Literary Wayfinding
Mapping Contested Space in Marlon James's
A Brief History of Seven Killings

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Abstract

This thesis is first and foremost a literary analysis of Marlon James's *A Brief History of Seven Killing*s (2014), though one grounded in critical urban and digital literary theory. Focusing on the novel's representation of contested infrastructure in Kingston, Jamaica, I ask, how can visualizations be used to help readers navigate space in this long novel? And how can *I show* the impact certain contested spaces have on characters' movements, actions, or relationships with one another? Given the various meanings "contested space" can take in the urban-Jamaican setting of *A Brief History*, this thesis primarily focuses on the novel's portrayal of "downtown" communities that emerged from the slum clearance schemes implemented in Kingston during the 1960s. After providing a historical contextualization of these spaces, James's fictionalized depictions of them are analyzed more closely from a textual framework grounded in the infrastructural humanities. This is followed by a digital production of maps in qGIS that are used to help confirm and reinterpret insights discussed earlier.

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Introduction

Marlon James's *A Brief History of Seven Killings* (2014) is an award-winning historical fiction about the violent rise of Jamaican street gangs during the second half of the 20th century.[1] Set on five different days between 1976 and 1991, the novel explores many of the domestic and international conditions – including Jamaica's patron-client politics, the interference of the C.I.A. in the Caribbean, and global Cold War anxieties – that enabled these gangs to evolve from unofficial political enforcers into transnational drug-smuggling syndicates.[2] At the narrative's center is the 1976 attempted assassination of Bob Marley ("the Singer"), an event largely envisioned by James as a pivotal breaking point for Jamaican society and the gang violence it saw at this time. "Marley was untouchable," James said in one interview, "if he could be shot, anybody could be shot. […] There was a sense that anything could happen."[3] Without ever directly invoking the voice of the Singer, the failed shooting binds much of the novel's almost 700 pages together, turning an extensive network of characters, political histories, and rumored conspiracy theories into an accessible story for a wide range of readers.

Considering that *A Brief History* incorporates various aspects of Jamaica's actual past into its setting, critics have frequently questioned the extent to which the novel's fictionalized elements reflect historical archetypes.[4] While this approach is relatively straightforward for entities in the narrative background that retain the names of their "real-life" counterparts and appear "much as they did in the world outside the novel," it becomes more challenging for the historically inspired characters, places, and events that enter the text under invented names.[5] Of the latter, Neil Ten Kortenaar has analyzed figures such as Josey Wales and Papa-Lo, two of the story's original narrators who are freely imagined but heavily reflective of the notorious gang leaders Lester 'Jim Brown' Coke and Claude Massop. Throughout the novel, as Wales and Papa-Lo live out many of the experiences Coke and Massop are known to have undergone, they simultaneously showcase private thoughts and internal perspectives that cannot be factually attributed to any "real" individuals. According to Kortenaar, this dynamic allows James to explore unverified motivations or emotions that *may have*,

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[1] All future refences to *A Brief History of Seven Killings* will be included with in-text page number citations.

[2] See pages 17-18 for a deeper discussion on Jamaica's patron-client politics or "clientelism," a system in which clients (i.e. citizens) become solely reliant upon their patrons (i.e., politicians) for survival.

[3] James, "Marlon James Interview: 'I Didn't Want to Fall into a Pornography of Violence.'"

[4] "Historical archetypes" refer to the "real" entity fictionalized elements are inspired from. It used to help reinforce the differences between the "world of the novel" and the extratextual world. See Tayler, "Goings-on in the Tivoli Gardens"; Harrison, "Global Sisyphus"; Morgan, "'Killing Don't Need No Reason'"; Kortenaar, "'If It No Go So'"; and Walonen, "Violence, Diasporic Transnationalism, and Neo-imperialism" for essays that have directly linked fictionalized elements in the novel with "real-life" counterparts.

[5] Kortenaar, 193. Importantly, fictional entities who enter the narrative under the names of "real" people and places are still fictional and have the potential to divert from "real-life" counterparts just as much as those who enter under invented names. However, James sticks to a more traditional framework by intentionally restricting the former to highly mimetic characterizations that largely, if not completely, overlap with referents outside of the text. See McHale, *Postmodernist Fiction*, 17-18, 86-90 for a more in-depth discussion on this approach.

in essence, "actually" existed during this period.[6] However, at the same time, it complicates the apparent historicity of the novel, calling into question the validity of fact-oriented approaches.

In a similar vein to Kortenaar, James himself has often highlighted how *A Brief History* diverges from Jamaica's historical past, especially as it relates to the story's characters. Speaking with Sherman Escoffery in 2014, James said:

> One of the reasons why I went [with] fiction, is because I didn't want to tell a biography. Most of the people involved in this [story] are dead, so they wouldn't be able to talk to me. But I also wanted the freedom to sometimes merge characters, to sometimes take characters in a different direction. […] I think a novel is like the lie that tells the truth. By taking away any obligation to real people, I can really go into what's going on.[7]

In separate interviews with Jeff Vashista and Chris Harvey, James expanded upon this lack of "obligation to real people" by delving deeper into the muddled identities of characters like Wales and Papa-Lo.[8] As James points out, while these characters may closely reflect specific historical figures, they simultaneously draw from a wide array of other 'real' and 'unreal' sources, turning them into unique composites rather than fictionalized imitations.[9] This further complicates fact-oriented approaches to the novel that must inherently ignore specific details – such as Wales's Chinese features, tall stature, and tolerance for sexual diversity – in order to make "real-life" comparisons.[10] As a result, James has discouraged readers from playing "spot the real person" throughout *A Brief History* and has instead promoted readings that regard the novel's characters as independent actors.

Despite James's call for caution, critics like Christopher Tayler and Scott Carey have approached *A Brief History* from different angles that emphasize its *roman à clef* aspects and its direct relationship to Jamaican history.[11] By assuming that many of the novel's fictionalized entities relate to specific historical parallels, these critics have searched for connections the novel's characters, places, and events share with real-world phenomena. This involves close examination of the sources James utilized when writing the novel – such as Timothy White's *Catch A Fire* or Laurie Gunst's *Born Fi Dead*[12] – as well as exploration of broader historical data that extends beyond the novel's immediate purview. Such an approach admittedly risks readers perceiving

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[6] Kortenaar, 194.

[7] James, "Author Marlon James on 'A Brief History of Seven Killings.'"

[8] See James's interviews, "Marlon James and the Spirit of '76" and ""Marlon James Interview: 'I Didn't Want to Fall into a Pornography of Violence.'" See also footnote three for other essays that have directly linked fictionalized elements in the novel with "real-life" counterparts.

[9] In his interview with Harvey, James said, "Most of the characters are composites. I had somebody write to me who said, I know you've said that, but I'm sending you this. And he gave me a two-page list of all the characters, and who they were. But for the most part, the characters really aren't based on individuals."

[10] As James tells Harvey, none of these traits can be factually attributed to Coke, though they are features of Wales's identity.

[11] Tayler, "Goings-On in The Tivoli Gardens"; Carey, "Tracing Jamaica's bloody history."

[12] See Tayler for more information on White's *Catch A Fire* and Kortenaar for more information on Gunst's *Born Fi Dead*.

unverified or overtly made-up elements in *A Brief History* as factual truth; nevertheless, many of the connections derived from this approach help situate the narrative within a broader historical context that is not intuitively evident, especially for non-Jamaican readers.

 As scholars continue to navigate different strategies for analyzing the blurred boundaries between fact and fiction in *A Brief History*, one aspect of the novel that has remained underexamined is its incorporation of "real" and "unreal" urban geographies. Much of *A Brief History* unfolds in a version of Jamaica that closely resembles, even overlaps with, the city of Kingston that readers know; and yet, just as with many of the novel's fictionalized characters, there are a variety of communities that are historically inspired but unique to the narrative.[13] What "truthful lies," as James might say, can be learned from analyzing these spaces within the realm of the novel, independent of the "real world"? And how can "real" history from Jamaica's actual past be simultaneously utilized to help contextualize some of the political powers at play within the novel's fictionalized cityscape?

 So far, critics' attempts to address these questions have been mostly superficial, with the notable exception of Sheri-Marie Harrison.[14] In her essay, "Global Sisyphus: Rereading the Jamaican 1960s through *A Brief History of Seven Killings*," Harrison highlights the lack of representation Kingston slums have received in Jamaican literature since the mid-to-late 1950s and demonstrates how James's novel diverges from this trend. By utilizing insights from Kingston's past, Harrison links fictionalized communities from the novel with highly partisan slum clearance and urban housing schemes that emerged in the 1960s. Historically speaking, these schemes involved "the forced removal of [slum] residents by bulldozer, the destruction of their scant property, [their] discriminatory resettlement," and the introduction of "clientelistic housing developments" where residential units were "gifted" in exchange for party support.[15] As Harrison notes, these schemes continued throughout the 1960s and early 70s, ushering in an era of "garrisonization" where Kingston communities became functionally controlled by the country's two major political parties and their "local agents or supporters."[16] While James subtly alludes to this history throughout *A Brief*

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[13] By the "city of Kingston that readers know," I refer to the extratextual city of Kingston that can be physically visited by readers in the "real world" and is ontologically distinct from the "world of fiction." See McHale, 28-30, for a longer discussion on how these two worlds can interact, overlap, and diverge.

[14] Reviews from Kei Miller ("The Violence of 1970s Jamaica") and Christopher Taylor ("Goings-On in The Tivoli Gardens") recognize the connection neighborhoods in James's novel share with real-world places, but only in general, non-specific ways. Miller, for instance, comments on the ironic names fictionalized communities like "Copenhagen City" are given but does not analyze the physical effects these places have on characters or their spatial relationship to the rest of the fictionalized city. The same applies to other more academic critics such as Walonen and Kortenaar who astutely link Copenhagen City with the construction of Tivoli Gardens in the 1960s but stop at that. In other cases, lack of attention to the novel's cityscape has even allowed for subtle (but important) mistakes. In her essay, "Bridging the Narrative Gap: The Ghost Narrator in Marlon James's *A Brief History of Seven Killings*," Anna Maria Tomczak incorrectly refers to Copenhagen City as a "shantytown," a label that more accurately applies to the fictional community of "Balaclava." See Chapter 2 and 3 for a longer discussion on the importance of this distinction.

[15] Harrison, 86.

[16] See Mark Figueroa and Amanda Sives, "Homogenous Voting," 83, for more information on the "garrisonization" of Kingston and the communities' "local agents/supporters" who helped politicians keep political control.

History,[17] Harrison's efforts to explicitly connect it with some of the novel's fictionalized neighborhoods provides readers with a deeper understanding of the political context shaping a major part of the narrative's setting.

Harrison's more fact-oriented approach to *A Brief History* provides an important foundation for urban-spatial analyses of the novel. Nevertheless, given her broader interest in the representation of Kingston slums across Jamaican literary history, her essay fails to adequately analyze the narrative's fictionalized communities *themselves*. Representations of neighborhoods and urban infrastructures within *A Brief History* do more than just reflect "factual" information from Jamaica's past or ground the novel's setting in geographic specificities. As highly contested spaces, these areas play a pivotal role in shaping characters' movements, relationships, and general subjectivities. Examining how characters are impacted by these spaces can not only provide deeper insight into the novel's setting but can also highlight some of the real-world impacts partisan city planning may have had on the lives of Kingston's residents (i.e., James's "truthful lie").

If Harrison's essay does not offer the necessary framework for analyzing representations of urban spaces *themselves*, recent developments in the infrastructural humanities have provided just that. Recognizing a turn in urban scholarship towards infrastructure, critics in this field of study have started examining different cultural portrayals of civil systems, facilities, and services in search of new societal insights. For literary texts, this can involve exploring the embodied relationships characters share with specific urban structures or analyzing "the characteristics and geographies of places [… that are] altered, warped, re-constituted, and bent to the literary ambition of the work."[18] In both cases, the attention rests less on the aesthetic and historical forms of infrastructures themselves and more on the imaginative roles, connotations, and affective dimensions these structures take on *within* art.[19]

In their essay, "Imagining Infrastructure in Urban Jamaica," Ricke Jaffe and Lucy Evans define a textual approach to the infrastructural humanities by analyzing various cultural representations of Kingston's gully system – an extensive network of "open drains meant to quickly channel rainwater to the city's harbor."[20] After systematically outlining some of the major historical developments surrounding Jamaica's gullies – such as the Sandy Gully scheme – these critics use interesting insights from a variety of artists, writers, and musicians to critically demonstrate the gullies highly political and often discriminatory dimensions. For instance, in analyzing Roger Mais's *The Hills Were Joyful Together,* Jaffe and Evans highlight how the featured African-Jamaican family of the novel largely perceives the gullies as structures of waste, illegality, and corruption rather than tools for water management. This, in turn, alters their view of the city, as well as their relationship to their immediate environment.

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[17] See Chapter 2 and 3 for in-depth analysis on the role this history plays within the novel.
[18] Eve*, The Digital Humanities and Literary Studies*, 106.
[19] Jaffe and Evans, "Imagining Infrastructure in Urban Jamaica," 17-20.
[20] Ibid., 17.

Importantly, while the infrastructural humanities has primarily advanced through textual frameworks, its interdisciplinary nature – closely linked to urban and literary studies – has also afforded critics with the unique opportunity to employ a variety of different methods. These methods can range from more speculative practices commonly seen in the arts to specific techno-scientific techniques currently at the forefront of the geo- and digital humanities. In terms of the latter, this includes the use of GIS mapping programs that aid in the visualization of spatial and geographic data, an aspect often omitted from more traditional approaches.[21] Although *A Brief History* has yet to be analyzed from these angles, employing a digital approach could allow for a more dynamic exploration of the narrative's "fact" and "fictional" geographies or the spatial relationships fictionalized communities share with characters, events, and other urban infrastructures.

