

**Negotiating memories: Elderly Caribbeans remembering the
racist 1964 general elections in Smethwick, West Midlands**

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Abstract

This research seeks to enhance the geographical study of memory by considering the importance of memory and place in relation to the construction of identity. The study considers the ways in which past experiences are memorialised and its impact on related identities in Smethwick, a town significantly known for its industrial past. The Oral history interviews will reflect on the ways in which individuals negotiated their daily lives and coped with racial pressures, whilst promoting considerations of identity and belonging. This research concludes by emphasising the importance of personal narratives and memory in the construction of identity to gain unique insights into the past.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. This study and its Aims

Many scholars have argued that particular historical events are reasonably well remembered at a local or an individual level, but a silence prevails at a public level (Dodd, 2008; Solomos, 2003; Davis and Starn 1989). The study of memory in geography touches mostly on collective memories, particularly those centred on national identities (Johns and Pratt 2009). However, according to Gillis (1994) geographers must deconstruct the notion of collective memory and take individual memory and narratives into consideration. This dissertation will aim to address this research gap, by acknowledging the importance of private commemoration practices through the examination of individual memory and place which forms much of the context for modern-day identities (Misztal, 2003; Gillis, 1994).

The leading purpose of this study is to explore the everyday lives and memories of elderly Caribbeans between 1961 and 1965 in Smethwick, West Midlands with a particular focus upon the 1964 general elections where immigration became a central political debate and a contentious topic. In particular, the study seeks to examine the ways in which elderly Caribbeans commemorate the 1964 elections, which allows for an understanding of how their identity has been informed by their experiences and memories of this period. This study will also consider the Foucauldian power/knowledge nexus to examine physical sites of memory on formations of African Caribbean identity. My research aims are:

- To explore the period between 1961 and 1965 focusing on the atmosphere around the 1964 elections in Smethwick, West Midlands as experienced by Caribbean migrants
- To examine the ways in which this period in Smethwick contributed to the evolving identities of Caribbean migrants

- To investigate the complexity of place and remembering

1.2. Locating Smethwick

Smethwick is a town in Sandwell, West Midlands and is located four miles North-West of Birmingham. The town is situated South and East of Birmingham areas such as Edgbaston and Handsworth, and North and West of Black Country towns such as Tipton, West Bromwich and Oldbury. Before being adjoined with the Metropolitan Borough of Sandwell in the mid 1960s, it was a town situated on the border of the Black Country. The Black Country gets its name from its smoky and sooty industrial heritage (BBC, 2006) and consists of the District Council areas, Wolverhampton, Sandwell, Dudley and Walsall.

1.3. The ‘Smethwick Problem’

The period between 1961 and 1965 was significant as in 1962 legislative powers were implemented for the first time to restrict immigration from the Commonwealth countries. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 was introduced to prevent a multi-racial Britain, however, this Act had the opposite effect. According to Spencer (1997) ‘the Act encouraged those who had settled temporarily to decide to remain in Britain



Figure 1. Racist graffiti on Victoria road, Smethwick in 1962.
<http://www.search.connectinghistories.org.uk/Details.aspx?&ResourceID=1336&SearchType=2&ThemeID=7>

permanently’ (Spencer, 1997:232). He goes onto suggest that without the Act the migrant population would have fallen as many had the intention of saving money to return home (Spencer, 1997). Furthermore, due to the strict controls of the Act many migrants rushed to enter Britain before it came into effect in July 1962. Thus, this study focuses on the racial

tensions that were arising beforehand in Smethwick to explore Caribbean experiences prior to and during the 1964 general elections.

The shortage of labour after the Second World War meant that citizens from the Commonwealth countries arrived in Britain to meet the demand for labour. Due to its industrial foundations and employment market, Smethwick attracted many migrant workers and according to Phillips and Phillips (1998) by 1964 there were '70,000 migrants who lived in Birmingham, West Midlands of which 4,500 lived in Smethwick' (Phillips and Phillips, 1998:124). The council house waiting list of more than four thousand was linked to the issue of immigration and housing in Smethwick and many whites in the area believed that immigration into Smethwick had lessened the value of the homes in the area, and exacerbated the housing shortage. Although racial discrimination and resentment towards Caribbeans and those from the Commonwealth countries were prevalent across Britain, there was a national focus on Smethwick. This was due to the 1964 general elections where the local Conservative MP Peter Griffiths and conservative members used their political power to stop blacks and Asians buying homes on Marshall Street in Smethwick. One of the slogans used many times throughout the election was 'if you want a nigger for a neighbor, vote labour' which was defended by Griffiths as a 'manifestation of popular feeling' (Solomos, 1993). Throughout the 1964 campaign Griffiths's attention was primarily on immigration, in which he strategically targeted working-class white fears (Smith, 1994).



Figure 2. Malcolm X visiting Marshall Street, Smethwick during a visit to the West Midlands in 1965.
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/tv-and-radio-reviews/11472393/Britains-Racist-Election-review-essential-viewing.html>

By running an overtly anti-immigration campaign Griffiths defeated the Labour MP Gordon Walker, with a swing of 7.5 per cent to the Conservatives in Smethwick compared to an average national drift of 3.2 per cent to the Labour party (Solomos, 1993). Although, the Labour Party was initially against the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, this election moved the Labour Party towards accepting strict immigration controls. According to Labour Minister Richard Crossman (1975) ‘[e]ver since the Smethwick election



Figure 3. Peter Griffiths celebrates after defeating Labour MP Patrick Gordon Walker in 1964.
<http://www.search.connectinghistories.org.uk/details.aspx?ResourceID=1336&ExhibitionID=1338&SearchType=2&ThemeID=7>

it has been quite clear that immigration can be the greatest potential vote-loser for the Labour Party’ (Crossman, 1975:149). On the release of the White Paper in August 1965, there was a general consensus in government arenas that black and Asian immigration was both unappealing and a threat to British national identity. To supplement the White Paper, the Race Relations Act 1965 was introduced to ‘prohibit discrimination on racial grounds in places of public resort’ (Smith, 1994:191). The racialization of immigration exacerbated racism and heightened racial tensions in Britain, and in particular Smethwick, with pubs and shops operating colour bars and work places refusing to hire migrants. This racialization is what forms the basis of this study of memory and identity.



Figure 4. A blue plaque marking Malcolm X’s visit to Marshall Street in Smethwick

1.4. Dissertation Structure

This dissertation will look to contextualise this research within wider geographical debates, using a literature review to examine the concept of memory in close relation to place and racial identity, with an interwoven focus upon a Foucauldian analysis of power.

