

Chapter submitted to Westwood, S and Williams, J (1996) (eds) *Imagining Cities: Scripts, Signs and Memory* London: Routledge

**Migrant Spaces and Settlers' Time:
Forming and De-forming an Inner City**

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Space-time inner city

30 September 1995

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**Migrant Spaces and Settlers' Time:
Forming and De-forming an Inner City**

This chapter critically examines current sociological and geographical conceptualisations of space and time in relation to the processes which have formed an inner city area of Leeds, England. This area, known as Chapeltown, contains the majority of the city's black residents. The chapter analyses some of the ways in which diverse human agents historically created and continue to use this territory. Simultaneously, it investigates the impact on social relationships of disparate senses of time among the various historical and present occupiers of this space. The overall argument is that, while the effect of global economic forces and the time-space shifts identified as characterising the condition of postmodernity are clearly evident in this locale, and signs of fragmentation and ghettoisation abound, the diversity of the population, and the rootedness of many residents in modern and traditional time-space, provides a social coherence, and a resource for resistance, for many of the people who live in the area.

NAMING AND PLACING THE TERRITORY

Visitors to Leeds will only find Chapeltown if they acquire 'local knowledge'. This knowledge - held by anyone who has been in the city for even the shortest time - places Chapeltown quite precisely on the north east edge of the city, bounded by major roads, with Chapeltown Road bisecting it in two. On the largest scale maps, Potternewton is the name given to this area. Richard Hoggart's description of his childhood around Potternewton Lane, and his characterisation of this area today as 'a kerb-crawlers magnet [with] many of its houses in multiple occupancy' (Hoggart 1986:36) reflects the gap between the maps and local knowledge. Large-scale maps include the word 'Chapeltown' within an area of the city which both the maps and local knowledge call Chapel Allerton. Sack has demonstrated that in pre-modern times 'even the more abstract calendars and maps of imperial officials were laden with mythical-ritualistic meanings' (Sack 1986:77). Harvey states that this changed with the Enlightenment. 'Maps, stripped of all elements of fantasy and religious belief . . . had become abstract and strictly functional systems for the factual ordering of phenomena in space' (Harvey 1989: 249).

But the modern map of Leeds is not 'abstract and strictly functional' when it comes to ordering the space popularly known as Chapeltown. If you can find the name on a map you go to a different place from that dictated by local knowledge. The map is not a simple 'instrument of power/knowledge' (Gordon 1980:74); Foucault later agreed that 'the plan is not always an account of relations of power', saying: 'No. Fortunately for the human imagination, things are a little more complicated than that' (Rabinow 1986:255). It is the human imagination which is interfering with our modern mapping,

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for all its claims to scientific accuracy. The large-scale map of Leeds bears a pre-modern imprint of a 'delicate green, commonly known as Chapel-Town Moor' (Thoresby 1816) in the heart of contemporary Chapel Allerton. As Ralph Ellison (1952) famously demonstrated, black people are rendered invisible by whites. The smaller scale Leeds' maps erase Chapeltown altogether. But while the cartographers make Chapeltown invisible, the myth-makers insist on re-presenting the black residents of the territory everyone in Leeds knows as Chapeltown. This 'visible invisibility' - the contrast between popular vision and cartographic blindness is maintained by the mix of social motivations which come into play as soon as popularly-named Chapeltown becomes the topic of discursive manoeuvre, with the various representational categories reflecting the values and ideologies of 'race' and sex held by their proponents.

Nor can science provide us with objective data about the people who are resident in popularly-named Chapeltown. In no time at all the 1991 census on a CD-Rom will produce an enumeration district analysis of the area known as Chapeltown. The area contains almost 14,000 residents, of whom 28% are African, Caribbean or Black Other, 28% are south Asian and 39% are white. Overall unemployment stands at 32%: 29% of white men, 32% of south Asian men and 36% of black men are registered as unemployed. But, in inner city areas throughout the country, unknown numbers evaded the surveillance of the census (Simpson and Darling 1994), and a small but significant group of men neither engage in waged work nor register as unemployed. A figure of 20% for female unemployment provides no useful information about the situation of women in an area in which, for a large section of the population, domestic relationships are prescribed by religious and patriarchal requirements, rather than material need. Maps and census statistics cannot be taken literally. The plot thickens when we turn to sociologists' and geographers' efforts to think about the conceptual problems we face in analysing the inner city.

THEORISING SPACE

Keith and Pile have rightly criticised the jumble of metaphors and concepts which threaten to engulf our discussion of space. After listing a bewildering variety of terms, they conclude that 'it is rarely clear whether the space invoked is 'real', 'imaginary', 'symbolic', a 'metaphor-concept' or some relationship between them or something else entirely' (Keith and Pile 1993:1-2). The confusion seems to arise from Lefebvre's pioneering effort to establish 'space' as a material force: 'Space has its own reality in the current mode of production and society, with the same claims and in the same global process as merchandise, money, and capital' (Lefebvre 1979:286). Sayer has condemned Lefebvre's 'sloppy statements' on space, accusing him of using 'space' when he should use 'territory' (Sayer:1985:60), but the real danger in some of Lefebvre's statements lies in his tendency to reify 'space'. Thus, when Lefebvre tells us that '[t]his formal and quantified abstract space negates all differences, those that come from nature

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and history as well as those that come from the body, ages, sexes, and ethnicities' (Lefebvre 1979:290) we are tempted to believe that 'space' has some power of its own, independent of the agents who occupy it. The understanding of space as *social space*, 'permeated with social relations', 'shaped and moulded from historical and natural elements' (Lefebvre 1976:31) is extremely helpful, so long as it is not compressed into a reified and deterministic shorthand. While it might be right to argue that '[t]he spatial is *partly* constituted by the social, but is reducible neither to natural or social constituents' (Sayer 1985:59), the most interesting topic for sociology is that element of space which is constituted by social activity. As Sayer (1985:52) argues: 'Space makes a difference, but only in terms of the particular causal powers and liabilities constituting it' - a view reinforced by John Urry (Urry 1985:28). Ed Soja, however, in his enthusiasm for Lefebvre, appears to have rejected Sayer's and Urry's strictures. He presents us with the kind of tautology that characterises some of the current writing on space: 'Spatiality is a substantiated and recognisable social product, part of a 'second nature' which incorporates as it socialises and transforms both physical and psychological spaces' (Soja 1989:129). Soja defines 'spatiality' as 'socially produced space' (Soja 1989:80 footnote), and he offers a definition of 'second nature' on the same page. Employing these definitions, we see that Soja is arguing that

Spatiality [i.e. socially produced space] is a substantiated and recognisable social product, part of a 'second nature' [i.e. the transformed and socially concretised spatiality [[socially produced space]] arising from the application of purposeful human labour] which incorporates as it [i.e. socially produced space] socialises and transforms both physical and psychological spaces.

