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Marking Race: Empire, Social Democracy, Deindustrialization

Abstract

This joint-authored essay concludes the thematic issue 'Marking Race'. Drawing on the authors' individual essays and reviewing the wider literatures in the field of race and immigration, imperialism and decolonization, social democracy and the welfare state, and deindustrialization, the essay makes a series of proposals about what an analytical focus on race adds to our understanding of modern British history.

Post-war British history is one of the fastest growing areas of modern British studies. The historiography, as David Edgerton recently noted (though with a different purpose in mind), typically centres on the familiar themes of Keynesianism, the welfare state, social democracy and consensus, decline, Thatcherism, and neoliberalism.[1] In this concluding essay, we turn to three of the most durable themes—decolonization and Commonwealth migration, social democracy, and deindustrialization— and recent historiographical approaches to them to draw out how our individual essays and the work of other scholars might provide a basis for intervening in and recasting the metanarratives of post-war British history.

[1] David Edgerton, *The Rise and Fall of the British Nation: A Twentieth Century History* (London, 2019), xxx. In Edgerton's formulation, the historiography can be summarized as driven by the conviction, among historians of modern Britain, 'that New Liberalism, Labour and New Labour have been the main creative forces in British history'; or, most starkly, he proposes that 'Welfare has been too visible in histories' (xxv).

Centring racial formation requires grappling with how social, political, and economic forces shape racial categories and hierarchies and how those, in turn, are instantiated in practices, relations and institutions that maintain and reproduce them. An expanded view of the histories of racialization, citizenship, and the state in late-twentieth century Britain takes us beyond the rising hegemony of the New Right, the emergent forces of Black liberation, or the recalibrations of national identity and immigration law that have so far dominated the historiography.[2] We suggest that, when it comes to discussing the politics of race, the sites, institutions, geographies, and social and economic processes that focus our attention as historians of modern Britain need rethinking. We might question, indeed, how useful the familiar chronologies of Britain's national history, from liberalism to social democracy to neoliberalism, remain.

Decolonization and Commonwealth Migration

We cannot tell the history of race in Britain without attending to the history of empire. As Black intellectuals from Claudia Jones to Beverley Bryan, Stella Dadzie, and Suzanne Scafe, C.L.R. James and Eric Williams to Stuart Hall, have demonstrated in their analysis of modern British history, racial formation in Britain must be understood as embedded in (post-)imperial and transnational geographies.[3] It is easily forgotten that the essay in which Hall famously writes that race is 'the modality in which class is "lived", the medium through which class relations are experienced, the form in which it is appropriated and "fought through"', draws predominantly on the literature on race relations and the debate over racism and racial capitalism in South Africa and, to a lesser extent,

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[2] On the politics of national identity and/or immigration law, see for instance: Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (London, 1996); David Feldman, 'Why the English like Turbans: Multicultural Politics in British History', in David Feldman and Jon Lawrence, eds, *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History: Essays for Gareth Stedman Jones* (Cambridge, 2011), 281–302; James Hampshire, *Citizenship and Belonging: Immigration and the Politics of Demographic Governance* (Basingstoke, 2005); Randall Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Postwar Britain* (Oxford, 2000); Tony Kushner, *The Battle of Britishness: Migrant Journeys, 1685 to the Present* (London, 2014); Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism Since 1800* (London, 2010); Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (Ithaca, NY, 1997); Gavin Schaffer, *The Vision of a Nation: Making Multiculturalism on British Television* (London, 2014); Camilla Schofield, *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain* (Cambridge, 2013); Bill Schwarz, *White Man's World: Memories of Empire* Vol. I (Oxford, 2011); Becky Taylor, *Refugees in Twentieth-Century Britain: A History* (Cambridge, 2021); Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire, 1939–1965* (Oxford, 2005).

[3] Claudia Jones, 'The Caribbean Community in Britain (1963)', in Carole Boyce Davies, ed., *Claudia Jones: Beyond Containment* (Banbury, 2011); Beverley Bryan et al., *The Heart of the Race* (London, 1985); C. L. R. James, *Beyond a Boundary* (London, 1963); Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1994); Stuart Hall, 'Race and "moral panics" in Postwar Britain', in Paul Gilroy and Ruth Wilson Gilmore, eds, *Selected Writings on Racial Difference* (Durham, NC, 2021), 56–70.

the USA.[4] For over thirty years, the transnational turn in imperial history has sought to make visible and analyse what Mrinalini Sinha characterizes as a global imperial social formation. This includes the movement of colonial subjects to and through 'the very heart of the British Empire before the twentieth century'. The work of Antoinette Burton and other imperial historians contributed to the project of recovering the Black and Asian presence in Britain. What came to be known as 'new' imperial history connected the recovery of Britain's multiracial past 'to conversations about the empire's impact on metropolitan society' and 'to mapping a new critical geography of "national" history in imperial Britain'.[5] Applying the insights of 'new' imperial histories to post-war Britain,[6] we take for granted that imperialism and decolonization affected metropolitan Britain, and situate the 'bordering' of Britain within longer colonial histories of migration control, surveillance, and

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[4] Stuart Hall, 'Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance', in David Morley, ed., *Essential Essays, Vol. 1: Foundations of Cultural Studies* (Durham, NC, 2019), 210. On conceptions of racial capitalism in the South African context, see Peter James Hudson, 'Racial Capitalism and the Dark Proletariat', *Boston Review*, 20 February 2018 <http://bostonreview.net/forum/remake-world-slavery-racial-capitalism-and-justice/peter-james-hudson-racial-capitalism-and> accessed 20 February 2023.

[5] Antoinette Burton, *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain* (Berkeley, CA, 1998), 6–7. For foundational histories in the recovery mode, see Folarin O. Syllon, *Black People in Britain 1555–1833* (London, 1977); Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London, 1984); Gretchen Gerzina, *Black England: Life before Emancipation* (London, 1995); Valerie Mason-John and Ann Khambatta, *Lesbians Talk: Making Black Waves* (London, 1993); Rozina Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes: The Story of Indians in Britain 1700–1947* (London, 1986) and *Asians In Britain: 400 Years of History* (London, 1997); Amrit Wilson, *Finding a Voice: Asian Women in Britain* (London, 1978). Sinha's conception of the imperial social formation 'emphasize[s] the systemic operation of imperialism without reducing its effects to the static product of a central organizing element of society or the invariant manifestation of a fixed totality'. It draws attention to 'the interaction of the cultural, political, and economic elements' in 'the historical role of imperialism in assembling different societies into a system of interdependencies and interconnections', and 'the uneven effects produced by the simultaneous connections and distinctive constitution of societies in a globally articulated imperial system'. Mrinalini Sinha, *Specters of Mother India: The Global Restructuring of an Empire* (Durham, NC, 2006), 17.

[6] 'New' Imperial Histories revealed the impact of events such as the 1857 Indian Rebellion and the 1865 Morant Bay Rebellion on political development within Britain itself. Indeed, the key claim of the new imperial history is that metropolitan Britain was not only framed by its deep connections with its colonial peripheries, but the idea of the nation as a discrete unit was created through its difference from colonial spaces and that political rights for the (white) working class arose through their difference from racialized colonial subjects. John Mackenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester, 1986); Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865–1915* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1994), and *Empire in Question: Reading, Writing, and Teaching British Imperialism* (Durham, NC, 2011); Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester, 1995); Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, eds, *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006); Catherine Hall et al., *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the Reform Act of 1867* (Cambridge, 2000). On the longstanding boundary between British and imperial history, see Amanda Behm, *Imperial History and the Global Politics of Exclusion: Britain, 1880–1940* (Basingstoke, 2018).

incarceration.[7] We consider the post-war reworking of connected but uneven racial formations in Britain and the colonies as part of an on-going history of colonial extraction and the restructuring of an imperial labour market, not the denouement of empire and the emergence of a post-imperial nation with a 'new' race relations problem.

The newness of a 'race problem' after the Second World War can be seen across European histories. Common-sense narratives of post-war Western European history posit a 'break' produced by the recent arrival of migrants that creates a clear division between a homogenous and harmonious before and a diverse and chaotic after, between imperial strife 'out there' and racial strife 'at home'.[8] In Britain, the popular symbolism associated with the *Empire Windrush* serves this purpose, severing post-war migration and racialization from imperial geographies and chronologies.[9] In the post-war period, migration appeared as a new phenomenon, but from its origins, Britain was embedded in a global labour market that created routes of transfer and differentiated degrees of ease in navigating them. Emigration to settler colonies has been a much more pronounced and significant feature of modern British history than immigration. Britain was the largest 'emigration state' in Europe by far, sending many more people to an expanding settler frontier than, say, France, despite the sizable settler population in Algeria.[10] In the century after the Napoleonic wars, twenty-five million Britons emigrated from Britain to the settler colonies and the United States.[11] In addition to those leaving Britain, in the post-emancipation era, Britain created a system of indentured labour that facilitated the movement of Chinese and Indian labourers to work in sugar-cane fields, gold mines, and building railroads across and beyond

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[7] Rather than see borders as settled objects, scholars who study 'bordering' as a process attend to how citizenship, identity, and belonging are produced through technologies of exclusion. Border control occurs not only at the edges of state-space but also through internal processes of surveillance that seek to demarcate between those deserving of the rights bestowed by nation-states and those undeserving of access. As Nadine El-Enany argues, Britain's immigration regime has been shaped by its colonial history. Indeed, immigration law is a mechanism through which colonialism and its racial hierarchies are reproduced. Nira Yuval-Davis et al., *Bordering* (Cambridge, 2019); Nadine El-Enany, *(B)ordering Britain: Law, Race and Empire* (Manchester, 2020).

[8] Rita Chin, *The Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe: A History* (Princeton, NJ, 2017).

[9] For a discussion of the construction of the Windrush narrative, see Barnor Hesse, 'Diaspoiticity: Black Britain's Post-Colonial Formations', in Barnor Hesse, ed., *Un/Settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglements, Transruptions* (London, 2000); Simon Peplow, '"In 1997 nobody had heard of *Windrush*": The "Windrush narrative" in British newspapers', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 37 (2019), 211–237.

