NEGOTIATIONS OF MULTICULTURALISM THROUGH MIMICRY AND HYBRIDITY

Vijay Maharaj
Vijay.Maharaj@sta.uwi.edu

Department of Liberal Arts, Faculty of Humanities and Education, The University of the West Indies, St Augustine Campus, Trinidad and Tobago

Multiculturalism, as the fundamental condition of Caribbean life, has been at the centre of deliberations in the Indo-Caribbean literary text. Indeed, one can read the entire continuum of positions on multiculturalisms through the very earliest representations of Seepersad Naipaul and Samuel Selvon. Not only do these two writers confront multiculturalism as ideology, they also address it as an intrinsic socio-psychological conundrum in the quest for belonging in the Caribbean place. This article explores the ways the two writers present these issues and discusses the ongoing relevance of their representations in light of contemporary debates on multiculturalism as official policy.

Key words – Caribbean Hinduism, hybridity, multiculturalism, race, Samuel Selvon, Seepersad Naipaul

Introduction: Some Parameters of the Multiculturalism Debates in Trinidad and Tobago

Trinidad and Tobago is indisputably multicultural, comprising as it does many socio-cultural groups, each characterised by distinct cultural practices, beliefs, values and experiences. Discussions about culture in Trinidad and Tobago are therefore inevitably discussions of multiculturalism, particularly if the term is understood via Earl Lovelace's complex formulation:

> People [in Trinidad and Tobago] are not now and have not been one homogenous mass but are differently related to each other, and, in broad terms, people are also races and classes and religions and creeds, people are those who have been abused and those who have abused, those who are landed and those who are landless, those who are privileged and those who are exploited. (Lovelace 2003:198-199)

Recently however, debates about multiculturalism have become urgent following Prime Minister Kamla Persad-Bissessar's declaration of the government's embrace of the highly contested idea of multiculturalism-as-official policy.[1] Whereas the population is seemingly comfortable with its multicultural status, there is significant concern about "the '-ism' convert[ing] 'multiculturalism' into a political doctrine" (Hall 2000: 210).

Nonetheless, the purpose of espousing multiculturalism as policy is usually recognition of cultural diversity, as well as public affirmation and respect for differences. This understanding seemed to inform the Prime Minister's and other Ministers' statements about the matter.[2] To a

large extent, subsequent debates then centred on the reconciliation of difference with political, social and national cohesion.

This is the angle from which Selwyn Cudjoe, Trinidadian cultural and literary critic, political activist, and professor of Africana Studies at Wellesley College, as well as many who responded to him, entered the popular debates,[3] recalling in many instances Homi Bhabha's question: "Must we always polarize in order to polemicize?" (Bhabha 1994:280)[4]. In "Multiculturalism and its Challenges," Cudjoe argues that multiculturalism as policy is already an aspect of the ideology that guided Trinidad and Tobago to independence and underpinned its postcolonial development from 1962 to the present. Referring to the 'no-Mother' component of *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago,* which the first Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Eric Williams, wrote for Independence, he calls on it as "a transcendent national cultural policy." The invocation of the nationalist ideology of the People's National Movement (PNM, the political party established by Williams) captured in the text betrays the tension inherent to the twin features of unity and diversity that underwrite the conceptualisation of nationalist ideologies in almost every nation today. This is marked in the Trinidad and Tobago case not only in Williams' text but also in the potential undermining of the acceptance of diversity hymned in the national anthem: "Here every creed and race find an equal place" by the demand for unity in the national motto: "Together we aspire; together we achieve." In these foundational texts of the nation, the quandary is an either/or binary opposition which continues to tell on cultural dialogue in Trinidad and Tobago, as can be seen for example in Selwyn Ryan's *The Jhandi and the Cross* in which cultural concerns are expressed via the dichotomy of "unrestrained conflict" or a new, homogeneous, hybrid culture (Ryan 1999:253). The predicament thus revealed is that of imagining the seemingly impossible presence of an absent one in many and imposing in its stead a metaphysical, transcendent centre of hybridity, or creolisation as hybridity has come to be known in the Caribbean.

The dilemma is perhaps of colonial provenance and overcoming it is arguably a post-colonial task that involves the kind of mental and psychological decolonization for which Ngugi wa Thiong'o argues (1986). Williams' text and Cudjoe's appeal to it demonstrate moreover the relevance of Bhabha's assertion that, "the political unity of the nation consists in a continual displacement of the anxiety of its irredeemably plural modern space – representing the nation's territoriality is turned into the archaic, atavistic temporality of Traditionalism."[5] In this instance, the "Traditionalism" to which Bhabha alludes inheres in the entrenchment of Williams' writing in the linear historical narrative articulated by the imperial powers, especially its basis in categorizing imperatives.[6] Indeed in one statement, Williams adopts the words of Governor Harris when the enslaved were ostensibly emancipated to describe the situation at independence: "The task facing the people of Trinidad and Tobago after their Independence is to create a nation out of the discordant elements and antagonistic principles and competing faiths and rival colours which have produced the amalgam that is today the approximately 875,000 people of Trinidad and Tobago." Out of that approach he not surprisingly concludes: "two races have been freed, but a society has not been formed" (Williams 1963:273).

This implicitly continues racist colonial practices of discursively constructing groups and thereby enmeshes the nation in racial politics. Therefore, regardless of the enormity of Williams' accomplishment in taking the nation to independence and the value of his theses in *History of the*

People, it is pertinent to remember Hall's assertion in "New Ethnicities" that racism "operates by constructing impassable symbolic boundaries between racially constituted categories…[so that race] constantly marks and attempts to fix and naturalize the difference between belongingness and otherness" (Hall 1996:445). Williams, following Harris, constructs the same kind of boundaries as the colonial authorities, thus facilitating the continued celebration or derision of supposedly 'racial' distinctiveness and exacerbation of xenophobic divisions. Williams' anti-colonial and nationalist efforts are usefully understood therefore as arising, to use Benedict Anderson's words, out of "the large cultural system that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being" (Anderson 1983:19). It also points to the historian Gyan Prakash's argument in another context that conventional historiography is usually colonial debris, a troubling mode of conception in need of urgent revision.

