TIME AND THE OTHERWISE: SOVEREIGNTY, QUANTUM ENTANGLEMENT, AND BEING HUMAN IN THE CARIBBEAN

Deborah A. Thomas
Departments of Anthropology and Africana Studies
University of Pennsylvania

The ontological turn across the disciplines has been oriented toward questioning the frameworks of modernity, and toward suggesting that the (largely indigenous) exceptions from those frameworks exist as alterities through which different (political, social) worlds come into being. This framing would seem to leave denizens of the Caribbean outside this new thinking about ontological potentialities since, as has been extensively argued, this is a region that has always-already been modern. Yet, questions of what it means to be human have been central to life where the foundational realities have been racialized and civilizational genocide, export-oriented capitalist exploitation and commodification through mining and plantation development, slavery, indentured labor, various forms of developmentalist nationalism, and neoliberal globalization.

In this essay, I will argue that one of the insights we can glean about ontology from the theoretico-ethnographic space of the Caribbean has to do with what these foundational histories can tell us about the relationships between time, temporality and sovereignty. I will be especially concerned with questions related to prior-ness that have usually been considered vis-à-vis indigenous communities, and I want to focus on two varieties of these questions. First, I will explore a kind of global historical prior-ness as it is generated through the movement of Europe (with Africa, conscripted) toward the Americas that saw the establishment of new forms of genocidal violence as foundational to a changing transnational capitalist political economy that was profoundly racialized. This prior-ness is grounded in the emergence of "modern time," a

notion Laura Bear uses to refer to "the abstract time-reckoning of capitalism, which acts as the basis for the universal measure of value in labour, debt, and exchange relationships" (2014:7). Here, Bear is drawing from Marx's observations regarding industrial capitalism and the consolidation of a non-sovereign labor force, but we might push this back a bit to consider the time of mercantile capitalism and slave labor as also modern, but one in which the value of labor is not considered part of a human exchange. In other words, what makes the economy of modern time is not strictly the exchange relationship between capital and labor, but the new labor relations that are generated by export-oriented mass production – by slaves – of primary products for consumption elsewhere (see Mintz 1996, Trouillot 1992, Best 1968), and the new scales of humanity that are developed as a result of these relations. Interrogating the categories of "modern time" (value, labor, debt, exchange) requires a rethinking not only of the linear, universal time of both liberal humanism and progressive Marxism, what Benjamin would have called "homogenous empty time" (2003:394), but also, ultimately, a privileging of the prior-ness of the racialized category of blackness in the experience of colonial and imperial sovereignty.

The second kind of prior-ness I want to address in this essay is the localized, patterned expression of global historical prior-ness vis-à-vis the infrastructures, practices and processes of politics within post-colonial New World nation states. My particular focus will be Jamaica and the political economy of violence as it relates to garrison communities, but there are clear commonalities across the region.[1] In these contexts, the prior-ness of blackness relates complexly to the prior-ness of indigeneity, but they are not equivalent and their temporal reckonings are enacted differently. Whereas elsewhere, nationalist governance within formerly settler colonial societies has required that indigenous persons be positioned not only as temporally different from colonizers, but also as unreconcilable to the terms of liberalism,[2]

within the Caribbean, the relationship between native-ness and nationalist governance has emerged somewhat differently, though with similar effects. For example, Richard Price has famously identified "First Time" people among Saramaka maroons in Suriname as old collectivities "that trace their ancestry matrilineally back to an original group of rebel slaves" (2002[1983]:7):

> It was the migratory movements of the First-Time people that established land rights for posterity; it is the details of how they held political office that provide the model on which modern succession is based; and it is the particular alliances and rivalries among the wartime clans that shape the quality of their descendants' interaction today (Ibid.)

Here, indigeneity is not rooted in a pre-conquest moment, which has also been the case in Jamaica (where maroons are recognized by the United Nations as an indigenous community, and where Rastafari seek to gain this recognition, based on their indigenous creation of a worldview linked to land use and protection practices counter to that of the plantation).[3]

Where there *have* been significant pre-conquest indigenous populations within the Caribbean, as in Guyana, they have been excluded from full nationalist recognition based on their non-industrial use of land (where both African- and Indian-descended populations of former slaves and indentured workers have "contributed" to the independent nation-state through their productive manipulation of land).[4] In this case, what it means to be "prior" has to do with how labor is manipulated and the extent to which this has to do with land use.[5] The effect, as Shona Jackson (2012) has argued, is that the real and discursive disappearance of indigenous peoples has allowed creole indigeneity to be asserted as the dominant mode of citizenship in the New World. Here, blacks and Indians develop a different relationship to the land than do white settlers, but nonetheless also displace and objectify indigenous people in similar ways, a

phenomenon she calls "arrivant colonialism" (2012:3). For Jackson, Creole subjects are created through indigenous elisions, so being prior in this regard is to be ontologically outside, literally a different kind of human. Labor, within Caribbean nationalist contexts, "indigenizes modern subjects" (2012:26), gives rights, makes citizens, and therefore makes human, even as it is what dehumanized during the period of plantation-based slavery.

Both these variations on prior-ness, whether pre- or post-nationalist, require a hierarchy of personhood based on an appropriate temporal orientation to, and participation in, a Hegelian "march of history." Yet neither can be grounded in a linear notion of time, even when they express their aspirations in the language of developmentalism or progress. Of course, anthropologists have been among those who have critiqued universal notions of time, arguing that ideas of linear temporality are rooted within Western discourses of evolution and Christianity, and then used to classify hierarchies of personhood along evolutionary scales of development with Western capitalist logics of time at the apogee. They have encouraged us instead to pay attention to multiple and co-existing socio-cultural constructions of time, and to the ways representations of time have been instruments of power, not only in relation to colonial (and nationalist) governmentality, but also in terms of anthropological epistemology.[6] Yet, while an earlier generation of anthropologists were committed to notions of temporal alternation (Leach 1961) or simultaneity (Geertz 1971), both of which emphasized the "co-occurrence of multiple cycles of time" (Boellstorff 2007:30), these notions were still bound ethnographically to non-Western (and ostensibly, non-capitalist) societies. Geertz's notion of simultaneity, for example, is rooted in the sense that all people are contemporary, as reflected in Balinese naming systems, and that different measurements of time are applied to different aspects of human experience, rather than in the possibility that the past, present, and future might co-exist under

pressure, and therefore might produce a human experience that while non-linear, also cannot be reconciled with the purportedly cyclical time of harvests and rituals.

It is this kind of simultaneity that I want to explore here, a sense of temporality in which the past and the future are experienced in a present that is rooted in the violence of the original entanglements engendering global historical prior-ness, and that generated an infrastructure of nationalist citizenship that reproduces these originary forms of violence, though in novel ways. If capitalism produces time as "the key site for attempts to develop legitimacy and agency," as Laura Bear argues, then it is not only the case that "this centrality of time is a symptom of inequalities in social relationships" (2014:19), but that the hegemony of progressive teleological time also becomes the tool through which inequalities are generated, reproduced, and made to seem inevitable, which in turn leads to a general invisibility of those who do not or cannot operate according to the criteria of teleological time, and of the social conditions that have generated this inability.[7] While for some (in reality, increasingly few), the experience of modern (neoliberal) time approximates the ideology of it (an evolutionary advance toward perpetual social mobility), for others, time seems to stand still.

