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Race and becoming: the emergent materialities of race in everyday multiculturalism

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Chapter Five

Cars

Race moves

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Becoming-‘Paki’ [of cars]

Early morning. A father and his teenage son walk silently down a deserted inner city street. They pause in front of a metal shutter defiled by fresh graffiti.

Cut to the son. He is wearing designer trainers, salwar kameez, and a kufi-cap. His eyes are closed, his fingers lightly touching his temples. He gives the call for prayer through a microphone.

Cut to the father, who is scrubbing the graffiti from the shutter.

Cut to Yasmin struggling into a pair of tight jeans in the shadow of ‘The Calf’, a craggy outcrop of Millstone grit on the moor to the east of Keighley. She pulls on a pink top. Cut to Yasmin walking towards a red convertible VW Golf GTI. She is wearing jeans and the pink top, although a veil still partly covers her hair. She removes the veil and flings it into the back seat of the car. A satisfied smile crosses her face as she presses the remote on her key, and with a bleep the car unlocks. Yasmin climbs into the driver’s seat.

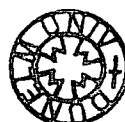
Cut to Yasmin’s husband. He is lying on a mattress on the floor. Asleep, wearing a taupe salwar kameez, slippers slung to the side of the bed. He stirs and rolls over, disturbing the sheets that half cover him.

Cut to Yasmin in the front seat of the car, then to the perspective of a driver. A straight country road disappears under the front of the car. Cut to a red convertible Golf speeding along a road, slicing through barren moors. The arabesque melody playing over a dance beat becomes louder. Roof down. Sunglasses on. Hair blowing in the wind. Head nodding to the rhythm of the music. Tyres squeal as she takes a corner.

Cut to the Golf – the roof now up – pulling up in a side street. The thudding beats of dance music escape from the car.

Cut to John. He’s wearing a yellow reflective jacket and has a photo-ID card clipped to his trousers. He is waiting for Yasmin by a blue WYTS (West Yorkshire Training Scheme) transit van. Legs apart. Hand plunged in his pockets; he leans slightly against the van. He grins as he realises that it is Yasmin in the car.

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Yasmin climbs out of the car smiling at John. 'Alright.' She pushes her sunglasses to the top of her head so they hold her hair back, and then slings her handbag over her shoulder. There's a bleep as she uses the remote locking on the car. Walking towards John. [2 second pause] 'What?' [1 second pause] 'What?' [Shriller] 'What?'

John: 'That's what I should be asking you. What's that?'

Yasmin: [smiling] 'It's a Golf GTI ain't it?'

John: 'It's a black hole, that's what that is. It's a black hole to pour all your wages down. What happened to the Toyota Corolla I looked at?'

Yasmin: 'Oh come on John I'm not going to buy a 'T.P.' car am I?'

John: 'A what?'

Yasmin: 'Typical Paki!'

[2 second pause]

John: 'That was a bloody good buy that was! We agreed.'

[Yasmin begins walking off into the building; John climbs into the driver's seat of the van]

John: 'Oi! Oi! Come on. We ain't got time.'

Yasmin: 'Alright, alright. Keep you knickers on.'

(Climbs in and sits at the front on the Van)

Yasmin: 'Sex on wheels, ain't it?'

John: 'Believe me that car's gonna cost you an absolute fortune.'

Yasmin: 'Oh come on drive you boring old fart.'

Van pulls away

This montage of shots, and the dialogue that follows, are the opening scenes from *Yasmin*, a film set in an anonymous northern mill town – and filmed in Keighley – that self-consciously set out to capture the experiences of British Muslim women after 9/11. Through the relationships and experiences of its eponymous star, this realist film begins to engage – somewhat prescriptively – with daily lives contorted by racism and Islamophobia,

forced marriage and family honour, Islamic fundamentalism, terrorism, intercultural intimacies, drugs, reworking old – culturally bounded and static – adages about the cultural dilemmas of living ‘between two cultures’. Here, however, my interest lies in the dialogue between Yasmin and John, and the perspectives it opens on the operations of race through machinic connections of flesh, metal, and rubber. A becoming-‘Paki’. Dismissing a Toyota Corolla as a ‘typical Paki’ car, in favour of the more flamboyant Golf GTI convertible, gestures to how cars might be used to create ‘intensive difference’ and reproduce faces in a racialised visual economy (Saldanha, forthcoming).

The force of cars

The becoming-‘Paki’ in this scene is intriguing. It directs our attention to overlooked materialities, alerting us to the ‘force of things’ and the agency of objects (Bennett, 2004; 2005) – or perhaps more accurately the agency of assemblages¹ – in habitual practices of race-thinking. Drawing inspiration from recent arguments for a lively, enchanted materialism that sees ‘things’ not simply as passive background, but as ‘spirited actants’ commanding our attention (Bennett, 2001; 2004), I begin to trace the machinic operations of race through everyday things.² This materialist perspective recognises, then, the virtuality of the immaterial to the material.³ In asking how race rides on the car, I am interested in how cars emerge as raced sites of intersubjective connection as raced

¹ Jane Bennett (2005, p.463) neatly summarises the agency of assemblages: “To be clear: the agency of assemblages of which I speak is not the strong kind of agency traditionally attributed exclusively to humans. To make such a claim would be simply to anthropomorphise. The contention, rather, is that if one looks closely enough, the productive power behind effects is always a collectivity. Not only is human agency always already distributed in tools, microbes, minerals, and sounds, it only emerges as agentic *by way of* a distribution into the ‘foreign’ materialities its bearers are eager to exclude.”

² Here I emphasise the ‘thingness’ of cars over their ‘objectness’ to draw out that which is excessive in objects. Thing names less an object than a particular subject-object relation (Brown, 2001) and recognises the force – a kind of agency – distributed across assemblages of human and nonhuman elements (Bennett, 2004).

³ As Latham and McCormack (2004, p.705) argue ‘[t]o speak of the material is therefore, to have already invoked the excessive potential of the immaterial.’

memories and affects accumulate around cars (Bennett, 2004)? This chapter cultivates an attentiveness to the 'force' of cars as they speed, slow down, tailgate, cruise, park, drag race, cut up and so on. It asks how cars exert a kind of agency (a distributed agency that Bennett (2004; 2005) shows us is actually a property of an assemblage) and how, in becoming-Asian, cars might inspire fear, stir suspicion, feed rumours, and so much more.⁴ I develop an appreciation of the affective materialities of the urban through the car, and the intensities of relations that cars in becoming-Asian might initiate, in ways that take seriously arguments that 'much of what happens in the world happens before this happening is registered consciously in cognitive thinking' (Latham and McCormack, 2004, p.706; Massumi, 2002). Here, then I am interested in how the machinic materialities implicated in the becoming-Asian of cars feed into habitual practices of sense making (Harrison, 2000) and how, in a manner that mirrors the operations of the abstract machine of faciality, the road might work as a sorting machine as heterogeneous and continuous processes of racial differentiation unfold.

This lively materialism unsettles conventional academic talk about race that has only recently turned its attention to how race comes to *matter* (Alexander and Knowles, 2005). This recent openness to the materiality of race has largely involved a tentative materialism that unpacks how race inscribes bodies (Fanon, 1967; Alexander, 2000), spaces (Anderson, 1991; Sibley, 1995) and (overcoded) objects including salwar kameez (Bhachu, 2005), hijab (Dwyer, 1999) and turbans (Walton-Roberts, 1998). I want to go somewhat further, arguing with Saldanha (forthcoming, p.77) that by attending to the 'materialist questions of

⁴ Cars are, perhaps, the quintessential status symbols in late modernity – socio-economic distinction is achieved through their consumption (Bourdieu, 1984) – and the conspicuous consumption of cars, and cultures of display centred on the car, among British Asians become particularly potent symbols of participation in consumer cultures. Gilroy (2001) has written that histories of propertylessness and material deprivation have heightened the receptivity of automobility and promises of freedom and escape among African Americans. Here I am more concerned with how we might reflect on the political economy of northern mill towns through car cultures in Keighley (as Kalra (2001) has in his ethnography *From Textile Mills to Taxi Ranks*), and how inter-ethnic suspicions and resentments might congeal around the machinic materialities of the car.

how some bodies *have come* to select, recode and circulate particular meaningful elements' we can better grasp the machinic operations of race. Focussing on the becoming-Asian of car (but other lines of argument could be made for numerous other everyday things like kebab skewers, mobile phones, or the Qur'an) I begin to interrogate how the force of race operates through heterogeneous elements and their machinic connections that constitute cars in temporary, but recursive fixings of race. During my fieldwork in Keighley I was repeatedly surprised at how the car – or particular incarnations of the car – was routinely identified both as a site of intensive difference habitually enrolled in the temporary fixings of race and the sorting of bodies, things and spaces, but also the intensities of reactions to how race rides on the car. Through this chapter, I suggest that by unpacking the complex ways in which race rides on the car in Keighley we can open out alternative perspectives into the turbulent socialities of urban multiculturalism.⁵ Building on the momentum accumulated in my discussion of raced bodies, I consider the road as a particularly intense 'contact zone' and redirect my attention to how two emblematic forms of car emerge as sites of intensive difference, or distinction. Firstly, I look at how racial formations congeal fleetingly, but repeatedly around the machinic connections of pimped rides – that is cars variously customised with body kit, spoilers, black-out windows, throaty exhausts and booming stereos – in heterogeneous processes of differentiation. Secondly, I consider how driving taxis has become an emblematic form of employment for British Pakistani men in northern mill towns after the mills closed down (Kalra, 2000), and how new racial formations emerged and congealed as the force of race worked through the materialities of a very public kind of car, the taxi. In Keighley taxis are then very much part of urban public space. They are moving contact zones and prosaic sites of intercultural encounter

⁵ There are some parallels here I think between what I am trying to do through the car and Sikivu Hutchinson's (2000) powerful discussion of the racialised spaces of the Los Angeles bus network, which begins to show how transport systems – particular in a city where segregation has been enabled through automobility – provide alternative windows on to race and the city.

and exchange, and as such it all the more important that we track how race, suspicion and innuendo have all ridden on, and been intensified through, taxis in Keighley. Through my discussions of pimped rides and taxis in Keighley I develop a materialist perspective that disturbs academic tendencies to talk about inter-ethnic suspicions, rumour and innuendo through repetitions of discourses and representations (Webster, 1995; 1997; Alexander, 2000) by asking how suspicions, rumour and innuendo circulate through, and are modulated by, the materialities and machinic connections of these cars and how they then sort bodies, things and spaces. Before I interrogate the intense and turbulent contact zone of the road I want to make some preliminary comments about the force of cars in habitual practices of race thinking.

So how exactly does race ride on the car? In Keighley I was repeatedly confronted with the force of cars as a sorting device. Distinctions – incipient tendencies that constitute the basis for raced and gendered formations – routinely and repeatedly emerged machinic connections of flesh, metal and rubber (Bourdieu, 1984). This sorting emerged as I spoke with people about driving experiences. The corporeal engrossment of driving (Lattimer and Munro, forthcoming), and interactions ‘screened’ by metal, toughened glass and traffic noise (Katz, 1999) reconfigures sociality (Urry, 2000; 2004; Thrift, 2004b), affording innovative perspectives on the machinic operations of race.⁶ For example, distinct phenomenologies of driving – and specifically occasional intense surges of affect that happen, for example, when cars are cut up – intervene in how we think about the habitual

⁶ Face-to-face interaction is often identified as a fundamental component of urban life (Urry, 2000; Amin and Thrift, 2002) describing the quintessential urban encounter. ‘Face-work’ becomes, then, a dominant mode of managing everyday publicity (Goffman, 1972). However, driving perturbs such face-to-face interactions; it introduces an asymmetry to interactions. And so driving reconfigures how we think about everyday urban sociality as ‘face-to-tail interactions’ (Katz, 1999), not face-to-face interactions, come to characterise so much of everyday communication with strangers. Jack Katz (1999), in his remarkable studying of road rage in Los Angeles, begins to elucidate the ‘dumb behaviour’ – the limited repertoire of gestures, signs, unreturned looks, and unheard speech – that comprises how drivers go about being in public. Here, I bring the implications of how driving reconfigures social interaction to bear on how we think about the emergence of race through interaction.

racing of bodies and objects on the ground through interaction, opening new windows onto the turbulent sociality of urban multicultural. Here, as I chart the emergence of race at 30mph I consider how prejudice congeals around assemblages of flesh, metal and rubber; and how (screened) social interaction on the road appears to involve a suspension of politeness, where prejudice directed towards raced prosthetic extensions – becoming-‘Paki’ of the car – and outbursts in the protective cocoon of the car appear to be imagined as somehow more acceptable. I’m not racist but...⁷ And I want to suggest that these incidents can tell us a lot about the half-second delay as a space of prejudice in the rapid work of race thinking.

In addition to the affectively charged sorting of bodies when driving, I was struck at how rumour and prejudice congealed around some cars. Stories about drugs, and the corruption of white and Asian women, seemed to become entangled with the machinic geographies and affective registers implicated in the becoming-Asian of cars. My aim is not to confirm or dispel these rumours, but to interrogate how cars appear to form the basis for the construction and circulation of prejudice, resentment and innuendo; how they seem to start with, and work through the car. Machinic couplings of flesh, metal, booming bass boxes, alloys, speeding, tinted windows, jewellery, spoilers, cutting up, Hip Hop, drugs, body kit, cruising, noisy exhausts, personalised plates, hanging out, etc. reproduce faces. Connections align raced bodies, pressing incipencies and tendencies in a social stratification of bodies based on visibility (Massumi, 2002; Saldanha, forthcoming) – a becoming-dealer; a becoming-groomer; a becoming-predator...Tracking the facialisation of

⁷ It was striking how racist utterances and emotional releases appeared to become somehow permissible when driving, even though they were unacceptable in other forms of interaction. Suspensions of polite interaction might stem from the ‘screened’ publicity of driving and a sense of detachment in face-to-tail interaction, or perhaps a belief that the violence of prejudice is somehow mitigated when it is directed at machinic extensions of raced bodies. I am more interested, however, in how these stories alert us to the affective intensities of driving and how race emerges on the move in ways that call attention to practices of race thinking often overlooked in studies of living the multicultural.

some bodies through specific subcultural styles (Hebdige, 1979) or the machinic geographies of taxis, the force of cars in everyday practices of race thinking provides revealing insights into the circulation of rumour and prejudice in Keighley.

Race moves...or a materialist engagement with abjection

Taking seriously the affective materiality of cars in habitual practices of race thinking encourages us to think differently about the mobility of race and the racialisation of mobility. Specifically, I consider how a machinic conception of race introduces a materialist critique of an apparent reflex reaction within Geography and beyond that reaches for psychoanalytical concepts when talking about the movement (read as transgression) of Others (Sibley, 1995; Cresswell, 1996; Long, 2006). Such is the currency of imaginative geographies of otherness in current academic talk about race that encounters with the mobility of racialised Others (from border crossings in what McClintock (1995) has called the 'abject zone' of Palestine-Israel to anxieties about avian flu pandemics to habitual trajectories of raced bodies in the spaces of the everyday urban) seems to be automatically re-assimilated into arguments about the spatial production of otherness through discussions of border dis/order (Douglas, 1975; Sibley, 1995; Cresswell, 1996).⁸ That questions of border formation and maintenance has become perhaps the most fertile terrain for encounters between human geography, social anthropology and psychoanalysis is perhaps understandable (Douglas, 1967; Kristeva, 1982; Sibley, 1995; Hage, 2003a & b), but here I reflect on the implications of these engagements, and how they may have

⁸ Derek Gregory (2004) abridges Edward Said's (1979) arguments about Orientalist spatial productions of otherness noting: "[Imaginative geographies] work, Said argued, by multiplying partitions and enclosures that serve to demarcate "the same" from "the other," at once constructing and calibrating a gap between the two by "designating in one's mind a familiar space which is 'ours' and an unfamiliar space beyond 'ours' which is 'theirs'"(Gregory, 2004, p.17, citing Said, 1979, p.54).

occasioned a neglect for the significance of mobility in the actualisation of social relations (Sheller and Urry, 2006), and how race emerges on the move.

The car as abjection machine?

‘A social being is constituted through the force of expulsion’
(McClintock, 1995, p.71)

Julia Kristeva’s (1982) work on abjection has been remarkably influential on how we think about boundary formation and rituals, and how we comprehend ‘drives’ to purify space, and the anxieties that transgressions produce (Sibley, 1995; Long, 2006). For Kristeva abjection begins with a pre-oedipal drive fundamental to ego formation, through which a fragile sense of self is achieved through the rejection, the casting out, of the Mother.⁹ This casting out is then extended in an account of the conditions under which ‘the proper, clean, decent, obedient, law-abiding body’ emerges that contends this clean and proper body is only possible through abjection – the surging intensities of anxiety, loathing and disgust when encountering the impure or defiled, such that the subject can only respond with aversion, nausea and distraction (Longhurst, 2001).

‘The object is everything that the subject seeks to expunge in order to become social; it is also a symptom of the failure of this ambition. As a compromise between “condemnation and yearning,” abjection marks the borders of the self; at the same time, it threatens the self with perpetual danger.’
(McClintock, 1995, p.71)

‘Not me. Not that. But not nothing, either.’ (Kristeva, 1982, p.2). Undecidability. The object is that which is neither subject nor object. It is something rejected, but from which one cannot part. The object is ‘opposed to *P*’ (Kristeva, 1982, p.1). Radically excluded but always a presence (Sibley, 1995, p.6). The object remains irreducible to subject/object,

⁹ In *Power of Horrors* Kristeva (1982) develops a theory of abjection in her quarrel with Freudian psychoanalysis, which plays ‘too little attention to preoedipal processes of drive organisation in which the figure of the mother structures affect, as opposed to the oedipal episode structured by the law-giving father’ (Young, 1990, p.143). In the process, she also disrupts Melanie Klein’s arguments that it is relationships between the self and the social and material world that are constitutive in ego formation, as a sense of border, of separateness, emerges through processes of introjection and projection (Hoggett, 1992; Sibley, 1995).

inside/outside, and self/other oppositions, but cannot be clearly identified with either (Grosz, 1994). It 'hovers' at the borders of the subject's identity, threatening its apparent unity and stability with 'disruption and possible dissolution' (Sibley, 1995). Abjection is, above all, an intolerance of ambiguity. The self is 'haunted' by the expelled abject 'as its inner constitutive boundary' (McClintock, 1995, p.71); oppositions (self/Other, inside/outside) are 'vigorous but pervious, violent but uncertain' (Kristeva, 1982, p.7).¹⁰

Abjection is fundamentally about sorting, segregating, and demarcating the body (Grosz, 1994), and its concern with the ambiguous, fragile (and failed) distinctions between self and Other means that it has been readily taken up in discussions of social exclusion, the bounding of 'comfortable' social space and 'feelings about difference' (Sibley, 1995).¹¹ Abjection *explains* (away) the affective registers (fear, loathing, disgust, nausea, repulsion and so on) through which externalised threats (excrement, dirt, prostitutes, Asians, etc.) are encountered (and repelled), and accounts for tendencies to purification achieved through social practices of distancing and exclusion (Sibley, 1995). In Keighley as race rides on the car there is certainly abjection. There are visceral responses. Fear. Loathing. Disgust. In becoming-Asian the car also becomes an abjection machine. Cars are promiscuous. They transgress taken-for-granted, orderly topographies of white suburbs and Asian inner city.

¹⁰ In this way Kristeva (1982, p.4) argues: 'It is thus not lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection but what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite.' This draws heavily on Mary Douglas's work on boundary rituals, that argues that nothing in itself is dirty, but rather dirt is matter out of place; that which upsets order:

"If we can abstract pathogenicity and hygiene from our notion of dirt, we are left with the old definition of *matter out of place*...Dirt then is never unique, isolated even. Where there is dirt there is a system. Dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements. This idea of dirt takes us straight into the fields of symbolism and promises a link-up with more obviously symbolic systems of purity" (Douglas, 1967, p.35).

¹¹ Abjection becomes a lens through which we can read attempts to regulate and control the mobility of Others. As differences are folded into distance in spatial fabrications of otherness (Gregory, 2004) the mobility of Othered bodies becomes dangerously excessive. 'They' threaten to defile 'our' space, provoking anxiety and loathing, and underpinning social and spatial practices of surveillance and segregation in colonial regimes (Harris, 2002), in Venice's Jewish ghetto (Sennett, 1994), under American apartheid (Dwyer and Jones, 2000; Gilroy, 2001), at the border in the Occupied Territories of Palestine-Israel (Long, 2006), but also in the mundane spaces of the everyday urban through stop and search laws, banal surveillance in a racialised visual economy, and tacit location of bodies.

They penetrate 'our' familiar space (and sell drugs to our kids, seduce our daughters...or so the rumours go). As race rides on the car it becomes excessive and uncontrollable through its amplification and ghostly trails. It threatens to disrupt – even dissolve – distinctions between 'us' and 'them'. Pimped rides and taxis – mobile Asian spaces – roam the town's streets, noisy reminders of a failure to seal an imagined white self from the socio-spatial traces of the Other.

However, I argue that abjection is not all that is going in visceral responses to the becoming-Asian of taxis and pimped rides. Resisting the imperial impulses of psychoanalysis and its overcoding and colonisation of all affective intensities accumulated around passing cars (abjection, nothing but abjection),¹² I suggest that it is insufficient to stop at abjection. We need to become alive to the multiplicity of the force of race as it rides on some cars. Attending to the mundane affective materialities of the car by tracing, for example, how rumour, prejudice and innuendo congeal around some cars opens lines of flight that allow us to think about how some cars and mobilities beyond manoeuvres that would theorise pimped rides or taxis as always already abject, thereby recuperating racialised mobilities into static, if fragile, imaginative geographies of self and Other. And so we might more fully appreciate the significance of mobility in the actualisation of social relations (Sheller and Urry, 2006) in ways that generate novel perspectives on the turbulent socialities of urban multiculturalism as race emerges on the move .

¹² This colonial impulse stems from the slippage between a psychoanalytical theory of ego formation and a theory that claims to account for the affectivity of what Sibley (1995) calls a 'generalised Other' (enveloping anything 'out of place'). This slippage is laid bear as Kristeva (1982, p.71. Emphasis added) argues: 'Excrement and its equivalents (decay, infection, disease, corpse, etc.) stand for the danger to identity that comes from without: the ego threatened by the non-ego, society threatened by its outside, life by death.' My argument reworks Deleuze and Guattari's (1987, p.39) critique of Freud's analysis of the case of wolfman, where they argue that all psychoanalysis has to say about what they call a becoming wolf is: 'Oedipus, nothing but Oedipus, because it hears nothing and listens to nobody. It flattens everything, masses and packs, molecular and, molar machines, multiplicities of every variety.'

In Keighley race emerges continuously through multiple mobilities: the different relative speeds (walking, loitering, hurrying, fleeing) of encountering bodies as trajectories cross in the street, transnational movements of bodies, money and things between Azad Kashmir and Keighley, the tendencies of bodies to travel by bus or private car ('Asians never seem to use the bus...'); the circulation of media representations of terrorists, BNP activists, Islamic fundamentalist, and so on. But here, I am specifically interested in understanding the operations of race at 30mph, how race emerges continuously in the endless perturbations of rush hour traffic, through the cut-ups, tailgating, and speeding that constitute so much of automobilised social life.¹³ The car becomes an important conceptual vehicle for interrogating a significant – and, until recently, neglected – pulse of everyday life, and how heterogeneous processes of racial differentiation work at speed through habitual practices of sense making in face-to-tail and 'screened' interactions; through nihilistic ways of driving; in failures to adhere to the rules of the road; in the thumping pulses of bass and a blur of metallic paint and other ghostly trails marking the presence (in their absence) of particular subcultural styles (see Borden, 2001).¹⁴

This focus on the affective materialities of raced mobility inevitably solicits the question: 'Who gets left behind?' In Keighley race seemed to move in highly gendered ways. While many Asian women can be seen on the roads in and around Keighley, their mobility rarely attracted comment in conversations, gossip or newspaper articles. However, the cultures

¹³ In fact it is often failures to travel at the legal speed limit of 30mph in much of Keighley that contributes to the emergence of race on the move. Driving too fast or too slow, stopping without warning, pulling out and forcing others to slow down often solicits judgment as bodies fall out of tacit corporeal involvement with the car (Katz, 1999) and the moral order of the road is disturbed. It is in making these judgments that bodies are sorted and habitual practices of race thinking kick in.

¹⁴ And through this emphasis on the emergence of race on the move, we might also become more attentive to the racialisation of mobility, and recognising that the movement of Asian bodies frequently involves 'an encounter with terror of moving through spaces that whites have claimed as their own' (Dwyer and Jones, 2000, p.216). And so psychic and physical violence is immanent to the becoming Asian of cars, as the mobility of some bodies is attracts disproportionate surveillance under the white gaze and an increased likelihood of being pulled over by the police.

of display influenced by 'gangsta' subcultural styles seemed to amplify the presence of Asian lads. Newspaper articles, BNP propaganda, conversations, gossip, rumour, appeared to colour perceptions as I repeatedly encountered obsessions with how some bodies (always male, often Asian but also white) came to select and recode particular cars and accessories, and the styles in which these assemblages of flesh, metal and rubber moved around the town. And this visibility – and the colouring of perceptions – not only sublimates abject poverty at home, diverting attention and resources from where they are most needed, but also reproduces distorted assumptions about the gendering of public and private space (Ruddick, 1996; Wilson, 1991). And so even as I opened with Yasmin here, and her self-conscious selection and recoding of a Golf GTI to generate distinctions between herself and 'typical Pakis', the weight of stories I encountered in Keighley hinged around an accentuated visibility of particular performances of Asian masculinity that reproduced constructions of domesticated and oppressed Asian-Muslim femininities.

The road as contact zone

Dwelling at speed, car-drivers lose the ability to perceive logical detail, to talk to strangers, to learn local ways of life, to stop and sense each different place. And as cars have increasingly overwhelmed almost all environments, so everyone is coerced to experience such environments through the protective screen and to abandon the streets and squares to these omnipotent metallic iron cages.

(Urry, 2000, p.26)

Tapping into a rich vein of writing the city, John Urry laments the dominance of the car and the distinctly individual, private, and indifferent modes of inhabiting the urban it both enables and encourages.¹⁵ Urry recognises the powerful ways in which the car 'reconfigures

¹⁵ Jane Jacobs (1962) and Richard Sennett (1994) have famously declaimed 'modern' transformations of urban life and the loss of 'community', and Sennett (1994, p.18) elaborates provocatively on the pernicious impacts of the car on everyday sociality in the city: "The physical condition of the travelling body reinforce this sense of disconnection from space. Sheer velocity makes it hard to focus one's attention on the passing scene. Complementing the sheath of speed, the actions needed to drive a car, the slight touch of the gas pedal and the break, the flicking of eyes to and from the rear-view mirror, are micro-notions compared to the arduous physical movements involved in driving a horse-drawn coach. Navigating the geography of modern society requires very little physical effort, and hence engagement; indeed, as roads become straightened and regularized, the voyager need account less and less for the people and the buildings on the street in order to move, making minute motions in an ever less complex environment. Thus the new geography reinforces the

civil society'. It produces specific modes of dwelling, travelling and socialising (Urry, 2000, p.59) that force us to reconsider everyday publicity in cities and ways of 'being political' (Isin, 2002a & b) largely premised on face-to-face interaction and informed rational debate, which remain wedded to static 19th century notions of urban society (Sheller and Urry, 2000). Idealized public spaces, where citizens are imagined to develop 'deliberative capacities' – Arendt's *polis*, Tocqueville's voluntary associations, or Habermas's coffee houses – and the humanist figure of the pedestrian inadequately capture the range of urban sociality, as they neglect the mobility of urban publics (Urry and Sheller, 2000. p.741).¹⁶ Acknowledging how race emerges on the move through 'screened' interactions profoundly influences how we think about the turbulent socialites and accumulations of intercultural encounter that make up urban multicultures. In particular, thinking about how race rides on the car moves us beyond an appreciation of the continuous emergence of raced bodies in the countless (face-to-face) encounters, and the development of intimacy and trust through repeated intercultural exchange in the spaces of the everyday urban.¹⁷ And so tracking the temporary fixings of race through cars takes our thinking about what race does in moments of intercultural encounter in different directions, but also adds momentum to our understandings of urban multicultures as accumulations of 'billions of happy and unhappy encounters' (Thrift, 1999, p.320). Here I begin by thinking about the road as a sorting device through intensities of road rage, as the emergence of race and surfacing of intolerance and racism expose the half-second delay as a space of prejudice in the rapid and layered game of race thinking.

mass media. The traveller, like the television viewer, experiences the world in narcotic terms. The body moves passively, desensitised in space, to destinations set in fragments and discontinuous urban geography."

¹⁶ Sheller and Urry (2000, p.741) also note how thinking about the mobility of urban publics poses questions about 'how such mobility is unequally available, gendered as masculine, or racialized as 'white'.

¹⁷ Acknowledging the mobility of urban publics might add another dimension to important contemporary arguments that envision agonistic interculturalism based on dialogue and exchange in the mundane spaces of the everyday urban as an alternative to institutional and legislative approaches to multiculturalism (Amin, 2002a). Much of this work, while identifying novel 'public spaces' as potential sites for nurturing agonistic interculturalism, is founded on static notions of civil society, failing to engage the mobility of urban publics.

In recognising the profound reconfigurations of sociality enacted through automobility, cars are routinely portrayed as a corrosive force, conjuring dystopian urbanisms: ‘communities of people become anonymised flows of faceless ghostly machines’ (Urry, 2004, p.30) moving through ‘dead public space’ (Gilroy, 2001). In this account, bodies are fragmented and disciplined by machines,¹⁸ constrained in a privatised space of climate control and the in-car stereo, and experiencing and sensing the world through a screen (Urry, 2004). These identifications of screened forms of living the city slide too quickly into diagnoses of indifference.¹⁹ I resist the temptation to view driving as a retreat from sociality – a passing up of the sensual assaults of walking for the screened interaction of privatised cocoon – to focus on the kinds of habitual interaction that driving might enable. Specifically, I consider how driving involves the extension of bodies through machinic connections with metal, rubber and tarmac (see Katz, 1999; Strathern, 1994), rather than simply encasing bodies in iron cages. A metamorphosis. Through the corporeal involvement of driving the body and car enter an assemblage of socio-technological networks and heterogeneous relations that transforms the capacities of both human body and non-human car (Dant, 2004; Latour, 1999):

¹⁸ As the body is strapped into the car, so our eyes, ears, hands and feet are ‘trained to respond instantaneously and consistently, while desires event to stretch, to change position, to doze, or to look around are being suppressed’ (Urry, 2004, p31).

