

'It is noh mistri, wi mekin histri.'¹

Telling our own story: independent and community archives in the UK, challenging and subverting the mainstream

ANDREW FLINN AND MARY STEVENS

And it is that history that I want to retrieve – the history that we made in this country, the history that Claudia Jones inspired. The history of us as black settlers, not coloured immigrants, the history that black workers contributed to the working-class struggle, which has been ignored by white historians, the history of the struggles of black women to overcome the particular racisms visited upon them . . . the history of black youth rebellion . . . It is that history I want to talk about . . .

Sivanandan, 2004

. . . the strongest reason for creating the archives was to end the silence of patriarchal history about us – women who loved women . . . we wanted our story to be told by us, shared by us and preserved by us.

Nestle, 1990, 87

Introduction

As the quotations opening this chapter suggest, the act of recovering, telling and then preserving one's own history is not merely one of intellectual vanity; nor can it be dismissed – as some still seek to do – as a mildly diverting leisure activity with some socially desirable outcomes. Instead the endeavour by individuals and social groups to document their history, particularly if that history has been generally subordinated or marginalized, is political and subversive. These 'recast' histories and their making challenge and seek to

undermine both the distortions and omissions of orthodox historical narratives, as well as the archive and heritage collections that sustain them (Hall, 2005, 28). Archivists and others concerned with exploring archives and their power are beginning to examine the significance that engaging with archival materials – and the history created from them – can have for individuals. Rather less has been written, in the UK at least, on the impact that creating archives and ‘making histories’ can have on the development of subversive and counter-hegemonic social or public memories (Johnston, 2001; Flinn, 2007; Hopkins, 2008).

This chapter seeks to add to the literature by examining independent community archives as social movements (or as elements of social movements) and by identifying individuals involved in community archives as political and cultural activists campaigning for equality and cultural recognition and against racism and discrimination. Research that the authors are currently conducting into independent and community archival activity amongst communities of predominantly African and Asian heritage in the UK seeks to explore the motivations, challenges and impacts of community history initiatives by working closely with a number of such organizations over a sustained period of several months each.² This chapter will not present the final findings of this research, nor deal explicitly with our four main cases, but it will draw on interviews with individuals who are active in independent community archives and on the readings and understandings which have informed our work thus far.

To introduce and explicate the motivations behind the community archiving endeavour, this chapter will first sketch something of the social, intellectual and political context in which some independent archives have arisen and to which they have responded. It will then examine in more detail some of the variety, history, aims and ideologies underlying such initiatives with reference to some specific examples of independent community archives and activists. Although the main focus will be on archives that document the experiences of communities of African and Asian heritage in Britain, we will also indicate parallel developments in working-class, women’s, and gay and lesbian archives as well as acknowledging the existence and influence of similar initiatives internationally. The final section will attempt to identify the significance of community history activism in transforming narratives of British history and, ultimately, the impact of such initiatives on the complex area of the construction and articulation of identity, particularly when viewed through the frame of shifting public policy agendas for archives and heritage more generally.

Language and terminology shift and evolve, often describing varied and multiple identities imperfectly and imprecisely. In the context of this chapter,

and some of the organizations on which we are concentrating, at times we use ‘black’ in a broader, political sense (‘Black was the colour of our politics, not the colour of our skins’, Sivanandan, 2009, 96), embracing individuals of African, Asian and other heritages. In the words of one leading activist, Linda Bellos (2006), ‘black’ was an inclusive, political term, ‘we progressives called ourselves black . . . because we knew that we shared a common experience of racism because of our skin colour’. However, it is important to acknowledge that while such usage was common in the debates of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, it is less frequent and current today, when generally ‘black’ is taken to refer to people of African and African-Caribbean heritage. Throughout this chapter we will seek to be aware of such important distinctions and use of language.

In addition, given the enormous variety of activities and forms of organizations that might be referred to as community archives, it is instructive to try to clarify what it is we are referring to. In general our research adheres to broad and inclusive definitions of what community archives or community history activity might comprise – the (often) grassroots activities of creating and collecting, processing and curating, preserving and making accessible collections relating to a particular community or specified subject (Flinn, 2007, 152–4). The term ‘community’ is capable of many interpretations (Crooke, 2007, 27–40), including being used as a reductive euphemism for an ethnic or faith minority (Terracciano, 2006, 24). The sociologist Brian Alleyne, among others, has warned of the dangers of using such an ill-defined term, especially when the idea of ‘community’ is employed simply to denote ‘human collectivities’ rather than seeking to better understand the formation of such collectivities (2002b, 608). ‘Independent archives’ or the qualified form ‘independent community archives’ might be a more appropriate nomenclature; however, we use ‘community archives’ in this context as a term which is already widely used and generally understood. The emphasis is on the community or group’s own self-definition and self-identification by locality, ethnicity, faith, sexuality, occupation, ideology, shared interest or any combination of the above.

Further variety is to be found in the form that these archives take, whether operating largely in the physical world or the virtual world as well as in the type of archives collected. Most community archives collect many materials (including objects, all manner of recordings, works of art, ephemeral items such as leaflets, posters and badges, and a range of other printed materials and grey literature) that do not conform to traditional notions of what is a record or an archive. In practice distinctions between community archives and those ‘community-based exhibitions’ and museums described by museum and heritage scholar Elizabeth Crooke (2007, 3) as being established entirely

independently of the formal museum sector, or indeed between community libraries, resource centres and even community bookshops, are not at all precise nor necessarily very useful.

The politics of community archives

In all this broad variety and definitional vagueness, there are two areas of commonality to most if not all independent community archive initiatives. First, while many community archives are willing to work in partnership with a range of mainstream heritage and other bodies, experience has made them often cautious about such relationships and they frequently maintain a strong sense of independence and autonomy in their decision-making and governance. It is possible that over time the aspiration or the ability to sustain such independence may decline. Some archives may eventually entrust their collections to a mainstream institution with custody shared or even relinquished. Others may be less concerned with custody and retaining the material they collect, preferring instead to be independent actors in the heritage field in other ways.³ However, at source a strong desire for autonomy may be inspired by either a distrust of or antagonism towards mainstream institutions. In the case of those groups whose origins and motivations are rooted in new left, anti-racist or identity politics of the 1960s onwards, the autonomy imperative may be driven by a political and ideological commitment to ideas of independent grassroots organizations, self-help and self-determination. For Stephen Small, independent black institutions such as ‘schools, cultural centres, bookshops or museums . . . are safe spaces in which we can decide our priorities and work towards them without hindrance by those hostile to our goals or by those with good intentions who don’t share our priorities’ (1997, 61).