Literary Wayfinding: Designing a Digital Cartography

Building off insights from Harrison and other critics in the geo- and infrastructural humanities, this thesis seeks to analyze representations of contested space in *A Brief History* from *both* fact- and fiction-oriented positions. On the one hand, this entails using information from Jamaica's actual past to help contextualize some of the "real" history embedded within the novel. This does not necessarily mean that the novel's communities, spaces, or characters will be directly equated with specific "real-world" counterparts, as other critics have done, but rather assumes that knowledge about Kingston's urban past can lead to an enriched reading of the novel's controversial neighborhoods *themselves*.[22] Such an approach, I argue, allows for a deeper understanding of the pivotal role contested space plays in shaping James's narrative, while simultaneously revealing some of the effects partisan city-planning may have had on peoples' lives.

Given the various meanings "contested space" can take in the urban-Jamaican setting of *A Brief History*, this thesis primarily focuses on the novel's portrayal of "downtown" communities that emerged from the slum clearance schemes implemented in Kingston during the 1960s. This mainly involves the fictionalized neighborhood of "Copenhagen City," a garrison community situated on the remains of a slum called "Balaclava." While Harrison has already highlighted the connection these areas share with "real" places from Jamaica's actual past, this thesis expands upon her insights and takes them in a different direction by investigating their relationship with other entities *in the world of the novel*. This includes characters such as Bam-Bam, a young Jamaican Labour Party (JLP) gang member whose movements,

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[21] Eve (119-128) is an important example of one critic who has recently used GIS for digital literary studies. Analyzing *I'm Jack* by Mark Blacklock – a novel surrounding the police hunt for the Yorkshire Ripper – he demonstrates the importance space plays by mapping the locations of the real Yorkshire Ripper and a phony who was calling into the police station and confusing the detectives. His design is efficient and demonstrates how maps can be used alongside close readings of (historical) novels.

[22] This is not to say events, places, people, etc. in the book will not overlap with the "real world." Throughout this thesis, I will still use overlap between these two worlds for my benefit.

friendships, and political ideologies are significantly shaped based upon his relationship to Copenhagen City.

To provide a comprehensive foundation for this analysis, Chapter 1 draws on Harrison's fact-oriented approach to *A Brief History* and highlights key historical contexts surrounding Kingston's slum clearance and urban housing schemes. Considering the long history of unjust urban planning that facilitated the exertion of these schemes, this discussion includes a close examination of Kingston's colonial ghettos, the birth of Jamaica's brown middle-class, the growth of political polarization, and more. Following this, the chapter turns to the schemes themselves, performing an in-depth analysis of the infamous Back-O-Wall shantytown, a squatter camp on the outskirts of West Kingston, and its demolition for a JLP-aligned housing development known as Tivoli Gardens. As the locations of the first politically motivated slum clearance and urban housing schemes, these pivotal spaces have come to signal the onset of Kingston's era of garrisonization, the period directly relevant to James's narrative.

Having highlighted some of the "real" history surrounding Jamaica's slum clearance and urban housing schemes, Chapter 2 shifts focus to fact- and fiction-oriented readings of Balaclava and Copenhagen City *themselves.* After briefly linking these fictionalized spaces with some of the events outlined in Chapter 1, this chapter utilizes frameworks from the geo- and infrastructural humanities to analyze the impact these spaces have within the world of the novel. This primarily involves close analysis of how different characters are psychologically and physically affected by these spaces. Given the novel's more than 70 invented characters and 30 narrators, there is a diverse range of connotations that communities like Copenhagen City take on throughout the narrative. Analyzing these connotations more closely provides a deeper understanding of *why* these spaces are contested and their effects on residents (both fictional and "real").

In recognizing the limitations of studying urban geography through textual frameworks – particularly the challenge of envisioning the size or location of the spaces under review – Chapter 3 is dedicated to visualizing representations of contested space through digital methods. By utilizing subtle clues from close readings and educated guesses based on historical data, qGIS is employed to create a spatial layout of the novel's fictionalized city of Kingston. From this layout, insights revealed in Chapter 2 can be confirmed and analyzed from new perspectives. This approach, I argue, helps show some of the physical restrictions these contested spaces impose on characters, including their politicized realities and general segregation from certain areas of the city.

Mapping the setting of this novel can provide valuable insights, but it can also help readers navigate the story's world. While James has praised the use of literary maps in science fiction and fantasy for orienting readers in fictional worlds, he has not considered their utility in more realistic settings, like this novel. Although some readers have suggested that real maps of Kingston might suffice for understanding the novel's setting, in recognizing the ontological differences between the world of the novel and

the extratextual world of the reader, this thesis also aims to help readers navigate a more accurate picture of Kingston's urban layout in *A Brief History*. Such an approach aligns with recent trends in geo- and digital humanities, urban studies, design thinking, and the broader "spatial" turn of the late 20th century.

Critical Considerations

As I highlight representations of contested space in James's *A Brief History*, I recognize several limitations and critical considerations. First, while this thesis focuses primarily on representations of Kingston, it deliberately ignores scenes set in other areas, particularly New York City. This does not imply that these other settings are unimportant or incapable of similar analysis, but rather that focusing on them in the context of this thesis would divert attention away from the specific insights I aim to explore. Second, the examination of Kingston's historical slum clearance and urban rehousing schemes in Chapter 1 primarily revolves around black and brown populations, the city's two largest social groups. Focusing on these two groups means the experiences of Kingston's Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants, Jewish population, and other minorities are only briefly touched upon. This is not meant to diminish the significant role these social groups have played in shaping modern Kingston, and I encourage future research that more deeply analyses them within the context of James's novel. Third, in developing a map of the novel's fictionalized portrayal of Kingston, I acknowledge that my interpretation of the city's urban design might differ from the author's own vision. In other words, although my analysis is driven by close readings and extratextual historical data, this does not necessarily mean that my representation is definitive. In acknowledging this, this thesis leaves room for other researchers to refine or expand upon the work that is displayed here. Fourth, in recognizing a recent trend in the public humanities to "democratize" the transmission of knowledge, the digital component of Chapter 3 is designed with accessible layouts intended for general readership. This is where the literary wayfinding dimension of the thesis takes its greatest effect. As a result, clear and simple design choices are privileged over complex visual elements. Fifth, I acknowledge my own lack of physical experience with Jamaica's urban and rural spaces. I have never been to Jamaica nor any other island in the Caribbean. While James himself has suggested such experience is not necessary to understand the novel, it puts me in a potentially precarious position when speaking on Jamaican culture and history. To help address this limitation, I have relied upon the extensive historical contextualization of Chapter 1 to guide and deepen my own knowledge about Kingston and subsequent approach to James's novel.

Lastly, in promoting an analysis of contested space in James's novel, my hope is that this research will be included in more recent discussions on urbanism, the digital humanities, and literary studies. Franco Moretti helped pave the way for digital literary mapping, and I have attempted to take his insights in innovative directions. This includes not only visualizing contested spaces in this historical novel but also seeking

to make literary studies more accessible to general readers through digital means. I hope this work will be consulted beyond academic circles and reach communities on platforms such as Reddit, Google Books, and Goodreads.

Chapter 1

A Brief History of Urban Development in Kingston, Jamaica

Before I analyze representations of contested space in *A Brief History of Seven Killings*, highlighting relevant history from Jamaica's actual past can help contextualize some of the key spatial realities embedded within the novel. In terms of the mid-to-late 20th century – the period of time James's narrative is set in – this primarily involves direct examination of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and People National Party (PNP) slum clearance and public housing schemes that transformed Kingston communities into politicized "garrisons." Promoted in the name of urban renewal but carried out under a spirit of political opportunism, these schemes largely took shape during the 1960s and 70s when politicians exploited the economic desperation of 'downtown' Kingston's lower class. In an effort to manufacture geographic spaces of political support, newly constructed housing units (built on the remains of urban slums or "shantytowns") were treated as "rewards" the winning party could give to constituents who proved their loyalty at the ballots. While this dynamic sparked manifestations of party allegiance, it simultaneously incited resentment from supporters of the opposing party who were consequently denied the same benefits. As a result, communities in downtown Kingston became physically disconnected from each other and geographically redefined according to politics, reshaping how residents interacted with many of the city's urban spaces.

Looking closer at specific housing schemes from this period can enrich readings of some of the major neighborhoods described throughout James's novel. However, doing so in an isolated fashion runs the risk of oversimplifying a complex urbanism that is also rooted in earlier histories, including British colonialism and the Jamaican nationalist movement that began in the late-1930s. "The 'garrisons' did not emerge overnight," as Mark Figueroa and Amanda Sives put it, and a variety of political and decisions from Kingston's past directly contributed to the circumstances of the mid-20th century.[1] While entire books have been written on the effects even singular acts have had on Kingston, this chapter seeks to provide a brief history of three major moments in the city's urban development: mainly, 1.) rural-to-urban migration beginning in the late-19th century, 2.) the stratification of social space during the 20th century nationalist movement, and 3.) the growth of political polarization under Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley. From these three movements, the cases of Back-O-Wall and Tivoli Gardens – the locations of the first major slum clearance and redevelopment scheme – can be looked at more closely. This conversation is inherently limited in its scope but nonetheless speaks to the complexity surrounding Kingston's urban situation and representations of contested space in *A Brief History*.

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[1] "Homogeneous Voting," 82.

Rural-to-Urban Migration (1820-1938)

Demographics

In the early 1820s, Kingston was one of Jamaica's most distinguished cities with between thirty and thirty-five thousand inhabitants and a flourishing trade port.[2] Having been designed almost a century and a half earlier according to the interests of the country's elite, the city had steadily evolved into a leading center of commerce where the white upper class (and to some extent, the white lower class) prospered as merchants, surveyors, storekeepers, manufacturers, and more.[3] This economic success was largely driven by slavery and the British practice of mercantilism, a system of trade aimed at maximizing the exportation of colonial goods to Britain. In Jamaica, mercantilism predominantly revolved around the production of key commodities such as rum, coffee, and most notably sugar.[4] While rural plantations undertook the cultivation and harvesting of these goods, Kingston assumed responsibility for much of their collection and subsequent exportation, thereby solidifying the city's commercial dominance.[5]

Although the white upper class held significant influence over Kingston's formal economy during the early 19th century, the city's social landscape was defined by a diverse mix of ethnic and racial groups that included European immigrants, indentured servants, black and brown freed people, and enslaved individuals. At this time, these groups lived in closer proximity to each other than they would in the 20th century, especially in terms of the city's white and black populations. While only an estimated eight percent of slaves lived in Jamaican towns by the abolishment of slavery (around 25,000 individuals), approximately half of this number resided in Kingston alone.[6] Given the increased domestic responsibilities demanded in urban slavery, these enslaved people were often "housed with their owners, or in closely adjacent 'negro' yards" located throughout the city.[7] As Trevor Burnard notes, this made Kingston's blend of black and white people much more ordinary than in rural plantations where "enslaved people worked and lived often at quite a distance from the great house."[8]

The urban spaces shared between Jamaica's enslaved and white populations were also occupied by many of the country's "brown" or "colored" inhabitants, a group

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[2] Stewart, "Creole Language in Kingston," 116.

[3] Clarke, *Decolonizing*, 7. While the white upper class held onto the more prestigious of these roles (merchants, attorneys, surveyors, etc.), the lower white class found security in roles as general workers (storekeepers, manufacturers, clerks, etc.).

[4] Kingston was also a key port in the transatlantic slave trade which was formally done away with in 1807.

[5] Clarke, *Decolonizing*, 4. Sugar had the highest rates of exportation in Jamaica, accounting for 90 percent of all the county's output at its peak. Over half of this was exported through Kingston alone. By the 1820s, sugar remained one of the country's leading crops, but the abolition of the slave trade and the Napoleonic Wars had hurt the industry. As a result, the economy began to diversify its economic interests and slowly shifted towards liberal free trade. More drastic changes, however, would not occur until after Emancipation. See page 9 for a more in-depth conversation on these changes.

[6] Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica*, 52-53. Percentages of urban slavery were even higher in the late 18th century. See Higman for these statistics.

[7] Burnard, "Slaves and Slavery in Kingston," 64. 'Negro' yards were small urban spaces defined by temporary and poorly built huts or shacks. As Michelle Stewart notes, these structures were first developed on the fringe of Kingston in the 18th century and quickly spread throughout the city. Though they officially disappeared with Emancipation, they would functionally continue "under different guises" throughout the nineteenth century (122).