¹⁹ For example, Sheller and Urry (2000, p.745), while recognising emergent forms of sociality associated with driving, also contend that driving cultivates apathy: “Driving requires ‘publics’ based on trust, in which mutual strangers are able to follow shared rules, communicate through sets of visual and aural signals, and interact in a kin of default space or non-place available to all ‘citizens of the road’. Yet car-drivers are excused from the normal etiquette and social coordination of face-to-face interactions. Car travel rudely interrupts the taskscapes of others (pedestrians, children going to school, postmen, garbage collectors, farmers, animals and so on), whose daily routine are merely obstacles to the high-speed traffic that cuts mercilessly through slower-moving pathways and dwellings, junctions, roundabouts and ramps present moments of carefully scripted intercar action during which non-car users of the road present hazards or obstacles to the divers intent on returning to their normal cruising speed.”

...driving requires and occasions a metaphysical merger, an intertwining of the identities of the driver and car that generates a distinctive ontology in the form of a person-thing, a humanised car or an automobilised person.

(Katz, 1999, p.33)

And through these machinic connections of flesh and metal – and the specific affects and sensations arising from these material relations (Sheller, 2004) – we can engage more fully with the sensual and embodied involvement with machine and perceptual field that constitutes driving, becoming attuned to the kind of interactions possible through the car and how they might be felt.²⁰

Driving certainly involves a distinct set of embodied practices, as the body disciplined by pedals, gears, a steering wheel, mirrors, and so on, but while this impoverishes senses and perturbs interaction it certainly doesn't prevent it. The asymmetry of interaction on the road, and the perturbed logistics of communication lead to an innovative repertoire of communicative techniques (including swearing, ostentatious and aggressive gestures, vengeful manoeuvres, flashing, beeping, and prolonged looks) – what Katz (1999) calls 'dumb behaviour'. Even as the perceptual competences are constrained when driving – eyes are disciplined to focus on the road ahead, only interrupted by occasional glances in the mirror – the other is available fleetingly, 'glimpsed at oblique angles within a largely opaque metal box' (Katz, 1999, p.52). Drivers scramble to 'face' other drivers. The half-second delay becomes a space of prejudice as the push of race distributed across car makes and models, state of repair, flesh, dress, hair, driving behaviour, body kit, spoilers, and so on are all enrolled to make 'dizzying jumps from the specifics to the general' (Katz, 1999) in racialised practices of sense making. The road is a sorting device. Race continually

²⁰ The sensual and affective transformations effected through the corporeal involvement of driving then helps us rethink the affective responses to specific events. For example, being cut off involves a kind of amputation. The loss of a previously taken-for-granted entwining of body and machine and the loss of the transcendent body of the driver (Katz, 1999). Hitting the brake, easing off the accelerator, tightening a grip on the steering wheel. As it is cut up the body and car 'fall out of flow' (Katz, 1999) and affective intensities surge.

emerges at 30mph as graspable features are gridded by the abstract machine of faciality (male/female, white/Asian, young/old, businessman/rudeboy...), and circulating prejudices and innuendo stick to some cars. And the emergence of race on the move is perhaps most evident in instances of road rage:

Road rage

Jan: Ok, this is my philosophy. It's Buddhist more than anything.

Dan: Ok.

Jan: I live by it. I don't differentiate at all.

Dan: Yeah?

Jan: Apart from with bad drivers. [Laughs]. I can't, can't apply that when I'm driving.

Dan: [Laughing] How does it work for bad driving then? Because that's something I'm interested in. Because it's one of these mundane encounters.

Jan: Yes it is isn't it? [.5] I am so prejudiced that you would not believe it. Because I am the only driver in the world, every single other person is terrible.

Dan: Lots of people drive like that [.2] I don't know?

Jan: Yeah, they are. And I am the world's worst. I really do give 'em some, 'Paki'. Umm. Yes I do. I don't find [.2] Asian drivers particularly good [.2] and as a female driver I've had some horrendous near misses with male drivers.

Dan: Hmmm

Jan: Because the [.] attitude that they'll have that the female is not good at anything. It's still the same when they drive. And they are so discourteous. Really discourteous. Umm. More sort of women drivers than other male drivers.

Dan: Yeah?

Jan: But yeah. I mean, what I, I came to an emergency stop once down this busy road and this man, he was parked and I was doing 40 mile an hour down here, so he did a U-turn in front of me. And I rammed on horn and as he's gonna up the other way, I remember shouting through the window: 'I hope Allah makes you impotent.'

Dan: Huh?

Jan: You know. And the street stopped. Because obviously I [.] I was in a [.] Muslim area. And everybody in the street stopped. And the Imam across the road, he said to me, 'That is the most unkind thing I have ever heard a white woman say to anybody.' And I said, 'I tell you what. It's a damn sight better than if I'd have killed him.' I said, 'Because, if I'd ran into him I would have killed him.' Cos it was his driver's door.

Dan: Yeah.

Jan: So I said, 'Which do you want?' I said, 'The fact that I hurled abuse at him for being stupid.' Cos the guy had gone.

Dan: Yeah.

Jan: He didn't care. Loud music. You know? He didn't care about any other human being. He didn't. And I find that attitude [.1] and that is – everybody will say that. And it's become a joke, you know, 'Oh God. Have you been run into by a Muslim car?' 'Yeah, yeah. You might have known.' But it's true unfortunately because they have [.1] that attitude.

Dan: And is it sort of a particular age group of drivers?

Jan: No. Right across the board.

Dan: Yeah.

Jan: I mean I drove, I've driven as part of my work for 30 year. In and around Bradford. [.2] 2 or 3, 400 miles around Bradford I used to drive.

Dan: Yeah.

Jan: So [.1] I know their attitude, and it doesn't matter. And it doesn't matter how big you drive a thing. I've driven lorries, small lorries and they still have this attitude. You know, it's a woman driver he just thinks, you know...[.3] So yeah, that is mundane, but it's very, very annoying encountering it day in day out.

Dan: Yeah?

Jan: It's really annoying. And you, the prejudice [.1] this, that I try to live by [.2] I can't live by it, because you cannot ignore those constant insults, [.2] which works in reverse for the Muslims who face the, you know, 'Black Asian', 'Paki go home' 200 time a day.

Dan: And I guess, I mean do you feel different in a car maybe because you're sort of encased as it were, or [.1] your sort of protected as opposed to it being a face-to-face encounter?

Jan: No, it's just I wanna get where I wanna go when I wanna go.

Dan: So it's just the heat of the moment?

Jan: Yeah.

Dan: Yeah.

Jan: It just drives me nuts every time.

Doing rage

Adrenaline gushes through veins. Intense affective energies are triggered by the event of being cut up as the body is jolted from a previously tacit entwining with machine. A foot slams against the brake. A hand hits the horn. 'Paki!' What really interests me here is not the swarming intensities of affect activated by being cut up, but how Jan *does* rage (see Katz, 1999) and what race does to this rage as the half-second delay is opened up as a space of prejudice.²¹ How does race emerge on the move? How does Jan make raced sense of this event as it unfolds? How do circulating prejudices come to stick to this U-turning car? How do perception and practical action become interwoven in the rapid sorting of race thinking through heterogeneous elements and machinic connections? Flesh + car + location + U-turn = 'Paki!' 'I hope Allah makes you impotent!'

Jan was travelling at 40mph when she was forced to slam on her breaks. A near miss. The entire event was over in a second or two. And despite the speed of the event, and the massive amount of nonconscious thinking and action involved in braking, swerving, beeping, and sense making, she still had time to 'face' the driver. Activity in the half-second delay not only avoided the near collision of metal and flesh, but also became a space of prejudice. Like the abstract machine of faciality, the road became a sorting device as heterogeneous processes of racial differentiation kicked in. Flesh, face, car, dress, driving behaviour, location are sorted through grids. A multiplicity is reduced to a singular

²¹ I take my cue here from Jack Katz (1999, p.47) as he argues that people getting 'pissed off' in LA when driving don't just get angry, they 'do' their anger in all manner of surprising ways. Here emotions, like rage, don't reside in personalities, and neither do we embody our emotions. Rather emotions are a property of the (body-car-road-traffic) assemblage, an outcome of corporeal involvement with the car' (Katz, 1999).

mode of knowledge through race thinking as tendencies were accounted for, affective imbued memories streamed into consciousness and a temporary fixing of race was enacted.

But how does she do her rage. Firstly, Jan casts herself as the victim in this encounter. She had been adhering to the moral order of the road. She was the one who was cut up. The second moment of her rage involves racialised processes of sense making. The singularity of the event is lost. The abrupt intersection of driving trajectories precipitates leaps from singularity to generality. A misjudged manoeuvre slips into a characterisation of the other, and then into (sociologically formulated) generalised pathologies identifiable in society that sustains angry spirits (Katz, 1999). The other driver is assigned what Katz (1999, p.52) calls a 'doubly resonant identity, one that, while appreciating a specific person in fine detail, also describes the other as the representative of a type of moral incompetence that one might confront virtually anywhere in society'. Perception and action fuse. Stereotyping in action. On the move. Prejudices congeal around the car. 'Paki!' That rapidly slides into pathologies of Kashmiri patriarchy and a perceived disrespect for women. 'It's their attitude.' 'You know, it's woman, he just thinks, you know...' Prejudice congeals: 'They're all like it.' 'Because the [.] attitude that they'll have that the female is not good at anything. It's still the same when they drive. And they are so discourteous. Really discourteous.' And so the stage is set for ritualised revenge. As the car speeds away Jan screams through her open window: 'I hope Allah makes you impotent'.

This account might appear extreme, but, without doubt, these kinds of encounter happen everyday on the roads in Keighley. The event is highly suggestive of how race can emerge on the move as roads sort bodies. And through the swirling affective intensities triggered by being cut up we can open up the half-second delay as a space of prejudice in racialised and racist practices of sense making. Once cars and their drivers are sorted circulating

prejudices, that elsewhere would be unacceptable, become somehow permissible and begin stick to the car. On the road we uncover particularly intense moments of intercultural encounter that disclose turbulent socialities that are often overlooked in discussions of urban multiculturalism from below. In what follows I extend this focus on how prejudice congeal around the materialities and machinic connections of some cars in 'screened' interactions as I explore the force of pimped rides and taxis and how these cars get caught up in the circulation and modulation of suspicion, rumour and innuendo in everyday practices of race thinking in Keighley.

Pimped rides

Finally, and to my surprise, I saw a Lexus pull up behind me. Black. Any other colour just wouldn't cut it. For me a Lexus is not the same thing it is for millions of low to middle rank corporate execs. To them, a Lexus is an aspiration that means prestige, security, safety, build quality and other such nonsense those *Top Gear* wankers habitually rave about. For the gangstas of the world, a Lexus motor vehicle can hold a different kind of potential. Sure, style a symbol of class, style and ex-fucking-cess but there's a big difference between an ordinary factory vehicle and a car that falls into the hands of a gangsta. In most cases, a gangsta, even a wannabe, will modify his vehicle according to the guidelines set out in a little known publication called: *How to Gangstarise a Motor Car The Easy Way*. Easy? Sure. Expensive? Definitely. That's the whole kick. The more you get done, the more it costs and the more it costs, the more it shows and the more *it* shows, the more *you* (the gangsta) shows. So much you could do...where to begin? Drop the suspension, glue slim rubber onto the fattest and most polished metal going, dress the body in absurdly wide skirts, clamp a whale tail spoiler on the boot, tint the screens as black as night, coat on enough paint to double the whole thing up as a huge, car shaped mirror. And that's without taking security, entertainment and personal number plates into consideration. Do even half of that shit with a Lexus and you end up with something that's sexier than a supermodel and a hundred times more intelligent.

(Khalil's narrative in Yunis Alam's novel *Kilo*, 2002, p.101)

[Subcultures are] cultures of conspicuous consumption – even when, as with the skinheads and the punks, certain types of consumption are conspicuously refused – and it is through the distinctive rituals of consumption, that the subculture at once reveals its 'secret' identity and communicates its forbidden meanings. It is basically

the way in which commodities are *used* in subculture which mark the subculture off from more orthodox cultural formations.

(Hebdige, 1979, p.103)

Kilo is a powerful novel about Khalil, a young British Pakistani, as he becomes embroiled in Bradford's violent drug's underworld. And, I am particularly interested in how Yunis Alam communicates what Hebdige (1979) would call the subcultural *style* (Hebdige, 1979) or Thornton (1995) subcultural capital²² (Bourdieu, 1984; Thornton, 1995) accumulated around the conspicuous consumption of cars, and the accessorising (or pimping) of rides as Khalil lusts after a 'gangstarised' Lexus.²³ Around Keighley it is hard to miss souped-up cars and pimped-rides. Two lads pulling up on Cavendish street in a BMW convertibles with flash rims, roof down, stereo pumping out dance music; a Honda Civic accelerating aggressively down a side street, only the pulsing thud of a bass box is audible over an amplified exhaust; a twelve-year-old kid on the internet in the library trawling through car websites, learning to 'pimp his ride' through a game on the MTV website. Subcultural distinctions are achieved through rituals of consumption. Material processes, that conjoin male bodies with metal, tyres, stereos, etc., produce mobile Asian spaces. Cars become 'playspace' (Gilroy, 2001, p.97).²⁴ Cars are an important nexus for cultural activity and social relations;²⁵ for escaping claustrophobic home lives; and evading parental control,

²² In her work on 'Club Cultures', Sarah Thornton draws heavily on Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) work in *Distinction*, tracing how forms of taste, or subcultural capital, confer status on its owner.

²³ The term pimped rides originates in US 'ghetto' and 'gangsta' aesthetics, and the extrovert customising and accessorising of cars largely by Hip Hop and rap artists. Gilroy (2001, p.84) locates this subcultural style in a broader African-American 'cultures of compensation' where 'distinctive histories of propertylessness and material deprivations has inclined them to disproportionate investment in particular forms of property that are publicly visible' and status affording. This subcultural style has recently been 'incorporated into the hegemony' (to use Hebdige's (1979) phrase) through, for examples, the popular show 'Pimp my ride' on MTV.

²⁴ For Gilroy (2001, p.97) this 'playspace' is an extension of a 'culture of compensation', and symptomatic of the disenfranchisement of African-Americans in the urban landscape: 'The car emerges from this as a place for listening, an intrepid, scaled-up substitute for the solipsistic world of the personal stereo, a kind of giant armoured bed on wheels that can shout the driver's dwindling claims upon the world into dead public space at ever-increasing volumes'.

²⁵ See, for example, Ben Chappell's (2002) work on the customisation of 'lowriders', and the production of Mexican American 'cruising spaces' as distinct social formations – marked by specific histories of segregation, surveillance and policing – emerge.

CCTV surveillance and police harassment (see O'Dell, 2001). And as race rides on the car, the mobility of pimped rides enacts a performative critique of the town.²⁶ Cruising, hanging out, racing and so on produces what Lefebvre would call 'differential space' (Borden, 2001), unexpected eruptions of meanings transform the abstract space of roads assisting the smooth circulation of capital through the veins of the city into subcultural social spaces.

Cruising along Cavendish street; drag racing along North Street; chilling with mates behind petrol stations smoking a spliff; hanging out with mates in Sainsbury's car park, in Lund Park, in Highfields; speeding down back streets towards Lawkholme; parking up at the tarn high on the moor above the town; pulling unexpectedly into rush hour traffic, stopping along deserted country lanes for illicit meeting with a girlfriend beyond the gaze of a disapproving community...Distinct cartographies emerge that upset taken-for-granted topographies. Mobile Asian spaces produce 'discontinuous edits' of urban and suburban space on the move. These edits recompose different locations, places, architectures, routes and times as driving around Keighley strings disparate locations into a sequence, while other locations are returned to (Borden, 2001). These continuous, patterned movements of pimped rides also leave countless ghostly traces. Tyre marks; contorted railings; flowers by the road side; the distant thud of bass boxes; the boom of unmuffled exhausts; cannabis plants growing through the pavement; shouts from speeding cars; the lingering stench of rubber; discarded pizza boxes...These are all grubby reminders of presence in absence. (see Borden, 2001). These cartographies of movement and ghostly traces amplify the presence of Asian lads,²⁷ as counter-inscriptions performed through mobility unsettle

²⁶ This argument draws heavily on Borden (2001) Lefebvrian reading of the skateboarding as form of 'lived critique in practice', that is an antagonistic praxis of 'writing the city'.

comfortable imaginative geographies and taken-for-granted topographies. The repetition of temporary fixings of race through the materialities and machinic connections of expensive and customised cars as they moved through Keighley's in streets certainly inspired abjection. But more importantly, I suggest, they can provide insights into to the circulation and amplifications of suspicion as rituals of suspicion – variously performed through newspaper articles, urban myth, gossip and rumour – stick the machinic geographies of pimped rides.

Here rather than dwell on the contested hierarchies, status and respect emerging through subcultural distinctions, or the abject mobilities of pimped rides, I think more carefully about how raced memories and affects might accumulate around passing cars. Sympathetic to the insights of lively materialism, I want to suggest that we can think of pimped rides as more than example of racialisation on the move. Specifically, I consider how accumulations of fleeting but disruptive encounters with pimped rides can provide some purchase on the circulation and modulation of suspicions (cf. Massumi, 2005) in urban multiculturalism in Keighley. And so I move away from a tendency to frame inter-ethnic suspicions and resentments in terms of the repetition and recursivity of discourses and representations to be deconstructed (Webster, 1995; 1997; Alexander, 2000; 2004), and focus on how a particular form of inter-ethnic suspicion circulates through, and is modulated by, the machinic connections that constitute pimped rides. This then is materialist argument that asks precisely how suspicions are distributed across the heterogeneous elements and machinic connections of pimped rides, and focuses precisely on what inter-ethnic suspicions do. The argument asks how inter-ethnic suspicions come

²⁷ The extreme visibility of these cultures of display and driving practices routinely bring institutional gazes (police, government, community, and so on) back to Asian lads and the vagabond practices of self-styled bad boys, raising important questions of who gets left behind. Abject poverty, the curtailed mobility of Muslim women, and so forth are obfuscated by (stories of) the noisy, intrusive practices of some Asian lads.

to colour perceptions, infecting and coordinating thinking and action in rapid practices of race thinking.

In Keighley suspicions about the involvement of young Asian men in drug dealing and the sexual exploitation of under age white girls regularly surfaced in newspaper articles, gossip and rumour, and these suspicions routinely seemed to stick to the heterogeneous elements and machinic connections of pimped rides.²⁸ Assemblages of flesh, metal, boy-racing, drugs, noisy exhausts, lowered suspension, Hip Hop, alloys, cruising, metallic paint, chillin', thumping bass beats, designer clothes, shouts from speeding cars, tinted windows, jewellery, etc. sorted bodies, charging them with specific affects and tendencies in a visual economy shaped by media-fed imaginations, and circulating suspicions, innuendo and rumour. Becoming-dealer. Becoming-pimp. Becoming-groomer. In fleeting encounters machinic connections between just a couple of these heterogeneous elements was often enough to sort bodies and inspire suspicion. However, suspicions appeared to be modulated by the force of connections between heterogeneous elements. This modulation was not linear but under specific conditions of machinic connection suspicions were intensified (DeLanda, 2002, p.19). As more of the elements across which suspicion was distributed fell into an assemblage suspicion was amplified, but some materialities or connections were particularly intense sites of differentiation and disproportionately intensified suspicion. So while conjunctions between a BMW, Asian lads, designer clothes

²⁸ For example, David Aaronovitch recounted a conversation with a woman in Keighley that latches on to the circulation of suspicion through the car, he writes: 'Same with law and order. "They" can do what they want, people say. They say the Asian drug dealers drive around town in their big cars. As one woman said to me: "I don't know what's wrong with our lasses, because they get in the cars and go off wi' 'em." A programme on Channel 4 about how Asian pedophiles were 'grooming' young white girls made an enormous impact here.' (*Guardian*, 27.04.2005). Alternatively, in June 2005 the front page of the *Keighley News* (17.06.2005) claimed 'Lavish life of dealers inspires teenagers' and went on to suggest that drug dealers and 'The vast profits are spent on various items including designer clothes, sports cars and jewellery – and even property'. Here, I suggest that through articles like these, and compounded by rumour and gossip, suspicions begin to stick to particular objects, and when they are encounter in conjunction with other heterogeneous elements suspicions are intensified: Flash car + designer clothes x jewellery = becoming-dealer.

and a park might stir suspicions, if a white girls was added to this assemblage of becoming-dealer there could be a phase change as suspicions are amplified: a becoming-groomer. Tracing the affective materialities of pimped rides, I begin to trace how intercultural prejudices and suspicions seemed to circulate through and be modulated by some cars. Without corroborating or repudiating the stories, I ask how rumours, suspicion and prejudice start with the car, and are sustained through particular associations made through the car.

*Suspicion*²⁹

Strange plants growing in the cracks between the paving stones in a suburban street. Cannabis? Jan's attention is grabbed by a car horn. A Subaru Impreza. Gold alloys. Whale tail spoiler. Twitching curtains. 'Dial-a-drug?' Two lads in their late teens. Well dressed. Asian. 'What are they up to?' 'How can they afford a car like that?' 'I know where they get the money from!' These lads are just sitting in the car with the windows down. Occasionally a local white kid approaches the car. There's an abrupt verbal exchange. A handshake. And then they walk off. 'A deal?' Vegetation x flash car + skin + music + handshake + surroundings = a becoming-dealer. Suspicion turns to rage and abjection. 'Why doesn't anyone do something about this?'

*Rumour*³⁰

A virulent rumours. Black scarves tied around the exhaust pipes of some cars are a code. Heard from a friend that this black material is

²⁹ This narrative is constructed through interview material from a conversation with Jan on 15th June 2005.

³⁰ This story is based on a conversation with Jackie on 20th January 2005.

a signal that the driver is dealing drugs. A policeman had told her. 'It could be true.' Hearsay bleeds into (mis)perception. Suspicions are intensified. These bits of fabric are everywhere. A becoming-dealer. And another. And another. 'Why don't the police do something about it?' A neighbour has a black scarf on his car. 'I always thought there was something about him!' All the drivers seem to be Asian. All dealers are Asian. And then in a conversation with a colleague talk turns to these black scarves. It's a superstition. A good luck charm to ward of evil. Waves of shame and guilt.

Becoming-dealer

George:]Your drugs and stuff, which are bloody some coons [.] Asians again. They're just [.1] it's free drugs everywhere. Only a lot of your drug runners are Asians. Eighteen, nineteen-year-olds driving BMWs. You can't tell me they get that from their parents.

Dan: What do you think when you see]

George:]You think drugs straight away. They've got to be drugs. And they're driving past coppers. And they're full of kids. Seventeen-year-olds, eighteen-year-olds driving brand new BMWs [.1] tinted windows, music blaring. The cops don't bat an eyelid. If it was a white lad in it, they'd pull him straight up. [.2] You wouldn't get down the road

Dan:]Do you think that's true?

George:]I've seen it, I've seen it.

In these fragmented reconstructions of events recounted to me, I want to track the circulation and intensification of racialised suspicion as it is variously distributed across heterogeneous elements and machinic connections. In fleeting encounters in the street or from behind twitching curtains, suspicions seemed to stick to temporary but repeated fixings of race as the machinic connections that constitute pimped rides are isolated as sites of intensive difference in heterogeneous processes of differentiation. The stickiness of

suspicion is perhaps most crude in George's talk about seeing young Asian men in BMWs: 'You think drugs straight away. They've got to be drugs'. However, in the example of suspicion, we start to understand more precisely how intercultural suspicions are amplified through the force of connections. Cannabis plants and regular sightings of an expensive car initiate suspicions about Asian drug dealers, but these suspicions are intensified when Jan sees white kids going over to the car and apparently shaking hands with whoever is in the car. Through both of these accounts we begin to engage with how intercultural suspicions are distributed across heterogeneous elements and machinic connections, but more importantly we are also forced to think about what these suspicions do. Intensifications of suspicions through these temporary fixings of race, initiates a contagion of other intensities – most often they stir rage, abjection and shame – that come to shape thinking, dispositions and actions. On the other hand, the example of rumour exposes how circulating stories about drug dealers, for example, can modulate suspicions. Stories circulating through newspaper articles, urban myth, rumour or gossip become sedimented in virtual memory and come to colour perceptions. After hearing a story about black scarves being tied around exhaust pipes, circulating suspicions are intensified in each moment a conjunction of black scarf and car is encountered. Suspicions spiral out of control as dealers are seemingly encountered everywhere. But then the rumour that had enabled the suspicions to stick is punctured. With the realisation that the scarves are a good luck charm, and not a not-so-secret code for drug dealers, suspicions immediately become less sticky.

The momentum of these stories exposes how some intercultural suspicions work through the car and other materialities. I am not suggesting that intercultural suspicions, rumour or innuendo only circulate through the heterogeneous elements and machinic connections of pimped rides, however these cars give us particular purchase on how suspicions stick to,

and are distributed across, some materialities and prise open spaces to think more precisely about what suspicions do. Although there has been growing recognition of entrenched and intense inter-ethnic suspicions and innuendo in northern mill towns like Keighley, and agreement on how they are a corrosive force in the turbulent socialities of urban multicultural (Bradford Race Review Team, 2001; Kundnani, 2001; Amin, 2002a), relatively little has been said about how racialisations on the move accumulate, and stack up. Academic engagements with swirling intercultural suspicions have tended to focus either on deconstructing repetitions of discourses and narratives in various ways (Webster, 1995; 1997; Alexander, 2000; 2004) or blamed these suspicions – with differing degrees of nuance – on a lack of intercultural contact and exchange (Bradford Race Review Team, 2001; Amin, 2002a). Here I have tried to ask how suspicions work through the temporary, but recursive fixings of race performed through the machinic connections that constitute pimped rides, and think more precisely about what intercultural suspicions do by asking how newspaper stories, gossip and rumour are sedimented in layers of virtual memory immanent to each moment of encounter. These questions from the road(side) open up different perspectives on the work of suspicion in the turbulent socialities of urban multicultural. By locating intercultural suspicions in a lively materialism we are firstly alerted to the insights provided by a concept of race thinking that is not confined to the nervous system or the body, but distributed a whole host of bodies, objects and spaces. This enables us to think about the force of cars in the temporary, but repeated fixings of race as heterogeneous processes of differentiation unfold on the ground in screened interaction. More significantly still, through a materialist perspective we can grasp the stickiness of intercultural suspicions and how they seem to adhere to particular materialities, and conjunctions of these materialities, and how suspicions and rumour circulate through, and are modulated by, pimped rides. More than suggest that intercultural suspicions are fuelled by repetitions of discourses and representations in

newspaper articles, urban myth or gossip, I ask more precisely how suspicions circulate through other materialities that are repeatedly encountered in the prosaic contact zones of urban multicultural. Here we begin to acknowledge how intensifications of suspicion operate through the dynamic physicality of multicultural sociality via the momentum of fleeting encounters and the force of machinic connections. This helps us grasp what these suspicions do by asking how intercultural suspicions come to colour perception and inspire other affective intensities – fear, rage, hatred, more suspicion, abjection and so on – in ways that shape judgment, thinking and actions. And so tracking the entanglements of temporary fixings of race and the circulation and modulation of suspicion we can recognise how encounters with particular machinic assemblages stir visceral intensities (including rage, abjection, fear and disgust) that might then feed into the casting out pimped rides, calls to the police, worrying about children, the avoidance of particular areas, recounting stories of what you witnessed to friends and colleagues, and so on.

Race rides on the taxi

In this final section, I pull together the various lines of argument about processes of racial differentiation on the move and how race rides on the car in Keighley through a discussion of machinic geographies of the taxi. That driving taxis is such an emblematic form of employment for British Pakistani men in places like Keighley (Kalra, 2000), in conjunction with the fact that taxis are a peculiarly public kind of car and are very much part of the public spheres of multicultural sociality, has serious implications for how we think about how racialisations on the move accumulate and take a toll on the habitual, daily operations of race in the town. Specifically, I focus first on intense temporary fixings of race through the materialities of taxis, before considering taxis as important sites of prosaic intercultural contact and exchange, and how, therefore, recent circulations and amplifications of

innuendo and suspicion through the taxi have had important implications for how race is done in Keighley.

As driving taxis has become a highly visible form of employment for British Pakistani men, so the heterogeneous elements and machinic connections of flesh, two-way radios, meters, Hackney carriages, and so on have become sites of intensive difference enrolled in temporary, but recursive fixings of race enacted through habitual practices of race thinking. Through the force of materialities and machinic connections of the taxi, we can revisit the road as particularly intense contact zone, and begin to think again about how these materialities become available to heterogeneous processes of differentiation in the doing of road rage as the half-second delay becomes exposed as space of prejudice. Another example of the intense sorting of bodies through the machinic materialities of the taxi surfaces in stories – that only occasionally break into the local newspaper – of white kids stoning taxis as they pass through the streets of some predominately white council estates on the edge of Keighley. In similar ways to pimped rides, we might think about taxis as mobile Asian spaces whose cartographies of movement and ghostly trails produce ‘discontinuous edits’ of urban space (Borden, 2001) transgressing and disrupting taken-for-granted imaginative geographies in the town that routinely carve urban space into Asian spaces and white spaces, go and no-go areas. One reading of these events could be that transgressions and the irruption of mobile Asian spaces into white neighbourhood as race rides on the taxi seems to have translated into abjection as some youths try to drive taxis out in an effort to seal off neighbourhoods and estates.

Alternatively, recognising that the taxi is a particularly public form of car encourages us to consider how taxis might constitute important contact zones that appear to overcome the habitual distributions and viscous tendencies of differently raced bodies elsewhere in the

town. Taxis enable the coming together of differently raced bodies in the intimate space of the car, and therefore taxi encounters hold the possibility for intercultural contact exchange as potential sites of banal transgression (Amin, 2002b). And so as taxis ferry shoppers home from the supermarket or town centre or transport drinkers home in the early hours of the morning, the habitual clustering of bodies into racial formations is potentially transcended – momentarily at least – through dialogue and mutuality. However, the promise of banal transgressions in these intimate, mobile contacts zones often goes unrealised as moments of intercultural encounters too often slide into refusals to pay fares, racist abuse and violent racist attacks. Just a brief glance at the local newspapers regularly throws up incidents of taxi drivers being attacked – most often late at night on the weekends. Some extreme examples in the last couple of years in and around Keighley have included a driver who's throat was slit by someone trying to steal his takings (*Telegraph and Argus*, 15.09.2004) or a driver who had part of his ear bitten by a passenger who he was trying to stop running off without paying his fare (*Telegraph and Argus*, 01.06.2005). Examining the taxi as a prosaic site of intercultural exchange and contact forces us to reflect on how intimate moments of intercultural encounter is not necessarily a good thing (cf. Bradford Race Review Team, 2001). Proximity appears to hold no guarantee for meaningful intercultural exchange, and on occasions the very coming together of differently raced bodied – especially when charged by the psychoactive socialities of alcohol (Latham and McCormack, 2004) – seems to intensify the force of race.

