

Dionysus Meets the Caribbean: A Study of London Notting Hill Carnival in the Light of Samuel Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners*

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Abstract

Samuel Selvon's iconic novel *The Lonely Londoners* (1956) captures the struggles of black Caribbean immigrants in the eponymous megacity. The setting of his novel is around the neighborhood of Notting Hill which has become synonymous with the Notting Hill Carnival that takes place in London every summer. This extravaganza, though has financial benefits for its participants, is an opportunity of social inclusion for the immigrants and subversion of British authority. This paper will trace the historical background of the London Notting Hill Carnival and the role of its main organizers, the Caribbean immigrants, in the light of Selvon's novel which is based on fictional representations of this marginalized group. In doing so, the paper will refer to Richard Lehan's argument of how the marginalized embody the Dionysian spirit in urban spaces, and Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophical explanation of the age-old conflict between rationality and sensuality symbolized by the Apollonian and Dionysian myths in Western tradition. The purpose of this paper is to show how the black Caribbean immigrants of Selvon's work embody the spirit of Dionysius in this modern-day Bacchanalia which takes place on the streets of London, and in extension, make an argument for the contribution of all marginalized immigrants in the repressed but vital spirit of Dionysus in the city.

Keywords: Black Caribbean immigrants, London Notting Hill Carnival, Dionysus, marginalized and city

Introduction

In April 2018, UK Prime Minister Theresa May apologized to twelve Caribbean nations for the government's actions towards descendants of what is famously known as Windrush Generation. This immediately reminded me of Samuel Selvon's iconic novel *The Lonely Londoners*. Published in 1956, Selvon's work is based on the lives of West Indian immigrants who came to London after Britain passed its Nationality Act in 1948. Due to labor shortages at the end of the Second World War, Britain adopted this open-door policy to invite immigrants from Caribbean countries such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados. On 22 June 1948, the ship MV Empire Windrush docked in Tilbury, Essex with 500 Jamaicans giving this mass migration of West Indians its notorious name. In Selvon's novel and historically, these black immigrants lived in deplorable conditions in areas such as Bayswater and Brixton which came to be identified with increasingly black population and culture. Selvon's characters mostly live in the Water (short for Bayswater) surrounded by the Gate (Notting Hill Gate) in the east and the Arch (Marble Arch) in the west. Historically too, many Caribbean immigrants have been known to mark this territory with their cultural identity and heritage. One aspect of that heritage is their social gatherings or festivals among which Notting Hill Carnival has become most dominant form of cosmopolitan expression in Britain over the last fifty years. As Bakhtin's famous essay informs us of the nature of carnivals, we see the breakdown or even reversal of social order in the Notting Hill Carnival where marginalized immigrants take over London's streets for two-to-three days. Richard Lehan in his book *The City in Literature* ascribes this rebelliousness to Dionysian spirit, a primitive force or energy that has been declining in cities due to modernization. However, he asserts that this spirit has been revived by followers of Dionysus in the form of "many disguises" among which are also masked participants of carnivals and masquerades (1998, p. 20).

Despite the Greek origin and Western concept of Dionysus as a symbol of sensuality (over rationality) and the resulting disorder, it can be associated with non-Western, in this case, Caribbean modes of highly colorful and energized cultural norms. Though Lehan mentions the marginalized, he does not speak of the repressed immigrants as such, and this I find a racially-biased lacking in his otherwise comprehensive work. What he has ignored, either purposefully or unwittingly, I would like to address in this paper because I believe that the marginalized immigrants are the Dionysian force making up the larger population and threatening social orders in the bigger metropolitans such as London, Paris or New York. As a case study, I will trace the origin, development and impact of London Notting Hill Carnival in British culture with reference to Samuel Selvon's novel *The Lonely Londoners* and I will show, using Nietzschean philosophy, three ways in which the Greek Dionysian can be found in the Caribbean carnival. To study Caribbean culture using Western framework might appear imposing and unnecessary but the purpose here is not to redeem the former but criticize the latter and, thereby, locate

some place where the two can co-exist, and that for me is the Dionysian energy to be found in carnivals, and in extension, among the marginalized in cities.

