Class, knowledge and belonging
Narrating postmigrant possibilities

Roger Bromley

One of the tasks involved in the theorising of the concept of postmigration is that of de-essentializing so-called migrant coherences and homogeneities and breaking up ascribed identities, bearing in mind the ways in which dichotomised cultural differences can be overstated in ethnic discourse. Postmigration is often used as a critique of terms such as migrant, or person with foreign background, used to describe someone born in a particular country whose family origins are elsewhere (cf. Foroutan 2019). It is also a useful concept for exploring the conflicts and contradictions, the dialectic of belonging and unbelonging, the split subjectivities which, in many cases, are a feature of postmigrant belonging. The use of the prefix 'post' is, therefore, epistemological in the sense that it raises the question of how, and at what point, someone ceases to be thought of as a 'migrant' or in terms of their supposed ethnicity.

The focus in this chapter will be on two postmigrant writers and postmigrant writings in the current British context and on those factors which enable the recognition of a postmigrant condition, moving beyond assumed stable binaries, and those which militate against it. Among the latter are an imperial legacy, revived since Brexit, the new nationalisms in Europe, and the liberal illusion of postraciality. Allied to this are the attempts to undermine the fact that migration is itself a historical condition, and that postmigration is, as has been said, a new historical condition, which shifts the focus from the exceptionality of the immigrant/migrant (see in detail, Schramm/Petersen/Moslund 2019).

The 1990s saw the normative articulation of cosmopolitan, deliberative, and multicultural politics. While such politics were indicative of the political optimism that flowed in those years, they may seem dated and quaint in the world of volatility and crisis we now inhabit since 9/11, the so-called 'war on terror', the 7/7 London bombings and the Manchester bombings of 2017, as well as the 2008 recession, and the refugee 'panic' of 2015. Furthermore, the fact that the killing by police of George Floyd in Minnesota on 25 May, 2020 gave rise to Black Lives Matter protests in the USA and in Europe which continued for several weeks suggests racialised injustices and inequalities are still major problems. Add to this the fact

that more people from BAME backgrounds in the UK, US and many other European nations are dying from coronavirus, and it is possible to argue that, apart from poverty, inadequate housing, and low pay, structural racism is a key factor. Both texts I shall be referring to Guy Gunuratne's *In Our Mad and Furious City* (2018) and Zia Haider Rahman's *In the Light of What we Know* (2014) need to be seen in this context: a deeply troubling and troubled society. Firstly, I want to look at Gunaratne's *In Our Mad and Furious City*, partly in terms of Paul Gilroy's concept of 'conviviality' but also to stress the pressures, symbolic, political and physical, which threaten to make this conviviality increasingly difficult. Gilroy sees conviviality as "the process of cohabitation and interaction that have made multiculture an ordinary feature of social life in postcolonial societies" (2004: xi). The book in which he develops this concept is called *After Empire*, a title which I am coming to feel is a little optimistic, perhaps. 'Conviviality', he says, "is a social pattern in which different metropolitan groups dwell in close proximity but where their racial, linguistic and religious particularities do not – as the logic of ethnic absolutism suggest they must – add up to discontinuities of experience or insuperable problems of communication" (Gilroy 2006: 40).

Spaces of possibility in Gunuratne's *In Our Mad and Furious City*

In examining Gunuratne's novel I shall attempt to develop a partial answer to the question posed by sociologist Sivamohan Vulluvan: "What features are constitutive of convivial multiculture when it is indeed manifest and how, in turn is it substantively distinctive from the ideals of co-existence formalised by integration?" (Vulluvan 2016: 2). The novel traces the everyday lives of three late-teenage friends, at relative 'ease in diversity', from a suburb of North London over the course of 48 hours against the background of the killing of a white soldier by a black Muslim. Based on the killing of Lee Rigby in 2013 and the upsurge of white nativist protests, the book does not celebrate the political idea of multiculturalism but locates it as an accepted way of life in a specific part of the suburb although cordoned off, literally and metaphorically, by the presence on the edges of the community of police tapes and white protesters. As will be seen in the case of the character of Yusef, the conviviality the three friends achieve is precarious, their ethos of 'indifference to difference' (Amin 2013: 3) hard won and always subject to the threat of violence.