[8] Burnard, 64.

characterized by an "intermediary color and class construction […] linked historically with the [multiracial] population of free people of color that emerged during the slavery period."[9] Though still viewed by Jamaica's white population as inferior, brown Jamaicans acted as "an important buffer in a slave system in which black slaves outnumbered their white masters twelve to one."[10] Highly conscious of their skin color, Kingston's brown population strove to emulate Jamaica's white society and were able to leverage their position in order to gain access to opportunities and civil liberties otherwise unavailable to black individuals.[11] For the most fortunate, these opportunities included access to formal education, employment as shopkeepers or clerks, low level civil service positions, land ownership, and more.[12] As a result, Jamaica's brown population would come to contain "many intelligent, educated men who mixed with the white elite but were [still] regarded by many of those people as occupying a social niche beneath them."[13]

The visible blend between Kingston's enslaved, brown, and white populations during the 19th century did not mean that spatial stratification was completely absent from the city. This was particularly true for black freed people, a growing demographic in Kingston whose urban mobility was extremely limited during this time. Fearing that the freedom of these individuals would spark rebellion on the plantations, Jamaica's white population restricted their participation in rural plantation life; nevertheless, racism and prejudice made it nearly impossible for them to find adequate jobs within Kingston's urban economy.[14] As a result, black freed people (along with a large number of runaway slaves) began to congregate on the edge of the city where shanties and other informal settlements were developed.[15] From these areas, individuals could seek self-employment or conduct trade in the nearby "Negro Market," a historic place of commerce frequented by much of the country's disenfranchised communities.[16]

While 'negro' yards and other informal communities on the periphery of the city remained heavily populated by Kingston's black freed population, the majority of Jamaica's inhabitants continued to reside in rural areas throughout the 1820s and 30s. This pattern persisted into the early Emancipation period, as formerly enslaved

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[9] Thomas, *Modern Blackness*, 24. Morgan (*A Concise History,* 165-166) writes, "Mixed-race people of lighter skin colour were favoured for free coloured status. In fact, each degree through which a free black person's skin colour diverged from blackness was widely recognised throughout Jamaica and the Caribbean. The categories included mulattos (the offspring of one white and one black parent); sambos (from one black and one mulatto parent); quadroons (from one mulatto and one white parent); and mustees (defined as those of one-eighth black ancestry)." See Petley, "'Legitimacy' and social boundaries," for a deeper discussion on how the Jamaica's mixed-race population emerged through slaveholders' assault and concubinage of enslaved and free women of African descent.

[10] Patterson, *The Confounding Island*, 58.

[11] Ibid., 58.

[12] Morgan, 166. This is not to say all brown Jamaicans found success in Kingston's economy. Mixed-race descendants of the white elite, for instance, had more opportunities for societal advancement, especially as it relates to landownership.

[13] Robotham, "How Kingston was Wounded," 116.

[14] Clarke, *Decolonizing*, 6.

[15] Clarke, *Racist Regimes,* 79. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, an estimated 2,000 people from the country's enslaved population had runaway to live on the outskirts of Kingston.

[16] Higman, "Jamaican Port Towns," 137. As Higman notes, the "Negro Market" was founded on King Street, near the harbour, and was attended by an estimated 10,000 people from both urban and rural areas. See also Clarke, *Racist Regimes* (74) for a discussion on how the freed black and brown population engaged with this Market.

individuals – the largest group in Jamaica's rural economy – often chose paid labor on sugar estates or invested in small pieces of land for private farming.[17] Despite a steady decline in the country's sugar production, agriculture still remained a cornerstone of Jamaica's economy and provided seemingly reliable employment opportunities. Urban migration was thus unnecessary, and a rural peasantry began to take shape across the country.[18]

The 1846 Sugar Duties Act
The agricultural opportunities available to Jamaica's rural peasantry during the early Emancipation period did not, however, last long. As Britain shifted from mercantilism to economic policies defined by liberal free trade, sugar needed to be produced cheaper – a challenge that was not easy for an industry that had long benefited from the inhumanities of enslaved labour. Consequently, sugar estates began to quickly face problems, including rising expenses, new competition, and incompetent management.[19] On the one hand, these conditions propelled the growth of the rural peasantry whose members slowly acquired the means to separate themselves from the mismanaged plantations.[20] Nevertheless, these new landowners would now have to deal with taxes and other expenses, as well as a white plantocracy that blamed them for much of their woes.[21] Such burdens would become increasingly hard to manage as Jamaica's agricultural economy weakened.

In 1846, Jamaica's economic situation further worsened with the introduction of the Sugar Duties Act, a British law that equalized import duties on sugar. While British colonies had previously benefited from lower sugar duties, the equalization made competition within the global market all the more fierce. This made things particularly difficult for Jamaica and other Caribbean countries which now had to compete with sugar industries in Cuba and Brazil that continued to operate under slave labor – allowing them to maintain lower prices – and European countries that found cheaper alternatives in beet sugar.[22] For black workers who chose to stay on the plantations, this meant lower wages and fewer job opportunities.

As Jamaica's sugar economy continued to deteriorate following the Sugar Duties Act, the country turned to agricultural transnational incorporations (TNCs), such as Tate and Lyle, that would come to replace many of the plantations.[23] In using more "capital-intensive production methods," these TNCs were able to lower prices and streamline some of the labor previously required in sugar cultivation.[24] These

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[17] Morgan, 196-197.
[18] This is not to suggest that urban migration was absent following Emancipation, just that it was not as economically imperative as it would come to be for many rural peasants later in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.
[19] Green, *British Slave Emancipation*, 35 ; Patterson, 51.
[20] Morgan, 213-215. Morgan writes, "By 1846 it was reported that freed blacks had acquired 100,000 acres in the eight years after apprenticeship ended and had built nearly 200 free villages."
[21] Ibid., 220-222.
[22] Green (38-39) notes that Brazil and Cuba had already established themselves as global sugar leaders before 1846; the Sugar Duties Act only facilitated their dominant position while weakening Jamaica's. See Morgan (250) for a discussion on Britian's importation of European beet sugar.
[23] Robotham, 115. Sugar estates would drop from 664 in 1839 to 122 at the beginning of twentieth century.
[24] Edie, *Democracy by Default*, 30.

advancements helped Jamaica's sugar economy partially recover, but they simultaneously hurt the black plantation workers who already had little bargaining power with their employers and the rural peasantry who were unable to acquire more land and further establish their agricultural interests.[25] Rural life thus became less attractive than first perceived in the early Emancipation period, and other avenues were increasingly considered moving into the late 19th century.

The Growth of Colonial Ghettos
Although rural-to-urban migration occurred throughout the early Emancipation period, the 1860s marked the beginning of an important shift in Jamaica's demographics.[26] As the hardships of rural life gradually compelled the country's peasantry to make physical changes, black farmers and plantation workers began to seek new opportunities abroad or elsewhere in the country. Central America and the United States became key destinations for those willing to emigrate, while Kingston and its surrounding corporate spaces attracted those who chose to stay.[27] In terms of the latter, many of Jamaica's black rural workers believed these areas offered them employment opportunities in non-manual fields of labor.[28] Unfortunately, such optimism soon proved to be misplaced; over the next century, Jamaica would experience a rapid growth in its urban population that would leave many migrants without jobs or economic stability.

By 1921, the parish of Kingston had surged to approximately 62,700 inhabitants – more than double the city's population during the 1820s – largely due to urban migration.[29] While a portion of these migrants (particularly women) found opportunities in domestic service jobs, many became "small-scale artisans and petty traders or unemployed and semi-employed hustlers" who participated in the city's urban markets.[30] Due to a lack of substantial resources, these new residents were often forced to settled in squatter camps located at the western edge of the city.[31] Some of these informal settlements dated back to the shanties developed by Kingston's black population during slavery and were therefore already established. Most notably, this included Kingston Pen, an unofficial 'negro' yard that that had been home to black freed and enslaved people since the beginning of the 1800s.[32]

Since squatters couldn't legally acquire the land they squatted on till after "twelve years of continuous residence" on unfenced private land or sixty years for

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[25] Robotham, 115. TNCs acted as monopolistic forces that brought much rural land as possible into production. This hurt the rural peasantry who owned little land yet continued to grow after the abolishment of slavery.
[26] Patterson, 51.
[27] Clarke, *Decolonizing*, 15.
[28] Clarke, *Kingston*, 78-79.
[29] Ibid., 29-30. Admittedly, this statistic can be misleading. Following a period of population decline in the 1850s – mainly caused by a cholera outbreak and an emigration of rural workers to Panama – migration trends would inconsistently fluctuate until the 1920s when it started increasingly more steadily. A larger increase would actually occur during the Great Depression (Between 1921 and 1943) when the Kingston Metropolitan Area grew by 101.8 percent.
[30] For a discussion on the migration and employment of Caribbean women to urban centers, see Toney, "The Caribbean and the Feminization of Emigration" and Thomas, *Modern Blackness* (44). For quote, Robotham (116).
[31] Edmonds, "Guns, gangs and garrison communities," 58.
[32] Robotham, 115 ; Clarke, *Decolonizing*, 12.

"Crown land," there was little to no pressure for landowners to constructively engage with them.[33] Moreover, thinking aid would increase migration to these increasingly overpopulated areas or legitimize squatting, the government regularly refused to provide public services.[34] As a result, squatter camps tended to lack access to basic health resources, such as clean running water, sanitation facilities, and adequate shelter. These conditions would remain the same, if not worsen, until the politicized slum clearance schemes of the 1960s.

The Nationalist Movement (1938-1962)

Kingston's Working and Middle Classes
While many individuals resorted to squatting or working in Kingston's informal economy during the late 19th and 20th centuries, not all of the city's inhabitants shared the same experiences. Following Emancipation, Kingston witnessed the growth of new urban working and professional middle classes that would develop alongside the industrialization of the city. Predominately composed of black and brown people, these classes introduced dynamic change to society – race, class, and labor came to take on different meanings as slavery no longer formally defined Kingston's social hierarchy. This transformation created new opportunities, but as Williams notes, it also accentuated growing disparities within an increasingly stratified city where the working and lower classes remained particularly vulnerable to racism, classism, and colonial oppression.[35]

Amidst these changes, Kingston's urban working class emerged within one of the most marginalized segments of Jamaican society. Established primarily by individuals from the country's formerly enslaved population, this class faced significant challenges due to its members limited formal education and restricted employment opportunities. In fact, as Clarke notes, many of Kingston's blue-collar workers were required to keep similar (if not the same) roles to those they had previously held in urban slavery.[36] This typically included service-oriented jobs or low-level manual positions within the city's evolving manufacturing, public service, transportation, and industrial sectors.[37] Although these jobs provided some form of employment, they rarely led to significant societal advancement; high turnover rates and low wages were common, contributing to poor standards of living characterized by minimal landownership and ongoing economic insecurity.[38]

In contrast to the economic hardships and limited upward mobility experienced by Kingston's working class, the city's middle class followed a different trajectory of growth. Predominately made up of individuals from Jamaica's brown population, this

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[33] Clarke, *Kingston*, 96.
[34] Ibid*.,* 80.
[35] Williams, "The Evolution of Political Violence," 47. The spatial stratification of these developing classes played an important role in the physical segregation of Kingston during the 1960s. In essence, it can be understood as a larger fracturing of space that the city's slum clearance and urban rehousing schemes eventually participate in.
[36] Clarke, *Kingston* 49-50; 58.
[37] Robotham, 116.
[38] Morgan, 288-290.

class encompassed a range of occupations that offered relative financial stability. At the lower tier were clerks, shop owners, and salespeople, while the higher tier consisted of professionals such as "lawyers (primarily barristers rather than solicitors), teachers, doctors, ministers of religion, and lower civil servants."[39] Although smaller than the black working class, the brown middle class rapidly grew leading up to the 1860s and came to significantly outnumber the city's white population.[40] On the one hand, this growth helped its workers fill new positions traditionally held by the white population; on the other hand, persistent restrictions imposed by the country's elite, along with classist and racist policies enforced by Kingston's colonial society, hindered their progress. Members of the brown middle class were still denied opportunities due to their non-white status, fueling resentment towards the colonial system and solidarity with the lower classes.[41]

The 1938 Labor Revolt and Fight for Independence
At the beginning of the 20th century, Kingston's working and middle classes experienced a period of relative economic stability. Despite ongoing challenges, an increase in the country's emigration rates helped alleviate some of the pressures of the city's rapidly expanding population, while general economic growth contributed to lowering unemployment.[42] Nevertheless, this period of stability was short-lived. The onset of the 1930s brought drastic changes as Jamaica's agricultural industries were extremely weakened by the global effects of The Great Depression.[43] This had a particularly harsh impact on the rural peasantry that resulted in a resurgence of rural-to-urban migration and the mass return of Jamaican nationals who had lost their employment opportunities abroad.[44] Consequently, places like Kingston saw an oversupply of labor, reductions in wages, and an increase in unemployment.

As the economic hardships of the 1930s worsened throughout the decade, frustrations among Jamaica's lower and middle classes began to rapidly build up. Tensions finally erupted in 1938 when laborers at the Tate & Lyle Frome Sugar Estate in Westmoreland revolted against their employers after discovering a decrease in their already meager wages.[45] While the revolt was initially marked by the violent

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[39] Robotham, 116. As Robotham notes, many in this higher tier had been lucky enough to obtain tertiary education during the colonial period, which contributed to their elevated status and opportunities.

[40] Clarke, *Kingston*, 33; Clarke, *Decolonizing*, 16. Kingston's brown population would outnumber the white population for the first time in 1838. This number would continue to rise, and by the 1940s, would increase to over 30 percent (an extremely large increase when compared to the white population's decrease to 2.5 percent in the same year).

[41] Gray, *Radicalism and Social Change*, 16-18.

[42] Clarke, *Kingston,* 50. This statement can be misleading. While economic stability made have materialized in some forms following increased emigration rates, this emigration did not occur without cause. For instance, a hurricane in 1907 caused significant damage to Kingston's society and lack of opportunities (particularly at the end of the nineteenth century) encouraged people to leave.

[43] Bernal, "The Great Depression," 39. "Prices of the leading exports fell sharply during the three years 1929 to 1931: the price of sugar dropped by 31 per cent, bananas by 24.5 per cent, coffee by 28.4 per cent and cocoa by 49.9 per cent." Moreover, the price of sugar declined 55.9 percent between 1923 and 1929. This was a major shock to Jamaica's sugar industry in particular, which had prosperity during the First World War when it saw reduced competition with beet sugar industries and an increase in sugar prices (Morgan, 251).

[44] Morgan, 288; Edie, 30. Avenues of emigration temporarily closed during the Great Depression, which also meant workers who had made plans to travel but hadn't left yet were unable to leave.

