the state because it is the prime method by which a state can control and indoctrinate its citizens into its ways. The dangers we face as community educators is

that what we teach can easily be defined as subversive in terms of being a danger to the state. In our present Baudrillardian market our social knowledge can easily be re-purposed as dangerous by attaching a 'war on terror' "sign value" it. The system will inevitably push back with even stronger narratives of fear constructed around our social knowledge and will seek to limit our civil liberties for teaching a curriculum outside of its control. Seen in this light, education becomes very much an issue of the human right of self-determination,[26] which begins on the psychic level but it will be exactly this level that will be attacked first.

In our consultation feedback for the government's 2018 Integrated Communities Strategy Green paper,[27] we raised some of these fundamental issues and offered suggestions of how we could be seen as less of a threat, whilst we go about our business in the community. However, we are girding our loins and preparing for the push back that is coming….

In the next chapter, I will discuss education in the wider context of modern Pan-Africanism and its usefulness for facilitating social change.

Notes

1. See Crenna-Jennings (2017) for research around disproportionate BME school exclusion rates. My young ('black') inmates from Chapter 3 were also testament of an education system that had failed them, too.
2. See MEaP (2018) and NRCSE (2018) for more details.
3. See Bothwell (2017) for an article about the Higher Education (HE) sector's contribution to the national economy.
4. See Browne (2009).
5. See Oxford Economics (2017) for a report that cites an HE contribution of 1.2% to the UK's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2014–2015. Also "[t]he education that universities provided in 2014–15 increased the value of graduates' human capital by some £63 billion (or 28 percent), relative to its pre-degree value" (p. 3). See note 3.
6. See De Stefano (2016) for a report into the implications of the gig economy on workers' rights.
7. Eyerman (1981) gives a good account of the nuanced distinctions between the various ideological interpretations of false consciousness.

8. See Chapter 2, note 21.
9. A couple exceptions to the rule include McKie (2018) and Mason (2018).
10. See discussion.
11. As a 'common sense' ethic, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 167) would describe this as "symbolic violence" because it "is the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity". Furthermore, this violence obscures "the power relations which are the basis of its force" (Bourdieu and Passeron 2000 [1977], p. 4). So, this symbolic violence (i.e. 'work harder' education) is able to "…function[s] as an instrument which is used to facilitate integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity" (Freire 2000 [1921], p. 34). But Freire's critical pedagogy aims to transform education into "the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world" (Freire 2000 [1921], p. 34). Also see Clennon (2017); Chapter 5 for further discussion.
12. See Marx (1906 [1867], Chapter 10, Sect. 7) "[l]abour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." Also see Bethell-Bennett (2018) for an account of colonialism and its structural presence today.
13. See Graeber (2006) for a full discussion of how the principles of slavery currently underpin capitalism. Also see Clennon (2016). Also see Chapter 6, note 15.
14. See McIntosh (1990) for excellent examples of white privilege, which include (just involving education):

> 6. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
> 7. When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.
> 8. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race
> 15. I do not have to educate my children to be aware of systemic racism for their own daily physical protection

If we believe that Education is about giving people opportunities in life to get on and to be successful by their own merits, are we being naïve? McIntosh graphically describes the nature of structural inequality that is

so embedded in the system that it remains invisible. If these networks of structural inequality perform the function of loaded dice in a casino, can we really expect the punters to make long-term wins or will the house always win in the end? So, it makes me ponder on what Education is for because it does not seem able to truly defeat the effects of loaded dice. The casino will always have the unseen privilege of winning.

> 22. I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of color who constitute the world's majority without feeling in my culture any penalty for such oblivion.
> 32. My culture gives me little fear about ignoring the perspectives and powers of people of other races.

What is interesting about this status quo is the burden of responsibility. In his *Tough Guise: Full Version*, Jason Katz succinctly pinpoints this issue of problematisation, when he says that "we focus always on the subordinated group and not on the dominant group. And that's one of the ways that the power of dominant groups isn't questioned – by remaining invisible" (Katz 2005, p. 6). Obviously, this is the very definition of the power of whiteness and its universal 'eye' (see Chapter 2 and Bourdieu (1984)). In order to build on Katz' and McIntosh's ideas around the "invisible", we need to look at the market and its agents. Even though we often hear about rampant individualism, as being a defining characteristic of market economics, ironically it is not the "individual" at all that is really at the centre of our market paradigm. It is their freedom to enter into market transactions using various forms of capital (cultural, social and economic) that becomes an avatar (a symbol of function not being, a 'sign value') for the individual in the market—in other words, we see the effects (appearance) of their privilege or their "invisible backpacks" not the individuals, themselves. This de-individualisation also occurs to the oppressed or the losers within our market paradigm; where they are reduced to mere statistics to describe the market's losses (modes of production).

> 44. I can easily find academic courses and institutions, which give attention only to people of my race.
> 49. My children are given texts and classes, which implicitly support our kind of family unit and do not turn them against my choice of domestic partnership.

To educate individuals who can actually see the mechanisms of inequality and who can also call out the shadowy figures behind the market avatars is quite a dangerous thought. Paulo Freire's (1973) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has much to say about this revolutionary process of 'calling out' the shadows. Elsewhere (Clennon 2014), I explore how a Freirian 'critical pedagogy' can be used to explore some of the hidden forms of dominance wielded by a marketised education terrain. I explore why our mainstream education system, on so many levels, is perceived to be failing our most deprived. I also track how the burden of responsibility for this failure, in popular discourse most often falls on the deprived but never on the unseen privilege or avatars that the system upholds.

As discussed in note 11, this sleight of hand is fascinating because it promotes the idea of "hard work" by implying that the deprived are somehow indolent and lacking in aspiration. This illusion also promotes "hard work" as a panacea that is a viable answer to the hidden structural inequalities of privilege but fails to point out the limitations of a meritocracy (or having more "choice" between different types of school) that in reality plays using only loaded dice. Bourdieu (1984) also calls this process of not telling the whole truth (or more accurately 'common sense' misattribution; e.g. misattributing "hard work" for success instead of the exploitation that it actually is), misrecognition, also see James (2015) for a wider discussion about the use of misrecognition in educational settings. However, even more insidious is the notion of deprivation as a facet of "culture" that can be pathologised and problematicised. It is precisely this notion of "culture" (in this context referring to 'blackness', also see Balibar (1991) for a discussion about culture as a proxy for race) that allows the deprived to remain faceless and easily categorised into market-friendly statistics, all the whilst their educational attainment continues to fall.

15. See Marx (1975 [1870]) for his prescient description that describes this mentality:

> The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he regards himself as a member of the *ruling* nation and consequently he becomes a tool of the English aristocrats and capitalists against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination *over himself*.

> This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short, by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. *This antagonism* is the secret of the *impotence of the English working class*, despite its organisation. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And the latter is quite aware of this. (original italics)

16. Market favour is shown by denying the right of access to education to black children by not enshrining it as their human right, for an example, see Jackman (2018).

17. I think the subtle association between wellbeing (see Swindells et al. (2013)) and consumption is a pernicious and dangerous feature ('sign' value) of advanced capitalism.

18. I wonder if this is one of the main thoughts behind Higher Education's (HE) widening participation drive (other than to increase profit via recruiting more students with their fee allocations)? Interest in widening participation has been evolving over the past fifty years from thinking about targeting the "bright poor" from selective grammar schools to addressing the gender imbalance in admissions to looking at students from underperforming non-selective schools who could benefit from Higher Education. This has been a seemingly pressing issue for successive governments from as far back as the Robbins Report (Committee 1963) and Dearing Report (The National Committee 1997). Of course, key to all of this is how applicants are able to secure places in HE in the first place (David et al. 2009). These changes in priorities for widening participation programmes (reaching out to potential applicants) have gradually seen an increase in the use of contextual data by admissions teams (Vignoles and Murray 2016). However, the factors affecting the likelihood of applying to and participating in HE are extremely diverse but still appear to be heavily dependent on family background (Anders 2012; Archer and Hutchings 2000; Boliver 2013; Chowdry et al. 2013; Gayle et al. 2002; UCAS 2013). It then becomes important to look at how systematic and transparent contextual admissions are in promoting fair access (Boliver 2015).

    Crawford (2012) reports that pupils from poorer socio economic backgrounds tend to underperform at GCSE and Key Stage 5 levels, affecting their likelihood to apply to HE. This would imply that HE interventions at the point of entry will be unlikely to bridge to this gap, as much work is needed at an earlier stage. However, Nwulu's (2015)

report suggests that although BAME pupils via their participation in supplementary school education are gaining higher grades (see also Maylor (2012)), they are still less likely to be offered places at highly selective universities (Boliver 2015). In order to address these issues, Nwulu suggests that universities should work more closely with supplementary schools as they represent a rich and extensive network of community affiliations that can often be "harder to reach" and without assistance, can often be left behind (Stevenson 2012).

19. See discussion.
20. For example, see Narayan (2004) who writes about the challenges that non-Western feminists have in forming their own critiques of their native patriarchies without wanting to add to the list of damaging stereotypes that their culture s already might be labouring under. Narayan also writes about the tension of "two-ness" that can be created in the non-Western subject. (See Blau and Brown (2001, p. 221), who describe this term from DuBois as a belief that, "whites have limited understanding of people of color whereas the latter have a profound understanding of the cultural frameworks and the institutional barriers that whites employ to oppress them".) And how it can destabilise the subject into feeling rootless by living too efficiently in both worlds but not efficiently in either! Nayaran also talks about the primacy of the embodied lived experience (of oppression) and how allies need to respect that. But also how positivist ways of understanding native situations (that have been applied from an outside perspective) cannot always be trusted because they can lay the ground for an epistemic devaluing of native values in favour of a liberal Western understanding. These arguments very much echo Bhambra's discussions about the Third Wave historical sociology's 'cultural turn'. Also see Chapter 5's Hinterland discussion about the valuing of the native queer spaces in traditional Zulu healing practices. Also see Ali (2018) about how 'white' feminism can be used to normalise the deleterious effects of racial patriarchy.
21. See Nwulu (2015, p. 7):

> Supplementary schools are volunteer-led spaces, offering educational, cultural and language provision for mainly black and minority ethnic (BME) children and young people. Research has consistently shown that they offer an invaluable resource for many pupils, but are often overlooked by mainstream schools and education funders.