Stories and Settings: *The Lonely Londoners* and Notting Hill Carnival

Born in Trinidad, Samuel Selvon is often called the father of black writing in Britain. His ground-breaking novel *The Lonely Londoners* vividly captures the harsh realities of immigrant life in the eponymous metropolis. The novel is about Moses and his group of *lonely* friends who have arrived from the Caribbean because they hear fascinating stories of the “Mother Country” whose streets are allegedly “paved with gold” (Selvon, 2006, p.2). However, reality is completely different as we see through the struggles of Moses and others who get the worst jobs and live miserably in the cruel weather of London. In order to capture the real experience of these Caribbean immigrants, Selvon chooses to write the entire novel in creolized English over Standard English. This shift in linguistic form is the unique aspect of Selvon’s work. With this, he tries to put “Caribbean consciousness in a British context” and by extension in an international platform (Nasta, 2006, p. x). Not only this but some of the longer portions in the narrative reflect traces of the famous Trinidadian *calypso*, a style of Afro-Caribbean music that originated in Trinidad and Tobago during the early mid nineteenth century and eventually spread to the rest of Caribbean. It was part of the stick fighting tradition during the canboulay (burnt-cane) festival in colonial Trinidad and since the fighting was a showcasing of great strength and courage, Ashley Dawson deduces that the word calypso is derived from kaiso that is analogous to “bravo” in the West African Hausa language (2007, p.32). This calypso music, therefore, being an integral part of Caribbean immigrants is naturally found in the London Notting Hill Carnival which has been initiated and still dominantly participated by the real-life lonely Londoners.

London Notting Hill Carnival (LNHC), dating back to mid-1960s, is now an annual event that brightens British summer every August. Taylor and Kneafsey classify LNHC as one of the urban cultural heritage festivals which contribute to the socio-economic development of towns and cities. Festivals such as LNHC make urban spaces more livable by creating moments of rupture in the mechanical life and, at the same time, proving useful sources of income for city-dwellers. Ferdinand and Williams stress on how festivals “increase leisure options for locals, attract new investment to an area, revitalize existing infrastructure and, in some cases, completely remodel a city’s landscape” (2018, p.33). Despite the changes that the Notting Hill area has undergone over the years, the carnival has grown to become “synonymous with the Notting Hill area and also the city of London, which derives significant benefits from the hundreds of thousands of visitors flocking to the event every year” (Ferdinand and Williams, 2018, p. 35). These benefits include huge amounts of revenues for organizers and thousands of jobs for performers. A Strategic Review produced by the Greater London Authority (GLA) in 2004 gives a detailed explanation of these figures:

The economic impact study, commissioned by the London Development Agency on behalf of the Mayor's Carnival Review Group found that in 2002, the Notting Hill Carnival generated approximately £93 million and supported the equivalent of 3,000 full-time jobs – clear evidence that what takes place every August Bank Holiday weekend on the streets of Notting Hill is a multi-million pound income-generating event. (12)

Therefore, in terms of numbers, London's Notting Hill Carnival is only second to Brazil's Rio Carnival. All these figures related to money and investment may lead one to think of the commercialization of these festivals and doubt their potential for social inclusion. Ferdinand and Williams elaborately write on the dangers of such tourism-driven festivals that often include extravagant sales of food, drinks and souvenirs and, "such associations can result in ambivalence among communities, needing the income that tourists and other commercial stakeholders bring into a festival, if they wish to preserve cultural authenticity" (2018, p.34). However, these numbers do not lessen the social impact of festivals such as the LNHC, argues Taylor and Kneafsey, rather they are "regarded as catalysts in the promotion of community cohesion" (2016, p.182). This cohesion has many features among which sense of belongingness is vital and that is achieved in several ways through these festivals. The above touristic factors, though may seem mercenary from the outside, give local people employment, security and identity and reduce bias, intolerance and fear which in turn help with social integration and, often, resistance.