Exploring the pressures and inequalities of neoliberal time within the context of "Plantation America,"[8] then, is critical to an understanding of the relationships among race, politics, and what it means to be human. Drawing from an ethnographically derived creative project I am currently developing in collaboration with musician Junior "Gabu" Wedderburn and psychologist Deanne Bell, I will show that recurring moments of exceptional violence, themselves emerging from ongoing, everyday patterns of structural and symbolic violence, lead to an experience of time neither as linear nor cyclical, but as simultaneous, where the future, past, and present are mutually constitutive and have the potential to be coincidentally influential,

as in the temporal compression physicists identify vis-à-vis quantum entanglement, or in relation to the multiplicity associated with the digital. This ontological alterity does not rely on a condition of being prior, outside or marginal, but instead is fully embedded within the violences of modernity, and indeed could lead us to question the extent to which conceptualizations of being and becoming in Western time are in fact undone and remade through the radical political praxis of asserting humanity from the space of the Afro-Caribbean.

TIVOLI STORIES

I have been interested lately in what sovereignty "feels like," and here I am thinking of sovereignty in both its registers – as something gained through struggle and won "from below;" and as a process of conscription, one that is emergent and embodied, and therefore always deeply rooted in temporal, spatial, and geopolitical contexts. Violence, we know, has been foundational to both these conceptual registers of sovereignty, and my sense is that their interplay, as well as the entanglements that produce them over time, are most visible within archives of political and state violence. Since 2012, therefore, I have been working on a collaborative multi-media project called "Tivoli Stories," a project that is designed to address the state of emergency in May 2010 in Kingston, Jamaica.

During the week of May 24th, members of the police force and the army entered the West Kingston community of Tivoli Gardens by force to apprehend Christopher "Dudus" Coke, who had been ordered for extradition to stand trial in the United State on gun- and drug-running charges. In August 2009 when the U.S. issued the extradition request for Coke, Bruce Golding, then Prime Minister, leader of the Jamaica Labour Party, *and* Member of Parliament for Tivoli Gardens argued against the extradition on the procedural grounds that the evidence against Coke was obtained by wiretapping, which is illegal under Jamaican law. But by the third week in May

2010, under pressure from Parliament and the U.S. government, Golding announced to the nation on television that he had authorized the Attorney General to sign the extradition order. This led to a standoff between the security forces that had to find Coke, and many of Coke's supporters who were bent on protecting him at any cost. By the end of the week that began Monday, May 24th, Coke had not yet been found and at least 75 civilians were officially recognized as having been killed (the number community members give is closer to 200). The government established a curfew for Tivoli Gardens, and residents were forced to show passes when leaving or entering. Most movement in or out of the demarcated zone was effectively stopped, which meant that many people were unable to work, to go to school, to shop for food, or to go about the ordinary routines of their lives. This continued until June 22nd, when Coke was detained and subsequently extradited.[9] Despite the immediate activities of various civil society organizations such as Jamaicans for Justice and the Jamaican Civil Society Coalition, it took almost three years for the Office of the Public Defender to submit an interim report to parliament regarding the conduct of the security forces.

As anyone familiar with Jamaican state formation knows, the 2010 "Tivoli Incursion" is merely the most recent event in a long history of struggle related to garrison communities – the homogenous voting communities that were developed in downtown Kingston immediately after independence in 1962 to ensure support for particular political representatives in exchange for contracts and other social welfare provisions.[10] These benefits have been mediated through the relationship between the politician and a local "don," but this relationship has transformed over the years as the elaboration of the transnational trades in cocaine and weapons supplanted a previously smaller-scale trafficking in ganja, and strengthened the role of the "don" vis-à-vis the

politician. This is how Christopher "Dudus" Coke, among others, drew the attention of the United States Department of Justice.

While the Commission of Enquiry that was called for by the Public Defender's Report of April 2014 finally got underway in December of that year, a list of the dead has still not been released and community members still feel their stories haven't been fully heard. As a result, we have been working with Tivoli Gardens community residents, as well as some from nearby West Kingston communities, to create a multi-media installation that provides a platform through which they can recount their experiences during May and June 2010, and name and publicly memorialize loved ones they lost. The narratives community members are sharing tell us not only about what they experienced. They also tell us about three related aspects of their lives in West Kingston, and more broadly, about life in contemporary Jamaica. They say something about the everyday conditions of structural and symbolic violence (and how these are expressed through gender and status) that lay the foundation for the periodic eruptions of exceptional violence; they give us a sense of the extent to which people are able to imagine, or imagine themselves enacting, alternative political futures; and they tell us about how extreme violence also produces the experience of temporal simultaneity. It is the latter two points that I want to elaborate here.

ENTANGLEMENT

The simultaneity evident in community residents' narratives reflects disjunctive experiences of time. An obvious example of this is what we heard from Nadine Sutherland, who was born in Kingston in June 1968 and moved at the age of thirteen to live in Tivoli Gardens with her grandmother, where she has been ever since. The first question we asked her was:

"What do you remember about the days surrounding the 24th of May 2010?" She began her story with her son's killing during an incident in 2008:

> I remember 2008, the 13th of January, I remember I was at 34 Sunset Crescent, down [at] my godmother's house, when I hear a lot of noise and when I looked through the door I saw a lot of soldiers coming…About 3:30 going to 4:00, I get a phone call and said five man died at Keith Avenue, [and] to my surprise when I look, them say my son was in it, at the age of 18 year old, just graduated from the Denham Town high school. I went to Kingston Public Hospital, just to identify my son, when [I saw] the [police] jeep coming round with the five man. [I only saw his] shoes, because he had on a Gap crepe and an Old Navy plaid blue short set and a sky blue gansy, and I remember a lady turned to me and said "Don't go over there." And I said "see mi son there." And she say "how you can identify a person by the feet alone?" And I start to describe the clothes and tell her seh him have on a chain round him neck, and I wouldn't mind if she could take it off for me, and she turned and said she would gwaan [and] identify him for me. And when she look, she say "yes, that's your son for true." Come back again 2010, on the 24th of May, I lose my two nephew.

Nadine wove these two moments together *not* in the manner of providing background to current events – a causal progression from one to another – but instead in a way that suggests a simultaneity of time, with all killings bleeding into each other, all becoming parts of one immediate story.