According to Ramalingam and Griffith's (2015) report, there are between three to five thousand supplementary schools across the country that operate mainly on Saturdays and sometimes on weekdays in the early evening. Sixty eight percent of these schools offer core curriculum support and GCSE tuition. These statistics are especially important when we consider that approaching a third of all BAME pupils attend supplementary schools alongside mainstream education. As mentioned previously, even though supplementary schools are contributing to higher BAME attainment (Maylor 2012; Evans and Gillan-Thomas 2015; Nwulu 2015), there still appears to be a gap in accessing employment or higher education for BAME school leavers (Delebarre 2016; Boliver 2013, 2015). However, in order to fill this gap in attainment, Lord Adonis outlines the potential of supplementary schools to nurture soft Life Skills where their "activities can bring a tremendous sense of achievement and can boost children's confidence and motivation, both in and out of the classroom" (as quoted in Ramalingam and Griffith (2015, p. 1)). This is an extremely important point that touches on cultural competency because eighty percent of supplementary schools teach community languages and the percentage of ethnic minority participation in state funded primary education (for example) has risen from thirty to sixty percent from 2004. However, because the percentage of Head teachers from BAME backgrounds has remained at just over two percent, despite this dramatic increase in BAME pupil participation, we can see at Senior Leadership level that mainstream schools are struggling to cater for the diversity within their pupil populations (Ramalingam and Griffith 2015). Also see Chapter 2's Hinterland discussion about the lack of diversity of Senior Leadership in academia.

This issue of BAME representation at School leadership level does indeed raise issues around cultural competency within a school (Maylor 2009) and it would be interesting to see whether this could be helped by the following recommendation from the RSA's *Beyond the School Gates* report:

> R6: Mainstream schools should consider whether pupil premium funding could be used to support partnerships with supplementary schools particularly in using the expertise of supplementary school teachers to support BME students.
>
> Mainstream schools could hire supplementary school practitioners as advisers in how to connect with low performing BME students

or students newly arrived in the country. They could also hire supplementary school teachers to develop and implement strategies in how to have more meaningful engagement with parents from BME communities in their school. (Nwulu 2015, p. 5)

This problem of lack of representation also extends to the HE where the following recommendation is made:

R2: University outreach, bursary and widening participation programmes aim to connect with supplementary schools in their area, giving them similar opportunities to those offered to mainstream schools.

By working with supplementary schools, as well as engaging directly with specific communities who are under-represented within their academic institutions, higher education institutions can help embed these schools in the wider educational network and increase their visibility. University engagement can also facilitate more open relationships between mainstream and supplementary schools and with other educational projects. The goal should be holistic support for ethnic minority pupils and young people. (Nwulu 2015, p. 4)

However, before either schools or universities can effectively engage with "specific communities who are under-represented within their academic institutions", it will be important for them to understand the ethos behind the pedagogy that is being taught in the supplementary schools that serve these communities.

22. See Andrews (2017) for a definition of 'radicalism' that infers a reimagining from *anew* rather than the connotation of "extremism", which Andrews says is about extending what is already known, to its limits.
23. For instance, looking at the Multi Academy Trust model (GOV.UK, 2018) as means of binding our schools together to form a mainstream school.
24. See discussion.
25. See Clennon (2013, 2015; Chapter 5) for a fuller discussion around racial patriarchy. Also see Chapter 5, note 7.
26. See note 16.
27. See Clennon (2018) and Chapter 6.

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5

Can Modern Pan-Africanism Help Us to Visualise a Future Without Whiteness?

Abstract In this chapter, Ornette D. Clennon examines the possibilities of grassroots education as being a site for a Black Radicalism (as envisioned by Kehinde Andrews and Cedric J. Robinson) that operates outside of the confines of whiteness. Clennon also explores the potentially challenging relationship between Black Radicalism, (as a vehicle for social justice) and the state and how these challenges can be possibly overcome via Higher Education and the valuing of the 'Black Academic'.

Keywords Black Radicalism · Grassroots education · Higher education
Black academic

Introduction

Will we stay or will we go? This was perhaps the most pressing question from the EU Referendum that we in the UK (and in Europe) faced in our generation. Before we made up our minds, we really

needed to have thought carefully about what would happen to our rights as citizens of colour[1] if we did in fact decide to leave Europe? Would we be able to trust our government to uphold our rights post Brexit? When I observe how far-right ideologies are now being embraced by mainstream political thinking,[2] the result of which was marked by members of the Labour Party sharing a political platform with those from the Conservative Party and UKIP,[3] we are entering very dark times, indeed. When I also see that this constellation of far right political ideas is Europe wide,[4] I feel that this is no time to have a false sense of security about staying in Europe,[5] either, to be honest.[6]

So, is there a sense that modern Pan-Africanism can help to stem the tide of such racist ideologies? Hang on, before we can even contemplate that, we should ask….

What Is Pan-Africanism, Anyway?[7]

For a partial answer to that, you will have to wait for the discussion but let me first continue to contextualise the dire ideological circumstances in which we find ourselves today, against which Pan-Africanism sits. Our EU referendum debate had been so toxic that it had normalised the politics of hate,[8] which can be argued to have led to the horrific terrorist atrocity[9] witnessed in Yorkshire against a Member of Parliament. However, we could also argue that such sentiment has always been bubbling under the surface of the British psyche[10] and has been exacerbated by the ideological choice to pursue Austerity. If we briefly look across the pond to the politics of hate being preached by a certain celebrity businessman turned politician,[11] whose divisive rhetoric is creating fertile ground for the obscenely high and rising, US levels of mass shootings[12]; we have to ask, where is our hope? So how did we get ourselves into such a miserable state? How did this ideology or politics of hate come about? And how has

Pan-Africanism acted as an ideology to counterbalance this move towards far right ideologies?

Pan-Africanism and Education vs. Ideological State Control

In order to begin to even consider these huge questions I first have to ponder what my role as a black academic living in the UK actually is. Let me first unpack the term "black academic".[13] Here, I am going to describe the context of the secret war of academia (education) that is being waged against our minds in open view. Education is the invisible but foundational battle for the hearts and the minds[14] of any population. How you see yourself, how you see others, how you see yourself fitting in with others amongst many other factors, are all governed by how our society educates us. Education is the tool used by the state to produce its citizens.[15] So, the question becomes what sort of citizens does the state want? Well, that depends on the goals of the state. Does the state want security and prosperity for its citizens? Most states would say that they do. But how do they achieve that?[16] Do they achieve it by having total control over their citizens, so that there is no freedom or do they allow their citizens the freedom of choice to make their own paths towards security or prosperity? Well, in Western democracies, of course the goal of our states is the latter, isn't it?

OK, let's see if we can break this down a little more.

In order for a state to give freedom to its citizens, it needs to set up controls (through its laws) that limit the freedoms that individuals can actually have, so that the freedoms granted to us are ordered and unchaotic. This sounds like a good thing, doesn't it? But let's consider how those limits are communicated to us. Apart from the obvious laws we have in place,[17] society has expectations that comprise an unspoken set of rules[18] that we all abide by so that we don't break the law.[19] How are these expectations communicated to us? Mainly through the

shaping of the minds of our young people in the mainstream educa-
tion system. Then in order to make sure that these expectations stick,
these values are then reinforced by the media[20] and other cultural pro-
viders; all subtly saying the same things and feeding off one another.
Then our institutions that are set up to help govern us in such a way to
openly preserve our freedoms, also collude with mainstream education,
the media and the cultural providers to communicate these 'unspoken'
values and expectations of repression. So, we find ourselves in actual
fact, with very little real freedoms outside of the will of the state.[21] It
is at this point that I would suggest that a re-imagined Pan-Africanism
needs to be integrated into our education system at the grass roots but
we need to think very carefully about how its intellectual core can truly
enable it to become a viable ideological alternative to what we are cur-
rently fighting against.[22] Notice, I am not proposing any firm ideas (at
the moment) but merely pointing to the screaming absence of a com-
peting ideology capable of liberating us from our present ideological
oppressions.

Here, I mean, oppressions where these unspoken values are a set
of controls designed for us to keep each other in check by some
of us exercising power over others.[23] When these relationships
are backed up and normalised by every conceivable mechanism of
the state and are sold to us as the way things need to be in order
to achieve real freedom to get our security and prosperity, we really
then have problems.[24] And if in order for this to work, the state
needs to indoctrinate certain groups into believing that their purpose
is to be dominated by certain other groups and that they have to
keep the peace by willingly forgetting their histories, (and are una-
ware of their complicity in the matter)[25] you might begin to see a
familiar picture emerging. So imagine, all of this being condensed,
super-concentrated and planted as tiny innocuous seeds into the
hearts and minds of our young ones in our mainstream education
system.

Can a Pan African Inspired Education System in the Twenty-First Century Really Help Us to Retain the Knowledge of Our Historical Identities Outside of a Eurocentric View?[26]

This is an urgent question because as a black academic who is deeply conscious of this deception, I need a Pan-Africanism that can truly help me to break this cult of societal brainwashing. I find myself struggling daily with these near invisible forces (values)[27] in the heart of the beast (of mainstream education). A profound struggle for my/our ideological soul: a war against mind control, pure and simple.[28] Those of us on the inside whose job it is to "emancipate our (other's) minds from mental slavery"[29] find ourselves fighting Herculean battles with the foundational levers of Power.[30]

But It Is a Good Fight!

A colleague of mine once said, during a presentation that "our role is to hold the line". As soldiers of knowledge (and justice), we must not only hold the line, we have to fight with all our resolve to transform the knowledge that our institutions produce. We have to fight to challenge and destabilise the processes of indoctrination and mind control that *we* are supposed to administer as state functionaries. We have to adopt a variety of camouflages in our institutions to enable us to remain in the heart of the beast grappling, transforming and subverting these mind (and soul) bending values of domination. We have to use all our guile to train up future soldiers of knowledge to whom we can hand over the baton to continue the struggle for justice.[31] As we continue to wake up to our huge responsibilities as soldiers of knowledge, we have to begin to build alliances with other "woke" soldiers[32] battling from other societal battlegrounds. When we eventually become Generals of our own knowledge battalions, we have to strategically plan our resistance and offensive against the beast. To do this we have to use our knowledge of the beast to support the fights and

struggles that our local communities face daily. From a black academic perspective, we have to come to realise that if we embed ourselves in our local communities[33] and really see that their cause is our cause, we will find comradeship and profound support in this war over our minds (hearts and souls).