While today many might take it only as a recreational activity, especially non-Caribbeans, this carnival has an enduring history of resistance since the racial disturbances of 1958. Ashley Dawson sheds light on that history saying, "The carnival celebration began as a response to one of the first significant postwar public expression of racist hostility toward the presence of Britain's non-white citizens" (2007, p.78). Interestingly, the first person to organize a Caribbean carnival in Britain was a woman, Claudia Jones, a Trinidad-born journalist and activist. This is recalling of Tanty in Selvon's novel. Tanty, who is the old lady from Jamaica and one of Tolroy's relatives, soon becomes the leader in her neighborhood of Harrow Road. Selvon writes, "She become a familiar figure to everybody and, even the English people calling she Tanty. It was Tanty who cause the shop-keeper to give people credit" (Selvon, 2006, p. 65). This shows how black women are often attributed with good leadership and management skills. Thus, Claudia Jones wanted to "unify the heretofore isolated immigrants from diverse islands such as Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad, creating a popular culture front through which to resist the rise of fascism in the 'motherland'" (Dawson, 2007, p. 79). In other words, she tried to bring together the real lonely Londoners on a common platform where they could proudly present and share their national identities and, at the same time, challenge the racially-biased structures of British authority.¹⁰ The organization of present day Notting Hill Carnival, however, is attributed by many to the pioneering vision and dedication of Rhaune Laslett, an East Ender and migrant herself:

¹⁰ Also, see the official page of LNHC at www.thelondonnottinghillcarnival.com

In 1964, Laslett, a social worker, had a vision of people in Notting Hill coming together and celebrating in the streets. She felt that even though there were various migrants living in the congested area, there was little communication or interaction between them. Her dream of a unifying concept was realized with marchers and steel bands taking to the streets under the banner of the Notting Hill Fayre and Pageant in joyous revelry. (Taylor and Kneafsey, 2016, p.186).

In the novel, it is Harris's music that brings Moses and the group together for some recreation on the weekends. Though his soirées are inside halls and not on the streets like the LNHC, they have the steel band that is emblematic of Caribbean music (see below). Of Harris, Selvon writes, "He had a steel band to play music, a bar for the boys to drink, and he knew already that bags of people coming to the fete from the number of tickets that he sell" (2006, p.104). So, these musical occasions, partly organized by the West Indian Harris, are quite extravagant with lots of people, music, dancing and drinking –almost like a carnival. The word "carnival" is also used by the author Selvon when he describes how one of the boys Five dances very flamboyantly with "carnival slackness" amidst the elegant white people and it makes Harris embarrassed (2006, p. 108). Because these gatherings of Harris are indoor and dominated by whites, he has scope to feel concerned about the age-old racial complexity. However, in the LNHC, this hierarchy is reversed with the blacks dominating the streets of London and the whites dancing to their tunes in their freestyles. The LNHC, being mostly one big Caribbean extravaganza, has some essential features and that is why it is more meaningful for the black immigrants than some regular musical event.

After Rhuane Laslett, different organizing committees took responsibility of the event but they all continued to honor the three main cultural elements –the steel band competition, the costumed parades and the static sound system for street parties. The key feature of the steel band is the steel pan that is struck with sticks, a drum-like musical instrument again originating in Trinidad and Tobago. They are accompanied by mas' camps where masks and costumes are prepared. Taylor and Kneafsey elaborates how

the word 'mas' is a derivative of masquerade, which in European tradition implies wearing a facemask. However, the Caribbean genre emphasizes how the person playing mas animates the character they are portraying... [and] synthesize an emotional interplay between performers, the inner self and the revelers, who line the streets. (2016, p.184)

So, in this carnival, masks are more than just façade. They carry deeper sociological and psychological meaning much like the music of the festival. Sound systems were first included in 1975 and these were often an assortment of homemade speakers, loud amplifiers and a DJ who raps and controls the music. While steel bands and mas' camps were Trinidadian, sound systems were more Jamaican and, therefore, their presence "turned the festival into a pan-Caribbean affair" (Dawson, 2007, p.85). However, British people were not aware of these

changes as they could not differentiate among the many Caribbean nations and their respective cultures. Early in his novel, *The Lonely Londoners*, Selvon touches on this subject of how “the English people believe that everybody who come from the West Indies come from Jamaica” thus Moses is asked by a reporter about the conditions in Jamaica though he is from Trinidad (2006, p.7).