Another community member, Shawn Bowen, told of his experiences of being removed from his home with all the other men in his tenement yard, and conscripted to move sandbags at roadblocks while under threat of the gun. Their hands were tied behind their backs as they were

loaded into trucks and taken to a school, where they stayed for three hours crowded together into a bathroom. From there, they were taken to an open lot where soldiers made them kneel down in rows while they taunted the men with their guns; Shawn's sense was they were all going to be executed. Finally, he said, they were carried to "one white house," and he remembered that this was the same house that was shown years before on the television, "one time in July, when the incident happened with Adams, policeman Adams, that place right across [from] the market." Here, he was invoking the events of July 2001, when under the leadership of then Police Commissioner Renato Adams, security forces attempted to enter Tivoli Gardens in search of guns and fugitives. That time, 27 civilians were killed. This building's presence in Shawn's narrative about 2010 creates a simultaneity in relation to the two "incursions." Other community members, including Orando Page, whose little brother was killed execution style with his arms around his stepfather during the 2010 state of emergency, talked about the "flashbacks" he experienced when thinking about that period. We asked him what the days leading up to the beginning of the state of emergency were like, after former Prime Minister Golding announced that the extradition order would be signed:

> Everybody was just inna this rush you know. It was like you know when the countdown go on for the New Year, it's like a countdown, which, we know the danger wheh did a go happen still, a nuh something where is the first time we see it. Is not the first time. The only thing is this one, the one is more it's coming like them rip out the people dem heart.

What these sorts of narratives speak to are recurrence and repetition – of places, of phenomena, of loss. Some, like Nadine's, demonstrate the kind of temporal ruptures that have been discussed at length by scholars of trauma (Caruth 1995; Felman and Laub 1992), ruptures they have tended to frame primarily in psychoanalytic terms, in which the sense of urgency and

immediacy reflects a trauma neither processed nor fully buried, and therefore always prone to resurfacing in relation to new provocations. I am interested, however, in framing this kind of narrative as a social, rather than individual, expression (Puri 2014), not merely because this kind of framing would encourage attention to the specific contexts or histories for current events and affective relations, the ways we might imagine the past living in the present, nor only because it suggests multi-directionality, and reflects the multiple entanglements and palimpsests of events and experiences that, as they layer on top of each other, create the conditions for the haunting of the present.[11] Instead, framing these narratives socially lends insights into the process of mediation that "links an institution and an individual, a social structure and a subject, and history and a biography" (Gordon 2008:19), and therefore the kinds of "co-relation" that temporal simultaneities bring to light. I use the term "co-relation" here to invoke correlation, but to bring attention to the dynamic relational articulations among the scales, spheres, and processes under consideration. As we will see, the short-circuiting of distance between past, present, and future is not causal but "co-related." Where a notion of causality defines how these temporal dimensions are related, "co-relation" gets at their entanglement without demarcating the terms through which it occurs.

The mediation of co-related entities is what Avery Gordon refers to as haunting, which she defines as "an animated state in which a repressed or unresolved social violence is making itself known, sometimes very directly, sometimes more obliquely" (2008:xvi). Haunting, for Gordon, makes impossible the separation of past, present, and future; ghosts appear and materialize uncontained, unresolved patterns of harm, they force a confrontation with complicity and demand an alternative actualization, a "something-to-be-done" (Ibid.). I will have more to say about this "something-to-be-done" below. Here, I want to explore the temporal dimensions

of her argument by reading it in relation to the processes theoretical quantum physicists call entanglement and retrocausality, where pressure (in this case, catastrophic violence) produces the potentiality of simultaneous time, with the past and the future acting on the present, necessarily transforming our understandings of both prior-ness and causality.

Entanglement, for quantum physicists, refers to the notion that two sub-atomic particles, having been initially entangled, will affect each other even when far apart in space and time. It suggests that instantaneous communication across distance is possible, and that therefore there is no evidential basis for an understanding of temporality that suggests that the present supersedes the past, and is in turn superseded by the future. With linearity thus dispensed, moreover, it is possible for an intervention into one entangled particle to affect what happens to another particle *earlier* in time. This is the notion of retrocausality, where the future has the ability to influence the past.[12] Of course, within the macroscopic world, these notions seem counter-intuitive, as they disturb modernist understandings of the world. Yet the attempt to apply the principles of particles to macro-level analysis has inspired creative interrogations of the relationships among meaning and matter, materiality and sociality, mediation and infrastructure. Karen Barad, herself both a philosopher and a physicist, has probed the relationship between materiality and meaning, suggesting that media and the substances upon which media act are co-constructed in the process of intra-action (2007). Her analysis draws us to question the boundaries between human and non-human from a philosophical point of view, but these points have also been interrogated ethnographically, for example, in relation to the ways people engage infrastructures.[13]

CAUSALITY

This might be the point at which to ask what quantum physics has to do with notions of prior-ness in Black Atlantic worlds. The most obvious answer appears in Barad's book: "if

causality is reworked, then power needs to be rethought" (2007:23). This is not just a question of directionality, of course, but also of the terms of co-relation. But the physics of quantum mechanics also has a history of having appealed to Caribbean philosophers. Antonio Benítez-Rojo, for example, was drawn to chaos theory for its proposal that tiny actions were not random, but were instead related to meta-phenomena, for its privileging of dynamism and differential repetition, and for its insistence on multiplicity and non-linearity. For Benítez-Rojo, chaos theory in particle physics provided a model for his concept of repeating time, which sought to identify the patterns underlying complex historical processes without tying them to linear or causal genealogies, thereby disturbing the centrality of the binaries often mobilized to understand the Europe-Africa encounter in the New World (1992).[14]

Michelle Wright has also recently drawn from the contributions of quantum physics to think through where constructions of blackness fit into conceptualizations of space and time (2015). She has argued that our "*constructs* of Blackness are largely historical and more specifically based on a notion of spacetime that is commonly fitted into a linear progress narrative, while our *phenomenological* manifestations of Blackness happen in what [she] terms *Epiphenomenal* time, or the 'now,' through which the past, present, and future are always interpreted" (2015:4). Here, she is attempting to dislodge the centrality of what she calls the Middle Passage Epistemology, one that locates blackness historically primarily within the oppressive narratives of enslavement and colonization, and spatially within the linear movement from Africa to the "New World," an epistemology that neither accounts for blacknesses arising as the result of other origin stories, nor for a reading of black agency as anything other than reactive. Wright uses quantum physics to advocate for a conceptualization of history that refuses a linear formulation into lessons, causal analyses of why things are the way they are. She

advocates the view that "the 'now' is always in process – that is, the present and future are not discrete moments but rather are conflated into the one moment that is the now" (2015:41). Time, in this framework, can be experienced as sometimes overlapping and sometimes disconnected, but with a sense of possibility that outstrips the kind of black liberatory time Fanon would have seen as possible in the mid-20th century, or the kind of utopian future envisioned by 1970s revolutionaries that David Scott has so eloquently considered (2014).[15]

Quantum physics gives us one way to imagine the imbrication of present, past, and future in non-teleological yet non-random ways, but we might also explore questions of co-relation and entanglement via the rubric of digitality. Just as postcolonial political philosophers have recently been preoccupied by what has been seen as a "crisis" of the nation-state, some cinema studies theorists have worried over an "identity crisis" in relation to the indexicality of film, one that has been wrought by the turn to the digital. Kara Keeling reframes this worry in her analysis of Spike Lee's *Bamboozled*, and it is through her concept of "non-chronological time" – at which she arrives via a re-reading of Hegel through philosopher James Snead – that I believe we can glean additional insights not only about subjectivity and futurity, but also about the relations among past, present, and future as these are related to Black Atlantic subjectivity, historicity, and ontology.