Discussion of Some of the Themes, So Far: A Theoretical Hinterland

What Is Pan-Africanism, Anyway?

See Andrews (2018); Chapter 2 for a thorough and up to date account of the development of Pan-Africanism that takes in;

- Pan-Africanism initially being a critique of European colonialism
- Pan-Africanism as imperialism ("improving relations between Europeans and Africans, not to overturn the oppressive relationship" (p. 42))
- Pan-Africanism being a colonial state (nation states gaining independence, especially with the rise Garveyism and his racial essentialism)
- Pan-Africanism as neo-colonialism (the launch of the African Union (AU) taking over from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the development of adopting a capitalist agenda to move from traditional economies to Western consumerism).

Ok, so *modern* Pan-Africanism, according to Andrews' survey does not really exist but Black Radicalism does. So, from now on, I will use Pan-Africanism as a historical shorthand term that encapsulates Pan-Africanism's development and the rise of contemporary Black Radical Politics. In the excellent *Back to Black Retelling Black Radicalism for the 21st Century,* Andrews tackles the nub of the matter.

How Is Blackness Defined?

Andrews warns us that Blackness is not a race nor is it essential (as in fixed in cis-gendered heteropatriarchy) but it is a statement of political opposition. Andrews is reclaiming the agency of "blackness" and removing it from the 'passivity', as he would see it, of being created by "whiteness". Whereas I would agree with him in terms of its political agency, I would suggest caution against politically essentialising "blackness". Andrews writes that "we are linked because of politics and not culture, and therefore whatever cultural forms people choose to embrace are unimportant" (p. 170) yet he does acknowledge the familiar critique of "[b]lackness is the idea that…creates an exclusionary Black subject" (p. 169). However, curiously, I would even go further to say that the creation of the "Negro" (blackness) was already a political invention (that also ascribed 'cultureless-ness', by the way!) that locked the subject into a political system from which it (the "Negro") could not escape (c.f. 'racial contract' and Mills (1997)). So re-claiming blackness as a form of political essentialism for unity, does not seem to be radical at all (also see Chapter 6's Hinterland discussion), because not only were the former African subjects *politically* constituted as slaves, when they did *unite* under their "Negro-ness" (blackness) to rebel (against their political and 'cultureless' Negro-ness, for example, see Robinson (1983); Chapter 6 for detailed accounts of slave rebellions across the continents), their rebellions were seen as *political acts* of insurrection that in the extreme case of the US Constitution partially resulted in its Second Amendent! (Cornell and Ruben 2015).

The Importance of Culture for Black Radicalism

However, all of this talk about 'blackness' minus *culture* is somewhat contradictory and unhelpful because it is precisely our 'culture' that provides a context for our 'situated' knowledge that in turn provides us with political agency. The importance of culture is exactly why the

curation of 'cultural memories' (Clennon 2015) is so important for the creation of synthetic national narratives of 'unity'. For example, if we look at the traditional white working classes in England (see the next section about Robinson's Racial Capitalism), it was precisely a sense of culture encapsulated in the notion of 'liberty' as derived from their sense of an Anglo-Saxon racial origin (subsumed within their identity of whiteness) that helped galvanise the spirit of the working classes to form their unions. If the question of 'culture' in terms of how a people decide to define themselves (i.e. the bits of their history and traditions they cherry pick to bolster their 'political' agendas or sense of selves) is not addressed, then there can't possibly be any political unity in any social or political movement. Although Andrews does reject all forms of bigotry, it has to be said that with his particular brand of 'political blackness', which tends not to examine the cultural reasons for their initial role in creating the "exclusionary Black subject", it makes political unity under his concept of 'blackness' somewhat idealistic and indeed, unrealistic.

To illustrate the importance of culture to political unity, if we look at Andrews' examination of the widespread 'exclusion' (an overstatement, yes but they do remain on the margins, if even allowed!) of LGBTI perspectives within 'blackness', he says that these perspectives are largely ignored because of their emphasis on equality within a system that he feels needs to be dismantled (because of its historical and foundational anti-libertarian [for 'Africans'] biases). This is unfair because 'black' LGBTI activists are only campaigning for the same rights currently enjoyed by their 'black' cis-gendered heterosexual counterparts. In many cases, this is a matter of life and death, for example, in terms sexual health, see Dada et al. (2014) for an account of the prevalence of HIV being 15 times higher for black queer men than that of the wider LGBT community. Also, see Moreno (2018) for an account of how the lifesaving PrEP drug is not reaching black queer men. Or in terms of the rise of homo and transphobic fatal attacks, see Steinmetz (2015) for a report on the rise of attacks on members of the trans* community. Also, see note 12.

However, irrespective of the appropriateness of the a priori concept of civil liberties, this view totally ignores the cultural epistemicide

endured by a colonised people. A 'cultural epistemicide' that has in multiple ways played its part in the (global) deterioration of LGBTI lives, as discussed. To illustrate this point, we can see that culture is used in many African nations to synonymise 'queerness' (I am now using this term as an encompassing term for LGBTI that implies fluidity and non-gender conformism) with 'unAfrican-ness'. In fighting against a perception of neo-colonialism in their countries, many African nations see 'queerness' as an emblem of the West and use it to politically unite their people against what they perceive as western colonial influences in their countries (see van Klinken (2017)). This is akin in intent and effect to the 'politics of hate' elsewhere in the world. Even if not sharing the same methods they definitely share the same ideological extremes of advanced capitalism, see note 8. Also see Esom et al. (2015) for an excellent account of the political work of 'queer' advocacy on the African Continent. Also in terms of the need for exploring 'queer' (human) rights in indigenous contexts, see Mkasi (2016) who examines the existence of queer spaces within native Zulu patriarchy.

Interestingly, Mkasi believes that it is not necessary to dismantle 'patriarchy' as a westerner would see it but to 'situate' it within the traditional and historical cultures of those peoples. Mkasi implies that once we release Zulu patriarchy from the 'western gaze' we will be able to see the inherently queer spaces that already exist within the Zulu traditions of healing. This is but one example of decolonising native sexual ethics, for many more, see Tamale (2011).

However, why is this so important for the critique of essentialism of 'political blackness'? For me, it leads back to the link between culture and politics, where the former provides a life-giving context to the latter. van Klinken (2017) gives a great example of how Zambia curated its cultural memory into a nation of "Christian values" as it transitioned from its colonial Catholicism to the Black Pentecostal tradition. It is very interesting to see how the 'born again' facet of the Pentecostal Church was adopted as a metaphor for national reinvention on a political level. van Klinken (2017) also describes how an 'essentialist' new independent Zambian identity was developed that had amalgamated 'Christian values' with 'Zambian values'. So we can now observe a

situation where a hybrid culture consisting of Zambian liberation and British colonial (Christian) values coalesced into a new and essentialised 'black face' (see Clennon (2015) for a discussion about the dangers of reproducing Eurocentric values in non-European settings) form of Zambian liberation that is *operating* with an echo of the old colonial domination via the 'unnatural offence' clause in the Zambian Penal Code, in turn was inherited from British Colonial rule (see Gupta (2008) for a comprehensive review of the British Sodomy laws across the former British Empire).

So, if we continue to use Zambia as an example, Nationalism in terms of its 'reborn' independence and resistance to western neoliberalism is actually akin to Andrews' conception of political blackness as resisting the formation of the "Negro" (that symbolises a system of oppression). I mention this here just to emphasise the Black Nationalist echo of Pan-Africanism that essentialised blackness in terms of race (with which Andrews disagrees), tracing its roots back to the Mother Continent (of course referring to fundamental Garveyism and its relationship with a mythologised Africa, that even Leon Trotsky recognised as a sort of African American 'melancholia', see Clennon (2017); Chapter 5 for more details).

However, the 'queering' and linking factor in both cases, here, is that an unexplored, unproblematised (colonial) culture of sexual regulation masks the inherent hybridity of both political projects and in so doing, reproduces the very same structures of oppression that they claim to fight against. Not only are the fundamental structures of oppression left untouched, yet again, an epistemic stripping of the 'black' queer subject is enacted, as deep ancestral (precolonial) knowledge of indigenous sexual politics are (and have been) erased and obscured, along with all of the other precolonial knowledges (such as political governance!). It is a cruel irony that Andrews' dismissal of culture within the political project of "blackness" delivers a double whammy of epistemicide for the black (queer) subject (and make no mistake, cultures of queer exclusion speak to the very heart of racialised gender oppression for everyone, as both race and *gender* were shaped by our slave and colonial histories!).

If, as Andrews (2018, p. 39) acknowledges from Fanon (1967) that "[i]t is not enough to want to liberate Africa, the question is how we go about doing so" when alluding to Pan-Africanism's apparent lack of ideology, then how does this square up with his assertion of, "[b]lackness is the ultimate rejection of the Negro status, the call for unity in order to overturn the system that oppresses Africa and Diaspora"? Without addressing the heterogeneity of black cultures, Fanon's question of how we go about doing so remains even more pertinent. Andrews (2018, p. 286) says that "our Blackness connects us across location, age, gender, sexuality, disability and the rest of our differences". However, I am not convinced Andrews appreciates just how varied 'blackness' becomes (is) across all of those categories, to the extent of morphing into a meaningless description (see Stevens et al. (2017)). Here, I would prefer to strictly apply Crenshaw's (1989) original use of intersectionality to emphasise the point that a subject cannot be fully understood by merely combining a sense of their (political) blackness to their gender or sexuality (for example) because an entirely new form (and also site) of "oppression" is created at the confluence of each of those vectors, (which as Crenshaw originally observed, is not covered in law by using any of the separate vectors mentioned, e.g. gender and race).