The second point of commonality, and perhaps an even more universal one, follows on from the above. Most, if not all, community archivists are motivated and prompted to act by the (real or perceived) failure of mainstream heritage organizations to collect, preserve and make accessible collections and histories that properly reflect and accurately represent the stories of all of society. As cultural theorist Stuart Hall noted in the case of the African and Asian Visual Artists’ Archive, ‘the absence of any sustained attention or critical dialogue within the dominant institutions of the art world, and given a systematic marginalisation over the years’ of work from African-Caribbean and Asian diasporas, meant that the artists were themselves ‘obliged to act first as curators, and now as archivists’ (2001, 91).

The collection, creation and ownership of resources that challenge, correct and re-balance these absences and partial narratives were and are often viewed explicitly as counter-hegemonic tools for education and weapons in the

struggle against discrimination and injustice (Alleyne, 2007, 463–4). The lessons of the past, and the ways in which these lessons inform different (but similar) contemporary struggles, is frequently stressed by influential writers such as historian, former librarian and director of the Institute of Race Relations (IRR), Ambalavaner Sivanandan. In one passage for instance he writes, ‘You see the connections – between Third World struggles and anti-racist struggles, between Africans, West Indians and Asians, between the class and the community? If I am at pains to draw these out it is because they are unique to the history of black people in Britain – and it is a history we must recall if we are to contest the racist imperialism of the global era’ (Sivanandan, 2004).

It is this close identification between the production of history, education and political struggle that leads to an understanding of independent community archives as, or as a part of, new social movements.

New social movements tend to embrace a model of grassroots and local organization that focuses on campaigning in their local environment or community (as opposed to, for instance, the workplace). This organizational model and campaign focus is allied to broad, often trans-national transformative aims and objectives, which seek fundamentally to challenge contemporary norms and social organization (Alleyne, 2002a, 2–3; Crooke, 2007, 36–7, 110). The role of culture within the new urban social movements of the post-war period has also been widely acknowledged; in sociologist Paul Gilroy’s words, what defines these movements is their ‘common struggle for the social control over historicity’, that is their attempts to present an alternative way of understanding the current development and functioning of society (1995, 225). Elizabeth Crooke notes the importance of the presentation of counter-hegemonic histories and heritage for binding and sustaining social movements, ‘through telling the history of the community, group leadership evolves and the history and heritage becomes a springboard for further action’ (2007, 37), and identifies certain community museums (such as the District Six Museum in Cape Town) as part of transformative social movements.

Brian Alleyne takes a slightly different position – rather than historical and educational initiatives being social movements themselves, he sees activists and intellectuals like John La Rose and others in the New Beacon circle and the George Padmore Institute as engaging with and supporting a variety of social and grassroots campaigns without necessarily being characterized as a social movement themselves (2002a, 179–82). This distinction, while significant, is perhaps not as important as a shared view that alternative histories and education about these histories are powerful tools in challenging dominant narratives and the societies that these narratives help sustain.

Within this framework, it should be clear that community archives are not

'constituted' on impulse. The moment when the archive is created and named as such is a moment of reflection and often a response to other societal conditions. It is an act of resistance against subordination and discrimination, 'always a critical one, always a historically located one, always a contestatory one' (Hall, 2001, 89). When a history is denied or made invisible, a group or a community may sustain or recover that history by combining powerful (yet sometimes destructive) mythic memory with communal memory that through activities like community archives is strengthened and reinforced by being made visible and shared (Josipovici, 1998). It is in this context, of challenging and resisting historic and ongoing discrimination in society and subordination in national narratives, that independent histories and community archives are perhaps best understood.

Three independent community archives

The George Padmore Institute

... we all had other lives to live as well, we weren't being paid as formal archivists.
White, 2008

An examination of the lineage of independent community archives suggests that there are close associations between many of these organizations and initiatives and a range of political struggles and social campaigns. It also indicates the interdependency between these struggles and the archives. Centres and archives are not seen as alternatives to struggles but as part of them, a resource for continuing and renewing the fight. Sometimes this has developed into a more definitively historical project but even in these cases the history represented by the archive and created by those who research in the archives is frequently connected to an agenda of education for social change – either as a resource to inform present and future actions, or as a corrective to the absences and misrepresentations of mainstream and dominant accounts.

The London-based George Padmore Institute (GPI) was founded in 1991 as an archive, library, educational resource and research centre by John La Rose, his partner Sarah White and others associated with New Beacon Books.⁴ Named after George Padmore, the radical anti-imperialist, the institute seeks to honour his legacy by 'continuing the traditions which shaped his life', Marxism, internationalism, anti-imperialism and anti-racism (Alleyne, 2002a, 99–100). The key influence behind the establishment of the GPI was John La Rose (1927–2006), who like fellow Trinidadian Padmore was active in international, anti-racist and anti-imperialist activity in several

countries. An ‘activist-organiser-intellectual’ (Alleyne, 2002a, 23), La Rose had been actively involved in trade union organizing in Trinidad and Venezuela before coming to Britain in 1961. Thereafter he was at the centre of a group of political and cultural activists who founded or supported a range of campaigns and organizations including the Caribbean Artists Movement, the New Beacon bookshop and publisher, the George Padmore Supplementary School, the Black Parents Movement, the New Cross Massacre Action Committee and the International Book Fair of Radical Black and Third World Books. The latter, a (near) annual festival running between 1982 and 1995, was particularly significant in providing a space that brought together currents of radical black thought from across the world for discussion and the sharing of ideas. All these campaigns and organizations were strongly informed by an ethos of radical self-help and empowerment, in which alliances were sought that articulated both race and class but also stressed the necessity of black political and cultural self-organization and self-determination (Alleyne, 2002a, 27–30, 162; Johnson, 2006b; Alleyne, 2007).

The GPI and its archive were and are seen as continuing and sustaining the work of the Book Fair and the supplementary schools into the future. In the same way as the supplementary school movement (community schools established and run in evenings and at weekends by concerned parents and other volunteers) acted to redress imbalances and absences in the British state education system, the GPI and archive were to act as resources for education and information about black history, struggle and achievement, not only in Britain and the Caribbean but across the world. This internationalist, diasporic dimension was an essential part of La Rose’s political and cultural approach and continues to underpin what the GPI archive stands for. As one of his obituaries described, ‘Making a home in Britain while carrying a living sense of the Caribbean was a creative tension he [La Rose] achieved and helped others achieve’ (Scott, 2006).

The collections within the GPI, which are steadily being made accessible as the cataloguing continues, reflect the activities and concerns of La Rose and the others in the New Beacon circle in the UK and elsewhere. So papers from the Caribbean Artists Movement, the Black Parents Movement, and the International Book Fair of Radical Black and Third World Books among others are complemented by La Rose’s personal collections of papers and political ephemera as well as significant runs of otherwise rare journals and publications.