Critics of Hegel have understood him to argue that "Black culture" and the "Negro" occupy the space and time of the non-human against which European progressive humanity can be realized. The "Negro" and "Africa," for Hegel, represent absolute alterity, existing in a space of atemporality, outside of history and outside of culture. Snead's reworking of the "historylessness" and "immediacy" of "Black culture" in Hegel argues that immediacy can also suggest the following: "being there, the African is also always already there, or perhaps always

there before, whereas the European is headed there or, better, not yet there" (1981:148). For Keeling, this reworking raises the possibility that "the African might be understood as that from which the movement of the European (the human) derives and black culture might be understood as the crucible for a European progressive culture that ultimately arrives at that which was already there before, black culture.[16] The human unfolds in time," she continues, "while the Black is internal to time – the Black haunts the human's past, present, and future" (2005:242). Black subjectivity, therefore, exists in non-chronological time, and moreover, she states, "European subjectivity arrives at black subjectivity under the pressure of post-structuralism" (2005:242). Here is how Keeling sums this up:

> Today, the temporalities of culture in general have begun to conform to the temporalities previously posited as particular to black culture, and the extant political potentials of 'the human' have started to parallel those available through an examination of the historical relationship between the logics of commodification and 'the Black.' The saturation of culture by the logics of Capital, the temporal rearrangements that accompany that process, and the philosophical implications of deconstruction…present us with an historical constellation in which black cultural insights and innovations are especially important to a general exploration of the possibilities for a cultural politics that might offer support to innovative and egalitarian alternatives to existing hegemonic relationships (2005:240).

In other words, the conjoining of humanness with blackness is prior to that with Europeanness, *and*, crucially, the struggles, insights, and strategies derived from blackness, having been prior, are those most likely to provide interventions into contemporary neoliberal relations of

domination. It is worth remembering here that in the early days Rastafari promulgated a belief in the superiority of blacks over whites, one that was also rooted in an ontological prior-ness:

> Black men were civilized when the white man was living in the caves of northern Europe. The throne of Ethiopia is older than the throne of King George. The white man says that black men are not good, but David, Solomon, and the Queen of Sheba were black. The knowledge black men have cannot be obtained in college. They are born with the knowledge they possess because they have been with God from the beginning of Creation, and they have been with God everywhere (Simpson 1955:169; see also Maragh 2007[1935], Pettersburgh 2003[1926]).

Keeling's non-chronological time, rooted in the processes enabling modernity, and in particular a new racialized commodification of labor under conditions of plantation slavery, is echoed in Bliss Cua Lim's notion of "immiscible temporality" (2009). Lim argues that this is a temporality that saturates horror flicks, allowing for the coexistence of other times of being alongside the modern present, and resisting the domestication of difference as the primitive "Other" against which European progress is defined and measured, what Sylvia Wynter would call the overrepresentation of a Western bourgeois ethnoclass as "Man" (2003). Lim sees horror films as enacting a kind of temporal translation" (2009:12) between the plural experiences of temporality and hegemonic modern time, and like Gordon, argues that "ghosts call our calendars into question," that haunting "refuses the linear progression of modern time consciousness, flouting the limits of mortality and historical time" (2009:149).

For both Keeling and Lim, this orientation to time opens the possibility of unforeseeable and unpredictable futures that are rooted in a global historical prior-ness that centers non-European bodies in relation to modern processes whose entanglements are still felt today. The

simultaneity of past, present, and future opens new directions for the elaboration of multiple scales of causality, and calls into question the directionality of European progress narratives. Let me now return to the narratives in order to make the argument that garrisons are foundational to political institutional structures in Jamaica just as slavery is foundational to modern capitalism, and liberal notions of governance and private property (Buck Morss 2000, 2009; Fischer 2015; Wynter 2003). If racial slavery within the context of mercantile, and later industrial, capitalism is what transformed notions of personhood, value, and time reckoning in the Americas, then garrison politics is what transforms the experience of temporality and belonging in postcolonial Jamaica. If the European arrives at blackness under conditions of post-structuralism, then the national citizenry as a whole arrives at the garrison under the pressure of neoliberalism.[17] In the case I am considering here, the punctuated event[18] of state violence – unpredictable, yet patterned, as during slavery – is what reminds us of the Bergsonian durational sense of being, a heterogeneous and "braided" (Grosz 1999:17), ever-accumulating and non-linear relation between past and present, and ultimately, the coming into being of non-teleological futures.

PRIOR-NESS

I mentioned earlier that May 2010 was not the first time police and soldiers had attempted to enter Tivoli Gardens by force; that community residents experience this as part of the general fabric of existence is signaled by their use of the words "norm" and "normally" in their narratives. Take, for example, the following statement by Donald Reid, a man in his sixties who has lived in downtown Kingston his whole life, mostly in Tivoli Gardens. "We have gone through a lot," he said. "People have been dying by the security force for years, it's not new…it just come in like a *norm* right now to the people. But this one was worse, you understand?"

Everton Morgan, a middle-aged family man who hosted thirteen people under his dining room table during the four most intense days of gunfire, agreed:

> What took place in May 2010 was far far more greater than what had happened before. We did not have that type of gunfire and aggression from the security force and it wasn't actually so deep into the community, it was more like on the outskirts of Tivoli Gardens. But this time everything actually took place inside of Tivoli Gardens and that was something we were seeing for the very first time.

Everton's remarks were corroborated by his wife, Claudette, who said that in 2001 and 1997, the gunfire was mainly located on the edges of Tivoli Gardens, "because they [the supporters of the don] *normally* would block the road…So this time, they thought that that they would, you know, overcome the cops by blocking the road, building a bigger barrier," she explained, "but it was way different…so that is why we get it so hard." What accounted for this difference, in their estimation? "Remember this is an extradition case," Chineyman said, "dis is something between the U.S. and Jamaica. Wha did go on back then," he continued, "that is more like, me woulda say, politics." Jacqueline Gordon, one of the women who spent those four days under Everton's table, expressed the same sense of causality:

> I was one of the persons saying that this one would be different, cause my neighbor and I was talking and I tell her that this one is not going to be like *normal*. Cause the U.S. is involved in this one and they want the man…because *normally* we run outside and peep, and we look, and we run in and, understand? But this time we couldn't even move inside the house to go and have a bath, so I figure this one would be different…that's what I think at the time.