[45] Williams, 54.

destruction of part of the estate's property, it quickly turned into an organized labor strike that would trigger a series of other labor movements across the country, including in Kingston. Middle-class figures Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley seized this moment by assuming leadership roles over the unsatisfied working class. Their involvement, along with other middle class support, would not only help galvanize a push for real labor change but would also set the stage for a broader struggle towards independence.

Recognizing a need for order within the country's increasingly mobilized lower classes, Bustamante's immediate response to the labor strikes of 1938 was to help expand unionization efforts. In a country heavily reliant upon its blue-collar work force, unions represented "one of the few organized structures that could effectively take on the state" and provide "lasting change" for the urban poor.[46] Although trade unions had existed since 1919, their political power had been historically limited due to the scattered nature of the working class and the high rates of turnover that made class solidarity difficult to achieve.[47] With the rapid establishment of numerous unions nationwide under the leadership of Bustamente and others, the working class began to more effectively consolidate around this burgeoning movement. This momentum was further strengthened in 1939 when the large-scale Bustamante Industrial and Trade Union (BITU) was founded with the clear aim of defending workers' interests.[48]

Alongside the efforts of the BITU and its allies, the political work of Norman Manley, a lawyer and cousin of Bustamante, played a crucial role in empowering the working and middles classes. As a democratic socialist, Manley believed that true change could only occur if the labour movement worked towards the realization of a national political identity grounded in equality, universal adult suffrage, and public ownership of land and institutions.[49] To this end, Manley fought for basic legislative reform (such as increases to the minimum wage) to help ease the effects of the labour crisis, while simultaneously educating the masses on the value of an independent future free from colonial rule.[50] This work was instrumental in the formation of the People's National Party (PNP), Jamaica's first major political party, which was born in in 1938 and soon followed by the Jamaican Labour Party (JLP) in 1942. Despite their eventual rivalry, the establishment of these parties marked a significant step toward national consciousness and helped lay the groundwork for Jamaica's independence in 1962.

A Stratified City

The middle class's involvement in the organization of Jamaica's labor and nationalization movements contributed to improving the conditions of the working class. However, this support was neither unconditional nor permanent. According to Robotham, one of the most "peculiar" features surrounding Jamaica's brown middle

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[46] Williams, 2.
[47] Morgan, 289.
[48] By 1945, the BITU would come to account for over seventy five percent of Jamaica's organized labour force.
[49] Williams, 71.
[50] Ibid., 105.

class was its "contradictory cultural character." "On the one hand," Robotham writes, "it was anti-colonial and opposed [to] British rule. On the other it was steeped in British colonial and metropolitan values and attitudes [… and] often anti-black."[51] For the middle class, supporting the working class during the late 1930s was strategically beneficial. It helped them escape the economic restrictions and hinderances experienced in colonial governance, while also allowing them to advance their social and political agendas within the urban masses. Genuine solidarity between these two classes never fully materialized during the 20th century, especially as the country's upper and middle classes began physically separating themselves from the city's urban poor.

As the 20th century progressed, the growing separation between the classes began to visibly alter Kingston's cityscape. Initially, the process was very simple and incomplete – members of the middle class located east towards Bournemouth, Vineyard Town or Rollington Town, or north towards Cross Roads and Half Way Tree, but their distance from the lower classes in the west of the city remained relatively small.[52] Kingston had always been known for its compactness, and workers from different classes still regularly made social contact in the main commercial district.[53] Nevertheless, the 1950s and 60s were characterized by a shift *outwards* towards upper class residences in the Northern St. Andrew area.[54] For the middle class, this shift began with the construction of Mona Heights in 1958, a 200 acre housing development that would come to signal the emergence of new "Uptown" suburbs.[55] Being accompanied by a series of gully and drainage projects that would "dump" excessive rain water and waste through low income communities near the harbor, the middle class came to experience a new standard of living largely defined by its distinction from the poor conditions of "Downtown" (i.e., west Kingston).[56]

Considering that the central commercial district was still located in Downtown Kingston, the 1960s and 70s also saw the development of "New Kingston," a business district located closer to the new suburbs. Here, the middle and upper classes built "banks, insurance companies, hotels, diplomatic missions, shopping and retail establishments" that made travel to Downtown unnecessarily.[57] Nevertheless, despite this geographic shift, Downtown residents still remained important to the middle class as a crucial voting bloc capable of influencing election outcomes. As a result, politicians exploited perceived weaknesses in Downtown communities to exert control and push policies that favored the upper and middle classes. Rather than working to improve conditions for the urban poor and their increasingly overpopulated communities, Downtown spaces were manipulated and politicized, setting the stage for the JLP and PNP slum clearance and urban rehousing schemes.

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[51] Robotham, 116.
[52] Ibid., 116-117.
[53] Carnegie, "How Did There Come to Be a 'New Kingston'?," 143-144.
[54] As Carnegie notes (141), Uptown was located near the "so-called 'Golden Triangle' neighborhood: a residential center for many of the city's wealthiest citizens in its mid-twentieth-century heyday."
[55] Lawton, "Social and Public Architecture in Kingston, Jamaica," 59.
[56] Altink, "The Politics of infrastructure," 177.
[57] Robotham, 120.

Political Polarization (1942-1976)

The Growth of Political Polarization
In addition to the growing stratification of urban space in Jamaica during the mid-20th century, the country began to experience a gradual increase in political polarization following a fall-out between Manley and Bustamante in 1942. Up until this point, Manley and Bustamante had effectively worked together, but their partnership deteriorated after Bustamante's release from a 17-month imprisonment for "sedition and unlawful assembly" at a labor protest.[58] Upon his release, Bustamante criticized the socialist policies Manley had promoted in his absence and accused him of undermining his alleged control over the unions. In response, Manley – who had come to learn that Bustamante had secretly agreed to denounce the PNP as a condition for his release from prison – severed formal connections between the PNP and the BITU.[59] This allowed Bustamante to form his own conservative party (i.e., the JLP) and thereby establish a two-party system. As Williams notes, these decisions largely destroyed the labor solidarity formed in 1938 and fostered a new era of inter-party conflict defined by slander and violence.[60]

The escalating polarization between the JLP and PNP parties set the stage for the country's first two general elections in 1944 and 1949. While both parties fought hard, the JLP ultimately came out on top, winning both. Leading up to these events, Bustamante had initiated a two-prong offense against Manley set on both personally attacking his character and linking the PNP's socialist policies with negative imagery, such as slavery (a powerful tactic for a working-class electorate still navigating Emancipation).[61] By the 1955 election, however, PNP and JLP polticians began implementing new "campaign strategies [that] encouraged the active participation of loyal party supporters" through the promise of special "privileges" or "benefits" from the winning party.[62] For the most part, these benefits included job opportunities tied to government controlled projects.[63] Supporters who showed their allegiance during the election were given these positions, but, of course, only if their party won. On the one hand, this strategy effectively mobilized supporters and politicians alike, with the former providing votes and the latter offering needed resources once elected. On the other hand, it created a system of clientelism in which "clients" (i.e., the voters) became heavily dependent on their patrons (i.e., the politicians), further fostering a "by any means necessary" mentality to ensure electoral victory.[64] As a result, the 1955 election saw an increased amount of violence and the emergence of political gangs that would harass and antagonize their rivals on behalf of their party.[65]

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[58] Willaims, 39.
[59] Eaton, *Alexander Bustamante*, 82.
[60] Williams, 73.
[61] Ibid., 76.
[62] Ibid., 81
[63] Edmonds, 56.
[64] Sives, "Changing Patrons," 66.
[65] Williams, 81, 90.

As clientelism became deeply entrenched in Jamaica's political landscape throughout the 1940s and 1950s, new economic resources beyond job opportunities were increasingly perceived as "benefits" that patrons could provide to their loyal clients. Most notably, this included the allotment of urban housing, a critical necessity for many of Kingston's poor population. As Robotham notes, while the political allocation of urban housing developments had been practiced in Kingston since at least the 1930s, it was initially implemented under the colonial government who sought to "divide the nationalist movement through the corruption of the delivery of social services."[66] The reintroduction of this model by the JLP following their victories in 1944 and 1949 represented a new era in Jamaica's urbanism defined by political patronage rather than colonial oppression. Although these housing schemes were initially implemented on a relatively small scale, they would come to completely redefine Jamaica's urban geography during the 1960s.

The Cases of Back-O-Wall and Tivoli Gardens

The physical transformation of Kingston's downtown spaces largely began in 1963 with the JLP's plan to construct a Standard Oil Refinery at Kingston Pen. Considering this site had been home to a diverse group of families, squatters, and black individuals who had established themselves there since the era of slavery, the development was met with backlash from the general public.[67] In response, the JLP capitalized upon this attention by "announcing the construction of a public housing complex which would absorb [those who were displaced] and stand out as a symbol of the new, socially progressive Jamaica."[68] Nevertheless, in order to acquire land for the new housing development, slums at Back-O-Wall and Foreshore Road would need to be cleared.[69]

Back-O-Wall
Back-O-Wall was located near Kingston Pen at the western edge of the city and was one of Kingston's most prominent squatter camps from at least the 1930s to the 1960s.[70] Hosting between fifteen-hundred and two-thousand people before its eventual destruction, the camp served as an important point of entry for migrants who sought a better life in the city.[71] As migration increased following the Great Depression, Kingston's overcrowded population left few places for individuals to settle, especially rural newcomers who had very limited resources. Given the country's high unemployment rates, the camp's proximity to Downtown's central markets made Back-O-Wall a strategic location for accessing Kingston's informal economy, where migrants

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[66] Robotham, 121.
[67] Edmonds, 58-59; Gray, 80-81; 119.
[68] Edmonds, 58
[69] The following two sections of this thesis are based off of an unpublished essay titled "'The Fall of Balaclava': Back O'Wall, Downtown Kingston, and The Naturalization of Political Violence *in A Brief History of Seven Killings*'" (written by the author of this thesis). This thesis directly incorporates, reworks, and expands upon ideas discussed in this essay.
[70] Gray, 119.
[71] Edmonds, 58; Hutton, "Oh Rudie," 39

could engage in various forms of self-employment or trade while in search of new employment opportunities.[72]

At the same time, Back-O-Wall was home to many other inhabitants who chose to reside in the camp for various reasons beyond general economic hardship. Most notably, this included escape from or avoidance of Jamaica's notoriously violent police force and rebellion against the country's societal norms.[73] The latter of these is most identifiable with the camp's congregation of Rastafarians, a religious group characterized by their mysticism, anti-colonial messaging, and racial consciousness.[74] For many Rastafarians, squatter camps presented an opportunity for them to establish their own "entirely different set of values" and denounce Jamaica's societal structure.[75] This could turn camps including Back-O-Wall into lively spaces where Rastafarian-organized entertainment such as dances and concerts were held.[76] By the 1960s, Back O'Wall would become a "stronghold of the Rastafari faith" and gain much sympathy from other squatters and individuals in the lower class.[77]

Back-O-Wall's combination of migrants, lower class individuals, and societal disruptors ultimately made the camp a politically and socially diverse community. Though PNP supporters and Rastafarians would come to make up the largest majority in the camp,[78] no single political party uniformly controlled it, and political ideologies could co-exist alongside each other without mass violence erupting.[79] In other words, local geography in downtown Kingston could be statistically examined to discover political trends, but the land itself was not inherently conflated with the JLP or PNP parties. This would radically change once the space was replaced by the JLP organized Tivoli Gardens.

For all of Back-O-Wall's good, its living conditions were notably far from ideal, and many suffered. Homes consisted of "poorly ventilated shacks" made of wood or tin that were surrounded by open trenches for drainage.[80] Hartley Neita famously went through the camp in 1961 and reported seeing "families [that] slept on pieces of cardboard covered with scraps of cloth" while "the combination of the rotting wood, mud, sour water and faeces and scraps of cooked food waste, [made] a nauseous, stomach-turning smell."[81] Additionally, Clarke notes from his 1961 visit that "Back o'

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[72] Robotham, 115.

[73] Clarke, *Kingston,* 119.

[74] Gray, 48. Gray writes, "Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, [Rastafarianism] traditionally had expressed its opposition to colonialism by way of cultural resistance. The medium for this cultural expression was an Afro-Christianity in which eschatological predictions, visions, and claims to powers of prediction coexisted with racially redemptive themes addressed to the black poor." For more information on Jamaica's Rastafarian movement, see Owens, *Dread: The Rastafarians of Jamaica.*

[75] Clarke, *Kingston*, 119.

[76] Hutton, 33. A majority of the Rastafarians at Back O'Wall were subjected to a long history of forced removal extending beyond this camp. Pinnacle, a well-known Rastafarian stronghold, was infamously destroyed in the mid-1950s by the colonial government. Their forced removal from Back O'Wall without proper rehousing can thus be understood as a continuation of colonial agendas.

[77] Shilliam, "'Open the Gates Mek We Repatriate,' 366 ; Clarke, Decolonizing, 33.

[78] For reference to the Rastafarian population in Back O'Wall, see Clarke, Kingston, 119 ; for PNP, see Deborah A. Thomas, "Rastafari, Communism, and Surveillance in Late Colonial Jamaica," Duke University Press 21, no. 3 (November 2017): 84.

[79] Edmonds, 58.

[80] Clarke, *Kingston*, 61; Edmonds, 58.

[81] Hutton, 31.

Wall […] ha[d] no latrines and no piped water […] [and was] an area known for typhoid."[82] The first request asked of him by squatters, he reported, was often "Give us water."