After the literature review, the methodology chapter will layout the research method used, how the study was conducted and the ways in which participants were recruited for the research. Subsequently, the analysis of findings chapter will consider the ideas drawn out in the literature review, and will take into account any other themes that may have arisen during the research. The final chapter will think about the aims drawn up in the introduction, whilst summarising and concluding the findings set out in this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Memory

The concept of memory has become a key field of examination throughout the social sciences. The study of memory and geography has produced a vast amount of thought-provoking work that has shaped new fields of study. By assessing some of the key trends in this growing literature, the ways in which memory and place interlink strongly with identity will be assessed in this study.

2.1.1. Memory and Place

Memory is significant to the notion of place (Creswell 2004). Within the memory literature, orthodox places of memory include places such as monuments, plaques and streets, as well as images and practices associated with them. Till (2008) argues that ‘places of memory punctuate and create symbolic space, and function as nodes of collective politics through which notions of identity are performed and contested’ (Till 2008:104). Many scholars have been influenced by the classic work of Maurice Halbwachs (1992) who identifies ‘memory as a social activity, as an expression and active binding force of group identity’ (Halbwachs 1992:134). Rather than memory being ‘stored’ in the unconscious as suggested by Freud (Dwyer 2000; Till 2001).

2.1.2. Collective Memory vs. Individual Memory

The study of memory in geography touches mostly on collective memories, particularly those centred on national identities (Johns and Pratt 2009). Throughout the literature ‘collective memory’ dominates, but it is not acknowledged that different social memories of the past, rather than a collective public memory may in turn challenge dominant public

narratives of the past. This could be attributed to the fact that memory has many variations within the literature such as ‘social memory’, ‘collective memory’, ‘historical memory’, ‘public memory’ or ‘cultural memory’. Also, most scholars approve of Said’s (2000) statement that many ‘people now look to this refashioned memory, especially in its collective forms, to give themselves a coherent identity, a national narrative, a place in the world’ (Said 2000:179). However, rather than seeing memory as a ‘collective form’, scholars should instead consider how memory may differ individually to explore how individuals have related to place and the subsequent impact this has on their identity. Thus, Crang and Travlou (2001) contest Halbwachs (1992) definition of ‘memory as an active binding force of group identity’s (Halbwachs 1992:45), as this definition assumes that shared memories and experiences are uniform through race, class, ethnicity and age. Thus, it could be suggested that dominant memories and narratives within society have silenced those who seek to interpret the past through their own experiences and memories (Boyarin 1992, Trouillot 1995). Consequently, in times of tension, many people have turned to personal commemoration and memory, the means by which the past is domesticated and made familiar (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

2.1.3. Physical Sites of Memory

Memorials, museums and monuments have been very useful for examining places of memory, especially for geographers. Extensive works on the politics of race and memorials and on museums give an illustration of the rich emerging literature (Till 2001; Leib 2002). Geographers are also becoming more significant towards ‘understanding how features of the past are, materially emplaced and/or spatially narrated over time and thus kept within the living present’ (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004:246). However, within the memory literature there is a need to decentre public commemorative practices as the main point of study and rather acknowledge private ways in which people may remember the past. Myszal (2003)

argues that ‘less considered are other means of and spaces for remembering, such as, accounts existing within homes and other private realms’ (Miszta 2003:91). Nora’s (1989) notion of ‘sites of memory’ –or lieux de mémoire identifies memory as being associated with tangible and physical sites such as burial places to non-material sites such as celebrations. However, Nora’s work has been criticised for being centred on public commemoration and remembrance and not on the ways that memories are constituted at the local scale and in the private spheres of society. It has been argued that ‘recent research, suggests that less privileged groups are becoming more adept at making use of their own memory to challenge their own subordination’ (Zelizer 1995:220). Thus, scholars such as Owain And Garde (2012) argue that other than the externalized nature of more conventional spaces of memory ‘alternative memoryscapes are also intricately interwoven with everyday lives and practices and is intensely personal’ (Owain And Garde 2012:77).

2.1.4. Deconstructing Physical Sites of Memory

Increasingly, individuals and communities are pursuing ways to recollect the past in their own way and many people have increasingly found their voices on non-state public platforms such as documentaries and prevalent publications. However, the literature does not reflect this and local narratives and voices are being lost in physical sites of memory. Gillis (1994) contests the notion of rejecting physical places of memory and ‘argues that in this difficult period of transition, democratic societies need to publicize rather than privatize memories and identities of all groups, thereby understanding better what divided as well as unites us’ (Gillis 1994:233). However, other scholars contest this by arguing that orthodox sites of memory such as monuments induce forgetting rather than remembering (Davis and Starn 1989). Scholars who dismiss memory sites want to abandon remembering so that it becomes a part of everyday life. A Foucauldian analysis describes physical sites of memory such as museums

and monuments as powerful forces that position knowledges within a monitored space, working in the interests of particular groups (Luke, 2002). This notion of monuments being seen in relation to power and knowledge, are identified as ‘material devices for social control’ (Molyneux, 1995:46). Thus, a dramatic shift within the literature is needed from the bounded spaces of memory which include public commemorations and geographical places to think about other ways in which memory is spatially constituted. Thus, this study in particular focuses on private commemorations of the past. It also allow for the combining of memory and place into the construction of identity.

2.2. Memory and Identity

Memory and place combine to create much of the context for modern-day identities (Miztal, 2003). Mainly being influenced by the work of Halbwachs (1992) many scholars see memory as ‘an active binding force of group identity’ (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004; Till 2001). There is a general consensus among scholars that ‘memory and identity depend upon each other since not only is identity rooted in memory but also what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity’ (Gillis 1994:3). Currently, within the literature memory is used to give grounds for identity because the principal meaning of any individual or group identity is seen as continued by remembering. Miztal (2003) argues that ‘collective identities are seen as implying notions ofan emotional sense of belonging to a distinctive, bounded group, involving both a felt solidarity with fellow group members and a felt difference from outsiders’ (Miztal 2003:78).

2.2.1. Racial Identities

Racial and ethnic identities within the literature are frequently discussed through the examination of collective memory, which Weissberg (1999) describes as ‘often becoming a

form of mourning and a paradoxical sign of loss (Weissberg 1999:22). However, this is a generalisation of racial and ethnic identities, as not every individual experiences a form of ‘mourning’ or ‘loss’. Fortier’s (2000) study challenges this statement by showing that Italian migrant identities in Britain were constructed through their written histories and religion by remembering and forgetting rather than just ‘mourning’ as Weisberry suggests. From this point, it is clear that little attention is given to individual memories and experiences as the literature groups racial and ethnic identities together.