Each of the teens – Selvon, Ardan, and Yusef – is given their own narrative and these are intersected with those of Selvon's father – Nelson (his name with its possible slave echoes) – and Ardan's mother – Caroline. For the latter, West Indian and Irish respectively, their ethnic origins form much of their identity and memory. They are enclosed by it – the legacy of colonial racialisation. For Nelson, his memory is of the violence of earlier race riots and Mosley, for Caroline it is

the Troubles of Northern Ireland (1969 to 1998). Yusef's father – the Sufi-following Imam of the local mosque, has been dead a year when the narrative starts, but his gentle and enlightened presence – he wanted co-existence – echoes throughout the text and is contrasted with the coarser narrative of the new, imported Imam, with more reactionary and segregationist views. I have mentioned the ethnicity of the parent generation because that of the sons is relatively unmarked.

The opening chapter – Yusef's narrative – situates much of the novel in terms of local context, specific uses of language – idiom/idiolect, slang, street voices – and, above all place, their medium, habitus, and their class:

> We'd all spy those private-school boys from Belmont and Mill Hill and we'd wonder, how would it have felt to come from the same story? To have been moulded out of one thing and not of many? There was nothing more foreign to us than that[…]Ours was a language, a dubbing of noise, while theirs was a one note, void of new feeling and any sense of place" (Gunaratne 2018: 4).

This is an inclusive narrative, predicated upon 'we' and 'our': "Place was our own. This place. Whether we heard the whispers of our older roots never mattered" (ibid.: 4). Each of the boys' narratives shares the same language – "our friendship we called bloods, our homes we called our Ends" (ibid.: 3); 'ennet-tho', 'my-man', 'pussy-o" are terms common to all the young males, irrespective of colour or ethnicity. They share a vernacular – 'a young nation of mongrels'- but this is no multicultural utopia as they also share 'violence in our brotherhood', their bodies were locked for verbal assaults, "violence shadowed our language and our lines tagged the streets. They'd read us on walls" (ibid.: 2). The pronominal use of 'our' and 'us' shapes an indifference to race, even while acknowledging its history is part of them. The 'one note' mentioned in respect of the private-school boys and their lack of any sense of place is 'white privilege' which is everywhere, and will be explored later. Growing up in the Estate the friends told racist jokes for fun, a mark of postmigrant confidence. Once, the *de facto* multicultural nature of the Council Estate is mentioned – "my breddas on the Estate they were from all over. Jamaicans. Irish. Pikeys, Nigerians, Ghanaians, South Indians, Bengalis. Proper Commonwealth kids" (ibid.: 3) – but, otherwise, their origin or ethnicity is never mentioned, apart from the reference at one point to Serbian and Somali football teams, more recent migrants from the 1990s and still 'ethnicised'. Otherwise, although the 'breddas' '*had an elsewhere in their blood*' (my emphasis), they are British born, London based; the past is irrelevant as they live in the present with an eye on the future: they are literally post migrant, although there is a presence, on the edges, of the white protesters who wish to 're-ethnicise', re-essentialise them.

Not only are they postmigrant but they convert their place into a space of possibility, empowered, entitled and not in thrall to the dominant discourse of

power. Belonging to the objective margins of the working class they carve out a new. shared subjectivity, a point of post-ethnic convergence embodied in music, football, and personal ambition. It is a site of violence and struggle, of deprivation (miseducation) and racialisation, of potential confinement and containment, but confronted by a refusal of ascription, or to be defined by those in power or the white nativists surrounding the estate or, for that matter, the Mujarihoun of the mosque, although these will pull back Yusef into their defensive, segregationist mentality eventually with tragic consequences – "the mosque of our father is no longer a place I saw as ours" (ibid.: 27). For Yusef, the mosque has been emptied of place and of shared possession. The three friends develop a common language that speaks locally and connects globally. The Black British music which gives the overall narrative its soundtrack, its beat and rhythm, is no longer of the ghetto, or the Caribbean, but is home-made yet recognised globally, through chart placement, the Mercury prize, Glastonbury and the exporting of sounds (even Stormzy's scholarships at Cambridge). So, it is no longer the music (Grime) of a migrant space – a place on the periphery – but is now asserting itself as a new centre.