In addition to its inadequate health conditions, Back-O-Wall was labeled "the most notorious criminal den of the country" by Seaga. It was said that criminals went to Back-O-Wall to avoid law enforcement and, by the 1960s, the grouping of outlaws supposedly made even "the police […] afraid to enter."[83] However, prior to Jamaica's independence, gangs often formed in response to colonial inequality or discrimination, as witnessed during the labor and nationalization movements. As Hutton notes, "[gang members before the early 1960s] often spoke of the persistent rituals of police violence, torture, insults, persecution and general harassment directed at them, and suggested that forming gangs was, in part, the joining of forces to respond to colonial police excesses."[84] This is not to say community directed violence or "lawlessness" did not occur in Back-O-Wall – but without erasing any real history of violence, the admission that "the police were afraid to enter" can also be received as a moment of colonial resistance: a politically diverse community of migrants, social disruptors, and economically impoverished individuals that reputationally came together to keep agents of injustice out of their community. Nevertheless, from his platform, Seaga condemned Back-O-Wall as "the Cancer of West Kingston," effacing, in Hutton words, any "legacy of colonial agency."[85]

Tivoli Gardens

By the early 1960s, serious plans to rebuild the area of Back-O-Wall began to take form. Overseen by Seaga and supported by the local business elite, the squatter camp was to be demolished and replaced with single and multi-story housing that would be known as Tivoli Gardens.[86] Considering the camps visible need for repair and modernization, the urban renewal project proposed many beneficial and necessary improvements to the area, including running water, bathrooms, privacy, and more. Backed with a financial contribution from the United States, Back-O-Wall's demolition began in 1963 with plans to build some 800 new units in its stead.[87] However, the demolition was notably not peaceful as bulldozers and fire were violently used to destroy the camp, disrupting the lives of many. This was particularly true for the Rastafarian section of the camp who had continued to grow there since the 1950s. Until the new units were completed, these squatters needed to find alternate areas to live in. This often meant relocation to other squatter camps that would only be subject to the same demolition in the incoming years. Holding onto early promises that housing in Tivoli Gardens would be made available for them, squatters of Back-O-Wall reluctantly hoped they would have new accommodations in the future.[88]

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[82] Clarke, *Race,* 48.
[83] Harrison, 85.
[84] Hutton, 24.
[85] Ibid., 28.
[86] Edmonds, 58.
[87] Clarke, *Decolonizing*, 211; Clarke, "Urbanization in the Caribbean," 229.
[88] Hutton, 32.

Unfortunately, by the completion of Tivoli Gardens in the mid-1960s, it became clear that many of the squatters would not, and were never planned to be, rehoused by the JLP government. In subscribing to clientelism, Seaga and the JLP politicized their rehousing commitments by using the development of Tivoli Gardens as an opportunity to develop a political base for their supporters. From here, they could install "political hegemony" over the residents and develop a garrison "wholly dependent upon the party's disbursement of housing, employment and public works."[89] Since the largest majority of squatters in Back-O-Wall were PNP-affiliated or Rastafarian, a large number of the original fifteen-hundred to two thousand individuals at the camp were consequently left unhoused while JLP supporters As Clarke notes, many of those selected even came from other constituencies.[90]

In light of this, PNP and Rastafarian squatters from Back-O-Wall felt betrayed by the JLP government's choices and false promises. For them, "Tivoli Gardens [became] a symbol of injustice, enmity and hurt that must be resisted."[91] Fueled by injustice or loyalty, opposing gangs who had previously co-existed peacefully began to align more strongly with their respective parties and participate in inter-gang violence on their party's behalf. In 1966, a confrontation between the new JLP tenants and the PNP supporters who'd been snubbed housing took place, marking the beginning of a new era of violence. As I have demonstrated, the catalyst for such a shift in violence can be traced back to the middle and upper classes political exploitation of the urban poor and working class. Critics such as Hutton thus label this newly formed postcolonial inter-gang fighting as an expression of political warfare.[92]

In the years that followed, Seaga's model of politicized urban renewal became a widespread practice for both PNP and JLP politicians. More squatter camps were destroyed, and often violently so. On August 12th, 1966, the Foreshore Road shantytown – located near Back-O-Wall – was infamously demolished under a scene of fire and smoke. Squatters who hadn't moved out of the area before the 12th were forced to rush into fire and destruction, hoping they could save their belongings before their homes were destroyed.[93] Alongside this, Trench Town was allocated some 450 units and turned into a politically charged housing development.[94] With the spread of violence, these newly developed territories became garrisoned for the growing inter-gang warfare. Tivoli Gardens remained the principal garrison for the JLP, and the PNP developed lead-garrisons under Arnette Gardens and Matthews Lane. Any land that politicians had not publicly politicized in downtown Kingston were fought over by each party's gangs. The previous model of political diversity and coexistence seen in Back-O-Wall was no more, and new "turf politics" permeated Jamaica's communities and elections.

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[89] Edmonds, 59
[90] Clarke, *Kingston*, 130
[91] Hutton, 32
[92] Ibid.,, 32 : "Hence, a clash allegedly took place at the housing estate between supporters of the PNP and JLP in June 1966 […] The die was cast. The progressive idea for model housing for Kingston's poor that Seaga envisaged was aborted in the way it came to life."
[93] Hutton, 36.
[94] Clarke, Kingston, 130.

By the 1967 election, JLP and PNP territories had been substantially carved out in the make-up of downtown Kingston. Battles between the politicized territories became extreme, especially, as Patterson notes, violence became more lethal with guns increasingly replacing, sticks, stones, and machetes.[95] Political violence leading up to the election in the previous year had even increased so much – alongside the anger stirred after Foreshore Road and Back O'Wall – the government was forced to declare a state of emergency. Nonetheless, this declaration turned into nothing constructive as the evolving rivalry only advanced middle and upper classes control over Kingston's urban masses. By the 70s and 80s, the rivalry had become naturalized into the structure of downtown Kingston's society, setting the scene for the events of *A Brief History of Seven Killings.*

Conclusion

The politicization of space in Kingston, Jamaica during the mid-20th century is tied to a long history of unjust urbanism deeply rooted in slavery, colonialism, the nationalism movement, and more. Exploring this history helps provide a deeper understanding of *why* spaces like Downtown Kingston became so contested during the 20th century and *how* partisan slum clearance and urban rehousing schemes could come about in the first place. Although this history exists in a separate world from the events and spaces of *A Brief History*, understanding it can offer a crucial framework for interpreting elements of James's historical novel. In the next chapter, I turn to the novel's representations of contested space themselves, first demonstrating different ways Jamaica's factual history is connected to key spaces in the narrative (i.e., a fact-oriented approach) before turning to an analysis on the specific impact these contested spaces have on characters' movements, politics, and general subjectivities (i.e., a fiction-oriented approach).

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[95] Patterson, 137.

Chapter 2

Reading Contested Space in *A Brief History of Seven Killings*

In *A Brief History*, "real" places from Jamaica's urban past appear throughout much of the narrative.[1] Besides the most obvious incorporation of "Kingston," the novel includes "56 Hope Road" (the address of Bob Marley), "Rema," "Denham Town," "King Street," "Uptown" and "Downtown" Kingston, and more. Analyzing these locations, streets, and communities can help reveal the close relationship the world of the novel shares with the real world – but what deeper insights are exactly learned in doing this from a textual framework?[2] While these spaces ground the novel in geographic specificities, they play (for the most part) minimal roles in advancing the story's progression, serving more as "background" elements than active agents.[3] Nevertheless, not all of the novel's spaces fit this categorization. This chapter focuses on two overtly fictionalized communities within *A Brief History* known as Balaclava and Copenhagen City. As highly contested spaces defined by slum clearance and urban rehousing schemes, these spaces play an active role in shaping the lives of many characters and can be analyzed from both fact- and fiction-oriented positions.

In providing a fact-oriented reading of the novel's representation of contested space, this chapter aims to connect Balaclava and Copenhagen City with some of the real history outlined in Chapter 1. This does not mean that these fictionalized spaces will be conflated with any singular place from Jamaica's past, though Back-O-Wall and Tivoli Gardens will be heavily referenced. Instead, the goal is to identify connections that help contextualize these spaces within a wider historical framework. This approach can deepen readers' understanding of the significant role Balaclava and Copenhagen City play in the novel without resorting to labeling them as "right" or "wrong," "accurate" or "inaccurate."

After connecting Balaclava and Copenhagen City with some of the real history introduced in Chapter 1, this chapter shifts focus to the roles these spaces play within *the world of the novel*. This includes close attention to the affective relationships they share with characters, events, and other places, and, consequently, less attention to the connection they share with Jamaica's "real" history. Considering Balaclava and Copenhagen City exist within different periods – the former being retroactively described through narration – this conversation will primarily center around 1.) characters from an older generation who have experienced Balaclava and therefore know the artificiality of Copenhagen City, 2.) characters from a younger generation

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[1] Technically, these spaces are fictionalized as entities that occur within the world of the novel; nevertheless, they are different from the overtly fictionalized entities that enter the narrative under original names. See Introduction, footnote 4 (page 1), for a more detailed explanation on the "overlap" between the novel and the "real" world.

[2] See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion on how these spaces can be used within a digital framework.

[3] See Kortenaar (188-193) for a discussion on the differences between passive characters, places, and events in the novel's "background" versus active entities in the novel's "foreground."

who know nothing except Copenhagen City and Downtown Kingston's politicized geography, and 3.) characters who know of neither. This analysis will help lay a foundation for Chapter 3, in which digital tools are used to help visualize some of the spatial realities discussed in this chapter.[4]

Finding History within *A Brief History*

Balaclava

Drawing on the government's refusal to develop Back-O-Wall and other squatter camps during the 20th century, Balaclava is characterized as "a piece of shit that make you beg for the richness of a tenement yard" (89). As Papa-Lo notes, people are said to have joined the camp in order to "dodge murder, robbery and rape only to get killed by a cup of water" (89), a sentiment reminiscent of Clarke's visit to Back-O-Wall. With two standpipes, two bathrooms, no toilets, nor any running water (452), Balaclava is extremely impoverished while Uptown is described as being continually expanded and modernized. This includes an Uptown sewage treatment plant that is positioned right outside of the settlement so middle and upper class residents can "flush they shit straight down to we" (452). This development brings to mind the gully and drainage projects undertaken during the construction of New Kingston and stands in strong opposition to the garbage dumps that surround Balaclava with "nothing but waste and junk and shit stretching for miles. Nothing but what uptown people throw out" (14).

Despite its poor state, Balaclava is accompanied by a spirit of non-violence similarly witnessed in Back-O-Wall. Tristan Phillips – a Rastafarian character who previously lived in Balaclava – says, "Balaclava never did so bad depending on where you lived or who you live with. It's not like every day some baby dead or some people get their face eaten off by rats or anything" (453). While "things wasn't good," he admits, "Wasn't good at all," there was still a real sense of peace and community. For instance, Phillips remembers mornings where he could "just [go] out and [lay] down in the grass, just pure green grass, and watch hummingbird and butterfly dance over [him]" (452). As a character who lives past its eventual "fall" (89) (i.e., its demolition for a politicized urban housing scheme), Phillips' reflections reveal a sense of nostalgia for the past.

Just as with the squatter camps at Back-O-Wall and Foreshore Road, Balaclava is described as being razed to the ground by bulldozers so that the JLP-aligned Copenhagen City housing development "could rise" (89). As a first-hand witness to the violent destruction, Phillips tells how "[a] big iron jaw just chomp 'pon me wall and rip it away […] and chomp down dirt in the ground, me bed, me stool and part of the roof me build with me own hand" (454). In light of the demolition of shanties at Foreshore Road, this scene speaks to the many squatters who lost their homes during the 1960s

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[4] The first four sections of this chapter are based off of an unpublished essay titled "'The Fall of Balaclava': Back O'Wall, Downtown Kingston, and The Naturalization of Political Violence *in A Brief History of Seven Killings*'" – (written by the author of this thesis). This thesis directly incorporates, reworks, and expands upon many of the ideas discussed in this essay.

slum clearance schemes and were forced to hastily remove their possessions before they were bulldozed away. In this context, Phillips essentially becomes a literary representative of these historical victims.

In addition to the historical importance of Balaclava's violent destruction, the significance of Phillip's Rastafarianism cannot be ignored. His expulsion by JLP bulldozers brings to mind the displacement of Rastafarian strongholds at both Back-O-Wall and Trench Town. Just as Rastafarians were removed from Back-O-Wall without a real chance of being rehoused, Phillips is forced out of Balaclava while JLP loyalists are granted access to the new housing developments. In hindsight, the politicized intent behind his forced removal is not lost on him. He rhetorically asks American journalist Alex Pierce, "You really think the JLP was going help the Rasta part or the PNP of Balaclava?" (452). After being unjustly detained and sentenced to prison sometime after Balaclava's fall, Phillips chooses to join the ranks of a drug syndicate to keep safe from the escalating JLP versus PNP war.

Another key witness to the destruction of Balaclava is Papa-Lo, the first Don of Copenhagen City. Papa-Lo is a JLP supporter who seizes power in Downtown Kingston by carrying out orders from JLP politicians, just as real-life gangsters did during the garrisonization of Kingston. To help ensure PNP-affiliates and Rastafarians stayed out of Copenhagen City, Papa-Lo is directed to use violence against them at his disposal. When figures such as Peter Nasser – a JLP politician who shares many similarities with the historical Edward Seaga – approached him with such a directive, Papa-Lo says he followed through only because he assumed good would come along with it; a claim that is possibly true in part, but questionable considering how aggressively he acts. He commits mass violence against those associated with the PNP in the name of the JLP and brings to pass a new reality that is closely connected to the violence seen in Kingston communities during the historical garrisonization period.