For me, the "how" that Fanon asks about in relation to the ideological execution of a modern Pan-Africanism or in our case Black Radicalism, has to be found in the systematic decolonisation of those vectors of oppression. We can only do that by understanding their current postcolonial contexts and by using a 'connected histories' lens, for starters (see Chapter 4's Hinterland discussion) to uncover pre-colonial knowledges and metanarratives that we can use to reorientate ourselves against Eurocentric subjectivation. Robbie Shilliam's (2015) *The Black Pacific: Anti-Colonial Struggles and Oceanic Connections* attempts to do just that with a quiet yet deeply revealing (and moving) epistemic glimpse back into a past where pre-Colonial grand narratives (as embodied by ancestral spirit totems and their mythologies or cosmologies) thrived. I really enjoy how he uncovers a shared ancestral hinterland where the totems of Legba (West Africa), Hermes (Europe via Greece) and Tāne/Māui (Oceania) meet and interact in shared respect

and harmony. This figurative meeting of precolonial 'cosmologies' allows us to discuss our cultural interconnectedness, (as Shilliam refers to us as children of Legba, Hermes, Tāne/Māui respectively) without a Eurocentric epistemic bias (or fixing "gaze of Britannica" (p. 23)). Because in this 'meeting place' all cosmologies are equal, related and perform similar functions of rooting their people in cultural traditions that lend them agency.

This approach resonates with me deeply because elsewhere, I mentioned the use of ethno-philosophy (e.g. see Mbiti (1970) and see Chapter 4's Hinterland discussion about Ubuntu as "humaneness") that looked at gleaning deep cultural knowledge from our cultural artefacts (oral histories, poetry, music, dance, craft, etc.). I suggested ethno-philosophy as a way of interrogating native (ethno) patriarchies, much in a similar way to Lindiwe Mkasi's same-sex explorations of the traditional practices of her Zulu healers. In the context of Black Radicalism, I see this approach as being used more broadly to interrogate *ethnic* (not racial, see Cedric J Robinson's contention of a 'racialised' mercantilism) patriarchies from within native traditions for genuine liberation.

However, where does this leave (African) Diaspora enquiry? I will admit that this type of cultural excavation will be harder for us to do, so I can really understand how the allure of uniting under political blackness shines more brightly. But I would strongly argue that the creation of the "Negro" precisely involved the stripping away of his/her original kinship ties and with that, a dynamic but connected link with their ancestral heritages and cultures. So culturo-ethnic reconstruction for us will, of course, be much harder, especially as the "Negro", a necessarily diasporic figure, has to somehow integrate both new psychic and ancestral (via systematic rape, see Allain (2014)) knowledges of Europe (i.e. being a child of both Legba and Hermes!) However, reversing the trend of the 'economically well off' Diasporan leading the way towards African and Diasporan (economic) unity (via a Black Marxist rubric, which I agree with Andrews is a non-starter for all the reasons of Eurocentricity he cogently states) becomes a necessity. In fact, why can't our (Continental) African

family lead *us* back into forgotten cultural understandings (as best they can, neo-colonialism and neoliberalism, notwithstanding) where social unity (between genders, sexual orientations, types of disAbility and colour(ism)) can be sought along culturo-ethnic lines (as it was in the mercantile era of global interconnectedness, see, later)? For me, ancestrally hailing from the Caribbean, this would mean taking an integrated Hall/Gilroy/Shilliam/Bhambra approach to deconstructing Jamaican cultural practice (let's say around queer rights), to unpick and search (through) colonial practices for (Continental) African cultural practices (or in this case knowledges) that continue to exist liminally as cultural imprints (see Chapter 2's Hinterland discussion about 'heritable identities').

In summary, Black Radicalism, for me, is about reclaiming our cultural heritages and exploring our processes of self-determination from (within) our pre-Colonial vantage points (i.e. decolonising our minds). By reclaiming our internal worlds with the reconnection to our lost kinship ties, we no longer remain "Negroes" but become fully realised human beings with (super) complex and rich cultural and social networks that allow us to reimagine societal ordering from a non-Eurocentric perspective (or bias) (also see note 25 about Martin-Baró). The full force of what I am proposing with this idea of cultural reconnection (and integration) is that without (the necessary) psychic re-orientation there will be no economic progress because new economic models cannot come out of old societal orderings. Here I am saying that economic models support (*serve*) societal structures, not the other way around. So, Black Radicalism has to aim to change societal orderings through its claim on a 'situated' humanity. Political identification, alone will not do this for us. Now, imagine a world where there was no *one* hegemonic (in the sense of the imperial, both literally and figuratively) force but many equally regarded cosmological hinterlands, lending their children the agency to construct co-operative alliances based on equal respect and mutual benefit. (Yes, I know this resembles a rose-tinted generic version of IR theory's realism where there is no world-orderer…but imagine, nevertheless!)

Can a Pan African-Inspired Education System in the Twenty First Century Really Help Us to Retain the Knowledge of Our Historical Identities Outside of a Eurocentric View?

This is a more difficult question to answer than at first glance because we need a Pan-Africanism that recognises the role of Africa in creating Western identities. (Also see above for the more well-known obverse!) The 'modern' West and its accompanying tool of domination that is capitalism was only formed on the backs of an African Diaspora (and native indigenous peoples of the Americas) who had to morph into cultural (in the sense of dynamic knowledge *exchange*) bridges between Africa and Europe. I am thinking especially of the Caribbean diaspora from a UK (Gilroy) perspective, here. See Gilroy (1993). Also see Zeleza (2005) for an excellent critique of Gilroy's *Black Atlantic* that argues that with Gilroy's privileging of the Atlantic slave route, he places the African American (and Caribbean) experience at the centre of this global phenomenon at the expense of the non-Anglophone world.

However, in contrast, to Gilroy, Cedric J. Robinson describes the emergence of capitalism as being an uneven and gradual *European* process of mercantilism and feudalism. In making his case for the existence of 'racial capitalism', (Robinson 1983, p. 26) contends that Europe in organising itself in social hierarchies never actually did this by class but by ethnicity; "[t]he tendency of European civilization through capitalism was thus not to homogenize but to differentiate-to exaggerate regional, subcultural, and dialectical differences into 'racial' ones". Robinson (1983, p. xxxi) plots this process of racialisation from, "Aristotle [who] had articulated an uncompromising racial construct" with his thoughts:

> "[T]he deliberative faculty of the soul is not present at all in the slave; in a female it is present but ineffective" [Politics, 1260a12], non-Greeks, and all laborers (slaves, artisans, farmers, wage workers, etc.: "[T]he mass of mankind are evidently quite slavish in their tastes, preferring a life suitable to beasts". [Nicomachean Ethics, 1095b20] (p. xxxi)

To the rise of the mercati who predated the bourgeoisie and traded mainly in foodstuffs, their survival was mainly down to their itinerant

nature, travelling in 'bands' for their safety. They eventually settled down to form urban centres (porti) where they established their storehouses. These storehouses were set up just outside the 'burgs' (the fortresses of Germanic nobles). It was at this time the mercati began to be called 'burgenses' or 'bourgeosies'. As these 'porti' were set up on important trading routes or on main routes of war and communication, they began to shape European trade and production and laid the foundations for a capitalist system. Robinson describes how these bourgeoisies freed serfs in order to pay them a wage for their labour. As the population expanded, food production also needed to expand to keep a pace. So the bourgeoisie initiated long-distance trade of foodstuffs but also of human cargo, namely slaves. Most of these slaves were of European origin, "Tartar, Greek, Armenian, Russian, Bulgarian, Turkish, Circassian, Slavonic, Cretan, Arab, African (Mori), and occasionally Chinese (Cathay) slaves-two-thirds of whom were female" (p. 16), leading Pirenne (1948) to usefully summarise this economic development as, "Europe 'colonized' herself, thanks to the increase of her inhabitants" (p. 81).

For me, this is a very interesting perspective because it suggests that there was an emergent set of 'state' identities (before the eventual formation of 'nation' states), which internally arranged themselves along ethnic and racialised hierarchies. So, if population growth and mercati-cum-bourgeoisie commercial activity seeded an early 'capitalism', then it is clear that the market has always been cannibalistic (i.e. creating the racialised 'other' for commercial gain via exploited labour). It then becomes interesting to perhaps think of the market (mercantilism) as an identity-generating system that obviously predates whiteness but nevertheless, formed a very real racial template for its introduction later on.

Having described a genealogy of racialised city and state hierarchies, Robinson turns his attentions to how the racialisation of the English working classes were in fact a mere continuation of a now European capitalist system. Dialoguing with E. P. Thompson's (1966) *The Making of the English Working Class*, Robinson describes the emergence of an early form of English nationalism within the working classes that was based on Anglo-Saxon chauvinism. Rude (1964, p. 30) characterises it as:

[O]ne of the most remarkably persistent beliefs of all was that perfect "Liberties" had existed under the Saxon Kings and that these had been filched, together with their lands, from "freeborn" Englishmen by the invading Norman knights under William the Bastard in 1066. This myth of the "Norman Yoke" persisted until Chartist times [1840s] and was handed down by generations of Levellers, Whigs reared on "revolution principles," London eighteenth-century radicals and democrats nurtured on the more recent doctrines of "popular sovereignty" and the "rights of man."

Robinson (1983) describes this Anglo-Saxon chauvinism as a rallying cry of rebellion against the extreme poverty that capitalism had forced upon them. However, this form of nationalism that relied on a "'constantly recurring theme in popular ideology' in English social history eventually took the form of nationalism, but more particularly…a nationalism incorporating a virulent xenophobia" (p. 34). Using as reference points, the colonisation of Ireland and the initial unity between the Irish workers and the English working classes via the Chartist movement (much to the chagrin of the ruling classes who thought the Irish racially inferior), Robinson maps out the occurrence of the eventual animosity between the English working classes and Irish workers when the Potato Famine hit.

Without going into any more details here again (because Robinson is very detailed), what is of interest is the enduring "racial" identity-formation of the English working classes. A racial identity centred on the "popular ideology" of *Anglo-Saxon* "liberties". Robinson also notes that this chauvinism never really left the English working classes even when they became unionised (one of the first to do so).

Connected Histories and Ethnicised Mercantilism

In answering Bhambra's concerns about 'connected histories' (2007, 2010) and her challenge to the Eurocentric grand narrative, Robinson (1983) sums up *his* view of the genesis of racism within the 'West' like this:

In short, there were at least four distinct moments that must be apprehended in European racialism; two whose origins are to be found within the dialectic of European development, and two that are not:

1. the racial ordering of European society from its formative period, which extends into the medieval and feudal ages as "blood" and racial beliefs and legends.

2. the Islamic (i.e., Arab, Persian, Turkish, and African) domination of Mediterranean civilization and the consequent retarding of European social and cultural life: the Dark Ages.

3. the incorporation of African, Asian, and peoples of the New World into the world system emerging from late feudalism and merchant capitalism.