Out of that cognitive framework, two primary – Indian and African – and many secondary monolithic imaginary constructs, which come to occupy positions of hegemonic truth in the popular imaginary, are established. This enables arguments against multiculturalism such as Cudjoe makes in response to the remark of Minister of Arts and Multiculturalism, Winston Peters, that multiculturalism as policy would address the fact that "a large portion of the citizenry feels itself alienated from sharing in the development of the nation." Cudjoe argues:

> When one announces that our nation's cultural policy is intended to assuage the alienation and exclusion East Indians feel, I wonder if we are starting out this policy with a false premise…how can we base a cultural policy on the alienation that one group says it feels when the very argument made in favour of East Indians is that they have maintained their culture (cited as the reason for their advantages in the society). On the other hand, that the Africans have lost their cultural heritage is advanced as one reason why so much antisocial behaviour occurs in the black community.[7]

It is evident that the framework permits a significant duplicity for Peters did not say "the alienation and exclusion East Indians feel." If it is valid to make this interpretation, then his remark could as easily be read as addressing the "Africans [who] have lost their cultural heritage." It is thus clear that the oppositional binary pits one supposed 'race' against the other, and perhaps makes unwitting racists of those imbued in its perspective. But, it is the other generated by the formula that is seen as racist for refusing the transcendent hybridity proffered as alternative. One wonders therefore: what exactly are the false premises?

Moreover, what is elided in binary constructions is the historicity of the processes which generate them. For example, as Immanuel Wallerstein contends, in capitalist systems, such as the plantation in which the constructs of "African and Indian" have their origin, "racism [is] constant in form and in venom, but somewhat flexible in boundary lines. Niggers…are always there and always ranked hierarchically, but they are not always exactly the same" (Wallerstein 1993:34). In those Caribbean territories to which people from the Indian sub-continent were brought, they were the new "niggers." The extent to which their experiences differed from the old "niggers," a difference established by the work of anthropologists and the Presbyterian church, is thus certainly an area requiring investigation (Klass 1988, Nieoff and Nieoff 1960, Morton 1916). Arguably, this may not be sufficiently addressed because neo-colonial assumptions of knowledge

have precluded its consideration. In addition, whether "they have maintained their culture" or invented new hybrid postcolonial forms not unlike that developed by the enslaved is also an area for urgent research[8].

Regardless of these historical dimensions of the Trinidad and Tobago experience Cudjoe argues for his "transcendent national cultural policy" by positing that "[w]e should not take our national unity for granted" even as he takes it "for granted" and thus refuses examination of the notion's validity. He asserts, in addition, that "[i]t is something that we must work on constantly if we wish to preserve our union."[9] The idea of "work on constantly" indicates the applicability of Bhabha's speculation that the "[t]erms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative, are produced performatively" (Bhabha 1994:2) and one may add repetitively. While by no means in disagreement with the idea that policies of multiculturalism must be formulated with extreme caution, it is into the scenario of repeat performances around metaphysical, transcendent centres that this article is inserted. It is intended as an intervention into the 'same old, same old' and an extension of the debates via an exploration of alternative ways of addressing multiculturalism through another kind of hybridity and mimicry inscribed in the "unsettling adventure in difference" of Seepersad Naipaul's and Samuel Selvon's fiction (Said 2004:55). After all, as David Theo Goldberg reminds us: "Hybridities are the modalities in and through which multicultural conditions get lived out, and renewed" (Goldberg 1994:10).

The Literary Terrain

"Indo-Caribbean imaginative writing…begun with Seepersad Naipaul in 1943…took off with [Samuel] Selvon in 1952," according to Frank Birbalsingh (2000:xxviii). These writers thus inaugurate what is now considered a unique literary field and from inception to the present one of its most outstanding characteristics is its negotiation of Caribbean diversity. As the popular debates reveal, multiculturalism often functions as a euphemism for race relations. In the selected texts by these writers, the same holds true, in interesting ways. Indeed, this context is implicit in the line of the Robert Burns' poem that Naipaul uses as the epigraph to *Gurudeva and other Indian Tales:* "To see ourselves as others see us."[10] Aisha Khan argues that this form of self-awareness "has more than a hundred-year history…. If it ever was an unconscious habit, the propensity to see themselves through a Western, Christian gaze was punctuated by Indo-Trinidadians' self-searching concerns about who they were becoming (Khan 2004:140)[11]. Arguably, the proclivity to self-identify through others' perceptions is related to the exclusion that the indentured labourers encountered as the new "niggers" in the society. In fact, if as Henri Tajfel argues, social identity is embedded in the context of attitudes toward one's group, then this consciousness may well be related to a structure of prejudice and intergroup conflict (Tajfel 1978). This is palpable coincidentally in Chas Espinet's introduction to the 1943 edition of Naipaul's collection of stories:

> Mr Naipaul's effort may not be considered truly West Indian. There is something exotic about it until you realize that his settings are local…Mr Naipaul tells…of the queer religious beliefs and simple habits of Trinidad's illiterate Indian workers whose lives are centred around [sic] the estates…To those who would like to have a peep into the Indian's tapia hut and get into what goes on behind [sic] the Indian's

mind and about life in the village which one has passed sprawling along the motor-road, there can be no better guide.[12]

That the charge of illiteracy is relevant only in relation to the English language and given that scholarship demonstrates that the indentured labourers and/or their descendants had been engaged at many levels of public life, the remarks are an imposition of alienness on the group conceived homogeneously.[13] They are in fact an interpretation of homogenized difference as minority group deficit. The remarks are mainly in praise of the author's work and may not be maliciously intended. They do reflect however that the ex-indentured's coolie status is general knowledge – without source or centre – accepted public knowledge in other words. To borrow Rey Chow's words, their coolieness, or "new niggerness" after Wallerstein, "designates foreignness… understood as social inferiority" (Chow 2002:33). Espinet's remarks also recall Abdul JanMohamed's argument that "minority individuals are always treated and forced to see themselves generically" (1990:10). But, 'minority' in this instance does not refer to population size; it indicates circumscriptions on the power to self-define.[14]