In relation to the 1964 general elections in Smethwick, Solomos (2003) notes that ‘the impacts of events in Smethwick during the 1964 elections are sometimes forgotten within literature’ (Solomos 2003:58). This period has scarcely received any literary or public attention and has not been considered as a significant period in the construction of Caribbean identities in Smethwick. Heavily influenced by Foucault (1993) many memory scholars would attribute this to power and the domination of public memory within society, as it is evident that the ‘interpretation of the past is a salient form of power, and its controls carry heavy consequences’ (Connerton 1989:67). Davis and Starn (1989) argued that ‘the substitution of one memory for another is as strategic and central a practice as remembering itself’ (Davis and Starn 1989:2). Thus, the forgetting of the events that occurred in Smethwick endeavours to mute the voices of the persons who pursue to interpret the past in contradictory and challenging ways.

2.3. National Knowledges: Inaccurate Representations?

Little attention is given to explaining what happens when there are contradictions between personal experiences and on shared national narratives and memories of a particular historical period or event. Foucault has considered national knowledges and memories on

formations of identity and processes of power (Grainge, 2013). He contends that memory is a 'very important factor in struggle...if one controls people's memory, one controls their dynamism' (Grainge, 2013:91). This has an effect upon the construction of individual identities and allows us to question whether this disturbs the dominant narratives and representations of the past. In the context of the Second World War, Till (2001) illustrates how historical narratives and representations of nation and state were 'naturalized through gender relations in particular through the adulation of male, heroic bodies in public spaces' (Till 2001:124). Gendered 'national imaginaries' are set in stone through masculine spaces such as war memorials, although women played a huge part in the war (Dowler 1988:164). It is true that 'determining which version of the past becomes accepted as true and universal carries considerable cultural and political authority' (Orwell 1981:117). This is a significant theme that is not picked up within the memory, place and identity literature. Thus, it is evident that the individual memories of the elderly Caribbeans do exist, and they allow for an exploration into the ways in which their experiences may contradict dominant narratives of being victims within British society.

Chapter 3: Methodology

With the focus of the study on memory, place and identity it was evident that Oral history interviewing was key in both obtaining the required research data and investigating what Rowbotham (1973) describes as those ‘hidden from history’. Oral history interviews were an ideal methodology to employ as it ensured that I was able to investigate the relationship between memory, place and identity through local narratives and memories of participants.

Thompson (2000) describes oral history as ‘shifting the focus and opening new areas of enquiry, by challenging some of the accepted judgments, by bringing recognition to substantial groups of people who had been ignored’ (Thompson 2000:177). Oral history allowed the participants to tell their narrative in their own way with little prompting or structure, unlike a semi-structured interview. These local stories offered a recollection about self and about social relationships within Smethwick between 1961 and 1965. Thus, oral history offered in-depth insights that could not have been provided by other methods. Memory and narrative have become key themes of interest for scholars interested in how ‘individuals life experiences are storied and how this narrative construction is temporally and spatially variable within different socio-cultural contexts’ (Frisch 1990:56).

3.1. Participant Recruitment

With the study being on memory and identity in Smethwick my participant recruitment was situated in a spatial area. The choice to focus on participants that were aged between 70 and 90 was to ensure that they were at an age in the early 1960s where they could both recollect and reflect on their experiences in Smethwick. As I have family friends in Smethwick, snowballing was initially employed to recruit individuals for this research

(Valentine, 2005). Through snowballing I acquired two potential participants who were close family friends but they dropped out quite early on in the recruitment process. However, one of them introduced me to the divisional manager of the West Bromwich African Caribbean centre. Through this connection I was able to ensure that information sheets were sent over to the manager working in the West Bromwich African Caribbean centre and they were then circulated in person to members at the centre (see appendix 1). Throughout the recruitment process the divisional manager of the centre acted as a formal gatekeeper for the selection of participants, providing a total of seven participants that were willing to be a part of the research. Once recruited the individuals confirmed their participation by signing both the information sheet and the consent form (see appendix 2).

After successfully recruiting seven individuals, I still needed three more to reach my target of ten participants for my research. Thus, through online research I contacted the Beacon Evangelist Church in Handsworth who informed the church members of my research. However, due to the vulnerability of the elderly church members, great care was taken by the pastor of the church to authorize my research project. The pastor contacted my dissertation supervisor to confirm my project, and once this was done the decision was made to visit the church to discuss my research with both the church team and members. A member of the church volunteered to be an informal gatekeeper in the selection of participants from the church. This provided a number of participants that were already well acquainted (Jackson and Russell, 2010), which made the interviewing process easier. On returning to the church a week later, I was provided with four participants who were willing to be a part of the study and who had signed both the information sheet and consent form.

3.2. Oral History Interviews

The decision to use oral history interviewing was made to establish a life-narrative which I could use to understand the ways in which individuals reflected on their own experiences and memories surrounding the 1964 general elections in Smethwick. The oral history interview questions were employed with little prompting or structure to allow the participants to develop their own memories. Oral history interviewing addressed power relations between myself and the participants, as there was very little interference and it was a collaborative effort (Yow, 1997). Furthermore, given my positionality as a Black Caribbean person I engaged in my own self-reflexive process during the interviews and constantly considered how my positionality could influence the study, as I did not want to be ‘subjective and hence less scholarly’ (Collins, 2000:19). Nonetheless, I established a rapport with the participants which generated a rich and detailed interview based on an understanding, and as me being seen by the participants as a ‘knowing subject’ (Longhurst, 2010). However, as the research topic had potential to be quite sensitive, great care was taken not to focus excessively on particular matters that could have potentially been upsetting for the elderly participants. The oral history interviews took place within available rooms in the West Bromwich African Caribbean centre and Beacon Evangelist Church, as the public environment of these spaces minimized potential vulnerability and maximized comfort for both the participant and myself (McDowell, 2010). My intention was to have three oral history interviews per week over the course of a month, with the interviews taking no longer than one hour. However, as I was working with the elderly, participant availability became an unforeseeable problem due to sudden illnesses and a shocking death. Due to these events, it was evident that time was a vital factor in finishing these interviews as the elderly participants were very frail and succumbed to illnesses or death. Thus, a few participants had to be replaced or rescheduled which meant that many of the participants came from a wider variety of Caribbean

backgrounds. The complexities and complications of interviewing the elderly is what Longhurst (2010) describes as attendance not always being guaranteed.

Nevertheless, the oral history interviews were productive and allowed me to identify recurrent themes to address my research aims.