Going back to the carnival, these sound systems gradually started playing beats of reggae commonly associated with the ideologies of Rastafarianism that the likes of Bob Marley practiced. Along with these beats, Jamaican DJs popularized their remix or dub style by “breaking up, distorting, and adding pounding bass to the original versions of popular songs” and, thereby, introducing “a performative mode that meshed well with the critique of state power subaltern black communities in both Jamaica and Britain were articulating at the time” (Dawson, 2007, p. 86). Not only aesthetically but spatially too, the carnival was extending its reach and challenging the authorities such as the police forces who fail to protect black immigrants from racist hostilities and tend to condemn them for criminal activities. Thus, Ashley Dawson writes:

There is nothing, as the speaker proclaims, that these [police] forces can do to stop the carnival performers from parading along their planned route, a route that traces –at least for a couple of days –the geography of collective black solidarity... If the British state increasingly sought to contain black communities spatially through aggressive policing practices that curtailed their geographical mobility and criminalized certain forms of dress, hairstyle, and even ways of walking, the carnival allowed these communities to reoccupy their streets and neighborhoods. (2007, p.83-84)

We see instances of such “criminalized” attitudes in Selvon’s novel. When Bart goes to the house of his white girlfriend, the girl’s father throws him out of the house “because he don’t want no curly-hair children in the family” (Selvon, 2006, p.51). Another time, when Galahad is standing at Piccadilly station, a white child points at him because he is black and the child’s mother feels uneasy by Galahad’s apparently foreign and unacceptable black presence. Also, another night while he was in the lavatory “two white fellars come in and say how these black bastards have the lavatory dirty, and they didn’t know that he was there” (Selvon, 2006, p. 77). As a result, Galahad feels too alienated and humiliated in London city. He becomes so mentally disturbed that he starts talking to his hands and, personifying the color Black, goes on blaming them for all his troubles. Though the scene is portrayed in a light-hearted manner keeping with the tone of the novel, it is the most heart-rending and critically-studied point in the piece. The willful split of himself shows the traumatic nature of Galahad’s daily experiences and their psychological impact. Because Selvon’s novel is a tragi-comedy, we do not see any violent example of racism but Galahad almost gets caught by the police when he snatches one of the pigeons from the park and an old white woman sees him doing the unthinkable according to her standards. Selvon parodies how the British people will feed birds in the parks and care more for them than impoverished marginalized people in their country. Thus, in

a third person narrative, Selvon writes, “Them rich people who does live in Belgravia and Knightsbridge and up in Hampstead and them other plush places, they would never believe what it like in a grim place like Harrow Road or Notting Hill” (2006, p. 60). These same places of poverty and discrimination are turned into places of power and subversion by black immigrants in the London Notting Hill Carnival.

Origins and Myths: Greek Dionysus and Caribbean Carnival

Now, the origin of the word carnival is Latin *carnemleavre* which translates to put away meat in English. This meaning has religious connotations referring to the celebration of life and its pleasures before Lent, a time of prayer and penance among Christians. The period of Lent also includes abstinence from bodily or sensual gratifications such as alcohol, food and sex. As a result, in carnivals there is often seen an indulgence in carnal desires accompanied by a sense of festivity and merriment which is achieved by music and dancing. Overall, the atmosphere is one of intoxicating euphoria and energy that is often characterized with Bacchanalia, the drunken celebration and worship of Bacchus (the Roman name of Dionysus). Richard Lehan goes back to the play of Euripides called *The Bacchae* to trace one among the hundreds of myths based on this highly revered and often refereed god of wine and fertility in Western tradition. The word *bacchae* meaning “women possessed by Bacchus” indicates a group of female followers cum worshippers of Bacchus (Lehan, 1998, p.18). Selvon’s novel does not feature a carnival but it is abundant in “carnal desires” of the black boys who lust for white girls. There are several episodes and references of the boys trying to impress some girls. In summer, however, the situation is reversed with the girls becoming more eager for attention and so, Selvon writes, “...summer night oh sometimes the girls wishing it would get dark quickly and you have them parading all down the Bayswater Road from the Arch to the Gate...” (2006, p. 95). The location is exactly that of LNHC and the word “parading” is suggestive of procession and celebration. These girls, who are not given individual names and identities but act as collective force of energy, mirror the female followers of Dionysus.

In literature, Dionysus is commonly known for his contribution to the development of theatre. Greek plays, as we know, were written for religious celebration and worship of Dionysus, and therefore, they included a Dionysian chorus which became instrumental in tragedy, derived from *tragoidia* meaning goat-song. In the myths and rituals of Dionysus, he is always associated with the natural world and in extension to the primordial state of human beings who is fundamentally regarded here as a sensually potent organism in contrast to a rationally free one. As cities expanded, human beings lost touch with nature – the earth, animals and rivers – due to increasing industrialization and mechanization. Dionysus, being responsible for the balance between human and animal world, was worshipped for the revival of primitive energy and organic connection to nature; and, this adulation was taken up by the marginalized in cities since they are victims of urban capitalization. It was manifested in different artistic expressions of which some are the music, painting, dancing that we see in carnivals.