As the literary texts demonstrate, these constraints were by no means only a result of prejudices against those designated coolie/East Indian/Indian by those not so designated. They were in fact also a result of internalized prejudices that created a significant self-policing force. An argument, such as Lloyd Best's, that there are not 'two races' but many ethnic groups in Trinidad and Tobago is apropos. Best identifies "an Afro-Saxon, a Garveyite Black Power, a 'Grenadian' working class in the oilfields, the Tobagonians, the Caroni Hindu, the Muslim, the Presbyterian Indian, the French Creoles, and a mixed community" (Meighoo 2008:106-108). If his classification is taken into account then Trinidad and Tobago's multiculturalism is not commensurate with its supposed 'racial' composition. People of Indian origin do not comprise one group but four as do people of African origin. Khan's informants reveal an awareness of such distinctions in the 'Indian' designation. For example, 'Ali' is described as "a wealthy and urban young man who had no direct experience with the agricultural regions." Ali claims, "I never knew I was Indian, I grew up thinking I was a Muslim and a Trinidadian. Anything Indian, food, music, was like them, that was Caroni…Christianity and Islam are very similar. We're westernized, civilized, not like the backward, rural Indian. That Indianness, that was backwardness." They are "the nouveau riche Indians running out of Caroni. *We* [in contrast] are not about flash, we are about education, solid values, and contributions to the community…'Town' means that you're accepted into the mainstream, it means leadership" (2004:70-71).

The 'Indian' thus seems to be prone to what Chow calls "postcolonial ethnic *ressentiment,* a kind of self-contempt that is historically generated by the unequal and often humiliating contact with the white world but ends up, ironically, being directed against those who, ethnically speaking, are closest to one" (Chow 2002:ix). In this case, however, it is with the Creole world encountered upon arrival in Trinidad and Tobago. The most intense conflict generated thereby is not between groups, but within, as part of the competition to be of the 'right' class (Modood 1994:5). Khan contends moreover that the informants' "analysis of the relationship between social class and Indian culture…was a hegemonic discourse" that crossed "generational, gender, religious and ethnic differences" (2004:75).

The "Caroni Hindu" is thus excluded from all quarters and imagined as the ultimate Other, a fearsome, alien entity. Furthermore, the "hegemonic discourse" transmitted across the generations continues with full power still. Indeed, the popular debates indicate its vitality in the general population, evident for example in Cudjoe's expression of fear in "one wonders whether the term "multiculturalism," as used by the People's Partnership (PP), is not directed at promoting Hindu culture at the expense of the other cultures."[15] This condition of feared Otherness informs Selvon's and Naipaul's writing in, respectively, *A Brighter Sun* and *Turn Again, Tiger* and *Gurudeva and other Indian Tales*, (later reproduced as *The Adventures of Gurudeva and Other Stories* (1975) and *The Adventures of Gurudeva* (1995). Moreover, they deploy the tools of hybridity and mimicry in their confrontation with the situation of the "Caroni Hindu" who they deliberately select to represent. Selvon for example asserts that Tiger is based on a "real" person, who "symbolizes to me the young Indian peasant" (Fabre 1988:69). This is an innovative move since the so-called 'Indians' themselves display a certain complex kind of hybridity about which Shalini Puri sounds a cautionary note with regard to celebrations of hybridity by reference to Ella Shohat's argument that "among the diverse modalities of hybridity" there are those like "forced assimilation, internalized self-rejection, political co-optation, social conformism [and] cultural mimicry" (Puri 2004:4).

Seepersad Naipaul's Contribution

Naipaul begins by dismantling ideas like "the very argument made in favour of East Indians is that they have maintained their culture." He embeds Trinidad and Tobago's multiculturalism in fact in economic factors and political power through figures like Bhakiranji, a traditional leader, the village master "mounter of sticks" for "the art of gatka" or stick fighting:

> …not so much…a man as…a huge morocoy. For Bhakiranji was a crumpled, wheezy, sagging old man – more sick than old…[who] did not have enough backbone to enable him to sit up. He was all in a recumbent heap on a bed of stripped bois canoe, overlaid with dry tapia grass and sugar bags and flour sacks. Only his head moved now and then in the manner of a morocoy's.[16]

Naipaul thus establishes the consequent demand for attention to the economic and political disadvantages that people suffer as a result of their minority status. It is Bhakiranji's social positioning, not his cultural identity that is highlighted. Thus for Naipaul the immediate task of nationalism would be to address structural as much as cultural injustice.

With regard to cultural injustice, the attention Naipaul calls to Hindu culture is reminiscent of Frantz Fanon's view of culture. For Fanon, culture encompasses all the practices of a group, which are always in a state of dynamic change. In *Wretched of the Earth*, he contends that the evil of colonial domination lies in the withering of processes of change. He claims that:

> By the time a century or two of exploitation has passed there comes about a veritable emaciation of the stock of national culture. It becomes a set of automatic habits, some traditions of dress and a few broken-down institutions. Little movement can be discerned in such remnants of culture; there is no real creativity and no overflowing

> life…we find a culture which is rigid in the extreme, or rather what we find are the dregs of culture, its mineral strata (1985:191).

This is also Naipaul's view of cultural practices in the post-indentureship communities. On the one hand, he illustrates "dregs – automatic habits and broken-down institutions" as for example in the debacles to which belief in *karma* leads and in the subjectification of women in stories such as "The Beating of Ratni." On the other hand, he resists the unconscious hybridization he records and embraces conscious hybridity.[17] His perspective may well be viewed as a response to the burgeoning of identity politics among people of Indian origin at the time of the writing, which sought to erase the effects of the indentureship experience on cultural patterns and deny the inevitable hybridity that had ensured cultural survival. Naipaul's interrogation of these post-indenture developments is consolidated in the character, Gurudeva. Gurudeva's tales may well be seen in fact as an interrogation of the eventual formation of the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha in 1952 under the leadership of Bhadase Sagan Maraj, with Gurudeva's development being representative of such persons' early experiences.