In light of his violent tendencies, Papa-Lo can reflect on societal changes before and after the development of Copenhagen City. "Before [Copenhagen City]," he recalls, "man from Denham Town and man from Jungle didn't really like each other, but they fight each other on the football field and the cricket pitch and even when two boy get rowdy and a mouth get punched bloody, there was no war or rumour of war" (89). Elaborating on this further, Papa-Lo adds, "[The politicians] carve up Kingston and never ask we what slice we want. So every land that hit midway on the boundary, [...] they leave it to we to fight over" (90). This statement brings to mind Hutton's comments on the transformation of gang violence in the 1960s and the real lack of actualized gang violence in Kingston before "the politician come."

When "the fall of Balaclava" is read in relation to the historical slum clearance schemes implemented during the Jamaican 1960s, its contestation is made visible. Similar to the destruction of Back-O-Wall and other squatter camps in Downtown Kingston, the demise of Balaclava symbolizes a period of injustice characterized by manipulation and political opportunism. Although not every character directly

experiences Balaclava or its fall, its effects carry throughout the lives of all the characters in the novel, particularly in its replacement by Copenhagen City.

Copenhagen City

Copenhagen City is characterized as the first major JLP garrison community in the West Kingston area. Developed largely out of Balaclava's "fall," it is described by its JLP residents as providing a variety of small residential options with some modern facilities that Balaclava never had, including running water and sanitation facilities. Papa-Lo tells how his mother was able to "bathe in private" for the first time in her life when Copenhagen City was built (152). Similarly, the JLP enforcer Josey Wales warns Alex Peirce to not take it for granted that "when I flush that toilet I never have to look at shit again" (389). In terms of Jamaican history, Copenhagen City largely reflects Tivoli Gardens and the events surrounding its development. This includes its birth out of the JLP slum clearance schemes, its (limited) modernization efforts, and its preference towards JLP supporters. (As Miller notes in his review of the novel, the name itself – "Copenhagen City" – ironically plays with the name "Tivoli Gardens", a title that also refers to a theme park in Copenhagen, Denmark.)

For all of its benefits, Copenhagen City is simultaneously described as becoming increasingly overcrowded and rundown by 1976. Bam-Bam, a young JLP recruit, notes seeing "seven people" in one "little room [that] get smaller and smaller" as "more sisterbrother-cousin come from country" (8), invoking the increased rural-to-urban migration of the country's rural peasantry during 20th century. While physical conditions are admittedly better than Balaclava, the community is still home to some of Kingston's poorest residents, a similarity shared with Tivoli Gardens and the historical West Kingston area more generally. Bam-Bam reflects seeing Downtown residents follow "a man in a suit" down a street "poor people never go to watch him throw away a sandwich" in hopes they can eat his waste.

Alongside these conditions, Copenhagen City is portrayed as an increasingly violent place run by JLP enforcers . As Bam-Bam notes, "Nobody feel safe to walk the street" (10) out of worry for their lives. This violence is a byproduct of the garrisonization process that follows after "the politician come." Peter Nassar – one the leading JLP politicians who closely relates to Edward Seaga – is said to have approached Papa-Lo and others during the construction of Copenhagen City, telling him to fight against the PNP and Rastafarian supporters in return for (limited) power in the community. This commission of violence ultimately helps Nasser realize that "it better for him that Copenhagen City and the Eight Lanes keep warring than make peace." This reflects the middle class's exploitation and manipulation of the working and lower classes throughout the 20th century.

The increased violence seen in Copenhagen city and West Kingston also corresponds with the weaponization of the city's political gangs. Joining at a young age, Bam-Bam reflects seeing how "man in Copenhagen City with nothing but a knife" has become a man carrying a "cowboy gun, then an M16, then a gun so heavy he can

barely carry it himself" (15). This largely reflects Patterson's comments on the change in violence following the construction of Tivoli Gardens. Just like Tivoli Gardens, Copenhagen City has introduced an entirely new reality to Kingston. As Papa-Lo puts it when discussing the fall of Balaclava in 1966 (the same period of time Tivoli Gardens was constructed), "No man who enter leave the way he come in." In refusing to denounce the geographic manipulation of Downtown Kingston and instead let it overrun society, Papa-Lo ultimately prevents the younger generation from seeing Copenhagen City, The Eight Lanes, and other politically drawn territories as anything other than the natural state of events. As Papa-Lo chooses to "fight hard" for unclaimed territory on behalf of the JLP, he simultaneously raises up a generation of violent JLP Enforcers, such as Bam-Bam, evoking the rise of "rude boys" in downtown Kingston during the 1960s and 1970s

Reading Fiction within *A Brief History*

The 1966 Generation

Throughout *A Brief History*, characters such as Papa-Lo, Tristan Phillips, and Josey Wales all have privileged positions compared to the younger generation they raise up. Having witnessed the city's evolution, particularly in the context of Balaclava, they possess an awareness of the underlying artificiality of the current violence and political structures. This awareness grants them the potential to support meaningful change – nevertheless, this potential is ultimately squandered, as these figures exploit the situation for personal gain. While Papa-Lo becomes the key "father" (i.e. papa) facilitating realities of violence within the younger generation, The JLP enforcer Josey Wales is perhaps the better character for analysis.

Known for his brutality and cutthroat attitude, Wales is a key character who uses Kingston's politicized geography for his benefit. Having known what Kingston was like before Copenhagen City, Wales becomes guilty of exploiting young JLP recruits out of his own self-interest. Interestingly, his violence develops out of his own experiences with the injustice of politicized urban renewal rather than an individual attempt to secure power, like Nassar and Papa-Lo. As Papa-Lo notes, Josey Wales entered the era of Copenhagen City without any inclination for violence or hope for territorial control; instead, he began that year training to become a locksmith. Walking home from work on a Sunday via a street he thought had "never declared colours before" (i.e. Orange for PNP and Green for JLP), Josey Wales is tragically shot five times. "[On] the Friday before," Papa-Lo says, "politician come through saying close your mouth and fire your gun" (89). After lying in the dirty water, he is taken to a clinic by a man passing on his bike, saving his life. But, three week later, "A different man come out of that clinic" (89). Thus Josey Wales's desire for a peaceful life is uprooted by the Fall of Balaclava and construction of Copenhagen City.

Due to his experiences with Balaclava, Wales is acutely aware that "the world is not a ghetto and a ghetto is not the world" (416). Although this understanding is self-evident to him, it contrasts with the perspective of the "young rudies" who were not

present for the fall of Balaclava in 1966 and are only familiar with the new models introduced through Copenhagen City (42). As a result, Wales's perception and respect for individuals vary based on the era they are from. He believes that those who were active before 1966, particularly gangsters and others familiar with his efforts in building the garrisons alongside Papa-Lo, should recognize his contributions and give him the respect he deserves. In contrast, the younger generation holds little significance to him, as they fail to see them as anything other than tools he can exploit.

In one sense, Wales's experiences directly juxtapose those of Dons such as Papa-Lo and Shotta Sherrif. While Papa-Lo and Shotta Sherrif both exploit the politicization of urban renewal in search of power, Wales explicitly did not. His arc develops more violently after being shot, but the arcs of Papa-Lo and Shotta Sherrif ironically become more pacifistic as they are influenced by Rastafarianism and "the Singer." Though Wales's experiences do not absolve him from his extreme exploitation of younger recruits and political violence, his origins demonstrate a unique way in which the slum clearance and urban renewal schemes can reshape individuals' subjectivity.

Bam-Bam and 1976 Kingston
Bam-Bam, the first narrator of the novel's 1976 sections, is a fourteen-year-old boy who escaped to Copenhagen City after witnessing the brutal murder of his parents in The Eight Lanes at the age of ten. While fleeing his parent's murder scene, he accidentally runs into Papa-Lo, Josey Wales, and other JLP Enforcers. Once they realize his parents were killed by PNP-gang members, they immediately ask, "You want to kill [the PNP] back?" (15). Though Bam-Bam knows more about poverty than the JLP/PNP conflict at this time, he says yes and is taken in as a new recruit for Copenhagen City's JLP-affiliated gang. That same year, he shoots a gun for the first time (10), only to be given his own as a birthday gift from Papa-Lo two years later on his twelfth birthday.

The character who teaches Bam-Bam how to "use [a] gun to shoot up a PNP boy if they try anything" (37) is Josey Wales. Wales tells Bam-Bam he needs to know how to handle a gun because he will soon be required to "defend Copenhagen City" (37). Under Wales's guidance, Bam-Bam is quite literally taught how to kill. Soon after getting his gun, Wales takes him to a tied up Rema boy and orders Bam-Bam to kill him. Rema (a territory existing between the political "crossroads" of Downtown Kingston) is described as having been historically associated with Copenhagen City and the JLP, though having recently shifted towards the PNP because they "promise corned beef, baking flour and more exercise book for the children to take to school" (36). Bam-Bam reflects on not knowing who the boy is and quickly shoots him in the head.

After the killing, Bam-Bam admits that it was not only "nothing," but that he "did want to kill [him] […], "did want to more than anything" (39). At the same time, he adds that he is unsure why this urge occurred so strongly. I interpret this in accordance with his indoctrination to the JLP/PNP framework and the manipulated geography in

Downtown Kingston that he more generally engages with. Since moving to Copenhagen City, Bam-Bam's reality becomes bound to politically-constructed violence. To say he has been desensitized to killing is not strong enough: political murder is, in its essence, something that "naturally" occurs or possibly even "must occur" for him because his reality itself is bound to it. Shooting the Rema boy doesn't make him feel good or bad after doing it – he desired to do it, but it was still "nothing." This binding of violence with reality can be understood as having, in part, developed out of the destruction of Balaclava and the erasure of previous societal models that were more dependent upon political coexistence.

Alongside his indoctrination to JLP versus PNP violence, Bam-Bam simultaneously experiences real injustices rooted in politicized urbanism. Since the PNP is in government during 1976, Bam-Bam learns that Copenhagen City and other areas associated with the JLP will not be allocated resources to develop. When walking down an abandoned street with Josey Wales, he sees there are "no house but mound of sand and block, for bigger tenement yard that government not going to build because we is JLP" (38). Bam-Bam's lack of knowledge about Balaclava makes this sentiment especially unique. For him, the natural question becomes how to get JLP back in power so that JLP-associated neighborhoods can be developed, not how to more radically dismantle the system. Politicized geography is simply a given reality – PNP serves PNP, and JLP serves JLP. As demonstrated in the previous section, this rationalization was not yet a given with the fall of Balaclava; its destruction is accompanied by a sense of betrayal and a real disruption to peace across political parties.

Interestingly, another issue that reenforces Bam-Bam's views is his limited and one-sided understanding of JLP political history. What Bam-Bam does know about the 1960s is propagandized by the JLP sensitivities of Copenhagen City. He says, "Jamaica Labour Party rule the country in the sixties but the People's National Party tell the country that better must come and win the election in 1972. Now JLP want the country back and there's no word named can't, there's no word named no" (36). In other words, the sixties implicitly mark an injustice against the JLP for him. They are the victims of lost power given to the PNP. This is radically different from the perceptions Papa-Lo and Phillips testify to in relation to Balaclava. Nevertheless, Papa-Lo is quiet on such perspectives when it comes to his recruits and still sends Bam-Bam to houses before the 1976 election to "remind [them] how to vote" (78).

In terms of the larger Uptown/Downtown divide, Bam-Bam learns that if he leaves Downtown without being careful he will be beaten by the police. Uptown is for "decent people," and he is a "rude boy." This contributes to a hatred he gains for the Singer who left for Uptown, but it also shapes his understanding of Jamaica more generally. Being restricted to Downtown (Copenhagen City, more specifically), Bam-Bam reflects on how the "whole world" feels like a ghetto to him – a sentiment directly contradicting Josey Wales's perceptions – with an edge that "move[s] ahead of you like a shadow" (8). Interestingly, the same applies to Demus, another young rude boy whose worldview is shaken when he sees the Singer's house for the first time. He

says, "The Singer house was the biggest house me ever see. Me run up and touch the wall just to say me touch it. So much first time in that trip that me can't even remember most of them. First time me ever go uptown. First time me on Hope Road. […] First time me see how people who have things live" (54). While Demus comes from the Concrete Jungle rather than Copenhagen City, his comments demonstrate a disconnect that could easily apply to the situation of Bam-Bam as well.

The culmination of Bam-Bam's politicized socialization is shown at National Heroes Park during the Smile Jamaica Peace concert. Having attempted to assassinate "The Singer" with Josey Wales and others just a few days before, Bam-Bam stumbles into the Park where "all of Jamaica" is gathering. Among them he looks "for the police, for JLP gunman, [and] for PNP gunman," but such a framework is not useful – the crowd has become one, revealing an image of coexistence that is new and incomprehensible for him. "These people," he says, "are not JLP or PNP or any other P, they're just man and woman and brother and sister and cousin and mother and bredren and sistren and sufferah" (256). As they move around him, Bam-Bam feels invisible: "they just don't see me at all," he says. Being no one's political enemy nor on anyone's radar the same way he would be in Copenhagen City, Bam-Bam does not know how to constructively respond.

While Bam-Bam is invisible to others, they too are unrecognizable to him. He says, "I don't know these people. […] I don't know people who don't pick side. […] I don't know what they look like, what run in their head before they say something, people who never wear Jamaica Labour Party green or People's National Party orange" (256). The people gathered for the concert represent an existence outside of Copenhagen City and JLP/PNP framework that structurally defines Bam-Bam's reality, and he is physically unable to comprehend them. In such a liminal state, he can only respond by exoticizing them. He wonders what is going on in their heads, as if it is categorically different from anything he could be thinking about. Only a glimpse of peaceful coexistence in the unity of the crowd coupled with the eventual arrival of "The Singer" on stage proves too much for him.