This seems to amount to the notion that social space produces more social space, which, apart from being circular, is no help whatsoever in understanding the social processes involved.

But the concept of 'spatiality' is contagious and it appears in Keith's informative study of riots and policing in London in the 1980s:

'These locations [Notting Hill, Hackney, Brixton] were not neutral spaces in which riots occurred. Instead they were resonant with contested meanings; the social relations of conflict between the police and the local Black communities were sedimented through time in particular places lending these locations distinctive senses of "spatiality". The events of 1981 in these three places were only comprehensible if we understand the manner in which this sense of spatiality mediated antagonism. Such spatiality draws on the symbolic readings of these locations, but these readings were never transparent or universal; they

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were sites of political struggle, constitutive rather than incidental to the patterns of violent conflict' (Keith 1993:154).

Keith opens this part of his discussion with a quote from Lefebvre ('Space is political . . . the production of space can be likened to the production of any particular kind of merchandise') but he seems to have adopted Soja's notion of 'spatiality' in an effort to understand police-black relations in the urban setting. What sense can we make of the suggestion that these conflictual relationships have been 'sedimented' with the result that the locations in which they have occurred have a distinct sense of 'socially produced space' about them? And that these events can 'only' be understood if we employ the concept of 'spatiality'? Some parts of most British cities are staked out by people (black and white) whose relationships with the police are characterised by persistent antagonism, and both the police and the occupants of those territories behave in routinised ways when they come into contact in that territory. But it confuses matters to conceptualise such processes in terms of 'socially produced space'. This formulation fixes the territory, the actions and the relationships too permanently. Moreover, it is not 'spatiality' which mediates the antagonism.

The land on which these interactions are taking place is better thought of in Giddens' (1984:375) terms of 'locale' (a 'physical region involved as the setting of interaction, having definite boundaries which help to concentrate interaction in one way or another'), because this concept neatly captures the idea that it is the relationships between people in that place which interest us. It is what people do that counts, and using 'spatiality' in Soja's sense of the word detracts our attention from the particular strategies employed by the police and the occupants of the area. Sack's (1986:19) notion of territoriality, which he defines as: 'the attempt by an individual or a group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographical area', captures these processes far more effectively than Soja's 'spatiality'. The wars of position employed by police and their antagonists in their efforts to control a territory will partly depend on their respective understandings of the lie of the land (an instructive topographical metaphor) and the balance of forces in any particular territory. To direct our attention to 'socially produced space' as the intermediary in this process is to mis-direct us from human agency to an ill-defined structure.

Rob Shields has theorised the way that territories can be 'read'. He is concerned with 'the logic of common spatial perceptions accepted in a culture . . . the recordings of geographic spaces [in which] sites become associated with particular values, historical events and feelings'. Sites become symbols of good and evil and states of mind, 'zones of the social imaginary'. He directs attention to 'the pre-constructed cultural discourses about sites' and the 'questions of power which lie behind conventions' (Shields:1991:29-

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31). But he moves into a more structuralist vein when he defines 'social spatialisation' as:

the fundamental coordination of perceptions and understandings which allows for the sociality of everyday interaction and the creation of durable social forms and institutions . . . As a fundamental system of spatial divisions (eg subject-object, inclusion-exclusion) and distinctions (eg near-far, present-absent, civilised-natural) spatialisation provides part of the necessary social coordination of perceptions to ground hegemonic systems of ideology and practice (Shields 1991:46).

Social spatialisation manifests itself in conversation where places are referred to metaphorically, and where place-images are generated through over-simplification, stereotyping and labelling (Shields 1991:46-7). The link with Soja's notion of spatiality is clear, but Shields' approach has a clear empirical focus on the precise mechanisms by which a territory acquires social definitions. If Lefebvre, at his best, ensures that we think of territory not as the physical elements of which it is composed, but as the product of human labour and social meaning, Shields (cued at least partly by Lefebvre) directs us to consider the impact of the discourses which people construct in their effort to make sense of locales. While 'spatialisation' might be a concept which is now suffused with too many meanings to bear the weight that Shields wishes it to carry, the need to analyse the multiple representations which people attach to certain locales is well established. In the discussion which follows of the settlement in Chapeltown of Jewish and black people, the underlying spatial practices of 'inclusion-exclusion' will prove highly relevant.

THEORISING TIME

In everyday speech, many residents of an urban area of black settlement would readily comprehend a phrase such as "Black space" or "Black time" in terms of their effort to forge discourses and practical activities in a particular part of town which are, to some extent, 'free' from the discourses and practices which they associate with a coercive white power structure. Establishing nearly autonomous territory is the conscious aim of all sorts of actors in the black inner city - in churches, mosques, temples, community centres, clubs, pubs, and in certain 'open' spaces. This is the sense in which I might use the term 'Black space'. Similarly, it is likely that they would respond knowingly to Homi Bhabha's 'dialectic of various temporalities - modern, colonial, postcolonial, 'native'" (Bhabha:1990:303) as soon as his proposition that different cultures apprehend time in different ways, and that these contrasting senses of time often conflict, became clear. But, just as the differential meanings of space need to be analysed, and the diversity of practices that go into the staking out of these places must be recognised, so too does Bhabha's formulation of time need to be scrutinised.