As is well known Maraj was eventually the recipient of Williams' ire. This situation arose primarily because after the experiences of 1952, Maraj was able to exercise his leadership skills, which unsurprisingly involved a significant level of aggression and vociferousness to become leader of the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) in 1953. He formed the party by bringing together persons who would have previously run independently as political candidates. In addition, Kirk Meighoo points out that, "[t]he Democratic Labour Party was formed from the initial ethnically oriented group put together by Maraj but it was a response to the visit of Bustamente of Jamaica to form a Trinidad branch of Jamaica's DLP for the purpose of contesting Federal Elections" (Meighoo 2003:27). Another side of these developments is that, as Eric Duke asserts: "federation was also a diasporic, black nation-building endeavour intricately connected to notions of racial unity, racial uplift, and black self-determination [and] [r]acialized conceptualizations of a British Caribbean federation were prominent in the early twentieth century." Duke adds moreover "[w]ithin the British Caribbean, federation became a cornerstone of burgeoning West Indian nationalist movements" (Duke 2009:220). The Trinidad and Tobago DLP factor however complicated that straightforward agenda by making it hybrid, which in turn invigorated racial conflict. In 1956, Williams founded the PNM. Meighoo argues "the post-1956 election was a period of intense constitutional debates with the Colonial Office supporting the DLP's plans rather than the PNM's." The DLP's greater support from the Colonial Office and William's defeat in the post-1956 municipal elections led to "an unrestrained attack against the backward, rural, Indian 'wave of illiteracy' swamping the PNM urban strongholds." The subsequent pre-independence political campaigns were violent and "DLP meetings were broken up by PNM supporters" (Meighoo 2003:49).

Duke argues however that overlaid on this base of racial conflict was a "creole multiracial nationalism," which:

> …focused on, among other things, island or regional development, with little overt attention to matters of race. In fact, this strand of nationalism implicitly sought to portray either specific islands or the entire region through a transracial image that

suggested they were "beyond" conventional racial ideologies and politics (Duke 2009:230).

This was the dominant face that nationalism eventually presented in Trinidad and Tobago but the underlying racial bases have not been entirely erased from the political unconscious.

These political issues are not however the areas of Seepersad Naipaul's greatest concerns. He turns his attention rather to how the Gurudeva aggressive-type subjectivity would have developed. The reader's first encounter with Gurudeva is when his father takes him out of school at fourteen to be married. His Hinduism makes him a laughing stock, an event led by the Presbyterian convert who is his schoolmaster. Gurudeva's attempts to escape that denigrated position and to gain public recognition comprise his adventures. The narrator's perspective is the means by which his choices are interrogated and other means of accessing public recognition proposed.

As Khan asserts, "religion has been Indo-Trinidadians' alterity; that is, the marked category largely definitive of the Indian 'race'" (2004:14)[18] But, it is religion that Gurudeva grasps to gain public recognition because it is his only capital. Naipaul directs his attention to this conundrum in a manner which comfortably conforms to what Bhabha calls the "assimilation of contraries" at the "the cutting edge of translation and negotiation" (1994:168)[19]. His stories are in fact an act of "cultural mimicry." "Mimicry is," Bhabha argues, "the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which 'appropriates' the other as it visualizes power" (1994:122). One example of such a deployment of mimicry is the narrator's assertion that Gurudeva's father, Jaimungal, "was regarded by everybody in the village as a staunch Hindu [although] he was not one who could read and write well enough to understand the subtleties of the Shastras."[20] Jaimungal would most probably not have been able to read and write English. The reading and writing skills referred to are skills in Hindi, Urdu and Sanskrit that some possessed and tried to maintain and propagate through *pathshalas* and *madrasas*. The assertion that the skills are not adequate for the purpose of understanding *Shastric* 'subtleties' is an expression of concern that Hindus in the Caribbean cannot re-new traditions because they lack knowledge of the language of the texts which makes them incapable of the task and urging of the pursuit of hybrid modes of being. The emphasis on a double literacy also reveals that skills in English are of critical importance in translating knowledge of the books to others. Khan's assertion that, "[t]he substance of knowledge is important, but the idea of knowledge – as cultural capital to be possessed and mastered – is equally so" is therefore pertinent. (Khan 2004:103). Naipaul's intention is clearly a "double articulation" intended to move the group towards gaining skills that would bring empowerment. Gurudeva is represented as never developing this capacity for "double articulation." Instead the cultural rigidity he professes makes him increasingly aggressive, a bully in fact, and a perpetrator of domestic violence against his young bride. The adventures to which this leads, including a stint in prison, are depicted as inimical to his subsequent embrace of a leadership role.

The later collection of stories in *Adventures* expresses deep concern in fact for the future of Hinduism and the leadership of Hindus in the Caribbean in the portrait of Gurudeva as the subject who rises to the group's and the religion's defence and adopts the role of political representation. Indeed, much of what Gurudeva does as a leader demonstrates, like his father's

action in taking him out of school, Vinay Lal's argument that a "reification of Indian tradition" occurs in the diaspora over a substrata of unconscious hybridity inevitably developed because of the absence of change and growth that characterise a living culture.[21] Naipaul's concerns in this regard are perhaps prescient especially if one considers that figures for those identifying as Hindu have dwindled slowly but surely from more than 90% of the indentured to 56.19% in 2000.[22] However, the problem of a lack of other techniques for self-empowerment underwrites the representation. Naipaul's representation thus recalls Bhabha's argument that:

> It is in the emergence of the interstices – the overlap and displacement of domains of difference – that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated…The representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition. The social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation.[23]

Samuel Selvon's Vision

Likewise, in Selvon's writing, the "on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities" is apparent. Selvon negotiates by bringing Tiger into conflict with himself through the situation that forces him to say, "I am not an Indian." While Naipaul worries over the rise of the domineering, aggressive, English-illiterate subject in Trinidad's politics, Selvon is concerned about the group's alienation in the society in this regard and addresses it by confronting what Fanon calls the "epidermal schema" of racist thinking (Fanon 1952:112). Tiger's "Indian" identity is therefore depicted in terms that George Lamming uses to describe the individual's traumatic clash with an imposed identity. His "Indianness:"

> …travels with him as a necessary guide for the Other's regard…He is a reluctant part of the conspiracy which identifies him with that condition which the Other has created for them both. He does not emerge as an existence which must be confronted as an unknown dimension; for he is not simple *there*. He is there in a certain way.[24]

In Bhabha's analysis of Fanon he argues that the "Other's regard" is in fact an irreducible aspect of "the ambivalent identification of the racist world…[which] turns on the idea of man as his alienated image; not Self and Other but the otherness of the Self inscribed in the perverse palimpsest of colonial identity" (Bhabha 1994:122).