4. the dialectic of colonialism, plantocratic slavery, and resistance from the sixteenth century forward, and the formations of industrial labor and labor reserves.

It is now a convention to begin the analysis of racism in Western societies with the third moment; entirely ignoring the first and second and only partially coming to terms with the fourth. (p. 67)

I suspect Gurminder Bhambra would view the above with a little suspicion because of its European starting point and I suspect that she would also see this as a Eurocentric exercise in historiography along the lines of (interconnected) historical materialism (at best!). Whereas, I would be inclined to agree with her, nevertheless, I am fascinated by this epochal breakdown as a useful structuring of the capitalist project (for starters, especially when discussing Black Radicalism). Since the capitalist project has arguably led to global colonial devastation (physically, psychically and economically), which continues to this day, I feel it important that we try to understand its roots (and this is as good a breakdown as any). However, I would tentatively suggest that moments 1 and 2 probably took place concurrently and would have actually shaped each other, so that the racial ordering of European society was not conducted in a vacuum (of implied whiteness). I would then also place moments 3 and 4 into a similar relationship of symbiosis.

So, we have now briefly touched upon how the market (in the West) has always historically 'racialised' or ethnicised its actors. Although Marx (1975 [1870]) did indeed recognise the oppressive attitude of the English working classes towards the Irish, I am not sure he (and Engels) had fully realised the central and historical importance of 'racial' identity to 'class' formation. With hindsight, this perhaps could be seen as one of the key facets of Eurocentricism, where racial differentiation amongst different (white) ethnicities is not considered as 'racialising' because it is seen as an existential universal default (i.e. the natural diversity of humanity, see below later where I suggest that market 'racialising' is indeed just a facet of global pre-capitalist mercantile trading). So, perhaps Marx was blinded to the ethnic and racialised differences between the working classes of England and Ireland because of an accepted a priori concept of whiteness that unified them rather than seeing how it was their racialised ethnicities that separated them, in the end. This is so accepted as 'common sense' (see Chapters 2 and 4) that 'racialising' is only really recognised to occur when examining or pathologising "blackness", which speaks to the assertion that race as a social construct only came into existence with the emergence of whiteness (see Allen (2012) for analysis of how whiteness was constructed from scratch in the Virginia colonies during the seventeenth century). In fact, when Marx blamed the ruling classes for setting the English workers against the Irish, it didn't occur to him to seek an explanation for this division, despite their occupying the same 'class' within the substructure (other than to assume that the English working classes wanted to join the English ruling classes). Yes, their shared class position for a while did seem to mask their ethnic differences until the Potato famine struck and nationalist sentiments on both sides kicked in. But it is still curious that Marx did not enquire any further into the *exact* nature of the entrenched animosity between the English and Irish working classes.

If we view the market tendency to "racialise" (or ethnicise) through a 'connected histories' lens, then the fact that European mercantilism was fuelled by (albeit to a lesser degree) non-European slaves, "Arab, African (Mori), and occasionally Chinese (Cathay)" (Robinson 1983, p. 16), as many have argued, shows that at this time, slavery, as part of a world trade system, obviously had already existed in other parts of

the world. See Patterson (1982) for comparative studies of systems of slavery around the world. However, I would suggest that this universal world market-tendency "to differentiate-to exaggerate regional, subcultural, and dialectical differences into 'racial' ones" (Robinson 1983, p. xxxi) did indeed transform into a *particular* European brand of "racialised" market identity. Robinson alludes to this in his moment when discussing European expansion and the increased need for African labour, see Acemoglu et al. (2002) for an interesting economic description of this process.

So, because this chronology is extremely well documented by Robinson and others, I won't rehearse this well-known scholarship here but to say this. I am not sure Robinson's pre-capitalist mercantilism became capitalism until whiteness was created in order to justify the exploitation of the specific 'black body'. I think the racialism of the early market and its slave trading (mercantilism), that Robinson outlines as a racialised (ethnicised) European market, using the lens of "connected histories", was just a symptom of interconnected global market trading that used human labour to strengthen bourgeoisie (in a global sense) operations (e.g. servants and non-industrial scale labour). So, although the racialising template had already existed in early European mercantilism, I am not convinced that at this point it was unique in its racialising (ethnicising) tendencies (i.e. it was not racial *capitalism*). I tend to agree with the likes of Quijano (2000) and Wallerstein (2003) (using historical materialism as lens for a moment) that capitalism did not really start until the specific *African* body (the 'black' body) was commoditised as a racialised unit of work, conceptualised (and brutalised) for maximum extraction of surplus labour.

The Invention of the "Negro" and Racial Capitalism

So what I am saying in a roundabout way is that European colonial expansion tranformed its pre-existing internal racialisation (ethnicisation) of market subjects into a specific whiteness/blackness dialectic

for industrial reasons (i.e. matters of scale of production). I would have to agree with the idea of a sort of (terrible) European exceptionalism, here, as regards this 'new' market economy called capitalism that was being organically developed. And since Europe (i.e. its states and later its nation states) was already shaped by interconnected global exchange (both economic and knowledge-based), as just one power amongst many, its 'new' market taste for obscuration and re-invention became the trade mark for what we now know as whiteness and early capitalism (i.e. a pathological tool of 'mastery' for economic and epistemic dominance). I think the need to reinvent itself via omission and obscuration in order to fuel its sense of justified domination is the psychic key to whiteness. Robinson (1983, p. 4) explains this well:

> Thus the "Negro" was conceived. The Negro-whose precedents could be found in the racial fabrications concealing the Slavs (the slaves), the Irish and others-substantially eradicated in Western historical consciousness the necessity of remembering the significance of Nubia for Egypt's formation, of Egypt in the development of Greek civilization, of Africa for imperial Rome, and more pointedly of Islam's influence on Europe's economic, political, and intellectual history. From such a creature not even the suspicion of tradition needed to be entertained. In its stead there was the Black slave, a consequence masqueraded as an anthropology and a history.

For me, mercantilism became capitalism only when both economic *and* psychic constructs converged to form whiteness (and its alterego, the "Negro"), which then became synonymous with this new market formation called 'capitalism'. Robinson (1983, p. 4) continues to explain the hallmarks of capitalism's ('whiteness') psychic constructs of disavowal:

> The creation of the Negro was obviously at the cost of immense expenditures of psychic and intellectual energies in the West. The exercise was obligatory. It was an effort commensurate with the importance [of] Black labor power possessed for the world economy sculpted and dominated by the ruling and mercantile classes of Western Europe.

Nora (1996) in thinking about how French history is remembered and curated categorised this tendency of obscuration as the formation of 'modern memory', where he describes the process as cherry picking its historical social rituals/social history to conform to a capitalist agenda of renewal/expansion that is used to nation build. This 'modern' rewriting of history to strip the African human being of their history, in so doing reshaping their internal landscapes to the point of creating within them an internal struggle with agency (i.e. the colonial process c.f. Fanon (1963, 1986 [1952])) is what makes capitalism and its insidiousness what it is. For me, what Robinson describes up to this point is just a mercantilism (albeit ethnicised).

So, I don't think that the English working classes' Anglo-Saxon chauvinism as the foundation of an English Nationalism was so much of a development of European mercantile racialisation, as Robinson suggests. Even though it could have been part of its DNA, I think it was more of a reaction to the emergence of a market whiteness that had already distinguished itself in relation to blackness by that point. As Robinson (1983, p. 116) points out:

> We may now have sufficient grounds for saying that in the New World, the British (and French) entrepreneurs-following the models provided by the Portuguese, Spanish, and the Dutch-substantially substituted human capital for commodities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We will follow this British trade for the moment because it seems the best documented, because it so firmly seats slavery in the movement from mercantile to industrial capitalism…

Elsewhere, (see Clennon (2017)), I write that class is merely a substructural expression of race, as the English working classes, invariably racialised-as-white, fought hard to protect their market positions, (within their unions) when commonwealth workers tried to enter the labour market. Robinson and Rude's observation of historical xenophobic Anglo-Saxon chauvinism explains this behaviour well. I have also written about a return of a synthetic British Nationalism that led to the Brexit vote (see Clennon (2017); Chapter 3). Seen in this historical light, this

Anglo-Saxon chauvinism that implicitly identifies with 'whiteness' within the context of Empire (and before, obviously) had never really left the national psyches (of both the ruling and working classes). If we view this as one of the original identities of (British nationalism cum) capitalism, we can perhaps begin to understand the more recent market positioning of Eastern Europeans as "black" during the Referendum campaign. I have written that the current market has moved away, somewhat from specific racial loci to relational whiteness/blackness template-positions (Clennon 2016). Ironically, could it now be seen that the market is reverting back to its original mercantile modus operandi of ethnic differentiation, only this time maintaining its *specific strategy* for psychic racial domination (i.e. 'appearance', ideology and holographic representation)? Although, according to the previous economic and psychic definitions, this would still be capitalism albeit slightly altered!

So, in summary (for now) without having an integrative approach to the development of "modernity", (in the sense of both Gilroy and Bhambra), we run the risk of an "essentialist" Pan-Africanism (see above) just being another form of (Western-inspired) capitalism but with a Black face (see Clennon (2016)). No progress made ultimately. See How Africa (2015) for an Open Letter to "African Intellectuals" that eloquently outlines this dilemma from an African perspective. I share this letter because it also outlines the key challenges we have in forming an intellectual centre for a Pan-Africanism that meaningfully encompasses both Africa and her Diasporas. Also see Chapter 4, note 20 for a similar discussion about non-Western feminism.

Conclusion

So, what is my role as a black academic? In these turbulent times, where the politics of hate are increasingly being seen as normal, my role is to contribute to perhaps, the thirteenth labour of reimagining what we need from a Pan Africanist ideology. We desperately need to have an alternative and effective intellectual movement that is able to bolster our battles against the beast. But we must not merely recreate the old beast in our image! We need an entirely new system and ideology, where

justice is finally dispensed. A system that enables us to live in equity with our neighbours. Perhaps and only when we have a clearer idea of where we are going, we might just be able to think about an economic alternative to make justice and equity everyday *material* realities for everyone.

In the final chapter, I will explore how modern Pan-Africanism (Black Radicalism via grassroots education) can help in the grassroots to counter the perceived state threat of community self-care and self-determination.