This 'centre' is metaphorically enacted in Ardan's 'bars' – his Grime verses, the ritualised clash on the top of a bus, and his studio contract: "London's got its own good moves" (ibid.: 58). Ardan is at ease with what was originally Black British music, is at home with the French rappers in the local gym, speaking a new language with its own rules and codes (Selvon calls it 'a next language'), 'our meaning, our own', with the ambition to 'raise a London of we own', echoing the constant refrain of specific ownership and belonging and not just something borrowed or derivative. As we will see in detail this contrasts with the longed-for, but ultimately specious, integration of Zafar in Zia Haider Rahman's *In the Light of What* we *Know*, an integration on the terms of the dominant power.

Selvon lives off-Estate which gives him a certain status. As part of his dedicated, almost obsessive, training, however, he runs through it every day and if he is not *of* it, he is *in* it but at a distance from what he calls "the orphaned corner – full of absent people stuck between bus stops and bookies" (ibid.: 9). His running marks out the space of the estate, territorialises it in a sense so it becomes part of him by association because of his friends and where he plays football. The football arena (known locally as the cage) gives them all respite from the surrounding violence, a site of unspectacular conviviality and collectivity, of ownership – an oasis or space where difference is staged or performed but within an everyday exchange of interaction, creating their own habitus, relaxed in the context of diversity. This interaction is not romanticised as, although this is a space of potentiality, prefigurative of, perhaps, an enlargement of convivial belonging, it is also a place of encirclement, as I have said. Selvon – named for a new generation of no longer lonely Londoners – uses Stones Estate and its four grey towers around him as an

incentive to "Earn my place and make my way out – the blue spaces above" (ibid.: 11). He has a place at Brunel University, in London.

Yusef is at peace only on the football scene. At one point, he relays a whole litany of names of international footballers, some bearing the marks of migrant origin, but all melded together in a convergent, new, if precarious, multiculture:

> For a few hours the Square would cast us as the Nou Camp [Barcelona] with our Gerrards and Ronaldos, Figos and Rivaldos and a few Cruyffs. These names ghosting through our movements as we played, the cage with its concrete turf and cracked centre circle, made us free…our common thread was footie, Estate, and the ill fit we felt against the rest of the world" (ibid.: 66)

It is a form of resistance. There is another 'cage', of course, which will gradually enclose them but, for the moment, they dwell in solidarity and the continuities of mutual experience. Suspended in time and place, in possession of the Square, the friends become aware of the sense of an ending, the temporariness of their bond. The killing of Lee Rigby gave a fresh impetus to British Islamophobia.

As they gradually lose Yusef to the mosque – he is torn away from the road where he found refuge – Ardan and Selvon grow together in an alliance which will enable them to go beyond the local and exercise choice; they are in training for adoption of the postmigrant condition, so to speak, shaping the resources for exit capacity in order to become something other than 'Other', the migrant designation in an increasingly polarised society. Selvon's father is confined to a wheelchair by a stroke and this symbolises the restraints placed on the Windrush generation – treated appallingly by successive UK governments – in an ever-contracting world; he listens only to the *local* news, the *local* headlines: "that's the only window to the world for him" (ibid.: 228). The novel constructs in this way two versions of the local, a point of arrival for Nelson and Caroline, but a point of departure for their offspring.