Selvon demonstrates that the 'palimpsest' is repeatedly re-inscribed in the interactions between people of African and those of Indian origin in the Caribbean, and exists not only in political contestations but also in everyday interactions between ordinary people. This is shown in the depiction of the relationship between the main characters in the novels, Joe and his wife Rita, of African origin, and Tiger and his wife Urmilla, of Indian origin. For example, in one episode in *A Brighter Sun*, in response to Rita's desire to help Urmilla in her developing hybridity by loaning her some household items so that she would not be uncomfortable with a white guest, Joe says "So wat de arse we have to do wid dat? Dem Indian people does have plenty money hide away" (1952:39). Joe reads Tiger through stereotypical understanding of his 'race.' His

perception is obviously belied by the vivid depiction of Tiger and Urmilla's poverty. In *Turn Again, Tiger*, on the other hand, Tiger claims "when I come a man…I want to possess myself…I can't justify my own actions by what other people do." In this, Tiger attempts to articulate a concept of personhood. Joe reduces the attempt however to a problem of racial alterity. His response is "[m]aybe is because you is a Indian, you does think that way. If so, I can't help you at all. I can't put myself in your place" (1958:211). Thus, Joe creates a racial barrier where there is none. He thus unconsciously refuses to see Tiger as an individual. This is by no means confined to the way Joe encounters the Other. Tiger's parents also refuse to see Joe and Rita as individuals.

On another occasion, in *A Brighter Sun*, in a state of elation brought about by his good relations with his non-Indian neighbours, Tiger declares his patriotism by asserting a desire to become involved in local politics. However, in response to his "Boy, one day I go become a politician. Is politics that build a country," Joe replies, "Why you don't think about going back to India?" (1952:194). Joe thus effectively tells Tiger that he does not belong and his response reveals the tension between the 'Indian's' desire to belong to the nation and the possibility of unfulfillment of that desire because of an enveloping racial consciousness about 'Indian' identity. Tiger's reply is, "I never grow up as Indian, you know" (1952:195). Tiger's response begs for Joe's acceptance but it also reflects his ambivalent position in the nation – the "split screen" of himself-as-Trinidadian and himself-as-Indian stranger which causes him anxiety because it denies him a defined concrete space for identity formation (Bhabha 1994:175). It pushes him to choose between one and the other, a push that he has to learn to resist. Like Foster, in *An Island is a World*, Tiger's problem is: how do I identify myself so as not to betray my desire for freedom from categorical impositions while meeting others' desire to identify me? Selvon posits that the subject resists the external identitarian impulse by grasping the right to idiosyncratically self-identify since individual agency for self-definition is resistant to definition by exterior, often hegemonic views.

Tiger's statement "I never grow up as Indian" is obviously contradicted by an 'Indianness' that he himself does not recognize and which he must struggle to intuitively recover; for it is knowledge, which remains hidden in an aura of silence since it is without societal value and therefore ignored as a source of self-construction. In the societal ethos that shapes the knowledge that is valued and articulated, Tiger's 'Indianness' is not valued, nor is his desire to understand himself a valued trait. Denied self-knowledge, Tiger is driven to access the knowledge on which his environment places a high value and this creates unbearable dissonance until he learns how to accord the relevant degree of value to both, how in fact to be hybrid in his own way. Thus, Tiger's statement "I never grow up as Indian" betrays an ontological conflict as well as the power configurations in the society. Tiger is trying to find common ground between himself and Joe and power lies beyond both, perhaps in the hegemonic ideologies of "creole multiracial nationalism" that promulgates the idea that to belong is to be 'creolised,' which means to be acculturated and willing to live only in the present moment. In Joe it is correlated with an unwillingness to question the status quo. More significantly neither Tiger nor Joe is aware that the hybrid identities each is constructing in their encounters are less substantive than relational.

Turn Again, Tiger addresses Tiger's subsequent self-alienation by having him understand his past. As Sandra Pouchet Paquet observes, "*Turn Again, Tiger* emphasizes Tiger's need to

reconcile himself with his peasant roots." She argues moreover that this constitutes "a vital and necessary grounding, if the process of creolisation is not to lead to a crisis of disconnection and directionlessness" (Paquet 1988:197). That peasant past is a place where "memories are all of defeated manhood, humiliations endured, exploitation suffered…people victimized and abused because of their indentureship to the cane industry and the hierarchy of the estate village."[25] Memories are of how "[t]he white overseer screwed the young Indian girls in the cane, and nobody could do anything about it. They were short-paid…but no one said anything. Everybody grumbled, but they still worked, because not to work was to starve" (1958:47). As Pouchet Paquet argues their continuing social neglect is "reflected in the underdevelopment of their village; there is no school, no running water, no electricity, no public transport, no real representation at government level, and their voicelessness is tied to their illiteracy" (Paquet 1988:198). Like Naipaul therefore, Selvon posits that the national task is to address the economic and political disadvantages that people suffer as a result of their minority status. Thus, whereas Tiger's political ambitions in *A Brighter Sun* had been motivated by his desire to build Trinidad's cosmopolitanism, in *Turn Again, Tiger*, they become the complex desire to preserve the ability to live with differences while concurrently improving the conditions under which people must earn a daily living.

Selvon and Naipaul thus re-construct the notion of hybridity or creolisation endemic to Caribbean life and in their repetition of the discourse of the dominant culture disrupt it and to use Bhabha's words, open "up a space of negotiation where power is unequal but its articulation may be equivocal. Such negotiation is neither assimilation nor collaboration" (Bhabha 1994:58). They therefore implicitly pose a threat to the dominant culture because their voices are then no longer the voices of the alien Other; they are the voices of hybridity itself which mainstream culture claims as its own defining characteristic. The kind of conscious hybridity they propose can moreover be described via Bhabha in terms of the supplement that "suggests that adding 'to' need not 'add up' but may disturb the calculation" (Bhabha 1994:155). Selvon and Naipaul perhaps thereby reveal why hybridity and creolisation are words which are seldom associated with people of Indian origin because to do so is to upset the status quo.