Finally, remaining with this concept of the taxi as an important contact zone in urban multicultures, I consider how innuendo rides on the taxi. Just as suspicions about drugs variously fed by gossip, rumour and newspaper stories have been distributed across the heterogeneous elements and machinic connections of pimped rides, in recent years suspicions and innuendo about sexual attacks by Asian men on white women and girls

have congealed around the machinic materialities of the taxi. For example, in Keighley emotive stories about the grooming of white girls by Asian men circulating through newspaper stories, urban myth, talk, gossip and BNP propaganda have routinely suggested that cabbies have been involved in these practices. Sexual innuendo has begun to stick to taxis, and has been intensified by other stories carried in the local press about sexual assault and harassment by taxi drivers.³¹ The repetition of these kinds of stories begins to colour perceptions as they are laid down in geologies of virtual memories (Connolly, 2002). Innuendo and suspicion, amplified by intense anxieties about the violation of white women's, and particularly girls', bodies (Ware, 1992; McClintock, 1995), circulates through, and is modulated by, the machinic materialities of the taxis. Suspicions and innuendo accumulate as much through processes of racial differentiation performed in fleeting but repeated encounters with taxis as through discourses and representations in the local press. And given the taxi's public visibility, its force in temporary fixings of race, and its ability to bring differently raced bodies together in a closed, intimate space, the fact that suspicion and innuendo repeatedly stick to the taxi in heterogeneous processes of racial differentiation is particularly damaging. As taxis are fleetingly, but repeatedly encountered all over Keighley suspicions and innuendo accumulate and gain momentum, taking a toll on the habitual operations of race in the town.

Race moves

This chapter has argued that race rides on the car in various ways. Both building on the momentum of bodily differences in the turbulent socialities in Keighley and taking the discussion in new directions I have begun to ask how the machinic connections of some cars are enrolled in temporary, but recursive fixings of race in and around Keighley.

³¹ Examples of these kinds of stories include 'Police hunt new cab sex attacker' (*Telegraph and Argus*, 20.07.2004); 'Why I had to quit cab office hell' (*Telegraph and Argus*, 14.07.2004) or 'Cabbie was in sex case before' (*Telegraph and Argus*, 22.06.2004).

Locating temporary fixings of race in a lively materialism, I have opened up my discussion around questions of race and the body to examine how heterogeneous processes of racial differentiation operate through the force of cars, as they command our attention. Asking how race rides on the car provides distinct perspectives onto the turbulent socialities of urban multiculturalism from below, and exposes the plasticity and force of race in moments of intercultural encounter. Moving on from arguing that the heterogeneous elements and machinic connections of some cars become sites of intensive difference that sort bodies, things and spaces, I have argued that the road is a particularly intense site of screened intercultural contact. Specifically, I suggested that by thinking through the doing of road rage after a near collision of flesh, metal and rubber exposes the intense emergence of race on the road, and how we might think of the half-second delay as a space of prejudice in racialised and racist practices of sense making. Finally discussion of heterogeneous processes of racialisation on the move has also extended how we understand the workings of inter-ethnic suspicions, rumour and innuendo in urban multiculturalities. While intercultural suspicions and innuendo accumulate and become sedimented through the repetition of media discourses, urban myth and gossip (Webster, 1995; 1997; Alexander, 2000), I have pursued a materialist argument that claims that intercultural suspicions and innuendo are also distributed across, circulated through, and intensified by, the machinic conjunctions of materialities that constitute some cars. Tracking these circulations and modulations of suspicion and innuendo as differentiations are routinely and repeatedly performed through cars maintains a focus on how intercultural suspicions become sedimented in local cultures through more than repetitions of media discourses or idle talk. Suspicions and innuendo accumulate and are sedimented as they ride on the car in ways that indelibly mark the daily operations of race in the turbulent socialities of urban multiculturalism.

In the next chapter I leave the perspectives onto urban multiculturalism from the roadside behind, but develop the lively materialism that has sustained my arguments about heterogeneous processes of racial differentiation on the move as race rides on the car through a discussion of the multiple topographies of urban multiculturalism. In particular, topographies picks up this lively materialism to examine how race emerges through arrangements of bodies, things, sunlight, and surroundings, and to evoke the moods, intensities and life of urban multiculturalism from below in Keighley.

Chapter Six

Topographies *Mood/Race/Space*

Multicultures' microclimates

Early evening. Out walking. Recording and retrieving.¹ Doing ethnography. Assembling a situated mapping of the psychogeographical relief of the town.

Cavendish Street. A grandiose sweep of Victorian terraces constructed of local stone. Sandstone reminders of a more affluent past. Bargain Booze, a couple of hairdressing salons, a hardware store, a greasy spoon cafe, an art gallery, Help the Aged. A haphazard collection of shops. The air is filled by the ill-tempered crawl of rush hour traffic. A mechanic symphony of engines ticking over. Outraged gestures at failures in turn taking. I'm jostled continuously by the tumult of innumerable criss-crossing itineraries. Office workers darting between stationary cars; parents collecting young children from a nursery; students talking animatedly at a junction, then dispersing. The rub of rush hour multiculturalism. Countless passings, encounters, snatched conversations, mism meetings, acknowledgements, touches.

Escaping the bustle, I turn right. **Lawkholme Lane.** A street sign stirs splintered recollections. Fragmented urban myths flickering in and out of consciousness.

Lawkholme Lane. That's where a lot of the Muslims live...they like live in their community, they keep themselves pretty much to themselves, you know?

That's a no-go area. You can't actually go, you see even the police don't go down there. I mean the police last year there was [.2] shooting down at Lawkholme and umm [.4] the police knew about 2 shootings. Umm [.2] they were driving around in cars just shooting randomly at people [.1] and the police went and instead of catching or going to find the car, they turned in the street that way and that way. And then just sat back and let them get on with it. Because if they'd have gone in [.1] it would have just caused [.]

¹ "Walking is the best way to explore and exploit the city; the changes, shifts, breaks in the cloud helmet, movements of light on water. Drifting purposefully is the recommended mode, trampling asphalted earth in alert reverie, allowing the fiction of an underlying pattern to reveal itself. To the no-bullshit materialist this sounds suspiciously like *fin-de-siècle* decadence, a poetic of entropy – but the born-again *flâneur* is a stubborn creature, less interested in texture and fabric, eavesdropping on philosophical conversation pieces, than in noticing *everything*. Alignments of telephone kiosks, maps made from moss on the slopes of Victorian sepulchres, collections of prostitutes' cards, torn and defaced promotional bills for cancelled events at York Hall, visits to the homes of dead writers, bronze casts on war memorials, plaster dogs, beer mats, concentrations of used condoms, the crystalline patterns of glass shards surrounding an imploded BMW quarter-light window, meditations on the relationship between the brain damage suffered by the super-middleweight boxer Gerald McClellan (lights out in the Royal London Hospital, Whitechapel) and the simultaneous collapse of Barings, bankers to the Queen. Walking, moving across a retreating townscape, stitches it all together: the illicit cocktail of bodily exhaustion and a raging carbon monoxide high." (Sinclair, 1997, p.4).

obviously a lot of, obviously they're like bullocks. You can't go in [.1] I mean even the police [.2] say it's a no-go.'

Lurid headlines blurted out across the front page of the *Keighley News* :

**Gangland Execution.
Beaten to Death on the Street.**

A zone of terror? Crushing topographies of horror. Of anxiety. Otherness. Threat. Gangs. Drugs. Intimidation. Danger. Filth. Racism. No-go. Vernacular prejudices weave through rumour, hearsay and disparate news items, encroaching on mental and social experiences of space.

Relieved to shake off the tumult of the main drag, I am immediately overcome by pungent wafts of frying oil. Wilson's Fish and Chip Restaurant. Formica-covered tables, two middle aged women in white coats serving behind stainless steel counter, battered cod 'n' chips, cups of tea, wooden picks, vinegar in glass bottles, a bin outside the exit overflows with polystyrene packages...a typical English chippie.

Dodging other pedestrians and the occasional pram, I pass the blackened brick of a textile mill now converted into offices. A rare gentrified ruin. A ghost of the town's textile past.

And as I cross the railway line, and approach a junction, there is a sudden, jarring transformation in the mood of the street. **Contact Zone**. An invisible – yet tangible – **frontier**. The overbearing rhythms of rush hour recede as I traverse a watershed between what Debord would call 'zones of distinct psychic atmospheres'.

Carried on the evening breeze a call for prayer becomes audible. The muezzin radiates a milieu. I'm enveloped by the uncanny resonances of this space. The same breeze disperses aromatic wafts of toasting spices. Kashmiri space radiates and migrates. It is folded into this neighbourhood of back-to-back terraces, and within a few short paces the ambiance of the street is profoundly dissonant.

Making my way along Emily Street, I join small groups of 2 or 3 men, many in starched salwar kameez, others in Armani jeans, designer T-shirts and kufi caps, in being drawn – irresistibly – by the muezzin towards the vivid green dome and skeletal steel minaret of the Jamia Mosque. The mosque appears to polarise space. It operates as attractor, inducing direction and tendencies, charging the movement of bodies as it attracts some bodies (male, Muslim, brown, Kashmiri) while repelling others.

Passing by Keighley's first purpose-built, and soon to be extended mosque, I continue my purposeful meander along back streets, through alleyways, across abandoned plots now home to discarded mattresses and burnt-out fridges...White faces have become less common. I am increasingly self-aware. I feel out of place. I feel voyeuristic. My white body, my clothes, but also my pace, my speed, the tendencies and movements of my body are dissonant in this space. Small children play exuberantly in back streets, ducking beneath salwar kameez hanging alongside fashionable kids clothes on washing lines strung between houses. Two women,

neighbours, stand on the threshold of doorways talking as they survey the coming and goings. Soundtracks to Lollywood movies spill noisily from open front doors.

Crossing Malborough Street the geometry of back-to-back terraces is momentarily interrupted by a couple of streets of prefab bungalows. Aluminium-framed, blue-and-white striped deckchairs stand by an open front door, looking out on to small, clearly defined, and immaculately tended gardens. An elderly white gentleman grumpily scans the street, inspecting passers-by.

Grange Street. On the north side of the street, past the Keighley Asian Women's Centre, there are 3 or 4 anonymous industrial units. The shutters on two of the units are half closed. A mechanics, where a middle aged Asian man in overalls works on a Subaru with an excessive spoiler. Nextdoor the unit is filled with rows of racking storing carpets. In the distance a grubby sign indicates that there's a snooker hall above the end units. The walls and shutters of the units are heavily graffitied. Might these sprayed surface messages operate as Ian Sinclair argues as 'a temperature chart' for tensions in the town? An anthology of Keighley's 'spites and spasms?' **'All Asians out of Keighlie,' 'Get out of this county,' 'Asian People in Asia,' 'Pakis'**. Hate. Abjection. These fantasies of purified white space etched into the fabric of this side street have been met with replies. A cannabis leaf drawn in red marker pen. **'Fack George Bush,' 'Allah...we are Muslims in Keighley. Some are Christian live in Keighley. We hope all do for us all,' 'WE ALL HATE BIN LADEN'**.

Turning back onto Lawkholme Lane I head north. Across a scruffy plot of grass. A phone box. Two weathered benches. Stopping places. At the junction with Victoria Road there's a bustling corner shop. Streams of bodies pass in and out. Weathered adverts for international phone cards and Lollywood films adorn the shop windows. A couple of taxis emerge from side streets. They pull out into Lawkholme Lane, probably heading out for the start of another shift ferrying shoppers and drinkers. A few metres away a bunch of Asian lads loiter. I watch from a distance – eager not to show too much interest, suppressing stories that threaten to puncture consciousness. Some lean lethargically on the remains of a stonewall. Others shift around from foot, jostling and pushing each other, joking around. Hanging out. Their conversation – flitting effortlessly between Urdu and English - ebbs and flows, with quieter periods punctuated by momentarily intense exchanges.

Just beyond the corner shop I stumble across a narrow alleyway. As I weave through barriers designed to impede the easy flow of bodies into/out of this hidden pathway. Following the path, I strain to see over a wall into backstreets. After a couple of dozen steps I hear voices, and look up to see two Asian men in salwar kameez, long waistcoats and Kashmiri hats walking slowly towards me, hands clasped between their backs. They seem surprised by our encounter, holding me in their gaze as we come closer. I smile and nod. We pass.

Having blindly followed the path to its end, I stumble out into Victoria Park, between Eastwood First School and Victoria Hall, the local community centre. **No-go?** A violent murder 4 years ago...a feud that spilt bloodily into the park. Stories circulating about racist attacks on whites, about abuse being hurled at families...Murmurs, half-jokes, malevolent insinuations. Repeated stories of

steering clear, threats, danger, intimidation, uneasiness. The weight of these stories, rumours and retold (and exaggerated?) experiences inevitably bleed into perceptions of this space:

Finish at the pool and walk out to the adjoining Victoria Park. Glorious day so I walk over the park to a bench. Sit down to eat my snack. I have been told not to go into this park, because the Asian community have taken it over and can be objectionable to the white community, so this is my act of defiance. Eventually a group of Asian youths pass me by. A quick look at them by me, and I don't recognise any as college students. But they don't even glance at me and walk on by. All these horror stories, and I have been down here for 8 months. Maybe I've just been lucky! Walk back to flat and low-key evening watching G8 music on TV and pictures of Africa and poverty.

(Sarah, diary entry, 02.07.2005)

Imaginary cloud experiences. When I first passed through the park my pulse also quickened in anticipation. I was on edge. Sharpened senses picked up the slightest movement or change in ambiance. But these stories were so incongruous with my experiences of passing through Victoria Park that they now frustrated me. I head across the tarmac one-way track that skirts the park and lean on a wooden barrier. A playground is full of kids, running around, screaming, laughing, chasing, and occasionally fighting. A few mums watch from afar. They chat and smile. A couple of cars are parked in a gravelled area. Lads hanging out. I'd noticed this gathering point – a virtual pole that in seemed to attract some bodies at dusk – on a number of occasions as I walked home from swimming. I'd asked Ali about it, and he'd said that loads of lads used to swing by there in the evenings to chill, smoke a joint with mates. But then a couple of years ago – after anonymous complaint to the council and the police – CCTV camera have been installed, and so lads now tended to cluster elsewhere – in side streets, behind petrol stations...The shouts and calls of a competitive, sometimes aggressive, five-a-side game carry across the park from the purpose-built caged pitch. The only white faces I see scurry across the car park in the distance, and then speed between sleeping policemen as they circumnavigate the scary space of the park in their protective steel and glass cocoons.

Not wanting to retrace my footsteps I head along Victoria Avenue walking into the evening sun, looping back into the town centre through Showfield. My wanderings take me back across Lawkholme lane, and after a couple hundred of metres the road narrows to a footpath, that then becomes a steel footbridge spanning the railway line – an invisible turnstile, the sole artery connecting Lawkholme with Showfield. A young woman with a black hijab over green salwar kameez approaches with a young boy, who runs his hands along the graffitied steel sides of the bridge. **NF, C-18, BNP** neo-fascist fantasies resurface interspersed with hormone induced scrawls **Saqib + Adil 2004, SHAZ 4 RAY, Westside...**

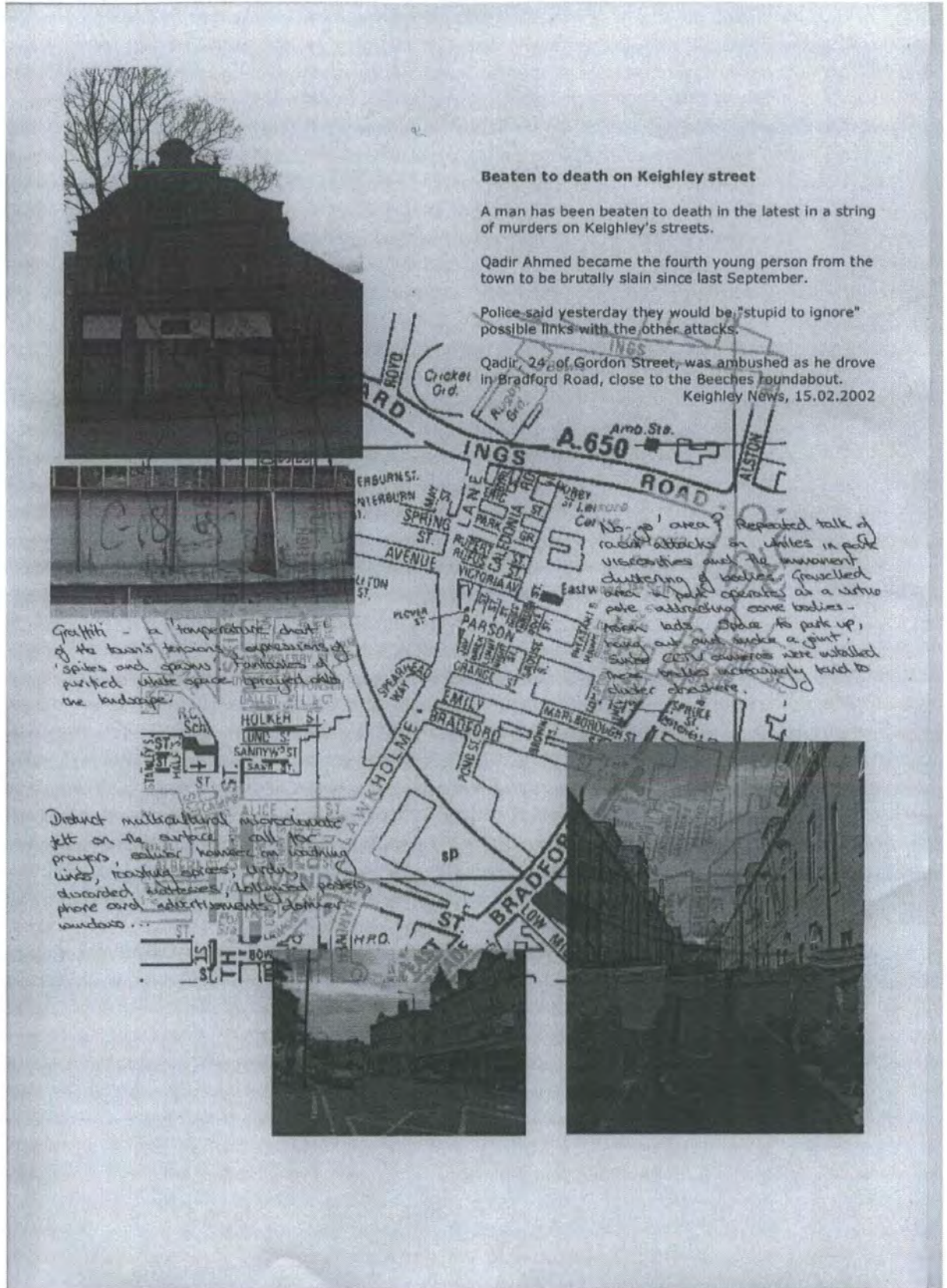


Figure 6.1: Multicultures' microclimates.

Our intention, first, is to consider the city as a field of movements; a swirl of forces and intensities, which traverse and bring into relation all kinds of actors, human and non-human, in all manner of combinations of agency. The city becomes a kind of weather system, a rapidly varying distribution of intensities.

(Amin and Thrift, 2002a, p.83)

Through this opening narrative I attempt to evoke the passion, life and intensity of everyday multiculturalism in Keighley, becoming alive to the fleeting and fragmentary ways in which race comes to matter. Multicultures' microclimates imaginatively reconstructs what Iain Sinclair (1997) would call a 'purposeful drift' through the streets around Lawkholme Lane as I consider the continuous emergence of race through space.² Alert to the moods and ambiances of streets, alleys, neighbourhoods, and parks I begin to trace the continuous, ephemeral emergence of raced difference through arrangements of, and heterogeneous connections between, things, bodies and surroundings. And through the suggestive topographies of multicultures' microclimates I think we can better grasp how everyday urban multiculturalism might be experienced, how they are *sensed* and *felt*. So while talking about topographies and race might run the risk as being read as shorthand for 'residential segregation', raising expectations, perhaps, of indices of segregation, maps of population distribution, and talk of ghettos, parallel lives, ethnic neighbourhoods and so on, what I have in mind is something quite different. The topographies that interest me are not conventional mappings of segregation as a material embodiment of racial, and more often than not racist, ideologies (Smith, 1989) or the spatial construction of raced identities (Anderson, 1991). Rather, topographies provides a set of sensibilities through which we can begin to appreciate the momentary affective and sensuous contours of everyday multiculturalism, exploring its moods and ambiances, its resonances, intensities, life and passion in streets, parks, supermarkets, public buildings, alleyways, on roads, and so on. But more than simply evoke the ambiances and what Raymond Williams (1977) would call

² While my imaginative reconstruction resists trying to capture the city from a single perspective by drawing together a number of differing positions and perspectives, it is – as Elizabeth Wilson (1991) has shown – necessarily inflected by a particular body and particular experiences.

'structures of feeling', I think topographies can help us appreciate the continuous, provisional emergence of race through arrangements of bodies, things and surroundings that constitute urban spaces. For example, raced affects and memories congeal around street signs. Lawkholme Lane awakens 'a series of somewhat faded and dispersed images' (Augé, 2002, p.32); rumours, newspaper articles, petty prejudices, urban myth and so on bleed into perception (an 'Asian' area), judgment (dangerous, scary, no-go) and action (avoidance, or entrance suffused with fear and trepidation). But more than this race emerges through the resonances of spaces. Calls for prayer, toasting spices, Urdu signs and Lollywood posters, television satellite dishes and dormer windows,³ green domes, salwar kameez and brown faces charge spaces. These resonances and intensities add up to constitute distinct atmospheres. And through the turbulence of these resonances and intensities space is polarised as some bodies tend to be attracted (Kashmiri families, mosque worshipers, hurried commuters, taxi drivers) while others (young urban professionals, 'white' commuters, gym members) seem to be repelled. And it is through this turbulence, and the affects it excites, that spaces become raced. For example, crossing an invisible, but perceptible frontier I begin to feel out of place instantly. Sharing the pavement with Friday afternoon worshipers my body, clothes, my comportment and alertness, my speed all mark me out as different. But the guilty, voyeuristic thrill of passing through this atmosphere as a researcher is very different to the experiences of other white bodies residing in or passing through this space. For some, the momentum of raced resonances (brown skin, salwar kameez on washing lines, Urdu signs, muezzins, toasting spices, discarded mattresses and fridge-freezers, etc.) might be crushing, producing senses of encroachment and displacement, of neighbourhoods taken over and lost. And these resonances produce affects that bleed into perception, judgment and action. Through

³ Dormer windows at roof level indicate that back-to-back terraces had been extended upwards. Raced differences emerged through dormer windows in particular neighbourhoods in Keighley as they were taken of evidence of the home being owned by Asian families, with comment on these dormer windows routinely being accompanied with Orientalist assumptions about large and extended families.

accumulated resonances neighbourhoods, streets, and parks become 'Asian', 'White', 'no-go'. And through their distinct atmospheres these spaces might become Other, scary, exotic, or threatening in ways that attract some bodies (Kashmiri families, shoppers seeking out fabrics and ingredients, racist graffiti artists...) and repel others (established residents in processes of white flight, commuters who take convoluted detours to avoid passing through certain neighbourhoods, affluent British Pakistanis...).

Thinking through topographies enables other novel ways of approaching everyday urban multicultures in places like Keighley. Self-consciously distanced from recent talk of 'parallel lives' or the continuing positivist traditions that inscribe race into urban spaces through census categorisations, topographies is attentive to how race comes to matter through the swirling resonances and intensities of urban sites. Gathering a set of sensibilities around 'phenomena that speak', the relationality of spaces, and the affective, emotional and psychic lives of cities, I trace the provisional emergence of race through the moods, atmospheres and feel of streets, neighbourhoods, parks and so on. Continuing my arguments for a lively materialism, topographies ask how mundane – and often overlooked – arrangements of bodies, things, architecture, settings and light might exert a kind of agency (Bennett, 2004), and how racialised practices of sense making proceed through the moods, atmospheres and affects induced by machinic connections between disparate material elements and their interplay with the immaterial (biographical events, memories, stories, gossip, rumour, prejudice, expectations and so on). This topographical account picks up and extends the lively materialism introduced in the previous chapter in my discussion of how heterogeneous processes of differentiation enrol some cars in temporary and recursive fixings of race. Charting the different ways in which race emerges through arrangements of bodies, things and spaces, my topographical account provides different perspectives onto the turbulent socialities of urban multiculturalism than those from the

roadside. It also revisits and adds momentum to earlier arguments around the distributions and tendencies of raced bodies, as it maps how particular spaces seem to encourage specific intensities and registers of intercultural interaction on the ground in Keighley.

In what follows, I stake out the theoretical influences and orientations gathered by my topographical approach that is read against growing talk of 'parallel lives' in discussions of how urban multicultures in northern mill towns might be lived out. I then detour three distinct topographies in Keighley in an effort to evoke some of the moods and atmospheres through which everyday multicultures might be sensed, and grasp some of the fleeting and provisional ways in which race comes to matter in and through urban settings. For example, topographies of touch and avoidance (always already entangled with topographies of multicultural love and hate) examine the modalities and intensities through which differently raced bodies might come together in and around Keighley. Alternatively, topographies of loss begin to engage some of the uneasy, anxious and melancholic ways in which some people come to terms with the realities of urban multicultural. Topographies of loss reveal how race surfaces through intensities of loss through particular arrangements of bodies, things, architecture and light in some spaces, namely former white working class neighbourhoods and no-go areas. Finally, I trace the ghostly topographies that haunt some spaces in Keighley. Ghostly topographies highlight the spectral emergence of race through the force of things, but also compels us to reflect on the excessive constitution and elusiveness of moments of encounter with bodies, things or spaces in urban multicultures, as raced memories and affects threaten to intrude consciousness, disturbing the orderly flow of time.

Parallel lives: the segregated city?

While the physical segregation of housing estates and inner cities came as no surprise, the team was particularly struck by the depth of polarisation of our towns and cities. The extent to which these physical divisions were compounded by so many other aspects of our daily lives, was very evident. Separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language, social and cultural networks, means that many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives. These lives often do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote any meaningful interchanges.

(Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001, p.9)⁴

Violent disturbances on the streets of Oldham, Burnley and Bradford in the spring and summer of 2001 reenergised prickly, and often confused, debates about race and residential segregation in British cities, but especially Northern mill towns. These street confrontations between young British Pakistani men and white police officers were forceful reminders of geographies of racism and cultural intolerance (Amin, 2002a), but as the events were dissected histories of ethnic deprivation, popular, police and institutional racisms, Islamophobia, and the activities of racist organisations like the British National Party and the National Front were often glossed over. Instead, efforts to ‘explain’ these events rounded again and again on apparently irreconcilable cultural differences, segregation and what was identified as ‘a very worrying drift towards self-segregation’ (Bradford Race Review Team, 2001, foreword) among British Muslims. Relatively longstanding interests in race, tenure and residential segregation in British cities (Rex, 1973; Cater and Jones, 1979; Jackson and Smith, 1981; Smith, 1989), and provocative discussions as to whether British cities have ghettos (Peach, 1996) – inevitably inviting comparisons with the entrenched segregation of many US cities – were routinely revisited in media

⁴ Coinciding with a comprehensive questioning of state-led multiculturalism – that has seen commentators from across the political spectrum adopting arguments traditionally associated with the political Right that multicultural policies encourage ethnic isolation, in the words of Trevor Phillips ‘multiculturalism suggests separateness’ (Phillips, 2004; Goodhart, 2004) – and existing New Labour commitments to building ‘cohesive communities’, ‘parallel lives’ has been enrolled routinely in attempts to characterise urban multiculturalism in some former mill towns. Based on census statistics and impressions formed by journalists and review teams on flying visits to these towns, the narrative of ‘parallel lives’ mobilises perceptions of residential segregation to suggest little or no contact between ‘white’ and ‘Asian’ communities, a lack of intercultural interaction that then becomes *the explanation* for a series of traumatic events, including the 2001 street disturbances and the July 2005 terror attacks in London.

commentaries and analyses that worried about distributions and intensities of census categorisations, often haunted by anxieties of perceived ‘failures’ to integrate that playing on racist assumptions that something within ‘the Islamic psyche’ – whatever that might mean – inclined British Muslims (and particularly British Pakistanis in former mill towns) to avoid contact – both physical and social – with *kaffirs*, or unbelievers. Absences of intercultural interaction, inferred through this talk of ‘parallel lives’ and segregation, was read as a ‘failure’ to integrate and licensed questioning of the national and cultural allegiances of British Muslims,⁵ that has only intensified after the terror atrocities of September 11th 2001 and the ‘home-grown’ terror attacks in July 2005 (Amin, 2002a, Alexander, 2004; Philips, 2006). Overlooking thoughtful analyses of the urban disturbances (Kalra, 2001; Kundnani, 2002; Amin, 2002a; Alexander, 2004) and attempts to expose narratives of self-segregation as myth (Simpson, 2005; Phillips, 2006) the polemic appeal of ‘parallel lives’ – bolstered by a racially loaded vernacular invoking imaginative geographies of ghettos, patchworks of ‘White’ and ‘Asian’ areas, social apartheid, insiders and outsiders, and no-go areas – has endured. Robert Park’s correlation of social distance with geographical space has been resurrected in political and media talk about how everyday multicultures are lived out in northern mill towns (Keith, 2005), and distributions and intensities of census categories are enrolled as (transparent) indicators of intercultural interaction and avoidance, sustaining arguments that civil unrest – and suicide bombings – can be explained by segregation and cultural insularity, and might be remedied by *more* interaction and ‘community cohesion’ (Bradford Race Review Team, 2001; Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001).⁶ But I am uneasy with this common sense equivalence

⁵ This questioning was perhaps most famously expressed in David Blunkett’s reaction to the Home Office’s report into 2001 disturbances, when he argued: ‘We need to be clear we don’t tolerate the intolerable under the guise of cultural difference. We have norms of acceptability and those who come to our house – for that is what it is – should accept the norms as we would if we went elsewhere’.

⁶ Park and his colleagues at the Chicago School of Sociology and Human Ecology developed the ‘contact hypothesis’ that ‘assumed a relationship between the social and physical distance such that levels of segregation provide a measure of the frequency or the quality of social intermixing’ (Smith, 1989, p.14).

between social and geographical distance, and the resurgent currency of disembodied census cartographies addressing questions of ‘How many Muslims/Asians/Pakistanis/Others?’ and ‘How segregated?’ which then sustain shrill calls for ‘community cohesion’ and integration into ‘our’ values, as models of ‘active citizenship’ that instil ‘codes of individual responsibility’ (Burnett, 2004). This discomfort comes in large part from the ways in which the sweeping panoramas enabled by the census or invocations of parallel lives neglect the daily, routine negotiations of ethnic difference, and the multiple modalities and intensities of existing intercultural interaction that constitute urban multicultures (Amin, 2002a). In this chapter I take seriously precisely how differently raced bodies come together in Keighley – through associations, viscosities,⁷ collectivities, institutional agglomerations, avoidance, passings in the night, and prejudice – and how they relate. I am interested then in interrogating the quality of interactions (engaged, tolerant, indifferent, meaningful, anxious, hateful) in ways that complicate the romanticism of appeals face-to-face interactions assumptions that more interaction is always a good thing (Laurier and Philo, 2006). And so as I map multicultures’ topographies I hope to both evoke the feel and moods of everyday multicultures in places like Keighley, but also to identify possibilities for agonistic interculturalism (Amin, 2002a) that builds on what Thrift (2005a) calls a ‘politics of small achievements’.