Although these are the papers of political organizations and campaigns (their contents frequently reflecting the urgency of their creation and use) their preservation demonstrates that like many political activists La Rose and his colleagues had ‘an eye for the future’, a keen awareness of the importance

of historical records and the utility of history in informing future struggles (Garrod, 2008). According to White this awareness had always been there, ‘the collecting started in the sixties’ and allied with a strong sense of the importance of sharing the historic ‘experience of campaigning, on issues and cultural activities’ with new generations. As a charitable body, the GPI itself cannot be a campaigning organization but it can provide the resources for others ‘to understand what happened’ (White, 2008). One example of the way in which the GPI would like to see its archive being used as a resource is a booklet aimed at schools for the teaching of history and citizenship produced in partnership with Museums, Libraries and Archives (MLA) London. Entitled *Exploring Archives: the George Padmore Institute*, it uses the archives to probe issues of protest and struggle, specifically ‘about the intellectual, political and creative culture that people from Britain’s former colonies brought with them’ (Naidoo, 2006).

Despite being established in 1991, the archive has only gradually become publicly accessible. Working as ‘slow builders and consolidators’ is one of the key principles of the GPI and the New Beacon circle who believe that if independent, grassroots organizations are to be built they need to develop in ways that are measured and sustainable and which do not threaten the independence and control of the organization (White, 2008). Initially hoping to take on the work of archivists themselves, the GPI sought advice and guidance from a variety of archival institutions and consultants, but more recently, with funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund, they have appointed a professional archivist to catalogue the collections. However, ‘skills transfer’ and building capacity to enable the organization to sustain itself over the long term remains a significant objective. In addition to the archivist’s drawing on the knowledge and expertise of the volunteers and the trustees to add detail and value to her descriptions of photographs, campaigning ephemera and other material, she is also training the volunteers in archival practices, including basic conservation and cataloguing (Alleyne, 2002a, 100–5; Garrod, 2008). As a consequence, if the GPI were unable to continue to employ a professional archivist, ‘the whole place isn’t going to collapse. It will carry on. But carry on obviously at a much slower pace’ (White, 2008).

The Institute of Race Relations

The writings of Sivanandan (2008), like those of John La Rose and others involved with the GPI, frequently emphasize the importance of understanding the relationship between history and contemporary struggles: ‘History tells us where we come from and where we are at. But it also should tell us where we should be going’ (Sivanandan, 2009, 94). In 1972, the staff of the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) including Sivanandan and other radicals

wrested control of the Institute from its Council of Management and in the process transformed a liberal establishment research institute concerned with commercial relations with former colonies and race relations in the UK into an anti-racist and anti-imperialist think-tank and radical publishing house, notably of the journal *Race and Class* but also of many other publications. The IRR dedicated itself to providing research and resources for those involved in anti-imperialist activity. Essays such as 'From Resistance to Rebellion: Asian and Afro-Caribbean struggles in Britain' (1986, reprinted in Sivanandan, 2008) documented the history of black struggles that had been noticeably absent even from Labour and other histories 'from below'. A series of anti-racist educational books aimed at young people included *The Fight Against Racism* (IRR, 1986). Sivanandan writes that, 'Hoping that these would provide community organisations with the ammunition they needed to mount their own fights and win their own battles. We were aware that we were neither grassroots nor establishment – merely a servicing station for oppressed peoples on their way to liberation. We'd put gas in their tanks' (Sivanandan, 2008, 28).

For over 50 years, the IRR's library, particularly after Sivanandan's appointment as librarian in 1964, has been an important resource for academics and activists on the subject of racism and resistance in Britain. In 2006 the bulk of the library collection (government and other official publications, academic journals and books) was transferred to the University of Warwick but the IRR retained the Institute's own archive and a large collection called the Black History Collection.⁵ This is an extensive and relatively unique collection of publications and political ephemera produced by black groups in Britain, and others who supported their struggles. The collection includes newspapers, journals, letters, leaflets and flyers from a range of organizations and on a wide range of subjects covering black struggles over the past 50 years and represents the traces of campaigns and organizations that in some cases have not been preserved anywhere else. According to Jenny Bourne, project manager and long-time IRR employee, the decision to retain, catalogue and make this material accessible (with the support of a Heritage Lottery Fund grant) was made because 'it was political in the way it had been collected and how it was seen and it was about the struggles, very much, that people had gone through or were going through or wanted to learn from each other' (Wild and Bourne, 2008). The cataloguing and the arrangement of the collection has been led not by a professionally-trained archivist but by a subject specialist and a team of volunteers, drawing upon the advice, training and support supplied by archival institutions including London Metropolitan Archives.

The IRR wishes to ensure that their collections continue to be available as a resource for new generations to learn about past struggles and to inform

present and future campaigns. Like the GPI, the IRR recognizes the power of education and wants their collections to be used for teaching, creating a set of free, downloadable teaching resources, *Struggles for Justice*, aimed at the citizenship curriculum in secondary schools so that students ‘See what ordinary people, who often had not spent long in Britain, achieved by getting involved in their communities and tenaciously refusing to submit to injustice will, we hope, fire the curiosity and imaginations of a new younger audience’ (Bourne, 2008, 38).

Something of the importance and emotional impact of the Black History Collection can be gauged by the reactions of volunteers who have been working on the cataloguing of the collection. At a seminar organized as part of the cataloguing project, volunteers revealed how much they were learning from the experience and how much it meant to them to engage with this material and with these histories: ‘it was an opportunity for me to learn more and to carry on what I have been doing most of my life which was reading black history, accessing the hidden story of black people all over’ (IRR, 2008; Wild and Bourne, 2008).

The Black Cultural Archives

Although not as explicitly related to a political organization as the IRR or indeed the GPI, and employing a more cultural, pan-Africanist definition of ‘black’ focusing on the heritage of those of African and African-Caribbean descent, the Black Cultural Archives (BCA) were nonetheless founded and based in the same social, economic and political context.⁶ Whereas those involved in GPI and IRR ultimately built up their collections as part of ongoing political, anti-racist campaigning, the BCA was explicitly founded as a museum and an archive which sought to challenge the systematic failure of formal museums and histories to represent black history to a black (and indeed a white) audience by ‘replacing the myths, ignorance and denigration of the African people’s past’ (Garrison, 1994, 241).

Specifically, the BCA grew out of general dissatisfaction with and anxiety about the way that the history taught in schools made little or no mention of black history, marginalizing ‘black people’s contribution to the development of British society and Western civilization’ (Walker, 1997, 45). As previously mentioned with reference to John La Rose and the New Beacon circle, from the 1960s and 1970s onwards, a key concern for communities of African and Asian heritage in Britain was the treatment of their children in state schools. The persistent classification or ‘banding’ of black children as ‘under-achieving’ led to the establishment of supplementary schools and organizations such as the Black Parents’ Movement. The content of the teaching in the schools was

also the focus of campaigns. Len Garrison (1943–2003), the founder and inspiration behind the BCA, set up the African and Caribbean Educational Resource (ACER) in the late 1970s to provide materials on black history that teachers could use in the classroom.