Naipaul and Selvon thus construct a space through their narratives where the individual can reject extreme forms of traditionalism as well as those of creolisation. This space enables a self-conception that is different to the Other to which history, societal norms and tradition threaten to reduce them. Its construction involves resistance to predefined categories whether of race or nation and appropriation of agency for self-construction and movement beyond those categories. These writers thus suggest that the individual's task is to creatively come to terms with new identities that transgress the boundaries set by others, which dismantle the logic of either/or and embrace a different logic, the logic of neither/both.

Conclusion: Some Considerations for a Policy of Multiculturalism

Bhabha argues that multicultural policies "entertain and encourage…cultural diversity [while] containing it [because] [a] transparent norm is constituted, a norm given by the host society or dominant culture, which says that these other cultures are fine, but we must be able to locate them within our own grid" (Bhabha 1990:208). The type of hegemonic norm he discusses is definitely apparent in Trinidad and Tobago in the debates that have occurred since the

announcement of the possibility of formulating such a policy but it is most certainly not a ***result*** of multicultural policy. Interestingly, it is promulgated through the norm of creolisation or hybridity that informed the imagining of a national culture! That norm has sought to control and sanitise cultural difference through amalgamation to a new homogeneity, an act which intrinsically generates power hierarchies and oppositions of us and them, margin and centre, insider and outsider from which discourses of racism draw strength. Thus, in the Caribbean to use Pnina Werbner remarks, "the current fascination with cultural hybridity masks an elusive paradox" (Werbner 1997:1). Her point is usefully expanded in Bart Moore Gilbert's assertion that "the most hybridized portion of the subject culture, the national bourgeoisie, was the one to which control was relinquished at the beginning of the (neo-) colonial period, and serves as another warning that 'hybridity' can be as oppressive as the supposedly monocultural systems it opposes" (Moore-Gilbert 1997:195).

There are however other ways of conceiving hybridity. As the literary texts reveal the dichotomous African-Indian construct is untenable in Trinidad and Tobago, even if one accepts Best's more extensive system of classification. Even in the so-called "Caroni Hindu" subgroup, culture is indubitably hybrid and uncontainable. In fact, efforts of containment of hybridity are portrayed as deleterious to cultural survival in these narratives. This paper has not examined the situation for the diverse other groups comprising the nation and this is vitally necessary for a full image of Trinidad and Tobago multiculturalism. It is unlikely though that the whole picture would contradict the notion of culture's excess depicted by Naipaul and Selvon since they substantiate Hall's observation that "[i]n diasporic conditions people are often obliged to adopt shifting, multiple or hyphenated positions of identification" (Hall 2000:227). On the other hand, the inherent racism underscoring the colonial and postcolonial African-Indian dichotomy revealed in the literary text as much as in the popular debates suggests that a policy of multiculturalism could be a timely intervention in this deeply entrenched problem of the modern Caribbean. It must however on the evidence of the literature be a policy that avoids ideas of cultural boundedness that can become a frame for hiding racism. In addition, Tariq Modood's argument that multiculturalism is not "a political philosophy in its own right, if by that is meant a comprehensive theory of politics" could also qualify the process of policy formulation (Modood 2007:7). Although Modood states, following Bhiku Parekh in *Rethinking Multiculturalism* that "all the functions of the state have to be reconceived in light of it, for they are currently conceived within the idea that the state represents national and cultural homogeneity," he also adds that while "multiculturalism presupposes the matrix of principles, institutions and political norms that are central to contemporary liberal democracies; [it is]…also a challenge to some of these norms, institutions and principles" (Modood 2007:7).

The cultural diversity that characterises Trinidad and Tobago society occasions many social challenges that have important implications for everyone in the nation. Policies of multiculturalism that encourage linguistic and cultural recognition of minority communities and seek to encourage their participation as citizens in public discourse, which have become standard in territories that have wrestled with the recent influx of immigrants thrown up by globalisation, have never been developed in Trinidad and Tobago (Taylor 1994). Because of this, people of Indian origin who arrived as indentured labourers experienced at first a laissez-faire attitude to their cultural inclinations and later their descendants experienced pressure to conform to a hegemonic discourse which called on them to declare non-Indianness. This has generated a

convoluted situation of "postcolonial ethnic *ressentiment*" as well as unnecessary and unproductive defensive aggression and "reification of culture." This may well be because the attention to making structural changes to ensure economic and political security that would facilitate an environment in which an organic hybridity would develop out of the responsive changes of a living culture for which the literary texts call has not been forthcoming.

It must be borne in mind also that the cultural situation described in this article is a recurrent one, having occurred first with the Amerindians on the encomiendas, then the enslaved Africans as well as with those of Indian origin among others. The transformation of what are now established cultural practices is thus not by any means going to be an easy process. Transformation will require much more than adoption of a new policy framework. In fact it would require a long and concerted process of re-socialization and the development of new ways of thinking especially about the troublesome legacy of the colonial concept of race and the identity politics that have ensued. The dialogues and symposia toward the formation of a policy are thus a fair start but only, of course, if they are pursued. They could indeed function as an example of multiculturalism in action if as Modood argues in *Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea*: multiculturalism is about civility, belonging, political reform, and equal citizenship.

Author bio: J. Vijay Maharaj is a Caribbean scholar whose fields of interest encompass the making of the Caribbean subject, race and politics in the Caribbean, new epistemologies, new ways of conceptualizing ontology and indigenous methodologies for Caribbean research. This is evident in her work which includes the chapters "Carnival Poetics and Caribbean Politics: Lakshmi Persaud's *For the Love of My Name* and Niala Maharaj's *Like Heaven*" in *Critical Perspectives on Indo-Caribbean Literature* edited by Joy Mahabir and Mariam Pirbhai, "A Mala in Obeisance: Hinduism in Select Texts of V.S. Naipaul" in *Made in the West Indies* edited by Barbara Lalla and Jennifer Rahim as well as the PhD dissertation "A Caribbean Katha: Re-visioning the 'IndoCaribbean' 'Crisis of Being and Belonging' through the Literary Imagination." Her work has also appeared in the Caribbean studies journal, *Anthurium,* and the Caribbean cultural studies journal, *Toute Monde.*