Yusef's brother has been found to have indecent photographs of children on his computer and, as a cover up, the new Imam determines that both Yusef and his brother should be sent to Lahore for education. One moment in a chicken shop, however, marks out Yusef's cultural distance from that world. Referring to the new shop assistant – fresh off the boat – Freshie Dave, Yusef says that this man sees no difference between the two of them, the linkage being Pakistan but that faulty logic revealed the gulf between them. Home for Yusef is the Estate, Pakistan a world away. He also acknowledges that not all the white people gathered in protest are racists as nothing could be explained away that easily: "I watched Dave salt my chips. I had more in common with the goons that broke his window in truth" (ibid.: 30) (Earlier he had said to his brother, "'It's not the West. We are the fucking West, bruv'").

What these 'breddas' have is a form of horizontal affiliation, an associationism which anchors their belonging in the local place which they adapt and customise, negotiate and make over in their own terms and discourse, something politically 'unremarkable' and 'insignificant'. No longer seeking 'permission to narrate' (Edward Said), they carve out their own first person stories in an overlapping language. This is shown in a moving way when Yusef dies and Selvon is not allowed to see him in the hospital. The text develops a new style of direct address; outside the hospital Selvon soliloquises: "See there empty hollow" (ibid.: 275). The lack of punctuation underscores the emotional depth. Eight times in the paragraph, each sentence begins with 'See', directing us to the hospital space – from the outside – of Yusef's dying. The word 'see' is used several times in the succeeding paragraph with its repeated first-person pronoun refrain, "I couldn't see him, doctors wouldn't let me through". The loss of place takes a metaphorical turn: "His blood spilling inside where there was no place to go. See my eyes cry for my bredda. See my anger at the places and people that took him" (ibid.: 275). Selvon shapes a memorial from the dying of his Muslim friend: "I never used to run for no-one before. But now I run for him" (ibid.: 276).

Out of the vocabulary of the urban, Gunaratne is developing a challenge to hegemonic English, with postmigrancy becoming a stylistic register, a mode of new vernacular writing, one among many Englishes – vocal, oral, the sound of the street. Yusef died in a fire at the mosque and as the fire in the mosque begins to engulf its surroundings, the chapters become shorter and change rapidly, enacting the pace of the mad and furious city, gradually imploding.

Imposter Syndrome in *In the Light of What we Know*

Zia Haider Rahman's *In the Light of What we Know* (2014) is a long, complex novel of ideas situated in the context of 9/11 and the 2008 financial crisis, with multiple shifts of time and location which cover deceit, disloyalty, finance capitalism, mathematics, love, class and belonging. It is also about homelessness and displacement but perhaps above all, about *value*. Basically, the novel is structured around a dialogue between two friends, both migrants of South Asian origin, the unnamed narrator and his old Oxford acquaintance, Zafar. For much of the novel, it is more of a monologue by Zafar, which the narrator sometimes records as well as quoting from notebooks left by Zafar, punctuated by bouts of inner reflection by both characters. The narrative as a whole is filtered through the first person which raises questions about reliability, partiality, trust – themes in the novel at large. After a gap of many years, Zafar appears on the narrator's doorstep in South Kensington: "a brown-skinned man, haggard and gaunt [with] an unkempt beard" (Rahman 2014: 1), unrecognisable at first.

The narrator, born in Princeton, New Jersey, is from a landed family in Pakistan, his grandfather a former Pakistani ambassador to the USA, his father an Oxford professor. He is separated from his wife and about to lose his job in the 2008 crash. Zafar, by contrast, was born in an obscure part of Bangladesh to a mother raped by a soldier in the war of liberation, and brought up by her brother and his wife, who emigrated to London when he was young, and lived in poverty, with the 'father' working as a bus conductor and then waiter. The violent nature of Zafar's conception shadows him throughout.