Notes

1. See Channel4 News (2015) for a report on Nigel Farage's plans to scap discrimination laws.
2. See Bloom (2016) for a report on how Nigel Farage's Brexit group targeted National Front supporters using ads on Facebook.
3. UKIP (UK Independence Party) were deliberately mobilising BNP (British National Party) supporters towards a vote for Brexit. The BNP has always campaigned for a fundamentalist view of British (White) nationalism, so were happy to use the Referendum to promote their political beliefs and influence mainstream opinion. So if we leave, what will happen to this unholy alliance? What influences will they then have on UK mainstream politics?
4. See Henley et al. (2016) for a report into the rise of distrust across Europe of its mainstream parties.
5. See Connolly (2016) for a profile of Frauke Petry who seems to be the acceptable face of Germany's new right party.
6. Although on balance as a person of colour, I would prefer to be protected by the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR 1948) rather than a fuzzy bill of British rights that are, as yet, undefined like their counterparts, British values.
7. See discussion.
8. See Matos (2015) for an account of the Politics of Hate in US politics and the role of Donald Trump. The symbol of the politics of hate in the UK is Nigel Farage (UKIP leader) posing in front of a poster (Wright 2016) that evokes Enoch Powell's now infamous (2007 [1968]) *Rivers of Blood Speech*.

9. See Slawson (2016) for a report about the murder of an MP that was committed by a member of Britain First, a fundamentalist far-right nationalist group.
10. See Clennon (2016b) where, I argue that the British amnesia of our brutal and horrific colonial past is preventing us from dealing with our damaged cultural legacy, where lessons from the past go unlearned. See notes 3, 8 and 26.
11. See Jacobson (2016) for a report of a false claim from Trump that Muslims don't assimilate into US society.
12. See BBC News (2015) for statistics for gun violence. Also see Smith et al. (2016) for a report on the largest mass shooting massacre in US history of Black and Latinx LGBTQ club goers although we must not forget the previous far right terrorist mass shooting in a black church in Charleston (Reuters 2016) for its racial significance, either.
13. See Berliner (2013) for a report about the low numbers of 'black' professors in the UK.
14. See Bell and Clennon (2016) for a discussion about how we as academics attempt to engage with our local communities. Also see Choudry (2015) for an important review of learning that can emerge from Social Movement, Non-formal and Informal Learning types of activism.
15. See Chapters 2 and 4.
16. See Clennon (2015) about how capitalism (neoliberalism) controls the cultures of our institutions. Also see Clennon (2016b) about the insidious impact of neoliberalism on our psyches. Also see Chapter 3's Hinterland discussion.
17. How these laws came into being is inextricably linked to how our colonial institutions were set up, of course.
18. See Foucault (1977) for how the prison conditions the inmate to such an extent with its values and ways of thinking that it brings the inmate to accept his captivity that even when he is set free, he still behaves as though he were incarcerated. See also Chapter 1 for Charles Mills' (1997) "racial contract".
19. See Chapter 4 for my work with supplementary schools, which very much pushes back against how mainstream education acts to indoctrinate the minds of our young people with the values of dominant system. Also see Freire (1973) for "critical pedagogy" which aims to re-educate children to know their heritage and to be able identify the power structures that seek to dehumanise and oppress them. Also see Andrews (2013) who writes at great length about UK Black

Supplementary Schools and how their movement was established to bring a critical pedagogy to black communities, where education was reshaped into a force for political transformation. Also, see Earl (2014) for a discussion about the radical nature of education and how it can be used as a form of political protest. Interestingly, my interdisciplinary research with community activists within the field of law has been coming to similar conclusions with the concept of "socio-legal consciousness", see Clennon (2016c) for more details.

20. See Althusser (1970) for a description of the media being a mouthpiece for transmitting the values of the state, which he believes is fundamentally repressive.

21. See note 8. Our present terror laws are being used as excuses to increasingly curb our civil liberties. See Clennon (2016) where I argue how the system has used the fear of terror to engender a politics of fear and paranoia, in turn normalising a national Islamophobia that finds certain communities under constant surveillance and considered a constant threat.

22. See Clennon (2017) for a discussion about how C. L. R James struggled with this question as he pondered Marx and Lenin and their proposed alternatives to our current system.

23. See Fanon (1986 [1952]) for a description of how the black body is reduced to a phobic object of fear and is dehumanised to become just a site of fear (not a human being) whose identity is derived entirely from white fear.

24. See Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) who say that we become complicit in our own oppression when we wilfully ignore the social inequalities that enable the system to survive. See Chapter 4, note 11. Also see Clennon (2016a) where I argue that the market sells us the dream of market freedom and individuality as a means of keeping us trapped in its captivity.

25. See Martin-Baró (1994) who advocates the educating of our young people in a pedagogy that teaches them to recover their historical memories, where they are taught to decouple their understanding of their histories from the official mainstream narrative. Also see Chapter 3, note 4. Also see discussion.

26. See discussion.

27. See hooks and West (1999) who articulate this daily struggle well in their conversation.

28. Mind control that tells us, 'children of Legba' as Robbie Shilliam calls us (see Shilliam (2015, p. 18) see discussion), that neoliberalism is king and we must attain personal wealth at any cost, which means turning on each other and even killing each other just for personal gain but crucially never being able to work together and build each other up. A mind set that keeps us stuck in material and ideological poverty never being able to achieve our full liberation (potential) from our new masters (our past colonial masters, now dressed up as masters of advanced capitalism aka "masters of the universe", see McGee (2010, p. 129)). In short, trapped in our Foucauldian plantation!

29. Of course, taken from Marcus Garvey's 1937 Nova Scotia speech.

30. See Chapters 1 and 2.

31. The UK's first Black Studies BA Honours degree at Birmingham City University is a major development in this war against oppressive ideologies (politics of hate).

32. Far too many to mention but obviously organisations that come to mind are: PAC 45, Black British Academics, Media Diversified, Making Education a Priority (MEaP), CAHN (Caribbean and African Health Network), The Ubele Initiative, BARAC (Black Activist Rising Against Cuts), OBV (Operation Black Vote), UK Black Pride, BlackOut UK, Runnymede Trust, ROTA (Race on the Agenda), Race Equality Foundation and many many more from different intersectional battlegrounds! See Clennon (2015), where I argue that neoliberalism's goal is to keep us atomised and separate as units of labour that can be more easily exploited. In our case as soldiers of knowledge, we have to take our lead from Hercules and his nephew (see Chapter 1), where we work to build 'intersectional' alliances with each other, where we combine our knowledge and where we collectively boost our intellectual networks as we form strong communities of practice.

33. See Clennon (2016d).

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6

Resisting Post-truth Whiteness: The Grassroots as Sites of Black Radical Activism

Abstract In this chapter, Ornette D. Clennon traces the colonial origins of 'post-truth' politics. Clennon also ponders whether we are witnessing the final iteration of neoliberalism where colonial racial templates of social ordering have been liminally deracialised and adopted by the profit-obsessed market in order to subject an ever-widening demographic to social inequality. Clennon finally wonders what the impact of this market development will have on grassroots community self-determination.

Keywords Whiteness · Post-truth · Black Radicalism · Grassroots communities · Market

Our Colonial Legacy…

In a community discussion about Frantz Fanon's essay *Concerning Violence*,[1] (as brutally visualised by Goran Olsson's (2014) eponymous film[2]) I remember arguing why I rejected the idea that we are entering a *new* phase of fascism with a rebooted far right ideology that the

mainstream media is now rebranding as 'post-truth' populism. I have often argued that colonialism and its tools of racist and racial subjection have long existed before this so-called new populist phenomenon and these tools have even been used as a template for current political developments.[3] But upon reflection, I am coming to realise that what is *new* is not the barbarity of current social inequality or even its methods of subjection but its maturation as the ultimate product of capitalism. Frantz Fanon, in *Concerning Violence* tracks an unerring timeline that organically traces the development of colonialism into capitalism. He also explains how the brutality of colonial oppression was far more than just a physical reality because it penetrated deeply to an internal psychic level in the subject. Colonialism had perfected its methods of oppression and suppression by gnawing away at the layers of human agency. For Fanon, colonial objectification challenged the very core of understanding of what it is to be a human being.

To be a human being is to have an internal world (as well as an external one in relation to others). However, when that interior world is denied to the subject because only their bodies are recognised as instruments of agency (and only for others), we arrive at a pernicious form of psychic violation.[4] A violation of privacy that paradoxically has been stripped away from the individual by its denial. What is even more violent is that by the time the replacement of the subject's innate interior world is supplanted by a psychic representation of their external subjugation, their personal agency has all but disappeared. Nearly.[5] When Fanon was treating his patients, he tried to remedy their stolen agency by getting them to see just how hollowed out their colonial psyches were. He also showed them how they could choose to respond to their distorted interiors and generate personal agency.[6]

Stealing Our Psychic Interiors

So, at the height of colonialism, how was this theft carried out? It was quite simply but devastatingly executed by repeatedly telling the colonial subject that they had no history, identity or independent (pre-colonial) worldview of any value. Using state apparatus, such as

education,[7] history books propagandised distorted historical narratives of colonial nations and their colonised subjects. Laws were unevenly applied in ways that fixed the societal status of individuals within a systemic hierarchy.[8] Social mores re-enforced the 'immutable reality' of a status quo, out of which the subject was forced to performatively hail themselves into (social) being.[9] The list of these forms of social conditioning goes on, of course.

However, what is *new* is how all of these mechanisms have been truly co-opted by the market. What we are witnessing is how colonialism, which birthed capitalism that then morphed into neoliberalism has come of age. The child has now become an adult. Elsewhere,[10] I write at length about how racial formation, racial rule and the resulting racial contract of colonialism has become a template for contemporary ('non-racial') market relations between social actors. I also outline how the stripping away of human agency that is characterised by the colonial violation of the subject's interior world has now been marketised and normalised in the form of "individuality" or "market freedoms".[11]

Market Simulations as New Psychic Interiors in the New Era of Post-truth

It is worth outlining this process of market individuation again only because of its immediate and urgent political importance. The market strives to innovate in order to accumulate capital and it does this by wilfully ignoring and indeed trying to erase historical innovation[12] that undermines its property rights and ability to turn profit. The market is able to do this by convincing its social actors that they are "individuals" with "market freedoms" to do anything that they want. They are given "market freedoms" for Simmelian market reinvention[13] only on the proviso that they leave their social knowledge at the threshold of the market place. As Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno[14] correctly deduce, any ideas of personal agency that the subject has upon entering the market are seen as being superfluous or dangerous, so must be excised from the now market actor (a hallmark of whiteness in the market). David Graeber describes this as a form of social death.[15] The

consequences of this are that the histories and identities that make up the social knowledge of the individual before entering the market are deliberately stripped away leaving an empty husk ready to be filled with something else.[16]

The market then fills the individual with its own interpretation of how a market actor should be and presents this as the only acceptable form of (marketised) social knowledge. Obviously, this is not a *social* knowledge because the market actor is encouraged to act as a market *individual*; it is a *market* knowledge. It is a 'knowledge of the market' that the market actor is convinced they can utilise and commoditise for the accumulation of personal profit. However, the knowledge of the market given to the market actor is just a mere illusion of agency designed to manipulate and secretly extract as much information from the market actor as possible to further its own systemic ends.