Friedrich Nietzsche, in his famous book *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872), goes into the depth of controversial dichotomy between the Apollonian and Dionysian myths of Western tradition. However, Nietzsche is limiting in his philosophy because he quite rudely separates the Dionysian Greeks from others whom he calls Dionysian Barbarians. He argues that these Barbarians are often engaged in “excess of sexual indiscipline” and despite the news of their hedonism reaching the Greeks from “every sea –and land –route” the Greeks remain pure and untouched (1999, p.20). The connotations of racial slur make Nietzsche’s work an interesting case for post-colonial criticism too but that is beyond the scope of this paper. Though he does not mention any group, we can assume that here, by Barbarians, he refers to non-Europeans, that is, chiefly Asians and Africans. So, while it may seem shocking to attribute those same African descendants with the Greek Dionysian of Nietzsche, it can also be thought as a way of challenging and deconstructing his work. Therefore, continuing with Nietzsche’s views of the Dionysian, this paper will see how it more aptly fits the black Caribbean immigrants than white European natives in place like London.

Though both Apollo and Dionysus feature in his work, Nietzsche mainly focuses on the latter and tries to answer the question, “What is the Dionysian?” Admitting the difficulty of finding this answer, Nietzsche writes that to understand the Dionysian we must realize “the Greeks’ relationship to pain, the degree of their sensitivity” and “whether the Greeks’ ever more powerful demand for beauty (*Schönheit*), for festivals, entertainments, new cults, really grew from a lack, from deprivation, from melancholy, from pain” (1999, p.7). If we take this explanation of Nietzsche and imagine pain as an origin of Dionysian myth, then this easily sits with my view of the Caribbean immigrants embodying the Dionysian in their cultural expressions. Their moment of pain, quite clearly, dates to forced migration from the African continent and slavery in the Caribbean plantations. Even today, they are living in deprivation and struggling in the margins of urban spaces such as London. In Selvon’s novel, for example, we find a long description of the squalor in which Tolroy and his family lives. The houses in that particular area are described as “old and grey and weatherbeaten” and they do not have hot water or separate baths; so, the locals have to buy “big galvanise basin” or “go to the public bath” (Selvon, 2006, p.59). These poor conditions make the immigrants feel more desolate and the one thing that helps them survive is the company of each other. That is why, even though most of the boys borrow money from Moses and eat his food, he lets them come and stay at his place all the time. Similarly, in the case of their gatherings and entertainments, they are more than temporary breaks of fun and play instead they are, taking cue from Nietzsche, Dionysian expressions of deep sorrow related to their lost homelands. This is the first reason, I think, that the Caribbean immigrants embody the Dionysian.

Praising the bond between man and nature in the Dionysian, Nietzsche continues his philosophy saying, “Freely the earth offers up her gifts, and the beasts of prey from mountain and desert approach in peace” (1999, p.18). This relation to nature is often expressed through a sense of nostalgia in all diasporic cultural forms, and carnivals are no exception. The masks and costumes that we see in Notting Hill Carnival are artistic manifestations of birds and

animals, mostly found in the Caribbean. The people of the Caribbean have been known to live in proximity and harmony with nature as they depend on natural elements for survival and nourishment. For example, they are mostly agrarian communities where the native people are engaged in farming and fishing. Once uprooted and detached from their natural surroundings, Caribbean immigrants feel suffocated in the cramped rooms of cities. This fact is shown in Selvon's novel by the continuous reference to London's cold and gloomy weather in comparison to the bright and sunny Caribbean islands that Moses and his friends miss terribly. That is why, summer brings happiness all around and "...that time of the year something strange happen to everybody they all smiling and as if they living for the first time..." (Selvon, 2006, p. 97-98). The boys wear light clothes, go to the parks, find girls and become carefree like back in their homes. Though Moses plans to go back to Trinidad every year, he changes his mind when summer arrives in London. The city has consumed him, and he has become a *Londoner*. Selvon illustrates this point in an evocative passage:

What it is that a city have, that any place in the world have, that you get so much to like it you wouldn't leave it for anywhere else? ...Why it is, that although they grumble about it all the time, curse the people, curse the government...in the end, everyone cagey about saying outright that if the chance come they will go back to them green islands in the sun? (2006, p.134)

Here, the "green island in the sun" are the Caribbean homelands of the black immigrants. In contrast to them, London is crowded and polluted. Life in the city is miserable because today's European cities are far from the utopian vision of Nietzsche's Dionysian Greek. These modern cities are built based on the Enlightenment theory of progress and rationality. This rationality is associated with Apollo, the other Greek god associated with music and poetry but also medicine and rationality. Western civilization tending towards industrialization and urbanization seem to follow the rational side in human beings corresponding to the Apollonian myth. On the other hand, non-Western cultures with their primitive lifestyles are thought to prefer the sensual in humans thus embodying the Dionysian. This is my second argument of how the Dionysian can be found in the Caribbean culture.

Finally, "as an advocate of life [his] instinct invented for itself a fundamentally opposed doctrine and counter-evaluation of life, a purely artistic one, an *anti-Christian* one. What was it to be called?" writes Nietzsche and says that he decided upon calling it Dionysus. Now, this makes it contradictory to associate carnivals with Dionysus because he seems to be hold in complete opposition to religious doctrines and yet we always relate carnivals with Bacchanalia as already mentioned above. This contradiction gives a sense of subversion in the very essence of carnivals. That is, even though they originally began as religious festivals they challenge those same institutions to keep them in check. The subversive function of carnivals is most famously and elaborately explained by the Russian critic Mikhail Bakhtin who thinks that carnival is "temporary refusal of the official world... it offer[s] the utopian promise of a better life, one of equality, abundance and freedom" (Storey, 2001, p.109). This can be directly applied to the

attitude of Caribbean immigrants in London Notting Hill Carnival since they too hope for a better future –a future that will bring them “equality, abundance and freedom” –and they express their hopes and dreams through the exuberance in the carnival. This equality is already seen to be achieved in London Notting Hill Carnival as black Caribbean immigrants bring the white British, and other Europeans, to the same streets and make them sing and dance along with them. Similarly, the abundance is seen in the panoramic size of the whole event and the freedom in its lawlessness as participants do not feel afraid, instead, in most cases, they are protected by police forces. Even though temporarily, the divisions of class, race and power are abandoned or forgotten and, this subversion, as Bakhtin says and as witnessed, lies in the heart of all carnivals including the LNHC. This forms the third and final part of my argument.

Conclusion

London Notting Hill Carnival is no longer “the ritual of an exiled Caribbean community and more a celebration of the hybrid cultural forms created by black Britons” (Dawson, 2007, p.79). Not only blacks, but other marginalized groups in Britain also became part of this gala event over time. In the foreword of his review of the Notting Hill Carnival, Ken Livingstone, former Mayor of London, praised the carnival’s success in bringing together people of diverse background and “promoting a fusion of cultures, people and customs” (GLA, 2004, p. 6). The mayor’s comment stemmed out of the fact that from the turn of the century “black carnival goers were visibly in the minority” and “though the event has had a history of predominantly attracting people of African Caribbean origin, this is no longer, strictly, the case” (Taylor and Keafsey, 2016, p.189). For example, the highly-populated South-Asian communities of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka also feel familiarity with this carnivalistic mode of political statement due to their shared experiences of injustice by the white Brits. The Caribbean and South-Asian cultures share analogous cultural forms and expressions when it comes to music, dancing, dressing, etc. Like their Caribbean friends, South-Asians also enjoy loud music which include more drum beats than stringed music and wear colorful dresses with body paintings. South-Asians also organize their own carnival-type gatherings called *melas* which, like carnivals, are mostly fairs accompanying religious festivals. This is where the Dionysian again comes to mind. Lastly, not only in England, but also other European countries such as the Netherlands, where the Rotterdam Summer Festival takes place, witness these carnivals or *melas* initiated and popularized by immigrants (Alferink, 2012). Therefore, the argument here given on the black Caribbean immigrants of London Notting Hill Carnival can prove relevant to most immigrants, who are the marginalized, in the increasing urban spaces of the world.

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