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Lash and Urry present a resumé of sociological approaches to time, highlighting Durkheim's argument that 'time in human societies is abstract and impersonal and not simply individual . . . it is socially organised'. Citing Evans-Pritchard on the absence of a sense of time as a resource among the Nuer, and Bourdieu's demonstration that the Kabyle have constructed a social-time system which is hostile to clock-time, they argue that modernity is characterised by a different approach to time. 'Clock-time is central to the organization of modern societies and of their constitutive social activities. Such societies are centred on the emptying out of time (and space) and the development of an abstract, divisible and universally measurable calculation of time' (Lash and Urry:1994:224-5). Bhabha is perhaps getting at these sorts of distinctions between societies in his notion of 'modern' and 'native' time. But Lash and Urry take the discussion further than this. They acknowledge Giddens' contribution to the analysis of time in late modernity - in particular his thesis of 'time-space distancing' - but, argue that he has missed another important feature:

Giddens' account . . . does not sufficiently address a further characteristic of modern societies. It is not merely that time (and space) are disembedded from social life, but that time (and space) have developed as independent resources which can be manipulated and exploited by dominant social forces (and resisted of course). The emergence of time and space as independent resources is one of the defining characteristics of modern society' (Lash and Urry:1994:235)

This idea that time is a resource to be manipulated is borne out in some practices in the black inner city - a point to which I will return. In drawing attention to the uses of time, we move away from the simplistic notion that, within any one type of society (eg post-colonial society), there might be a single sense of time. However, Lash and Urry want us to make an even more radical break with the existing sociology of time than this. They propose a move towards a more aesthetically sensitive discussion of time, quoting Irigaray's view that 'your body remembers. There's no need for you to remember'. This provokes an approach to conceptualisations of time in the black inner city via people's efforts to ward off the effects of age and the approach of death through bodily transformations of skin, flesh, muscle and hair. Further investigations in this area would be highly productive, but there is no room for them here.

CONSTRUCTING CHAPELTOWN'S SPACE

In applying these theoretical insights to a discussion of space in the main area of black settlement in Leeds, I am going to pick out a few social practices from a long list of possible examples. My main focus is on the human interventions in the landscape which resulted in the mixture of buildings, roads and 'open spaces' that characterise the territory now. This will substantiate, in broad terms, Lefebvre's point that this land has been

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politically constructed. I will trace some of the contrasting representations of this locale that have been established over the past two hundred years. Over the past fifty years, these representations are inextricably linked with the settling in this territory of migrants - Jewish people, Caribbeans and south Asians in particular, and I will make some preliminary remarks about the perceptions of space and time that those groups might have brought with them. More briefly, I will discuss the effects of the recent changes in the circulation of money and of information in the daily life of the area. This will provide a vehicle for an argument about the implications of globalisation on the space-time of the city of Leeds, and on (popularly defined) Chapeltown in particular.

Early history

In 1344 William de Brugges, John Stuule, William Manlivey, Robert Raisin and William de Killingbeck conspired to steal the land which includes Chapeltown. Archivists have demonstrated that the original document of sale is a forgery (HCRO D/EP T4466). This is the first record in a long history of chicanery over the territory we call Chapeltown. By the end of the eighteenth century ownership of this land is a matter of dispute. Two of the major landowners have, by now, acquired peerages and between 1767 and 1801 Lords Cowper and Mexborough are in and out of court disputing who has legal entitlement to the land each of them occupies. Behind the lawyers' machinations lay physical violence. Thomas Stanton, one of Lord Mexborough's people, is in court on 20th July 1776 charged with entering the 50 acre farm of Richard Sykes, a tenant of Cowper's, and 'ejecting him with force of arms'. (WYAS MEX 838).

But, but the middle of nineteenth century, the dominance over this land by the rich is established and their boundaries fixed in law. Ownership of most of the land to the west of Chapeltown Road is held by Lord Mexborough and Earl Cowper has most of the land to the east (up to and well beyond Roundhay Road). The nouveau-riche Mr Brown has most of the rest of the area we call Chapeltown, and much more besides (Ward 1960). This control of large swathes of land by only three people has had a major impact on the way that the territory was divided and sold into building plots in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The archives of Brown's and Cowper's papers contain documents which attest to their keen interest in obtaining the best possible price for the land and they insisted on selling large plots so that substantial, middle class homes would be built. They achieved this aim in the 1870's, 80's and 90's despite Cowper and Mexborough both failing to find buyers when they put land on the market in 1845 (Treen 1982:170). It seems likely that the transformation of this territory from farming to housing was stimulated by a different kind of material intervention in the landscape - the arrival of the horse-drawn tramway in Chapeltown in 1875. The road, now called Chapeltown Road, has its earliest traces on a c1580 map, and it was extensively rebuilt as the Leeds- Harrogate turnpike road in 1752 (Treen 1982:162). The 1876 Street Directory shows that, in the south east corner of Chapeltown, Spencer Place, Louis

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Street and Leopold Street have been developed, as has a small part of the centre of the territory (Newton Grove and part of Reginald Terrace). The Spencer Place residents' occupations show us a middle-class suburb-in-the-making: engineer, upholsterer, leather manufacturer, cigar merchant, corn-factor, draper, merchant, manager, solicitor, wine-merchant, Reverend and the like. Over the next thirty years, almost all the land will be developed for middle class housing (Holmes 1876).

In Chapeltown, the sometimes abrupt changes in housing style reflect both the pattern of the sixteenth century field lay-outs (Ward 1962:158) and the strictly commercial decisions of the late nineteenth century estate agents and solicitors. Ford and Warren, estate agents, 'rather jumped' at the offer of one shilling a yard for a strip of land 'which would be very difficult to sell' (WYAS BEP 3rd January 1896) no doubt because it was so close to a stream. The houses built there were some of the smallest terraces in Chapeltown. (When the Chapeltown Community Association campaigned for their demolition in the mid 1970's the stream was running up the walls of the houses closest to it.) Ford and Warren bemoan the failure to control every aspect of the building in the area. One decision, they complain, 'removes all line of demarcation between the better houses and the cheaper ones which is most necessary if we are to sell our land to best advantage' (3rd January 1896). The landed gentry stamped their class upon this land with their original acquisitions, by fair means or foul. Now, when they come to realise their profit, consciousness of intra-class status demarcations prevalent in Victorian England is inscribed in the landscape of Chapeltown.

A novel published in 1929 provides an almost anthropological portrait of the formation of a middle class in this suburb between around 1880 and 1920 (Stowell 1929). This is a curiously coded work. The name of each street in today's Chapeltown can be 'read off' the street names used in the book if you have detailed knowledge of the history of the area. Only in the past five years has the historic (pre-suburbanisation) name for part of the area - Button Hill - found its way onto a street sign. The novel is called 'The Story of Button Hill'. It has a tone of voice somewhere between ironic critique and reverence for the people and its territory. This is a locale which, until the 1914-18 war, is deeply at ease with itself, conscious of its mission to establish in 'Button Hill' all that is to be admired about the values and lifestyle of its class. Even the invasion of the working classes (living 'in the slum districts of Lambswell [Sheepscar] and Tannersdale [the leather tannery is still in operation], lying like dirty puddles at the bottom of the hill' (Stowell 1929:12)), 'provoked' by pro-Boer Button Hill resident, is easily repelled by the resounding voice of the area's MP and a 'Now, you bounders . . . here's your first bath' counter-attack by hose-wielding local chaps (Stowell 1929:84-92).