[10] Freddy Foks, 'Emigration State: Race, Citizenship and Settler Colonialism in Modern British History, c. 1850–1972', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 35 (2022), 170–199; Jean P. Smith, *Settlers at the End of Empire: Race and the Politics of Migration in the United Kingdom, South Africa and Rhodesia* (Manchester, 2022).

[11] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783–1939* (Oxford, 2009), 126.

the formal empire.[12] With the rise of steamships, workers from India, Aden, Somalia, and West Africa stoked fires in boiler rooms, and some settled in Britain.[13]

The nineteenth-century part of this story is well known, but scholarship on emigration in the twentieth century remains limited. With the exception of the 1930s, in every decade between 1850 and 1972, when government subsidies to emigrants finally ended, the UK experienced net emigration. Not only did migration from Britain to the former Dominions continue to outpace migration to Britain following the Second World War, but emigration also became markedly more imperial after the war, with more than 70 per cent of outwards migrants moving to colonial and Commonwealth territories.[14] At the same time, poverty and governmental neglect in the British Caribbean necessitated the circular migration of Black British subjects to Cuba, Central America, Venezuela, and the USA.[15] In southern and central Africa, the Middle East, and across the global extractive frontier, a combination of white settler and immigrant managers and workers and itinerant colonial labourers from neighbouring regions provided the backbone of mining, petroleum, and other extractive industries.[16] Britain, and white Britons at 'home' and in the settler colonies, benefitted from a global division of labour that generated hierarchies of status and rights.

The post-war period was not different in the movement of individuals seeking a better position in an imperial labour market. Rather, Britain

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[12] Mae Ngai, *The Chinese Question: The Gold Rushes and Global Politics* (New York, 2021); Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830–1920* (London, 1974); Walton Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrants to the British West Indies, 1838–1918* (Baltimore, MD, 1993); Marina Carter, *Servants, Sirdars, and and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius, 1834–1874* (Delhi, 1995); Madhavi Kale, *Fragments of Empire: Capital, Slavery, and Indentured Labor in the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia, PA, 1998); Lomarsh Roopnarine, *Indo-Caribbean Indenture: Resistance and Accommodation, 1838–1920* (Kingston, 2007); Gaiutra Bahadur, *Coolie Woman: An Odyssey of Indenture* (Chicago, 2016); Ashutosh Kumar, *Coolies of the Empire: Indentured Indians in the Sugar Colonies, 1830–1920* (Cambridge, 2017).

[13] Laura Tabili, *'We Ask for British Justice': Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Ithaca, NY, 1994).

[14] Jean P. Smith, '"Transformation to paradise": Wartime travel to Southern Africa, race and the discourse of opportunity, 1939–1950', *Twentieth Century British History*, 26 (2015), 52–73; Jean P. Smith, 'Persistence and Privilege: Mass Migration from Britain to the Commonwealth, 1945–2000', in Christian D. Pedersen and Stuart Ward, eds, *The Break-Up of Greater Britain* (Manchester, 2021); Foks, 'Emigration State'.

[15] Lara Putnam, *Radical Moves: Caribbean Migrants and the Politics of Race in the Jazz Age* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2013); Jorge L. Giovanetti-Torres, *Black British Migrants in Cuba: Race, Labor, and Empire in the Twentieth Century Caribbean, 1898–1948* (Cambridge, 2018); Glenn A. Chambers, *From the Banana Zones to the Big Easy: West Indian and Central American Immigration to New Orleans, 1910–1940* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2019).

[16] Guy Mhone, *The Political Economy of a Dual Labor Market in Africa: The Copper Industry and Dependency in Zambia, 1929– 1969* (Rutherford, NJ, 1982); L. J. Butler, *Copper Empire: Mining and the Colonial State in Northern Rhodesia, c. 1930–64* (Basingstoke, 2007); Robert Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier* (Stanford, 2007); Timothy Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil* (London, 2011).

received increased migration due to restrictive nationality and migration laws in the circum-Caribbean, the white dominions and the USA, population displacement caused by the partition of India and Pakistan, and because of the violence of decolonization in Cyprus, East Africa, and elsewhere.[17] Situating Britain in imperial and global labour markets and migratory patterns shows that class formation in Britain has always already been a racial formation in which white British subjects moved across the empire with relative ease—and frequently, with government assistance—while Jim Crow-style colonial labour systems, spatial segregation, and migration controls restricted and channelled the mobility of racialized colonial subjects.[18] As Jean Smith's recent work shows, the British post-war experience of 'affluence' and social mobility was, for many, made possible via (white) freedom of movement to Australia, South Africa, and Rhodesia.[19] These governments—as well as post-independence South Asian and Caribbean governments—shaped post-imperial migration with distinct yet complementary interests to those of the British state.[20] An expanded geography helps us more clearly see how post-war migration to Britain was informed by the material realities of late colonialism, decolonization, and the global emergence of social democratic settlements.

Britain's social democratic settlement relied upon imperial economic relations that were remade during decolonization, and the roots of the ascendant neoliberal challenge of the late twentieth century can be found in the reworking of those economic relationships.[21] The state managed post-war migration with an eye to both domestic labour concerns and development in colonies and newly independent countries.[22] Within Britain,

[17] Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan* (New Haven, CT, 2017); Sana Aiyar, *Indians in Kenya: The Politics of Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA, 2015); Vilna Bashi 'Globalized Anti-Blackness: Western Immigration Law, Policy and Practice', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27 (2004), 584–606; Saima Nasar, 'We Refugees: Re-Defining Britain's East African Asians', in Jennifer Craig-Norton, Christhard Hoffmann, Tony Kushner, eds, *Migrant Britain: History and Historiographies: Essays in Honour of Colin Holmes* (London, 2018), 138–147.

[18] Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge, 2008).

[19] Smith, *Settlers.*

[20] As Kalathmika Natarajan shows, the history of indenture informed how the post-Independence Indian state determined who was deserving of a passport and the right to travel abroad. Kalathmika Natarajan, 'The Privilege of the Indian Passport (1947–1967): Caste, Class, and the Afterlives of Indenture in Indian Diplomacy', *Modern Asian Studies*, 57 (2023), 321–50.

[21] For one material example, the state provision of free orange juice for children and pregnant women depended upon the monocrop production of citrus fruit in Jamaica and British Honduras. Nadja Durbach, 'One British Thing: A Bottle of Welfare Orange Juice, c. 1961–1971', *Journal of British Studies*, 57 (2018), 564–67.

[22] Lydia Lyndsey, 'Halting the Tide: Responses to West Indian Immigration to Britain, 1946–1952', *Journal of Caribbean History*, 26 (1992), 62–96; Jordanna Bailkin, *The Afterlife of Empire* (Berkeley, CA, 2012).

the welfare state created new ways of thinking of belonging through distinctions between who was and was not deserving of social rights.[23] Decolonization necessitated new projects of bordering Britain, both in terms of new restrictions on migration and in terms of restrictions—formalized and informal, legalized and illegal—on access to jobs, services, and welfare.

The essays by Marc Matera and Radhika Natarajan in this issue highlight persistent colonial ways of seeing and managing difference. As Matera demonstrates, it was decolonization struggles in Africa, not Commonwealth migration to Britain, that first placed 'race relations' on the political agenda in Britain. The intensification of the experience of race did not begin in the 1960s with the rise of Powellism or Black Power; rather, we can see these political phenomena as an outgrowth of a longer history of struggle that occurred not only within the British Isles, but throughout the empire as racialized colonial subjects contested racist migration policies and demanded self-determination in political and economic terms. This raises fundamental questions regarding the timing, form, and extent of the oft-cited 're-racialization' of Britain.[24]

The politicization of race through decolonization and its increasing codification to surveil and restrict the 'New Commonwealth immigrant' had paradoxical effects for other racialized groups in Britain.[25] Paul Gilroy suggests that the 'infrahuman political body of the immigrant' has come 'to represent all the discomforting ambiguities of the empire's painful and shameful but apparently nonetheless exhilarating history'. Though more recent arrivals may not 'be connected with the history of empire and colony in any way', 'they experience the misfortune of being caught up in a pattern of hostility and conflict that belongs emphatically to its lingering aftermath'.[26] Eastern European Jewish, Irish, and Romany and Irish Traveller communities attained a level of *precarious whiteness* in the eyes of the post-war developmental state (again, working retrospectively to homogenize a past before Windrush in the public imagination).[27] Becky Taylor tracks the material impact of the de-racialization of Gypsies

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[23] Robbie Shilliam, *Race and the Undeserving Poor: From Abolition to Brexit* (New York, 2018).

[24] Bill Schwarz, '"The only white man in there": The Re-Racialisation of England, 1956–1968', *Race and Class*, 38 (1996), 65–78.

[25] Ian Sanjay Patel, *We're Here Because You Were There: Immigration and the End of Empire* (London, 2021), 2.

[26] Paul Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia* (New York, 2005), 100–101.

[27] For instance, for a discussion of the Irish as a 'suspect community' in the 1970s, see Mary J. Hickman et al., 'Social Cohesion and the Notion of "suspect communities": A Study of the Experiences and Impact of Being "suspect" for Irish and Muslim Communities in Britain', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 5 (2012), 89–106. See also Bailkin *Afterlife*, 202–34. Focusing on the how immigration policy shaped the racialized 'politics of exit' in the postwar period, strikingly, Bailkin notes that under the provisions of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962, between 1962 and 1969 Irish migrants represented the majority of deportees.

and Travellers in British social policies, when racial definitions of 'true Gypsies' as hereditary nomads began to compete with modern developmental discourses that categorized Gypsies and Travellers as above all else a social problem, as itinerant, delinquent populations in need of various forms of social intervention and support (but less worthy of it than other whites). This was part of a pan-European trend of containment and forced settlement of Romany populations.[28] Critically, expanding government management of land, settlement and standards of living produced its own racializing effects. The 1968 Caravans Act attempted to address the shortage of stopping places for Gypsies and Travellers by providing permanent official sites on isolated rural and peri-urban land. Gypsies and Travellers were pushed out of Britain's metropolitan centres, often cut off by high perimeter fences, by barbed wire; they were, in this sense, literally cut off from the story that Britain tells itself of multiculturalism—centred so much around the 'inner city'—from the municipal multiculturalism of the 1980s and 1990s and from Britain's celebrated urban convivial multicultures.[29] Even more, the resultant isolated 'ghettos' came to be vilified and feared by settled society, both as sites of antisocial behaviour and as a threat to local property prices. As Taylor notes, Gypsies and Travellers were left to suffer extreme local antipathy and escalating police harassment while being denied the ability to claim community-based rights and resources via new state multicultural programmes.[30] The (b)ordering of British populations happened in *rural* Britain too.[31] And as the history of Travellers makes clear, we must look beyond and indeed reimagine the archives of 'race relations' to see all of its effects.