Susan Smith goes on to argue that preoccupations with the intensities and patterns of residential segregation lead to the reification of ‘race’; race became an explanation for segregation, rather than a dimension of segregation *to be* explained.

⁷ Arun Saldanha (forthcoming, p.8) introduces the concept of viscosities to examine the ‘sticking-together’ and the ‘relative impermeability’ of a collective of bodies. For Saldanha viscosities enable a ‘rigorous grasping of social spaces by putting the dynamic physicality of human bodies and their interactions at the forefront of the analysis’ (ibid.). And so through viscosities we can begin to appreciate the transitory and provisional ways in which bodies appear to cluster through the abstract machine of social space. For example speed, clothing, skin, light, location, architecture, music, jewellery, money, drugs might hold some bodies together in an aggregate – an ‘Asian gang’? The relative speed of bodies, the slowness through which these bodies hang out, for example, outside the kebab shop on Cavendish Street on summer evenings shapes this aggregate. And as Saldanha (forthcoming, p.42) demonstrates with white ‘freaks’ in an Anjuna bar, viscosities are also about how ‘holding-together is related to the aggregate’s capacity to affect, and be affected by, external bodies’.

Multicultures' topographies

'The sudden change of ambiance in a street within the space of a few metres; the evident division of a city into zones of distinct psychic atmospheres; the path of least resistance which is automatically followed in aimless strolls (and which has no relation to the physical contour on the ground); the appealing or repelling character of certain places – all this seems to be neglected.'

(Debord, 1955, p2)

Here, inspired by the kinds of sensibilities cultivated and explored by Dadaist, surrealist and Situationist writings on the city,⁸ I depart from diagnoses of 'parallel lives' by attempting to assemble a concept of space that engages the entangled, fragmented ways in which everyday multicultures are lived out. And detouring a series of topographies – topographies of touch and avoidance, of love and hate, of loss and ghosts – I attempt to grasp the immediacy of urban experiences, the force of seemingly mundane phenomena, and the eventful-ness of place,⁹ to engage multiple, contradictory and transient practices of race-thinking in and around Keighley. Thinking through topographies of multicultural presents an opportunity to take seriously our fragmentary and elusive experiences of the mundane spaces of cities that are constituted through 'billions of happy and unhappy encounters' (Thrift, 1999, p.302); experiences that are simultaneously real and imagined, enveloping the social, cultural, economic, historical but also the affective, the psychic and the fantastic lives of cities (Pile, 2005; Pinder, 2001). Topographies engender an appreciation for what Latham and MacCormack (2004, p.705) call the affective materialities of urban space that recognise the 'virtuality of the immaterial to the material', such that to speak of the materiality of everyday urban multicultures (veils, souped-up cars, raced bodies, dormer windows, Urdu shop signs, call for prayers, street names, pages of the

⁸ Sadie Plant (1992, p.39) writes: 'Futurism, Dada, surrealism, and a host of other movements and experiments were also guided by the will to gain more immediate experience of the world and transform the everyday into a reality desired and created by those who live in it. Their manifestos were always full of urgent longings for a changed world, and their productions were shot through with searches for more intensity and desire'.

⁹ This eventful-ness of place builds on recent appreciations of the practised nature of place. For example, Amin and Thrift (2002a, p.30) contend 'So places, for example, are best thought of not so much as enduring sites but as *moments of encounter*, not so much as 'presents' fixed in space and time, but as variable events; twists and fluxes of interrelation.'

Keighley News...) always already ‘invokes the excessive potential’ of biographical events, gossip, prejudices, memories, sensational headlines, fantasies, rumour, ‘parallel lives’, talk of crime, internet chat, and so much more. Raced memories and affects gather around things and surroundings, potentially flashing in front of our eyes and disrupting the orderly flow of time. Topographies hum with resonances. They polarise space, attracting some bodies at the same time as they repel others.

Through the twinned concerns of mood and ephemerality I assemble a concept of space through multicultures’ topographies that is less rigid than current theorisations that tend to stop with a notion of space as an ‘enabling technology’ through which race is produced (Delaney, 2002, p.7; Anderson, 1991; Dwyer and Jones, 2000). These arguments about the spatial production of race proceed through a series of exemplary geographies – the ghetto, the camp, the inner city, the no-go area, the suburb, and so on – that fold difference into distance, and think about race territorially through distance, boundaries and partitions that fabricate distinctions between ‘inside’ and ‘outside’, ‘familiar’ and ‘strange’, ‘same’ and ‘Other’, ‘white’ and ‘Asian’, ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Said, 1979; Dwyer and Jones, 2000; Gregory, 2004). Topographies, however, seek to exceed this immutable concept of space by tracking the continuous and fleeting emergence of race through varied urban settings. Topographies introduce another dimension to conventional ways of thinking about multiculturalism as they trace the sensuous and affective relief of urban space, the ‘structures of feeling’, and the abrupt shifts in moods and ambiance. An example. Lund Park is an inner city park flanked by Victorian terraces many of which are now home to Kashmiri families. Indeed, the area around the park is often talked of as an ‘Asian area’, and, after a number of well documented and much-discussed attacks in the park, even a ‘no-go area’ for whites. We might settle on an argument that deconstructs the imaginative geographies – fuelled largely by moral panics about ‘Asian gangs’ – though which race is at once inscribed and

produced through this urban setting. But doing so would fail to engage substantively with the ephemeral and varied ways in which race might come to matter in and around Lund Park. Considering Lund Park topographically – and not territorially – we might begin to grasp how provisional processes of racial differentiation operate through arrangements of things, bodies and light in this space. At dusk, as the light fades and a stillness descends on the park, interrupted only by the a small gathering of joshing Asian lads at the eastern entrance and the occasional thumping bass of a passing car, the park might become a threatening space. Resonances emitted by the declining intensity of sunlight and lengthening shadows collude with the relative slowness of the bodies clustered by the wall, chillin’ and joking, producing a distinct mood. Fragmentary raced affects and memories of racist attacks on whites might hang heavily in this atmosphere. An intimidating, scary space? A ‘no-go area’. And under these specific conditions of light and viscosity, this space might reverberate with raced affects. Vigilance? Fear and loathing? For a lone body passing through the park – marked out, perhaps, by pale skin and clothing, but certainly by its relative speed – race might come to matter in distinct ways, through senses of being out of place, of being outnumbered, of not belonging. But under different conditions of light race might emerge in and through this space in very different ways. The park continues to vibrate with raced affects, but at each moment of encounter with this space the substance and intensities of these affects might be quite different. For example, in the midday sun processes of racial differentiation proceeding through the arrangements and speeds of bodies, things, and distributions of sunlight in Lund Park might inspire melancholia as faces, smells and salwar kemeez drying on washing lines disrupt childhood memories of a homely white working class neighbourhood, or reassurance and comfort at the recognition of familiar faces, sights, and sounds. Then again these arrangements might provoke indifference in a self-absorbed dog-walker, stir anxieties (shaded, perhaps, with excitement) in some ‘white’ bodies anticipating intimidation, or agitate exhilaration at opportunities for

multicultural touch on a bench or at the playground. In this way, multicultures' topographies might cultivate a more profound appreciation for the abrupt shifts in mood and ambiance that constitute our experiences and sensings of everyday multicultures and the ephemeral processes through which race comes to matter as it bleeds into perception, judgment and action, disturbing the confident partitioning and ordering of urban spaces through exemplary geographies.

Beyond Gangs and Graffiti

I have already suggested that race thinking tends to vectorise urban space. Racial categorisations grid imaginative geographies as cities are sorted into patchworks of familiar and strange spaces, go and no-go areas, white and Asian neighbourhoods, zones of safety and danger (Keith, 2005; Back, 2005). Metonymic flashes of ghettos / camps / tower blocks / streets / inner cities / suburban council estates reveal the raced organisation of urban space. In a racially coded landscape of danger and otherness place names read like an A-Z of racist geographies (Back, 2005; Keith, 2005): Lawkholme Lane and Lund Park = Asian areas, no-go for whites; Braithwaite = racist white working class, BNP sympathisers; Haworth = white flight village. Here, my intention is not to underestimate the efficacy of such symptomatic readings of urban space and race. Their powerful effects are affects that are clear to see in practical geographies that direct action (through everyday rhythms, urban routes and pathways, patterns of avoidance, etc.) and the imaginative geographies that frame political statements, policy, and police interventions. Without denying that the imaginaries sustaining this A-Z of racist geographies shape perceptions, prompt judgments and influence all kinds of actions (ranging, for example, from where the dog is walked and routes taken home from work to the drawing of boundaries for Single Regeneration Budget urban redevelopment schemes, the formulation of community policing strategies,

the use of ASBOS and demands for more ‘community cohesion’),¹⁰ I suggest that thinking through urban multicultures in these ways neglects so many of the habitual negotiations of ethnic difference that actually constitute the inhabitation of these multicultures.

Recent ethnographies of urban multiculturalism in Britain (Back, 1996; Back and Nayak, 1999; Alexander, 2000; Eade, 2000; Nayak, 2003)¹¹ have made significant contributions to our understanding of the raced spaces of the city, deconstructing and disrupting common-sense cartographies of the city by tracking how young people negotiate everyday spaces of the city. However – and to caricature this work somewhat – I think there is a tendency in these ethnographies to focus on gangs and graffiti, in ways that have the effect of dividing urban spaces into a patchwork of contested raced territories, and a ‘chequerboard of hatreds and violence’ (Back, 2006). For example, Les Back’s (1996) important ethnography of two neighbourhoods in South London talks of emergent ‘neighbourhood nationalisms’ to capture negotiated local (multi)cultures of belonging that animate syncretic cultural formations based on what he calls the symbolic capital accumulated through shared experiences of school and street. Neighbourhood nationalisms construct neighbourhoods as territories. They are bounded spaces to be defended. Territorial associations and shared experiences of location become the basis for distinctions between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ and partial racial inclusions in local multicultures, as ‘race’ is temporarily and superficially

¹⁰ For example, such symptomatic geographies can be identified in an article in the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* (07.11.2003) reporting on Ann Cryer’s reaction to complaints about verbally and physically intimidating behaviour in Lund Park, and following a series of racist attacks on white people in the park by young Asian men. Although Ann Cryer made a point of stating that ‘It is not an ethnic issue – these are young louts and we need to work together to stop them. I would also make an appeal to the parents of these idiots – do you know where your child is during the hours of darkness?’, what lent the story momentum was the weight of practical geographies, and perceptions that this was an ‘Asian area’ that was in becoming a ‘no-go area for whites’. And it is these imaginaries of an ‘Asian area’ and reactions to a series of violent events, interpreted as an attempt to drive white people from the park, that underpinned police targeting of ‘anti-social and criminal behaviour’ in the area, and Cryer’s appeal to the public to police their neighbourhood, reporting incidents to the police and keeping a watchful eye of their (Asian) children.

¹¹ These ethnographies continue a long tradition of urban ethnography, tracing a lineage at least back to the Chicago School’s explorations of inner city neighbourhoods. The racial formations of the ‘ghetto’ in the United States (Suttles, 1967; Ley, 1974; Wacquant, 1998; 2002; Anderson, 1999) and former white working class inner city neighbourhoods have become privileged – and problematic – laboratories for social research.

banished from 'peer group common sense' (through 'black insiders'), without excluding the possibility of racisms (Back, 1996, p54). But I am troubled by the way neighbourhood nationalisms conceptualise urban spaces as territories to be occupied and defended,¹² and the tendency of some talk of urban territoriality to what Ardrey (1967) called the 'territorial imperative', as (raced) territories are enrolled to explain (racist) behaviour, to justify racial aggression and to naturalise inter-ethnic conflict (Keith, 2005; Delaney, 2005).¹³ Against these stiff invocations of urban space, I develop a concept of space through topographies that is more in line with an emergent philosophy of race, engaging with the multiple and ephemeral ways in which race might come to matter.

Topographies are not territories. However, this is not to dismiss the notion of territories altogether. Rather topographies are wedded to the 'eventful-ness' of places; places are less sites than what Amin and Thrift (2002a, p. 30) call '*moments of encounter*', as 'twists and fluxes

¹² More recent Les Back (2006, pp.34-5) has tried to disrupt the 'crude racial coding of whole areas', and the racist mappings that emerge through moral panics about mugging, gang talk, and other diffuse anxieties about crime by paying attention to the 'tactically useful maps' that young people construct of the everyday spaces that they move through. But a residual sense of urban space as a patchwork of containers emerges, as he suggests that space is divided into safe spaces (my landing, home, library...) and dangerous spaces (some street, lifts, alleyways, parks...).

¹³ These ethnographies clearly do not argue with Robert Ardrey (1967) that humans have an inward compulsion and inherent (genetically determined) drive to possess, gain and defend territories. However, Felix Padilla's (1994) work on gangs in the United States demonstrates how territory or 'turf' can be enrolled as an explanation of violent behaviour in ways that naturalise conflict: "Almost all gang members accept it as a given that incursions of their turf will be met with violent responses, as will their trespasses onto the turf of a rival gang members. Talk of the need for defending gang turf occurs on a regular basis among gang members, far more often than actual acts of defence. In this way the atmosphere of symbolic vigilance against the threat of outside intruders draws the gang together and prepares it to use the expressive (and excessive) violence often associated with defending home territory against rival gangs" (Padilla, 1994, p.114; also cited in Delaney, 2005, p.47).

On the other hand, Back and Nayak (1999) provide a more nuanced analysis of racist graffiti on a suburban council estate in Birmingham, suggesting that graffiti marked an emergent and 'phantasmal' territory that betrayed a preoccupation among some local youths with asserting claims over city spaces. But while their account is sensitive to how graffiti might relate to a range of practices (including making claims on turf, but also harassment) ideas of territory and territoriality underpin their explanation of the presence of urban graffiti. In an around Keighley I found racist graffiti all over the place: on bridges over railway lines, on the ruins of abandoned mills, on houses in a predominately white housing estate, on the shutters of workshops off Lawkholme Lane, in parks. But I am wary of reading these markings necessarily as expressions of territoriality or sprayed manifestations of fantasies of white space. More often than not, graffiti-ed swastikas, BNP or C-18 jostled for prominence with a host of juvenile scrawlings. Might this 'psychic skin of the city' document – as Ian Sinclair (1997, p.1) suggests – the 'spites and spasms of an increasingly deranged populace'.

of interrelation'.¹⁴ Developing these ideas elsewhere, Thrift (1999, p.310) suggests that 'places are 'passings' that 'haunt' 'us'', a contention that envelopes both the dynamism of places – 'as taking shape in their passing' – and that places haunt us – the ecology of place is 'rich and varied *spectral gathering*' of things and full-bodied competencies (including emotions, memories and language) (Thrift, 1999, p.316). Topographies begins to touch on the emergent and practised nature of places, and how assemblages of bodies, things and surroundings might be encountered, manipulated, touched, glanced at, and so on (Wise, 2000). Through topographies I consider how bodies, things, scents and sounds might mark urban spaces without falling back onto ideas of territoriality that divide urban space into segments. The placement, arrangements and orientations of bodies and things mark spaces and radiate milieus (Wise, 2000; Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) as attractors (graffiti, Lollywood posters, pubs, parks...) charge space, inducing resonances, frictions and tendencies in movement and dispositions, as some raced bodies are attracted while others are repelled. For example, returning to Lund Park, we can consider how the relative slowness and viscosity of Asian lads, holding together to form a racial aggregate, collude with fading intensities of sunlight and ineffective street lighting, a descending stillness, the absence of other bodies and the arrangements of various things – a low wall, gate posts scrawled with graffiti, mobile phones, spliffs, shadows, a passing Toyota – might charge this space as intimidating, threatening and dangerous. Through machinic connections of bodies, things, light and surroundings this space becomes raced. A 'no-go area'. Raced affects and memories (including talk of racist attacks on whites, and stories of physical and verbal intimidation) stick to the machinic geographies that constitute this space. And as night falls some bodies (both white and Asian) might be repelled from the park.

¹⁴ Imagined in this way topographies are decidedly non-representational, anchored in what Nigel Thrift (1999, p.302) argues is an "irreducible ontology bin which the world is made of billions of happy and unhappy encounters, encounters which describe a 'mindful connected physicalism' consisting of multitudinous paths which intersect. This is an ontology 'which works through things rather than imposes itself upon them from outside or above' (Brennan, 1993, p.86)".

Alternatively, the space might be encountered and traversed through modalities of vigilance and anxiety. But of course some bodies continue to be drawn to this raced space. They might include Asian lads, whose relative speed enables them to stick to other bodies like theirs chillin' at the park gates, the odd middle age white man exercising a dog, the occasional person taking a shortcut through the park on their way home from work, the pub, the shops, teenagers looking for a score, passing policemen crawling by in a panda car, and so on. But as I have argued above in different conditions of light, and under differing arrangements of bodies and things within the park, heterogeneous processes of racial differentiation might operate through this space in quite disparate ways. Accordingly we move away from an approach that deconstructs racialised imaginative geographies that might enframe spaces like Lund Park, and begin to trace how, exactly, such spaces become raced through machinic connections between bodies, things, light and settings. And as we chart follow these machinic connections at particular moments of encounter, and the ways they charge space, inducing affects that bleed into perception, judgment and action, we might become alive to the momentary and fleeting ways in which race comes to matter.

Topographies as crumpled spaces

Thinking of topographies as moments of encounter also enables us to interrogate the multiple geographies, the fragmentary and often inconsistent other spaces, folded into experiences of particular urban. Topographies are open to the relationality of space, and the excessiveness of spatial composition (Amin, 2004). If you stop to trace the connections of a location a knot of material and immaterial geographies begins to emerge. Considering how contingent and heterogeneous processes of racial differentiation proceed through these crumpled geographies, then, begins to alert us to the excessive spatial composition of race in the mundane sites of the everyday urban. For example, East Avenue. Following Augé we might think of this street sign as a 'memory machine', which,

like Proust's Madeleine, might induce waves of affectively imbued memories. It might summon biographical events, sensational newspaper headlines, urban myth, 'parallel lives', rumour, fantasies, gossip...that are just as quickly lost. A frayed recollection of a white lad being attacked round here might stick to this street sign. An Asian neighbourhood. No-go area? Then again it could have been elsewhere? Terraced houses conjure past geographies of textile capitalism. Dormer windows invoke transnational migrations that fold the spaces of a Kashmiri diaspora into this unremarkable street. Over the road there is a mosque that used to be a Methodist chapel; the uncanny architecture of the street acts as a material reminder of rhythms of migration that also tie this location to the tracks of transnational Islams. A corner shop – the converted downstairs of a two-up-two-down – inscribes petty capitalism and the racist geographies of labour market exclusions into the streetscape. This shop also links the street into stretched commodity chains and transnational kinship networks of suppliers and wholesalers. Outside a Lollywood poster is pasted on a wall, enveloping this street corner into the cultural spaces of a Pakistani diaspora. The low thud of a Hip Hop track escaping from a parked car hooks this location into the media spaces of MTV cultural imperialism. And so the connections proliferate. Through these multiple material and immaterial geographies in East Avenue, or elsewhere in Keighley, we can appreciate the excessive spatial composition of race that spirals beyond geographies of face and the immediacy of bodily proximity. Arrangements and juxtapositions of architecture, commodities, advertising, and other material objects, alongside biographical events, memories, conversations and circulating stories all invoke multiple geographies that are virtual to the continuous becoming of race in inherently spatial practices of sense making. Here, then we begin to develop a concept of race that works through the 'connective properties' of spatial relations rather than 'distance or position' (Rose and Wylie, 2006, p.475)

Becoming alive to how we might be transported from this space into countless other spaces without physically moving troubles the continued construction of the local 'as the space of the intimate, the familiar, the near, the embodied' (Amin, 2002b, p.33). And so multicultures' topographies begin to admit this excessive spatial composition of each moment of encounter. Living out everyday multicultures in what Amin calls 'habituated spaces' of home, work, school, public space and so on always already has to work with the 'varied geographies of relational connectivity and transivity' (Amin, 2004, p.40) that might envelop the crisscrossing tracks of transnational Islams, circuits of gossip and rumour, the tendrils of media networks, organised terror, government policy, the micropublics of the Internet, neo-fascist propaganda and so much more. But multicultures' topographies also exceed these habituated spaces in other ways, as topographies of multicultural touch, of multicultural love and hate, are not only proximate and bodied, but might operate through virtual communities of affect and through distanced geographies of affiliation, attachment and belonging. And so, multicultures' topographies cannot be restricted to bodily closeness, but also envelop the emergent publics and communities of affect mobilised through the pages of the *Keighley News*, on local radio, through television programming, in the widespread moralising about asylum seekers, immigrants, Islamic fundamentalism, suicide bombers, and what Amin (2003) has called 'unruly strangers' on the pages of national newspapers, through spasmodic graffitied exchanges, through microworlds of diaspora, through racist venting on far-right internet chatrooms, through the vicissitudes of circulating gossip, hearsay, and rumour, through jokes...

The force of things

"Every typical space is created by typical social relations which are expressed in such a space *without the disturbing intervention of consciousness*. Everything that consciousness ignores, everything that it usually just overlooks, is involved in the construction of spaces. Spatial structures are the dreams of a society. Whenever

the hieroglyph of any such spatial structure is decoded, the foundation of the social reality is revealed”

(Kracauer, 1930 *cit.* Levin, 1995, p.29-30)

Walter Benjamin famously described Siegfried Kracauer as a rag-picker of modernity¹⁵, an eccentric realist who returned continuously to the ‘more marginal, and seemingly mundane phenomena of everyday life’ (Leach, 2002), those ‘fortuitous fragments of reality’ (Frisby, 1985) that revealed the secrets of modernity. For Kracauer it was not big events – the spectacular – that have the most forceful influence on us but the profane, the substantive surfaces of the everyday world, and so he set about in Levin’s (1995) words ‘scrutinising, interpreting and cataloguing’ surface level expressions, which he argued ‘by virtue of their unmediated nature, provide unmediated access to the fundamental state of things’ (Kracauer, 1985, p.75). Although the psychoanalytical undertones and the foundational impulses here are troubling, Kracauer’s – and perhaps more so Benjamin’s – surrealist sensibilities alert us to the dream-like and the phantasmagoric and evoke the more ‘febrile, secretive and ambivalent aspects of city life’ (Pile, 2005), but also encourage humility in our talk about how cities might be experienced and sensed by emphasising the multiplicity and opacity of cities, the plurality of stories and inexhaustibility of narratives (Pinder, 2001). Inspired by these surrealist writings on cities I suggest that by thinking through topographies we might capture the spirit of what Jane Bennett (2001) would call a lively, enchanted materialism that emerges through Kracauer’s (and Benjamin’s) writing. Topographies present an opportunity to take seriously the excessiveness of the everyday¹⁶

¹⁵ Benjamin approvingly characterised Kracauer as: “A discontent, not a leader...A rag-picker early in the dawn, who with his stick spikes the snatches of speeches and scraps of conversation in order to throw them into his cart, sullenly and obstinately, a little tipsy, but not without now and then scornfully letting one or other of these discarded cotton rags – ‘humanity’, ‘inwardness’, ‘depth’ – flutter in the morning breeze. A rag-picker, early – in the dawn of the day of the revolution’ (*cit.* Frisby, 1985, p.109). Frisby, (1985) argues that Kracauer saw his work to ‘fill out’ unresearched areas and occlusions, focussing on the ‘refuse’ of modernity, with essays including studies on white collar workers, the cinema, kitsch, and hotel lobbies.

¹⁶ For Maurice Blanchot (1969, p.241) the everyday is that which escapes: “The everyday escapes. This is its definition. We cannot help but miss it if we seek it through knowledge, for it belongs to a region where there is still nothing to know, just as it is prior to all relation insofar as it has always been said, even while remaining unformulated, that is to say, not yet information. It is not the implicit (of which phenomenology has made

and the 'force of things' (Bennett, 2004) as I consider how race and raced differences emerge continuously on the ground in and around Keighley through heterogeneous machinic connections between bodies, things, surroundings and light.

Guided by Georges Perec's (1997) art of noticing 'what's happening when nothing's happening', that shares many of the preoccupations of surrealist and Situationists writings on cities, I attempt to trace multicultures' topographies in ways that confound conventional thinking about race and urban spaces. Becoming attentive to the topographies of everyday multicultures engenders a materialist perspective that always already invokes the immaterial (Latham and MacCormack, 2004) as it maps how raced affects and memories continuously circulate, scatter, stick, accumulate, and propagate through things and surroundings in Keighley. Alive to the hidden and the overlooked – that which for Perec (1997, p.54) was the most obvious, the most common, the most colourless – topographies are interested in the fragmentary, inconsistent and often contradictory ways in which race comes to matter through the force of things and surroundings in habitual practices of sense making. Topographies makes supposedly familiar spaces anew as it traces overlooked presences and resonances radiating from the force of things, sounds, smells and feels. Topographies seeks then to elaborate how race and raced differences emerge continuously on the ground in diffuse and dispersed ways through the arrangements of things (and their machinic connections with bodies, surroundings, light, etc.); how raced differences accumulate around some street signs, how they emerge through new fences and double glazed windows in a neighbourhood regenerated under a Single Regeneration Budget projects, through the peeling paint and boarded up windows of a neglected community centre, through dormer windows, through calls for prayer, through discarded mattresses left to rot

broad use); to be sure, it is always already there, but that it may be there does not guarantee its actualisation. On the contrary, the everyday is always unrealised in its very actualisation which no events, no matter how important or insignificant, can ever produce. Nothing happens; this is the everyday.' (also cited in Seigworth, 2000, p.235).

on pavements, across the counter of a late-night takeaway, in taxis, through unfamiliar names over newsagents, through the pungency of toasting spices, through graffiti, at tables in numerous curry houses, through washing hanging on lines, through particular alignments of bodies, light, and tumbledown walls...Race is not a discursive construct simply inscribed into spaces, it emerges – continuously and capriciously – all over Keighley. But more than this sorting through the mundane materialities of everyday spaces, these things, sounds, smells and surroundings are also charged with raced affects and memories. Anxieties and suspicions might be stirred by street names or particular arrangements of bodies, bricks and light (Why are they hanging around there?); new windows induce resentments and enmity; prejudices surface across tables and counters; alignments of salwar kameez, dormer windows and calls for prayer might evoke melancholia...The circulation, contagion and accumulation of raced affects through the force of things charge topographies. Arrangements of things, bodies, surroundings and light radiate milieus, induce resonances and polarise space in ways that attract some bodies as others are repelled.

Affective contours

But how might we evoke the moods and ambiances of everyday multicultures? I have taken particular inspiration from the psychogeographies of Situationists like Guy Debord and Raoul Vaneigem, and more recently of Iain Sinclair and film-maker Patrick Keiller, as I begin to blend accounts of the historical, the social, the material with the affective, emotional, psychic, dream-like and fantastical lives of cities (see also Pile, 2005). For the Situationist International, a loose alliance of radical revolutionary groups formed in 1956, psychogeography was about the ‘instinctual exploration of the emotional contours of one’s environment’ (Bonnett, 1991). But psychogeography, for the Situationists at least, was never merely neutral description of urban life. Rather, reviving surrealist and Dadaist

traditions – it intended to scandalise, to provoke a crisis in happiness (Pile, 2005), to identify and create subversive and authoritarian spaces that might liberate people from what Debord would call the ‘Spectacle’ and constraining roles and values (such as family, community, and ideology) (Bonnett, 1989; 1991). Some commentators are disturbed by the evacuation of the Situationist political project in recent engagements with psychogeography (Bonnett, 1991), but I want to suggest that the tactics and techniques of psychogeography as a mode of investigating and intervening in city life might be productively redeployed in tracing the affective reliefs of everyday multicultures in Keighley.¹⁷

Drawing on the sensitivity to the life, passion, and intensity of city life nurtured by psychogeography, I seek to grasp the affective contours, the moods, the ambiances that add up to living out habitual multicultures in Keighley. For Guy Debord (1956, p.22, also cited in Pile, 2005) the psychogeographical technique of *dérive* was ‘a technique of transient passage through varied ambiances. The *dérive* entails playful-constructive behaviour and awareness of psychogeographical effects [...] from the *dérive* point of view cities have a psychogeographical relief, with constant currents, fixed points and vortexes which strongly discourage entry or exit from certain zones.’ As Steve Pile (2005) notes, distinct atmospheric zones and microclimates emerge from the spatial practices of the *dérive*, and

¹⁷ The principal experimental practices advocated by the Situationists were the *dérive* (literally drifting) and *détournement*. Ivaïn Chtcheglov suggested that the *dérive* was a ‘political psychoanalysis of the city that listens to the flow of the city just as the analyst listens to the flow of words (Bonnett, 1989; 1991). The *dérive* – ‘a technique of locomotion without goal’ (Plant, 1992, p.59) – is a practice for registering and experiencing the immediate impact of the environment and its impact on human emotions; it charts the atmosphere, moods, feel and ambiances of cities (Pile, 2005; Bonnett, 1989; 1991). Sadie Plant (1992, p.59) elaborates the revolutionary politics that animated the *dérive*: ‘to *dérive* was to notice the way in which certain areas, streets, or buildings resonate with states of mind, inclinations, and desires, and to seek out reasons for movement other than those for which an environment was designed. It was very much a matter of using an environment for one’s own ends, seeking not only the marvellous beloved by surrealism but bringing an inverted perspective to bear on the entirety of the spectacular world’. The Situationist tactic of *détournement* – which translates somewhere between diversion and subversion (Plant, 1992) – is a parodic practice that reclaims lost meanings, disrupting and exposing alienation through the mutation and reversal of meanings and social stereotypes (Bonnett, 1989).

through topographies that I attempt to grasp at the force – crushing at times – of these atmospheres and moods as I try to comprehend raced experiences of urban space in ways that are open to more-than-rational practices of race-thinking and sense making. Multicultures' topographies enables us, then, to thinking about the rub of everyday life in and around Keighley; it takes seriously the affective materialities that constitute the inhabitation of everyday multicultures by interrogating the moods, the feel and ambiances of the mundane spaces of the everyday urban.