We can, therefore, agree with Lefebvre that the processes by which this land has been transformed - particularly evident in the extensive production of bourgeois housing in the late nineteenth century - are intensely political, and reflect the various material

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and ideological aspirations of the landowners, the estate agents and the people who occupied these houses. The claim that this space 'is a product literally filled with ideologies' (Lefebvre 1976:31) might be one way of expressing this point, but it seems to me to suffer from its somewhat abstract formulation. Worse, it might be read as implying that ideologies get cast in stone when they 'fill' space. As we shall see, the relationship between ideology and territory in this locale shifts with alarming rapidity.

By the end of Stowell's account of the neighbourhood - this concept now enters the discussion because, above all, Stowell has established the idea that Button Hill was an area in which 'neighbourly' social relationships were actively created - a discernible sense of decline has set in. He is intensely aware of the connection between physical change and social change. There is a clear 'spatial' dimension to his description of this change. For Stowell, the rot has already set in by 1919 as 'industry' has 'stealthily, insidiously' crept up Chapeltown Road with the conversion of 'three of the larger detached houses' into 'makeshift premises for firms of ready-made clothing manufacturers, wooden sheds being erected indiscriminately over lawns and flower-beds'. In case we do not immediately spot this reference to the Jewish rag-traders moving north from their original area of settlement, we are informed that another house has become 'a Jewish maternity home'. Worse still, further to the south of the territory 'The proletariat, enjoying the first fruits of victory, have invaded [several streets] and are paying fantastic weekly rents' (Stowell 1929:373-4).

Jewish settlements

Eastern European Jewish migrants originally settled (between 1870 and around 1900) in the Leylands (now the site of the West Yorkshire Playhouse in the city centre), then moved a mile or so out to the North Street area, and then, from the 1930s onwards another mile north into Chapeltown. Their entry brought with it considerable prosperity and social organisation. But its original physical location in the Leylands was one of appalling overcrowding and insanitation (Ravetz:1973) and its situation in North Street was no much better, as an interview with Mrs Hassell, a white, Christian woman who often passed through the area in her childhood reveals:

Oh, the pong was terrible. It wasn't these people's fault. They had an up and a down, and a cold water tap, and you could have about ten people living in a house . . . but it wasn't their fault, it was bad sanitation in the streets and that. There were no baths in the houses, they'd use the local baths (Farrar 1988:36).

The move from these warrens of yards, back to backs, makeshift tenements, workshops, pubs and so on which are familiar to all students of nineteenth century working-class housing, into the spacious middle-class houses, with their front and back gardens, their wide streets and two parks marked a major change in the life-styles of Jewish settlers in

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Leeds. By 1956 they had established, according to local journalist Ronald Stott, 'a Little Israel in full working order', with Kosher shops, representative organisations, clubs and 'at least six major synagogues' (Stott 1956). The Jewish presence is visibly established in its built environment. But if Stowell's is an ironic, sympathetic insider's account of this neighbourhood, Stott's is an outsider's account which, for all its respect for the Jews of Leeds, stamps them irredeemably as 'Other'. For Stott, the Jews are a 'transplanted civilisation'. Following the conventional picture of this migration as having been forced by Russian pogroms (a view somewhat undermined by Gartner's (1960) authoritative account), Stott tells us that:

It was natural for them to keep together. For while the Jew moves in the normal life-stream of the place of his adoption, he must often in many things remain slightly apart. He must live as an integral part of his exiled minority whose saga of suffering has taught it that strength and defence can only be found in a close-knit communal life (Stott 1956).

There is no hesitation here over the use of the words 'them' and 'the Jew', but it is these migrants are not overtly criticised for their life-style. This, however, is an extremely complex text which is open to several readings. Jewish 'difference' may be explained (as a response to persecution), or it may be being signalled as a highly problematic:

Leeds Jewry, while often giving service to the city, remains an outpost if an ancient civilisation, loyal to the age-old doctrines, precepts, customs and beliefs of the race - its faith undimmed and undoubted by the passage of centuries by wanderings, by persecution (Stott:1956).

This may suggest that Jewish people 'often' give service to the city, but their prime loyalty is to their 'ancient civilisation'; they will never really serve the city, "like we do" because they are primarily devoted to their 'race'. Zygmunt Bauman has argued that Christianity endowed the Jews with a 'sinister fascination', lacking 'unconditional loyalty' and symbolising 'anomaly and aberration' (Bauman 1989: 38-9). These are the assumptions underlying Stott's journalism. His biologically absurd notion that Jewish people constitute a 'race' reminds us of another part of the story of Leeds Jewry. Mrs Hassell chose to recall that "people talk about racialism now, but they want to know what they [Jewish people] went through" (Farrar 1988:36). Anti-semitism found its spatially-defined targets: towards the end of the first world war gangs would roam the Leylands hurling stones through the windows of Jewish homes, recalled Louis Teeman (Naylor 1975). Even in 1940, the British Union of Fascists, with its vitriolic anti-semitism, could command 722 votes at a Parliamentary by-election in the Leeds North East constituency (of which Chapeltown is a part) (Benewick 1972:292). In Stott's account, the persecution of Jewish people is a thing of the past, but the sub-text might be that Chapeltown is now the locale of an alien culture and, while it may contain

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admirable features ('if there is one feature more impressive than any other in the Jewish character it is this love of family life'), its presence, architecturally encoded in the territory called Chapeltown, is a cause for concern.

Both aspects of Shields' approach to 'spatialisation' are therefore relevant here. First, Chapeltown is described by both Stowell and Stott in terms which heavily rely on the readers' ability to imaginatively identify with, and abstract meaning from, the shape of its buildings and the uses to which they are put. Secondly, both accounts are predicated upon an 'us' and 'them' binary opposition - a 'self'-'other', 'inclusion'-'exclusion' categorisation - which is presented in such 'taken-for-granted' terms that we are justified in assuming that this is a structuring category for the authors and, presumably, for the majority of their readers. With the advent of a novel and journalism about Chapeltown, we have texts which allow us to analyse the construction of representations of the residents and the territory, crucial moves in the social production of the area called Chapeltown. I am using the concept of 'representation' here as a reference to 'the process and the product of making signs stand for their meanings (O'Sullivan et al 1994:265). Lefebvre's reference to 'spaces of representation' as the conceptualisation of space more-or-less conforms to this definition of representation. Lefebvre, somewhat obscurely, uses the term 'representational space' to convey the idea of 'lived space' (Lefebvre:1991:40). I shall confine 'representation' to the encoding of social meanings in discourse.