3.3. Transcription Data Analysis

I chose to use an analysis of ‘common themes method’ (Ryan, 2003:88) to identify key themes that recurred throughout each interview. The significant interconnections between these themes meant that I plotted them into specific themed groups to allow me to articulate and identify the links between and across the oral history interviews. Within my study, I was well aware that emotions and feelings play a huge part in understanding the experiences of the participants, thus it was important to ensure that when transcribing, additional descriptions such as pauses, breaks or even laughs in a sentence were added in. For example, an ellipsis was used to signify a pause within my research. Thomson (2012) argues that ‘one of the reasons scholars are wary of the written transcript of an interview is that text is only an approximation for speech’ (Thomson, 2012:113).

3.4. Ethics

Before conducting the oral history interviews, the importance of keeping the participants names anonymous and their information safe was stressed verbally and written on paper. McDowell (2010) argues that ‘the researcher has a position of responsibility over the information afforded to them by the participants about their opinion’ (McDowell, 2010:157). This was considered throughout the interviewing process, and before each interview I ensured that participants were reminded of their rights to withdraw from the research at any time (see appendix 2).

There were ethical issues that were identified when transcribing the data, which are commonly associated with oral history interviewing. As I was transcribing the oral history interviews I had to consider my positionality again and the ways in which I identified both with the Caribbean elderly and Smethwick, which may have informed my responses to participant views and thoughts. It was important for me to be as objective as possible when analyzing the data, by what has been asserted as recognizing and correcting bias (Tobey, 1992).

3.5. My Participants - Table of Participants

Name	Introduction to Participants
Paulette	Paulette was born in 1934 in Jamaica. She moved to Britain in 1962 with her sister and lived in Aston for two years before moving to Smethwick. She worked in Southall factory machine threading sanitary towels for six months, then she moved to a garage filling cars with petrol between during the 1964 elections.
Dorothy	Dorothy was born in 1937 in St. Lucia. She relocated to Britain in 1962 and moved to Smethwick from Dudley in 1964. She worked in a factory, making tables and chairs during this period.
Matthew	Matthew moved to Britain in 1958 from Jamaica and lived in Tipton for two years with his aunt before moving to Smethwick with his fiancé. He found work at an unnamed factory making vehicle parts.
Susie	Susie moved to Britain in 1962 from Jamaica. She lived in Smethwick for two years with her husband and worked in a hospital in the auxiliary department during the elections.
Lilith	Lilith came to Britain in 1963 from Jamaica, she lived in Smethwick for one year with her husband and her first

	job was in a pub cooking food. After this job, she went to work in Joseph Lucas factory, making materials for vehicles.
Anna	Anna came to Britain in 1962 from Jamaica, she lived in Smethwick for three years with her husband and she had a job in a dry cleaners.
Leroy	Leroy came to Britain in 1958 from Jamaica, and lived in Smethwick for four years with his wife and two sons. He had a job in a unnamed factory during the elections.
Veronica	Veronica came to Britain in 1960 from Nevis, and lived in Smethwick for two years with her husband and daughter. She worked in an unnamed factory.
Angela	Angela came to Britain in 1962 from Jamaica, Kingston. She lived in Small Heath for six months before moving to Smethwick with her husband and daughter. She worked in an unnamed factory sewing clothes.
Sylvia	Sylvia came to Britain in 1959, from Jamaica, Kingston. She lived in Smethwick for two years and found a job working in a factory making wheels for furniture such as chairs.
Ethel	Ethel came to Britain in 1959 from Jamaica, and lived in Handsworth for one year before moving to Smethwick. She had a job in a hospital taking care of the elderly.

Chapter 4: Analysis of Findings

The findings of this research will be separated into three sections. Firstly, this chapter will explore individual memories and the memorialisation process. This chapter will also explore the role of religion and employment in shaping the identity of the participants in Smethwick. Finally, the analysis will center on the ways in which Caribbean identities have evolved over time.

According to the African proverb ‘Every old man that dies is a library that burns’ (Amadou Hampâté Bâ, 1960)

4.1. Negotiating Memories

The focus of this section is on the ways in which the participants remember the atmosphere in Smethwick around the 1964 elections. This section will also highlight the ways in which the interviewees engage in the memorialization process. Thus, private individual memory is a significant theme to consider in these findings.

4.1.1. Remembering and (Forgetting) the 1964 Political Tensions

Forgetting rather than remembering the 1964 elections in Smethwick arose as a central theme throughout the discussions. When asked whether she privately commemorates the 1964 elections in Smethwick, Ethel who came to Britain from Jamaica in 1959, replied that she *‘does not think about it much’*. Ethel’s view was echoed throughout the other interviews as many of the participants claimed that they do not commemorate or actively remember the 1964 elections because of their religious beliefs. Dorothy, who came to Britain from Jamaica in 1962, describes how she does not *‘think about these times because of the bible’*. She also goes onto argue that she does not carry *‘any bitterness because if they know of the Lord they wouldn’t handle people the way they do’*. Importantly, religion was a vital part of each

interviewees everyday lives, thus the role of religion on identity will be revisited later in part 4.3.1.

Furthermore, on asking the reasons for not memorialising the atmosphere surrounding the 1964 elections in Smethwick, all of the interviewees such as Dorothy echoed the point that *'there is no point dwelling on it, we just get on with it and put it behind [us]'*. All interviewees acknowledged that many aspects of their life was very hard during this period but there seemed to be a reluctance to remember and interpret the past privately. Suleiman (2006) suggested that *'forgetting is the active agent in memory'* (Suleiman, 2006:121) and this was an idea that Paulette supported:

'I do not think about it much, my mind would mix it up. I think it is best to forget those things but when it does come into my mind I kill it out'

Many of the interviewees were disinclined to remember or privately commemorate their pasts in the private realms of their homes on the basis that they have *'moved on'* or because they have put their *'faith in God and the bible'* and through this have *'risen above it'*, as interviewee Ethel claims. Legg (2007) argues that *'rather than a display of carelessness of docility, forgetting can be a liberating mechanism for individuals'* (Legg, 2007:460). Thus, it could be suggested that the interviewees individual memories have worked to forget their experiences in Smethwick, as a way to conveniently make their lives easier by forgetting rather than trying to interpret the past. Suleiman (2006) argues that *'trying to make sense of memories of horrific experiences means providing explanation, context and justification which can be painful and unsafe because traumas or tensions may have never been resolved'* (Suleiman, 2006:224).