I have detailed these backgrounds because the class asymmetry forms the basis of my argument about the potential and limits of postmigrant possibility. Both men go to Oxford, the narrator via Eton, the iconic British public school, Zafar from a comprehensive school. At Oxford, both men are able to adopt a postmigrant identity, beyond the notion of the 'migrant' although Zafar is awkward and haunted by shame at his origins. At Oxford, and throughout the events of the narrative, Zafar suffers from so-called 'imposter syndrome', feelings of inadequacy and self-doubt, fraudulence despite his success. In his case, this is not pathological but results from residual colonialism, class, and 'white privilege' as will be shown. After Oxford, the narrator and Zafar both work in finance (specifically, derivatives) in 'the City' – London's financial district – and on Wall Street, in spaces which are – or claim to be – horizontal, inter-ethnic, intensely local but global, postmigrant and postracial spaces. However, as (critical race theorist) David Theo Goldberg suggests, the illusion of postraciality is the new form of racialisation (2015). I mentioned value earlier and, it has been argued that "the dizzying fluctuation of financial markets do seem to have a common origin, namely, in the process of value production and its increasing alienation from reality under financial capitalism" (Angelini 2016: 2). This has a bearing on Zafar's increasing alienation from reality, although it is a reality itself which is, ultimately, specious, and the source of his postcolonial melancholia – the failure, or refusal, to mourn the lost object. I will come to this 'lost object' later; it is, essentially, a version of a class and of Englishness, always in a sense mythical, and now rapidly becoming obsolescent but clinging onto its power.

What the novel does is, on the surface, produce a narrative about 'successful' migrants entering a host society on their own terms, apparently, at the most prestigious levels – finance capitalism being the epicentre of power nowadays. Interestingly, the novel then goes on to critically distance itself from this apparent mobility and, instead, interrogates the conditions in which postmigration might be possible in a modern, liberal democracy but one which is still replete with imperial echoes and with an only intermittently penetrable class system. The narrator is not named because, in a sense, it is not relevant given his class provenance and US citizenship. Zafar's name marks him out as 'other' in a society where an unspoken whiteness is sovereign. Lulled by the illusory egalitarianism of American society,

after hearing the narrator mention a US customs officer saying 'Welcome home,', Zafar says, "If an immigration officer at Heathrow had ever said 'Welcome home' to me…I would have given my life for England, for my country, there and then. I could kill for an England like that" (Rahman 2014:107). This is the nub of his ambition, to cease to be thought of as 'Bangladeshi' or 'Indian', or 'brown', as a *migrant* but as British and to find a narrative self connecting with his experience.

As geographer Doreen Massey has argued; "Different social groups have distinct relationships to… differentiated mobility; some people are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it" (Massey 1994: 147). In this power-geometry of time-space compression, both the narrator and Zafar initiate the flows and movement of capital but, within this differentiated mobility, Zafar is both 'in charge' and, simultaneously, imprisoned by it. Zafar is under the illusion that the world of finance is freed from the old family background of received privilege and hierarchy of the narrator and, later, the woman who becomes Zafar's wife, Emily. The gaunt, haggard, unkempt, brown man at the start of the novel gives the lie to this.

Zafar leaves his job in derivatives and retrains as a lawyer, so he has now opened the doors of two citadels of class and power in modern Europe. As a lawyer he is posted to Pakistan and Afghanistan, where he is a UN adviser, after 9/11 and during the invasion – or human rights intervention, depending on where you stand. While there, he meets a young lawyer from the Home Counties who assumes that Zafar is from India – "for a certain kind of Englishman the subcontinent remains India. Yet I didn't get a single knowing look from anyone around the table, a glance to say that I was British too. But there was another presumption that was harder to bear, one of class" (Rahman 2014:30).