By 1981, two years into Margaret Thatcher's first term of office as Conservative party Prime Minister, mass unemployment, institutionalized discrimination and oppressive policing culminated in a series of major disturbances in Brixton and elsewhere in inner-city Britain (Gilroy, 1995, 102–5; Sivanandan, 2008, 134–9). That same year Garrison and other parents and teachers, concerned about the seriously alienating effect that being deprived of their history was having on black children, formed the African People's Historical Monument Foundation. Key to the thinking behind the foundation was the establishment of a physical black cultural archive and museum 'to collect, document and disseminate the culture and history of peoples of African and African-Caribbean descent living in Britain' (Walker, 1997, 45–8; BCA, 2007). Garrison argued that, denied their history and reference points, many black children were experiencing an 'identity crisis', writing that, 'Young Black people have faced the forces of racism and its contradictions and have been ashamed to identify their Blackness as a positive attribute. Victims of the assimilation process, their lack of recognized history has rendered them invisible, thereby disinheriting and undermining their sense of a Black British heritage' (1994, 238).

Drawing inspiration from the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York, Garrison and others felt that the material collected and made physically available in the Black Cultural Archives in Brixton could eventually make a significant difference by offering a black child 'a positive notion of his or her history, identity and self-image, and have that reflected in the wider society' (Garrison, 1994, 238–9; Hopkins, 2008, 94–5).

We do not assume that historical data and artefacts by themselves are going to change a child's self-image. They will however, provide the environment and structure within which the Afro-Caribbean child can extend and build positive frames of reference, and a basis for White children to understand the Black presence in an anti-racist context.
Garrison, 1994, 239

The archive's initial collections were based heavily on Garrison's personal collection. According to one writer 'Len had been assembling the BCA since he was a student' (Phillips, 2003, 296). In common with other community archives, not only did the collecting impetus lie with one or two individuals, but as with the GPI and IRR, what was collected might sometimes have been considered ephemeral and of little 'archival' value by a formal archive.

However, in a context where few collections or institutions adequately documented the black experience, Garrison's personal collection (and others like it) represented 'a unique record of black migrant life'. As Phillips further described it,

The handbills, flyers, posters, programmes for a wide range of events, including political meetings, art exhibitions, concerts, plays, community meetings about education, welfare and politics . . . may be not only the only surviving record of transient organizations, but the only way of understanding whole movements and trends, like the 'self-help' movement, or the rise of African nationalism in the black community.

Phillips, 2003, 297

Despite the importance of its core collections and some significant public access activities, the BCA was inhibited in making the same kind of impact and extending its collections as the Schomburg did in America. The not uncommon problems for independent community archives of the lack of suitable premises and scarce physical and financial resources meant that the BCA struggled to meet its own aspirations and full potential. Notwithstanding a series of noteworthy exhibitions and collaborations with other local bodies, BCA's existing collections were sometimes difficult to access and some potential depositors were wary of donating their papers because of the organization's uncertain future. Since the very beginning BCA has sought to overcome these problems by concentrating on capital projects aimed at establishing a sustainable, physical location (Hopkins, 2008, 96, 106).

After a number of setbacks over the years, and in partnership with the local council (Lambeth) and grants from the Heritage Lottery Fund and the London Development Agency, BCA has identified a future permanent home. Raleigh Hall will be renovated and redeveloped as a state of the art heritage and cultural centre with archive, library, exhibition and meeting space in the rejuvenated Central Square in Brixton (Kennedy and Manzi, 2008). Further funding is still required to ensure that this can all happen, but BCA is set to open in 2011 as a professionally staffed and pre-eminent archive and museum of the experience of those of African and African-Caribbean heritage and their contribution to Britain. The acquisition and development of this physical presence will constitute a major, symbolic statement about the equal and permanent place of black history and culture with British heritage (Hopkins, 2008, 96). For Sam Walker, one of the founders of the archive and its long-time director, the prospect of 'a specially built museum which is run by black professionals who will devise a selection and display policy from an African perspective . . . will help in destroying racist imagery which is so commonly perpetuated by mainstream institutions' (Walker, 1997, 43).

Although some tensions and compromises in managing the shift from a small, community-led organization to a larger and perhaps more mainstream heritage body are somewhat inevitable, those running the BCA envision meeting these challenges by taking on a future role as a ‘hub for Black heritage in the UK’, supporting smaller, independent community organizations and encouraging the training of black heritage workers (BCA, 2008; Hopkins, 2008, 95–6, 98; Newman, 2008).

Other independent archives, parallel questions

Questions of independence, sustaining resources, keeping archives open, achieving organizational aspirations and navigating the possible compromises required in partnerships with formal heritage organizations are common to many independent archives all over the world, and often grow in significance over time. A commitment to complete autonomy is not and was never universal among all independent community archives. But, for example, the librarians and archivists who established the Working Class Movement Library in Salford, the Lesbian Herstory Archive in New York or the Australian Lesbian & Gay Archives⁷ as well as those who founded and continue to take forward the IRR, GPI or BCA were all informed by ‘community’ attitudes and critical political ideologies that were at best ambivalent (if not outright hostile) to the state and profoundly mistrustful of those mainstream public heritage organizations that for the most part had been implicated in the ‘conspiracy of silence’ about working-class, black, lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans (LGBT) and many other histories (Carbery, 1995, 34; Small, 1997, 50–63).

For the founders of the rukus! Black LGBT Archive Project,⁸ the impetus to found or in Stuart Hall’s words to ‘constitute’ the archive was an act of reclamation and a ‘political intervention’ designed to challenge the lack of visibility and representation which made it possible for others to deny a black and gay experience. While not averse to engaging with and taking their archive into all sorts of formal heritage (and other) spaces, rukus! is also very much in control of its agenda and future, embodying an almost punk-inspired, ‘abrasive’ and disruptive do-it-yourself ethos (Ajamu and Campbell, 2008).

In all these examples, the value of the archive (and of creating or ‘constituting’ the archive) to contemporary social movements and concerns is evident and explicit, ‘our goal is to connect the present struggles . . . to the past, to show the legacy of resistance and to give the keys needed to unlock the sometimes coded language of liberation battles of another time’ (Nestle, 1990, 91). Seen within the context of challenging invisibilities and

documenting often difficult or traumatic histories, the archival act can be highly charged and loaded with emotional as well as political significance – especially when those acts of recovery rescue personal and social, collective histories from deliberate and physical erasure. As Joan Nestle, a founding member of the Lesbian Herstory Archives, has written, ‘one of our battles was to change secrecy into disclosure, shame into memory. We spoke of how families burned letters and diaries, how our cultural artefacts were often found in piles of garbage or on bargain tables’ (1990, 90). Similarly for rukus!, some of the power of its endeavours comes from the fact that the archive reclaims and acknowledges the collective and individual memories of those who have lost their lives, often unremarked and ignored. Through the archive, these lives and their achievements can be both mourned and celebrated (Ajamu and Campbell, 2008).