Beyond the segregated city

The segregated city summoned through forceful and provocative talk of 'parallel lives' looks quite different then if we think about urban multicultures topographically. Firstly, topographies develop a materialist concept of space that embraces the deeply creative nature of material world (DeLanda, 2002; Saldanha, forthcoming) and locates race within a philosophy of emergence. Spaces, then, become raced through ephemeral, momentary processes of racial differentiation that operate through arrangements of bodies, things, architecture and light. And so, we move away from the retreat to symptomatic readings of urban spaces through 'parallel lives' that envision urban multicultures through patchworks of more or less exclusive 'white' and 'Asian' areas and rehabilitate Robert Park's equivalence of social and physical distance by charting how exactly race might come matter in ways that come to colour perception, judgment and action (Connolly, 2002). But secondly, as they chart the emergence of race through the machinic geographies of urban sites, topographies also take seriously the moods of urban multicultures, and the affectivity of the rub everyday lives in multicultural cities, comprised of outbreaks of violence, but also 'malign gossip, endless complaint, the full spectrum of jealousy, petty snobbery, personal deprecation, pointless authoritarianism, various forms of shadenfreude, and all the

other ritual pleasures of everyday life.’ (Thrift, 2005,p.140) alongside the countless small kindnesses, acts of love and devotion, smiles, sacrifices and accommodations.

In the remainder of the chapter I put these sensibilities to work. Firstly, through topographies of touch and avoidance I examine four spatial registers as I consider the specific modalities and intensities through which differently raced bodies might come together in and around Keighley. And so I begin to interrogate the multiple socialities through which everyday multicultures are habitually lived out, complicating recent calls for more intercultural interaction in response to urban disturbances and terror attacks by thinking more precisely about the densities and intensities of on-going intercultural contact. Secondly, topographies of loss grapple with the melancholic moods, resentments and anxieties that appear to catch much of the bad-tempered rub of everyday multicultures. Detouring ‘lost neighbourhoods’ and ‘no-go areas’, topographies of loss seek to engage how race emerges provisionally through the ambiances and moods of streets, neighbourhoods and parks that are themselves generated through arrangements of bodies, things, architecture and light. Thirdly, and finally, ghostly topographies track the fleeting emergence of race through the force of things as raced memories and affects evoked through heterogeneous connections between things, bodies, architecture and settings. Through various hauntings, ghostly topographies draw our attention to how raced memories might participate in, and disturb, experiences of everyday multicultural, exposing the significance of time and history in the production of urban space (Pile, 2005) while also forcing us to confront the multiple, fragmented and elusive ways in which multicultures are experienced.

Topographies of multicultural touch (and avoidance)

The hyperbole of the Home Office report into urban unrest in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford left a bleak picture of everyday multiculturalism in these former mill towns. ‘Parallel lives’ that ‘often do not seem to touch at any point’ because of (self-)segregation and cultural insularity became *the* explanation of urban unrest, soliciting remedies in the form of trite policy prescriptions demanding *more* ‘community cohesion’ and *more* interaction. But these perspectives of denuded intercultural sociality in these troubled towns, usually constructed on the basis of distributions and intensities of census categories and impressions formed on perfunctory visits, failed to appreciate, or quite simply dismissed, existing intercultural interactions and the multiple ways in which differently raced bodies come together as they rushed out appeals for more face-to-face interactions with strangers, what Simmel would call ‘wholesome human contact’, simply assuming that more interaction is always a good thing (cf. Laurier and Philo, 2006).

Here, I begin to map out just a few of the ‘billions of happy and unhappy encounters that make up everyday lives’ (Thrift, 1999) to trace more precisely how differently raced bodies come together in and around Keighley. Topographies of touch – endlessly contorted through topographies of love and hate – complicate the romanticism that sustains tacit assumptions that more casual contact among strangers is always a good thing, and examine the specific modalities and intensities through which everyday intercultural interaction and mingling unfolds. I identify four distinct spatial registers as I consider how differently raced bodies might come together. Each register does specific work in establishing the multiple and provisional ways in which race might come to matter through modalities of encounter, emphasising the promiscuity of race in practices of sense making. Furthermore, interrogating the turbulent affective intensities that swirl around moments of encounter

enables me to identify sites of intercultural exchange that might contribute to an agonistic politics of living with difference and getting along based on small achievements.¹⁸

The first register begins with the concept of solitudes, developed by Marc Augé (2002) in an impressive ethnography of the Paris Metro, to convey habitual and habituated forms of sociality without meaningful communication. Solitudes, a being togetherness without engagement, captures a considerable amount of the intercultural contact involved in living out everyday multicultures. I suggest that as we (often misanthropically) go about our everyday lives, race continuously and repeatedly emerges – often in contradictory ways – through habitual negotiations of ethnic difference as we walk down the street, commute, look for a seat on the bus, wait at traffic lights, queue and so on. And through such habitual, and often unremarked, intercultural contact prejudices, suspicions, stereotypes, animosities, stories, ideas and feelings are potentially confirmed, challenged, amplified, or broken down.¹⁹

Secondly, I examine how raced bodies come together through viscosities. For Saldanha (forthcoming, p.8) viscosities entail a ‘rigorous grasping of social spaces by putting the dynamic physicality of human bodies and their interactions at the forefront of analysis’. Viscosities engage with how race comes to matter through the turbulence of ongoing interactions, questioning how some bodies *tend* to hold together in immanent groupings, while other bodies fail to stick. Located somewhere between fluidity and solidity, viscosity

¹⁸ Of course these moments of encounter are not necessarily about bodily closeness. These moments of encounter might be virtual, achieved through alignments and attachments of web-based communities of affect, of diasporic belonging, through collectivities formed in the publics of paper, analogue and digital media.

¹⁹ Solitudes alert us then to how judgments are incessantly being made, undone, reaffirmed and shattered. The things I have in mind here are small, perhaps unthought, acts that nevertheless add up. For example, catching a glance of a woman, veiled and wearing salwar kameez, spitting into a gutter might confirm or inflame prejudices about incivility and dirtiness, shrill headlines about ‘home-grown suicide bombers’ might fuel suspicion of Muslim-looking bodies, just as a Asian man pausing so that a door doesn’t swing in your face might unsettle petty stereotypes.

enables an account for the 'surface tensions' that envelope immanent clusters (of Asians lads behind a take-away, of white women in the corner of a bar and so on) while holding onto the possibility that boundaries can be, and often are, transgressed (Saldanha, forthcoming, p.42). And so, immanent clusters emerge not through exclusion *per se*, but are instead the 'contingent effects' of the relative speeds of bodies, of stereotypes, clothing styles, of shared experiences, drinking and smoking, seeing each other regularly, and so on, and capacities of aggregate to affect, and be affect by, other external bodies. And although viscosities do not preclude the potential for intercultural interactions out of the turbulence of social spaces, the operations of the abstract machine of faciality in and around Keighley are often more intense than other points of connection that might hold Asian and white bodies together (for example, the contingent effects of music, subcultural styles, shopping, parenthood, shared experiences of neighbourhood, etc.), and so racial clusters form immanently, and as the flow of bodies into aggregates thickens gradually through recurrence (Saldanha, forthcoming, p.43) meaningful intercultural contact is often inhibited.

Associations and various institutional settings (schools, colleges, community centres, etc.) are routinely identified as sites through which multicultural work needs to be done to nurture, and even 'engineer', intercultural engagement and respect (Amin, 2002b). My third topography of touch interrogates precisely how race might come to matter in and through the 'unsteady socialities' (Amin, 2002b) of associative and institutional spaces. It asks how, for example, gyms, schools, football or cricket leagues, offices, Further Education Colleges, allotments and evening classes potentially accommodate what Amin (2002b) calls site of 'banal transgression', as prosaic interactions these sites might work as spaces of 'cultural displacement and destabilisation':

‘Their effectiveness lies in placing people from different backgrounds in new settings where engagement with strangers is a common activity and disrupts easy labelling of the stranger as enemy and initiates new attachments. They are moments of cultural destabilisation, offering individuals the chance to break out of fixed relations and fixed notions, and through this, to learn to become different through new patterns of social interaction’

(Amin, 2002, p.14).

But, habitual contact in these settings – as Amin (2002b) is well aware – does not necessarily end in meaningful cultural exchange. The coming together bodies in associative and institutional spaces not only carries the potential, or promise, of interculturalism, but they can also deepen stereotypes and aggravate prejudices and suspicions.

Finally, I consider how differently raced bodies might come together through various collectivities. Collectivities are explicitly concerned with the work that bodies do to become closer together (Ahmed, 2000) in, for example, campaigns against the British National Party, mosque open days, or the Keighley Mela. Through this register I am particularly interested in how bodies might work to come together through topographies of multicultural love and hope, and how raced differences become repackaged firstly as ‘cultural diversity’ and then are revalorised as the modality through which togetherness, inclusion and belonging are possible (Ahmed, 2000; Hage, 1998). Race emerges in specific ways in collectivities as acts of inclusion are contingent on practices of othering as the ‘we’ of Keighley is affirmed through raced differences, not against them (Ahmed, 2000). Collectivities also provide ‘unsteady socialities’ similar to those Amin (2002b) finds in associative and institutional settings. However, the fervent atmospheres in collectivities means that while possibilities for intercultural interaction might be radically transformative, at the same time they also tend to be more fleeting as the political moments that sustain such work pass, and the forces bringing differently raced bodies together dissipate.

Below, pursuing a decidedly materialist approach I seek to grasp as rigorously as possible precisely what happens in the moment of encounter. Thinking through these multiple topographies of multicultural touch and avoidance foregrounds the continuous, heterogeneous and fleeting emergence of race through interaction, compelling us to consider the ephemerality and promiscuity of race as it is enrolled by habitual practices of sense making. These tracings of the modalities through which differently raced bodies routinely come together also present the opportunity to interrogate the intensities of each moment of encounter. I focus then on how people relate, and the quality of those relations. Are they engaged, respectful, indifferent, tolerant, anxious, intolerant, impatience, or hateful? This emphasis on the densities and qualities of intercultural interaction and the affective intensities of multicultural touch tracks the multiple socialities of everyday multiculturalism more precisely, troubling diagnoses of 'parallel lives' and alerting us perhaps to overlooked opportunities for an agonistic urban politics (Amin, 2002a; Amin and Thrift, 2002a).

Solitudes

Race emerges continuously through what Augé (2002) calls solitudes, in encounters without (meaningful) communication as people go about their lives in habitual autopilot:

The laundrette on Eagle Street in Highfields is a gathering point. Bodies come together repeatedly. Itineraries intersect...and pass in the night. Waiting. Bored. Suffering the monotonous whirl of washing machines in the heavy, humid atmosphere. Flicking distractedly through the pages of a discarded newspaper. Sitting on the windowsill, directly under the gaze of a CCTV camera. I look out along back-to-back terraces. Salwar kameez drying on washing lines strung across back streets; women chat over yard

walls; men and boys in white salwar kameez and kufi caps make their way to Friday prayers; people cut through sides streets, striding down the hill towards town. A car pulls up outside. A white guy in his sixties gets out and enters. He efficiently shoves sheets into a machine and leaves straight away. He sits outside in his car reading the paper. A few minutes pass before again I'm alerted again by the door being forced open. Looking up I smile a little nervously. A woman in her 30s brushes her headscarf, making sure it has not slipped too far back on her head. Avoiding eye contact she empties one of the machines into a blue laundry bag and leaves. Itineraries intersect. But as quickly as bodies gather potential sociality dissipates as bodies turn away from exchange.

Elsewhere countless daily activities – ‘recurrent, regular and without surprise’ (Augé, 2002, p.27) – produce rhythmic crossings of paths. Race comes to matter interminably in many small ways – shaping perceptions, directing judgment and action – through these innumerable happy and unhappy encounters, but they rarely spark meaningful intercultural interaction. For example, topographies of multicultural touch stretch across the newsagents counter as people stop to buy their newspaper. Little or no attention is paid to such repeated, rhythmic coming together of bodies, but by paying attention to what happens when nothing is seemingly happening, we might trace the fleeting emergence of race in habitual, often unreflected, negotiations of ethnic differences. Race surfaces continually in the brusque handing over of coins, through accumulations of small talk, laddish jokes, or petty prejudices:

Becky: What about the newsagents when you went to work every morning?

George: They were two Indians. And they hate Pakis.

Becky: Well they're still Asians.

- George:]Well they hate Pakis. In fact they went mad when I called them a Paki [laughs].
- Becky: He was, he was only joking – he didn't just call 'em
- George:]Well yeah, they called me a 'cockney wanker' [Becky laughs loudly] and I called him a 'stupid Paki' and he threw me out of the door.

And in the crisscrossing of habitual itineraries such moments of encounter are promiscuous. They are repeated thousands of times everyday at takeaways, in the back of taxis, at dinner tables in the local curry house, on the bus, in the street...²⁰ Solitudes always already contain the potential of (yet to be actualised) intercultural interaction. As bodies come together in moments of encounter this potential is excessive. More often than not this moment passes without the actualisation of this potential; but then again it might occasionally be actualised in friendship, violence, tolerance, hate, indifference, neighbourliness, prejudice...

Or on the dance floor. The operation of the faciality machine is intense. Machinic connections of flesh, clothes, aftershave, alcohol, music and light sort and align bodies. But as the dance floor sorts bodies there is potential for differently raced bodies to come together, to intermingle. Topographies of touch mediated by dance, alcohol, music and hormones. A sociochemical sociality. Bodies coming together through desire, respect, lust, enjoyment, but also potentially through prejudice, hatred and violence. Ali's account of a good night out seems shadowed by the immanent potentiality of violence. Personal biographies, stories, anticipations are brought to the dance floor as the mood and

²⁰ And it was striking that even for those who were least tolerant the intersection of itineraries and the coming together of differently raced bodies over counters and restaurant tables were somehow acceptable, whereas other moments of encounter or passing in different surroundings were seen as problematic. Ethical relations of touch were acceptable, but only under certain conditions – namely where raced difference was being appropriated as labour or accepted on the basis of its difference (Ahmed, 2000).

atmosphere are gauged. Bodily dispositions are consciously managed; gestures checked. Openness, respect, engagement are haunted by the potentiality of abuse.

Ali: Yeah exactly. Yeah. I mean I went to a club and there was only me and my friend who were Asians in there. I couldn't even see any black faces in there, they were all white people. You know. But we didn't get into a fight. We did our dancing, we had our laugh. You know, had our drinks. And we were out of there. And not one person, you know, gave us any racism and we, we didn't give them any racism. But to look at a club which, you know, could cater for over 300 people, only 2 are Asians...how the hell did we manage to fit in there? Why because I'm not racist. And I don't see, I don't go in and think, 'I'm the daddy, or whatever'. I didn't go in like that. I went in and I made, I made sure that these people realised that I'm going in there to have fun. Which I did. I had my fun. I had my dance, you know, whatever. And I were gone. There was a lot of, like, err...I'm pretty good at dancing [laughs] so there was a lot of people there, you know, looking at me and you know, having a dance. And if I thought they were better dancers than me, you know, I would acknowledge that and say 'brilliant', or whatever. And then if there was someone who was weaker than me, he, he would obviously see me, they'd acknowledge the fact that there's someone's better than me, and I'm better than him. He would acknowledge that. He says, 'Oh not bad, not bad. Good dancing. Good dancing.' You know? We had our laugh and then we went. And that's all what happened. We didn't have no problem. There were bouncers in there, and...the bouncers didn't see us as a problem, because they realise, you know, they're having a laugh here. We were just enjoying ourselves.

But solitudes don't only entail geographies of face. We might think, for example, of the many moments of encounter – without engagement – enabled though the pages of Keighley's weekly newspaper. Animosity, suspicions, curiosities, stereotypes and prejudices are formed, deformed and reformed through attention-grabbing headlines, human interest stories, court lists, sports pages, letters to the editor and so on. For some suspicions will be entrenched and aggravated by stories of young Asian men involved in violence and drugs, and these stories might become sticky, virtual to the facialisation of Asian lads in and around Keighley. And the same might be true for stories about Islamic fundamentalism, terrorism, about paedophilia, the oppression of women, of honour killing. Now of course I'm not suggesting that these stories should not be covered, but we must be aware that as they are consumed – often in the context of minimal meaningful intercultural contact – they have affects. They might become virtual to other moments of encounter, shaping judgments, dispositions and actions. Or in weekly scans of the court lists documenting prosecutions for driving offences, failures to pay for television licences, and so on, the flickering recognition of Muslim sounding names, or addresses in Lawkholme or Braithwaite confirm petty prejudices and stereotypes of 'our Muslims friends' or 'chavs'. Then again other stories might disrupt, surprise and unsettle fixed ideas, automatic suspicions, and ingrained prejudices. Stories about business successes and school achievements, about mosque open days and cross-cultural movements against the BNP, or human interest stories about friendships, acts of kindness and so on. And moments of encounter and negotiations of ethnic difference are promiscuous, turning up in jokes, television news, political statements, gossip and rumour, films, magazines, college prospectuses, documentaries, conversations, books and so much more.

For Augé (2002) *solitudes* begins to capture how countless individual itineraries and billions of transient encounters without engagement (but potentially overflowing with meaning) add up to the ruled, instituted and collective character of the Paris metro. An accumulation of encounters without communication, the metro is lived and sensed individually and subjectively, 'and yet it is eminently social, the same for everyone, conferring on each person this minimum of collective identity through which a community is defined' (Augé, 2002, p.30).²¹ Taking Augé's concept elsewhere, I want to suggest that *solitudes* aptly captures much of the rub of everyday lives in and around Keighley. *Solitudes* communicates the face-to-face interactions and the casual contact between strangers that for Simmel and many more characterise the quintessentially urban encounter, but more than this it also recognises, like Sennett (1994) in Greenwich Village, that it is diversity of the gaze rather than diversity of interaction that best describes habitual negotiation of raced differences in Keighley. And allied to ethnographic details of what might be happening in moments of encounter, *solitudes* enable a rigorous grasping of the capricious emergence of race and the varied intensities through which bodies come together in encounters that fail to provoke engagement. *Solitudes* hold the potentiality for interaction, for 'alliances yet to be made' (Ahmed, 2000). But this is not the romantic politics of face-to-face democracy that ranks bijou restaurants, cafes, parks and squares as sites of intercultural participation and engagements; rather *solitudes* recognises the fleeting, indifferent contact that constitute so much of habitual multiculturalism (Amin and Thrift, 2002a). *Solitudes* capture the bad-tempered, self-absorbed ways in which people go about the city, and the fact that moments of encounter – in the street, over shop counters, in car parks, at supermarket checkouts, at the countless points of entry and exit, on buses and

²¹ The ruled and collective character of *solitudes* relies on 'architectures of everyday intersubjectivity with others' built, maintained and repaired through bodily gesture. 'In smiling, pointing, shaking our heads, leaning over, putting our hands up, stretching a pencil forwards, tapping a screen and all manner of glancings, we are making public displays of minded doings, from which others can infer manifested intentions, expectations and motives' (Laurier and Philo, 2006).

trains, at restaurants and takeaways, and so on – are often barely tolerant, let alone engaged or meaningful. Solitudes are less naïve about the intensities through which differently raced bodies come together in Keighley. As individual itineraries intersect the potential of moments of encounter – enveloping biography, moral panics, rumour, mood, surroundings, attitude and so much more – is excessive. Solitudes are incipient intercultural socialities. And yet prejudice, suspicion, abuse and violence are also immanent to these topographies of touch.

Viscosities

Viscosities, unlike solitudes – deal with engaged interactions, examining how in the turbulence of interaction bodies cluster immanently (Saldanha, forthcoming). We have already seen how raced aggregates cohere, as the machinic connections of face, things, surroundings and light collude to charge space, attracting some bodies while repelling others, as, for example, raced bodies stick together on benches in the Airedale Centre, on North Street at closing time on Saturday night. This immanent clustering of bodies into racial aggregates is visible elsewhere:

Keighley library. A space charged by the arrangement of furniture, entry and exit gates, computers, book shelves, tables and newspapers. Newspapers scattered across the surface of two tables radiate a milieu. They polarising space and some bodies tend towards these tables. But as bodies tend towards these tables they are sorted. Asian Eye, the Muslim News, Q News, the Daily Jang are left lying on the table farthest away. The Keighley News, the Guardian, the Daily Mail, the Sun lie discarded on the nearer table.

As differently raced bodies gather around these tables racial clusters continually appear to cohere. Three Asian men sit leafing through papers. Two speak intermittently, pointing to articles. A brief conversation ensues. And then silence. On the other table, two white men avoid encroaching each other's space, sitting in opposite corners. One jealously protects a small pile of papers. Both sit absorbed in their papers. Machinic connections of flesh, newspapers, language, clothes, and surroundings seem to turn bodies away – unconsciously perhaps – from interaction.

Viscosity – a concept that lies somewhere between solidity and fluidity (Saldanha, forthcoming, p.42) – allows us to grasp the immanent and temporary formation of racial aggregates out of the turbulence of interaction between bodies, objects, architecture and light that constitutes social spaces. In the library, the tendencies of Asian and white bodies to hold together – at the expense, perhaps, of opportunities for cultural exchange – appear to emerge through the contingent effects of face, newspapers, language, clothes, furniture, shared experiences and so on. Out of the dynamic physicality of this social space we can account for the 'surface tensions' that hold immanent clusters together, without denying the possibility that that boundaries might be transcended.

More often than not racial aggregates appeared to hold through the confusing swirls of interaction. Probably the most intense example of viscosity I encountered in Keighley was while I was doing research in a college of Further Education. I would often spend considerable amounts of time in the student union chatting, playing pool and passing time before interviews by doing participant observation. During the day, and particularly in term time, the union was extremely busy, used by groups of students from the college,

while many people working in the college used the snack and drinks machines in the union or passed through on their way to other parts of the building. But even through the turbulent socialities of this busy contact zone there were distinct tendencies towards the ‘coagulation of bodies’ (Saldanha, 2005, p.173). Immanent clusters of Asian lads formed as their bodies tended towards racial aggregates through machinic connections of flesh, Hip Hop, relative slowness, pool, friendship, sofas, playstations, cussing, drinks machines, free periods, jokes, table tennis. And in the student union Asian lads cohered into an in-crowd (Saldanha, 2005, p.175). They all knew each other and they seemed unapproachable – an unapproachability achieved through jokes, fooling around, vernaculars that move effortlessly from English to Urdu and bastardised gangsta rap (Malkani, 2006), pool and cussing (Back, 1996). And through the repeated flow of young Asian male bodies into immanent racial clusters seemed to have gradually thickened and become relatively impenetrable by other bodies (Saldanha, forthcoming, p.43). The holding-togetherness of this cluster of Asian lads affects and is affected by other bodies (Asian girls, white students, lecturers, administrative staff, cleaners and so on). Through the viscosity that holds their bodies together the space of the union is charged as intimidating. And reputations circulate. But the capacities of groupings of Asian lads to affect other bodies, is only one set of forces comprising the turbulent and dynamic physicality of this social space. For example, other bodies routinely pass through this space – albeit at different relative speeds to lads chillin’ between classes – due to accidents of architecture generating movements through the space (the union is a shortcut between buildings), and bodies also tend towards this space as it is the location of the only drinks and snack machines in the building. And through the turbulence of this dynamic physicality some bodies avoid possible moments of encounter (and anticipated, if not actualised, confrontation, intimidation, or discomfort). They buy their coffee and chocolate elsewhere, they take circuitous detours as the repelling affects of Asian lads overcome forces of attraction. Others negotiate the force fields

traversing the unions. For example, Alex begins to talk about how she self-consciously employs spatial tactics involving the management of her body to negotiate and diffuse how clusters of Asian lads might affect her as she passes through this potentially intimidating space:

Dan: And how about the student union? I'd be interested to hear what you think about that, and sort of the interactions that go on.

Alex: I think it depends on how you interact with them. And I think that erm – I would never feel threatened walking through the union but some women members of staff do, because of the male Asian culture that's in there. Erm. But I find that if you treat people in the way you want to be treated, you tend to get that back. Some people find it very intimidating. If you eye – and I don't mean eyeball them in an aggressive way – but if you make eye contact and you smile and you say 'hi', that's the end of it. They might all turn and look at you as you walk in, and you can put your head down and behave like some sort of victim [.1] and that's how you feel. Even on my least confident days I believe that if you make that eye contact and you smile at people, then I think people generally are alright with that. Even blokes like that, or the most cocky teenage girls – they accept that.

Viscosities are not necessarily about outright exclusions. They account for tendencies of differently raced bodies which acquire 'surface tension and become relatively impenetrable by other bodies' (Saldanha, 2005, p.174). Even when surface tensions might envelop racial groupings, but social boundaries can be transcended. For example, at playgrounds the glue of viscosity might be weakened as relative slowness, shared experiences of parenthood, pushchairs, confidence, light and so on overcome the viscosity of face and location and the capacities of clusters to repel are weakened. Conversations might be initiated, getting incipient intercultural socialities going:

Liz:]Nah. [laughs] No [.1] I mean [.2] umm people from different ethnic groups might sort of smile to each other, particularly if they have children because that's a [.] bonding thing to have children of the same age. Umm [.2] or yesterday I took my little boy to play in the playground [.1] near the Victoria leisure centre and everybody there was Asian except my little boy.

But that was fine, it would be smiles, the other children played, I talked to the other parents. It wasn't [.] any different to the way it would have been if I'd been in the, [.1] a playground where the other people were [.1] completely white. But no [.1] there isn't, there doesn't seem to be much inter, interaction. I know from friends who have children at secondary school that umm [.2] again that the [.] the ethnic groups are largely separate and err [.2] there's a lot of racial tension in some of the schools.

Viscosity is a useful descriptive analytic that allows us to account for how race might come to matter as racial aggregates of bodies form immanently and cohere out of the maelstrom of interaction. And by appreciating what Saldanha (forthcoming, p.8) calls the 'dynamic physicality of human bodies and their interactions' we can develop a materialist perspective that addresses problems of how it is that some bodies tend to stick together, and become relatively impenetrable to other bodies. More than simply track the machinic connections of relative speed, face, things, surroundings and light to analyse how racial clusters emerge immanently and temporarily, viscosities also locate these racial clusters in a philosophy of relations and affects, encouraging us to consider how these clusters affect, and are affected by, other bodies (Saldanha, forthcoming). In this way viscosities help us comprehend the turbulence and dynamism of various social spaces and how in becoming-viscous raced bodies charge spaces, radiating affects (fear, intimidation, shame, disgust, suspicions) that repel differently raced bodies and inhibiting meaningful intercultural interaction, not through downright exclusions but through in-crowd familiarities, language, aloofness, and so on. And these processes appear to be most intense where the abstract machine of faciality is at its most intense in, for example, the student union, in pubs, at BNP gatherings, around kebab shops and park gates and so on. And the operations of faciality seem to be most intense in particular locations and under specific conditions of light, and

where dissonances in the relative speed of bodies is most pronounced. However, this is not to say that viscosities preclude cultural exchange. The glue that holds racial clusters can come unstuck and immanent social boundaries transcended when intensities of the abstract machine of faciality are weakened and shared experiences, friendship, style, consumption, etcetera form the basis of alliances to be made. We see this perhaps in the playground as Liz begins to chat to other mums while her son plays. There are numerous other sites where points of connection and exchange might dampen the intensity of the sorting of bodies by face and weaken the glue of viscosity. Mother and toddler groups, leisure centres, the school gates, cafés, lobbies, and libraries all potentially establish these points of connection. And yet the tendency for children to attend single ethnicity schools and nurseries in Keighley, for example, means that important opportunities to exploit the dynamic sociality of the school gates are missed. Elsewhere even where racial clusters seem less dense, the intensive operations of faciality continue to hold back meaningful engagement.

Associations and institutional agglomerations:

Less spontaneous than the turbulent interactions interrogated by viscosities, the mingling of bodies through free associations, interest groups and institutional settings figure prominent in utopian imaginaries of urban publicity (Simmel, 1950; Sennett, 1998). Associations are taken to involve moments of gathering among the unacquainted around shared pleasures, and while claims that they enable civic inculcation and enhance democratic participation remain contested (Amin, 2006),²² associations capture another

²² Amin (2006, p.1019-1020) questions the necessary connection between free associations and the collective social good of civic regard, suggesting that free association has been redefined over recent years by the 'neo-liberal erosion of public owned or publicly maintained spaces' and the surveillance and ejection of undesirable groups, that urban association increasingly seems to be defined by 'spectacle and consumption', and thirdly

modality through which raced bodies might come together in and around Keighley. Topographies of multicultural touch also arc through institutions (through schools, work places, hospitals and doctors' waiting rooms, Sure Start, council meetings and so on) and the rub of these institutional settings – constituted through accumulated moments of touch through working together, co-operations, getting alongs, classroom dynamics and so on – buzz with the potentiality of intercultural contact. Both associations and institutional agglomerations gather bodies and hold them together, and through repeated habitual contact the 'unsteady sociality' of these sites carry the potentiality for what Amin (2002a & b) calls 'banal transgression', that can disrupt entrenched ideas and impress new ways of relating. As such they are routinely identified as settings through which multicultural work to choreograph intercultural engagement and respect should be directed. Here, I consider the varied and ephemeral ways in which race emerges in and through interactions within associations and institutional agglomerations, questioning whether points of connection, shared interests and focused interactions might subdue the intensive operations of faciality through face, embodiment and location, actualising potentialities for engaged intercultural exchange. In reality, the multiple moments of touch enabled through associations and institutional agglomerations can involve various getting alongs that potentially initiate engagement, respect, tolerance, understanding, friendship and alliance, but also probably entail petty frictions, annoyances, frustrations, office politics, that inflame prejudices, stereotypes and distrust.

Two of the gyms in Keighley seem to operate as associative gathering points. Differently raced bodies are routinely brought together in exercise. Multiple topographies of touch emerge in the visual economy of the gym through machinic assemblages of flesh, iron, MTV, vanity, treadmills, flirting, sweat, recovery times, display, similar relative speeds and

urban association has become a more dispersed activity, woven through 'virtual media, travel, *diaspora* links, the circulations of public culture, and so on'.

so on. Architecture, receptions, changing rooms, the layout of equipment, mirrors, drinks machines and so on charge space through attractors, invisible entry and exits points, and turnstiles that induce and direct the movement of bodies, enabling passings, encounters and touch. Gyms possess an excessive potential for intercultural mingling and contact:

Kelly:]I suppose it's a bit of everything but it's down to the person ain't it really? But I suppose if then they did mix [.1] well it's like I go t' gym, and there's loads of Asian lads in there, and I chat away to 'em. You know? And [.1] that's the only time I'll actually interact with them sort of thing. All me mates that I always go to see my mates anyway but [.] if I'm meeting new mates, you know, lads at gym and stuff, that's the only way [.] that I'd like meet 'em really 'cos I wouldn't [.2] you, you, if we were going out, you'd meet 'em in the pub, but they're never, you know, they're never in the pub. And they don't got to the nightclubs really. So ...

Dan: I mean [.2] do those meetings change the way you think in anyway or sort of would they

Kelly:]No. Everybody's a, everybody's a person aren't they at the end of the day, aren't they. You know, I mean a lot of people have [.1] problems and [.5] don't know how to deal with that really, do they? But you know? Get a grip. It's life ain't it?