The tragedy of Bam-Bam, compared to the Dons and Enforcers, is that any possibility of peace and political co-existence is completely restricted to him whereas the latter have other experiences. Without promoting any other forms of communal engagement and simultaneously encouraging JLP-induced violence, Josey Wales and Papa-Lo ensure Bam-Bam's sense of reality is tied to violence. Thus Bam-Bam can only comprehend experiences in or related to a JLP/PNP and Uptown/Downtown frameworks, while the latter characters volitionally participate in it.

Uptown Residents
In contrast to the experiences of downtown Enforcers and young gang members like Bam-Bam, uptown residents live very differently throughout *A Brief History*. For the upper class, this separation is marked by access to prestigious educational institutions—such as Hillel Academy in Norbrook, where Barry Diflorio sends his children (139)—exclusive clubs, and other social venues that highlight their

detachment from Downtown. Besides a general lack of worry about the country's increasing violence since "Nobody firing no bullets here" (51), Uptown residents are described as only caring about Downtown "until elections time" (57). This disconnect from Downtown takes effect in socio-political ways as well as physical ways. Nina Burgess, a middle-class "high brown" woman living in Havendale, who has encountered more violence than most, poignantly observes that "everybody lives in their own Jamaica," with her reality being distinctly separate from the ghetto.

Disconnects between Uptown residents and Downtown resides can also been seen through the experiences of Alex Pierce, an American journalist staying in Kingston in search of his next piece of work to write. Throughout the novel, Pierce goes to great lengths to distinguish himself from the tourists who "wear Jamaican Me Crazy t-shirts" and asserts that he is among the few who have "been to the real Kingston" (372). Nonetheless, Pierce stays at the Skyline Hotel in an uptown neighborhood and exhibits a cringe-worthy obliviousness to the ongoing violence in the country, particularly evident at the start of the novel. Even though Pierce comes to learn much more about Downtown Kingston, the "Fall of Balaclava," and the highly partisan development of Copenhagen City, he expresses a lack of empathy for Downtown residents continually reflected in his actions – Downtown Kingston is a story for him rather than a world he ever experiences.

Conclusion

Connecting Balaclava and Copenhagen City with the historical Back-O-Wall, Tivoli Gardens, and general politicization of geographic space in the 1970s provide a deeper context to the story which, in turn, reveals new angles to the story itself. Characters such as Papa-Lo, Josey Wales, Bam-Bam, and other uptown figures are all products of Kingston's contested urbanism and therefore subjectively shaped by it. The results are better for some than others. In the next chapter, I turn to a digital approach set on mapping representations of contested space in the novel itself, using a Geographic Information System (GIS) to help visualize some of the insights discussed in these last two chapters.

Chapter 3
Mapping Contested Space in *A Brief History of Seven Killings*

As I have demonstrated, the contested spaces of Balaclava and Copenhagen City in *A Brief History* do not only ground the novel in specific historical contexts but also play vital roles in shaping characters' movements, political engagements, and overall subjectivities. Characters like Bam-Bam and Josey Wales do not only engage with these spaces but become, in part, who they are *as a direct result* of them and their highly partisan origins. Nevertheless, while the textual frameworks employed have proved helpful in analyzing characters' relationships to contested space – especially as it relates to the varying impacts they have on different generations within the city – their lack of ability to *show* the spaces themselves limits the analysis. How have the slum clearance and urban housing schemes discussed in the novel shaped the (physical) setting of the novel? And how can visualizing these spaces further confirm the centrality of this theme within the narrative? Recognizing an overlap between the fictional world of the novel and the "real" world, this chapter employs actual map data, contextual analysis, and informed assumptions to chart identifiable spaces found within the Kingston Metropolitan Area of the novel.[1]

Following a detailed discussion of the methodology used to create these visualizations, this chapter presents three distinct maps, each offering unique insights into the representations of contested space within *A Brief History*. As with the fiction-oriented analyses developed in Chapter 2, the focus here is less on the novel's relationship to Jamaican history and more on the physical position these spaces occupy within the context of Marlon James's narrative. Although "real" historical and geographic information is employed, it serves primarily to deepen understanding of the novel itself rather than to connect it to an extratextual reality. This analysis will center on three key topics: 1) literary wayfinding and the use of digital maps as a tool for navigating the complex spatial realities revealed throughout the novel, 2) the novel's stark contrast between Uptown and Downtown, and 3) the examination of political garrisonization in Kingston through the patron-client politics developed by the JLP and PNP. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the map designs themselves, evaluating what was effective, what could be improved, and how these layouts might evolve in future research.

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[1] As mentioned in the introduction, all of these spaces remain fictional and in the world of the novel, regardless of the overlap they share in name or location with "real" places. Mapping Copenhagen City in the same space as Tivoli Gardens does not mean these two are the same or represent one another on a one-to-one basis. Just as Marlon James is free to fictionalize history in his novel, this thesis is fictionalizing it in the context of literary analysis. In terms of "contextual analysis and informed assumptions" see methodology, page 36.

Methodology

Collecting and Defining Data
Due to the copyright protections of *A Brief History*, data was primarily collected through close readings of the text itself. While the possibility of scanning the novel into a digital PDF and extracting text via OCR was considered, this approach was ultimately rejected due to concerns surrounding its time-consuming nature and potential legal implications. The close reading process focused on identifying explicit locations, such as streets, communities, clubs, and schools that were mentioned within the novel's Kingston Metropolitan Area. Notable exceptions were made for a few key places near the KMA boundary, though data pertaining to other major cities was largely excluded given this thesis's focus on contested space in Kingston. The information gathered was organized in an Excel document and then cross-referenced with an encrypted EPUB version of the novel through keyword searches. Broad terms like 'street,' 'avenue,' and 'town' were searched for to help minimize the risk of data omissions.

Tools Used: QGIS
The primary tool used for visualizing the collected data was QGIS, an open-source GIS software. It was selected over other GIS programs, such as ArcGIS, due to its affordability (free) and support from the open-source community. From this platform, OpenStreetMap (OSM), QuickOSM, and NextGIS plugins were installed in order to gain access to OSM's comprehensive geographic database and web interactivity. These plugins facilitated the identification and mapping of specific roads, buildings, addresses, and other relevant features. To avoid the map from becoming overcrowded with irrelevant information, OSM data that was not related to the setting of *A Brief History* was ignored. As OSM is also an open-source tool, only open-source programs were utilized in the visualization of this thesis.

Data Organization and Safety
To maintain data integrity and security, the main project file was stored in three separate locations: on a local computer hard drive, within an online cloud storage service, and on a backup zip drive. The local hard drive served as the primary storage medium throughout the project. Beyond regularly saving the main GQIS file during each working session, shapefiles for each layer of work were also saved here. This ensured security in case the main GQIS file crashed or experienced any corruptions. The cloud storage and zip drive backups were updated at the end of each session. Upon project completion, the final files and associated documentation were uploaded and shared on NextGIS, a WebGIS platform that helps provide additional layers of protection and accessibility. [2]

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[2] NextGIS: https://jacmoose21.nextgis.com/resource/92/display?base=basemap_0&lon=-76.3753&lat=17.862

Data Processing: Streets

Using QuickOSM, boundary data for the Kingston Metropolitan Area (KMA) was first acquired, followed by the extraction of street data within this defined space. The street data extended beyond the KMA boundary and was subsequently clipped to fit the boundary precisely. This refined data was saved as an independent layer titled "A Brief History: Clipped Streets," with the streets symbolized using a warm yellow color. From the clipped street data, specific streets that overlapped with those mentioned in the novel were identified, selected, and exported as a separate file named "A Brief History: Streets Listed." To avoid political associations, these streets were colored red. Streets not explicitly mentioned in the novel but contextually inferred to be relevant based on their relationship to the streets listed (i.e., Rousseau Road, Upper Waterloo Road, Heroes Circle) were identified, saved as "A Brief History: Streets Assumed," and colored blue for a strong contrast to the red. Both layers are accessible in the associated interactive map. Finally, to maintain consistency across the analysis, the "Streets Listed" and "Streets Assumed" layers were merged, saved, and colored black. This merged layer became the main layer for visualization throughout the project.

Data Processing: Downtown Kingston

OSM data for individual communities was limited compared to the more accessible street data. Consequently, a list of Kingston Metropolitan Area communities defined by the Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATIN) was consulted. Although this data originates from 2001, it remains relevant due to the entrenched nature of garrison communities following the 1970-1980 period and still provides a general framework for how these communities were defined following the slum clearance and urban housing schemes. Due to the unavailability of the STATIN shapefile, approximations had to be made through hand drawn polygons. The results were saved as individual layers and then grouped under "Downtown Kingston."

Data Processing: Uptown Kingston

The communities in Uptown Kingston were delineated based on OSM data and Google Maps references. While the exact boundaries of these neighborhoods may also be open to interpretation, they nonetheless provide a general understanding of where they are located within the novel. Each community was first layered and grouped individually before being merged with the existing "Downtown Kingston" group. This process resulted in a new layer, labeled "Neighborhoods," which encompasses both Uptown and Downtown Kingston (Figure 4). The "Neighborhoods" layer was used as the principal layout for community analysis and made easily operable for interactivity.

Data Processing: Landmarks

OSM data was utilized to identify the locations of specific landmarks within the novel. These landmarks include parks, social clubs, bars, schools, the Coronation Market,

and May Pen cemetery. Each of these landmarks was marked by orange dots on the map and categorized under one layer.

Data Processing: Aesthetics:
To ensure the final design was both informative and visually cohesive, several aesthetic considerations were implemented. Labels were carefully designed and strategically placed to enhance readability and prevent clutter, making key locations easily identifiable. The font for all text elements was standardized to Arial, chosen for its clarity and consistency with the font of this thesis. Community borders were distinctly outlined with a dotted line to clearly separate different neighborhoods and prevent readers from confusing them with streets. The OSM base level was also swapped out with the Positron base layer upon further engagement with OSM data. This new base layer offered a more aesthetically pleasing background that could provide some geographic context without distracting viewers from the Kingston Metropolitan Area or other streets and communities that are not highlighted in this analysis. These design choices collectively ensured that the maps were not only functional but easy for readers to understand.

Data Processing: Printing Maps
From this work, print layouts were developed for three distinct analyses, each tailored to highlight different aspects of the data. These layouts were designed to be both informative and visually accessible, incorporating essential map elements such as a legend, a scale bar, a North arrow, and an inset map. The inset map provided a broader context by zooming out to display the KMA area in relation to its surroundings. This enhanced the map's readability and helps users gain a better understanding of the area these spaces occupy within Jamaica. While the fundamental structure and key components of the map remained consistent across all three layouts, specific adjustments were made to allow for new insights. This included modifying colors and updating the legend to align with the new data represented. Upon completion, the maps were exported and saved as high-quality PDFs, making them easily accessible and shareable for further review. To preserve the integrity of the layouts, they were locked and saved within the main QGIS project file, ensuring that all settings, design choices, and configurations were retained for future reference or modification.

Interactive Maps
Following the completion of the map, NextGIS was utilized to enhance online interactivity and accessibility. After creating an online account, the entire project, including all map layers and settings, was carefully saved and uploaded to the online portal. To ensure that the online version maintained complete consistency with the original QGIS file, all features, such as symbology, labeling, and spatial data, were preserved. These features were then analyzed from the online web portal to ensure all design choices were still effective.

Analysis #1
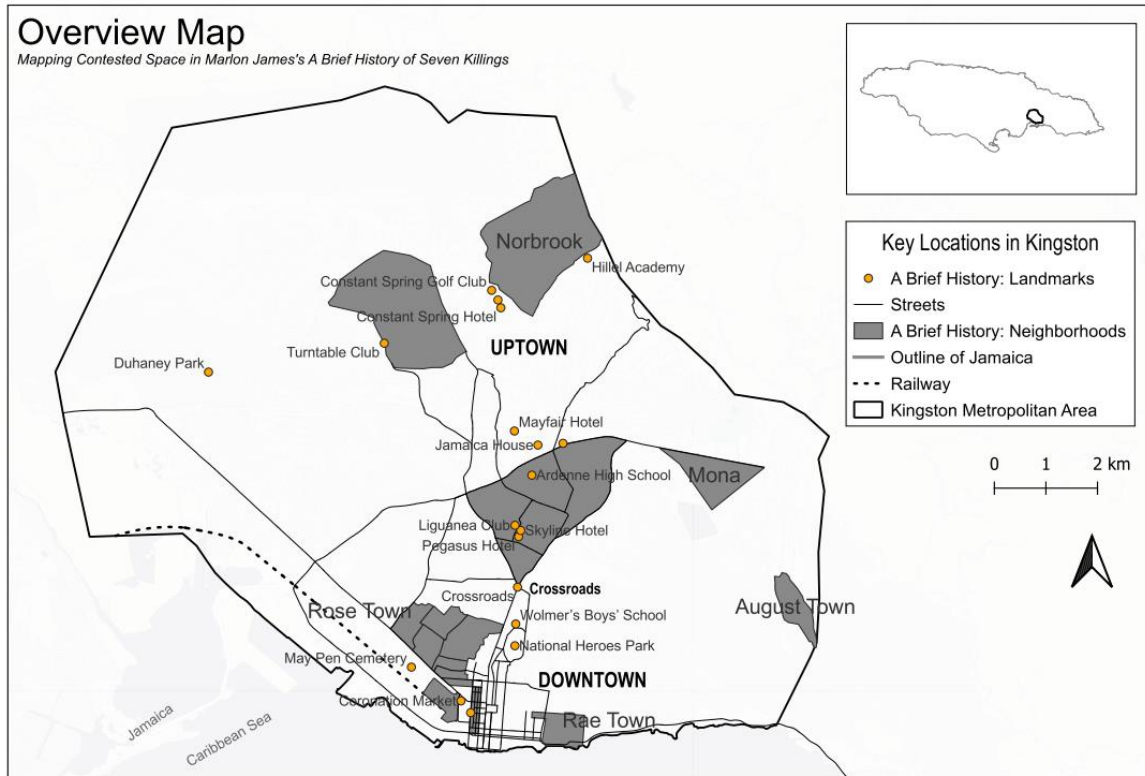
Kingston in Novel vs. "real" World

In terms of literary wayfinding, the "Overview Map" functions as an important tool that can help enhance readers' ability to locate and understand the (contested) spaces described within the narrative. Unlike a conventional map of Jamaica, which would include numerous locations irrelevant to the novel's themes, this map is purposefully limited to the specific areas mentioned within the story. All of the neighborhoods are depicted in a single color, while landmarks are labeled and colored orange to invite deeper engagement with the shared relationships they have with other entities on the map. For instance, in seeing the location of the Skyline Hotel – the place Alex Pierce stays in the novel – readers can more adequately understand his distance from Downtown violence as well as his closeness to Uptown safety.