As Zafar discovers, one space relatively untouched by mobility is that of the upper, or ruling, class – the Establishment –the master political narrative about identities in the United Kingdom. The narrative partly 'talks back' to this by means of literal and metaphorical border crossing but this is also marked by incompleteness. Part of Zafar's love of mathematics is Godel's 'Incompleteness Theorem' which, as his story develops becomes a metaphor of his own condition: "Within any given system, there are claims which are true but which cannot be proven to be true" (ibid.:10). In the class system, on the other hand, there are claims which are untrue but which cannot be proven to be untrue, which is an assumption that power operates upon. At Oxford, he finds out that knowledge was just 'a social act' and that "the root of true, rightly guided power, the essence of authority was not learning but the veneer of knowledge" (ibid.:120). These perceptions may have arisen from defensive and consolatory reactions but they are partly evidenced by the proliferation of forms of knowledge in the text – weighty epigraphs to each chapter, extensive, pedantic footnotes, but I am not sure how far these can be

taken as satirical; this overload, the sheer accumulation of knowledge as 'a social act', is part of a stage-managed display or performance of class. Performance, of course, is an important feature of class – gesture, accent, dress, insider codes, body language and, above all, the unspoken rules: the infrastructure of the cultural fortress of class but, ultimately, a confidence trick backed by money.

Trying to shed his 'migrancy', his ascription as 'Other', Zafar performs 'Englishness' – through accent and gesture – painfully aware of his imposter status, but not aware that what he is modelling himself upon is actually nothing other than the legacy of violent seizures of power and entitlement. Displaced as a migrant, initially homeless in London as a child, Zafar spends years in an extended form of displacement and metaphorical homelessness, nomadic, never settling, unbelonging. In Afghanistan at one point, Zafar's wife – Emily – introduces him to a man

> blond and handsome, his hair cut short, stubble roughening the edges of his youthful complexion. His khaki jacket was open and its collar upturned. The pockets of the breast and waist were buttoned down, all four. There is method there, I thought. It was a jacket design with pedigree, tested and proven: even the clothes have a colonial descent. (Ibid.: 424-5)

The jacket is probably a safari jacket which confirms its colonial provenance. What Zafar is doing here is reading 'Englishness', contrasting it with his colonised descent: "My black hair, dark skin, and dark suit would have made it difficult for this man, I thought,…to see me" (ibid.: 424). The configuration of light and dark, paranoid though it may be, has long, imperial echoes. This confirms what Stuart Hall has argued, that *race* is "the modality in which class is lived, the medium in which class relations are experienced" (Hall 1978: 394).

Zafar's search to belong, to be something other than migrant, is focussed upon the figure of Emily Hampton-Wyvern – her brother had been at Eton with the narrator, her mother is a Baroness – titled, and thus, entitled. The double-barrelled name was once a signifier of an upper class belonging. The name 'wyvern' is taken direct from heraldry, a coat of arms being another signifier of class and power. She is the quintessence of white, English beauty (the narrator has an affair with her and gets her pregnant), "from the stock that populates the foothills of the aristocracy" (Rahman 2014: 95). It is these 'foothills' that Zafar longs to reach; he says at one point: "Emily was England, home, belonging, the untethering of me from a past I did not want, the promise, through children of a future that was rooted, bound by something treated altogether better by the world than my mother, the girl who loved me" (ibid.: 477). This, in a nutshell, is the route to postmigration, the completion of his trajectory from Oxford. Postmigration is, in a sense, not just a mode of self, and shared, recognition but almost a physical space, somewhere: "in

order to lay ground for his feet to stand upon; in order, that is, to go home somewhere, and take root" (ibid.: 553).

Emily is also in Afghanistan, with a class-sanctioned, suitably liberal Human Rights organisation – "that breed of international development experts unsparing in its love for all humanity but having no interest in people" (ibid.: 133). Her passion, mixed with her cold indifference, destroys Zafar – he rapes her at one point in an attempt to seize control, not necessarily of her, but of what she represents, thus repeating the masculinist violence of her own class and of his own conception. Afghanistan is the catalyst for his growing awareness of the hollowness of his striving to belong to a meretricious class of no real value and colludes, at one point, in its corruption. The country has become the site once again for a replay, a modern version, of the 'Great Game' – the 19th century confrontation between Russia and the British Empire over trade routes, resources, and cheap labour. The word 'game' reprises the chance, risk and uncertainty characteristic of finance capitalism, unravelling by 2008. Zafar comes to see the West as playing a game based upon subterfuge, violence when necessary, specious claims to democracy and human rights, and cynicism. In a complex way, Zafar's awakening is conflated with his awareness that Emily is part of this 'power geometry', at least partly if not in herself necessarily, and overwhelmed by loss and insurmountable contradictions, he has a breakdown and ends up in a psychiatric hospital: "Did she not grasp how much I wanted to be rid of my history, not how little it mattered to me but how much it mattered not to see my child walk any part of the road I'd travelled?" (ibid.: 463). Ironically, they have been speaking of public schools for their child, which is not his; the public (private) school is the road travelled, of course, by the class of the narrator (the baby's father) and of Emily. Later she has a medical abortion.