In this dialogue we see how for Kelly the gym provides a setting for prosaic negotiations of ethnic difference as intensities of face are overcome by the similar relative speeds of differently raced bodies, shared interests in working out, and flirting. And yet the intensities of gym interactions are capricious. Just as gyms enable differently raced bodies to come together through flirtation, friendliness, and respect for the body beautiful and muscle definition, the engagements they make possible do not necessarily migrate to other surroundings. The same bodies might come together in different conditions of location and light through very different intensities (the pub, for example). But more than this, the inescapable physicality and cultures of display at gyms mean that we often find the sharpest forms of masculinity in these settings. In his intoxicating exposé of gang cultures and the lives of young Asian and white lads in Hounslow, Gautam Malkani (2006) discloses how intense the operations of faciality can be in gyms. As different raced bodies come together,

pumping iron, gyms can become acutely tough and exclusionary spaces, marked by aggression, rivalries and occasionally directed towards violence. And the sheer physicality of gyms, as sweaty bodies come into proximity through exercise and in changing rooms, might be harmful in other ways. For example, body odours in gyms might be enrolled in the abjection of Asian bodies through vicious stereotypes and prejudices around dirtiness, as we can begin to see as Tracy talks about perceptions of some customers when a friend – who happens to be Asian – drops by her salon, and then moves on to what people used to say when she ran a gym:

Dan: So I guess those sorts of perception do you meet them daily or...

Tracy:]I wouldn't say daily no. Because obviously we're out of it really here. Yeah. [.3] Used to be. Used to be – when we had the gym we encountered it. Umm [.3] certain members of the white disliked the [.2] the Asians [.3] - and I think basically [.2] not from a racists point of view, more from a [.1] a hygiene point of view. That was.

Dan: What was that?

Tracy: They're a bit whiffy aren't they? [laughs] They're a bit whiffy and when they train and it's hot, and they're getting sweaty [.1] they did put quite a lot of the white members off. I don't think it was really any racism, just the fact that [.2] they felt sick.

Lee:]At my gym it's

Tracy:]Yeah, they don't get showered after they've trained.

The 'unsteady socialities' of gyms are perhaps particularly volatile, but becoming attentive to home moments of intercultural contact might unfold in gyms is potentially illustrative of how 'banal transgressions' might be actualised, or not, in other associative spaces (Amin, 2002b).²³ Just a brief glance at the public information notice board in the Airedale Centre

²³ Of course not all associative spaces provide the same possibilities for intercultural exchange – just think of how topographies of hate and enmity twist through the virtual associative spaces of far right chatrooms, drawing on multiple geographies of association (including for example, local stories of racist attacks on whites and grooming, white nationalist ideas, neo-Nazi music, and transnational circulations of fascist propaganda)

or browsing through the small advertisements in the local newspapers begins to give you a sense of the range of associations in and around Keighley: there's the local history societies, allotments, gyms and leisure centres, community centres, book clubs, 5-side football leagues, coffee mornings at the library, train spotting, evening classes, local fashion shows. These associations continually and repeatedly gather bodies; they overflow with potential sociability of the kind that might allow for moments of 'cultural destabilisation', jolting entrenched ideas and relations and through cultural exchange providing opportunities to learn different ways of relating to difference. But often possibilities of intercultural interaction and mingling are stunted. Conjunctions of flesh, interest and location can be too intense, and immanent exclusions achieved through contingent effects might be enacted. Local history societies attract certain bodies – white, 'local', over-50s – through connections of location, membership, and reminiscences of how Keighley used to be. 'Do you remember when...?' Elsewhere opportunities for intense, competitive moments of exchange on football and cricket pitches are passed over, as local teams and leagues seem to be either exclusively Asian or White. Common interests fail to overcome viscosities of friendship and acquaintance and the raced sorting of body through face. We should not, however, be too pessimistic. Moments of 'banal transgression' are achieved. A fashion show organised by a local charitable organisation got white women to model saris and salwar kameez designed by Asian women, negotiating the operations of faciality and bringing differently raced female bodies together through intensities of fun, happiness, and respect. Evening classes and gyms are open to moments of intercultural encounter, exchange and engagement. Distrust, misanthropy and suspicion are potentially overcome – or at least suspended momentarily. But we also need to be modest in the claims we make for the intercultural potentiality of associative gatherings. They may hold the promise of intercultural exchange (yet to be exploited?), but we must also be attentive for the potential

that spiral out of and twist back into intolerances, hatreds and prejudice enacted on the streets of Keighley. But here, I want no to focus on associations where intercultural contact is at least potential.

for prosaic interactions to entrench or aggravate animosities and stereotypes, and question how the small achievements made at fashion shows, evening classes and elsewhere might migrate to other spaces through learnt dispositions.

These habitual gatherings of bodies and 'unsteady socialities' involving prosaic interactions with ethnic difference can also be identified in institutional agglomerations of bodies. For example, schools overflow with the potential for intercultural sociality and socialisation. Differently raced bodies are held together in classrooms, assemblies, dinner halls, break-time, at the school gates supply countless opportunities for disciplined but repeated intercultural mingling and interaction. The abstract machine of faciality is, of course, always at work as differently raced bodies come together, and is particularly intense as viscous groupings cohere outside lessons or in the occasional bruising and bloody comings together of bodies in the playground. However, similar relative speeds, shared experiences, routine co-operations and working together can dilute the operations of faciality, and through such moments of connection and cultural destabilisation intercultural tolerance, friendship and trust might emerge. But in Keighley's schools these prosaic contacts are increasingly missed as trends towards single ethnicity schools become entrenched. Asian and white bodies agglomerate in largely differently educational institutions in Keighley. Asian bodies are *seen* to tend to Greenhead Grammar, largely through (accidental?) geographies of residence and school catchment areas. But the agglomerations of Asian bodies in, for example, Greenhead Grammar schools has affects, that circulate through hearsay, rumour, biography, league tables, documentaries, newspaper articles, and prejudice. Greenhead becomes the 'Asian School'. 'It's 60% Asian'. '80% Asian'. 'Too many Asians'. 'I don't want my child to be in a minority.' 'They make them learn

Urdu/Punjabi/Islam.’ Too much multicultural intimacy?²⁴ Institutional agglomerations of Asian kids seem to charge educational spaces, and as white middle class parents abandon these schools by, for example, moving house or temporarily renting a house in a different school catchment area ‘silenced actual geography of racism’ comes into view (Pred, 1998). And concerns about agglomerations of different bodies are amplified by worries about gangs, exam results, racist attacks on whites, and prejudices about language ability. Limits of acceptability are breached. Racially charged perceptions feed practices of avoidance that include changing schools, moving house, joining waiting lists, going private. Individual avoidances – always understandable – add up to what Trevor Phillips (2005) has controversially called ‘sleepwalking to segregation’. But the compound effect of these agglomerations of raced bodies in single ethnicity schools is that there is little possibility for potential intercultural contact to be actualised through habitual negotiations of unsteady socialities. Unsettling opportunities of cultural exchange through which small achievements towards living together might be learned and accumulated are passed by as rumours, half-truths, gossip, league tables, conversations, documentaries perpetuate distrust, suspicion and avoidance to too much multicultural intimacy. Recently programmes of school twinning and student exchanges within the Bradford school district have attempted to capture some of the unactualised potential for intercultural engagement, but the intensities through which bodies come together (once a term or year) are qualitatively different, as opportunities for sustained and meaningful interaction escape.

²⁴ In 2003 Channel 4 aired *Last of the White Kids* a documentary that focussed on a ‘white family’ living in Manningham in Bradford to question what forms of ‘multicultural intimacy are acceptable’ as it worried about the ‘intense exposure of white working class children ‘to a different culture’”(Fortier, 2005, p.4). I met these kinds of anxieties around ‘multicultural intimacies’ on a daily basis in conversations, interviews, rumours, etc. and they were articulated more often than not around schools. People spoke of numerous strategies they had employed or considered to get their children into their school of choice including moving house to fall into a particular catchment, renting properties for a year within particular catchments so children would be eligible, changing a child’s primary school because it was a feeder school to a particular secondary school, and conspicuously attending church for periods.

Institutions and institutional agglomerations gather bodies and hold them together. And while they are not immune from the intensive operations of the abstract machine of faciality, through their capacities to potentially gather and hold bodies from all backgrounds these spaces can provide sites for ‘banal transgression’ (Amin, 2002b) and moments of cultural engagement beyond the indifference of solitudes or the turning away of differently raced bodies through viscosities. However, as these examples begin to illustrate, much of the potentiality for intercultural exchange, engagements and respect goes unactualised, often because the forces that hold bodies together in associations or institutions are less intense than activities of the abstract machine of faciality. And so the possibilities of a politics of small achievements based on the potentiality of the unsteady sociality of these sites goes unrealised.

Collectivities:

The collective then is not simply about what ‘we’ have in common – or what ‘we’ do not have in common. Collectivities are formed through the *very work that we need to do* in order to get closer to other, without simply repeating the appropriation of ‘them’ as labour, or as a sign of difference.’

(Ahmed, 2000, p.179-180)

United in Stand Against Extremists

A HIGH-PROFILE campaign to keep political extremists out of Keighley in the run-up to the General Election was launched this week.

Townsppeople are being urged to pledge their support and send a resounding “stay away” message to parties like the British National Party.

Organisers want every resident to defend decency by placing Keighley Together’s “Count me in!” leaflet in their window with its slogans like “hope not hate” and “defending decency”.

(*Keighley News*, 21.01.2005, p1)

Keighley Together. HOPE NOT HATE. Intensities of shame and disgust align bodies. Affects stirred by BNP success in local elections, television documentaries,²⁵ BNP ‘outsiders’ descending on Keighley during the 2005 General Election, by extremists campaigning in the town. Leaflets, posters, stickers, meetings, articles, hearsay circulate, exploiting stories about ‘grooming’, ‘Labour betrayal’, ‘discrimination against the majority’. All the talk is of ‘racial tension’ as columnists and journalists from national newspapers descend on the town. Shame, distributed across the actions and narratives of the BNP’s racist campaign, moves bodies (Ahmed, 2004); it brings them together in emergent collectivities. Work is *done* to get closer, to become together. Temporary political assemblages are forged (largely among local vicars, community workers, college tutors, councillors, ‘representatives’) and attempt to intensify circulations of hope and multicultural love to counteract the topographies of hate woven through racist exploitations of intercultural suspicion and distrust. Wristbands, slogans, public displays, car stickers, sports events, Searchlight, quotes are all enrolled to ‘carry’ these intensifications as this political assemblage seeks to incite a contagion of multicultural love and hope. Hopeful and happy aspects of everyday lives in Keighley are juxtaposed with the abjection (through registers of shame, hate and disgust) of racism and the hatefulness of ‘outside extremists’.

²⁵ Two documentaries aired in the spring and early summer of 2004 highlighted the activities of the British National Party in Keighley and both documentaries became national media events. For the BBC documentary *The Secret Agent* an undercover reporter infiltrated a group of British National Party activists in Keighley, and secretly recorded meetings, speeches, pub conversations that exposed the deep-seated and viscous racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia of a party that has recently attempted to launder and ‘mainstream’ its image to limited electoral success. *Edge of the City*, a Channel 4 documentary on service provision in the Bradford Metropolitan District that included a 15-minute segment covering the sexual exploitation of underage white girls by Asian men in Keighley was scheduled to be aired on the eve of the May 2004 local elections. But amid considerable media-fed fervour as the BNP attempted to exploit the documentary claiming that the documentary was a party political broadcast for the party, the documentary was pulled, and aired later that summer. These events seemed to both energise the BNP activism in Keighley, and establish Keighley as a particular moment where ‘Multiculturalism’ and ‘race relations’ were going seriously wrong, and as such the town was singled out for particularly intense scrutiny under the gaze of the national media. In January 2005 this scrutiny was inflamed by Nick Griffin’s decision to run for Keighley’s MP in the May 2005 General Election.

Keighley Together is exemplary of the work done to bring differently raced bodies together through collectivities. Some bodies – moved by shame at the BNP activism in Keighley – came together to repel these racist bodies. This incipient political assemblage – that enveloped spatially stretched geographies of anti-racist praxis enrolling, for example, inter-faith and ‘race relations’ experts, Searchlight and other trade union resources – did considerable affective work to bring differently raced bodies together through topographies of multicultural love and hope, but also in anti-racist disgust, and hate for the British National Party. But race came to matter in distinct ways as this political assemblage came together. Operations of faciality were particularly intense as Keighley Together assembled bodies, but rather than turning differently raced bodies away from intercultural contact and exchange, raced differences became the basis of interactions. Raced differences became ‘cultural diversity’, and inclusions were enacted through practices of othering as togetherness, the ‘we’ of Keighley, was asserted by embracing raced differences (Ang, 1999; Ahmed, 2000).²⁶ In Keighley Together emergent raced differences became, then, the modality through which different bodies worked to get closer together in their efforts to abject the Nick Griffin and the British National Party. In distinction to varied social spaces of associations, institutional agglomerations, and viscosities, the differently raced bodies forming the Keighley Together collectivity held together held together because of, and not in spite of, the operations of the abstract machine of faciality through face, embodiment and location.

Those moved to form this political assemblage and put in the work necessary to get differently raced bodies together tended, perhaps unsurprisingly, to be those who habitually

²⁶ My arguments here mirror arguments made by commentators including Ien Ang, (1999), Sara Ahmed (2000) and Ghassan Hage (1998) about the modalities of national inclusion effected through multiculturalism. Ahmed (2000, p.95) contends that multiculturalism ‘reinvents ‘the nation’ over the bodies of strangers as ‘acts of ‘welcoming the stranger’ serve to constitute the nation’, and so acts of othering take place through acts of inclusions and multicultural belonging.

came together with differently raced bodies through institutional agglomerations (of workplaces, council meetings, colleges and schools), associations, and so on. The fervour and unsettled sociality through which bodies were held together in Keighley Together held the potential for moments of 'banal transgressions' and cultural exchange (Amin, 2002b). Moreover, the affective work done by the collective incited a temporary contagion of multicultural love (riding largely on distributions of a fashion for wrist-bands) had success in momentarily bringing different bodies closer in a politics of small achievements, holding the potential, at least, for greater intercultural sociality, engagement and understanding as these achievements migrate and bleed into other moments of encounter. However, the varied opportunities for intercultural exchange enabled by Keighley Together (through meetings, conversations, marches, wristbands, media coverage) were fleeting, as the urgency of working to become together dissipated as the BNP's electoral threat subsided.

Of course, race does not emerge through collectivities in the same way. For instance, the intensive operations of the abstract machine of faciality in some collectives working to become closer is manifestly and violently exclusionary – the BNP, Combat 18, Hizb ut-Tahrir and other Islamist movements are, after all, collectivities. Less extremely, mosques, churches, madrassas and Sunday schools, community and cultural centres, the TUC are also examples of collectivities of bodies, but in working to bring some bodies closer together (through face, religion, location, shared experiences and interests and so on), they might have the effects of turning differently raced bodies away from cultural exchange. That said, there are other moments where collectivities work to bring differently raced bodies together both through design – in inter-faith walks through the town, open days held by the Medina mosque to encourage intercultural and inter-faith engagement and understandings, or in expressions of solidarity following the July 7th terror attacks in

London – and coincidence in for example marches against the Iraq war or participating in Keighley’s annual Mela. Race emerges in distinct ways through these collectivities, as bodies are held together, albeit fleetingly, because of their differences. And through the effort of coming closer, there are opportunities for cultural destabilisation and exchange that might be nurtured and exploited in an agonistic intercultural politics based on small achievements.

Employing a decidedly materialist perspective I have attempted to trace just a few of the ‘billions of happy and unhappy encounters’ (Thrift, 1999, p.302) that make up everyday topographies of multicultural touch in Keighley. This section has emphasised the multiple and ephemeral ways in which race surfaces in all kinds of everyday intercultural interactions. Working through just some of the multiple and capricious modalities and intensities through which race emerges, alerts us not only to the promiscuity of race in habitual practices of sense making, but also the radical instability of the meaning of raced differences. The creativity and virtuality of race are manifest, and by embracing the heterogeneity of race, and by proliferating race, multiplying racial differences we might begin to work towards less oppressive and hierarchical forms of race thinking (Saldanha, 2006, p.21). Secondly, and more importantly, through this descriptive analytic I have shown how differently raced bodied routinely come together through at least four modalities and intensities of intercultural touch. This descriptive analytic complicates superficial calls for more community cohesion, based on the premise that more interaction is necessarily a good thing (Bradford Race Review Team, 2001; Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001). Tracing topographies of multicultural touch through these four registers assembles distinct perspectives onto the complex and turbulent socialities of urban multiculturalism that the messy affectivities that buffet around moments of intercultural

encounter. These four modalities of multicultural touch, when read alongside my reading of urban multiculturalism from the roadside and accounting for the distributions and tendencies of bodies enable us to identify possible moments for intercultural interaction and exchange, contributing to an agonistic politics of getting along based on small achievements (Amin, 2002a; Amin and Thrift, 2002a; Thrift, 2005a).

Topographies of loss

I encountered topographies of loss all over Keighley. For example, melancholic moods and a lack of hope accumulated around architectural reminders of the decline in the towns' economic prosperity, sticking to the Victorian grandeur of civic buildings, smoke-blackened mills now still and in various states of dereliction, and rows of back-to-back terraces. And these topographies of loss can be raced, as fantasies of a 'lost' cultural homogeneity coalesce around Asian faces, dormer windows, kebab shops, taxis, call for prayers and so on. In my second detour through multicultures' topographies I want to highlight some of the anxious and uneasy ways through which 'white' people come to terms with the realities of everyday multicultures, and how changes in the moods or ambiance of streets, neighbourhoods, or parks are routinely perceived as 'lost'. Feelings of displacement, alienation and exclusion achieved through intensive differences in the machinic connections that make up a locale (more Asian faces, the construction of mosques, mattresses discarded in the street, the sound of Urdu being spoken in the street, salwar kameez hanging on washing lines, etc.) bleed into perceptions of 'no-go' areas, neighbourhoods being 'taken over', colonised even, shaping judgments ('I am no longer comfortable here'; 'I liked it how it used to be'; 'You'll get attacked if you go there') and actions (white flight; avoidance; revenge). Mapping topographies of loss provides an opportunity to reflect on how race emerges through urban space in what might be local articulations and refractions of what Ghassan Hage (2003a) has identified as 'white colonial

paranoia' in Australia, and what in the British context Paul Gilroy (2004) has called a mood of 'postcolonial melancholia'.²⁷ In their different ways Gilroy and Hage are concerned with what they diagnose as ontological insecurities in national identities (Britishness, Englishness, Australianness), and how the 'tacit racial connotations' of these national identities make them 'exclusionary and synonymous with whiteness' (Gilroy, 2004, p.vii). I want to distance myself from the tendencies in these diagnoses to construct whiteness as (essentially) anxious, resentful, and melancholic and (inherently) exclusionary, preferring to think about the immanence of whiteness, Asianness, Blackness and so on and the inherently dynamic '*morphogenetic processes*' that give rise to 'race' in practices of sense making, rather than in terms of essences that explain identities (DeLanda, 2002, p.10). However, I am interested in how these nationally framed affective dispositions – the anxieties, resentments, and hopelessness – might twist through local topographies of multiculturalism in Keighley, and how race might emerge through multiple topographies of loss.

Perhaps the most explicit twisting of these affective dispositions through topographies of multiculturalism in Keighley is witnessed in British National Party campaigns during recent

²⁷ Fusing psychoanalysis with political economy Hage (2003a, p.49) works sees paranoia as a pathological form of fear based on a 'conception of the self as excessively fragile, and constantly threatened. It also describes the tendency to perceive a threat where none exists or, if one does exist, to inflate its capacity to harm the self.' In this way Hage locates Australian narratives of what he calls the 'fragile white self', and of white decline, in a national psyche that has a desire to 'domesticate' everything into a white Anglo norm, and as such any form of cultural otherness – including asylum seekers, immigrants, global economic forces, cultural imperialism and multiculturalism, as threatening and fearful. And Hage (2003a) finds these affects expressed both border politics as worrying about being 'swamped' becomes the dominant mode not only of demonstrating one's attachment to the nation, but also through fantasies of changing society back to what it had been. For Gilroy (2004, p.15.) postcolonial melancholia in Britain speaks to an 'anxious, melancholic mood [that] has become part of the cultural infrastructure of the place, an immovable ontological counterpart to the nation-defining ramparts of the white cliffs of Dover' that he finds in 'obsessive' concerns about 'invasion, war, contamination, loss of identity'. For Gilroy this melancholia is related to a feeling of powerlessness in a postcolonial world that relates to multilayered trauma that is economic and cultural, political and psychological, enveloping both guilt and shame at colonial and imperial histories but also what he calls the 'pathology of greatness' and the 'morbidity of heritage' proceeding through 'whitewashed' colonial history and memory (p.3), and how 'automatic assent to...historic demands for power and recognition' are increasingly withheld in a postcolonial world (p.43). And part of Gilroy's concern with this melancholic mood resides in 'the exceptionally powerful feeling of comfort and compensation [that] are produced by the prospect of even a partial restoration of the country's long-vanished homogeneity' (Gilroy, 2004, p.95).

local and general elections that have played explicitly on the 'nativist anxieties' of what the BNP would call the 'silent majority', that is 'white indigenous folk'. The BNP's manifesto for the 2005 General Election laid bare, for example, racist policies of abolishing multiculturalism and the closure of Britain's borders to all immigrants and asylum seekers (with the exception of refugees from France and Denmark),²⁸ legitimated through the construction of 'white indigenous folk' as victims. Similar narrative manoeuvres that nurture and exploit 'white' victimhood were employed locally as the BNP sought to exploit perceptions of unequal flows of funding to 'white' and 'Asian' community centres, and 'worries' about rapid cultural change, racist attacks on whites, '*violent crime*', '*drug dealers*', and '*child grooming*'. Here, however, I am less interested in tracing how these racist topographies might speak to a condition of ontological insecurity, than I am in tracking how race continuously and transiently emerges through what I am calling topographies of loss. While topographies of loss might be contorted – amongst other things – through the multiple racist geographies of BNP campaigning, I am specifically interested in how certain urban spaces and settings are experienced and sensed through feelings of loss that might then bleed into resentments, anxieties, abjection and so on. Topographies of loss invoke the mood and ambiances of various settings – themselves immanent accomplishments of machinic geographies of bodies, things, light, biographical events, stories, reputation and so on – to trace the emergence of race through the affective intensities through which some

²⁸ Through numerous unpalatable policies the British National Party manifesto mobilised an excessively fragile conception of the ontological status of the nation, claiming 'Britain's very existence today is threatened by immigration' (British National Party Manifesto, 2005, p.13) to legitimate proposals to halt all future immigration, to deport all 'illegal immigrants' and 'bogus asylum seekers', to initiate a programme of voluntary repatriation and abdicating responsibility for any international refugees unless a 'flood of refugees from a civil war in France or Denmark turns up on our shores' (p.14). Alternatively, the manifesto also proposed an end to policies of multiculturalism that also betrayed their penchant for conspiracy theories, arguing: 'The present regime is engaged in a profound cultural war against the British people, motivated by the desire to create a new ethnic power base to replace the working class which they have abandoned in pursuit of their enthusiasm for globalisation, justified by a quasi-Marxist ideology of the equality of all cultures' (p.17). The manifesto descends into a rant that enrolls spurious genetic, biological and medical arguments about innate differences between races to suggest essential cultural and political incompatibilities of different 'races', and raising the spectre of ethnic genocide before appealing to 'homely imaginaries' and comfort to be achieved by what Gilroy (2004, p.95) calls a return to 'Greatness'.

urban multicultures are sensed, shaping perceptions and directing judgments and actions in heterogeneous processes of racial differentiation.

Topographies of loss focus on melancholic and resentful moods seemed to be stirred through, for example, changes in the uses, architecture, smells and sounds of streets, neighbourhoods, and parks, the dissonance between memories and what one encounters, and recollections of how things used to be. I suggest that race emerges fleetingly through these dissonances, displacements and differences in habitual practices of sense making. Below, I trace topographies of loss in through the emergent geographies of ‘no-go’ areas and neighbourhood change, arguing that intensive differences in arrangements of bodies, things, and light can transform the feel and affective relief of some settings. And it is through the vortexes and affective currents – of feeling out of place, of feeling excessively threatened, intimidated, alienated and so on – that constitute the distinct microclimates of ‘no-go’ areas and lost neighbourhoods that we might begin to grasp the fleeting emergence of race in practices of sense making. In doing so, we might begin to appreciate more precisely the constitution of imaginative geographies that sustain the A-Z of racist geographies and other symptomatic readings of urban space that not only shape perceptions and habitual geographies of, say, avoidance, but also frame policy, political statements and policing.

Losing white working class neighbourhoods

Walking downhill towards Keighley’s town centre from Braithwaite and Guardhouse there are abrupt changes in the moods and atmospheres of the street. As you cross West Lane you leave behind the exclusively white post-war council estates, a space charged assemblages of mini motorbikes, noisy kids playing in the street, vandalised playgrounds, boarded up houses, flags bearing the cross of St George, posters advertising support for

the BNP in some windows, neighbours talking and smoking at adjacent front doors as they look out across the street, and so much more. A white area. Through arrangements of bodies and the force of things radiates milieus, creating vaguely intimidating moods (through the incessant noise of mini motorbikes, extended gazes thrown at unrecognised faces passing by, and manifest support for the BNP) and polarising this space, as it tends to repel Asian bodies and white middle class bodies. But as you cross West Lane, you traverse another of these invisible frontiers. Intensive differences in the often-overlooked machinic geographies of this neighbourhood produce a distinct atmosphere. Encounters with white faces gradually become less frequent, and white bodies are not only marked out by in this space by conjunctions of skin and clothing, but also by their relative speed as they cut through this neighbourhood on their way elsewhere. Highfields used to be a white working class neighbourhood (although histories of migration to Keighley from Ireland, Italy, Poland, Lithuania and the Ukraine mean that the neighbourhood has never been as culturally homogenous as some like to imagine). However, arrangements of bodies, things and architecture all suggest recent processes of neighbourhood change. Race emerges continuously through dormer windows, the relative slowness of Asian women standing arms folded in doorways watching over children playing in back alleys, in the beautified green spaces funded by a Single Regeneration Budget gentrification scheme, through a close juxtaposition of a church and a mosque and madrassa, in conversations fusing Urdu with English slang and borrowing liberally from gangsta speak, a halal butcher, the smell of Kashmiri cooking, and so much more. But as these heterogeneous elements create intensives differences and contribute to a distinct atmosphere, they are – for some people – twisted through topographies of loss.

Raced differences surface through arrangements of bodies, things, and architecture in this mixed neighbourhood and charge this space. The resonances radiated in and through this

space, through the force of things, the relative slowness of Asian bodies in streets and alleyways, and sounds and smells in the street, might encompass a becoming-unfamiliar of this neighbourhood or street. Cultural difference riding of the force of things, bodies and architecture produce particular atmospheres that, for some, involve displacement, of feeling out of place. Topographies of loss emerge through what might be considered uncanny juxtapositions (of say call for prayers carried down streets of Victorian back-to-back terraces), through the tension between how areas are remembered and how they are actually sensed, and through nostalgic fantasies that things might be returned to how they once were. Topographies of loss provoke particular modes of engagement with everyday multiculturalism as it emerges through the machinic connections of bodies, things and architecture, often articulated through senses that such former white working class neighbourhoods have been lost to 'Asians', they have been 'taken over', even 'colonised'. Emotive talk about areas being 'taken over', playing on Orientalist anxieties about an 'Islamic psyche' that are used to explain perceptions of 'self-segregation' (which at their most shrill are manifest in fears that Sharia law will soon be established in parts of Bradford and Keighley), elide the complex and confusing dynamics of neighbourhood change that are the effects of chain migrations from Azad Kashmir, racist practices in public and private housing economies, efforts to produce homeliness through varied cultural and religious practices, white flight to suburban villages, but also – and probably more importantly – other practices of avoidance, of not moving into areas perceived to be 'Asian'. Topographies of loss were often aggravated by circulating stories, rumour and gossip of aggressive practices designed to repel white families from supposedly 'Asian' areas. On numerous occasions I was told stories of white people in some neighbourhoods answering their front doors to be confronted by cash offers for their homes from Asian men. When these offers were refused, they were followed up with guarantees, veiling threats, that they would come back tomorrow with another offer for less money, and they

would continue this until they sold up. On another occasion I was told that Asian women had spat regularly at a white woman and kicked her pram as part of a series of practices designed to intimidate her and make her feel out of place. These stories are undoubtedly virtual to topographies of loss. Topographies of loss are accumulated effects of the interplay between biographical events, rumour and stories and the machinic geographies of bodies, things and architecture that constitute spaces and their distinct atmospheres, bleeding into perceptions (an 'Asian' area), and fashioning judgments ('It's being taken over'; 'House prices are going to plummet') and action ('I'm moving out', 'I'm not going to live there'...).

Topographies of loss arc through my conversation with Gina, as she communicates a sense of white neighbourhoods as excessively vulnerable to being 'contaminated' and taken over – a local refraction perhaps of Hage's (2003a) 'white colonial paranoia' – and how anxieties are stirred by race, and the force of paint and rubbish:

Gina:]Umm well I mean to be fair, if you do go into err [.1] a, a traditional Asian area in Keighley, you will find it's quite scruffy and there's litter on the street. You will find [.1] houses painted in bright colours etcetera, which [.1] you know, it's just not how it is [.2] round [.1] it's, you know [.1] round here it's very traditional [.2] and people like that. So [.1] they feel unsafe for a start. They'd think, 'Oh my god. They're, they're gonna paint that green.' Or, 'They're gonna have rubbish out.' Or [.1] there were a story in t' Telegraph and Argus about [] Gillingham – where they're a predominately Asian area – and the council have actually had to go in and clean it up and they've [.2] something like a hundred car tyres, 60 fridges [laughs], you know, that had been dumped outside people's houses. But I'm not saying that it's [.1], you know, Wayne and Waynetta Slob could move in that people would be just as bad! It's not [.2] I suppose it's more of a [.1] you know, a class thing [.1] as far as that goes. But they wouldn't notice as quickly if it was Wayne and Waynetta slob as what they would if a traditional Asian family, in their traditional dress rolled up and started moving [.2] moving in, you know?

Dan: I mean I guess another thing that relates to that, that comes up again and again

Gina:]Yeah.

Dan:]and this really emotive language about areas being lost

Gina:]Yeah. Yeah they do say [.2] you do hear that, yeah. Even all the stuff about moving, they'll be, 'They're starting to take over round here.' And, 'We'll have to have a mosque.' And [.2] you know, 'We'll have to have this and we'll have to have that.' You do, [.1] you do hear that. I mean I just, I don't know what Asians would say if a lot of white people started [.3] you know, blanket moving into their areas. Maybe they'd start saying, 'Oh it'll be all single parents.' I know that that is one of their fears [.1] from a lot of Asian people. And [.2] 'Don't want single parents in our community.' So you know, like I say there's prejudice everywhere unfortunately.