Additionally, the map can help simplify the task of tracing characters' movements throughout the novel. Beginning with Bam-Bam's journey to Copenhagen City from The Eight Lanes, the map demonstrates the relatively small distance he needs to travel in order to escape the murder scene of his parents. When reading from the textual framework, however, Bam-Bam's narration style makes it sound as if this event was over a great distance, not the neighborhood directly next to him. This allows for an interesting insight: Bam-Bam's personal geography is truly spatially limited – as he says, "the whole world is a ghetto."

Analysis #2
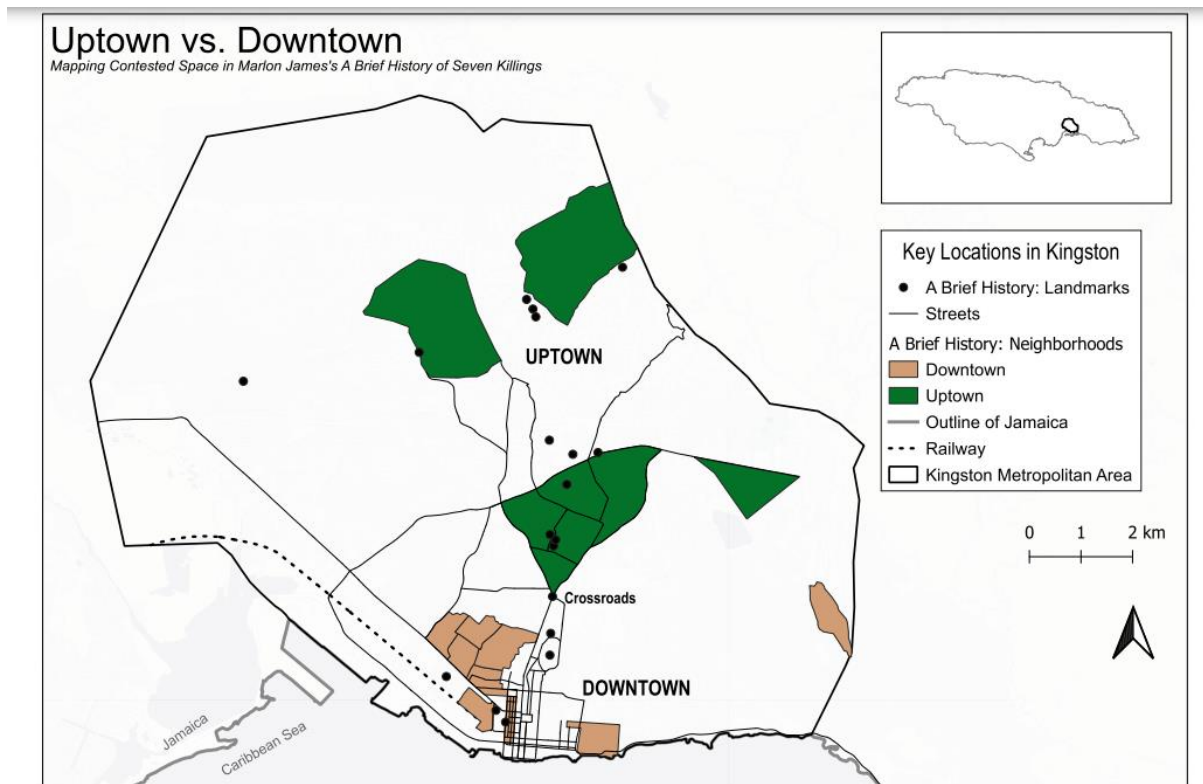
Uptown vs. Downtown

The Uptown vs. Downtown map highlights the stark contrast between Downtown Kingston and Uptown Kingston as depicted in *A Brief History*. As shown in orange, Downtown emerges as a densely concentrated area that houses many of the novel's characters. This high density reflects the garrisonization period in which characters like Papa-Lo and Josey Wales fought for spaces on behalf of the JLP. In contrast, Uptown Kingston in green is characterized by its expansive, dispersed communities, symbolizing their physical and socio-economic detachment from the challenges faced in communities like Copenhagen City or The Eight Lanes.

On the one hand, this map helps reinforce why Uptown and Downtown characters live in such different worlds throughout the novel. Characters like Demus and Bam-Bam rarely make it past the Crossroads – the one labelled landmark on this map -- and remain isolated in Downtown's tightly-knit communities. On the other hand, it also confirms the central role politicized urbanism plays in the novel. Many other neighborhoods could have been highlighted but choosing ones that directly juxtapose each other speaks to the importance contested space plays throughout the novel. While the Uptown vs. Downtown dimension of the novel can be inferred via the testimony of characters such as Nina Burgess or Papa-Lo, the map makes it visible.

Analysis #3

PNP vs. JLP
Mapping Contested Space in Marlon James's *A Brief History of Seven Killings*
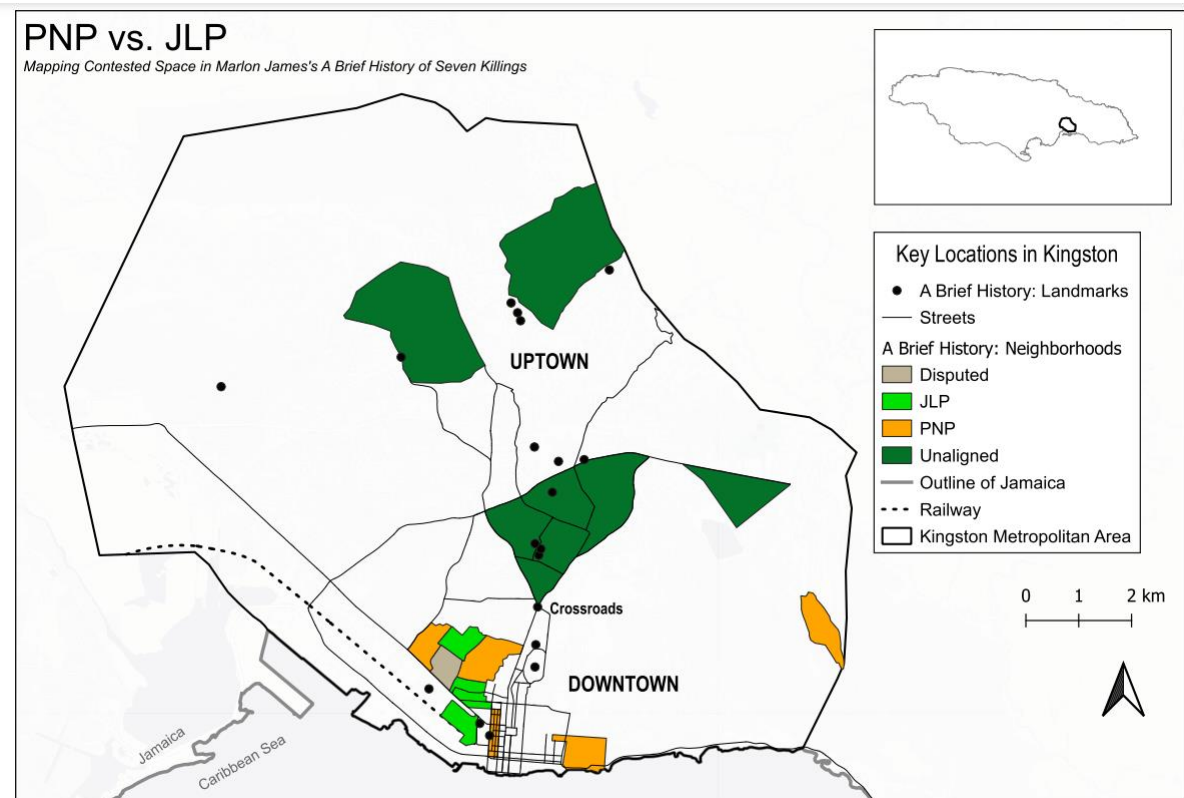
PNP vs. JLP

Nevertheless, the Uptown vs. Downtown divide is only one of the divides in Kingston. In this map, political affiliations are layered over each community's Uptown/ Downtown status, revealing the political divide between the JLP (shown in bright green) and PNP (shown in bright orange) in Downtown. In the western part of Downtown, the divide between these parties is exact: three JLP communities and three PNP communities, each fighting for more votes and community space. Interestingly, this visualization reveals the political importance of Rema, a disputed territory that is described as switching between the JLP and PNP parties. Rema can tilt an election depending on how its constituents vote and is therefore described as one of the principal spaces of violence throughout the novel. Notably, a boy from Rema is the person that Bam-Bam kills.

While the downtown communities war with each other over community spaces, the visualization illustrates the Uptown communities' political safety, and the entirely different lived experiences that exist north of the Crossroads. Communities are not described as being aligned with any particular party. Even if they were, it would not out of force or partisan manipulation. As a result, votes from the Downtown communities become extremely important for Uptown voters. To ensure their party wins, they look to these communities that are explicitly defined by politics. This results

in a deeper divide and mistrust between Uptown and Downtown throughout the novel and keeps the country divided.

Discussion

Strengths
Besides Harrison's in-depth analysis of contested space in *A Brief History*, this thesis fills a general gap in geo and infrastructural humanist readings of the novel. Representations of space have been overlooked in academic research surrounding *A Brief History*, as analyses have typically pointed towards the more than 70 characters and 30 narrators who drive the narrative progression. Moreover, the accessibility of the design in terms of its simple representations and lack of overcrowded details can reach many readers interested in learning more about representations of contested space in the novel. This can be seen as something complementary to the maps used in James's recent fantasy novels, as well.

Limitations
While the close reading proved productive, it simultaneously increased the opportunity for mistakes (i.e. missed locations). Getting access to a plain text file of the novel could allow for an easier accumulation of data. While PDF extracting text via OCR was first considered too time-consuming, it could benefit this project if legally allowable. Additionally, the lack of available maps directly related to the 1970s-1980s proved difficult. While streets could be easily marked in accordance with OSM data, ensuring that neighborhood boundaries were accurate was time-consuming. This calls for future analysis with organizations in Jamaica, such as STATIN, who have more of Jamica's historical geographic information available.

Reflections for future analysis
In the early stages of the design, I had imagined mapping characters' movements, in a style similar to Franco Moretti's analysis of Jane Austen novels. This, however, proved difficult as the paths characters traveled were not always made explicit. Future work could look at this dimension of the novel more closely and perhaps discover new insights that help make mapping character movements easier. Furthermore, the translation of these maps' data into a publicly available interactive map (see Footnote 2 of this chapter) allows for users to take up future spatial analysis. This accessibility is a marked difference between traditional academic research and the approach employed in the Digital Humanities.

Conclusion

Marlon James's *A Brief History of Seven Killings* is a historical novel that blurs the lines between fact and fiction. Characters, places, and events act independently of the "real world," and yet, they are simultaneously closely tied to it. While critics have failed to comprehensively analyze both of these dimensions in relation to the novel's representation of contested space – especially as it relates to the novel's treatment of slum clearance and urban housing schemes implemented during the 1960s – this thesis has done just that from historical, textual, and visual frameworks.

In Chapter 1, a deeper contextualization of contested urbanism in Kingston was introduced. This most notably included close examination of Back-O-Wall and Tivoli Gardens, two of the first slum clearance and urban housing schemes during the 1960s. Considering the long history of urban injustice deeply connected to these schemes, they were further analyzed within a broader history tied to slavery, the nationalist movement, and the growth of political violence in the mid-20th century. This provided a strong foundation for understanding why space has been historically contested in Kingston.

From this analysis, Chapter 2 demonstrated how James's novel is both tied to this history and simultaneously distinct from it as a piece of fiction. This included what I have called fact-oriented and fiction-oriented readings geared towards highlighting the similarities the novel shares with Jamaica's past, while simultaneously analyzing the insights derived from the ways it departs from it. This includes close analysis of characters' relationships to the contested fictionalized neighborhoods such as Copenhagen City and Balaclava. In focusing on them, I demonstrated how contested space in the novel plays a fundamental role in shaping individuals' politics, relationships, and general subjectivities.

While Chapter 2 provided many insights, its textual framework failed to allow the contested spaces and their physical effects from being shown. In Chapter 3, I turned to QGIS in order to analyze representations of contested space from a visual framework. Taken with the insights developed in Chapters 1 and 2, this provided a deeper understanding of the role contested space plays in the novel, as well as in the lives of "real" residents. Following off of James's belief that a novel is like a "lie that tells the truth," this thesis has revealed truth in both historical and fictional ways.

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