If resources remain scarce and the energy of key figures begins to wane, maintaining independence from the state and its institutions may become increasingly difficult for many independent community archives to sustain. Some may look for partnerships out of necessity. Others may wish to actively engage with the mainstream, on their own terms, as part of their transformative and counter-hegemonic mission. In either case, although the compromises those kind of relationships entail may have to be negotiated carefully, progressive and mutually beneficial partnerships can be established without the independent community archives necessarily surrendering their autonomy. Of course this in part depends on the commitment of mainstream organizations to approaching such relationships equitably and with integrity.

After over four decades of history from below, acts of historical recovery and independent activity, one would like to be able to say that our local and national histories and narratives no longer exclude and subordinate the stories of many in society, that the idea of a democratized heritage which so inspired Stuart Hall has become a reality. Unfortunately – as Gilroy’s (2008, 51) acute identification of a national post-imperial ‘melancholic attachment’ to the imagined whiteness of the World War Two era British society and the revived promotion of a dialogue about Englishness and Britishness, which is more exclusive than it is inclusive illustrate – much of a transforming and democratizing historical project remains profoundly contested. The continued frustration on the part of historians and activists in the Black and Asian Studies Association (BASA) about histories and school curricula, which still often exclude rather than include evidence of the black presence in many aspects of British life, indicate that UK national histories in the classroom, on the television and in archives and museums still have a long way to go before they can be described as representative or inclusive. For example, a letter written to the BBC’s family history magazine *Who Do You Think You Are?* by

BASA chair Cliff Pereira in 2009 criticized the magazine's failure to acknowledge the thousands of Black and Asian servicemen in an issue on the First World War. A recent lecture by the historical geographer Caroline Bressey argued that there is 'Still no Black in the Union Jack' (2009). Nevertheless while there is much still to be done, it is difficult to imagine any systematic subordination of these stories going unchallenged or even being justified – not least because of the continued efforts of those who have created and sustained independent community archives.

Independent community archives and identity

Taken individually and as a whole, the initiatives described above as well as many others have made a significant impact on dominant understandings of heritage, not least in terms of the recognition of the need for societies to develop more inclusive narratives of their pasts where a range of stories are equally valued. The very existence of these independent archives provides evidence of just how much has been excluded and the professional practice that has been responsible for such exclusions (Hopkins, 2008, 99). This challenge has coincided with what might be characterized as a reflexive turn in archival science, a shift from an understanding of the archive as the ‘“natural” residue or passive by-product of administrative activity to the consciously constructed and actively mediated “archivalisation” of social memory’, or discursive construction (Cook, 2001, 4). As political scientist Achille Mbembe has suggested, the archive is a point of origin for the dissemination of a powerful imaginary; through a common affective investment in the archive we become members of a ‘community of time’, membership of which is characterized by a feeling of ownership over a past to which we are all heirs (Mbembe, 2002, 21). Similarly Eric Ketelaar (2005) has written of the way ‘communities of memory’ are sustained by a relationship to ‘memory texts . . . through which th[e common] past is mediated’. Jeannette Bastian’s (2003) discussion of ‘communities of records’ suggests that the intimate and emotional connection to the archive and the events it reflects goes beyond those immediately involved in its creation and touches all those it describes. These feelings of connectedness, ownership and community are fundamental components of a sense of belonging to contemporary society which might be fostered by a more democratic collective memory; and support for the development of independent and community archives by heritage professionals is increasingly seen as one way of filling those gaps in the official record that perpetuate the exclusion of marginalized communities with potentially deleterious effects.

The idea that community archives are a valuable tool in the

democratization of heritage, and consequently in developing feelings of belonging in society have been increasingly widely accepted by policy-makers over the last ten years. In 1999 the Black and Asian Studies Association (BASA) organized a conference on archives which focused attention on the absences and hidden stories within local and national collections, the MacPherson report (into the investigation of the 1993 murder of the black teenager Stephen Lawrence) (1999, Chapter 6) turned the spotlight on institutional racism in the police force and in British society more generally, and Stuart Hall made a provocative and influential speech to the 'Whose Heritage?' conference, jointly supported by the Arts Council, the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Museums Association and the North West Arts Board (Hall, 2005, 23–35). Since then, the Heritage Lottery Fund for example has transformed itself from being not just the guardian of Britain's elite spaces but also the primary funder of grassroots community-based initiatives.⁹ The opening in late 2007 of Rivington Place, the 'first permanent public space dedicated to the education of the public in culturally diverse visual arts and photography in the UK' and including a photographic archive ('the UK's first print and digital resource for a collection of photographs documenting the emergence of post-war Britain as a multicultural society'), is a powerful testament to the influence of Stuart Hall's thinking, not least because as vice-chair of the organization he was instrumental in driving the vision forward.¹⁰ The Mayor of London's Commission on African and Asian Heritage (MCAAH, 2005, 9 and 81–2) was clear about the continuing disabling effect of institutional racism in the heritage sector and the need to ensure that better and more substantial support was directed towards independent heritage projects. The announcement in 2008 of the award of £4 million to support the opening of the Black Cultural Archives (Kennedy and Manzi, 2008) was a further indication of how far community archives have come.

The preliminary findings from our own research strongly support the idea that involvement with community archives enhances self-esteem and a sense of belonging in minority communities of African, Asian and other heritage. Some activists have talked explicitly about 'giving people a sense of belonging' but perhaps more significantly, by observing the relationships between community archivists, heritage sector professionals and other peers we have begun to develop evidence of strong positive regard and understandings of a particular group's experience, history and position in society developed by and through contact with an archive. As well as providing an intellectual resource in support of contemporary struggles and interventions, such understanding works to generate civic and social engagement within and beyond a given community (for example, in support of young people who share the same self-categorization).

It is important at this point to sound a note of caution, however. The growth in official recognition and support for independent community archives rests on two principal assumptions: that community archives and related heritage projects deliver a strong sense of belonging or of identity, and that such feelings or identities are socially productive. However, on closer inspection the evidence base for both claims remains for the most part extremely slim. To date, most studies of community archive initiatives have been reports commissioned by funders rather than academic studies; concerns have been rightly expressed about ‘the quality of “evidence” put forward by the profession in policy documents in the form of personal expressions of conviction or practitioner studies that lack the explicit rigour shown in quality academic research’ (Wavell et al., 2002, 9). Indeed, many claims about the value of community archives are arguably either inadequately supported by the data or insufficiently generalizable. For example, a recent study, *Black and Minority Ethnic Community Archives*, for the London region of the MLA identified developing ‘a sense of pride’ as an outcome of engaging with community archives (Ander, 2007, 9). However true we may feel this to be, the claim rests solely on the testimony of the community archivists in whose interest it might be to celebrate the value of their work when talking to funders, rather than on any rigorous evaluation of reception or engagement by volunteers or users. Moreover, since only one person from each project was interviewed in this study, such assertions could not be confirmed via other data sources.