Dan:]And [.2] and you were saying that you sort of hear people saying this stuff [.2] and where, where would you hear that [.2] around and about?

Gina: [.2] You would more hear it if you did [.3] if umm like Asians are starting to move further and further up Fell Lane now, and you do hear people saying, 'Soon round here they're gonna be takin' over.' You do hear that, but that has [.3] the people moving in down Fell Lane have extended more from the Lund Park area. Asians moving [.1] they are moving further up. And [.1] I suppose because they are traditional Asians this is what people are thinking, they think – well not just traditional but there'd be a lot of working class people. There'd be a lot of people in poverty moving [.2] and they're scared of the rubbish and the paint, you know [.2] the houses being painted different colours. They're actually scared of [.1] of that, more than the fact that it's – if, if an Asian doctor moved in, or something, an Asian [.2] any professional Asian moved in, they wouldn't think owt of it – [.2] well they might, but they wouldn't be as bothered. You know what I mean?

Alternatively, as Jan recounts moving home in Keighley – relaying a racist vernacular as she enrolls other voices into her narrative – topographies of loss are contorted by the abjection of raced difference manifest in desires to 'keep the mucky sods out' in efforts to maintain a homogeneity or homeliness of the street. The sense that emerges in Jan's narrative is of an almost pathological fear shaped by the constant threat that Asian families might move into the street. The whiteness of the street is excessively fragile and needs to be vigilantly guarded against the incursion and the abject excesses of contamination. Rumours, stories, gossip, fleeting perceptions and experiences are enrolled to sustain topographies of loss that surface as anxieties about raced differences (articulated through the racist equivalence of Otherness with dirt), changes in the atmosphere of the estate, the estrangement of the familiar and homely, house prices, and so on.

Jan: [.3] Most of the Asians tended to live in an area that in Keighley, err shall we say near the town centre. Umm [.3] and I lived on the bad estate, that was just newly built at the time, and word was ‘Oh well, you gonna go an live in the posh people end? Yeah make sure it’s white. Don’t – If you sell, don’t sell to a Paki.’

Dan: Right?

Jan: You know, ‘Don’t sell to a Paki’.

Dan: And why’s that?

Jan: They just didn’t want ‘em living next – ‘I don’t want them mucky sods living next door to me.’ ‘I’m not having ‘em throw their muck outside.’ And, ‘I’m not having ‘em doing this that and the other’. Which I used to think was really bad, until I actually met it.

Dan: Right?

Jan: I actually did meet a street in Bradford where the Muslims moved in and I couldn’t believe it, I watched it over the next five years and I could not believe what I saw. I did not understand why they chose to be so dirty.

Thinking through how topographies of loss work through perceptions and experiences of neighbourhood change, as raced differences emerge provisionally, but continuously through face, the relative speeds of bodies, through the force of rubbish, halal meat, calls for prayers, dormer windows and so on. And by engaging with how emotive, and sometimes racist, talk of former white working class neighbourhoods being lost unfolds through the machinic geographies that constitute places and adds up to distinct atmospheres, I think we are better placed to understand and counteract, but not justify, the circulation and contagion of melancholia, resentments and fear in raced practices of sense making, rather than simply dismiss these affectivities registers as racist, and therefore unworthy of analysis.

Lund Park: The emergent geographies of a no-go area

More emotive still is intense talk and invocations of no-go areas, which are a particularly powerful element in the segregated city's arsenal of imaginative geographies (Bradford Race Review Team, 2001). Here, I wish to avoid retreating to an archaeological conception of space that works through a static idea of space as a surface inscribed by race by simply deconstructing emotive talk of no-go areas as it circulates through newspapers, political statements, gossip, rumour, letters to the editor, policing press releases and so on. Rather than accede to this deconstructive impulse, I track the ephemerality of race as it continually emerges in practices of sense making through arrangements of, and machinic connections between, bodies, things, architecture, flora and light in Lund Park. I have already suggested the park is routinely talked of as a no-go area, arguing how the space vibrates with resonances initiated through machinic connections of bodies, things and light, in an attempt to grasp how provisional processes of heterogeneous of racial differentiation might work through the turbulent microclimates of the park. For example, the resonances radiated by the relative slowness of young Asian men hanging out by the park entrance, the fading light at dusk, poor street lighting, and a stillness in the park might produce a threatening atmosphere and awaken specific fear or vigilance, while under different conditions of light, and arrangements of bodies and things the park might excite quite different affects. Without retracing these arguments at length here, I consider how race emerges in the park specifically through topographies of loss, through intensities that seem to exceed those at work in talk of lost neighbourhoods. This involves tracking the emergent geographies of this no-go area, and how affectively-imbued, heterogeneous processes of racialisation proceeds through the interplay of the affective capacities of circulating stories, myth and gossip, that are virtual to encounters in and with this space, with arrangements of bodies, things, and architecture and distributions of light in the charging of space, such that some bodies are attracted while others are repelled.

Father falls victim to race-hate attack

A father-of-one was yesterday operated on for serious facial injuries after he was beaten up by a gang of Asian youths during a racist attack.

Michael Thompson, 32, from Braithwaite, and a 31-year-old man, whom police have not named, were attacked by the group of 15 to 20 teenagers in the Lund Park area of Keighley.

(Keighley News, 01.06.2001, p.1)

Man attacked by racist gang

A 41-year-old family man has told how he was attacked by a mob of Asian youths as he walked through a park.

As members of the gang looked on the man was 'booted' in the head and body and knocked to the ground.

He managed to break free and ran to raise the alarm. Police have confirmed they are treating the incident as a racially aggravated assault.

(Keighley News, 04.10.2002, p.1)

Park bowlers intimidated

A Keighley park is becoming a no-go area for bowlers because of abuse and intimidation by unruly youths.

The bowlers say they are too scared to use the Lund Park greens – especially accompanied by their wives – at certain times of the day.

Bowlers, who are too frightened to give their names, have called for extra policing.

And Bradford Council recreation division is considering building fencing around the two bowling greens and pavilions. Members want police to swoop in plain clothes and unmarked cars to prevent youths getting an early warning and escaping.

They say they are being racially abused by Asian youths, who are aged between 14 and 18 years.

One bowler, who has been a member of the Lund Park Bowling Club for about five years said: "they shout at us 'this is our park, f**k off you white b*****s.

(Keighley News, 12.04.2002, p.1)

Bowls club hit in racist attack

A picture of Osama bin Laden was put up alongside racist graffiti at a Keighley bowling club.

Vandals daubed insulting message on Lund Park Bowling Park and on the newly-refurbished veteran's pavilion and benches.

(Telegraph and Argus, 19.10.2001)

Councillor is too frightened to walk streets

A Keighley councillor is calling on police to adopt a zero tolerance policy to combat anti-social behaviour by gangs of youths.

Keighley West Labour councillor Barry Thorne wants the police to take a tough line with those who cause mayhem for residents.

Councillor Thorne has also told the Keighley News that recent experiences had left him frightened to go out of his front door.

He had gone to see a relative on Sunday and was subjected to abuse from a group of youths who also hurled a brick at his car.

Earlier in the week a rocket had been fired at him, which narrowly missed.

Residents in the Lund Park and Fell Lane area say they have been terrorised by gangs letting off powerful fireworks indiscriminately.

(Keighley News, 02.11.2001, p.1)

The momentum of these stories leaves us in little doubt about the intensities through which Lund park might be affectively charged for some residents, walkers, bowlers and so on. Here, I argue that the cumulative weight of stories like these take their toll. Stories of racist attacks on whites, fireworks being pushed through letterboxes, verbal and physical intimidation and so on circulate through newspaper articles, ASBOS, hearsay and gossip, exaggerated story-telling, conversations with friends and colleagues, and biographical events become virtual to inhabitations of spaces like Lund Park. Laid down as raced affects and memories – perhaps dispersed and faded – these stories are virtual to habitual practices of sense making. And as particular arrangements of bodies, things and light are encountered – for example, as teenagers hang out at the park gates at dusk, noisily jostling each other, chucking stones into the road – these virtual memories and affects are potentially actualised. Adrenaline might surge. Even the slightest movement in the shadows rouses awareness and floods of suspicion. Steps quicken. Alternatively, the affective capacities of stories like this might be such that they bleed directly into judgment and action. These stories might generate avoidances – taking a different route home, walking the dog elsewhere, only entering the park in a group, not bowling after tea-time, not parking near the park, moving out and so on – and as stories continue to circulate, they receive extra momentum as reputations are seemingly confirmed by new reports, stories and rumour. The topographies of loss arcing through the machinic connections that constitute intimidating and exclusionary moods and culminate for some in the becoming-no-go of this area are particularly intense. More than the melancholic moods and resentments stirred by what are for some the unhomely and unfamiliar ambiances riding on arrangements of bodies, things and architecture in lost neighbourhoods, the emergent geographies of the no-go area imply, I think, a violent and intense casting out of some – in the case of Lund Park – white bodies primarily by ‘unruly Asian youths’. And yet as we begin to appreciate the becoming no-go of Lund Park, we must also keep sight of the very different ambiances achieved in different

intensities of sunlight, for example, when watching over children at the gates to the playground the glue of viscosities of racial clusters might be overcome by similar relative speeds and points of connection established through parenthood.

In this section mapping topographies of loss has brought to the fore melancholic moods, resentments and anxieties that capture so much of the ill tempered and ungenerous rub of everyday multicultures, and opens up another distinct perspective onto multicultural sociality. Here, topographies have provided the terrain for an engagement of two prominent imaginative geographies in the A-Z of racist geographies of former mill towns, what I have called 'lost neighbourhoods' and 'no-go areas'. Through these accounts I have tried to exceed an archaeological concept of space that would simply encourage the deconstruction of the racialised narratives underpinning these symptomatic geographies (Keith, 2005; Back, 2005), by focussing precisely on how racialised affects of loss are stirred through, and distributed across, arrangements of bodies, things, and surroundings. Here, I have attempted to grasp how topographies of loss twist through spaces, charting how intensive differences in material connections between bodies, things, architecture, surrounding and sunlight can profoundly affect the mood and ambiance of settings. However, topographies of loss do more than reveal how melancholic moods (Gilroy, 2004) and national worrying (Hage, 1998; 2003a) turn up on the ground in places like Keighley, becoming a modality through which urban multicultures are, for some people, experienced, sensed and felt. By appreciating how topographies of loss are stirred through the emergent material geographies we start to acknowledge how melancholic moods and excessively fragile sense of the white self not only work through the repetition of discourses, representations and images, but that senses of loss also accumulate and build up momentum through repeated encounters with the heterogeneous elements that constitute some places. And so tracking the emergent material geographies of topographies of loss in

practices of sense making we start to appreciate both the affective intensities through which race thinking unfolds, but also something about how the repeated, heterogeneous differentiations enacted through topographies of loss begin to take a toll in the daily operations of race.

Ghostly topographies

‘The way of the ghost is haunting, and haunting is a very particular way of knowing what has happened or is happening. Being haunted draw us affectively, sometimes against our will and always a bit magically, into the structure of feeling of reality we come to experience, not as cold knowledge, but as transformative recognition’

(Gordon, 1997 *cit.* Pile, 2005 p.131).

My detour brings me finally to the ghostly topographies that haunt experiences of everyday multicultural. Tracing ghostly topographies raises the spectral geographies of race, forcing us firstly to confront the fleeting emergence of race in and around Keighley through the force of things. Ghostly topographies reflect on how raced affects and memories are lodged in urban spaces as they stick to arrangements of bodies, things and architecture. But race emerges through ghostly topographies through distinct affective intensities:

‘...the ghost is a social figure that speaks to us of loss, of trauma, of an injustice. What ghost stories can do, moreover, is introduce a haunting affect that permit an emotional recognition of that loss, trauma, and injustice. Ghost stories can creep you out, chill you to the bone. They can be unsettling, uncanny frightening.’

(Pile, 2005, p.131)

Thinking about everyday multicultures through ghostly topographies, through hauntings intimately tied to specific settings, also forces us to contemplate the opaque relations between the personal and the social in affectual geographies of race, and how the feelings, moods or memories stirred by arrangements bodies, things and architecture involve the traffic of affects between the collective and individual, in ways that are rarely transparent or self-evident (Pile, 2005). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, ghostly topographies encourage us to think more precisely about the multiple, entangled temporalities through

which experiences of everyday multicultures unfold. Ghostly topographies expose the significance of time and memory in the production of spaces (Pile, 2005), reminding us, as Victor Burgin (1996, p.182) has argued, that ‘what we call “the present” is not a perpetually fleeting point on a line “through time,” but a collage of *disparate* times, an imbrication of shifting and contested spaces’. Ghostly topographies wrench us from the ‘smooth flow of history’, as ‘ghosts cut across history, jumps times, exist in a history of their own’ (Pile, 2005, p.139). And so, as we consider the ephemeral emergence of race through these spectral geographies, we must also confront the tenacity – but also the indiscernibility and elusiveness – with which memories participate in, interrupt and irrupt experiences of everyday multicultural. Dispersed and fragmented raced memories and affects threaten to disturb the orderly flow of time; the ‘serrated boundaries’ of fragments (Burgin, 1996, p.185) potentially intruding, and colliding with, experiences of the present.²⁹ As Walter Benjamin famously reflected memories can flash up in front of your eyes as you walk through the city, disturbing the orderly flow of time (Pile, 2005). Ghosts are always present. And although we might not always sense their presences, they might suddenly appear, abruptly and shockingly puncturing the present through waves of affectively – imbued memories. I argue, then, that ghostly topographies heighten our awareness of the excessive constitution of moments of encounter, and the multiple crumpled temporalities and geographies virtual to such moments. They compel us to confront the unknowability of urban multicultures, and the multiple, fragmentary, and elusive ways in which race might come to matter.

²⁹ In a discussion of what he calls ‘brecciated time’, Burgin (1996, p.96) introduces this notion of the ‘serrated boundaries’ of fragments ‘advancing and receding in a deadly dance with their neighbours, their imbricated times violently clashing, diverging – only to collide again’ to the ever moving collage of images that he suggests constitutes our experiences of the present.

*Memory machines*³⁰

Firstly, through a discussion of how a street sign might operate as a memory machine I show how ghostly memories open up the different temporalities and geographies through which encounters with urban space unfold. Lawkholme Lane. For some, race might emerge fleetingly and shockingly through the force of this sign, and its capacities to affect some bodies. Raced memories and affects coagulate around this sign, compelling us to consider the crumpled geographies and temporalities through which race works. Memories and incoherent fragments swirl virtually: an 'Asian area'; 'a community keeping itself to itself'; discomforts of 'feeling out of place'; a 'lost neighbourhood'; rumours of aggressive practices to intimidate and abject white residents; dispersed recollections of talk of a racist attack on a white kid on his way to the leisure centre; of police raids on a back-to-back terrace turning up guns and hand grenades; of 'gangland' violence and reading lurid details in the *Keighley News*, the *Telegraph and Argus*, and national papers of an Asian lad being hacked to death near Victoria Park, the brutal culmination of a violent 6 months of 'gang warfare'; of taxi drivers grooming white girls; of an undercover documentary exposing a BNP councillor's entrenched prejudices as he unashamedly brags over a pint that his fantasy is to attack worshippers going to the mosque just off Lawkholme Lane with rocket-propelled grenades; of complaints of cars speeding through side streets; of thundering bass beats pulsing until the early hours of the morning; of lads chillin' noisily on street corners; personal experiences of abuse and intimidation on the way home from the swimming pool, on the way to McDonalds, and so much more. Through the force of this street sign race emerges – always fleetingly and provisionally – as ghostly topographies stir waves of affectively imbued memory. As the street sign is encountered any number of raced memories

³⁰ In his ethnography of the Paris metro Marc Augé (2002, p.4) likens the subway maps to a 'memory machine', or a 'pocket mirror on which sometimes are reflected'. In this we may begin to capture the 'force' of this map, as, for example, certain station names are associated with exact moments of his life such 'that thinking about or meeting the name prompts me to page through my memories as if they were a photo album' (Augé, 2002, p.4). Here, I engage how race might emerge fleetingly through ghostly topographies as raced memories are evoked through the force of everyday things.

and affects might be actualised, and through the interplay of individual and collective memories this moment of encounter is punctured by other times and spaces. In the swirling traffic between the personal and the social, and the many crumpled geographies and temporalities actualised in the moment of encounter with a sign bearing 'Lawkholme Lane' judgments are formed, that shade movement, sensations and speeds. For some this sign might force a jarring flashback, for others a more dispersed sense of unease as resentments, fear and loathing, avoidances, detours, trepidation and vigilance are generated through a moment of encounter. Then again, others may pass, oblivious or indifferent to the resonances radiated by the sign.

And race emerges continuously, if fleetingly, through the ghostly topographies coursing through the force of others things. For example, race emerges through the ghostly trails left by souped-up cars. The force of thudding bass beats, screeching tyres, skid marks and the stench of burnt rubber, accumulations of litter in streets behind a kebab shop or a petrol station, etc. amplifies the presence of Asian bad boys, shading perceptions, judgments and actions as ghostly topographies unsettle comforting imaginative geographies and fuel suspicions and prejudices. Spectral geographies of race might also surface through all kinds of uncanny juxtapositions in arrangements of bodies, things and architecture that generate a sense of time out of joint. For some stuck in a world of empire, marked by 'deluded patterns of historical reflection and self-understanding' (Gilroy, 2004, p.3) vibrantly coloured salwar kameez hanging on washing lines, the jostling of minarets and green domes with blackened mill chimneys in Keighley's post-industrial skyline, or the faint melancholy of the muezzin's call for prayer as you make your way across Sainsbury's car park evokes a traumatic sense of time out of joint.

Haunted geographies and multicultural nightmares

Ghostly topographies are also about traumas that have not been laid to rest, and are then repeatedly and shockingly encountered through the psychogeographical relief of some spaces. We might revisit, for example, the terror alert in Haworth examined in my chapter on bodies, and consider how traumatic events in London on the 7th, 21st and 22nd of July haunted the becoming terrorist of four tourists who had hired a cottage in the picturesque village. On that morning in Haworth ghostly topographies of terror atrocities and the spectres of suicide bombers on the run charged a highly racialised and nervous visual economy, as the face of the suicide bomber came to fit these unfortunate young men. The recent trauma of bombings and attempted bombings had not been laid to rest as multicultural nightmares were enacted through what Pile (2005) might call a ‘procession of ghost-like figures’ down Haworth’s cobbled Main Street, and some people were spooked by spectres of a nightmarish future yet to come. Alternatively, ghostly topographies might become ensnared with the topographies of loss that twist through Lund Park. Material connections of bodies (and their relative speeds), things, architecture and light might be haunted by traumatic events like racist attacks, stories of intimidation, experiences of stone throwing, of fireworks being used as missiles, and so on, such that just thinking about the park, or encountering particular arrangements of bodies, things, architecture and light in the park sparks flashbacks and waves of affectively imbued memory. The park is haunted by events that blur and confuse the boundaries between the personal and the social.

The final ghost story I recount concerns the haunting of a roundabout near Victoria Park in Keighley. The roundabout was the site of the brutal murder of a young Asian man that brought a violent end to a murderous drugs-related feud in the town, and I want to suggest that the trauma of this violent event for many has not yet been laid to rest. Race emerges provisionally and fleetingly in the haunting of this busy roundabout, as ghostly

topographies – always present, always potentially piercing consciousness shockingly – raise the spectre of multicultural nightmares and apocalyptic visions of a future yet to come where the town is torn apart by ‘gang warfare’ as violent rivals battle in the streets for dominance in a nefarious and lucrative drugs economy:

The guilty seven

ALL SEVEN men accused of conspiring to murder a Keighley security guard have been found guilty.

The jury at Leeds Crown Court delivered its verdict yesterday afternoon after hours of deliberation. The six-week trial had heard how Qadir Ahmed, 24, of Gordon Street, Keighley, was ambushed as he left the town’s leisure centre on February 13 last year.

Judge Richard Henriques, sentencing Zulfiqar Asif, described as the ringleader, said: “I have no doubt Qadir Ahmed was killed against a background of drug dealing.

“He died the most terrible death with an axe blow to the back of his head. A knife wound was a second potentially fatal wound[...]

The prosecution alleged that it was the defendants who staged the ambush and then chased Mr Ahmed on to the nearby Victoria Park roundabout where they attacked him with a variety of weapons.

A post mortem examination showed that he died from several stab wound to the body and a fractured skull.

Prosecutor Mrs Jennifer Kershaw had told the trial that the men plotted the murder for two weeks, buying second-hand cars, a mask and gloves to carry out the attack. They also bought weapons, including axes and hammers, from the B&Q store close to where the killing took place.

(Keighley News, 27.06.2003, p.1)

Memories of this traumatic event that have not yet been dealt with haunt this roundabout. Raced memories and affects accumulated about this crime scene as the horrifying violence was relayed through the pages of the local and national newspapers, and circulated through thousands of conversations around the town, through statements from community leaders,

through hearsay and rumour, through prejudice and urban myth. Just naming the park or mentioning the roundabout evokes ghostly topographies that threaten to invade consciousness, revealing how powerfully this urban space is produced through its haunting (Pile, 2005). Fragmented and elusive recollections frighten, unsettle and disturb. Race comes to matter fleetingly as the spectre of violent fantasy figures – Asian gangsters – is potentially raised, and nightmarish futures of gang warfare, drugs-related slayings and gun-crime are imagined.

In this section ghostly topographies acknowledge the fleeting and provisional emergence of race in practices of race thinking through the force of things. They begin to trace how raced memories and affects might accumulate around heterogeneous machinic connections between bodies, things, architecture and light. Moreover, ghost stories of various kinds serve to emphasise how memories might participate in, and disturb, experiences of everyday multicultures. Unsettling an assumption of the orderly flow of time, ghostly topographies enable us to consider how crumpled geographies and temporalities might abruptly and shockingly flash into consciousness. In this way ghostly topographies remind us of the ultimate unknowability of urban multicultures; they encourage us to grasp, and reflect on, the multiple, fragmented experiences that might constitute multicultural, but also insist ultimately on the on the elusiveness of those experiences.

Conclusion

This chapter has been motivated by a frustration with much of our talk about race and the city. In recent years this talk has slid too quickly into discussions of the segregated city, allied with concerns with the distribution and intensities of census categories, and often neglecting careful consideration of habitual negotiations of ethnic difference that actually constitute urban multicultures (Amin, 2002a). Out of my frustration I have tried to

assemble a concept of space that evokes the passion, intensity and life of everyday multiculturalism in Keighley. Multicultures' topographies, inspired by Dadaist, surrealist and Situationist writings on the city, is an effort to grasp just some of the fleeting and provisional ways in which race might emerge through the arrangements of bodies, things, architecture and light that constitute spaces. Firstly, then, topographies draws on recent arguments for an enchanted materialism (Bennett, 2001; 2004) to develop a materialist conception of space that embraces the deeply creative nature of the material world, and acknowledge the emergence of race in practices of sense making through that machinic geographies that constitute urban sites. Secondly, topographies provide a terrain to explore the microclimates of everyday multiculturalism – the moods, ambiances and atmospheres – and the affective rub of everyday lives in multicultural places. By detouring three distinct topographies I put these preoccupations to work in a novel account of multiculturalism in Keighley. Topographies of multicultural touch and avoidance sought to interrogate precisely how differently raced bodies might come together in Keighley. Through an explicit focus on the modalities and intensities of intercultural interaction, topographies of multicultural touch begins to question calls for *more* interaction in recent calls for 'community cohesion' by exposing how differently raced bodies might relate, and the quality of those relations (engaged, respectful, indifferent, tolerant, anxious, hateful, suspicion...). Through topographies of loss I hoped to engage with the melancholic moods, resentments and anxieties that appear to constitute so much of the grumpy and self-absorbed rub of everyday multiculturalism. Specifically, these topographies tracked how race emerged provisionally in lost neighbourhoods and no-go areas, as arrangements of bodies, things, architecture and light generate distinct moods and ambiances of loss, anxiety and resentment. Finally, ghostly topographies reemphasised the fleeting emergence of race through the force of things. But hauntings also reminded us of the significance of time and history in the production of urban space (Pile, 2005) as diverse raced memories and affects

disturb the orderly flow of time as they (potentially) pierce experiences of multicultural in the present. Ghostly topographies also insist on the elusiveness of experiences of multicultural. They encourage us to grasp multiple and fragmented experiences of multicultural, but also confront us with the impossibility of knowing and understanding urban multicultures completely.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

Reconstructing urban multiculturalism from below

The momentum of raced differences on the ground in Keighley was compelling. In the last chapters I have tracked just some of the temporary, but recursive fixings of race in heterogeneous processes of differentiation that operate through the distributions and tendencies of bodies, the force of cars and the arrangements of bodies, things and surroundings, in an effort to reconstruct our understandings of multiculturalism from below. Bodies, cars and topographies offered three points of departure from which I carved out pathways through everyday multiculturalism in Keighley. Each of these chapters does something quite different, opening up distinct, situated perspectives onto the turbulent socialities of everyday multiculturalism as they are felt, sensed and practised. But more than simply juxtaposing perspectives on and through urban multiculturalism, these chapters accumulate momentum. Organising these pathways into urban multiculturalism around an ontology of encounter, each chapter builds on the momentum gathered in the previous, while simultaneously redirecting our focus and taking us in new directions. Here I want to harness this momentum to reconstruct our understanding of multiculturalism from below. Under the force of these gathered moments of intercultural encounter, we can revisit recent conceptual and political talk about race, multiculturalism and the city in Britain. In particular, I argue that this momentum troubles recent tendencies that frame northern mill towns through the tropes of segregation and ‘parallel lives’ (Bradford Race Review Team, 2001; Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001) that have gone hand in hand with a resurgent ‘white assimilationism’ (Back, *et al.*, 2002) that imposes limits of tolerance, sustains calls for ‘community cohesion’, questions the cultural and national allegiances of

British Muslims, and demands that British Muslims become less segregated and more integrated (Amin, 2002a). Working towards a reconstruction of our understanding of urban multiculturalism from below, I draw out two entangled lines of argument that this research has brought to the fore. Firstly, I have located race in an emergent materialism to develop a non-determinist, non-essentialist conception of race that asks how race functions and what race does. Secondly, I have traced how these conceptual arguments have important implications for how we think about race and the multicultural city, suggesting that urban multiculturalism might be productively thought of in terms of an accumulation of moments of inter-ethnic encounter.

The emergent materialities of race

In recent years social constructionist and abolitionist critiques have – with some success – undermined biological essentialisms, punctured taken-for-granted categories, and challenged racial oppression and multiple racisms (Miles and Brown, 1989; Jackson and Penrose; Gilroy, 1998; 2000; Ware and Back, 2002). However both constructionist and abolitionist arguments tend to restrict social scientific engagements with race to questions of epistemology and interpretation. Such representational approaches, I have argued, have a ‘deadening effect’ on our understandings of race, tending to a ‘conservative, categorical politics of identity and textual meaning’ (Lorimer, 2005) that disavow the entangled materialities through which race operates. They also lead us into what Paul Gilroy (1998; 2000) has called the ‘pious ritual’ in which academics begin by asserting the constructed and illusory nature, before then deferring to its embeddedness as a social reality. This research takes a line of flight from the dominance of social constructionist arguments in the social sciences through an ongoing encounter between the apparent force of raced difference on the ground in Keighley, the impassioned politics of social constructionist critiques of race, and a minor tradition of thought encountered through the philosophy of

Gilles Deleuze. Developing an emergent conception of race that fleetingly, but recursively takes form in moments of intercultural encounter, this research has approached race through questions of experimentation rather than interpretation. Throughout the thesis I ask how race functions and what race does, rather than posing questions of how we know race, or how we might transcend it. By ontologising race in this way, the research works towards a non-determinist, non-essentialist conception of race that is located in the relational fields of an emergent materialism. In doing so, it makes an important contribution to current social scientific thinking around questions of race, grasping how race is simultaneously fluid and fixing (Saldanha, forthcoming), and engaging the plasticity of race as it momentarily, if repetitively takes form in moments of intercultural encounter through the materialities of everyday multiculturalism. In particular, through my line of flight research on race might open out current tendencies to concentrate how race and racial difference accumulate through the repetitions of discourses, representations and images, or on the categorical politics of identity, identifying new materialist grounds for inquiry as we try to rigorously grasp the disparate everyday operations of race in heterogeneous processes of differentiation.

Allying this concept of race with recent theorisations of thinking as a layered, practical and distributed activity (Connolly, 2002; Thrift, 1996), I have assembled a conception of race thinking as form of thought-in-action, or a way of acting into the world. I argue that this conception of race thinking displaces any notion of thinking as an intellectual activity confined to the brain, nervous system of body. Race thinking is definitively not another form of knowing race. Race thinking here is about the particularly doing of race immanent to each moment of intercultural encounter. Race thinking is the outcome of, and spaced or distributed across, an entanglement with the world that envelopes intensities of skin pigmentation, accents, salwar kameez, designer stubble, pimped rides and taxis, street signs,

pubs, places of worship, parks gates at dusk and so much more. I have argued that this conception of race thinking opens up the half-second delay not only as a 'space of *bodily anticipation*' (Thrift, 2004a, p.67) but also as a potential space of prejudice, during which the 'push' of race sorts bodies, things and spaces, and coordinates thinking, judgment and action. The force of race punctures this half-second delay through the rapid work of virtual memories laid down through the formatting of perception through micropolitical technique and past experiences and events. Here then we open up an analysis of the force race to new political registers and intensities (Thrift, 2004a), that are also available to micropolitical technique and an ethics of cultivation through which we might engineer, for example, an ethics of generosity and mutuality that form part of an agonistic politics of getting along based on small achievements (Amin, 2002a; Amin and Thrift, 2002a). In practical terms these conceptual arguments required an empiricism that began with what DeLanda (2002) calls 'intensive difference', and the immanent processes through which race takes form, rather than fixed identities, representations or genes. This empiricism has focussed on whiteness, Asianness, and Muslimness as becomings, that is emergent properties of moments of intercultural encounter as bodies, things and spaces are sorted immanently, and raced differences settle temporarily.