Elsewhere,[17] I write at length about the how the market obscures this process of domination via super-complexity à la Friedrich Hayek[18] or surveillance à la Jeremy Bentham.[19] But remember that we are talking about smoke and mirrors, here. Since the days of colonialism, we have indeed already been operating at the level of Jean Baudrillard's third simulation of reality where the deception (of subjugation) has been masquerading as (universal) truth.[20] In real world terms, this means that the elites have always issued edicts of 'truth' about a mediated (curated) narrative of history or identity (that profits them to the demise of others). This 'truth' has always been accepted as an infallible proclamation of the world as having been true in history and true in perpetuity according Pierre Bourdieu's taste-making powers of habitus.[21] Such colonial proclamations have been violating 'coloured' psyches for centuries.

However, with the arrival of the concept of post-truth[22] especially within the arena of politics, we are now having to grapple with Baudrillard's fourth level of deception, where crucially, deception no longer needs to masquerade as a universal truth.[23] Here post-truth is a deception that openly rejects 'evidence' in favour of its own self-importance and routinely invents provenance to back up its own subjectivities (mainly feelings of grievance). So, we are either witnessing the destruction of the myth of "universality", the main ideological staple of

Eurocentrism or its reinvention by a smaller circle of elite. Hard to tell, right now but it is ironic that today's 'experts' are routinely denigrated and their vilification is now becoming normalised. Whether it be the economists who argued that Brexit had the potential to do more harm than good to the UK economy[24] or the judges whose deliberations to uphold parliamentary sovereignty were deemed treasonous.[25] How the elite seems to have fallen! How these former stalwarts of our Eurocentric institutions seem to have fallen out of favour, where their former universal edicts of 'truth', previously supported by institutional and canonical 'evidence', are now being deemed irrelevant.

But who are the new gatekeepers of this post-truth? This is an intriguing question because the elites who appear to be currently holding the balance of 'post-truth' power have seemingly emerged from the traditional ranks of the existing elite. Whether they are attempting to build a new universal 'reality' or feel that they don't need to be universal, just all powerful, is perhaps too soon to tell. What we can tell, however, is that the innate, colonial fascism of the capitalist project has matured into its own self-legitimising narrative with corresponding agency. As I have written elsewhere,[26] neoliberalism has begun to cannibalise itself and is beginning to devour or emasculate its capitalist parents.[27]

I think that the neoliberal tendency to isolate its market actors has been given renewed legitimacy through its Baudrillardian 'post-truth'. This market isolation is manifesting itself in grass roots forms of all sorts of cuts to public services.[28] The market actor is progressively being cut adrift in terms of their systemic support. As the market forces the state to withdraw these services and also as the market actor becomes ever more surveilled by the state in their isolation,[29] is there any way to fight back?

Community Resistance?

As Fanon's *Concerning Violence* spoke about the violence of colonialism and its sometimes-violent ripostes from the oppressed, in our community discussion, we identified that violence takes many forms. Prompted by Audre Lorde's ideas about self-care,[30] we explored how

merely looking out for one's own interests in the face of market oppression can also be seen as an act of political violence. Here, we begin to see an interesting potential 'post-truth' era of inversion, where building community in the face of market gentrification could be interpreted as a threat to society. Kronos' violent changing of the guard could easily be represented by the potential recasting of David Cameron's early ideas of Big Society,[31] as political and cultural subversion. In community terms, viewed through a now normalised post-truth lens, marginalised groups who have always tirelessly striven to form "community" and enact Big Society ideals in order to survive and look after themselves, are now regarded as self-segregating communities who need to integrate.[32] Through a post-truth lens, we also observe the market 'violently' imposing its version of integration through the politely named process of gentrification, which the recent Casey review oddly seems not to address.[33] Big Society communities are increasingly confronted by a market process that drives them out of their neighbourhoods because of rising property prices and (pop up) economies against which they cannot compete. I have written at length elsewhere,[34] how black and minority ethnic communities have long been the canaries in the mine warning of this spread of social and economic oppression.[35] Of course, by and large, they have been tolerated as Cassandras but now their unheeded warnings are coming to pass and the now marketised pain of past and present racial oppression is beginning to affect a wider demographic, we have, it seems, finally reached a point of ideological warfare.

Discussion of Some of the Themes, So Far: A Theoretical Hinterland

Big Society and Self-Segregating Communities

In March this year, I was invited by Manchester City Council to attend a community and government consultation meeting on its *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (HM Government 2018). The consultation was led by civil servants from the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government who drafted the strategy.

The consensus of the attendees was that the paper placed too much emphasis on ethnic minorities as the cause of the lack of integration. Even though it was acknowledged that the paper recognised that integration is a "two way street" (in direct contrast to the 2016 Casey Review), it was felt that this sentiment was undermined by not mentioning the integration responsibilities of the ethnic majority in any detailed terms. This feeling was compounded by the observation that the attendees in this consultation were majority non-white with only two white participants in the room. We felt that although the ethnic imbalance in the room was no fault of the organisers (or anyone else's), it did symbolise the wider challenges around the lack of willingness of the ethnic majority to engage with issues around integration.

We also discussed the lack of explicit presence of structural racism in the Green Paper. We were told that focusing on race constituted compartmentalising the Green Paper and its potential integration suggestions. I had to point out that BAME people, in particular, young black men are still disproportionately more un(der)employed than their white working class counterparts (this even includes black male graduates (Allen 2016)). Young black men are also disproportionately represented in the criminal justice system as documented in The Lammy Review (GOV.UK 2017) and the list goes on. I also made the point that in being aware of these statistics, it becomes pernicious not to see race and racial discrimination as an overarching theme for social inequalities. We then asked about the relationship between this Green Paper and the Race Disparity Audit (GOV.UK 2018). No clear explanation of the link was given. We were told that these issues had been already dealt with by the Race Disparity Audit. We asked why this paper was not built on the conclusions of the Audit. No real response was given. We felt that race and its structural discrimination were both being side-lined. We urged the team from the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government to not do this and to make it central.

An interesting point was made, however, about the role that (some) ethnic minorities play in a lack of integration. I think this was a fair point but leads to a wider discussion about ethnic minorities being clumped together as a BAME group with very little detailed

distinction between the historical narratives of the various ethnic groups that constitute each letter of the acronym (see Chapter 1). The Green Paper's suggestion of setting up "community-based conversation clubs" really reminded me of the old Community Relations Boards, which served to artificially homogenise the diverse ethnic (colonial) narratives into a singular "political blackness" of opposition to racial discrimination (see Chapter 5's Hinterland discussion about Black Radicalism!) I am not entirely sure that going back to this would be a wise move. We need to have the space for all ethnic groups to freely and honestly discuss their differences—I am thinking especially in terms of the pervasive anti-blackness that seems to be a stubbornly embedded mindset in certain communities (see Chapter 2's Hinterland discussion). In my formal (written) feedback to the consultation team, which was more focused on supplementary schools and their role in community integration, I made the point that these conversations are already being conducted across the wider communities that these schools serve (bearing in mind that supplementary schools tend to be set up and run voluntarily by parents). See Chapter 4 about supplementary schools.

Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper Greater Manchester's Supplementary Schools' Policy Recommendations

As a result of our initial government and community consultation on the *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (HM Government 2018), Manchester City Council and I arranged two focus group meetings with a range of BAME supplementary schools from Greater Manchester's African and African Caribbean, Somali, Muslim, Arab and Chinese communities, in May this year. Our discussions with the focus groups revealed the wide range of activities that our supplementary schools undertake and although their central focus is education, they very much act as community hubs with the potential to deliver an even greater range of community services. The overwhelming sentiment from our groups was that the government needs to greatly expand its current recognition of 'out-of-school settings' to include the wide range of community

activities that supplementary schools already run to "build[ing] strong, integrated communities" that "challeng[ing] attitudes and practices which…foster[ing] division" (HM Government 2018, p. 16).

Our Policy recommendations from our focus group consultation sessions were as follows:

> We would suggest that funding is needed for pilot projects that promote community cohesion [of course, employing ethno-philosophical values for all of the cultures represented by our Greater Manchester Supplementary Schools] and inter-school cooperation. These pilot projects could act as opportunities for supplementary schools to build track-records for larger consortium-based commissioned community services (e.g. youth engagement, adult literacy, etc.)

> We would suggest that more funding is needed to create a dedicated Local Authority team that looks after safeguarding and (teacher) training for supplementary schools. This team would also be responsible for managing any paper work that future regulation might create. (Clennon 2018)

Conclusion

It looks as though we will increasingly have to get used to our resistance to this neoliberal post-truth machine as being seen as violent, even as we only go about trying to help our communities retain a sense of self and agency.[36] Our traditionally marginalised groups have always fought this fight to protect their communities and communal sense of well-being. However, our grown up (populist) neoliberal Kronos is inevitably going to marginalise an even larger demographic of people, especially those who currently support him in the mistaken belief that he has their best interests at heart.[37]

So, will we come together in social unity to resist this? We do actually have the seeds of genuine revolution and of an equally genuine paradigm shift. But will the system alienate enough people who are willing to fight for change? We will have to wait and see but I get the sense that we won't have long to wait, as we stand staring over a precipice.