"Normally," here, functions like a glitch, a digital error that alerts us to a fundamental design flaw, again in the manner in which slavery was the design flaw within liberal humanism. Here, it is not only the Jamaican state that is invoked – "politics," and in this case institutionalized garrison politics – but also the United States government. Indeed, there was a U.S. drone overhead on May 24th, 2010, providing surveillance support to the Jamaican government. We know that U.S. entanglements within Jamaica have taken many forms since the late 19th century – from the United Fruit Company and the development of a global banana and tourism industry; through the Bases for Destroyers Act during World War II; through post-war guestworker programs; through the various agreements and initiatives related to trade and security after independence; and through the myriad circulations of people, money, products, and ideas that characterize the post-1965 period. But it was the anti-communist labor agitation supported by the North American branches of United Steelworkers that violently split the progressive arm of the trade union movement (and that helped to solidify clientelism as the hegemonic modality of political participation), the establishment of a CIA presence within the Embassy at independence and the extensive support of the police force and military (both financially and in terms of personnel and training), and the continued labor intervention through the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) that entangled Jamaican politics with Cold War developments, and that created new ghosts co-relating our futures, pasts and presents.

After the state of emergency, many Tivoli Gardens residents who had left did not immediately return to the community. For some of the young men, this was because they had been warned that those who returned were being killed by police (and possibly also by gunmen supporting Coke), but for others, it was due to an overwhelming sense of grief that their

community would never be the same again. As one young woman told us, "I was really scared, because of how the…place looked, I thought it was really like a ghost town, because I thought a lot of people died." This grief was coupled by a sense of uncertainty that was articulated by Everton, who reflected, "I gather that there are people who are still missing now and nobody can say whether they're alive or they're dead, or what has happened to them, so there are some persons that are still to be accounted for." Jacqueline Gordon also questioned the government's official tally of the dead. "At one point in time the place was stink, burning, and that burning wasn't normal smoke, it was really smelling bad. People lose loved ones that still not accounted for," she continued, "it's not the total." What is the effect of this uncertainty? Shawn told us that "when you dohn used to a ting, you know, and something happen to you…it just continue, continue, continue bugging you, bugging you, bugging you. Wheh [what] you gonna think, or how you gonna pray?" This is what sovereignty feels like. It haunts. But remember, Gordon tells us haunting also produces a "something-to-be-done" which, for her, requires "not a return to the past but a reckoning with its repression in the present" (2008:183).

REPAIR

One of the most striking patterns within the narratives we have been archiving is the fact that with few exceptions, when we ask community residents what they think could and should happen to change their situations, beyond the Commission of Enquiry that has finally begun (and about which most community members are skeptical), they seem unable to articulate any kind of transformative program, instead leaving it obliquely up to the next generation or making vague mention of education or jobs programs.[19] This is not striking because we are looking to them for the next emancipatory political vision, or because we are seeing in them the potential vanguard of "resistance" that will finally transform the organization of the state. It is striking because it

constructs a future evacuated of what Anthony Bogues has called the "*prophetic redemptive tradition*" (2002:20), a tradition that has long undergirded radical black politics in Jamaica (and the Americas more generally). Within a prophetic redemptive tradition, liberation, like life, is rooted in an ontological alterity that does not rely on a condition of being prior, outside or marginal but instead is grounded *in* the violences of modernity, and in this way, it also authorizes an understanding of co-relation that is multi-directional and multi-temporal. It focuses on the future, but, as Nancy Munn has outlined for other contexts, "futures are projected out of construals made of or in relation to the present…[and] cannot be detached from the ways pasts are felt to be in or excluded from the present" (Munn 1992:115; see also Trouillot 1995). The inability to imagine enacting this future is reflected in many ways, one of which is how community residents reminisced about Tivoli's heyday, when things were "bustling, bubbly and full of activities." As one teenager lamented, "it's not fun anymore. Nighttime usually we can stay out and go to parties," she continued. "But now, it come like you haffi be inside your house, you can't walk on the road. If you walk you remember, you see the house burned down and you think, inna the incursion that happened."

While the West Kingston Commission of Enquiry is critical to a national discussion of how sovereign violence is generated, the institutions through which it is enacted, and the extent to which we are all complicit in its reproduction,[20] it will not ultimately transform the lives of those who lost loved ones or were themselves injured within Tivoli Gardens, even if people are compensated monetarily for damage to property, as some community members hope. It will not suddenly enable Annette Irving, whose sister was killed during the state of emergency, to revel in the company of her nephews, whom she currently avoids because they remind her of her own loss. Nor will it stop Shawn Bowen, who prior to the incursion did not drink alcohol, from

beginning his morning with white rum. It will not, as community members say, "bring back life," either literally or metaphorically. In part, this is because this Commission, and others like it, is a juridical solution that, as many have critiqued within other contexts, relies on a liberal humanist conception of human rights, and requires for its realization that we imagine ourselves to exist in a post-violence, post-conflict moment rather than encouraging us to interrogate the forms of historical and everyday violence that co-relate to create the conditions for spectacular enactments. If an ontological reconfiguration of temporality rescues us from the hegemony of liberalism (and its political teleologies of progressive time), while also untethering anthropological conceptions of "otherness" from the temporal relegation to the past, it must also foreground a sense of ethics that releases us from the hegemony of juridical resolution, itself grounded in the violence of law, particularly for those defined by law as something less than human.[21] This is the problem, according to Alexander Weheliye, with Giorgio Agamben's theorization of "bare life:"

> The potential of bare life as a concept falls victim to a legal dogmatism that equates humanity and personhood with a status bequeathed or revoked by juridical sovereignty in much the same way as human rights and habeas corpus do. Because alternatives do not exist in Agamben's generalized sphere of exception that constitutes bare life, the law denotes the only constituent power in the definition and adjudication of what it means to be human or dehumanized in the contemporary world. If alternate forms of life, what Wynter dubs genres of the human beyond the world of Man, can flourish only after the complete obliteration of the law, then it would follow that our existence, whether it is bare or not, stands and falls with the extant laws in the current codification of man…[but]

> Man's juridical machine can never exhaust the plenitude of our world (Weheliye 2014:131).

What is required, therefore, is a more robust sense of ethics and justice, one that is not reducible to the determinations of law (1990). It is this sense of ethics that suffuses Jacques Derrida's "future anterior," the time that will have been in the process of becoming (Derrida 1997[1967]:5).