An expanded view of racial formation demands rejecting the Windrush as a break with a homogeneous past, looking beyond the experience (or overt politicization) of race to make visible the mechanisms of racial formation in a wide variety of racial projects, and connecting struggles against racial hierarchy to the imperial past and contemporaneous struggles in various postcolonial sites. However, recognition that 'the world made Britain'—recognition of the global, (post)colonial forces at work in forging Britain's political, cultural and economic institutions and norms—does not necessarily signal any fundamental reckoning with historical struggles surrounding racial formation. We are not the first to

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[28] Giovanni Picker, *Racial Cities: Governance and the Segregation of Romani People in Urban Europe* (London, 2017).

[29] Becky Taylor, 'No Place To Be: Inserting Gypsies and Travellers into 1990s Britain', *Rethinking Britain in the 1990s* Workshop, St John's College, Cambridge University (September 2021).

[30] Becky Taylor, *A Minority and the State: Travellers in Britain in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester, 2008).

[31] Katherine Tyler, 'The English Village, Whiteness, Coloniality and Social Class', *Ethnicities*, 12 (2012), 427–44.

be concerned that various recent strategies of worlding British history 'reek', as James Vernon puts it, of a 'reconstituted Anglosphere imperialism in which white people, and an Anglo-orientated political and economic culture, once again take centre stage'.[32] Even as imperial historians offered interpretations of the 2016 referendum on Britain's membership in the European Union, few confronted directly the deep investment in whiteness behind fantasies of 'Global Britain' (the Australian historian of British decolonization, Stuart Ward, has probably done the most to fill that gap).[33] Similarly, while the last decade has seen a burst of new research within British history on international development, human rights, British NGOs and popular humanitarian campaigns situated in empire and its loss,[34] remarkably little of this scholarship engages with how the history of liberal paternalism and internationalism is itself a history of whiteness—one preoccupied by fears of 'race war' and a resuscitation of white moral authority in the era of decolonization.[35] Even more, while 'empire' has become shorthand for morally dubious forms of universalism and governmentality, it is has often been left to anthropologists, sociologists or area studies specialists to do the work of seeing its material, social effects and contestations at the point of the humanitarian or developmental encounter, though a new generation of historians, it should be noted, have begun to challenge these limitations.[36]

We recognize that, over the last few decades, the history of colonialism has served as an animating problem—the *raison d'être* even—of US-based scholarship and teaching on modern Britain. Empire *is* mainstream, with the metanarrative of colonialism clearly supplanting the previous focus

[32] James Vernon, 'The History of Britain is Dead; Long Live a Global History of Britain', *History Australia*, 13 (2016), 22.

[33] See Marc Matera, 'Postimperial Melancholia and Brexit', *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques*, 47 (2021), 9–21. Since the Brexit referendum, Ward has been instrumental in bringing scholars together in conversation to develop new historical understanding of Brexit and its relationship to empire, decolonization and 'race', resulting in two important edited collections: Stuart Ward and Astrid Rasch, eds, *Embers of Empire in Brexit Britain* (London, 2019) and Pedersen and Ward (eds), *Break-Up of Greater Britain*.

[34] Marco Duranti, *The Conservative Human Rights Revolution: European Identity, Transnational Politics, and the Origins of the European Convention* (Oxford, 2016); Matthew Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise: How NGOs shaped Modern Britain* (Oxford, 2013); and Joseph Morgan Hodge, *The Triumph of the Expert: Agrarian Doctrines of Development and the Legacies of Colonialism* (Athens, OH, 2007).

[35] For an example of work that does engage forcefully with postcolonial whiteness, see Jodi Burkett, *Constructing Post-Imperial Britain: Britishness, 'Race' and the Radical Left in the 1960s* (Basingstoke, 2013).

[36] See, for instance, Emily Baughan, *Saving the Children: Humanitarianism, Internationalism, and Empire* (Oakland, CA, 2021); Anna Bocking-Welch, *British Civic Society at the End of Empire: Decolonisation, Globalisation and International Responsibility* (Manchester, 2018); and Tehila Sasson, 'Milking the Third World? Humanitarianism, Capitalism and the Moral Economy of the Nestle Boycott', *The American Historical Review*, 121 (2016), 1196–224. See also this excellent, candid conversation on the state of the field of histories of humanitarianism, Matthew Hilton et al., 'History and Humanitarianism: A Conversation', *Past & Present*, 241 (2018), 1–38.

on industrialization and the 'making of the English working class'. Feminist historians in the 1990s were at the forefront of this shift, drawing upon subaltern studies, postcolonial theory, and Black British cultural studies. They found Britain, in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose's words, 'at home with the empire' by unearthing an everyday domestic imperial culture and deeply ingrained, if sometimes unspoken, assumptions about Britain's place in the world and the global racial order.[37] But the mainstreaming or institutionalization of imperial history has been uneven and resulted in a diminution of the critical feminist and postcolonial perspectives that once animated it. Both gender and imperial history have been reified as topics or fields rather than treated as critical modes of analysis and analytical lenses or 'optics'.[38] Recent work in these 'fields' and new approaches like the history of emotions often orient them towards relatively distinct objects of inquiry, if not separate constituencies within the profession.[39]

The essays by Radhika Natarajan, Kennetta Hammond Perry, Camilla Schofield, and Rob Waters offer new ways into the history of feeling and the structures of everyday racialization. In various ways, they illustrate how the vaunted British commitment to the sanctity of individual rights and the autonomy of the private realm was circumscribed along racial lines, and how frequently it was violated in the cases of Black and Asian Britons. Natarajan examines the impact of the reformulations of immigration law and policy on South Asian family formation, showing us how race, gender, generation, and immigration status intertwined to produce young South Asian men as simultaneously in need of protection and a threat. The anxieties of the British state toward the male, migrant dependant from South Asia created scrutiny of young men at the border and of South Asian households within domestic state space. Natarajan's analysis reveals the limitation of approaches to immigration history that treat race as a straightforward descriptive category and which reproduce an account of the family that centres women in their roles as wives and mothers. While Natarajan explores the reach of Britain's immigration regime, Perry adds to our understanding of the state by focusing on police violence. As colonial policing became more militarized and intertwined with the maintenance of colonial political economy and labour control in key colonial industries during the empire's final decades,[40] the movement of police officers between the metropole and Ireland or the colonies

[37] Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, 'Introduction: Being at Home with the Empire', in Hall and Rose, eds, *At Home*, 1–31. See also footnote 6.
[38] Gary Wilder, 'From Optic to Topic: The Foreclosure Effect of Historiographic Turns', *American Historical Review*, 117 (2012), 744–745.
[39] For a recent imperial history that does engage with the history of emotions and sentiment, see Joanna Lewis, *Empire of Sentiment: The Death of Livingstone and the Myth of Victorian Imperialism* (Cambridge, 2018).
[40] Martin Thomas, *Violence and Colonial Order: Police, Workers and Protest in the European Colonial Empires, 1918–1940* (Cambridge, 2012).

increased. Likewise, domestic British and (post)colonial models of polic-
ing, including uses of weaponry and force, continued to converge after
decolonization. However, more work is needed to better understand how
British policing became a site to try to resolve what Erik Linstrum
describes as a persistent 'quandary of colonial rule: how to repress rebelli-
ous subjects without making martyrs of them'.[41] As Perry notes, while
racialized state violence is a major theme in histories of late British coloni-
alism and decolonization, there is comparatively little work on how racial
logics and attendant forms of colonial violence shaped the lives of postco-
lonial subjects in Britain. Perry's essay adds to extant scholarship on the
uses and deployment of violence as a tool of empire and the policing of
racialized subjects in Britain by attending to the sensory registers of sight
and sound in the archival traces of David Oluwale's encounters with the
state. In the face of an archive of death and dispossession, Perry enacts a
different type of archival encounter, one that does not lead to merely
replaying scenes of violation and subjection, by dwelling on the sounds
that bring into view the embodied experience of racialized violence
wrought by the British state. Thinking from and against David Oluwale's
'mutilated historicity' by considering what it articulates sonically offers a
means of considering the affective dimensions of state violence as experi-
enced by countless, lesser-known others, such as Somali Mahmoud
Hussein Mattan whose life, false conviction, and execution in Cardiff in
1952 are imaginatively reconstructed in Nadifa Mohamed's 2021 novel,
The Fortune Men.[42] The novel seeks to do precisely what reliance on state
and newspaper archives alone can potentially foreclose using convention-
al historical methodologies—to restore sentience and a sense of interiority
to a racialized subject and a life cut short by state violence.

Social Democracy

British social democracy, as the essays by Natarajan, Schofield and
Waters demonstrate, was at its core a racial contract that, as Schofield
puts it, 'relied on a politics of exclusion'. And yet existing explanations of
the making of the 'social-democratic subject' and the project of social
democracy continue, too often, both to centre white people and to leave
whiteness unmarked, consigning the race politics of social democracy to
the margins of historical analysis. Taking greater account of the experien-
ces of people of colour and the place of race in the making of post-war so-
cial democracy can change our understanding of its sites, processes, and

[41] Georgina Sinclair and Chris A. Williams, '"Home and away": The Cross-Fertilisation between "colonial" and "British" Policing, 1921–85', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 35 (2007), 221–238; Erik Linstrum, 'Domesticating Chemical Weapons: Tear Gas and the Militarization of Policing in the British World, 1919–1981', *Journal of Modern History*, 91 (2019), 557–585.
[42] Nafida Mohamed, *The Fortune Men* (New York, 2021).

actors dramatically.[43] Two recent trends in the literature illustrate this dilemma well: the turn to social democracy's built environment and the return to sociological studies of the 1950s and 1960s.