Even where claims do appear to be evidence-based the data often remains anecdotal. Judith Etherton’s fascinating study (2006) of archival research as part of the therapeutic process for people coming to terms with histories of adoption and other family ruptures suggests the strong potential of archives to contribute to individual wellbeing. However, as Etherton openly acknowledges, her evidence is based on her observations in the course of her work as a local archivist and as a consequence the findings may not be generalizable. There is nothing wrong with this – case study research is often used ‘to develop the conceptual underpinnings of future social scientific inquiry’ (Schrank, 2006, 23) – but we are at the beginning of understanding what impacts are being identified here. What is an exciting agenda for future research should not be mistaken for conclusive findings.

Even more fundamentally, community archives are frequently celebrated in policy documents and elsewhere for their role in delivering ‘a sense of identity’ but the under-theorizing and uncritical use of identity as a category in both the academic and the policy literature on cultural heritage calls the whole premise – that the identities delivered by community archives are socially valuable – into question. The under-theorizing of the buzz word

'identity' has been an issue across the social sciences. As Brubaker and Cooper have pointed out, as a category of analysis, 'identity' has been used by social scientists to describe a range of phenomena from the idea of a core unchanging aspect of group or self-hood to its obverse, the process of purely relational positioning that defines postmodern understandings of the self and contextualist accounts of ethnicity (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, 6–10).¹¹

The slipperiness of the term limits its usefulness to archivists and activists alike and makes organizations that espouse it, particularly when attempting to obtain public funding, highly vulnerable to realignments of high-level policy. For instance a sense of 'identity' – if taken to mean in this case a high level of 'self-understanding' (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, 17) – may well provide the 'ontological security' seen by Anthony Giddens as a precondition for effective individual action in the social world (1986, 50). Community archives arguably can help generate this security (and thereby empower people) by enhancing individuals' awareness of their social location (in Hall's terms 'the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past' (1998, 225)). In a supportive policy climate they might use the language of identity to make their case and have a reasonable expectation of support and perhaps funding.¹²

However, when the definitions are so fluid and poorly understood the ground can quickly shift. So a sense of 'identity' can just as readily be characterized as a threat to social cohesion if it becomes politic to use a contrasting definition: a 'strongly binding, vehemently felt groupness' for example (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, 21). There are good grounds for being wary of this form of 'identity' and the role that heritage activity might play in fostering and reinforcing it. As Elizabeth Kaplan has noted, 'History constantly reminds us that the reification of ethnic identity does not foster tolerance or acceptance; it constructs communities and then draws hard, arbitrary lines between them, creating differences and making them fixed' (2000, 151). Different community archives may be ideologically opposed to supporting just such narrow and reified identity constructions but the problem is that policy-makers are not obliged to clearly define their terms when talking about 'identity'. As soon as government policy shifts, for example from a broadly multiculturalist to a more assertively assimilationist approach to the management of cultural difference, then independent community archives may find that their own discourse, which previously aligned them with government policy, can now be turned against them, even if their understanding of identity – as 'self-understanding' rather than exclusive 'groupness' – has not changed.

Indeed, in the UK there is ample evidence of precisely such a shift taking place and this is one reason why we should proceed with caution when

celebrating the impact of community archives on ‘identities’. Key moments in this shift include the riots in north-west England in 2001 and the terrorist incidents in London and Glasgow in 2005 and 2007. These events have been seized upon by opponents of policies championing cultural diversity and the emergence of a ‘new identity politics’, which places the emphasis on ‘shared identities’ (Muir, 2007). The thinking underlying this shift was exemplified by the speech given in 2005 by the chair of the then Commission for Racial Equality in which he argued that Britain was ‘sleepwalking into segregation’ (Phillips, 2005).

These changes are having a growing impact on cultural and heritage policy. In 2008, the then Minister for Culture, Creative Industries and Tourism, Margaret Hodge, talked about the potential divisiveness of diversity (2008) and in London, Boris Johnson, the Conservative mayor since May 2008, appointed a culture adviser, Munira Mirza, who has publicly argued the same case (Mirza, 2006). Although the work of the Heritage Diversity Task Force – set up under Johnson’s predecessor to implement the recommendations of *Delivering Shared Heritage*, the report of the Mayor’s Commission on African and Asian Heritage (MCAAH, 2005), which strongly recommended increased support for independent community archives (Archives Diversification Sub-committee, 2007) – continues, its profile is much reduced. The change in emphasis and language from *Delivering Shared Heritage* is quite pronounced. In a new culture policy document, Mirza wrote: ‘We will support events and projects that show off the internationalism and diversity of this city. However, we must also listen to debates within London’s different communities about how they are changing. People want to celebrate their identities but they also want to transcend them and not be pigeon-holed’ (Mayor of London, 2008, 10).

In this context independent and community archives of African and Asian heritage that champion their contribution to bolstering feelings of belonging are looking increasingly vulnerable, just at the very moment when they were also beginning to achieve recognition for their work from heritage policy-makers and funders.

Conclusion

In this rapidly shifting political landscape, there is an urgent need for archivists, activists and researchers to collaborate on research projects that aim to fill this evidential gap and build a more detailed picture of the work that independent community archives do and the impacts they may have on the lives of those who volunteer in them or who encounter their work through exhibitions, performances and workshops. Our University College London

research project, which uses ethnographic methods in a case study design to collect the necessary thick qualitative data, is one such attempt. The findings of this research should not be a foregone conclusion – it may be that in certain contexts community archive initiatives can reawaken old wounds or foster suspicion towards a specific out-group. We do not expect this to be the case in our research – the community archivists and social movement activists with whom we have worked are in many cases acutely aware of these issues and have developed sophisticated readings of the relationship between collective memory, identity and the materiality of the archive – but nothing should be ruled out.

Furthermore, researchers need to draw on more sophisticated, composite models of ‘identity’ that will rescue it from those nostalgic for the cultural dominance of a narrow elite or who use criticisms of ‘identity politics’ (such as Amartya Sen’s warnings about the ‘miniaturization’ of society (2006)) to dismiss any initiative that helps members of under-represented or marginalized groups enhance their self-understanding and develop self-representations that may in fact challenge the simplistic categorizations often associated with identity discourse. This may entail looking further afield and drawing on literature from sociology and social psychology, rather than solely from cultural studies, which has opened itself up to criticism by failing to advance its thinking in this area, while nevertheless remaining dominated by identity as a research theme (Grossberg, 1996).