Black settlers

As Jewish people steadily migrated further north into Moortown, and as migrants from the Caribbean began to occupy these houses from the late 1950s onwards, representations of Chapeltown ceased to exhibit Stott's cautiously phrased concern about the 'otherness' of the residents of this territory. (Some of the following examples are analysed, along with other material, in Farrar (1996).) Two devices seem to be employed in the assertion that black residents are utterly different from whites. First, the locale is mediated as a 'mecca of vice' (Smith 1974) or a "'red light" suburb' (Cooke and Blankley 1977). The association between black people, sex and vice had long been set in the popular imagination by the time it found its way into the government's thinking in the early 1950's. A Cabinet Working Party of 1953 highlighted one police report that there had been 'a marked number of convictions of coloured men for living on the immoral earnings of white women', and then claimed that 'this practice is far more widespread than the few prosecutions indicate' (Carter, Harris and Joshi 1987:10-11). The 'red light', 'mecca of vice' characterisation of Chapeltown indicates the way in which white fantasies can locate themselves in a particular territory. The reports are intent on specifying quite precisely the streets in which fantasy - and, for those that actually stop their cars and make a contract, activity - can take place. Smith's (1974) front-page newspaper report in the Leeds' evening newspaper included both in its headline and its

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opening sentence the street called Hamilton Place, along with a photograph of this otherwise unremarkable stretch of tarmac, paving and buildings. But, despite the headline and photo, Smith's story placed prostitution more widely than in this one street. He interviewed residents of Cowper Street, Louis Street and Francis Street (all within half a mile of Hamilton Place), all of whom confirm the view (originally stated by a Leeds Magistrate) that these streets are teeming with prostitutes ("Sometimes as many as 50 young lasses and they're always busy", said Mr Alphonse Klamec). (Having walked and driven along these streets throughout the 1970s, to the present, I can pitch my impression against Mr Klamec's: I have never seen more than half a dozen 'working girls' at any one time.) Cooke and Blankley (1977), writing for a national paper, were less concerned with street names, but equally interested in representing Chapeltown in terms of its fantasy life and its built environment. Stating where one of the so-called Yorkshire Ripper's victims was found, they wrote: 'This street is in the area's rubble-strewn bedsitter land. Many of the converted Victorian houses are occupied by prostitutes'. The event, and the subsequent torrent of writing and film, which most effectively implanted the representation of Chapeltown as a site of dangerous sexuality, was the succession of murders carried out by Peter Sutcliffe ('The Yorkshire Ripper'). Between 1975 and 1977, Sutcliffe killed six women in the Chapeltown area. Yallop's book about Sutcliffe's career uses the device of imagining Sutcliffe's internal monologue to establish a portrait of Chapeltown's streets, clubs and pubs as polluted and corrupted by women working in the sex industry (Yallop 1981). The power of 'Ripper' saga in enforcing Chapeltown's reputation lies in the silence 'Ripper' narratives have about 'race'. The white public's association of prostitution with black men is never mentioned, so can never be publicly contested, but Chapeltown's blackness underlay its darkest hours.

The second device, consists in the depiction of black settlers as a 'colony within'. During June 1973, a specially designed block featuring a black woman with a black child containing the heading 'THE COLONY WITHIN' introduced each of a series of articles in the Yorkshire Evening Post. The overt purpose of these articles appears to be to provide a forum in which (white) professionals can deploy their expert knowledge on the black citizens of Leeds, alerting (white) citizens to the existence of racial prejudice and the 'quiet unrest that could lead to black revolution' (Naylor 1973). Just as Stott's seemingly sympathetic portrait of Chapeltown's Jewish citizens in the mid-1950s encoded other attitudes, so these articles provide another message. The lead describes Chapeltown as the 'melting pot for immigrants from many lands for many years', reminding readers of the anomalous presence of the Jews in Leeds, and conjuring up a notion of difference 'melting away'. The most telling phrase, however, is the repeated 'colony within', reminding readers of the former status of black subjects within British colonies - and the bloody history of decolonisation. A 'colony within' suggests the loyalty test: instead of difference melting, perhaps white Leeds is experiencing a permanent alien wedge in its midst. The next day's article is headlined 'You can't

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legislate against the heart', providing a clear rebuttal to those who think that prejudice might be eradicated by laws or education.

Representations of Chapeltown which seek to distance themselves from the 'mecca of vice' trope are heavily reliant on reference to the bricks and mortar which constitute the place. Peter Lazenby's (1980) 'Chapeltown - A Special Enquiry' series in the Leeds' paper featured the plight of two families located damp, dangerous and overcrowded council-owned accommodation. But such efforts are few and far between. Those obsessed with deviance repeatedly return to architectural descriptions of the territory. Franks' (1986) damning portrait for the Times includes the obligatory photograph of buildings with boarded up windows. Franks maps the places where the 'rapings, muggings and stabbings' take place, and where you can 'pick up just about any drug you want' with matter-of-fact precision. While the concern with prostitution and housing conditions seems to have slipped out of the media, contemporary moral panic about crime and drugs is given its territorial location in Chapeltown today. Vivek Chaudhary's work shows that even a newspaper which has resisted racist discourses will unquestioningly employ the standard narrative devices of journalism, and exhibit the preconceptions of those for whom the inner city is 'obviously' 'hell' (Chaudhary 1994). Again, Chaudhary spatialises his story extremely precisely around the Hayfield Hotel, a pub/club on Chapeltown Road, ('The pub from hell') and employs a metaphor as though it can be taken as literal. (For a more detailed analysis of this article, see Farrar (1995).)