The recent attention to the vital role of post-war urban planning in shaping social democratic citizenship and subjectivities has certainly acknowledged that, as Guy Ortolano puts it, social-democracy's urban planners 'imagined their subjects as white', and the new planned developments of the social democratic era remained overwhelmingly white resources.[44] If we might therefore name the social democratic project as a white racial settlement then its utility as a chronological marker for twentieth-century British history surely needs revising.[45] If, on the other hand, we recognize that a spatial or material history of social democracy extends beyond the spaces of urban planning that have held the attention of recent historians of the built environment, then we must ask what other spaces need to be included in order to see how social democracy addressed its non-white subjects. This would require a history not of grand designs and new developments, but of the makeshift accommodations into which New Commonwealth migrants, refugees, and people of colour were crammed: the disused air raid shelters, the multiple-occupancy housing, the streets scheduled for often-long-delayed slum demolition, the Nissen huts—the waiting-spaces of social democracy.[46] It would also necessitate a re-evaluation of how state institutions associated

[43] The terms 'welfare state' and 'social democracy' similarly tend to describe, within the historiography of modern Britain, a discrete period (1945–1979) when we see, after the Second World War, the expansion of social rights and entitlements alongside reformed capitalism, or a managed economy of low unemployment, high consumption, and nationalized industries. 'Welfare state' reproduces the language of the period, particularly at its demise. 'Social democracy' puts slightly greater emphasis on uncovering an *ideological orientation*, associated with a diverse and sometimes contradictory set of policies, practices, and institutions. It is a term that has been taken up with greater frequency in the US academy (see, for instance, James Vernon, 'The Local, the Imperial and the Global: Repositioning Twentieth-Century Britain and the Brief Life of its Social Democracy', *Twentieth Century British History*, 21 (2010), 404–18). There is value in critically approaching the received keywords of post-war British history. Sam Wetherell's recent eschewal of 'welfare state'—using instead 'mid-century developmental state'—effectively makes new connections, illuminating its links to 'international development'. Wetherell, *Foundations*.

[44] Guy Ortolano, *Thatcher's Progress: From Social Democracy to Market Liberalism through an English New Town* (Cambridge, 2019), 14. Wetherell similarly notes that the council estates that, in his narrative, were the spaces designed to build a social democratic community were usually racially exclusive. In a revealing statistic, he notes that in 1961 just 4.3 per cent of all Commonwealth migrants in the six largest cities in England and Wales lived in council housing, against 23 per cent of all households. Wetherell, *Foundations*, 78, 99. See also Wetherell, '"Redlining" the British City', *Renewal*, 28 (2020), 81–89.

[45] Wetherell proposes that in the first three decades after the war 'new council estates were agents, sometimes unwittingly, in the reproduction of white supremacy' (*Foundations*, 100).

[46] See John Davis, 'Rents and Race in 1960s London: New Light on Rachmanism', *Twentieth Century British History*, 12 (2001), 69–92; Jordanna Bailkin, *Unsettled: Refugee Camps and the Making of Multicultural Britain* (Oxford, 2018).

with social democracy, such as the National Health Service and schools, operated as instruments of racialization. Given the inherent whiteness of the social democratic project, we might ask who bore the costs of social democracy?[47] Waters and Natarajan remind us that the social democratic era of the 1960s and 1970s was a period of intense and intensifying scrutiny of Black and Asian youth, from the border to the street to the research encounter, and provide examples of these Britons' attempts to navigate, refuse, or critique their construction as a problem.

The recent sociological turn in histories of working-class life and identity during the age of social democratic 'consensus' presents a similar dilemma. Though a growing body of scholarship shows the significant influence of late-colonial social science, especially social anthropology, on the rise of sociology in Britain,[48] the question of the fate of metropolitan working-class identities and their politics in an era of unprecedented change dominated the research agenda as the discipline was institutionalized in the second half of the twentieth century. Seeking to understand whether a culture for social democracy could be sustained in the potentially atomizing conditions of affluence and modern urban living, many sociologists followed the working classes from the cities to the new towns and suburbs, focusing their analyses there. Historians who return to their archives necessarily follow these sociologists on that same path, away from the emerging 'inner city' and towards the suburbs. But once we see the whiteness of the post-war population dispersals,[49] we see that this

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[47] While more work is needed, in relation to the NHS and schools see Nicole M. Jackson, 'The Ties that Bind: Questions of Empire and Belonging in British Educational Activism', in Kehinde Andrews and Lisa Palmer, eds, *Blackness in Britain* (London, 2016); Brett Bebber, '"We were just unwanted": Bussing, Migrant Dispersal and South Asians in London', *Journal of Social History*, 48 (2015), 635–61; Kennetta Hammond Perry '"To tell it as we know it": Black Women's History and the Archive of Brexit Britain', *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historique*, 47 (2021), 53–77.

[48] In a series of recent publications, George Steinmetz has demonstrated that sociology 'was oriented toward the overseas colonies as well as the European metropoles' as the field developed in Britain, France, and Belgium during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. George Steinmetz, 'Sociology and Colonialism in the British and French Empires, 1945–1965', *Journal of Modern History*, 89 (2017), 601; 'A Child of Empire: British Sociology and Colonialism, 1940s–1960s', *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 49 (2013), 353–78; George Steinmetz, ed., *Sociology and Empire: The Imperial Entanglements of a Discipline* (Durham, NC, 2013). See also Gurminder Bhambra's critical work in this area, *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination* (London, 2007). For scholarship on adjacent disciplines and expertise, see Ruth Craggs and Hannah Neate, 'Post-Colonial Careering and Urban Policy Mobility: Between Britain and Nigeria, 1945–1990', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 42 (2017), 44–57; Ruth Craggs and Hannah Neate, *Decolonising Geography? Disciplinary Histories and the End of the British Empire in Africa, 1948–1990* (London, 2021); Grahame Forman, 'Horizons of Modernity: British Anthropology and the End of Empire', PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2013; Freddy Foks, *Participant Observers: Anthropology, Colonial Development, and the Reinvention of Society in Britain* (Oakland, CA, 2023).

[49] In the London case, dispersal migration was 'almost solely' white before 1970. Mark Clapson, *Invincible Green Suburbs, Brave New Towns: Social Change and Urban Dispersal in*

sociological archive, like the archive of planning of the new towns, is pre-
dominantly an archive of whiteness.[50] In these circumstances, we not
only need to reckon with the implications of the mutual reinforcement of
social research and social policy in a system that centred whiteness[51] but
also to question the uses to which this archive has subsequently been put
as it has been re-appropriated for other research questions—such as in
Jon Lawrence's influential work, in which he employs it to challenge the
idea of a decline of 'community' over the course of the past half century.
In Lawrence's case, this is part of a project to contest the argument that a
neoliberal culture of individualism has triumphed over one that valorized
community. Implicitly, his purpose is to argue for the continuing viability
of a social democratic politics.[52] But we must ask whose vision of 'com-
munity' do we see here? As a new generation of sociologists has been
returning with increasing vigour to the same old urban centres that many
white working-class Britons were offered an escape from, they have iden-
tified other conceptions of community active within them—convivial
communities, communities-through-difference, which must have as
much relevance to any contemporary attempt to dislodge neoliberal com-
mon sense about the triumph of the individual.[53] How can historians
begin to chart the historical development of these communities in what
were swiftly becoming known as the 'inner cities'?[54] How can a history of
social democracy and its cultures of community bring together these

Postwar England (Manchester, 1998), 50. See also Rob Waters, 'Respectability and Race be-
tween the Suburb and the City: An Argument about the Making of "inner-city" London',
Urban History, 50 (2023), 214–31.
    [50] Indeed, ethnic homogeneity could be the motivating force for the studies. Goldthorpe
and Lockwood's celebrated Affluent Worker study chose Luton as its focus precisely be-
cause an alternative proposed location—Bedford—was considered ethnically 'too diverse' to
answer their research questions. Jon Lawrenece, *Me, Me, Me: The Search for Community in
Postwar Britain* (Oxford, 2019), 115–16.
    [51] The rise of sociology in the second half of the twentieth century was implicated, as
Mike Savage has argued, in the process of building 'a modern, rational nation which was
amenable to intervention and "management"' (*Identities and Social Change in Britain since
1940: The Politics of Method* (Oxford, 2010), vii, x).
    [52] Lawrence, *Me, Me, Me*.
    [53] See Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia*; Sivamohan Valluvan, 'Conviviality and
Multiculture: A Post-Integration Sociology of Multi-Ethnic Interaction', *Young*, 24 (2016),
204–21; Les Back and Shamser Sinha, *Migrant City* (London, 2019); Hannah Jones and Emma
Jackson, eds, *Stories of Cosmopolitan Belonging: Emotion and Location* (London, 2014); Emma
Jackson, 'Bowling Together? Practices of Belonging and Becoming in a London Ten-Pin
Bowling League', *Sociology*, 54 (2020), 518–33; Karis Campion, *Making Mixed Race: A Study of
Time, Place and Identity* (London, 2021).
    [54] For important recent moves in this direction, see Aaron Andrews, 'Decline and the
City: The Urban Crisis in Liverpool, c. 1968–1986', PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2018;
Kieran Connell, *Black Handsworth: Race in 1980s Britain* (Oakland, 2019); Radhika Natarajan,
Empire and the Origins of Multiculturalism (Oxford, forthcoming); Camilla Schofield and Ben
Jones, '"Whatever Community is, This is not it": Notting Hill and the Reconstruction of Race
after 1958', *Journal of British Studies*, 58 (2019), 142–73; Lisa Amanda Palmer, '"Each one teach
one": Visualising Black Intellectual Life in Handsworth Beyond the Epistemology of "white
sociology"', *Identities*, 27 (2020), 91–113.

divergent conceptions, and what will it do to our understanding of social democracy in Britain as a result?