Stuart Hall’s powerful articulation of the relationship between heritage and identity, histories encompassing both the possibility of a sense of belonging and alternatively the alienation of not being represented, drew attention to ‘the heritage’ as a terrain of struggle for marginalized groups in the UK (Hall, 2005, 23–35).¹³ But now that identity has become the explicit subject of policy¹⁴ there is a need to introduce greater clarity into Hall’s ‘sophisticated but opaque discussion’ (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, 9). For independent community archivists, those who articulate narratives with an outward-looking, transformatory counter-hegemonic interplay between multiple identities including class, race, gender and sexuality may be better placed ideologically to weather the changes in policy and funding that others may find it more difficult to withstand.

Notes

- 1 ‘Mekin Histri’ by L. K. Johnson (2006) *Selected Poems*, London, Penguin, 64.
- 2 UK Arts and Humanities Research Council funded project, ‘Community archives and identities: documenting and sustaining community heritage’, 2008–9. The research team comprises Andrew Flinn, Elizabeth Shepherd and Mary Stevens. This

research would not have been possible without the help and partnership provided by all our case studies (Future Histories, rukus!, Moroccan Memories and Eastside Community Heritage) and all the other participants and interviewees. For further details see www.ucl.ac.uk/infostudies/research/icarus/community-archives/.

- 3 The possibilities of the digital environment make a difference here as well. Both rukus!, the Black Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans (LGBT) archive and Eastside Community Heritage are clear about the benefits of ensuring the preservation of their physical collections in professional archives or heritage organizations, while continuing to explore the more flexible, less restricting possibilities of engaging with and using their collections via digital environments.
- 4 For more details about GPI see www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/.
- 5 Details of the IRR and its collections can be found at www.irr.org.uk/information/index.html.
- 6 Details about the Black Cultural Archives and its work can be found at www.bcaheritage.org.uk/.
- 7 See Working Class Movement Archives at www.wcml.org.uk/; Lesbian Herstory Archive at www.lesbianherstoryarchives.org/; and Australian Lesbian and Gay Archives at <http://home.vicnet.net.au/~alga/>.
- 8 See rukus! at www.rukus.co.uk/content/view/12/27/.
- 9 This shift can be traced in part through its strategic plans. Whereas the first plan (1998–2002) prioritized ‘conservation, access and education’ the second (2002–7) sought to emphasize ‘involvement’ and the expansion of the ‘boundaries of heritage’ to include ‘a richer mix’ (HLF, 2002, 2–3). The third and most recent plan (2008–13) again emphasized preservation and participation but also gave priority to enabling ‘people to learn about their own and others’ heritage’ (HLF, 2007, 14).
- 10 See www.rivingtonplace.org/facilities/photographicArchive.
- 11 The ‘contextualist’ account of ethnicity could be seen as epitomized by Stuart Hall’s thinking.
- 12 Sociology and social psychology offer some empirical evidence to support these claims, often in the specific context of educational achievement. For example, Chatman et al. (2001) found in their study of patterns of ethnic identity among African American youths that adolescents who displayed high levels of positive personal regard (judgements made by people about their own identities), ‘explicit importance’ (the individual’s subjective appraisal of the degree to which collective identity is important to her or his overall sense of self) and ‘cultural connectedness’ (roughly, awareness of a group’s history, experience and position in society, or collective social location) were the most ‘well adjusted’, as long as this was not also combined with a strong perception of ‘ethnically based social challenges’ – the idea that they might suffer discrimination as a consequence of their ‘race’ (cited in Ashmore, Deaux and McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004, 108). The multi-dimensionality of their study – identity is broken down into inter-related components – illustrates the

- extent to which ‘identity’ is far too complex a term to be correlated simply to wellbeing or social cohesion.
- 13 The idea that the struggle for history is part of any liberation struggle has of course been around since Fanon and before, but what was new in Hall’s discourse was the idea that this battle needed to be fought on the protected turf of the UK heritage sector, given up by its critics in the 1980s and early 1990s as an inherently elitist construct (e.g. Wright, 1985; Lowenthal, 1998).
 - 14 For example in the context of the MLA’s ‘Generic Social Outcomes’.

References

- Ajamu, X. and Campbell, T. (2008) Project interview.
- Alleyne, B. (2002a) *Radicals Against Race: black activism and cultural politics*, Berg.
- Alleyne, B. (2002b) An Idea of Community and its Discontents: towards a more reflexive sense of belonging in multicultural Britain, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25 (4), 607–727.
- Alleyne, B. (2007) Obituary: John La Rose (1927–2006), *History Workshop*, 64, 460–4.
- Ander, E. (2007) *Black and Minority Ethnic Community Archives in London*, MLA London, www.mlalondon.org.uk/uploads/documents/Black_and_Ethnic_Minority_Community_Archives_in_London_final.doc.
- Archives Diversification Subcommittee (2007) *Archives Diversification Subcommittee Report*, Heritage Diversity Task Force, Greater London Authority.
- Ashmore, R. D., Deaux, K. and McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004) An Organizing Framework for Collective Identity: articulation and significance of multidimensionality, *Psychological Bulletin*, 130 (1), 80–114.
- Bastian, J. (2003) *Owning Memory: how a Caribbean community lost its archives and found its history*, Libraries Unlimited.
- Bellos, L. (2006) Black v Asian?, *Catalyst*, 25 May, <http://83.137.212.42/siteArchive/catalystmagazine/Default.aspx?LocID=0hgnew0ex.RefLocID=0hg01b001006009.Lang=EN.htm>.
- Black Cultural Archives (2007) Black Cultural Archives: 2011, www.bcaheritage.org.uk/BCA_2011.pdf.
- Black Cultural Archives (2008) About the Black Cultural Archives, unpublished.
- Bourne, J. (2008) IRR: the story continues, *Race and Class*, 50 (2), 31–9.
- Bressey, C. (2009) Still no Black in the Union Jack, lunchtime lecture, UCL, 12 February, available to listen to at http://podcast.steeple.org.uk/component/option,com_mediadb/task,view/idstr,UCL-podcast-rss_feeds_public_lectures_llh/Itemid,98.
- Brubaker, R. and Cooper, F. (2000) Beyond ‘Identity’, *Theory and Society*, 29 (1), 1–47.
- Carbery, G. (1995) Australian Lesbian & Gay Archives, *Archives and Manuscripts*, 23 (1), 30–7.
- Cook, T. (2001) Archival Science and Postmodernism: new formulations for old