Putting this empiricism to work, this research has examined the temporary, but often repetitive fixings of race in moments of intercultural encounter in order to track heterogeneous processes of differentiation as they unfold on the ground in interaction. This empiricism produces a somewhat different account of urban multiculturalism as it interrogates how race comes to matter fleetingly, but recursively through the machinic conjunctions that constitute bodies, the machinic assemblages of some cars or the arrangement of bodies, things, architecture and surroundings in topographies. For example, by confronting the momentum of raced difference in Keighley through questions

of experimentation that repeatedly asked how race functions, a concept of stickiness has become particularly significant to my analysis of the daily operations of race in Keighley. Through this concept of stickiness I have grasped how the force of race accumulates and sediments in the repetition of processes of differentiation that work through the mundane materialities of urban multiculturalism, as well as through the repetition and recursivity of discourses, representations and images. Deconstruction has performed the important work of disrupting the force of moral panics – around for example ‘Asian gangs’ (Alexander, 2000) or ‘suicide bombers – or intercultural suspicion and innuendo. However, through a concept of stickiness that asks what race does, we are encouraged to ask how moral panics stick to, and become distributed across, the machinic connections that constitute some bodies, things and spaces. Why, for example, does: Skin + salwar kameez + box x rucksack = becoming-terrorist. And as we grasp how moral panic, suspicion or innuendo stick to bodies, things and spaces we are encouraged to ask how in becoming-sticky the capacities of these human and non-bodies to affect and be affected are transformed. For example, in becoming-terrorist moral panic about suicide bombers begin to stick, and some bodies are encountered through fear, suspicion and panic that infect moments of intercultural encounter and bleed into thinking, judgment and action in all kinds of ways. And so this concept of stickiness helps us better appreciate the daily, habitual operations of race in places like Keighley. It forces us to confront the plasticity of race, which is at once fluid and fixing, and opens lines of flight from more oppressive and hierarchical forms of race thinking by identifying the possibilities for proliferating race, and multiplying racial differences (Saldanha, 2006, p.21).

My conceptual framing of race, an empiricism concerned with how race emerges through temporary fixings, and the flattening of relations between bodies, objects, spaces and ideas performed my descriptive analytic, have also had important implications for how we think

about racisms. Through my arguments racisms become less about enactments of racist beliefs and ideologies (Miles and Brown, 1989; Goldberg, 1993) – that make racism a problem of epistemology – and more about considering practical questions of how the force of race (always multiple and emergent but also repetitive) comes to mediate, infuse and shape judgment, disposition and practice in moments of intercultural encounter. Here, I am not saying that we should abandon any notion of power in our discussions of race and racisms. But that the power of race and racisms is not necessarily the brute force assumed in accounts of the naturalisation and normalisation of race through ideology or hierarchies of raced difference. The power of race that surfaces in my account is a slow-fused concept of power that is diffuse and mobile, but nevertheless one that accumulates and builds up force through repetition in moments of intercultural encounter, and becomes sedimented through the formatting of perceptions. And so by flattening out our account of what race does, rather than producing an ever-more sophisticated theory of what racism might be (Hage, 1998, p.184), we better understand the enduring force of race and racisms in everyday lives as they surface through accumulation of indifference, incivility, rejection, antagonism, discrimination or fear.

The turbulent socialities of the multicultural city

These conceptual arguments about the temporary, but recursive fixings of race in moments of intercultural encounter have some important implications for how we think about race and the multicultural city. In the last three chapters I tracked and mapped out the multiple, provisional but also enduring ways in which race comes to matter in and around Keighley through encounters with bodies, things and space, assembling different perspectives onto the turbulent socialities of urban multiculturalism. Moreover, the purposeful and continuous gathering and accumulation of moments of intercultural contact builds a momentum that we can channel to reconstruct our understandings of multiculturalism from below.

Approaching urban multiculturalism through bodies, cars and topographies has involved building up a rigorous grasping of the plastic, fleeting and recursive ways in which race operates in Keighley as we go along, and through the cumulative force of these accounts we can comprehend how the tangle of race operates in everyday urban multiculturalism. In Keighley urban multiculturalisms take form through heterogeneous processes of racial differentiation involving where people wake up in the morning; encounters in rush hour traffic; the tendencies of bodies in offices and classrooms; the ill-tempered rub and indifferent contact in the street, over the newsagent counters, in car parks, at the supermarket, at pedestrian crossings; the coming together of bodies in cafés, taxis, student unions and other sites of prosaic intercultural contact; the distributions of bodies in pubs, libraries, gyms, playgrounds, evening classes, allotments and shopping centres; encounters with street signs, calls for prayer, pimped rides, dormer windows, rucksacks, and veils all of which stir raced memories and affects; the distinct moods and atmospheres you encounter passing through particular neighbourhoods, parks or back streets. Under the weight of this momentum I argue that urban multiculturalisms might be productively conceptualised as accumulations of ‘billions of happy and unhappy encounters’ (Thrift, 1999, p.302), constantly taking form and passing by in the dynamic sociality all kinds of interactions.

For me, more than anything else it is the intensities and densities of moments of intercultural contact and encounter that constitute the ‘city-ness’ or urban multiculturalism. Reconstructing urban multiculturalism from below through an ontology of encounter, has focused our attention on multicultural towns and cities as ‘sites of intense ethnic mixing’, that definitively shape everyday experiences and practices of race and ethnicity as multiculturalism takes form through the messy and challenging underside of intercultural relations in contact zones and daily rhythms (Amin and Thrift, 2002b, pp.291-2). This research has aimed to make a significant contribution to a new generation of urban ethnography in

Britain that has started to map racist landscapes through the lived experiences of race and racisms, and researching local syncretic cultures and the micro-socialities of urban contact zones. Historically writing race and the city since the urban ecology of the Chicago School, has variously included discussions of the segregated city (Peach, 1996; 2006; Bradford Race Review Team, 2001), the dystopian spaces of urban race terror and anxious urbanism (Flusty, 1997; David, 1999; Virilio, 2005), the city as contact zone and meeting place (Back, 1996; Urry, 2000; Amin 2002a; Amin and Thrift, 2002a), the city as the site where state-led multiculturalism plays out through urban governance (Gale and Naylor, 2002; Sandercock, 2003; Keith, 2005) and identity and community politics (Modood, 2006). But my arguments depart somewhat from these traditions of writing race and the city by suggesting that they often fail to fully appreciate the messy and challenging underside of inter-ethnic relations, and as such are less well placed to generate innovative perspectives that disrupt the contemporary force of race in current political discourses about race and the multicultural city in Britain. Specifically I have argued that reconstructing urban multiculturalism from below through the momentum of accumulated moments of intercultural encounter begins to tell a very different story about everyday life in northern mill towns than accounts twisted through a renewed 'white assimilationism' (Back *et al.*, 2002) that routinely decries segregation (Bradford Race Review Team, 2001) and demands that British Muslims interact more and become more integrated (Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001; Cattle, 2005).

Tracking this resurgent assimilationism through responses to, and explanations of, urban unrest in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford, sporadic media and political discourses around the veil that spiral into convulsions of worry about the becoming-separate of Muslims, and reactions to the terror attacks in London in July 2001, I have exposed a muddled political discourse that couples segregation with urban 'riots' and 'unruly strangers' (Community

Cohesion Review Team, 2001; Cattle, 2005; cf. Kundnani, 2001; Amin, 2002a & b; Alexander, 2004) and failures to integrate with terrorism. This assimilationism has revived worrying assumptions around the stability and boundedness of cultures and overlooked vibrancy of urban multicultures and the modalities through which interactions are already taking place (Amin, 2002a; Kalra, 2001); insidiously questioned the cultural and national allegiances of British Muslims; reinvigorating and extending pathological sociologies of Muslim communities in Britain; and promulgated imaginaries of the segregated city, alongside overly simplified contentions that more interaction and more 'community cohesion' will automatically reduce the risk of terror attacks and urban unrest. However, the momentum accumulated through this research troubles the racialised tropes of segregation and 'parallel lives' that too easily become attached to places like Keighley, and disrupts simplistic assimilationism of 'community cohesion'.

The hyperbolic language and sweeping diagnoses of 'parallel lives' could so easily be applied to Keighley given the town's much-publicised local cultures of exclusion and exclusivity. However, this research shows that by looking beyond the intensities and distributions of census categories – that resurrect a worrying correlation between geographical space and social distance (see Keith, 2005) – we can build a much more complex picture of the modalities, intensities and registers through which intercultural contact and interactions actually unfold in places like Keighley. The force of moments of intercultural encounter gathered through close analyses of the tendencies and distributions of raced bodies in urban spaces, perspectives from the roadside or insights accumulated through topographies of multicultural touch, have provided insight into the turbulent socialities of just some of the many prosaic intercultural contact zones and local syncretic cultural formations in the town that are at best overlooked, and at worst erased, through talk of 'parallel lives' (Bradford Race Review Team, 2001). This is not to say that the

underside interethnic relations in Keighley are not often tense, uneasy and occasionally violent. However, by resorting to the divided and divisive imaginative geographies conjured by discourses of 'parallel lives' there is a very real danger that we overlook existing and potential prosaic sites of intercultural contact and exchange and the – often unrealised – possibilities of banal transgressions in the 'unsteady socialities' of gyms, evening classes, 5-a-side football leagues, local fashion shows, local libraries and so on (Amin, 2000b). This leads into a second line of argument against the grain current policy emphasises on 'building cohesive communities' (Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001; Cattle, 2005; Barrow Cadbury Trust and The Young Foundation, 2006). There seems to be an obsession in policy discourses with mixed neighbourhoods and the intercultural engagement, much of which seems to stem from misplaced assumptions inherited from diagnoses of 'parallel lives'. Such policy interventions not only downplay existing intercultural encounter and exchange in places like Keighley, but they also seem to rush out appeals for more face-to-face interactions with strangers, and what Simmel would call 'wholesome human contact', in the simple assumption that more interaction is necessarily always a good thing (Laurier and Philo, 2006). Reconstructing multiculturalism from below through accumulated moments of intercultural contact shows the range and intensities of ongoing interculturalism even when local cultures of exclusion and exclusivity appear to be entrenched. Moreover, by attending to the specific intensities and modalities through which raced bodies come together through the descriptive analytics of solitudes, viscosities, associations and collectivities this research works towards a more nuanced understanding of the turbulent socialities of urban multiculturalism. By interrogating the underside of intercultural relations we recognise that although urban contact zones might carry possibilities of intercultural exchange and an agonistic politics of living with difference and getting along (Amin, 2002a; Amin and Thrift, 2002a), they also carry the potential to confirm ingrained suspicions and resentments, entrench petty prejudices or spiral into violence or abuse. This is perhaps

most evident in my analysis of the dynamic sociality of taxis as prosaic contact zones in Keighley. The promise of mutuality and dialogue through intercultural contact and exchange in taxis is all too often punctured by racist abuse and violence, or the circulation and modulation of suspicions and innuendo through these machinic geographies of this very public kind of car.

Furthermore, reconstructing urban multiculturalism from below begins to combat the ardent 'white assimilationism' (Back *et al.*, 2002) and pathological sociologies (Keith, 1992) – most graphically relayed in political talk about limits of acceptability and limits of tolerance¹ – that run through recent demands for less segregation, and more 'community cohesion'. While constructions of stable, bounded cultures coexisting side by side – but rarely touching – run through contemporary political and policy discourses, this research has shown that by focussing on the underside of intercultural contact there are many examples of prosaic syncretism emerging most noticeably, for example, through the fusion of disparate influences in street vernaculars that incorporate, English, Urdu and slang from Hip Hop or in youth cultures of conspicuous consumption and the body beautiful that includes working out, designer clothes, expensive fragrances and the latest mobile phone. Moreover, by attending to the underside of interethnic relations the pathological sociologies that course through demands for more community cohesion and integration become untenable. Tracking the fleeting, but repeated fixing of race in moments of intercultural contact in Keighley, and how these fixings then bleed into judgment, disposition and action, it becomes impossible to ignore the cultural insularity and multiple

¹ For example, after the publication of a Home Office report into the 2001 urban disturbances the then Home Secretary declared in a press conference: 'We need to be clear we don't tolerate the intolerable under the guise of cultural difference. We have norms of acceptability and those who come to our house – for that is what it is – should accept the norms as we would if we went elsewhere.' After the July 7th bombings similar arguments have been made by the Home Secretary John Reid and the Prime Minister Tony Blair as they have demanded that elements of Muslim communities become more integrated into an implicitly white mainstream culture.

practices of avoidance by white people. The underside of interethnic relations is marked by multiple geographies of white avoidance - including indifference or bad-tempered intolerance in passing encounters, talk of no-go areas, abandoning inner city areas through white flight to suburban estates and villages, or moving home so that children are not enrolled in an 'Asian school' – that receive far too little comment in political and policy demands for more integration. Reconstructing urban multiculturalism from below works then to redress an imbalance in political and policy discourse where too little is said about white retreat from the contact zones of urban multiculturalism, just as too much continues to be said about the cultural, spatial and social avoidances of British Muslims, in ways that trade on essentialist constructions of religious, family and cultural life and fail to recognise the entanglement of Muslim lives with the daily rhythms, routines and geographies of all residents in towns like Keighley.

Multicultural futures

Inspired by a 'new generation' of urban ethnography in Britain (Back, 1996; Back and Nayak, 1999; Alexander, 2000; 2006; Nayak, 2003a) this thesis has self-consciously reconstructed our understandings of urban multiculturalism in Keighley from below. This research contributes to these recent engagements with lived experiences of race and racism, local syncretic cultures, and the micro-socialities of urban contact zones, in their collective effort to provide more compassionate and incisive accounts of urban multiculturalism, albeit with some important distinctions. The sense of urban multiculturalism that runs through my arguments is perhaps less sanguine than accounts of urban multiculturalism in South London, for example, that have identified local syncretic cultures, where popular racism is not tolerated, and everyday prosaic negotiations have unsettled and reoriented local meanings of race, membership and belonging (Back, 1996). While there are reasons for

hope in Keighley,² as this research has come to terms with the still uneasy and demanding realities of urban multiculturalism in the town, it has opened a number of lines of inquiry that might take research on race and the multicultural city in new directions. I finish by exploring two of lines of possible inquiry emerging from my reconstruction of urban multiculturalism from below.

My line of flight from the current dominance of social constructionist arguments about race has the potential to transform how we think about and study the daily operations of race in urban multiculturalism. This research has brought to the fore questions of experimentation, and asks over and over: What does race do? How does it function? Nudging our focus away from questions of epistemology and interpretation, this research has examined the possibilities of thinking through ontologies of race that take seriously the materialities through which race operates, without sliding into biological essentialism or imposing grids that divide human bodies into groups, categories, or hierarchies (Saldanha, 2006). An emergent concept of race tracks the temporary, but recursive fixings of race in interaction, emphasising how race operates through mundane, everyday materialities – skin, language, veils, kebab skewers, drugs, parks, designer clothes, pubs, etc. – in heterogeneous processes of differentiation on the ground. This research encourages us to look beyond discourses, representations and images and think more precisely about the plasticity of race. It asks how race is at once fluid and fixing, and examines how race sticks to, and is distributed across, heterogeneous elements. Running through these ‘experimental’ questions of race is, and what it might be, is an invitation to multiply or proliferate race (Saldanha, 2001, p.21.) And here possibilities for escaping oppressive and hierarchical

² For example, greater and more visible action by the police and social services seems to have dampened the intensity of interethnic suspicions and innuendo in the town around issues of grooming. Alternatively, the British National Party leader, Nick Griffin, emphatically failed in his bid to become the town’s MP in the 2005 General Election, and the BNP lost its only representation on the local council in a by-election in March 2006.

forms of race thinking are identified, without eliminating race (cf. Gilroy, 1998; 2000; Ware and Back, 2002). Alternatively, this research asks what urban multicultural might look like through the half-second delay. Theorising race thinking as thought-in-action – a layered, practical conception of race thinking that is distributed across an entanglement in the world – I have opened new political registers and intensities to an analysis of race. Through this conception of race thinking I have theorised the half-second delay as a potential space of prejudice, where the force of race emerges through the weight of virtual memories bearing down on each momentum of encounter. This takes the social scientific analysis of race to new political registers by posing questions about how perceptions are formatted by race, and how raced memories and affects might accumulate through micropolitical technique and institutional disciplines (Connolly, 2002). Furthermore, opening up these new political registers and intensities, also gestures to new possibilities for an anti-racist politics as these registers become available to an ‘ethic of cultivation’ through micropolitical techniques and experimentation that seek to engender agonistic ways of relating, and ethics of generosity and mutuality (Thrift, 2004a; Connolly, 2002).

Secondly, looking at race and the multicultural city through an ontology of encounter opens a number of alternatives to how urban multicultures are traditionally theorised and researched. In particular, I have explored how thinking through an ontology of encounter enables us to grasp the practiced, visceral and felt qualities of urban life. For example, taking cues from Surrealist, Dadaist and Situationist writings on cities this research shows how the life, passion and intensities of urban multicultures can, and should, be an important component of our analyses of the everyday operations of race in urban multicultural. This study demonstrates how heterogeneous processes of differentiation in moments of intercultural contact and exchange are variously imbued and modulated through intensities of fear, suspicion, panic and anxiety. And in doing so, it also points to

the possibilities that temporary fixings of race might also be enacted through other affective intensities (for example, love, hatred, desire, envy and so on). An ontology of encounter also brings the more-than-human geographies of the city as multiculturalism is practised. This study has begun to grasp how the force of race operates through the materialities of the city through discussions of how race rides on the car and how race surfaces through the resonances that charge particular arrangements of bodies, things and spaces. This is only a beginning, but these examples are suggestive of the possibilities of reconfiguring our comprehensions of the habitual operations of race in cities through the affective materialities of back-to-back terraces, domes, kebab skewers, buses, film posters, mobile phones, train carriages, and so much more. Finally, by developing descriptive analytics to engage the distinct modalities and intensities through which differently raced bodies come together in Keighley, this study has involved a subtle and careful analysis of the turbulent socialities of habitual contact zones in the town. This important work has started to identify prosaic sites of intercultural contact and exchange that potentially nurture meaningful intercultural dialogue and negotiation, and foment an agonistic politics of living with difference and getting along based on small achievements and the possibilities for intercultural transgression (Amin, 2002b). Through the agonistic interculturalism of such prosaic sites of intercultural negotiation we can begin to work towards more vibrant and just urban multicultural futures than those envisioned through state-led policies of multiculturalism and 'building cohesive communities'.

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Appendix one

Fieldwork

Keighley

I started visiting Keighley on a weekly basis late in 2004. From the beginning of April 2005 to October 2005 I moved into a bedsit in a converted chapel about 5 minutes walk from the town centre in what was a predominately white street.

Participant observation

Participant observation formed a major component of this research and can be organised into three components:

The first involved participant observation in three sites – a college of Further Education, in various hairdressing salons in Keighley, and a mother and toddler group in Haworth – that became the primary sites through which I recruited participants for interviews. The intensity of participant observation varied between sites. I gained access to the college of Further Education relatively early during the fieldwork and formed friendships with a number of people who worked in the college. From the beginning of June to the end of September 2005, I would visit the college two or three times most weeks. Most participant observation was focussed on the student union, the canteen and the resource centre in the college. Participant observation in hairdressing salons in Keighley was more limited, restricted largely to the periods before and after conversations and interviews with hairdressers. Over the last six weeks of my research I attended a mother and toddler group that met one morning a week in Haworth, a village two miles outside Keighley that is regularly characterised as a white flight village. The group was regularly attended by between 15 and 25 women and during the sessions I was able to talk to many of the group.

The second component of participant observation focused on a series of sites around Keighley that were either potential sites of prosaic intercultural contact or exchange, or sites that seemed to figure prominently in talk about no-go areas. I visited all of the sites on several occasions at different times of the day and night, and different days of the week. Participant observation at a number of the sites (particularly the café in the Airedale centre; the library, and benches in the Town Hall square) became sites of daily pilgrimage during my time in Keighley. Below is a full list of the sites:

- Café in Airedale Centre
- Bench inside Airedale Centre
- Bus station
- Benches in Town Hall Square
- Computers in the library
- Newspaper desk in the library
- Victoria Park and leisure centre
- Lund Park
- Supermarket café
- Laundrette
- Cafe in the market
- Pub on Cavendish Street

In addition to focused participant observation in these sites, I was an observant participant as I went about the daily rhythms of living and doing research on urban multiculturalism in

Keighley. This involved remaining observant to various encounters, exchanges and happenings as I walked down into town, in the supermarket, as I bought my daily newspaper, in local restaurants and take-aways, as I drove around the town, and so on.

In-depth interviews

Alongside the innumerable conversations, chats, and snatched exchanges accumulated through participant observation I conducted in-depth with respondents recruited primarily through a college of Further Education, hairdressing salons, and a mother and toddler group. Below is a list of the interviews, including details of when and where the interviews took place. All names are pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of participants.

- Rita, representative for an NGO, 11.01.2005, in Rita's office.
- Mary, social care worker, 20.01.2005, in Mary's office.
- Simon, Labour Party Worker, 27.01.2005, Labour Party Keighley Office.
- Yunis, academic and author, 28.01.2005, café in Bradford.
- Anna, local council worker, 08.02.2005, Anna's office.
- Siobhan, housewife, 14.03.2005, café in Keighley.
- Siobhan, housewife, 04.04.2005, café in Keighley.
- Simon, Labour Party Worker, 23.04.2005, bench in Keighley town centre.
- Marjory and Derek, both retired, 24.04.2005, at their home.
- Tariq, works for the local council, 26.04.2005, Keighley Library foyer.
- Mike, works in Further Education College, 07.06.2005, empty classroom.
- Ali, works in Further Education College, 07.06.2005, student union.
- Laura and Shabila, both work for a local NGO, in Laura's office.
- Ali, works in Further Education College, 08.06.2005, student union.
- Sophie, works in a Further Education College, 13.06.2005, college canteen.
- Graham, works in college of Further Education College, 13.06.2005, empty classroom.
- Helen, works in Further Education College, 14.06.2005, empty classroom.
- Sarah, works in Further Education College, 14.06.2005, student union.
- Jan, works in Further Education College, 15.06.2005, empty meeting room.
- Alex, works in Further Education College, 16.06.2005, pub across the road from the college.
- Rachel, works in Further Education College, 21.06.2005, pub across the road from the college.
- Laura, works for a local NGO, 21.06.2005, café.
- Amir, student, 22.06.2005, student union.
- Sarah, works in Further Education College, 29.06.2005, student union.
- Rachel, works in Further Education College, 30.06.2005.
- Mel, works for Further Education College, 30.06.2005, Mel's office.
- Sarah, works Further Education College, 19.07.2006, student union.
- Helen, works in Further Education College, 20.07.2005, Helen's office.
- Jan, works in Further Education College, 20.07.2005, resource centre.
- Lynn, works for Further Education College, 21.07.2005, in Lynn's office.
- Ali, works in Further Education College, 21.07.2005, student union.
- Victoria, works in Further Education College, 08.08.2005, student union.
- Linda and Shirley, hairdressers, 08.08.2005, salon.
- Tracey, Lee and Amy, hairdressers, 09.08.2006, salon.
- Kay, hairdresser, 15.08.2005, salon.
- Susan, hairdresser, 15.08.2005, salon.
- John, local historian, 16.08.2005, meet at train station.

- Rachel, work in Further Education College, 17.08.2005, pub across the road from the college.
- Naomi, hairdresser, 17.08.2005, back room in salon.
- Lucy, hairdresser, 18.08.2005, salon.
- Kelly, hairdresser, 19.08.2005, salon.
- Judy, hairdresser. 05.09.2005, salon.
- Jan, works in Further Education College, 06.09.2005, resource centre.
- Ruth, housewife, met through mother and toddler group, 08.09.2005, church hall in Haworth.
- Hannah, maternity leave, met through mother and toddler group, 11.09.05, church hall in Haworth.
- Sarah, works in Further Education College, 07.09.2005, student union.
- Caroline, hairdresser, 08.09.2005, salon.
- Nic, hairdresser, 08.09.2005, salon.
- Vanessa, works part-time for a building society, met at mother and toddler group, 12.09.2005, Vanessa's home.
- Liz, housewife I met at mother and toddler group, 13.09.2005, Liz's home.
- Claire, part-time childminder/housewife, met at mother and toddler group, 14.09.2005, Claire's home.
- Becky and George, childminders, I met Becky at mother and toddler group, 14.09.2005, at their home.
- Chloe, housewife, met at mother and toddler group, 15.09.2005, church hall in Haworth.
- Ruth, housewife, 15.09.2005, pub in Haworth.
- Vanessa and Andy, Vanessa works part-time for a building society and Andy is a salesman, met Vanessa at a mother and toddler group, 16.08.2005,
- Gina, childminder, met at mother and toddler group, 28.09.2005, Gina's home.
- Grace, retired, 28.09.2005, Gina's home.
- Nic, hairdresser, 28.09.2005, salon.

Participant diaries

- Sarah, worked in Further Education College, diary recorded between 30.06.2005 and 06.07.2005.
- Helen, worked in Further Education College, diary recorded between 02.07.2005 and 06.07.2005.
- Jan, worked in Further Education College, diary various dates recorded between 02.07.2005 and 19.08.2005.
- Rachel, worked in Further Education College, diary recorded between 18.08.2005 and 24.08.2005.
- Judy, hairdresser, diary recorded between 06.09.2005 and 12.09.2005.
- Ruth, housewife, diary recorded between 09.09.2005 and 14.09.2005.

Go along interviews

- Sarah (16.08.2005). We meet outside the college where Sarah works and walk towards where she lives. She points out various take-aways that are crowded until the early morning on the weekends, and an alley way where she saw a fight between two drunk white men and a young Asian man she recognised. We then walk along Bradford Road towards Victoria Park and the leisure centre where Sarah now regularly attends classes. She explains that she has only recently started going to classes as she had been avoiding the area around Victoria Park after she was told it was a no-go area.

- Ali (07.09.2005). I meet Ali in a side street just off Cavendish where he is waiting in his new car. We drive around Keighley for about 90 minutes, stopping regularly as Ali talks about the micro-socialities of turf in various neighbourhoods; shows me where drug dealers park up in the town; talks about where Asian lads hang out; shows me where murders took place, where he grew up and went to school. En route we repeatedly encounter people that Ali knows. These encounters involve toots on his horn, snatched conversations through open windows at traffic lights, and stopping to exchange greetings and catch up.
- Laura (13.09.2005). I meet Laura in her lunch hour. She takes me on a circuitous route towards the town centre through Highfields, talking about the neighbourhood and the community work with local women that she has been involved in. Laura begins to complain that there are no really good Asian shops in Keighley, and begins to talk about where she shops for spices and fabric in Bradford. She also talks about local regeneration, showing me the boundaries of the Single Regeneration Budget area which had recently white resentments in the town, and had been exploited by the British National Party. Gradually snake our way into the town centre, ending up in a café in the Airedale centre.
- Ruth (15.09.2005). After meeting Ruth in a pub in Haworth to do an interview, she agreed to do a go-along interview. Walking down Haworth's cobbled main street passing the Brontë Parsonage and apothecary she recounts the gossip she had heard about the recent 'terror alert' in the village. As she walks through the village Ruth also talks about village life, living in Haworth all her life, her routines of going horse riding everyday, being a regular at her local pub, and the recent growth of the village with people moving into the area not only from Keighley, but also Leeds and 'down South'.

Purposeful drifts

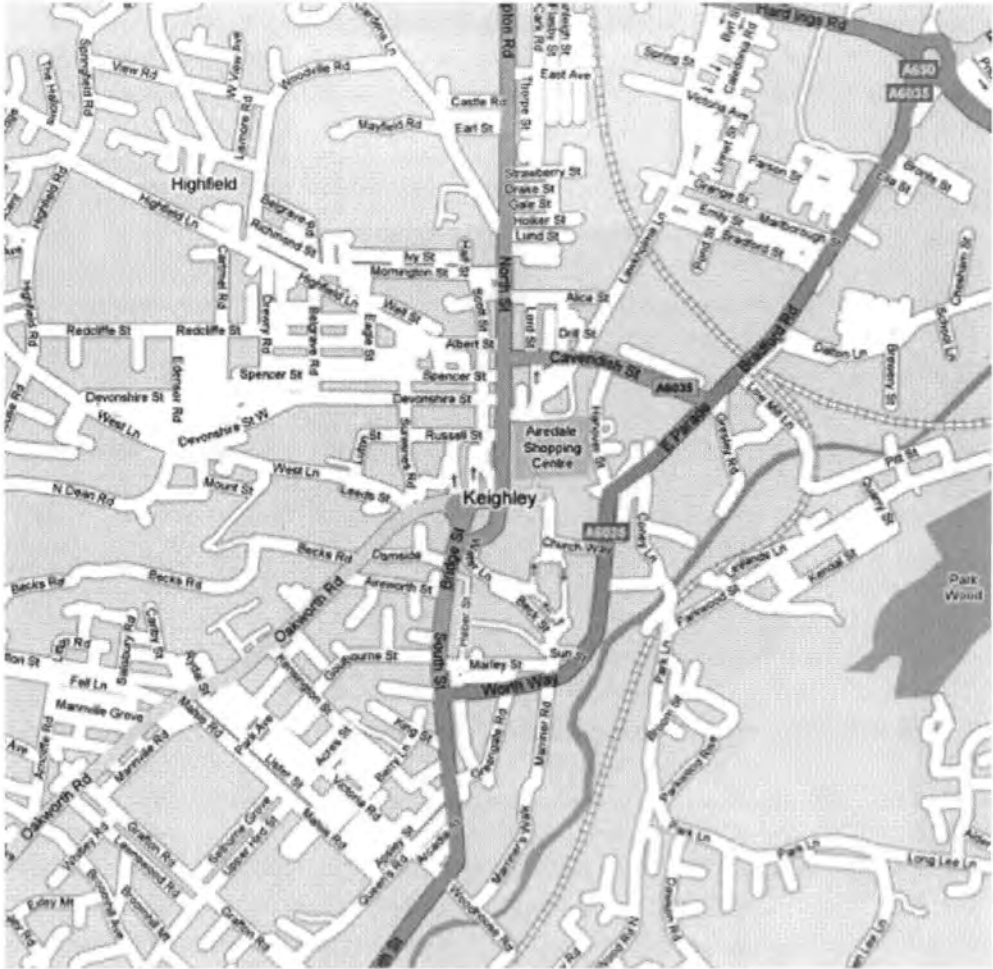
Inspired by psychogeography (Debord, 1955; Sinclair, 1997) and its attempts to grasp the moods and atmospheres of urban spaces, purposeful drifts formed another important component of my research. During these drifts, I would wander through particular neighbourhoods or areas of Keighley (especially around Lawkholme Lane, Highfields, Lund Park, the town centre and Braithwaite) recording and retrieving. Through these drifts I tried to heighten my senses and pay attention to mundane paraphernalia of everyday life and multiculturalism in the town. I assembled inventories of the arrangements of bodies, things and surroundings that added up to the distinct moods of neighbourhoods; took photographs of graffiti; explored the back streets of two-up-two-down terraces; and felt the rhythms everyday as people commuted to work, congregated on the mosque for prayers, went for drinks after work, and so on.

Appendix two

Maps



Satellite photograph of Keighley with street map overlay (Source: Google Earth).



Street map of Keighley (Source: Google Maps).