Zafar's disintegration (failure to *integrate*) his collapsing under a heavy cognitive load has, of course, a negative effect on his task completion; this task, metaphorically speaking, is incomplete because what he is trying to learn, in the light of what he doesn't know, is, on the terms with which he engages, impossible. This is crucial because what is on offer to the migrant is 'integration' (no longer a migrant); integrate and you can have belonging conferred upon you. Zafar embodies the plight of the migrant trying to make the journey to a state of postmigration, not in terms of his own agency – as with Selvon and Ardan in *In Our Mad and Furious City* – but almost in the form of a surrender on those grounds laid down by an illusory model of integration and class mobility – the already existing 'we'; 'just like us'. Zafar is lost in transition, lost in translation.

What I am not saying is that the concept of postmigration and its attempt to overcome binary distinctions and ascribed identities is illusory, but rather that for it to become meaningful in a British context it needs to be a matter of creativity and agency, going beyond the allocated spaces of liberal multiculturalism, and

based upon a new grammar of belonging – like that of Ardan, Selvon and, partially, Yusef – "not the English grammar of Victorian texts" (ibid.: 50) sought by Zafar, but beyond the binaries of white native and migrant 'Other', majority and minority; binaries predicated, ultimately, upon the 'power-geometry' of a modern class system based upon the latest incarnation of capitalism.

While class remains so rooted in British – but particularly English – society, it will not be easy for a postmigrant world to emerge, except perhaps in local and/or generational instances. I have deliberately juxtaposed two sharply contrasting class belongings in order to emphasise this point and to suggest that a postmigration narrative needs to be based upon a full acknowledgement of the empirical reality of heterogeneity, the removal of social inequalities and injustices at all levels – housing, education, unemployment, opportunity – so that a postmigrant society can be developed through a process of cultural, social and political negotiation between equal partners.

References

Amin, A. (2013): "Land of Strangers". In: Identities 20/1, pp. 1-8.

Angelini, Antonella (2016): "Arjun Appadurai, Banking on Words", Lectures [online], Les comptes rendus: http://journals.openedition.org/lectures/20705

Foroutan, Naika (2019): "The Post-migrant Paradigm". In: Jan-Jonathan Bock/Sharon Macdonald (eds.), Refugees Welcome? Difference and Diversity in a Changing Germany, New York, Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 121-142.

Gilroy, Paul. (2004): After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture? Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Gilroy, Paul (2006): "Multiculture in Times of War". In: Critical Quarterly 48/4, pp.27-45.

Goldberg, David Theo (2015): Are We All Post-Racial Yet? Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley.

Gunuratne, Guy. (2018): In Our Mad and Furious City, London: Tinder Press.

Hall, Stuart et al. (1978): Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order, London: Macmillan.

Massey, Doreen. (1994): Space, Place and Gender, Cambridge: Polity, pp. 146-156.

Rahman, Zia Haider. (2014): In the Light of What We Know, London; Picador.

Schramm, Moritz/Petersen Anne Ring/Moslund, Sten et al. (2019): Reframing Migration, Diversity and the Arts: The Postmigrant Condition. New York: Routledge.

Valluvan, Sivamohan. (2016): "Conviviality and Multiculture: A post-integration sociology of multi-ethnic interaction". In: Young. https//doi.org/10.1177/1103308815624061.