- concepts, *Archival Science*, 1, 3–24.
- Chatman, C. M., Taylor, E. D. and Eccles, J. S. (2001) 'Acting White' and 'Acting Black': ethnic identity and academic achievement among African American high school students; poster presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Minneapolis, MN, April 2001.
- Crooke, E. (2007) *Museums and Community: ideas, issues and challenges*, Routledge.
- Etherton, J. (2006) The Role of Archives in the Perception of Self, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 27 (2), 227–46.
- Flinn, A. (2007) Community Histories, Community Archives: some opportunities and challenges, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 28 (2), 151–76.
- Garrison, L. (1994) The Black Historical Past in British Education. In Stone, P. G. and MacKenzie, R. (eds), *The Excluded Past: archaeology and education*, 2nd edn, Routledge, 231–44.
- Garrod, S. (2008) Project interview, 15 April.
- Giddens, A. (1986) *The Constitution of Society: outline of the theory of structuration*, Polity.
- Gilroy, P. (1995) *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*, Routledge.
- Gilroy, P. (2008) Melancholia or Conviviality: the politics of belonging in Britain. In Shire, G. (ed.), *Race, Identity & Belonging*, Lawrence and Wishart.
- Grossberg, L. (1996) Identity and Cultural Studies: is that all there is? In Hall, S. and Du Gay, P. (eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Sage.
- Hall, S. (1998) Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In Rutherford, J. (ed.), *Identity: community, culture, difference*, Lawrence & Wishart.
- Hall, S. (2001) Constituting an Archive, *Third Text*, 54, 89–92.
- Hall, S. (2005) Whose Heritage? Un-settling 'The Heritage', re-imagining the post-nation. In Littler, J. and Naidoo, R. (eds), *The Politics of Heritage: the legacies of 'race'*, Routledge.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2002) *Broadening the Horizons of Heritage: The Heritage Lottery Fund strategic plan 2002–2007*.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2007) *Our Heritage, Our Future: towards the HLF's third strategic plan 2008–2013*.
- Hodge, M. (2008) 'Britishness, Heritage and the Arts: should cultural institutions promote shared values and a common national identity?' Speech at the National Portrait Gallery.
- Hopkins, I. (2008) Places From Which to Speak, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 29 (1), 83–109.
- Institute for Race Relations (1986) *The Fight Against Racism: a pictorial history of Asians and Afro-Caribbeans in Britain*, Institute for Race Relations.
- Institute for Race Relations (2008) Black History Collection Seminar, 8 July.
- Johnson, L. K. (2006a) *Selected Poems*, Penguin.
- Johnson, L. K. (2006b) John La Rose, obituary, *Guardian*, 4 March, www.guardian.co.uk/news/2006/mar/04/guardianobituaries.socialexclusion.

- Johnston, I. (2001) Whose History is it Anyway?, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, **22** (2), 214–29.
- Josipovici, G. (1998) Rethinking Memory: too much/too little, *Judaism: A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life and Thought*, **47** (2), 232–40.
- Kaplan, E. (2000) We Are What We Collect, We Collect What We Are: archives and the construction of identity, *American Archivist*, **63** (1), 126–51.
- Kennedy, M. and Manzi, E. (2008) After 30 Years, Black Archive Gets a Permanent Home, *Guardian*, 9 May,
www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/may/09/britishidentity.
- Ketelaar, E. (2005) Sharing: collected memories in communities of records, *Archives & Manuscripts*, **33**, 44–61.
- Lowenthal, D. (1998) *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge University Press.
- MacPherson, W. (1999) *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: report of an inquiry, by Sir William Macpherson*, The Stationery Office,
www.archive.official-documents.co.uk/document/cm42/4262/4262.htm.
- Mayor of London (2008) *Cultural Metropolis: the mayor's priorities for culture, 2009–2012*, Greater London Authority.
- Mayor's Commission on African and Asian Heritage (2005) *Delivering Shared Heritage*, Greater London Authority.
- Mbembe, A. (2002) The Power of the Archive and its Limits. In Hamilton, C. et al. (eds), *Refiguring the Archive*, Kluwer Academic.
- Mirza, M. (2006) Diversity is Divisive, *Guardian*, 21 November.
www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/nov/21/diversityhasbecomedivisive.
- Muir, R. (2007) *The New Identity Politics*, Institute for Public Policy Research.
- Naidoo, R. (2006) *Exploring Archives: The George Padmore Institute*, MLA London.
- Nestle, J. (1990) The Will To Remember: the Lesbian Herstory Archives of New York, *Feminist Review*, **34**, 86–94.
- Newman, J. (2008) Project interview.
- Pereira, C. (2009) Letter, *Who Do You Think You Are?*, 7 January.
- Phillips, M. (2003) Obituary: Lenford (Kwesi) Garrison (1943–2003), *History Workshop*, **56**, 295–7.
- Phillips, T. (2005) After 7/7: sleepwalking to segregation,
<http://83.137.212.42/sitearchive/cre/Default.aspx?LocID=0hgnew07s.RefLocID=0hg00900c002.Lang=EN.htm>.
- Schrank, A. (2006) Case-based Research. In Perecman, E. and Curran, S. R. (eds), *A Handbook for Social Science Field Research: essays and bibliographic sources on research design and methods*, Thousand Oaks & Sage.
- Scott, L. (2006) John La Rose, obituary, *Guardian*, 4 March,
www.guardian.co.uk/news/2006/mar/04/guardianobituaries.socialexclusion.
- Sen, A. (2006) *Identity and Violence: the illusion of destiny*, Allen Lane.

- Sivanandan, A. (1981 [2008]) *Catching History on the Wing: race, culture and globalisation*, Pluto Books.
- Sivanandan, A. (2004) Racism in the Age of Globalisation, Lecture at 3rd Claudia Jones Memorial Lecture, National Union of Journalists Black Members Council, 24 October, www.irr.org.uk/2004/october/ha000024.html.
- Sivanandan, A. (2008a) From Resistance to Rebellion: Asian and Afro-Caribbean struggles in Britain. In Sivanandan, A., *Catching History on the Wing: race, culture and globalisation*, Pluto Books.
- Sivanandan, A. (2008b) *Catching History on the Wing: race, culture and globalisation*, Pluto Books.
- Sivanandan, A. (2008c) Race and Resistance: the IRR story, *Race and Class*, 50 (2), 31–9.
- Sivanandan, A. (2009) Catching History on the Wing: conference speech, *Race and Class*, 50 (3), 90–3.
- Small, S. (1997) Contextualizing the Black Presence in British Museums: representations, resources and response. In Hooper-Greenhill, E. (ed.), *Cultural Diversity: developing museum audiences in Britain*, Leicester University Press.
- Terracciano, A. (2006) Mainstreaming African, Asian and Caribbean Theatre: the experiments of the Black Theatre Forum. In Godiwala, D. (ed.), *Alternatives within the Mainstream*, Scholars Press.
- Walker, S. (1997) Black Cultural Museums in Britain: what questions do they answer? In Hooper-Greenhill, E. (ed.), *Cultural Diversity: developing museum audiences in Britain*, Leicester University Press.
- Wavell, C., Baxter, G., Johnson, I. M. and Williams, D. A. (2002) *Impact Evaluation of Museums, Archives and Libraries: Available Evidence Project*, Resource: The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries.
- White, S. (2008) Project Interview, 5 August.
- Wild, R. and Bourne, J. (2008) Project Interview, 13 August.
- Wright, P. (1985) *On Living in an Old Country: the national past in contemporary Britain*, Verso.