For Derrida, time cannot be anteriorized merely through memory, the methodological basis of many truth commissions, because memory does not exhaust the relationships of obligation, causality, and accountability created through entanglement.[22] It is not the past, as past, that is central to this consideration of ethics. Instead, it is the ways the future (as past) inhabits the present – much like, as Kim Fortun argues, "toxics inhabit the bodies of those exposed, setting up the future but not yet manifest as disease, nor even as an origin from which a specific and known disease will come. Toxics," Fortun continues, "call on us to think about determinism, but without the straightforward directives of teleology" (2012:450). What violence produces, therefore, is "the time of the future, an opening of time" (Grosz 2005:70). This formulation also allows for Laurence Ralph's notion of "history as emergent," a process of actively and dynamically positioning the past in relation to a future, the way that people among whom he worked in "gangland" Chicago looked forward, and thus were able to think about creating alternatives that would address their most egregious injuries and problems. Thinking in this way about history allows Ralph to position "all the details of urban life that are often viewed in terms of death or paralysis…[instead] in terms of collective and individual striving" (2014:17). This is a critical transformation of optics, and one that works when people are acting agentially – even if illicitly – rather than merely enduring.[23] That we are not currently seeing this

kind of imaginative agency in Tivoli Gardens forces us to think through is how the complex garrison calculus between loyalty and benefits (both financial and juridical) has generated a socio-political sphere in which imagination beyond the localities of the here and now is exceedingly difficult, and how the dismantling of this calculus has left subjects "stalled" (Scott 2014), at least for the time being, with the future suspended, incapable (for the moment) of acting on the present or past.

What, therefore, is the "something-to-be-done"? How do we address the question of what it means to be a human capable of acting in and on a world that hides the ontological entanglements of the violences that have been foundational to its formation? How do we mobilize a transformed apprehension of temporality and prior-ness toward the project of repair? Shalini Puri has recently argued that there is a relationship between scale and affect within the context of revolution (2014). In her analysis of the ways memory of the Grenadian Revolution has been mapped onto landscapes – both literal and figurative – she notes that considerations of size have often led scholars and popular audiences to dismiss Caribbean revolutionary claims to world-historical significance. However, if we understand the Caribbean as having been central to processes of capitalist modernity, we must also consider that the size of Caribbean territories might allow for a different lens through which to view revolutions (and genocidal violences) and their aftermaths. Puri suggests that it is Grenada's small size that necessitates attention to the centrality of care, and to the affective ties and rifts that characterize intergenerational dynamics, and that paying attention to these dynamics might give us a more profound purchase on both the forging of, and long-term resonance of, attempts to chart different, and more egalitarian, futures. My own proposal is that we might then frame our questions not in terms of time-space, but in relation to time-scale; in other words, the effects of violence should be measured not merely in

terms of numbers (of persons dead, or of dwellings razed), but vis-à-vis qualitative and phenomenological dimensions of experience that challenge our ontological notions of temporality, causality, and mutual responsibility.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The University of Pennsylvania has provided funding for the artistic fieldwork that has provided data for this essay. I thank John Jackson, Deanne Bell, Junior "Gabu" Wedderburn, and Laurie Lambert for careful readings of this essay in draft form, and for their comments. I am also grateful to Yarimar Bonilla and Greg Beckett for providing the opportunity to begin to work out the ideas informing this essay on the panel they organized for the American Anthropological Association conference in 2014, and for audiences there and at the Caribbean Studies Association conference for important reflections and feedback.

REFERENCES CITED

Alexander, M. Jacqui. 2005. *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory and the Sacred*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Barad, Karen. 2007. *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Bear, Laura. 2014. "Doubt, Conflict, Mediation: the Anthropology of Modern Time." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (N.S.)* Vol. 20, Issue Supplement S1, Ed. Laura Bear, pp. 3-30.

Benjamin, Walter. 2003. "On the Concept of History" and "Paralipomena to On the Concept of History." In *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, Volume 4, 1938-1940*, Eds. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings, pp. 389-411. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Benítez-Rojo, Antonio. 1992. *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Best, Lloyd. 1968. "Outlines of a Model of the Pure Plantation Economy." *Social and Economic Studies* 17 (3): 283–323.

Birth, Kevin. 1999. *"Any Time is Trinidad Time": Social Meanings and Temporal Consciousness*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Bloch, Maurice. 1977. "The Past and the Present in the Present." *Man, N.S.* 12(2):278-292.

Boellstorff, Tom. 2007. *A Coincidence of Desires: Anthropology, Queer Studies, Indonesia*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Bogues, Anthony. 2002. "Politics, Nation and PostColony: Caribbean Inflections." *small axe* 11:1-30.

Bonilla, Yarimar. 2015. *Non-Sovereign Futures: French Caribbean Politics in the Wake of Disenchantment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Buck Morss, Susan. 2009. *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Buck Morss, Susan. 2000. "Hegel and Haiti." *Critical Inquiry* 26(4):821-865.

Carroll, Sean. 2010. *From Eternity to Here: The Quest for the Ultimate Theory of Time* (New York: Dutton.

Caruth, Cathy (Ed.). 1995. *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Charles, Christopher. 2002. "Garrison Communities as Counter Societies: The Case of the 1998 Zeeks' Riot in Jamaica." *Ideaz* 1(1):29-43.

Clifford, James and George Marcus (Eds.). 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Das, Veena. 2007. *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Derrida, Jacques. 1997[1967]. *Of Grammatology*, Trans. Gayatry Chakravorty Spivak. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Derrida, Jacques. 1994. *Spectres of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*. New York: Routledge.

Derrida, Jacques. 1990. "Force of Law: The Mystical Foundation of Authority." *Cordoza Law Review* 11(5-6):919-1045.

Durkheim, Emile 1915. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life: A Study of Religious Sociology*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Fabian, Johannes. 1983. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Feldman, Allen. 2004. "Memory Theaters, Virtual Witnessing, and the Trauma-Aesthetic." *Biography* 27(1):163-202.

Felman, Shoshana and Dori Laub. 1992. *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. New York: Routledge.

Fischer, Sybille. 2015. "Atlantic Ontologies: On Violence and Being Human." *Caribbean Rasanblaj* 12(1), http://hemisphericinstitute.org/hemi/fr/emisferica-121-caribbean-rasanblaj/fischer

Fortun, Kim. 2012. "Ethnography in Late Industrialism." *Cultural Anthropology* 27(3):446-464.

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Culture*. New York: Basic Books.

Gell, Alfred. 1992. *Anthropology of Time: Cultural Constructions of Temporal Maps and Images*. Oxford: Berg Press.

Gordon, Avery. 2008. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Gray, Obika. 2004. *Demeaned but Empowered: The Social Power of the Urban Poor in Jamaica*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

Greenhouse, Carol. 1996. *At A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Grosz, Elizabeth. 2005. *Time Travels: Feminism, Nature, Power*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Grosz, Elizabeth. 1999. "Thinking the New: Of Futures Yet Unthought." In *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory, and Futures*, Ed. Elizabeth Grosz, pp. 15-28. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Harriott, Anthony (Ed.). 2004. *Understanding Crime in Jamaica: New Challenges for Public Policy*. Mona: University of the West Indies Press.

Jackson, Shona. 2012. *Creole Indigeneity: Between Myth and Nation in the Caribbean*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Jaffe, Rivke. 2013. "The Hybrid State: Crime and Citizenship in Urban Jamaica." *American Ethnologist* 40(4):734-748.

Keeling, Kara. 2005. "Passing for Human: *Bamboozled* and Digital Humanism." *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 15(1):237-250.

Larkin, Brian. 2013. "The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42:327-343.