Several of the essays in this issue gesture towards the limits of archival retrieval. Waters cautions against seeing the archive of race relations research as a resource for social history beyond that of the research encounter itself. Perry raises a vital question: can we use archives of Black dispossession and death for glimpses of Black emotive lives and for constructing histories of Black sentience and affect while keeping in view the violence of the British state? Changing or challenging the story of social democracy in Britain will require not only against-the-grain readings of the archives that have thus far dominated this history—archives which are themselves testaments to projects of racial formation, even if ad hoc— but also alternative, imaginative modes of reconstruction and storytelling. In addition, it will require finding archives produced by and that speak to those people pushed to the edges of the social democratic project, and considering the political, social and cultural contexts and projects of their lives.[55] How might our historical understanding of Britain's social democratic project change if we were to recognize that Black and Asian self-help groups and community centres (which proliferated with government Urban Programmes funding in the 1970s and 1980s) are, among other things, forgotten fragments of the British welfare state archive?[56]

The unmarked racial constituency of social democracy, as it was realized in the whiteness of the project of class sociology, developed in tandem with and shaped the elaboration of the post-war welfare state. It served as the normative object for the mobilization of resources and the creation of a new social democratic architecture—the New Towns, expanded towns and commuter villages that were developed to accommodate the rising prosperity of white citizens. This process dovetailed with the recruitment of migrants from the New Commonwealth into the dirtier, lower paid, yet essential, jobs in the industrial, NHS and transport infrastructure that white British workers were leaving.[57] Understanding racial formation in modern Britain means understanding the relationship between the production of racial knowledge, which often drew upon

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[55] Jordanna Bailkin has probably done the most, in recent years, to rethink the received history of the British welfare state by reading its archives against the grain. Jordanna Bailkin, 'Where did the Empire Go? Archives and Decolonization in Britain', *American Historical Review*, 120 (2015), 884–99, and *Afterlife of Empire.*

[56] For an excellent example of new welfare history, see Grace Redhead, '"A British problem affecting British people": Sickle Cell Anaemia, Medical Activism and Race in the National Health Service, 1975–1993', *Twentieth Century British History*, 32 (2021), 189–211. For a history of Black activism *within* the state, see also Camilla Schofield et al., '"The privatization of the struggle": Anti-Racism in the Age of Enterprise', in Aled Davies, Ben Jackson and Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, eds, *The Neoliberal Age? Britain since the 1970s* (London, 2021), 199–225.

[57] Clive Harris, 'Postwar Migration and the Industrial Reserve Army', in Winston James and Clive Harris, eds, *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain* (London, 1993), 9–54.

colonial sources, and the development of racial policies, including the development of the so-called 'race relations industry' in the 1960s and 1970s, as a complex structure of research, policy development, resource management, and state organization by which the fear of Black unrest was met by an ameliorative programme of community development and civic incorporation. It also means, as we go on to propose in the next section, recognizing that the management of industrial decline was not just located on the rural coalfields but also in the 'inner city'. Fundamentally, it means seeing that the distribution of state and private resources and the making of new institutions, policies, and projects, directed towards or demanded by the differently reconstituted and self-constituting racial groupings, are inseparable from one another.

Deindustrialization

The welcome return of histories of capitalism and labour to historical scholarship on modern Britain has taken place amidst a materialist or post-cultural turn. Oriented towards structural transformations, embodied subjectivity and economic life, this materialist turn moves away from discourse as an agent of change in its own right towards ideas in practice.[58] Yet, it is imperative that this new materialism, with its renewed emphasis on the empirical, on the concrete, does not go down the same intellectual cul-de-sac of social histories past—by relegating 'race' and for that matter 'nation' to just expressions of false consciousness or, as Paul Gilroy put it in 1987, 'phenomenal form[s] masking real, economic relationships in a manner analogous to a mirage'.[59] Race, simply put, is at work in the British economy.

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[58] Aled Davies, *The City of London and Social Democracy* (Oxford, 2017); Diarmaid Kelliher, *Making Cultures of Solidarity: London and the Making of the 1984–5 Miners' Strike* (London, 2021); Amy Edwards, *Are We Rich Yet? The Rise of Mass Investment Culture in Contemporary Britain* (Oakland, 2022); Jack Saunders, *Assembling Cultures: Workplace Activism, Labour Militancy and Cultural Change in Britain's Car Factories, 1945–82* (Manchester, 2019); Sarah Mass, 'Where was Entrepreneurship in Post-War Britain?: Freedom, Family, and Choice in Modern British Shopping Cultures', in Davies, Jackson, and Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, eds, *Neoliberal Age*, 176–96; Arthur McIvor, *Working Lives: Work in Britain Since 1945* (London, 2013); Jonathan Moss, *Women, Workplace Protest and Political Identity in England, 1968–85* (Manchester, 2019); James Vernon, 'Heathrow and the making of neoliberal Britain', *Past and Present*, 252 (2021), 213–47.
[59] Paul Gilroy, *'There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack': The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (London, 1987), 12. See also Richard Jenkins's thoughtful account of a 'life-time's work' of South African-born sociologist John Rex and the treating of race as a subcategory of class within sociology: Richard Jenkins, 'The Place of Theory: John Rex's Contribution to the Sociological Study of Ethnicity and "race"', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28 (2005), 201–11. Reducing 'race' to expressions of class interests ignores the multiple, intersecting modalities of subjectivization, including what Claudia Jones termed the triple oppression of working class Black women. See Gail Lewis, 'Black Women's Employment in the British Economy', in James and Harris, eds, *Inside Babylon*, 73–96; Denise Noble, 'Decolonizing Britain and Domesticating Women: Race, Gender and Women's Work in Post 1945 British Decolonial and Metropolitan Liberal Reform Discourses', *Meridians*, 13 (2015), 53–77. We can extend

Yet, there remains a remarkably stubborn bifurcation of historical scholarship on 'class' and 'race' in modern Britain, one that relies on keeping two histories apart: Britain's (post-)industrial history and its (post-)imperial one. The history of social mobility (both geographic and in terms of class identification) and the restructuring of the British economy (or deindustrialization and its profound social effects) are strangely cut off from scholarship on routes of international migration and the global labour market. History, as a discipline, is not unique in this regard. As geographer Jay Emery laments, 'social scientific inquiry is in danger of reformulating perennial hierarchical conflicts between class, race, and gender, redrawing the explanatory battle lines along deindustrialization versus decolonization'.[60] Steven High, a Canadian historian of deindustrialization, voiced a similar concern after the Working-Class Studies Association Conference at the University of Kent in 2019.[61] Studies of deindustrialization dominated the conference and seemed to have entered a new 'golden age', but their focus was almost exclusively on 'white workers', and 'the scholars and audience [were] almost entirely white'.[62] High warned of the danger that the interdisciplinary field of deindustrialization studies was itself contributing to 'the coding of the working class as white'.[63] So should we be wary of following Jim Tomlinson's call to arms, that deindustrialization is the new 'metanarrative' of modern Britain?[64] Does it fail us by reifying certain ways of seeing economic life—by reproducing the white male worker as the subject of history and, even, by reproducing the nation-state and the global north as the locus of historical activity? How might deindustrialization studies still enrich the history of race and Britain's postcolonial condition?

Jones's analysis to consider the distinct position of South Asian women in the post-imperial racial formation as well. Radhika Natarajan, 'Saving Asian marriages: Migration, Gender, and the Communal Politics of Welfare in 1970s Britain', in Eileen Boris, Heidi Gottfried, Julie Greene, and Joo-Cheong Tham, eds, *Global Labor Migrations: New Directions* (Champaign, IL, 2022); Anitha Sundari and Ruth Pearson, *Striking Women: Struggles & Strategies from Grunwick to Gate Gourmet* (London, 2018).

[60] Jay Emery, 'Geographies of Deindustrialisation and the Working-Class: Industrial Ruination, Legacies, and Affect', *Geography Compass*, 13 (2019), 3.

[61] Steven High, *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America's Rust Belt* (Toronto, 2003); Steven High, *One Job Town: Work, Belonging and Betrayal in Northern Ontario* (Toronto, 2018); Steven High et al., eds, *The Deindustrialized World: Confronting Ruination in Postindustrial Places* (Chicago, 2017).

[62] Steven High, 'A New Era in Deindustrialization Studies?', *Working Class Perspectives*, 30 September 2019, <workingclassstudies.wordpress.com/2019/09/30/a-new-era-in-deindustrialization-studies/>, accessed 20 February 2023. This moment is also referenced in Christopher Lawson's excellent historiographical discussion of histories of deindustrialization in Christopher Lawson, 'Making Sense of the Ruins: The Historiography of Deindustrialization and its Continued Relevance in Neoliberal Times', *History Compass*, 18 (2020), 1–14.

[63] High, 'A new era'.

[64] Jim Tomlinson, 'De-Industrialisation not Decline: A New Meta-Narrative for Post-War British History', *Twentieth Century British History*, 27 (2016), 76–99.

Both the transatlantic scholarly attention on deindustrialization and concerns over its coding *as* white must be understood in the context of post-2016 narratives of Brexit and Trump as populist revolts of the 'white working class'.[65] Central to the myth of the post-war *Empire Windrush* is a vision of what was lost: a homogeneous, communal, and gainfully employed British working class.[66] The imagined Brexit-voting, angry and irrational, white working-class man who resides in depressed former industrial areas is, in this sense, the anti-hero of the Windrush myth: the left behind.[67] 'Left behind' both materially and ideologically, by manufacturing and Labour, he mourns the lost certainties, the lost radical traditions, the lost communities wrought by the globalization of capital and labour. While the whiteness of the social democratic project has remained unmarked, the trauma of deindustrialization is now the foundation myth of the 'white working class'—especially in post-industrial England and North America's 'Rust Belt'.[68] With this, not only is the working class reaffirmed as white and male, but political whiteness is made *working class*—and fundamentally a matter of defensive 'self-interest'.[69] It is a story of lost glory, deprivation, and victimization, like many others, which eschews Britain's long history of white supremacy—wherein white male heroism can be retrieved in what Fintan O'Toole calls 'heroic failure'.[70]

[65] Satnam Virdee and Brendan McGreever, 'Racism, Crisis, Brexit', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 41 (2018), 1802–19; Christine J. Walley, 'Trump's Election and the "white working class": What we Missed', *American Ethnologist*, 44 (2017), 231–36.