Territorial control

If all this can be taken as confirmation of Shields' approach to 'spatialisation' as 'the recordings of geographic spaces [in which] sites become associated with particular values, historical events and feelings' (Shields 1991:30), it also has consequences of the kind which Sack summarises as 'territoriality' (Sack 1986:19). Not only is police activity in Chapeltown - perhaps the most overt strategy for controlling residents of the territory - determined at least partly by the 'red-light' metaphor, a more subtle form of control, this time over material resources, has been exerted by building societies in their lending policies for people wishing to purchase property in the area. A research project in the late 1970's found 'significant differences' in lending policies for predominantly white inner city areas compared with those with 'ethnically mixed' populations, with the mixed areas getting less favourable treatment. The effect of the negative representations that we have just examined is made clear by the researchers:

The discriminatory effects of loan decisions do not seem to arise as the result of clear-cut and consistent building society policies . . . [R]ather, they seem to be the end product of subjective attitudes held by housing exchange professionals that 'black areas' are a 'bad risk', and should be avoided, or the 'risks' minimised by offering less favourable terms (Stevens et al 1981:1-2)

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But, if state agencies and public bodies exert their power over this locale, it is important to stress the countervailing influence of Chapeltown's political and social organisations. I have attempted elsewhere (Farrar 1981, 1986, 1992) to demonstrate the effectiveness of a myriad of protest groups over the past twenty five years in their demands for social justice and material resources. The transformation of the physical landscape (in the form of new housing, renovated old houses, community and religious centres, traffic calming measures, constructed play-space, new schools and a health centre) is testimony to the ability of these organisations to get some of their views heard by those who control resources. Their tactics have in some cases been spatial in the most dramatic sense - such as violent street-based confrontations with the police in 1975 and the burning down of several buildings on Chapeltown Road in 1981 (Farrar:1981). In many others, the drama has been less intense, but the organisations have been equally focused on marking out their power in spatial terms by invading the Education Committee's meeting in the Civic Hall (Root Out Racism in Education, 1987-8) and by successive demonstrations along Chapeltown's streets (which I first witnessed in 1971). More recently, the organisers' increased political confidence has been evidenced by decisions to march out of Chapeltown and into the city centre to make a physical presence known to the legal establishment by taking up space outside the main police headquarters, the police Bridewell (part of the Town Hall), the Magistrates' Courts and the Civic Hall (both in protest against police activity: 'Black Direct Action for Equal Rights and Justice', December 1994 and 'Chapeltown Defence Campaign', December 1990).

Territorial control takes another form, which has a fundamental affect on the patterns of sociability within Chapeltown. The media's moral panic about Chapeltown, spatialised, metaphorical and imbued with fantasy as it is, contains a mystified notion of anti-social, pathological actors. While this representation must be deconstructed and resisted, there are groups of young men who use Chapeltown as their territory for activities which contradict the law and break the moral values which underlie neighbourly social relations. While they form a tiny proportion of the total crime in the area, the most socially significant of these activities - because they are experienced bodily - is personal assault with robbery (carried out, according to the media by 'muggers', which, with its unconscious signification of 'niggers', might be read as a code for 'violent black youth'). The location for this activity has been carefully specified by the police. In 1993, there was an average of fourteen robberies of this type per week in the square mile around the lower end of Chapeltown Road - 22% of all the robberies in the whole of West Yorkshire' (Hellawell 1994). While the teenagers responsible for most of these assaults were less than twenty in number, their effect on the ability of Chapeltown's residents to utilise the physical space of the area is immense. Since the jailing of one of their leaders, the number of robberies in division has dropped - but only by 19% (and the precise area concerned is larger than the 'square mile') (Coward:1995).

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The 'square mile' referred to may seem small, but it covers a large number of houses, and the mobile presence of robbers in this area inhibits the movement of people of all ages, colours and both genders. The occupation of the territory at the top of Chapeltown Road, around the Hayfield Hotel, by an older, small group of men specialising in street sales of drugs similarly marks out a territory in which movement by people who neither want to trade with, nor associate with this group is heavily restricted. An urban myth is perpetrated by taxi drivers, who repeatedly tell their customers that they are regularly attacked on Chapeltown Road. The fact that there were only ten such attacks in 1993-4 and twenty three in 1994-5 (Heptinstall:1995) does nothing to allay the fear felt by the drivers, which is transmitted widely, and taken at face-value, in Chapeltown and throughout Leeds. The constituents of this locale name themselves 'Front-Liners', indicating the way that actors employ spatial metaphors in their self-characterisation. Placing themselves in a line, they heighten and mask their visibility (in the front of public gaze, in the face of police telephoto lenses placed at nearby surveillance points) with their particular uniform of hoods and hats. Both the Goffmanesque (Goffman 1971:114) and the structuralist senses of 'front' and 'back' are relevant here. In occupying 'their' space and engaging in their trade so prominently, the Front-Liners disrupt pedestrian traffic in the region of the Hayfield Hotel; while the activities of the street robbers were at their highest point (during 1993-4) many residents were reluctant to walk anywhere at any time. In an area where only 41% of households have a car (OPCS 1991) and where much social intercourse takes place in public spaces, the fear engendered by these activities has enormous consequences for social relationships.

Globalisation: space

This activity, which de-forms the relationships of community in the area, should be understood in the context of global economic restructuring. Unlike their predecessors, these men do not even have the choice of waged, legitimated work. Given decisions they made at an earlier stage - in the classroom, faced, no doubt, with teachers who lacked the material and personal resources to deal positively with them - many of them have excluded themselves from the educational and training centres that exist in Leeds. Global economics are not abstract for them. Contrary to Murray (1990, 1994) and Dennis and Erdos (1992), then, I am stressing the effects of the removal of waged work in a context of economically and racially-structured institutions, rather than of the collapse of the nuclear family, on the young black men of the inner city. But, echoing some of the views of Beatrice Campbell (1993), I would draw attention to the difficulties these men have in constructing their masculinity (Farrar 1994b, 1994c). It should also be stressed that, just as the media infuse their interpretations of the inner city with myth, sociologically informed, close participant observers such as myself, find it extremely hard to claim a firm grasp on the 'real' (Farrar 1994a).