Although, many of the interviewees did not privately commemorate this period, they all believed that their memories and experiences have not been represented. It has been suggested that ‘certain memories achieve centrality and luxuriate grandly, others are marginalised or excluded or reworked’ (Popular Memory Group, 1998:76). Matthew, who came to Britain in 1958, explains how Caribbean efforts during this period are being undervalued:

‘They never talk about people from the West Indies, nobody represented here to say what we have done or been through. We did a lot for this country...they should remember us, they can’t just use us and dump us, especially Jamaicans’

There was a universal idea among the interviewees that the years between 1961 and 1965 held much significance within British race relations and believed its historical value has been overlooked. Therefore, it is also useful to investigate how the use of memoryscapes such as public events and monuments allow forgetting in private realms.

4.1.2. Alternative use of Memoryscapes?

Many of the discussions were about whether the interviewees would privately commemorate or memorialise their experiences around the 1964 elections if there was importance put on this period. With memory now being anchored in monumental landscapes, it has been suggested that ‘the ordering of memory around sites of collective remembrance provides a focus for the performance of rituals of communal remembrance and sometimes forgetfulness’ (Duncan *et al*, 2003:232).

Many of the participants agreed that although the value of their memories have changed since the early 1960s, they felt that they would engage in private commemoration practices if it was acknowledged in the public sphere. Matthew, argues that:

'If society remembered the things that we went through, then I would think about it...it was tough, it was no joke'

This view was echoed throughout other discussions, thus it would appear that many interviewees found it difficult to remember, without having access to mementos, images and physical sites to objectify their memory. Thus making it *'easy to forget'*, as Matthew argues. This suggesting that the memories of the interviewees have been located in the 'past' (Legg, 2007:455). Most interviewees said they have turned to more public representations of the past to shape their memories allowing what has been called a 'social conditioning of individual memory' (Halbwachs, 1992:252). The Foucauldian nexus of power/knowledge indicates that power is established through accepted knowledges and representations, which is seemingly true, as the interviewees claimed that every year they commemorate events such as Remembrance Day and Holocaust Memorial Day. Thus, it is clear that public events and monumental landscapes have replaced the embodied memories of those who lived in Smethwick between 1961 and 1965. Susie, who came to Britain in 1962, argues that she would like the *'harsh conditions and the struggles in 1964 to be acknowledged more'* but until then, she argues that there is *'no obligation to remember'*, meaning that her memory of this period has been detached from her daily life. Nora (1989) justifies this by arguing that *'the less memory is experienced from the inside, the more it exists only through its exterior scaffolding and outwards signs'* (1989:231).

4.1.3. Materialisation of Memory

Many memories are recorded in certain 'intimate cultural forms' (Suleiman, 2006:260) such as diaries and home possessions with past associations. When discussing valuable

keepsakes and mementos, almost all interviewees stated that they did not have any from arriving into the UK or from the 1964 political unrest in Smethwick. Lilith, who arrived in Britain in 1963 from Jamaica, said that *she 'did not have any keepsakes or mementos, as [she] got rid of things many years back'*. This was to be expected as many of the interviewees chose not to remember this period in Smethwick. Thus, the features of each interviewees pasts are not materially emplaced, and so are not spatially narrated over time (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004). Wachtel (1986) notes that ‘ the preservation of recollections rests on their anchorage in space’ (Wachtel, 1986:216) and this appears to be true.

The idea was to examine material objects as mechanisms for memory, which would make it possible to determine the interviewees sense of identity in Smethwick between 1961 and 1965. However, Anna was the only interviewee who had kept a few valuable keepsakes. Anna brought in a basket that she purchased just before arriving in Britain in 1962. She explained the importance of the basket in very personal terms:

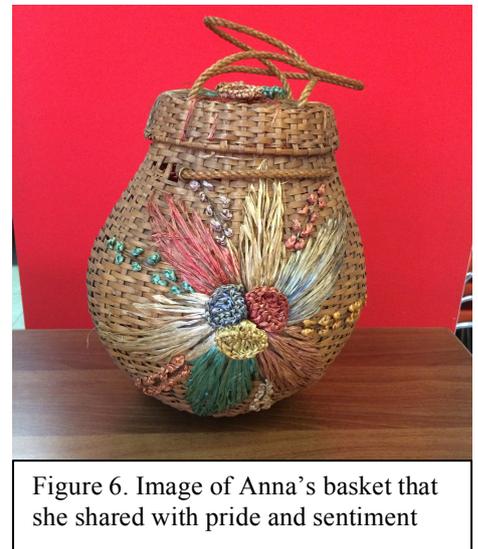


Figure 6. Image of Anna's basket that she shared with pride and sentiment

'I brought this just before coming to England in 1962, down at Coronation Street Market in Kingston. I come to England with this basket and it carried my Wray rum, peas, drinking chocolate, small records, coffee...the real blue mountain coffee. I keep it and I always will, it reminds me of back then'

Anna's basket is filled with sentiment because of the memories it represents, and this was clear from the tone and fondness with which she described it. Anna also goes onto

describe the ‘real drinking chocolate’ that she brought in:

‘This is real chocolate, not like the ones that you see in the shops. I kept this for so long and I don’t know why. We had the sweetest chocolate back home.’

Anna’s material possessions are filled with memories of Jamaica and they act as a significant story of a lived experience in the past, and this sense of Jamaican heritage contributes to her Black Britishness. Tolia-Kelly



Figure 7. Image of Anna’s coco

(2004) argues that ‘possessions are connective markers to geographical nodes of identification. Through their prismatic nature, “other” lives, lands, and homes are made part of this one’ (Tolia-Kelly, 2004:317). Thus, although not directly linked to the 1964 elections, the materiality of these possessions relate to feelings of home, belonging and identity in Smethwick.

4.2. Caribbean Memories and National Identity

One of my research aims sought to integrate the importance of place in contributing to the construction of Caribbean identities, and many of the interviewees were enthusiastic about the topics concerning Smethwick and Caribbean identity. All interviewees had experiences that aligned with national historical narratives and representations of racism and violence between 1961 and 1965 in Smethwick. Thus, the ideas put forward in Chapter 2.3. concerning common national knowledges on Caribbean experiences in Smethwick during this period have been invalid within this particular study. This section has been sub- divided to explore the construction of Caribbean identities according to both their national identities and individual identities.

4.2.1. Citizenship in ‘The Mother Country’

During the interviews, emphasis was put on the fact that the interviewees were invited to England and entered with a British passport and as such did not expect to be treated in such a way during the 1964 elections. Angela, who came to England in 1962 from Jamaica, explains that:

‘I was young and they [Britain] wanted us to come, I could of gone to America but they had too many problems, so instead I came to the UK to work and did not expect to be treated that way as I was an English subject. I expected to be treated better.’