[66] For an example of this vision of the effects of post-war migration, see David Goodhart, *The British Dream: Successes and Failures of Post-War Immigration* (London, 2014).

[67] For a discussion of media narratives of the angry and irrational 'left behind' Brexit voter, see Jonathan Moss et al., 'Brexit and the Everyday Politics of Emotion: Methodological Lessons from History', *Political Studies*, 68 (2020), 837–56; and their forthcoming book.

[68] Gillian Evans, 'Brexit Britain: Why We are All Postindustrial Now', *American Ethnologist*, 44 (2017), 215–19; Anoop Nayak, 'Last of the "real Geordies"? White Masculinities and the Subcultural Response to Deindustrialisation', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21 (2003), 7–25.

[69] The main proponent of this interpretation of white anti-immigration politics as 'racial self-interest' is Eric Kaufmann. See Eric Kaufman, '"Racial self-interest" is not Racism: Ethno-Demographic Interests and the Immigration Debate', *Policy Exchange* (2017), <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Racial-Self-Interest-is-not-Racism-FINAL.pdf> accessed 20 February 2023. For scholarship that challenges the conflation of whiteness and the working class, see Gurminder Bhambra, 'Brexit, Trump, and "methodological whiteness": On the Misrecognition of Race and Class', *British Journal of Sociology*, 68 (2017), 214–32; Lisa McKenzie, 'The Class Politics of Prejudice: Brexit and the Land of No-Hope and Glory', *British Journal of Sociology*, 68 (2017), 266–80; Shilliam, *Race and the Undeserving Poor*; Katharine Tyler, *Whiteness, Class and the Legacies of Empire: On Home Ground* (London, 2012).

[70] Fintan O'Toole, *Heroic Failure: Brexit and the Politics of Pain* (London, 2018). See also Dan Geary et al., 'Introduction: Toward a Global History of White Nationalism', in Geary, Schofield and Sutton, eds, *Global White Nationalism: From Apartheid to Trump* (Manchester, 2020), 1–26.

Historians of working-class life in twentieth-century Britain have shown that there was never such a thing as one homogeneous, stable and cohesive 'white working class'—or if there was it was localized, short-lived, or produced retroactively through the workings of nostalgia.[71] Instead, as sociologist Steve Garner has explored, whiteness itself was inscribed onto the experience of economic crisis, precarity, and loss.[72] In this issue, Schofield reads the Race Relations Board case files for intimate stories of working-class life in the years of deindustrialization—stories that reveal 'struggles over space, resources, and racial power' and new forms of emotional investment in whiteness at the local level. To historize what Garner calls the 'moral economy of whiteness', she uncovers the un-stable role it played within particular communities, within neighbour-hoods and families, in places like Doncaster, East Ham, and Preston. The 'half life' of deindustrialization—the persistence of industrial cultures of masculinity, intergenerational tensions, and crisis—brought its own form of re-racialization.[73]

It matters where we look and which communities are tasked with car-rying the burden of history. Jorg Arnold has written powerfully about the place of coal mining communities in the British historical imagination—as an imagined volk, communitarian, anti-urban, pre-cosmopolitan—rural 'ghosts of a by-gone era'.[74] Ironically, Britain's deindustrial revolu-tion is placed firmly—through this image and the significant events of 1984/85 miners' strike—in a prelapsarian countryside, in the pit village. Raphael Samuel, in the introduction to his collection of oral testimonies of the miners' strike, saw in the strike a sign of the 'village radicalism of nineteenth century England', with 'the same attachment to customary rights, the same territorial sense of place'. Samuel described the miners' politics as 'radical conservatism'—defensive, resistant to change and com-mitted to a received way of life.[75] As Arnold makes clear, this 'ruralized' view of the coal miner living in closely knit village communities was highly selective—focusing heavily on South Yorkshire, the north-east of

[71] Jon Lawrence, 'Inventing the "traditional working class": A Re-analysis of Interview Notes from Young and Willmott's *Family and Kinship in East London*', *Historical Journal*, 59 (2016), 567–93. For an early account of the hierarchies and divisions *within* working class life in early twentieth-century Britain, see Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (London, 1971). See also the substantial body of scholarship by histor-ical geographer Caroline Bressey on the Black presence in London before *Windrush*, includ-ing Caroline Bressey, 'Invisible Presence: The Whitening of the Black Community in the Historical Imagination of British Archives', *Archivaria*, 61 (2006), 47–61.

[72] Steve Garner, *The Moral Economy of Whiteness: Four Frames of Racializing Discourse* (London, 2019).

[73] Sherry Lee Linkon, *The Half-Life of Deindustrialization: Working-Class Writing about Economic Restructuring* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2018); see also, Justin Gest, *The New Minority: White Working Class Politics in the Age of Immigration and Inequality* (Oxford, 2016).

[74] Jorg Arnold, '"That rather sinful city of London": The Coal Miner, the City and the Country in the British Cultural Imagination, 1969–2014', *Urban History*, 47 (2020), 292–310.

[75] Arnold, 'That rather sinful'.

England and South Wales—and disregarded the less homogeneous coal-fields of locales including Nottinghamshire, North Wales, Derbyshire, and Lancashire.

But Britain's deindustrial revolution happened in the city, including port cities, too, with different stories to tell.[76] We might look, for instance, to Leicester where statistical and documentary evidence suggests, according to Simon Gunn and Colin Hyde, that the East African Asian and Indian settlement in the 1970s extended the existence of the city's textile industry for over 30 years.[77] In a re-analysis of the oral testimonies of residents of London's Docklands, Finn Gleeson found that nostalgia for 'participation in empire through the docks' was woven into the experience of deindustrialization there, and that the area's residents 'rarely distinguished between the interconnected losses of imperial purpose and social cohesion'.[78] Across post-war Britain, as Christopher Lawson's doctoral research reveals, already existing inequalities (along the lines of race, class, gender, and region) *interacted* with structural economic changes to produce new social, cultural, and spatial outcomes—such that, for instance, the forces of deindustrialization in Oldham, in Greater Manchester, broke apart a thriving multicultural community in the neighbourhood of Glodwick leaving in its wake a 'segregated, disadvantaged "ghetto"'.[79] Importantly, Lawson shows, through his close analysis of deindustrialization in Belfast, Oldham and Coventry, that the effects of deindustrialization were felt by women and ethnic minorities 'as much or more' than white male Britons.[80] The highly racialized story of the 'inner city' is, of course, also a story of deindustrialization.[81] The structural crisis of *Policing the Crisis* was, critically, both a post-industrial and post-imperial

[76] For a microhistory of economic and urban change in Liverpool, see Aaron Andrews, 'Dereliction, Decay and the Problem of De-Industrialisation in Britain, c. 1968–1977', *Urban History*, 47 (2020), 236–56. See also, Sam Wetherell, 'Sowing Seeds: Garden Festivals and the Remaking of British Cities after Deindustrialization', *Journal of British Studies*, 61 (2022), 83–104.

[77] Simon Gunn and Colin Hyde, 'Post-Industrial Place, Multicultural Space: The Transformation of Leicester, c. 1970–1990', *International Journal of Regional and Local History*, 8 (2013), 106–7. More work is needed in this area, however, for a discussion of racialized labour protests powered largely by Asian women workers that changed the industrial landscape in cities like Leicester including the Imperial Typewriters Strike and Grunwick Strike in Willesden see Ron Ramdin, *The Making of the Black Working Class in Britain* (London, 1987), 271–309. See also Virinder S. Kalra, *From Textile Mills to Taxi Ranks: Experiences of Migration, Labour and Social Change* (Aldershot, 2000).

[78] Finn Gleeson, 'Stories from London's Docklands: Heritage Encounters, Deindustrialization, and the End of Empire', *Journal of British Studies*, 61 (2022), 970.

[79] Christopher Lawson, 'Nothing Left but Smoke and Mirrors: Deindustrialisation and the Remaking of British Communities, 1957–1992', PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2020, 15.

[80] Lawson, 'Nothing Left but Smoke'. See also John Davis, *Waterloo Sunrise: London from the Sixties to Thatcher* (Princeton, 2022), 320–45.

[81] Waters, 'Respectability and Race'.

one.[82] In the deindustrializing city, the policing of economic and social discontent followed established colonial patterns. Riot control techniques honed in Palestine and Northern Ireland were used for the first time in Britain in the Battle of Lewisham in 1977.[83] With this in mind, we need to consider how, for instance, the Brixton Uprising and the excessive use of force in policing industrial disputes such as the Miners' Strike form parts of a connected history.[84] Disrupting prevailing assumptions and received ideas about decline and deindustrialization require rethinking racial and class geographies, at both the global and regional scales.

But how might deindustrialization studies enrich the study of racial formations in (post-) imperial Britain? Vanessa Ogle urges historians to study *decolonization* as a financial and economic event, one which continues to shape global economic relationships.[85] It set in motion not only mass movements of people—from countryside to city, from the global south to the global north—but also the expropriation and domestication of colonial wealth. Several of our essays address the economic transformations of decolonization from the outside in—whether from southern and central Africa, from the perspective of migrants, or from outside the door of the working men's club. As Matera's essay shows, 'race relations' was fundamentally shaped by questions of labour, beginning in the white settler colonies of Africa where the prospect of decolonization and democratic rule threatened extractive industries and political economies based on white supremacy. Britain's new metanarrative of deindustrialization surely requires a close engagement with the historical forces of empire and decolonization, from the persistence of mining and petrochemical interests in the City of London to the reproduction of a racial labour order. But the nascent field of (post-) imperial British history *as* economic history—or in light of history's materialist turn—can also be enriched by the insights and approaches of deindustrialization studies, with its focus on trauma and the labouring body, temporality, multi-generational legacies and environmental justice.[86] With these themes in mind, it is clear

[82] Stuart Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (London, 1978).