REFERENCES

Abdul R. JanMohamed, and David Lloyd. 1990. Introduction. "Toward a Theory of Minority
        Discourse: What Is To Be Done?" In *The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse*. Eds.
        Abdul R JanMohamed and David Lloyd. New York: Oxford

Said, Edward W. 2004. *Humanism and Democratic Criticism*. New York: Columbia UP

Anderson, Benedict.[1983] 1991*Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of
        Nationalism.* London and New York: Verso

Bhabha, Homi.1994. *The Location of Culture.* London and New York: Routledge,

Bhabha, Homi. 1994. "Remembering Fanon: Self, Psyche and the Colonial Condition." In

Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader. Eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf

Birbalsingh, Frank. 2000. Introduction. *Jahaji: An Anthology of Indo-Caribbean Fiction*. Ed. Frank Birbalsingh. Toronto: TSAR

Chow, Rey. 2002. *The Protestant Ethnic and the Spirit of Capitalism.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002

Duke, Eric D. "The Diasporic Dimensions of British Caribbean Federation in the Early Twentieth Century." *New West Indian Guide* Vol. 83 No. 3 & 4 (2009):220

Fabre, Michel. 1988. "Samuel Selvon: Interviews and Conversations." In *Critical Perspectives on Sam Selvon.* Ed. Susheila Nasta. Washington: Three Continents

Fanon, Frantz. [1952] 1986.*Black Skins, White Masks.* [1952] Trans. Charles Lam Markmann. London: Pluto Press

Fanon, Frantz [1961] 1985. *The Wretched of the Earth.* Trans. Constance Farrington. Harmondsworth: Penguin

Goldberg, David Theo. 1994. "Introduction: Multicultural Conditions." In *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader.* ed. David Theo Goldberg. Oxford, Blackwell

Hall, Stuart. 1996. "New Ethnicities." In *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies.* David Morley and K.H. Chen. London and New York: Routledge

Hall, Stuart. 2000. Conclusion: The Multi-cultural Question. In *Un/Settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglements, Transruptions.* Ed. Barnor Hesse. London: Zed Books

Lovelace, Earl. 2003. *Growing in the Dark. Selected Essays.* (ed. Funso Aiyejina; San Juan, Trinidad: Lexicon Trinidad

Khan, Aisha. 2004. *Callaloo Nation: Metaphors of Race and Religious Identity among South Asians in Trinidad.(*Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago: The University Press of the West Indies

Klass, Morton. 1988. *East Indians in Trinidad: A Study in Cultural Persistence.* (Illinois: Waveland

Lamming, George. 1992."The Negro Writer and his World." In *Conversations: George Lamming: Essays, Addresses and Interviews 1953-1990*. Ed. Andaiye and Richard Drayton. London: Karia,

Meighoo, Kirk. 2003. *Politics in a Half-Made Society: Trinidad and Tobago 1925 – 2001.* Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle

Meighoo, Kirk. 2008. "Ethnic Mobilization vs. Ethnic Politics." *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 46(1), (2008): 106-108.

Modood, Tariq et al. 1994.*Changing Ethnic Identities*. London: Policy Studies Institute

Modood, Tariq. 2007.*Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea.* London: Polity Press

Moore-Gilbert, Bart. 1997. *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics*, London & New York: Verso

Morton, Sarah E. 1916. *John Morton of Trinidad: Pioneer Missionary of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to the East Indians in the British West Indies.* Toronto: Westminster

Niehoff, Arthur and Juanita Niehoff. 1960. *East Indians in the West Indies* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum

Selvon, Samuel. [1952] 1995. *A Brighter Sun*. Essex: Longman

Selvon, Samuel. [1958] 1959. *Turn Again, Tiger.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1959

Paquet, Sandra Pouchet. "An Introduction to *Turn Again, Tiger.*" In *Critical Perspectives on Sam Selvon.* Ed. Susheila Nasta. Washington: Three Continents,

Ryan, Selwyn. 1999. *The Jhandi and the Cross: The Clash of Cultures in Post-Creole Trinidad and Tobago*. Trinidad and Tobago: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.

Thiong'o, Ngugi wa. 1986. *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature.* London: James Currey

Tajfel, Henri ed.1978. *Differentiation Between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology* of *Intergroup Relations.* New York: Academic

Puri, Shalini 2004. *The Caribbean Postcolonial: Social Equality, Post-Nationalism, and Cultural Hybridity.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Wallerstein, Immanuel 1993."The Ideological Tensions of Capitalism: Universalism versus Racism and Sexism." In *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities.* Trans. Chris Turner. Ed. Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein. London and New York: Verso

Williams, Eric. [1963] 1993. *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago.* New York: A&B Books,

Werbner, Pnina. 1997. Introduction. In *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-Cultural Identities*

and the Politics of Anti-Racism, ed. Pnina Werbner and Tariq Modood. London: Palgrave Macmillan,

Notes

[1] These debates have a significant history and were an aspect of the earlier popular discussions on constitutional reform. See for example Stephen Kangal's "Multiculturalism: The Key to Managing Ethno-Cultural Diversity and the Integration of Trinidad and Tobago" in the online *Trinidad and Tobago News* at: http://www.trinidadandtobagonews.com/selfnews/viewnews.cgi?newsid1105548417,28840,.shtml.   Accessed   17 July 2011.This is also one of the more interesting places for examining the current debates.

[2] The text of the first public announcement at the Indian Arrival Day celebrations on May 28 2010, four days after the election victory of the People's Partnership, reveals as much. See the *Trinidad Guardian* online at http://www.guardian.co.tt Accessed 17 July 2011. See also comments made by the Minister of Arts and Multiculturalism, Winston (Gypsy) Peters at the symposium entitled "Towards A Multiculturalism Policy," at the Centre of Excellence on October 13, 2010, at Rovanel's Resort on March 13, 2011 and later in Tobago, reported in the Trinidad and Tobago newspapers. Available at http://www.newsday.co.tt/sunday_special_report/0,139818.html and   http://test.guardian.co.tt/?q=news/general/2010/10/14/peters-govt-looking-cultural-policy   Accessed   17   July 2011.