Lazar, Sian. 2014. "Historical Narrative, Mundane Political Time, and Revolutionary Moments: Coexisting Temporalities in the Lived Experience of Social Movements." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 20(S1):91-108.

Leach, Edmund. 1961. *Rethinking Anthropology*. London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 22. London: Athlone Press.

Lim, Bliss Cua. 2009. *Translating Time: Cinema, the Fantastic, and Temporal Critique*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Maragh, G. G. (Leonard Howell). 2007[1935]. *The Promised Key*. Location unknown: Forgotten Books.

Mbembe, Achille. 2001. *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

McAllister, Carlota. 2013. "Testimonial Truths and Revolutionary Mysteries." In *War by Other Means: Aftermath in Post-Genocide Guatemala*, Eds. Carlota McAllister and Diane M. Nelson, pp. 93-117. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Mintz, Sidney. 1996. "Enduring Substances, Trying Theories: The Caribbean Region as Oikoumene." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2(2):289–312.

Miyazaki, Hirokazu. 2004. *Method of Hope: Anthropology, Philosophy, and Fijian Knowledge*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Munasinghe, Viranjini. 2001. *Callaloo or Tossed Salad?: East Indians and the Cultural Politics of Identity in Trinidad*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Munn, Nancy. 1992. "The Cultural Anthropology of Time: A Critical Essay." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21:93-123.

Munroe, Trevor. 1972. *The Politics of Constitutional Democratization, 1944-1962*. Mona: Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.

Murray-Román, Jeannine. 2015. "Rereading the Diminutive: Caribbean Chaos Theory in Antonio Benítez-Rojo, Edouard Glissant, and Wilson Harris." *small axe* 46:20-36.

Perry, Keisha-Khan. 2013. *Black Women Against the Land Grab: The Fight for Racial Justice in Brazil*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Pettersburgh, Rev. Fitz Balintine. 2003[1926]. *The Royal Parchment Scroll of Black Supremacy*. Chicago and Kingston: Frontline Books and Miguel Lorne Publishers.

Povinelli, Elizabeth. 2011. *Economies of Abandonment: Social Belonging and Endurance in Late Liberalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Price, Huw. 2012. "Does Time-Symmetry Imply Retrocausality? How the Quantum World says 'Maybe.'" *Studies in History and Philosophy of Modern Physics* 43(1):75-83.

Price, Huw and Ken Wharton. 2016. "Dispelling the Quantum Spooks: A Clue that Einstein Missed?" In *The Time of Nature, the Nature of Time*, Eds. Christophe Bouton and Philippe Huneman. New York: Springer.

Price, Richard. 2002[1983]. *First Time: The Historical Vision of an African-American People*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Puri, Shalini. 2014. *The Grenada Revolution in the Caribbean Present: Operation Urgent Memory*. New York: Palgrave.

Ralph, Laurence. 2014. *Renegade Dreams: Living Through Injury in Gangland Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rosario, Melissa. 2013. *Ephemeral Spaces, Undying Dreams: Social Justice Struggles in Contemporary Puerto Rico*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Cornell University.

Ross, Fiona. 2003. *Bearing Witness: Women and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa*. London: Pluto Press.

Scott, David. 2004. *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Simpson, George E. 1955. "Political Cultism in West Kingston." *Social and Economic Studies* 4(2):133-149.

Sives, Amanda. 2010. *Elections, Violence, and the Democratic Process in Jamaica, 1944-2007*. Kingston: Ian Randle Press.

Slocum, Karla. 2006. *Free Trade and Freedom: Neoliberalism, Place and Nation in the Caribbean*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Smith, Christen. 2016. *Afro-Paradise: Blackness, Violence and Performance in Brazil*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Snead, James. 1981. "On Repetition in Black Culture." *Black American Literature Forum* 15(4):146-154.

Stack, Carol. 1974. *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community*. New York: Harper and Row.

Stone, Carl. 1980. *Democracy and Clientelism in Jamaica*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Thomas, Deborah A. 2011. *Exceptional Violence: Embodied Citizenship in Transnational Jamaica*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Trouillot, Michel Rolph. 1995. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon.

Trouillot, Michel Rolph. 1992. "The Caribbean Region: An Open Frontier in Anthropological Theory." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21:19–42.

Wagley, Charles. 1957. "Plantation America: A Culture Sphere." *Caribbean Studies: A Symposium*, Ed. Vera Rubin, pp. 3-13. Mona: Institute for Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies.

Waterston, Alisse. 1999. *Love, Sorry, and Race: Destitute Women in a Manhattan Residence*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Weheliye, Alexander G. 2014. *Habeas Viscus: Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Williams, Brackette. 1991. *Stain on My Name, War in My Veins: Guyana and the Politics of Cultural Struggle*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Wright, Michelle. 2015. *Physics of Blackness: Beyond the Middle Passage Epistemology*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Wynter, Sylvia. 2003. "Un-settling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation." In "Coloniality's Persistence," Ed. Greg Thomas, Special Issue of *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3(3):257-338.

ENDNOTES

[1] For example, for the Brazilian context, see Smith 2016; Perry 2013.
[2] Working in an Australian context, Beth Povinelli has fleshed this out in the following way: "This division of tense within the social fabric of emerging settler nationalism bifurcated the sources and grounds of social belonging in such a way that the relationship between settler and Native/Indigenous was transformed from a mutual implication in the problem of prior occupation to a hierarchical relationship between two modes of prior occupation, one oriented to the future, the other to the past. As the governance of the prior crossed the truth-value of the future anterior and past perfect, the priority of the human as ultimate signature of liberal democratic sovereignty was detached from the priority of the descent of persons even as the priority of certain persons, colonizers, was safeguarded against the priority of others, the colonized. And this division became available to be applied to other grounds within the nation and against the nation" (2011:36).
[3] See Thomas 2011, chapter 5, for a more extensive discussion on Rastafari claims to indigeneity.
[4] See Brackette Williams 1991. See also Munasinghe for a parallel discussion of how "contributions" are reckoned in relation to nationalist belonging, with Indo-Trinidadians expressing their understand that they "saved" Trinidad by working in the cane fields when Afro-Trinidadians turned away from this kind of labor (2001). Kevin Birth has linked notions of time to these sorts of emic understandings of ethnic difference, but my sense is that he doesn't do enough to historicize these notions of difference in relation to modalities of governance after emancipation (2007).
[5] The persistence of (and sometime governmental support for) peasant production complicates this picture a bit, as this mode of production has largely been seen (by peasants as well as missionaries) as the motor of respectable personhood and the basis for an independently-minded and responsible citizenry (for example, see Slocum 2006).
[6] For foundational works on time as multiple and socially constructed, see Durkheim 1915; Leach 1961; Bloch 1977; Geertz 1973; Gell 1992; and Munn 1992. For the relationship of temporal hierarchies to imperialism and anthropological epistemologies, see Boellstorff 2007; Fabian 1992; Greenhouse 1996; and Clifford and Marcus 1986.
[7] This is additionally how people become increasingly blamed for their own marginalization through such means as the ever-recurring "culture of poverty" discourse (Stack 1974; Waterston 1999).
[8] Charles Wagley first used this term in order to demarcate a broad circum-Caribbean "culture sphere" by a similar history of imperialism, plantation slavery, and subsequent racialized labor migration (1957).
[9] At his trial, Coke pled guilty to charges of racketeering and distribution of marijuana and cocaine on 30 August 2011, and he was sentenced in June 2012 to 23 years, which he is currently serving in a medium-security prison in South Carolina.
[10] There is a robust (and growing) body of literature on garrison communities and "tribal politics" in Jamaica. See, for example, Munroe 1972; Stone 1980; Harriott 2004; Gray 2004; Charles 2002; Jaffe 2013; and Sives 2010.
[11] Derrida 1994; Mbembe 2001; Alexander 2005.
[12] Certainly, there is a critical history within philosophy that has also argued these points, and quantum physics would therefore seem to give some experimental legitimacy to Bergson's notion of duration, among other conceptual innovations. One of the biggest proponents of