[83] See also Linstrum's discussion of the use of tear gas in policing the Toxteth Uprising in 'Domesticating chemical weapons'.

[84] See, for example, Kelliher, *Making Cultures of Solidarity*.

[85] Vanessa Ogle, '"Funk money": The End of Empires, the Expansion of Tax Havens, and Decolonisation as an Economic and Financial Event', *Past & Present*, 249 (2020), 213–49, and 'Archipelago Capitalism: Tax Havens, Offshore Money, and the State, 1950s-1970s', *American Historical Review*, 122 (2017), 1431–58. For recent work on post-colonial legacies in the global economy, see also Gurminder Bhambra and Julia McClure, eds, *Imperial Inequalities: The Politics of Economic Governance across European Empires* (Manchester, 2022), and Kojo Karam, *Uncommon Wealth: Britain and the Aftermath of Empire* (London, 2022).

[86] Andrews, 'Dereliction'; Kathryn Marie Dudley, *The End of the Line: Lost Jobs, New Lives in Postindustrial America* (Chicago, 1994); Ewan Gibbs, *Coal Country: The Meaning and Memory of Deindustrialization in Postwar Scotland* (London, 2021); High, MacKinnon and Perchard, eds, *Deindustrialized World*; Linkon, *Half-Life*.

that understanding Britain as a (post-)imperial formation—understanding the 'legacies of empire'—is not only a discursive project of remembering or forgetting the past.[87] Alice Mah's approach to the concept of 'industrial ruination' captures the ongoing social effects of capitalism's destructive capacity, whether it is from the runoff of mines at the extractive frontier or at the abandoned chemical factory in the post-industrial metropole.[88] Like Ogle, and informed by work in deindustrialization studies, scholars of decolonization might also follow the money: Jefferson Cowie's *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labour* (1999), for instance, follows America's leading manufacturer of records and radio sets over seventy years from industrial centres of the Eastern Seaboard to impoverished rural communities in the Midwest and South to Juarez, Mexico—tracking the economic upheaval, abandoned industrial landscapes and community deprivation across regional and national boundaries.[89] Despite its association with populist narratives of the 'white working class', this is a field that has brought economic and environmental justice, emotional life and the movements of capital into close conversation.

Whose stories reveal the history of deindustrialization?[90] And whose reveal the history of Britain's postcolonial condition? In positing an account of the location of deindustrialization and the subjects of its history, idealized narratives of deindustrialization too-often exclude the post-imperial history of migration we rehearse above. If we place the coal villages of Yorkshire in conversation with villages in Mirpur, the Copper Belt, or Jamaica, we see a global history come into view, one in which the relationship between rural and urban is not absolute, but constantly remade by the traffic between sites of racialization, social control, and

[87] Approaching Britain's imperial legacies as a process of remembering and forgetting is well developed in modern British history. See, for instance, Katie Donnington, 'Relics of Empire: Colonialism and the Culture Wars', in Ward and Rasch, eds, *Embers of Empire*, 121–31; Kennetta Hammond Perry, 'Black Pasts, White Nationalist Racecraft and the Political Work of History', in Geary, Schofield and Sutton, eds, *Global White Nationalism* (Manchester, 2020), 31–52; Robert Saunders, 'Brexit and Empire: "Global Britain" and the Myth of Imperial Nostalgia', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 48 (2020), 1140–74; Schwarz, *White Man's World*.

[88] Alice Mah, *Industrial Ruination, Community, and Place: Landscapes and Legacies of Urban Decline* (Toronto, 2012); Alice Mah, *Port Cities and Global Legacies: Urban Identity, Waterfront Work, and Radicalism* (London, 2014). See also High, MacKinnon and Perchard, eds, *Deindustrialized World*, and Anna Laura Stoler, ed, *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination* (London, 2013). As Stoler explains, the ruin of empire is not 'inert remains' but a 'virulent verb': 'to think with the ruins of empire is to emphasise less the artifacts of empire as dead matter or remnants of a defunct regime than to attend to their reappropriations, neglect, and strategic and active positioning within the politics of the present'. Stoler, '"The rot remains": from ruins to ruination', in Stoler, ed., *Imperial Debris*, 10, 11.

[89] Jefferson Cowie, *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labour* (New York, 1999).

[90] This question has also been posed—and deeply explored—by Christopher Lawson in 'Nothing left but smoke'.

labour extraction.[91] And, if we see the multicultural 'inner city' as a site of industrial ruination, histories of economic and environmental (in)justice are blindingly evident. The policing and protest of the racialized labouring body are not only historical expressions of empire and resistance but they also tell a history of the racial logics of managed decline.[92] Expanding our view of the geography of deindustrialization not only brings more locations and actors into view but fundamentally forces us to re-examine the timeline and nature of deindustrialization and the consequences of the remaking of Britain's economy. Just as the histories of industrialization and imperialism are inextricably bound together, so too are the histories of their unravelling.

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We began in the introduction by calling attention to the collaborative work behind this thematic issue. As a collective, we contend that the role of race in British history cannot be reduced to the history of racialized groups or explicit political articulations of race. Racialization is not limited to the discursive realm or questions of identity and difference but constitutive of political–economic relations and material conditions. The history of race should not be treated as a separate or distinct topic. Employing race as an analytical concept, rather, reveals how race organizes the field of modern British history, often through the operation of unmarked whiteness. We hope that recent developments in the field inspire new collaborations and raise new questions of modern British history, as we have attempted to do above.

We should not assume that this direction of travel will be automatic, especially given that, as we have noted, we are certainly not the first to raise these issues. The globalization of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement has shifted public debate about race in contemporary Britain in part by challenging the persistent public amnesia around global and local histories of British slavery and their relationship to the present.[93] We hope that this will have deep and lasting effects. But the impact will be minimal if the efforts towards redress remain limited to perfunctory exercises in institutional rebranding and culture

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[91] We might follow Bill Schwarz's recent exhortation here to approach the concept of 'racial capitalism' not only as a theoretical formulation but—looking back to Cedric Robinson's 1983 usage of the term in *Black Marxism*—see it also as a question of agency. Marx conceived of liberation from capital as dependent tightly on 'the proletariat', on the organized labour of the metropole. 'By adding the prefix "racial" to capitalism', Schwarz suggests, 'Marx's entire analytical project assumes new trajectories'—and 'history' and 'politics' are broadened to embrace 'the urban lumpenproletariat', 'the peasantry', 'the ill-organized or disorderly', 'the wretched of the earth'. Bill Schwarz, 'Editorial: Racial Capitalism', *History Workshop Journal*, 94 (2022), 3–4.

[92] For a key text on racialized labouring bodies and the lived experience of migration and economic transformation, see Kalra, *Textile Mills*.

[93] Perry, 'Black pasts'. See also Catherine Hall, 'The Racist Ideas of Slave Owners are Still with us Today', *Guardian*, 26 September 2016.

management.[94] As Olivette Otele notes, in the wake of the public out-cry of despair and rage after the murder of George Floyd, the per-formative solidarity that came from UK institutions and companies was 'incredibly puzzling' for those who have long fought for racial equality, as these same companies had continually failed to address their own endemic racism.[95] Otele sees an 'uncanny' 'dissonance' be-tween concern for Black communities in the USA and an inability to connect what was happening in the USA with brutalities against Black and Brown people in and by Britain, both past and present. This dis-sonance—this exporting or transposing of liberal anti-racist sympathy *over there* (whether to the USA, the colonial frontier, or Apartheid South Africa) combined with a failure to reckon with it *over here*—is not a new phenomenon and should be understood as part of the his-tory of 'race relations' in Britain.[96] It is rooted in attempts to preserve what Perry terms the 'mystique of British anti-racism'. The myth of British tolerance and decency (not disconnected, of course, from an-other myth, the civilizing mission), which historian Tony Kushner and others have spent academic careers working to reveal, understand and challenge, has always relied on using the USA as a foil.[97] In 2020, when Conservative Equalities Minister Kemi Badenoch condemned Critical Race Theory as an ideology that simply 'sees my blackness as victimhood and their whiteness as oppression' and insisted that any school teaching of it 'as a fact' was 'breaking the law', she misrepre-sented and sought to blacklist forty years of US-based legal theory and scholarly understanding of 'race'—expertise from which British histor-ians must draw.[98]

Despite decades of scholarship challenging the failure to historicize 'race' and racialization in modern British history, 'Black Britain' as a field of historical study garnering institutionalization has only recently been 'discovered' by British Higher Education. Cambridge, Oxford, Durham,

[94] Tony Kushner, 'The Summer of 2020: Memorialisation under Covid-19 and Black Lives Matter', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 54 (2020), 513–35. Blair's multiculturalist moment remains an object lesson in how thin the veneer of cultural 'anti-racism' can be. See Les Back et al., 'New Labour's White Heart: Politics, Multiculturalism and the Return of Assimilation', *Political Quarterly*, 73 (2008), 445–54.

[95] Olivette Otele, 'These Anti-Racism Protests Show it's Time for Britain to Grapple with its Difficult History', *Guardian*, 9 June 2020.

[96] Rob Waters, 'Black Power on the Telly: America, Television and Race in 1960s and 1970s Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 54 (2015), 947–70.

[97] Kennetta Hammond Perry, *London is the Place for Me: Black Britons, Citizenship, and the Politics of Race* (New York, 2015); Tony Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice: Antisemitism in British Society during the Second World War* (Manchester, 1989). See also, Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn, eds, *Traditions of Intolerance: Historical Perspectives on Fascism and Race Discourse in Britain* (Manchester, 1989); Colin Holmes, *A Tolerant Country? Immigrants, Refugees, and Minorities in Britain* (London, 1991).