[3] The articles consulted span the period June 10th 2010 to March 9th 2011 and include "Indian (Hindu)Time Ah Come," "Mother Trinidad and Tobago," "The Limitations of Multiculturalism" Parts I, II, and III and "Multiculturalism and its Challenges in Trinidad and Tobago." They are available at http://www.trinicenter.com/Cudjoe/ and are reproduced with responses that generate their own text at http://www.trinidadandtobagonews.com Accessed 17 July 2011.

[4] Referenced hereafter as *Location*. The polarisation of which Bhabha speaks informed much of the popular debates. On December 13 2010, Kian, for example, in a response to Cudjoe's "Indian Time ah Come," writes "The other thing is his [referring to Sat Maharaj, the Secretary General of the Hindu organisation, the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha (SDMS)] insistence on using the word "multicultural" as opposed to "cultural" [sic] the strategy here is "cultural" connotates a coming together to create a 'oneness' while "multicultural" while appearing to tolerate differences, [sic] it also encourage [sic] the groups to "maintain" and therefore separate us more than if we ever were to think of ourselves as working towards some form of cultural consciousness." http://www.trinidadandtobagonews.com/blog/?tag=multiculturalism Accessed 17 July 2011.

[5] See Bhabha *Location,*213. Despite the deficiencies of the examples Bhabha uses to illustrate his theoretical propositions, the propositions themselves are useful for our purposes. See for example Marjorie Perloff, "Cultural Liminality/Aesthetic Closure?: The "Interstitial Perspective" of Homi Bhabha," *Literary Imagination* (1999): 109-125.

[6] Cudjoe's article is itself embedded in that narrative as he explains his assertion that "Indian Time Ah Come" as a culmination of: "T&T has gone through many stages in its history. If we begin with 1797 when the British took over from the Spanish we can define our history into four brief eras: 1797-1850 when William Burnley and the English ruled the society; 1850-1900 when L. A. de Verteuil and the French Creoles reigned supreme; 1900-1956 when we saw the rise of the working people embodied in the Water Riots (1903) and the activities of Cipriani, Butler and Rienzi. 1956-2010 saw the political dominance of the Africans in the society." http://www.trinicenter.com/Cudjoe/2011 Accessed 17 July 2011.

[7] Cudjoe, "Multiculturalism and its Challenges."

[8] See J. Vijay Maharaj "Banal Violence: Abject Plantation Legacy" in *Toute Monde: A Journal of Caribbean Cultural Studies* (forthcoming) for a discussion about this.

[9] Cudjoe, "Multiculturalism and its Challenges."

[10] Seepersad Naipaul's stories are available in three collections: *Gurudeva and other Indian Tales* (1943), *The Adventures of Gurudeva and Other Stories* (1975) and a modified version of the second which excludes the other stories, *The Adventures of Gurudeva* (1995)*.* The first two are used in this study and will be referenced as *Gurudeva* and *Adventures* for the first and second respectively.

[11]. Hereafter referenced as *Callaloo.*

[12] Chas S. Espinet was news editor for the Trinidad Publishing Company and the author's colleague.

[13] A number of studies have established this involvement in public life. They include Rosabelle Seesaran,. *From Caste to Class: The Social Mobility of the Indo-Trinidadian Community 1870-1917.* (Trinidad: Rosaac, 2002), Bridget Brereton *A History of Modern Trinidad, 1783-1962* (Kingston: Heinemann, 1981) and Bridget Brereton and

Winston Dookeran (eds.) *East Indian in the Caribbean* (London: Kraus, 1982), David Dabydeen and Brinsley Samaroo (eds.) *Indians in the Caribbean* (New York: Millwood, 1982), Anthony de Verteuil *Eight East Indian Immigrants* (Port-of-Spain: Paria Publishing, 1989) and Dave Ramsaran *Breaking the Bonds of Indentureship* (St. Augustine: ISER, 1993) to name just a few.

[14] The group comprised around the time represented approximately 33% of the population. See for example the *Census of the Colony of Trinidad and Tobago* 1923 and 1948.

[15] Cudjoe, "Multiculturalism and its Challenges."

[16] Seepersad Naipaul *Gurudeva*, 21.

[17] While the claim that the idea is a transmission from father to son cannot be indisputably made, V. S. Naipaul's contention that "[i]mmigrants are people on their own. They cannot be judged by the standards of their older culture. Culture is like language, ever developing. There is no right and wrong, no purity from which there is decline. Usage sanctions everything," is very much the underlying philosophical position of Seepersad Naipaul's stories. See 'East Indian' in *Literary Occasions* (New York: Knopf, 2003), 41.

[18] Khan, *Callaloo* 14. Sometimes the manifestation of that perception of alterity can be extreme. In one of the responses to Cudjoe's article for example, someone identifying himself as Keith says on December 14, 2010 "I applaud your tolerance in attempting to talk sense to those whose perspective is shaped by centuries of caste preference beliefs. You have to understand that these people are nurtured in a difference (sic) concept of normal, balanced, fairness etc. In that context, explaining things to them from the concept of the Beatitudes is like speaking english to a fowl and expecting it to understand what you are saying." http://www.trinidadandtobagonews.com/blog/?tag=multiculturalism Accessed 17 July 2011.

[19] He further develops the notion in his essay, "Signs Taken for Wonders."

[20] Naipaul, *Gurudeva,* 24.

[21] Vinay Lal, "The Nation, Nation State and the Cultural Politics of Hindu/Indian Womanhood in the Indian Diaspora." *Conference on Challenge and Change: The Indian Diaspora in its Historical and Contemporary Contexts.* (University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad. August 11-18, 1995) 4.

[22] In 1990, there were 267,040 Hindus in Trinidad and Tobago, comprising 23.7 per cent of the country's total population and 58.9 per cent of people of Indian origin (Central Statistical Office 1994: xiv–xv). According to Census 2000, the population of Hindus in Trinidad and Tobago was 250,760 and they formed 22.49 per cent of the country's population and 56.19 per cent of the people of Indian origin (http://www.cso.gov.tt/census2000).

[23] Bhabha, *Location,* 2.

[24] George Lamming, "The Negro Writer and his World." In *Conversations: George Lamming: Essays, Addresses and Interviews 1953-1990*. Ed. Andaiye and Richard Drayton. (London: Karia, 1992) 37.

[25] Ibid, 199.