Notes

1. See Fanon (1963) and also see Clennon (2016c) for the community discussion about the film held at the Fade to Black Film Festival in Manchester.
2. See Olsson (2014).
3. See Clennon (2016a, paras 2–4):
   Here, I am particularly reminded of Lewis Gordon's (2016) contention that the political turmoil that we are experiencing has direct roots in certain readily identifiable historical precedents….But what does Gordon mean? Césaire (1972, p. 3) gives us a clue in his *Discourse on Colonialism* when he writes:

   > People are surprised, they become indignant. They say: "How strange! But never mind – it's Nazism, it will pass!" And they wait, and they hope; and they hide the truth from themselves, that it is barbarism, but the supreme barbarism, the crowning barbarism that sums up all the daily barbarisms; that it is Nazism, yes, but that before they were its victims, they were its accomplices; that they tolerated that Nazism before it was inflicted on them, that they absolved it, shut their eyes to it, legitimized it, because, until then, it had been applied only to non-European peoples; that they have cultivated that Nazism, that they are responsible for it, and that before engulfing the whole of Western, Christian civilization in its reddened waters, it oozes, seeps, and trickles from every crack.

   Césaire clearly lays out how our collective casual acceptance of the brutality of colonialism ("Nazism" applied to non-European peoples) has allowed us to turn a blind eye to the re-emergence of fascism or fascist tendencies within our era of demagoguery. In their book, *The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide and the Colonial Roots of Nazism*, Erichsen and Olusoga (2010) even go as far as to show how the barbaric colonial practices of ethnic cleansing in South West Africa (modern Namibia) acted as a template for the formation of the Nazi Party.
4. See Chapter 5's Hinterland discussion.
5. See Du Bois (1903) for his thoughts about "double consciousness" (p. 8) that describes the internal struggle for personal agency for the racialised-as-black subject. Also see Clennon (2017); Chapter 6

for a parallel argument that uses Lewis Gordon's 'bad faith' to describe a comparable internal struggle for personal agency for the racialised-as-white subject. Also see Chapter 4, note 19.

6. Nelson Maldonado Torres (2005) introduces us to Fanon's concept of sociogeny, which seeks to explore the interior nature of hierarchical colonial oppression within the subject. Also see Chapter 2, note 3.

7. See Bourdieu and Passeron (2000 [1977]) for a discussion about the symbolic violence of education and how it is used to oppress us on behalf of the state. See Chapter 4, note 11.

8. See Fields (1982, 1990) and Mills (1997) for a full explanation of racial contract theory and its role in fixing racial hierarchy in place in creating whiteness (see Chapter 5, note 26). Also see Chapter 1.

9. See Butler (1997, p. 17) for a full discussion of performativty, where she reminds us that "the subject is neither fully determined by power nor fully determing of power (but significantly and partially both)". Also Chapter 3, note 6.

10. See Clennon (2017); Chapter 6 and see Chapter 1.

11. See Clennon (2016b, pp. 104, 105) for an exploration of the psycho-pathological structures of the Hegelian whiteness/blackness dialectic that are in turn transformed into market relationships.

> To further explain why racism holds on to its "unique endowments" so doggedly, we can perhaps turn to Judith Butler who talks about how the subject is hailed into being by power whilst internalising and transforming its performative effects. This is a discursive view of the subject, which keeps its essence in perpetual motion; a blurring of the distinct. If we apply this to male 'whiteness', its implied performative genesis becomes very interesting indeed. In this scenario, male 'whiteness' is hailed into being by male 'blackness' [as its Lacanian 'imago'] as it transforms and internalises the latter's masculine power as its own, in so doing keeping its sense of distinctiveness in perpetual motion. This seems to me to be slightly different to the Lacanian reading of a subject, where he believes that a subject is actuated by its constant realisation of that which alienates and separates it from the "Other". Although Lacan sees this as the subject as never being fully formed or stable, I tend to read this process of alienation and separation as an additive process where the "self" is constantly growing in self-awareness and it is the subject that houses this

growth or movement of the self. In other words, the first process of alienation and separation can be seen as the original identifier of the self where other phases of alienation and separation act to re-enforce and/or "re-articulate" the first process. In this sense, the primary acts of alienation and separation can be viewed as a "line of tendential force" beyond which we cannot meaningfully re-articulate.......However, Butler sees the subject as being even more inherently unstable and unknowable than Lacan, as she posits that even the formation of the "self" is from the outset contaminated by power.

12. See Gordon (2016) and Nora (1996) where both Gordon and Nora describe the 'modern' tendency (and a hallmark of whiteness) of the market to constantly reinvent the present at the expense of the past. See Chapter 5's Hinterland discussion.
13. See Simmel (1971) and also see Clennon (2015); Chapter 4 for discussion about how the opportunity for blasé self-reinvention has historically not been afforded the 'black' market actor.
14. See Horkheimer and Adorno (1944 [2002], p. 106)

   Anyone who does not conform is condemned to an economic impotence, which is prolonged in the intellectual powerlessness of the eccentric loner. Disconnected from the mainstream he is easily convicted of inadequacy.

15. See Graeber (2006, p. 79)

   (1) Both rely on a *separation of the place of social (re)production of the labor force, and the place where that labor-power is realized in production* – in the case of slavery, this is effected by transporting laborers bought or stolen from one society into another one; in capitalism, by separating the domestic sphere (the sphere of social production) from the workplace. In other words, what is effected by physical distance in one is effected by the anonymity of the market in the other.
   (2) The transfer is effected through *exchanging human powers for money*: either by selling workers, or hiring them (essentially, allowing them to rent themselves).

(3) One effect of that transfer is '*social death*', in the sense that the community ties, kinship relations and so forth that shaped the worker are, in principle, supposed to have no relevance in the workplace. This is true in capitalism too, at least in principle: a worker's ethnic identity, social networks, kin ties and the rest should not have any effect on hiring or how one is treated in the office or shop floor, though of course in reality this isn't true.

16. See Krishnaswarmy (2002, p. 108) "corporate globalization is thriving precisely by emptying out the subversive potential in culture". See Chapter 5's Hinterland discussions for the making of the "Negro". In this context, the African subject that had been 'emptied out' formed the "Negro" (see Chapter 5, notes 7 and 26). The "Negro" acted as a market "appearance" (see Chapter 2, note 20) where the bodily 'modes of production' were inverted (by whiteness) to favour the product (i.e. sugar and cotton). So, the barbaric conditions of slavery, as buttressed by the law remained 'hidden' or, at least unheralded to the UK and Northern US states public who enjoyed the products of the slave labour from a far. The slaves would have undoubtedly remained 'inverted' had it not been for their numerous large-scale and widespread rebellions. So their presence and role in the market left no choice but to be acknowledged but in a sanitised manner (a sanitised "appearance" of the market). See Bradley (1998) for accounts of how the conditions and extremely harsh treatment of the slaves were systematically minimised by the press of the day, helping to maintain a Marxian market 'ideology'. However, with "corporate globalisation", the "Negro" left the market of 'production' and entered the market of 'consumption'. And with that the Baudrillardian market hologram of 'appearance', where it is the visual (but still conceptual) image of the African Diasporan subject (i.e. the 'black body'. Also see Chapter 3 for discussion about the "nigger" in this commercial context) that has now been "emptied out" and replaced with third level Baudrillardian deception 'sign value' (see note 20) in order to sell product (Collins 2006).
17. See Clennon (2016b).
18. See Hayek (1976). Also see Clennon (2016a, p. 111) "Hayek is implying here that the system is just too large and complex to be knowable by a single entity (an individual or corporate entity)".
19. See Bentham (1787). Also see Clennon (2016a, p. 115)

> Bentham's model clearly configures the panopticon as an institution with coercive (persuasive) discipline powers from which the occupants want to escape. However, rather intriguingly the inspector can only contrive the rewards or punishments based on their shadow-approximations. So in turn, the market can only reward or penalise the (reluctant) 'individual' based on its approximations of social knowledge, which like abstract labour cannot be fully costed and so will always be costed downwards; this is what we recognise as market costs and other market indicators.

20. See Baudrillard (1981). Also see Chapter 2, note 21; a "covert deceptive distortion (masquerading as a faithful reproduction)".
21. See Bourdieu (1984). Also see Chapter 1, note 12.
22. See Flood (2016) and also see Weigel (2016) who describe how the established discourse around social equality has been labelled as 'political correctness' in order to push back against any perceived loss of historical racial privilege. This is an interesting development that explains the rancour and pent up frustration behind the post-truth voting intentions of the white working (and middle) classes.
23. See Baudrillard (1981). Also see Chapter 2, note 21; an "overt deceptive distortion (that is self-referential)".
24. See Sodha et al. (2016) for a report about how "[n]ine out of 10 of the country's top economists working across academia, the City, industry, small businesses and the public sector believe the British economy will be harmed by Brexit, according to the biggest survey of its kind ever conducted".
25. See Phipps (2016) for an account of how "a portion of the British media exercised its own prerogative: to attack the judges behind the ruling".
26. See Clennon (2016a). Also see note 3.
27. I am particularly reminded of the castration of Uranus by his son Kronos in Greek mythology, as an apt allegory for describing contemporary political developments.
28. From cuts to the provision of social care for our elderly and the vulnerable, to the closing down of local bus services, to the closing down of libraries, to cuts to mental health services, to cuts to children services, the list goes on and on. Also see Matthews-King (2017) reporting on a BMJ study (Watkins et al. 2017) that links 120,000 deaths to the government's Austerity programme.

29. They are hemmed in and partially blinded to these growing inequalities by their knowledge of the market for personal gain. Also see note 19 about Bentham's 'panopticon'.
30. See Lorde (1988, p. 131) "Caring for myself is not self-indulgence, it is self-preservation, and that is an act of political warfare." See Chapter 5, note 7 for a description of Black Radicalism which fits Lorde's idea of self-care and self-preservation at a community level.
31. See Cameron (2010).
32. See discussion.
33. Dada and Ferjani (2016) write passionately about how gentrification is negatively transforming many parts of inner London.
34. See Clennon (2016a).
35. See discussion.
36. See Ferrari (2016) for a report on how Nigel Farage publically attacking Brendan Cox, the widower of the murdered MP Jo Cox, for supporting the anti-hate/racism/fascism campaigning group *Hope Not Hate* is a case in point that graphically illustrates post-truth Lordean subversion. Judging by the treatment of this campaigning group, how would *our* grassroots activities around Black Radicalism fair, in this current environment? See Chapters 4 and 5.
37. See Haddad (2016) who writes "[p]ost-truth is the new reality we need all to deal with if we want to save the soul of democracy and its noble mission".

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