Veronica, who arrived in Britain in 1960, also claims that:

‘I didn’t expect it. I thought it would be beautiful and welcoming, but especially during the elections it was tough. I came to work but they didn’t want us here. You would always hear things like “keep Britain white” and “there’s no black in the union jack”. Many white people even thought Jamaica was in Africa’

Evidently, the interviewees assumed that their citizenship status would mean inclusion and belonging in Smethwick. Thus, there was a sense of confusion and frustration among the interviewees, as Dorothy states *‘what happened I didn’t expect it but I didn’t let it bother me’*. However, Angela really felt out of place and explains that *‘I would have went back to Jamaica, but I just didn’t have the funds’*. Anwar’s (1979) ‘myth of return’ is prevalent in most accounts from the interviewees during the 1964 elections in Smethwick where racial tensions were high. Creswell (2004) argues that ‘citizenship becomes the marker of belonging, a way of re-articulating national identity through the exclusion of those who are

not citizens' (Creswell, 2004:189). However, as Caribbean interviewees were not seen as suitable citizens they were subjugated and ostracized within Smethwick during the 1964 elections. Furthermore, the interviewees did not expect to endure racial discrimination as they expected the UK to be 'beautiful and welcoming', and these sensationalized images and stories of the 'Mother Country' recur in many accounts of the individuals.

4.2.2. 'Imagined Community'

Anderson (1983) has argued that national identity is an 'imagined community' and however different society might be in terms of class, race etc, a national identity seeks to unify them into one cultural identity and represent them all as belonging. However, Anderson fails to consider localized case studies, as it is clear from the previous section that many of the interviewees did not feel British or 'unified into one cultural identity'. Instead, many of the interviewees felt that they did not share the same cultural identity with the British in terms of shared experiences, language, music, food and tradition which give meaning to Caribbeans. Hall (1990) argues that 'such a conception of cultural identity played a critical role in all the post-colonial struggles which have so profoundly shaped our world (Hall, 1990:232). Angela explains this:

'Although I was a British citizen, I never spoke to white people. Whites avoided blacks and blacks avoided whites. During that time there was a lot of tension. That was just the way it was. I tried to speak to them in the shops and things but they would walk off. I had white people living on top of me and sometimes I couldn't understand them'

From this it is clear that 'blackness as a racialized category had been systematically rendered incompatible with notions of Britishness' (Gilroy, 1987:167). Sylvia, who came to Britain in 1959, goes onto say that:

'My music from the Caribbean was one of the things that kept me going and made me feel like I was back at home, it was a good feeling during my struggles. Cooking food from back home helped... I would cook saltfish'

Sylvia's choice to *'cook saltfish'* and listen to Caribbean music reflected her loyalty to her traditions and her yearning for home. Although, all interviewees identified themselves as citizens rather than 'undesirable immigrants' (Solomos, 1993) they knew that they did not fit within the boundaries of Britishness because of their cultural identity and their skin colour. Due to this, most interviewees identified themselves as Caribbean only rather than British Caribbean or Black British during this period, and being both Black and Caribbean was an important part of their identities. Leroy, who arrived in Britain in 1958, explains that he was and continues to be *'Black, Caribbean and proud, and would not have changed it for the world back then'*. Thus, the process of memory as it contributes to Caribbean discourses of race and cultural identities is 'memory that is inscribed with a race-politics that is part of everyday social discourse' (Brah 1999). This is useful in understanding the issues that many of the interviewees faced between 1961 and 1965 including racial violence, and discrimination in housing and employment, which informed how the Caribbeans framed their citizenship status and formed a sense of identity.

4.3. Smethwick: Individual Memory and Identity

All responses from the interviewees were concerned with the role of religion and employment in forging identity formation during the years between 1961 and 1965 in Smethwick, with a particular focus upon the 1964 general elections.

4.3.1. Religious Identities

Religious beliefs and practices formed a significant context through which almost all of the interviewees forged a sense of self, and made and performed their identities. There was a negative reflection on Smethwick in the interviews and all of the interviewees tell of feelings of insecurity and confusion. Almost all interviewees such as Susie and Paulette tried to form a sense of belonging through religious belief and practices in the years between 1961 and 1965, as this was something that they did back in the Caribbean. Yi-Fu Tuan argues that ‘we strengthen our sense of self and place by accessing our imaginative and material past’ (Yi-Fu Tuan, 1997:187). Paulette, who arrived in Britain in 1961, explained that:

‘The only place I go to then is church, it was the only thing I did in the Caribbean. My upbringing has helped me through life, I have always been a Christian’

Susie also echoes this theme on the importance of religious beliefs and practices as she goes onto say that:

‘I made sure I go to church every week. I was brought up in a Baptist church. Here [the UK] we were not accepted in the white churches because of prejudice. Me and my family were told that we were not allowed to come back to the church, we tried to attend but the white congregation complained. We didn’t bother arguing.’

These transnational linkages between the Caribbean and Britain shaped ‘transnational moral geographies and the relative conservativeness of interpretation of religious strictures’ (Mohammad, 2005:181). From this it is evident that the interviewees behaviours, morals and actions were closely aligned with their religious belief and practices as ‘not fighting back’ and

‘just ignoring them’ were recurrent themes in the interviews. Thus, these transnational networks influence the ways in which migrants act and make decisions (Ebaugh, 2004:217). As Angela, who arrived in Britain in 1959, explains ‘we did not fight back because we knew better, being a Christian you just rise above it.’ Furthermore, because of this racial discrimination in churches, Angela explains that:

‘Many blacks did not have a church, so we would worship together at home in our front rooms at first, but then we started to buy our own churches. George Street church was one of the first black churches’

Marx points out that ‘religion...is the opium of the people’, and he claims that many accept their suffering due to promises of ‘illusory hope’ (Marx, 1844). However, many of the interviewees suggested that black churches were places where they did not have to negotiate their religious practices and instead they could maintain their religious identities. Churches were symbolic places (Lefebvre and De Certeau, 1988) where religious beliefs were crucial to the construction of Caribbean identities and to the ways in which they practiced their daily lives. They constructed a sense of belonging, as Paulette explains *‘in my church they organized Caribbean evenings to go on trips and every week we go to different places, it took our stress away, it made us feel better’*. The participants practiced their faith as it provided a safe space in response to their experiences during this period in Smethwick.