retrocausality is, indeed, a philosopher Huw Price (see Price 2012, Price and Wharton 2016), and he works closely with theoretical physicists like Ken Wharton at San Jose State University. See also the work of Mark van Raamsdonk at the University of British Columbia, and Sean Carroll at California Institute of Technology. A familiarity with quantum physics is useful when reading their publications, but Karen Barad's recent book (2007) provides important background understanding for many of the experiments that are used to buttress the quantum view of the world. See also Carroll 2010. I thank Larry Gladney for pointing out many of these references and scholars, and encouraging me to delve into both popular and scholarly variants of their work.
[13] For a review on current work on infrastructure, see Larkin 2013.
[14] Wilson Harris and Edouard Glissant were, like Benítez-Rojo, drawn to quantum physics during the 1970s. In it, they found a way to talk about the transnational relations that forged and reproduced the Caribbean, and came to feel that "the tenets of chaos theory, specifically nonlinear change and the coexistence of order the disorder, best explain[ed] the formation of Caribbean spaces and culture" (Murray-Román 2015:21).
[15] Scott's (2014) recent analysis of temporality vis-à-vis the collapse of the Grenada Revolution argues that temporal disjunctures live on in the aftermaths of political catastrophe, and that these disjunctures dislodge what had been, for the revolutionary generation, a taken for granted relationship between history and time. No longer is time experienced as linear and redemptive – itself, as many have noted, a product of liberal modernity – where more perfect futures are brought into being through the realization of a political project that would, ironically, mark the end of history. Instead, in the wake of revolutionary failure, that generation experiences time traumatically as stalled in the present, as a cyclical loop without expectation of change. For them, as Scott writes, "the past is a wound that will not heal" (2014:13). The new hegemony of neoliberalism, however, has produced a "post"-revolutionary generation that is less enmeshed in the liberal temporalities that organized political time before them, and therefore more immune to the sense of vulnerable longing that characterizes their parents' sense of time. This means that their histories of the present are "disconnected," as Scott writes, "from the temporal structure of revolutionary desire" (2014:123). For Scott, the younger generation of Grenadians about whom he is writing can blast open new futures because they are able to *act* in the present, unfettered by the expectations of a global left and a politics of non-alignment.
[16] This notion repositions the arguments about prior-ness that appear in a number of texts including Ivan Van Sertima's *They Came Before Columbus* (1976), or George James's *Stolen Legacy* (1954), texts that are rooted in pre-capitalist pattern of mobility and that present Europeans as sticky-fingered "Johnny-Come-Latelys" to African civilization, skill, and discovery.
[17] This last point might seem paradoxical to readers familiar with Jamaica, as the more usual analysis is that Tivoli Gardens, having been more or less protected from the normal processes of state contraction and structural adjustment, is now subject to the same deprivations that have plagued the experiences of ordinary Jamaicans over the past three decades. However, the point I am trying to make is more Benjaminian, that the exceptionality of the garrison is actually constitutive of politics in Jamaica, not just in downtown Kingston – though residents there might feel it the most keenly, but everywhere.
[18] These are not events in the sense Veena Das illustrates, in which the event creates new temporal divisions (before X, after X), and therefore produces a new ontological reality. Instead, these are violent events that illuminate the ongoing forms of structural and symbolic violence out

of which exceptional events occasionally erupt, which is the other trajectory of Das's argument (2007).

[19] While this may be a hegemonic position within Tivoli Gardens circa 2012, 2013, 2014, we also know it is subject to change, and, moreover, that there are institutionalized spaces within the community (such as churches) that are encouraging alternative stances by, for instance, supporting the development of youth and women's leadership (personal communication with Kijan Bloomfield, 27 May 2015, a Ph.D. student in the Department of Religious Studies at Princeton University who is conducting important research on the ways spirituality operates within conditions of violence).

[20] This point, I admit, is aspirational though not obvious, and is rooted in a commitment to what Avery Gordon describes as follows: "When you have a profane illumination of these matters, when you know in a way you did not know before, then you have been notified of your involvement. You are *already* involved, implicated, in one way or another, and this is why, if you don't banish it, or kill it, or reduce it to something you can already manage, when it appears to you, the ghost will inaugurate the necessity of doing something about it" (Gordon 2008:205-206).

[21] Critiques of the juridical limitations of truth and reconciliation commissions are numerous, but see especially McAlister 2013, Ross 2003, Feldman 2004.

[22] Karen Barad argues something similar in this regard: "Memory is not a record of a fixed past that can ever be fully or simply erased, written over, or recovered (that is, taken away or taken back into one's possession, as if it were a thing that can be owned). And remembering is not a replay of a string of moments, but an enlivening and reconfiguring of past and future that is larger than any individual. Remembering and recognizing do not take care of, or satisfy, or in any other way reduce one's responsibilities; rather, like all intra-actions, they extend the entanglements and responsibilities of which one is a part" (2007:lx).

[23] I am using "endurance" here in the sense that Elizabeth Povinelli mobilizes the term to mean the ongoing "cruddiness" of living through socio-political abandonment, while still developing alternative projects of sociality, the potential for "living otherwise" (2011:110). This endurance is, in some ways, similar to what Sian Lazar has called "attritional time," where activists in Bolivia and Argentina continue on the "day to day of political life when there is no resolution in sight to a particular conflict or problem" (2014:90-91). In many ways, this is the kind of "hope" Hiro Miyazaki finds undergirding the long (and often unsuccessful) struggle of Suvavou people as they attempt to attain ancestral rights to land in Fiji (2004). Lazar opposes "attritional time" to "historical time," the ways activists position their action in relation to a longer history of struggle. Yarimar Bonilla has written extensively about this for Guadeloupe in terms of non-sovereign articulations of political programs being tied to histories of resistance against slavery (2015), and Melissa Rosario has also argued for a sense of political action as praxis, one in which the process of it is as critical to consciousness as the realization of its goals (2013).