[98] Kuba Shand-Baptiste, 'The Government has no Intention of Taking Racism Seriously—and it is using MPs of Colour to Avoid Criticism', *Independent*, 22 October 2020.

and Edinburgh, among other universities, have, in the last few years, all sought to hire new lecturers in the field of Black British history. While the possibility of actual academic employment in a scarce labour market may spark new research, and that is of course to be applauded, this *institutional* growth of the field is best understood as an expression of the neoliberal logics of the British university system—namely, students' consumer demand (again, in the wake of BLM). The planned radical restructuring at Goldsmiths, specifically their decision to put historians working in the Black British History M.A. programme at risk of redundancy just two years after the programme's establishment, treats it and other areas of high specialization as 'mere adornments on a portfolio rather than fields built upon rigorous training and deeply rooted scholarship' (as the open letter in opposition to the senior management put it). Catering to student demand, their teaching will be filled, they fear, 'by cheaper, precarious staff, or staff with different expertise'.[99]

We must be wary of institutional demands to sell Black history *as* a bordered, island-centred British history that affirms the ascendancy of a nation-state framework at the expense of a wider horizon of transregional connections and colonial histories. Indeed, Black British history depends upon different accounts of scale to take into account local, regional (post-) imperial, and diasporic trajectories. New scholarship on the history of US anti-Black violence and African-American freedom movements has challenged assumptions of US exceptionalism and isolation by situating race and resistance in transnational regional economies, populations, and networks.[100] More recent work in Black studies embracing transnational frameworks and histories of empire and Black internationalism has also entailed greater attention to the (British) Caribbean presence and reengagement with the contributions of Caribbean and African intellectuals and activists.[101] Recent histories of Black internationalism and of Black

[99] And as we write, the convenor of the MA program has resigned citing impossible working conditions. 'Open letter to Professor Frances Corner, OBE, Warden of Goldsmiths, Council & Senior Management Team', 14 October 2021 <https://we-are.gold/2021/10/14/open-letter-to-frances-corner/> accessed 20 October 2021.

[100] Penny von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, NY, 1997); Brenda Gayle Plummer, *In Search of Power: African Americans in the Era of Decolonization* (Cambridge, 2012); John Munro, *The Anticolonial Front: The African American Freedom Struggle and Global Decolonisation, 1945–1960* (Cambridge, 2017); Robin D. G. Kelley and Stephen Tuck, eds, *The Other Special Relationship: Race, Rights, and Riots in Britain and the United States* (Basingstoke, 2015); Cécile Vidal, *Caribbean New Orleans: Empire, Race, and the Making of a Slave Society* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2019).

[101] Keisha N. Blain, *Set the World on Fire: Black Nationalist Women and the Global Struggle for Freedom* (Philadelphia, PA, 2018); Keisha N. Blain and Tiffany M. Gill, eds, *To Turn the Whole World Over: Black Women and Internationalism* (Champaign, IL, 2019); Nadia Ellis, *Queered Belonging in the Black Diaspora* (Durham, NC, 2015); Joshua Guild, 'You Can't Go Home Again: Migration, Citizenship, and Black Community in Postwar New York and London', PhD thesis, Yale University, 2007; Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early-Twentieth Century America* (London, 1998); Minkah Makalani, *In*

organizing and protest in Britain, from the interwar period to the Black Power era, situate Britain, especially London, within (post-)imperial and diasporic networks and connections.[102]

These political and historiographical trends build on the longer transatlantic history of the Black radical tradition and of vigorous debate of the concepts of race, Blackness, and diaspora.[103] Across the twentieth century, visiting African American scholars, such as William Boyd Allison Davis and Elizabeth Davis, George W. Brown, Ralph Bunche and St. Clair Drake, played a large role in introducing ideas and approaches to the study of race and race relations in the USA to Britain, though their influence receives far less attention than that of Robert Park and his white colleagues at Chicago.[104] The products of these intellectual and political cross currents include foundational but rarely-cited scholarship on Black British history produced by Black scholars at historically Black colleges and universities or published in Black scholarly journals, books, and movement publications in the USA.[105]

the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917–1939 (Chapel Hill, NC, 2011); Erik S. McDuffie, Sojourning for Freedom: Black Women, American Communism, and the Making of Black Left Feminism (Durham, NC, 2011); Michelle Ann Stephens, Black Empire: The Masculine Global Imaginary of Caribbean Intellectuals in the United States, 1914–1962 (Durham, NC, 2005); Imaobong D. Umoren, Race Women Internationalists: Activist-Intellectuals and Global Freedom Struggles (Oakland, CA, 2018).

[102] See e.g. Hakim Adi, West Africans in Britain, 1900-1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and Communism (London, 1998) and African and Caribbean People in Britain (London, 2022); Carole Boyce Davies, Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones (Durham, NC, 2008); Barbara Bush, Imperialism, Race and Resistance: Africa and Britain, 1919–1945 (London, 1999); James G. Cantres, Blackening Britain: Caribbean Radicalism from Windrush to Decolonization (London, 2020); Priyamvada Gopal, Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent (London, 2019); Marc Matera, Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century (Oakland, CA, 2015); Perry, London is the Place for Me; Marika Sherwood, Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad 1935–1947 (Ann Arbor, MI, 1996) and Origins of Pan-Africanism: Henry Sylvester Williams, Africa, and the African Diaspora (London, 2010); Rob Waters, Thinking Black: Britain, 1964–1985 (Oakland, CA, 2018); Theo Williams, Making the Revolution Global: Black Radicalism and the British Socialist Movement Before Decolonisation (London, 2022); Anne Marie Angelo, Black Power on the Move: Migration, Internationalism and the British and Israeli Black Panthers (Chapel Hill, NC, forthcoming).

[103] Tiffany Ruby Patterson and Robin D. G. Kelly, 'Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World', African Studies Review, 43 (2000), 11–45; Hortense Spillers, 'Uber Against Race', Black Renaissance/Renaissance Noire, 3 (2001), and Christopher Shea, 'Blacker Shade of Yale: African-American Studies Takes a New Direction', Lingua Franca, 11 (2001), 42–49; Brent Hayes Edwards, 'The Uses of Diaspora', Social Text, 19 (2001), 45–73.

[104] Kevin Gaines, 'Scholar-Activist St. Clair Drake and the Transatlantic World of Black Radicalism', in Kelley and Tuck, eds, Other Special Relationship, 75–93. On Brown, see Gregg Mitman, Empire of Rubber: Firestone's Scramble for Land and Power in Liberia (New York, 2021), 168–73.

[105] The Journal of Negro History, established by Carter G. Woodson in 1916 and renamed the Journal of African American History in 2001, and Phylon: The Clark Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture, founded by W. E. B. Du Bois at Atlanta University in 1940, published foundational scholarship on the histories of Black Britain and of the African diaspora in the British Empire. Lydia Lindsey and Carlton E. Wilson inspired an interest in Black

The flourishing of Black British history not only promises to open up British history spatially but it can challenge and reconfigure its central themes. Without attention to racial formation and a broad range of processes and sites of racialization, however, there is danger that the emergence of Black British history as a distinct area of expertise and a career path may reproduce the familiar pattern of peripheralization-through-institutionalization. There is also the risk that Black British history will stand in for the history of racial politics in general and enable the main body of modern British historians to go on as if nothing has happened or to engage with histories of race in reductive ways—by attending, for instance, to the profound and ongoing importance of logics of racial hierarchy in the labour market with a few well-chosen footnotes (usually, Stuart Hall) before getting to the real nitty-gritty of Britain's story, that is industrialization/deindustrialization and what happened to industrial communities (implicitly white and mostly male) and the rise and fall of their political power over the course of the twentieth century.

We have argued that there remains a need to reckon with the dynamics of racialization in social, economic, and political transformations in postwar Britain and the historical narratives deployed to account for them. We employ the concept of racial formation in this survey of recent scholarship on three major themes in the historiography to highlight the connections between the production of knowledge and objects of intervention, on the one hand, and the dispersal of state and private resources, on the other; to suggest lines of inquiry which cut across the categories and temporal demarcations that organize the field; and, most importantly, to refuse the reduction of racism and racialization to the effects of immigration or deindustrialization, the decline of the working class, and the fracturing of working-class communities. We not only question the usefulness of social democracy, decolonization and deindustrialization as periodizing devices, as opposed to objects of historical and ongoing struggles but also point towards their limitations as concepts enabling us to come to terms with the complex reworking of racial

British history and British history in general in two members of our collective while undergraduates. Since the late 1980s and 1990s, Lindsey, Wilson, and the undergraduate and graduate students whom they have mentored at North Carolina Central University have produced original scholarship on the history of people of African descent in Britain, but most of their publications appeared in journals devoted to Black Studies in the United States. See Lydia Lindsey, 'An Historical Overview of the Political Status of Blacks in England since 1945', *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 13 (1989), 146–55; Lydia Lindsey, 'The Split-Labor Phenomenon: Its Impact on West Indian Workers as a Marginal Working Class in Birmingham, England, 1948–1962', *Journal of Negro History*, 78 (1994), 83–109; Lydia Lindsey and Carlton E. Wilson, 'Spurring a Dialogue to Place the African European Experience within the Context of an Afrocentric Philosophy', *Journal of Black Studies*, 25 (1994), 41–61; Carlton E. Wilson, 'Racism and Private Assistance: the Support of West Indian and African Missions in Liverpool, England, during the Interwar Years', *African Studies Review*, 35 (1992), 55–76; Carlton E. Wilson, 'A Hidden History of the Black Experience in Liverpool, England, 1919–1945', PhD thesis, University of North Carolina, 1992.

capitalism in Britain and its (former) empire after the Second World War. Our task here has not been to offer new metanarratives to replace old; it has been to insist on the need to notice the work that race and its absent presence does, historically and in the historiography. We aim to demonstrate that noticing how race operates and attending to how the processes of racialization function to structure political dynamics and socio-economic relations across a range of domains at different scales requires understanding that the study of racial formations cannot be an afterthought or an add-on to analysis. It cannot mark the margins, or the limits of our explanatory frameworks, but instead can provide an essential tool for expanding our lines of inquiry and unsettling what we think we know about the past. Here we offer an opening to consider what else thinking with and through race might show us. We encourage consideration of the untold histories it might bring to the surface and the overlooked connections and fissures across time and space that it might bring into sharper focus, an agenda that we hope will animate new, field-shifting work in modern British history.