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While global economic forces have contributed to the creation of a small class of criminals in Chapeltown, they have also affected patterns of sociability in the area in more subtle ways. There is evidence that Leeds, having de-industrialised in the 1960s and early 1970s, has suffered less, and re-orientated its economy towards services more successfully, than other cities in Britain (Fazey 1993, Haughton and Whitney 1994). Lash and Urry claim that Leeds, along with Düsseldorf and New York, is a global city which has 'effected a successful transition to a post-industrial economy' (Lash and Urry 1994:152). But, even in a successful city, there are significant areas where there is little or no potential for free-market capitalist enterprise. Lash and Urry (1994:19) argue that: 'Goods, labour, money and information will not flow to where there are no markets . . . [thus] there has been an emptying out of economic space of many institutions'. Since these institutions provide 'spatial, social and cultural governance . . . there is a deficit of institutional regulation and it is followed by an outflow of subjects'. This analysis is not exactly born out in Chapeltown. Economic activity within the area has been significantly reorganised, and the number of small shops, particularly on Roundhay Road, has been drastically reduced. Since shopping, like walking and encountering friends in public places, is a primary mode of sociability, with implications for the normative regulation of everyday life, this depletion of opportunities for social interaction is important. What has happened, however, is that internal norm-setting has been replaced by externally imposed norms of quite a different type. Where ordinary people once regulated each others' lives by their value-laden conversations, they now find themselves regulated by contracts. In the place of the small shops we now find offices for Building Societies, Housing Associations, Solicitors, and extended premises for the Banks. Quite literally, these institutions, by their manipulation of the supply of money or tenancies, hold the power to control their everyday lives to an unprecedented degree. Far from 'emptying out', it is arguable that the global restructuring of the economy of Chapeltown is engendering a process in which the people are 'filled out' with the rules of new commercial and voluntary institutions. Earlier forms of association - casual interactions while shopping - still take place in the corner shops and the main road grocers' shops (mainly run by local Asian traders). But the other growth area in the local economy, the large number of Asian restaurants, seem to provide conviviality mainly for white people who drive into the area (often for a take-away only).

Globalisation: time

The relationships that are established between inner city residents and the new kinds of institutions (such as banks and rent offices) are based on money and information. Both of these are manipulated in time. Black residents of Chapeltown are compelled to operate in a complex time-frame which bears the mark of their (or their parents') former lives in the Caribbean, Asia or Africa. Their transition from migrant to settler is not as simple as that formula makes it sound.

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Space-time inner city

A client's relationship with a Bank, Building Societies, Landlord or Betting Shop is constituted by the agreement to spread financial transactions over long or short periods of time. In agreeing to pay money to a Building Society in the long-term expectation of receiving the deeds to the property at the end of the mortgage period, the client accepts the Society's power to remove his or her family from the property if the contractual agreement is broken. The experience of anxiety, spread out in time, sometimes, apparently, interminably, that goes with this should not be underestimated in a situation in which employment arrangements are subject to the vagaries of a post-industrial economy. In contrast, the immediacy of the potential reward at the Betting Shop must be an attractive option - a response to, and a provocation of, financial anxiety - and it is striking now to see young women using the Bookies on Chapeltown Road. All these transactions are dependent on the rapid and accurate transmission of information inside the institutions and between the institutions and the client. It has been frequently observed that the super-fast transfer of information in digital form along fibre-optic cables has in recent years transformed our experience of space and time.

Not only has the legitimate world of banking, betting and renting been radically changed. Digital information in the cell-net telephone system has transformed another part of the local economy. No longer does the customer for drugs have to search out his or her supplier by knocking on the door of several possible houses, or risk police surveillance or worse by approaching a Front-Liner. He or she simply phones a number and make the connection. The entrepreneur's ability to conquer both space (he or she can remain mobile without limiting his or her trade) and time (he or she can work day and night, and can abolish the distinction between work-time and leisure-time) is enormously enhanced by the simple acquisition of a cell-net phone. Trade can expand dramatically and risks can be cut proportionately. The purchaser conquers the dead time of searching for and waiting for his or her supplier.

This implies an easy transition to post-modern economics by the inner city residents, but the situation is much more variegated and complex. If the 'muggers' are seen as postmodern vagabonds (Farrar:1994c) and the drug-dealers as postmodern deviant entrepreneurs, those who use the modern financial services, the multi-media Bookies and the computerised Housing Associations similarly exhibit characteristics of the old and the new. As migrants, and the children of migrants, they operate with equal facility in multiple time-worlds. When Clinton Cameron, recently arrived from Jamaica, looked out the window of a tailoring factory in the early 1960s and decided to get a job on the buses so that he could see the world (of Leeds), he spatialised his experience, but he, like his compatriots who shifted jobs (changed places) whenever anyone treated them badly (Farrar:1986), also operated in a time frame which was different from the one they had utilised in their countries of origin. This should not be assumed to be a simple 'traditional/ rural'-'industrial' contrast of time-orientations. Most Jamaican migrants had industrial or workshop experience in their countries of origin and even

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Space-time inner city

those from the small island of St Kitts-Nevis (the majority community in Leeds) had experienced the time-frame imposed by sugar-plantations run as a farming industry (and resisted with all the disciplined organisation of the unionised labour movement) (Richards:1989). (Paul Gilroy (1983) establishes the emphatically modern consciousness of diasporic, post-slavery Africans with his concept of 'the black Atlantic'.)

For some south Asian migrants to Chapeltown, it might be the case that the time-frame of traditional society was carried to Britain. The majority of Indians and Pakistanis now resident in the area originated in the Punjab or Mirpur where they worked as small-scale farmers or artisans, and the majority of Bangladeshis had similar occupations in Sylhet. For farmers, time is regulated more by the rise and fall of the sun and the long passage of seasons than by a clock. But there are no reports of difficulty of transition to the clocking-on and clocking-off required by the industrial occupations which they originally filled in Leeds (manufacturing garments or metal goods), nor do today's service sector occupations seem to have any greater time problems with their south Asian workers than their white. It might be the case, however, that time is stretched within the religious practices of Islam and Sikhism (the two main south Asian religions in Chapeltown) in a way that differs from Christianity. Many ritual practices will take place over what seems to a Christian to be a long period of time. If they are not stretched (in the way that weekly acts of worship, and the annual experience of Ramadan are), they may be repeated (as in the five times a day prayer of an orthodox Muslim) in a way which is unfamiliar to all Christians outside the monasteries. While this utilisation of time has limited implications for economic activity (it might make the worker less flexible about how he or she will spend her week-ends and Friday mornings) it is likely to have profound effects on the social organisation of the inner city. The long-term and regular occupation of a place specifically devoted to the belief systems of your own ethnic group, the persistent reinforcing of its structures of religious meaning, and, no doubt equally important, the routinised socialising with fellow members before and after the ritual, will inevitably bind most members more closely with their group. Although there is some evidence that attendance at mosque or temple is not as 'taken-for granted' among young south Asians as it once was, the consensual nature of the activity, with its focus on other-worldly, rather than this-worldly concerns, over considerable periods of time, is a fundamental feature of most people's life in the south Asian communities.