4.3.2. Employment Identities

All interviewees suggested the importance of attaining work and a family home to form a sense of identity and to shape a sense of belonging in Smethwick. The interviewees stated that the work was often dirty and intolerable and they were often given unskilled work

and paid less than the white workers. Most worked in factories around the 1964 elections in Smethwick, however, some had other work such as in hospitals or laundry shops. Paulette explains:

'Back in Nevis, I used to be an assistant manager in a grocery store doing the accounts, but in England I was stuck in Southall factory, machine threading sanitary towels. I was hurt and it was hard. I didn't stay for long because it was too noisy and was bothering my eyesight. I moved to working in a garage filling petrol which wasn't any better'

Paulette identified very little with any of her jobs, and she also goes onto explain the difficulties her husband had in getting a job:

'When I was pregnant with my second child, we were struggling. My husband lost his job and so one day we went to look for one. We stood outside one factory and the lady had just put up a notice for vacancies. When we went into the office to ask about it, she said that all the jobs had gone. It took my husband six months to find a job, it was even worse when the conservatives came in to power'

Susie confirms this by explaining that:

'There was definitely prejudice at work, especially around the elections...they would always give you the worst job and we would have to work overtime just to get paid the same wages as white people. We worked a lot of hours but we were paid less'

When discussing this, it was clear that employment and owning a home was a key element in the establishment of a sense of belonging in Smethwick during 1961 and 1965. Ethel demonstrates the importance of employment to the Caribbean identity:

'Many of us worked hard and saved to buy a house so that we could send for our children and to have a space to call ours. I worked as a nurse and the old people would spit in my face and call me a black bastard. But I never let it bother me because I was getting paid and had a goal to buy my house. '

All of the interviewees committed themselves to low paid work and were determined to do it well, as Sylvia suggests

'If I worked hard enough, I knew I would be alright. I just wanted to work to buy a house and send for my four girls. After working hard and saving money we brought a house and sent for our children in 1967.'

Susie goes on to explain that *'that's how blacks got through this struggle, most people started owning houses in the 1960s, as whites moved out'*. It is clear that economic necessity played a significant factor in the decisions made by all of the individuals, and owning a home was a survival strategy during this period. Having a job was a process of generating both a sense of place-belongingness and a stable base for familial life. It has been argued that belonging is not an essential feature that people have but rather is socially constructed (Kumsa 2005; Savage *et al* 2004). Following on from this, it is clear that belonging is a process of becoming rather than a status of citizenship, as previously assumed by Caribbeans in the early 1960s.

4.4 Memory and Shaping a New Identity

One of my research aims sought to examine how Smethwick contributed to the evolving identities of elderly Caribbeans. Many of the interviewees expressed that their identities have altered over time.

4.4.1 Evolving Caribbean Identities

During the 1964 elections many of the interviewees felt out of place in Smethwick, which helped to shape new identities among the African Caribbeans, whether that was through attempting to maintain their religious identities or working to purchase a home to feel in place. When asked whether their identity had changed over time, many interviewees claimed that they now see themselves as Black British or British Caribbean, because they were '*born under the British flag*' as Paulette says. However, two participants disagreed with this notion, Matthew felt that '*people under the colonies should have been treated better*' and '*I came here as a subject of the UK on a British passport but I always say I am Jamaican, because the only place I know is Jamaica, I was born there and I grew up there*'. Sylvia, who arrived in the UK in 1961, also claims that '*I am Jamaican because that is the country I was born, not Britain*'. However, almost all of the interviewees have formed a British identity as they feel that they are an integral part of their local community, where they now reside. It has been argued that ethnic and racial identities are not pre-given, fixed groupings but rather are fluid, 'in process' (Hall, 1990:221). Angela explains that she '*loves England*' as she gets '*a pension and I do what I want with it*'.

The narratives among the Caribbeans interviewed draw on accounts of upward social mobility and the rise to success of home ownership and participating in the local labour market, thus 'the way in which black Caribbeans identify themselves within British society

has a direct bearing on their employment and political capacities and practices' (James and Harris, 1993:179). Many claimed that today they did not think of moving back to the Caribbean and had no regrets in moving to the UK, which is a stark contrast to how they felt during the 1964 elections. Angela, who wanted to return to Jamaica during the 1964 elections in Smethwick as mentioned in part 4.2.1. explains that:

'I do not think of going back home, although things were hard they changed me for the better. I have no regrets. I am glad to be alive to see the changes.'

Although they experienced racism throughout their everyday life surrounding the 1964 elections, many of the interviewees shared Angela's sentiment. Thus, it is not a surprise that their idea of Britain, and Smethwick in particular is an ambivalent one as many have returned back to the Caribbean many times to visit but never to return permanently and are not looking to. This was mainly due to the fact their family ties have become strained and the interviewees have become detached to the Caribbean. As Angela claims *'all my family are here now, my kids were brought up here'*. It is clear that Caribbeans have suppressed their memories of these past experiences which can be *'hurtful to think about'*, as Susie claims, because these memories do not coincide with their present day identities.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

5.1. Findings and Conclusions

Many scholars contend that particular historical events are remembered at the individual level but not at the public level which has an effect upon the construction of local and national identities (Dodd, 2008; Solomos, 2003; Davis and Starn 1989). This is true to a certain extent, however, this study has also highlighted the complexities of when individuals endeavour to forget or do not privately commemorate their past in the private realms of their homes. It is certainly apparent that the participants did not feel welcome prior to and during the 1964 general elections in Smethwick due to racist attitudes, creating what Zonabend calls ‘memory blanks’ (Zonabend, 1993:123). However, this is not to say that the participants do not remember anything from this period. In fact, it was very evident that they do have memories of the atmosphere surrounding the 1964 general elections, as each individual narrative was coherent and in detail. The participants narratives successfully demonstrated how they negotiated daily life and coped with the 1964 general elections, giving a unique insight into the atmosphere in Smethwick during this period. Thus, within this study there is evidence to suggest that certain memories *are* disregarded and marginalised (Misztal, 2003). The participants forgetting their experiences in Smethwick does not mean a disregard for their histories, but it is certainly apparent that ‘the past is not simply there in memory, but it must be articulated to become memory’ (Huysen 1995:46).

Discussions on the meanings of place arise when certain pasts re-emerge in ways that challenge present-day knowledges and identities (Jonker and Till 2009; Pile 2005). To understand the complexities of place and remembering, we have looked at the 1964 elections in Smethwick as an example, where the social relations during the 1964 general elections

contradict the current representations of Smethwick. Today, Smethwick is described as a post-industrial ‘vibrant ethnically diverse town’ (Rees, 2015) rather than a place of testimony for many African Caribbeans. Many aspects of this difficult past have not been represented in Smethwick, the only material representation of this period is in the form of a plaque on Marshall Street which commemorates the 50th Anniversary of Malcolm X’s visit to Smethwick (See Figure 4). This ‘decentralized approach’ to place (Creswell, 2004) significantly neglects and overshadows the harsh realities of this period. Thus, there is very little on the volatile general election in Smethwick beyond Malcolm X’s visit. Hayden’s (1997) study looks at how identities can be hidden when place is spoken about or represented through certain narratives, or if there is a failure to speak of the histories of places (Hayden, 1997:212). Thus, the Foucauldian analysis of power and knowledge provides a key basis for understanding commemoration practices, as it identifies how the state exercises its power locally. Furthermore, by engaging in the ‘unfolding processes of memory politics’ (Till and Arponen, 2015:301) this study has been able to uncover an inclusive history through space and has also been able to reveal place-based identities. By taking a place-based approach to memory the study was open to spatial and social contradictions which allowed for the complex understanding of Caribbean migrant identities in both the past and present. The processes of identity formation and also place-making between 1961 and 1965 in Smethwick were very clear throughout the discussions.