But even if time passes in a different way, and with a different meaning, in the place of worship, the transition to other ways of using time seems to be effortless. South Asian businessmen and women are as digital as anyone, European, Caribbean - whoever has an interest in conforming to the conventions of modernity and postmodernity seems to adopt Greenwich Mean Time with ease. Lash and Urry point out that, nowadays, people are increasingly 'reflexive' in their relationship to time - they are well able to appreciate the rhythms (what I am referring to as the 'time-orientations') of other cultures

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and other periods of history (Lash and Urry:1994:227). In agreeing with this, I would merely point out that, in the inner city, many people do not need to travel, or study history, to gain that understanding: they contain that knowledge within their own conscious and bodily experience, and they act as time-travellers and cultural voyagers in the *durée* of their day.

While Caribbeans came to England well-experienced in modern time, it is undeniable that the 'pace of life' was (and is) faster in Britain than it was (and is today) in the small islands of the Caribbean. This is evidenced today in the conversation of any black person from Leeds who has 'gone home' to St Kitts-Nevis for a holiday. Without exception, they are picked out as 'English' by the high speed at which they walk. Further evidence of shifts in time-orientation lies in the expression 'Black People's Time'. (A parallel phenomenon in the USA is CPT or 'Coloured People's Time'.) The adoption of the imposed time-frame of modernity - the consensually agreed starting and ending time for any activity, regulated by a watch or clock that has a predictable relationship to Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) - is never a straightforward matter in the black inner city. It would be wrong to assume that this is a hangover from a 'less developed' society in the Caribbean, where watches were less available. For a start, the ubiquity of watches in Britain is a relatively recent phenomenon; Caribbean towns and villages have as many public clocks per person as Britain, and the time-discipline of work and school is as long established there as it is in Britain. The use of BPT is better understood as a deliberate act of assertion and recalling of cultural difference. Within the inner city it only poses a problem if some black people have decided to adopt GMT while others are using BPT; this is most likely to occur when an event is taking place which is within the conceptual boundaries of modern, bureaucratic-rational action - such as a Management Committee meeting - when all members are expected to follow the time-rules explicit in that type of action. Members who adopt BPT in those circumstances are condemned for their inability to properly operate within two time-frames. In events within liminal zones (Shields 1991:84), or when people are simply 'limeing' (playing), BPT will operate consensually, with everyone knowing at what time activity will really get going, and operating an individual decision about what time he or she will start and stop. Even this experience finds itself under pressure from the rational-legal regulation of time, since many such events take place in licensed premises and even if held in the open air, such as the Carnival procession or the operation of Sound Systems in the park, the implementation of whatever arrangements have been made with the Magistrates will be enforced. Until recent police activity, Chapeltown had a series of venues in which time stood still. From about 2am till 7am, at a Blues, people could stand in a dark place in which the absence of any time-based obligations allowed for an almost complete rejection of the outside world.

It is tempting to interpret BPT as a form of resistance to GMT - another way in which diasporan black people conflict with white European modes of being. But BPT is a

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more complex phenomenon than this. While there are many occasions when a black person will arrive late for a GMT event in order to express his or her resistance to what he or she expects to be going on at that event, and this may happen more often when the black person is attending a predominantly white event than when the event is organised (in GMT) by other black people, there will also be occasions when black people will express their disengagement with the organisers of black events by implementing BPT, just as white people turn up late for white events in order to publicly signal their disaffiliation. The problem in this scenario is the way that white people often mis-read the black person's time-orientation - either assuming that BPT is being used as an act of hostility, when, just as for white people, the black person may be late for contingent, non 'political' reasons. Alternatively, some whites will assume that the black person is (because of a disability inherent his or her 'blackness') incapable of operating accurately in GMT. My point is that the issue is not simply one of dominance by, or resistance to, GMT; frequently, complex choices are being made about which is the appropriate time-orientation to adopt in a particular situation. When Malcolm X said he never trusted anyone who didn't wear a watch (Blackside, Inc 1994), he made very clear his allegiance to GMT, and his constant berating of people in the movement who arrived late shows that he expected his supporters to accept the predominance of GMT. This commitment to clock-time, and his 'fanaticism about learning' (Karim 1995:228), indicates Malcolm's seriousness about modernity, his intention to use the knowledge provided by science, and the time-orientation which accompanies this knowledge, in support of black struggle. While many in Chapeltown would express the same kind of moral and intellectual commitment, their unwillingness always to put it into practice could be taken as an indication of a less intense commitment to 'scientific black struggle', than, say, Malcolm's, but not as a disengagement from modern, European, GMT.

Conclusion

By way of a conclusion I want to make explicit the implications of this analysis for the understanding of the social relations of this part of the inner city of Leeds. Chapeltown has here been conceptualised as a territory in which there is enormous diversity of spatially-influenced practices and time-orientations. This diversity has been related, in part, to the long history of the territory and the political practices by which the locale has been formed; more particularly it has been related to the nature of post-war settlement of the area by migrants from the Caribbean and south Asia, and its representation in the white media. While this area has been heavily 'spatialised' by the mass media - in the sense that it has been represented in narratives which are pregnant with their authors' fantasies and fears - a closer observation reveals the complex effects of global forces on social practices in this territory. Spatially and temporally, these practices have been both 'emptied out' and 'filled out'. Economically, the emptying out of legitimate waged work for men, both within the area and (more importantly) within the city of Leeds, has led to a much greater occupation of certain streets by young men who gain income by force

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and by illegal sales. The re-structuring of economic space - the replacement of shops by finance-based services - has changed the type of social regulation in these institutions, exercising greater external, bureaucratic-legal, control over people than hitherto. But a long process of political struggle by black people has also resulted in the provision of numerous spaces in which some autonomy is claimed and preserved, filling out meanings used to sustain the cultural life of those who refuse to succumb to the homogenising, and often impoverishing, forces of global culture. There has been, in this chapter, an attempt to undermine the politically conservative representation of the inner city in terms of a disorganised and disorganising underclass, without minimising the deleterious consequences of the emergence of a small group who do conform to some aspects of the conservatives' description. That description should be further modified after a consideration of the complex ways in which time is lived in this locale. People of African descent are characterised as carefully manipulating a twin-time orientation, while the peoples from south Asia have been analysed in terms of movement between a religious time-frame and a modern time-frame. It should be stressed that, for both communities, there is no suggestion of a traditional time-orientation (even if it is guessed that those from a south Asian farming background might have arrived here with such an orientation). The clock-time of modernity (GMT) is the dominant feature in everyone's lives, for most of the time. But the ability to seamlessly shift into the time-frame appropriate to cultural practices which are outside those of the dominant European culture is seen as a source of social solidarity, and an antidote to some of the debilitating effects of economic re-structuring.

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