The Caribbean participants formed compound and hybrid identities in Smethwick between 1961 and 1965, which included cultural and religious affiliations (Hopkins, 2007). Thus, the processes of identity formation were accompanied with struggles and racism, as negotiations for validity among Caribbean individuals and whites in Smethwick were translated into matters of belonging and acceptance. Central to this identity formation was religion, which the participants practiced to forge a sense of self, and produce and reproduce their identity. It

has been argued that religious beliefs are fundamental to the formulation of identities and the ways in which people practice their lives (Holloway and Valins, 2002). Religion was important to the participants as their ways of thinking and actions in response to issues between 1961 and 1965 were determined by their religious beliefs. Also, the creation of black owned churches or the use of 'unofficial sacred sites' (Kong, 2010:767) such as the home to practice and maintain their faith was significant in producing a sense of belonging for all individuals in Smethwick during this period. Furthermore, James and Harris's (1993) study suggested the way in which black people identify themselves within British society is inextricably linked to their capacity to work and access to home ownership. This is seemingly true as for many individuals finding work to purchase a house were crucial to form a British identity within British society and to produce a sense of place-belongingness in Smethwick. This economic integration mattered to the Caribbean individuals to ensure that they were seen as desirable British citizens with a future in Smethwick (Jayaweera and Choudhury, 2008). Therefore, ideas of identity in connection with belonging such as those suggested by Cresswell (2004) were very relevant, as individuals stressed the importance of their religion, access to work, and a home during the 1964 general elections. However, it is clear that the participants who once felt excluded in Britain, particularly Smethwick, have forged new identities as they feel a sense of belonging within Britain. Now almost all of the interviewees identify as Black British or British Caribbean. Hall's (1990) notion that racial and ethnic identities are not 'fixed groups' and are 'fluid in process' is applicable, and the experiences of this period constructed a Caribbean identity that has changed over time. To put it succinctly 'identity is not in the past to be found, but in the future to be constructed' (Hall, 1995:74).

Evidently, spaces of commemoration play an important role in reshaping the geographies of memory (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004; Till, 2003) and by investigating private commemoration practices this study has revealed the effects that devalued histories have on

memories and also the complexities of place and remembering. This study has not been a call for the eradication of the study of public commemorative practices, but by deconstructing the notion of collective memory and taking personal memory and narratives into close consideration all voices will be heard.

5.2. Suggestions for Future Research

This study offers other areas of possible interest that could be explored beyond the significance of place in constructing a sense of identity. Future research can compare experiences from another area within Britain, whilst simultaneously drawing on Massey's (1994) idea of geographical scale in more depth, to expand an understanding of the ways in which identity and a sense of belonging occur at different scales and places. The complex nature of the experiences, and socio-economic relations that impact the ways in which Caribbeans form their identities highlights the necessity of scale and place to enhance our understanding of identity.

Furthermore, further research has the scope to touch on the emotional impact of exclusion and discrimination based on race and ethnicity. Here, further research can study the notion of emotional geographies (Davidson and Milligan 2004) to look at how the emotional experiences during the 1964 general elections in Smethwick, both past and present are intertwined. More specifically, future studies could look at the ways in which emotions were expressed through sermons, praise and worship in places such as churches. Research such as this could be carried out to offer new ideas to the explorations into memory and emotional geographies.

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Figures 4, 5 and 6 were taken by Adaora Aligbe, September 2016

Appendices

List of Appendices:

1. Information sheet
2. Informed Consent form

Appendix 1.

Recruitment and Information sheet:

Project title

Negotiating memories: Elderly Caribbeans remembering the racist 1964 general elections in Smethwick, West Midlands

Who am I?

My name is Adaora Aligbe and I am a student studying at the University of Leicester and I am in the process of working on a project in my final year at University.

Purpose of study and research aims

The aim of the research is to look at the experiences of Caribbean migrants during the period of 1961 and 1965. It will look at the experiences and the effect this had on Caribbean's in Smethwick at the time.

What is the project about?

In this project I will be working with you by looking at the experiences during 1961-1965 in Smethwick, West Midlands. We will discuss your experiences and memories of this period. The interviews will not last any longer than 1 hour.

The discussions that take place in the interview will be recorded on a voice recorder and will be stored securely and used only for the project.

Security and storage of data

Data will be protected and stored securely in accordance with both University of Leicester guidelines and the Data Protection Act 1998. The data will not be shared with anyone during or after the research process and will only be used when writing up the project

What will happen to the data?

The information collected from the interviews will be used only when writing my project. Your identity will remain hidden when writing up the project. The data written in the project will not be published and will not be publicly available.

Voluntary nature of participation and the right to withdraw

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw if you feel unhappy or threatened by the involvement in the project.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Information provided is confidential and will not be shared with anyone except when writing up the project. Views shared will remain unnamed and you will be given different names to protect your identity.

Contact details

If you wish to contact me at any point to enquire about the study or are unhappy with any stage of the project please contact aa805geography@le.ac.uk

Consent Form to be Completed. Please tick the appropriate boxes:

I have read and understood the ‘information for participants’ sheet provided and understand what is expected of me and what the project is about.

I understand the voluntary nature of this research project and I am aware that I can withdraw if I feel uncomfortable with any stage of the process.

I am happy for any information that I provide during the interview to be left out to protect my identity and confidentiality in the write up of this project.

I give permission for the interview to be voice recorded and understand that the data collected on both voice recorders and in notes by the researcher will remain safe and secure.

I consent to the work produced being retained by the researcher and included in the write up of the research project.

Please sign and date below:

.....

Date:

Appendix 2.

Informed Consent Form:

Informed consent sheet

Please tick

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the study described in the participant information sheet, and that I have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, and I do not have to give a reason for this.
3. I agree to take part in the study described in the participant information sheet.

Please tick

Yes

No

Include/delete as appropriate

4. I agree to the interview being audio recorded
5. I agree to the interview being video recorded
6. I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in written work or reports based upon this project.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature