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Social movements in a multi-ethnic inner city:
explaining their rise and fall over 25 years

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This chapter provides brief details of a number of social and political mobilisations in Chapeltown, an inner city area of a northern English city between 1972 and 1997. Setting these campaigns in the context of rising unemployment and improved environmental conditions, the chapter argues that the 1970s saw the emergence of effective urban social movements, and seeks to explain the decline of these movements into smaller campaigns in the 1980s and partial struggles in the 1990s.

Chapeltown: the material context

Chapeltown is locally known to be a patch of land just north of the centre of the city of Leeds. It is shaped like an inverted cone and measures about a mile in length and about a mile and a half in width. Over the past thirty years, it has been persistently represented in the national and local newspapers as a black ghetto seething with crime and violence (Farrar 1995, 1996, 1997a). Less often do the media point to its persistent levels of high unemployment: 12.6% in 1974, four times the national rate, (Leeds City Council 1974), and 32% in 1991i, almost three times the rate

for Leeds in that year. Nor does the media refer to the variety of ethnic groups who reside in this area (of its 14,000 residents in 1991, 39% were classified as white, 28% as South Asian and a further 28% as African, Caribbean or Black Other). Table 1 compares some lifestyle indicators for Chapeltown with those for Leeds as a whole.

Table 1 : Comparing households in Chapeltown and Leeds: lifestyle indicatorsii

Percentage of households	
Chapeltown	
Leeds	
Owner occupiers	
44	61
Privately rented	
14	7
Council rented	
26	27
Exclusive use of bath and toilet	
97	99
As above, plus central heating in all or some rooms	
47	65
Room occupation of over 1.5 persons per room	
2	0.3
Household does not own a car	
67	41

There are many possible interpretations of these statistics. I would argue that they show that Chapeltown suffers more from the cramping of opportunity for wider leisure pursuits than it does from impoverished housing conditions. Of course, compared to areas of Leeds in which middle and upper income families reside, Chapeltown is significantly disadvantaged. Poverty may not open itself to the easy certainty of 'fact', but the life experience that is associated with long-term extreme rates of unemployment is an over-riding reality for significant numbers of people in the area. Just as the statistics show that unemployment has increased by 250% in the past twenty years or so, in several respects, the material life of people in the area has declined catastrophically. If 4.2 million children, a third of the nation's under-16s, live in poverty, risking four times the chances of dying by the age of 20 compared to the affluent, at least a third of Chapeltown's children will be in this category (Dennehy et al 1997, Observer 23.4.97). While a 1991 'single parenthood statistic' of 47% of all households in Chapeltown must be read in the light of local arrangements of familiar responsibility, the real difficulties imposed when many parents are alone and unsupported with their children cannot be ignored. But, to some extent, material progress has been made in Chapeltown over the past twenty five years. Housing conditions have improved, and the provision of a variety of local facilities has also been extended (Farrar 1996). To lose sight of these 'facts' is to fail to see the material context in which political struggle has taken place in the area of this period. The politics of Chapeltown are the politics of people who, overall, are not immiserated, and who should not be thought of as mere victims. Real material gains have been made over the past quarter century, largely as a result of the struggles of confident, experienced and effective organisations representing, at their height, large sections of the local population. Nevertheless, exclusion from work, the removal of welfare benefits for 16 year olds and the existential terror of life in the most uncertain and oppressed margins of society are persistent realities for a significant proportion of Chapeltown's population. The increased use of hard drugs in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the sharp rise in street robbery and burglary in Chapeltown between 1987 and 1995iii, are evidence of the detrimental effects of this social exclusion of a small but significant proportion of the local population.

Social and political campaigns in Chapeltown from the 1970s

There is no space here to give full details of each of the campaigns that have taken place in this small area of Leeds over the past 25 years. I have analysed some of them elsewhere (Farrar 1981, 1988, 1992). I will provide specific information where it is relevant to the primary purpose of this chapter - a sociological explanation of the changing forms of protest. The following list should, however, set the scene.

Table 2: Social and political campaigns in Chapeltown 1970 - 1995

Date	Campaign name	Issue
Oct. 1972	Chapeltown Parents and Friends Association	Local control of Play Centre
July 1973	Chapeltown Parents Action Group	Elimination of racism at Earl Cowper Middle School
May 1973	Scott Hall Action Group	Provision of Pelican Crossing on dual carriageway
Aug. 1973	Chapeltown Community Association Ad Hoc Group	Street Cleaning in Chapeltown
July 1974	ditto	
ditto in Sholebroke area		
July-Nov. 1974	(Sikh Temple, CRC, IWA)	The right for Sikhs to wear turbans on Leeds buses
Nov. 1975 -		
July 1976	(Bonfire Night 12)	Defence of black youths arrested at 'riot'
July 1981	(Leeds Uprising)	
	'Riot' in Chapeltown/Harehills	
Nov. 1986	(Rutland Lodge)	Racism at a council training centre
Nov. 1987 -		
Mar 1988	Root Out Racism in Education	Non-appointment of qualified black worker to senior post in Education Department
Aug. 1987 -		
May 1988	Ellis Must Go!	Removal of senior police officer after racist remarks
Dec. 1990	Chapeltown Defence Campaign	
	Against police harassment	
Dec. 1994	Black Direct Action for Equal Rights and Justice	Defence of youths arrested at mini 'riot'
Jan 1990 -		
	Anti Hard Drugs Campaign	Campaign and education against crack-cocaine etc.

From Table 2 it appears that there is a rhythm of protest - short bursts followed by long pauses. One of my aims here is to show that there is nothing natural about these waves of activity; they are explicable by demonstrating the connection between social, economic and political processes outside Chapeltown and the emergence of specific life-orientations within Chapeltown.

Identifying urban social movements

Manuel Castells' (1983) analysis of urban social movements has been roundly criticised (see Saunders 1986, Lowe 1986, Zukin 1987). By 1988 Peter Jackson could write: 'the last six years . . . [have] witnessed the rise (and fall?) of urban social movements as a theoretical framework' (Jackson 1988 pp. 263-4). Almost no recent references to European or North American usage of urban social movement theory appear on a trawl through Sociofile. Social movements, in general, have, however, continued to be the focus of theoretical and empirical discussion (e.g. Maheu 1995). Paul Gilroy (1987) is one of the few British theorists positively to employ Castells' concept of urban social movements. Fourteen years later, Castells (1997 pp. 60-64) revisited his earlier work on urban social movements, but failed to identify contemporary European and North American examples commensurate with the utopian and proto-revolutionary movements he found in those continents in the 1970s. Analysing movements organised by the Zapatistas in Mexico, the American Patriots and Japan's 'Aum Shinryko' (1997 Ch. 2), Castells adapted Tourraine's typology, proposing that 'identity', 'adversary' and 'societal goal' are the concepts with which social movements should be analysed (1997 p. 71). Significantly, only the Japanese organisation was based in the city, but its predominantly mystical orientation divorces it from the usual concerns of urban movements. This approach highlights the problem that became evident in Lowe's (1986) discussion of tenants' and ratepayers' associations: Castells presents not so much a theory of urban social movements as a set of criteria by which one kind of protest group (e.g. a pressure group) might be distinguished from another (e.g. a social movement). This opens the ground exploited by Roseneil (1995) in her detailed analysis of the women's anti-nuclear camp at Greenham Common, where she argued that the Greenham women did not fit at all within social movement criteria.

In my view, to reduce the argument to whether or not a city-based protest group can be categorised as an urban social movement, and to reduce the discussion of social movements to a descriptive typology, is to miss the most useful point of the analysis of social movements, urban or otherwise. Castells (1983, 1997) continually focusses on the prospects for resistance to, even revolution against, capitalist society. This question - in what social formations can racism, sexism and class exploitation be confronted in the last decades of the Twentieth Century? - should be a central problem for sociology. Castells' typology (1983) for the analysis of urban social movements obliges us to examine organisations and actions such as those Chapeltown has witnessed over the past 25 years in some detail. It does not explain why movements emerge, but it does provide the means by which we may evaluate the extent of the challenge posed to the local and central state by these campaigns and ad hoc groupings. For Castells, the most far-reaching threat (outside the workplace) to the established order emanates from urban social movements.

Castells' theory has been so frequently summarised briefly, and then criticised unfairly, that it is worth setting out his views in some detail. To deserve the label of urban social movement, Castells argued, it must meet the following criteria:

1. To accomplish the transformation of urban meaning in the full extent of its political and cultural implications, an urban movement must articulate in its practice the three goals of collective consumption demands, community culture, and political self-management
2. It must be conscious of itself as an urban social movement
3. It must be connected to society through a series of political operators, three in particular: the media, the professionals, and the political parties
4. A sine qua non condition: while urban movements must be connected to the political system to at least partially achieve its goals, they must be organisationally and ideologically autonomous of any political party (Castells 1983 p. 322).

Since he stresses that point (1) above 'must command all others' (ibid, p. 323) it is important to be clear what he means by the 'three goals':

* 'Collective consumption demands' are those which seek to de-commodify the services provided by the city, to transform them from exchange values into use values. He calls movements which pursue these demands 'collective consumption trade unionism' (ibid, p. 321).

* 'Community culture' is a shorthand for 'the search for cultural identity, for the maintenance or creation of autonomous local cultures, ethnically-based or historically originated'; the effort to defend people's face-to-face communication,

their 'autonomously defined social meaning' against the invasion from above of media messages and its standardised culture. 'Community movements' pursue these aims (ibid, p. 319).

* The third goal is for neighbourhood self-management, local participation and autonomy, against centralised power structures, and is characteristic of what Castells calls a 'citizen movement' (ibid, pp. 320, 321).

It is important to recall that Castells' overall theory was about the processes by which the meaning of urban life is spacialised (ibid, p.14), and he was concerned with theorising urban change. Since Castells defines urban meaning in somewhat technical language which seeks to associate meaning with economic processes and class conflict (ibid, p.303), I should indicate that I use the term to grasp the subjective processes of 'making sense' of the city. This is, I think, complementary with Castells' use. The presentation above is better understood as an attempt to offer a classification of urban movements according to their particular goals and organisational forms, but there is a reference to his broader theoretical concerns in the statement 'the transformation of urban meaning'. While this phrase might be accused of vagueness, I believe that Castells' approach remains productive, at least so far as the politics of Chapeltown is concerned.

The early 1970s in Chapeltown

Three rather different organisations in Chapeltown were engaged in the process of attempting fundamentally to alter the meaning of living in an inner city area during the early 1970s. One, the Chapeltown Parents Action Group (CPAG), was an organisation whose membership was exclusively African-Caribbean; the other, the Chapeltown Community Association (CCA), was composed of whites (English, Irish and Eastern European), African-Caribbeans and Indians. The CPAG organised the parents of children at a school in the heart of Chapeltown, Earl Cowper Middle School, to withdraw their children for two days in pursuit of their demands. These included: that the Head-teacher be sacked for his racist descriptions of black children, that facilities at the school be improved and that black people become more involved in the management and the education at the school (Farrar 1992). This action, which, unprecedentedly, succeeded in having the Head removed and in improving staffing and conditions at the school, exhibited several of Castells' criteria. It achieved advances in the area of collective consumption in that educational resources for local children were extended. It did much to enhance the cultural identity of African-Caribbeans. A highly politically-educated group at the core of the CPAG (the West Indian Afro Brotherhood) ensured that the campaign was led by parents of children at the school. The confidence of those parents in articulating their sense of injustice at the racist denial of the value of their culture was visibly increased as white officials in suits were subjected to rigorous cross examination in public meetings. This was a campaign which fulfils Castells' notion of a 'community movement' in that it effectively enhanced 'face to face' communication and resisted media stereotypes of black people. In addition, I would argue that the movement initiated by this grouping was in pursuit not simply of material improvements, but of the dimensions of postulated community which could be called metaphorical - the dream/desire for equality, justice and meaningful social existence. Although the CPAG did not immediately achieve its aim of obtaining more local control of the school (via the appointment of black governors, as it had demanded) it is clear from subsequent developments that the Education Department recognised that the balance of power between itself and Chapeltown's African-Caribbean population had decisively shifted - in favour of the local people. Similarly, at the level of organisation, this campaign fulfilled Castells' strictures. It was completely autonomous of all political groups, either of the orthodox parties or the Marxist organisations which, at that time, were desperate to influence black politics. But it placed its demands squarely within the political arena, and ensured that the media, professional educationalists and city councillors were forced to respond. Most crucially, perhaps, it transformed urban meaning in this sense: no longer could the (white) city treat its black population as an alien Other, to be merely vilified or ignored. The CPAG was a manifestation of an emerging consciousness of the relationship between black migrants and the white metropole. Just as the meaning of being black was fundamentally changed by this confident, conscious movement, so too was the meaning of being white - at least for those who ran the city, and for those of us who lived or worked in Chapeltown.

A second example is that of the mobilisation of Leeds' Indians of the Sikh faith, most of whom lived in Chapeltown, during 1974. This activity was sparked by the suspension of two Sikhs who appeared clocked in on 3rd July 1974 wearing, for the first time at work, their turbans. Initially, it was handled in behind-the-scenes negotiations by the Community Relations Council and leading members of the Sikh Temple. In the face of increasing hostility towards the Sikhs from the bus-workers' union, the TGWU, and in the absence of progress in the negotiations, the Indian Workers Association organised a demonstration by Sikh men and women outside the union offices in September. The United Caribbean Association issued a public statement of its support for the Sikhs (Chapeltown News No. 21, 1974)vi. By the time a second demonstration was planned in November, this time with the full backing of the Temple, the management and the union conceded the right to wear Turbans on the buses. Here again we see some characteristics of an urban social movement - in particular the ability of the Sikhs to assert their organised presence in the public places of the city (the union office is close the city centre, opposite Leeds University). In defying the white stereotype,

particularly strongly articulated at the time [Police training reference] that all 'Asians' (and particularly 'Asian women') are docile, and in defying the assumption that Asians and African-Caribbeans do not seek common cause, this action, like that of the CPAG, intervened in the black-white power relations in the city, and thereby altered the meaning of urban life.

An analysis of some of the activities of the third case, the Chapeltown Community Association strengthens the applicability of Castells' thesis. While the CPAG would dissolve itself, and leave the ongoing process of political and cultural activity to local organisations such as the Brotherhood, the United Caribbean Association, the Jamaica Society and the Barbados Overseas Association, the CCA established itself as a formal organisation with an Annual General Meeting and a committee structure which was intended to be ongoing. It maintained a high profile of activity from 1971 to 1974, finally dissolving in 1975. Its sub-committees reflected its aims: to improve housing conditions, road safety, play facilities for young children and youth, and street cleaning. In its first two years it pursued these goals by entirely orthodox means. It produced plausible plans (its first Secretary was a Town Planner), wrote letters and held meetings with council officials. This approach can only be described as 'pressure group' activity and it defeats the purpose of Castells' analysis to join with Lowe (1986) in redefining urban social movements in terms which elide the difference between these two forms of organisation. The gains actually made by the CCA in improving the provision of items of collective consumption were minimal. (On the other hand, the CCA's proposals - for a community centre, for redesign of the road lay-outs and so on, were far-sighted and, in many cases, delivered some years later.) In 1973 and 1974, however, under the influence of those (including myself) in the CCA whose politics had been shaped by the contemporary radical and international movements of students, women, gays and black people, an approach was adopted which more closely conformed to Castells' criteria. It began to define itself explicitly around demands for wholesale change in the infrastructure of the neighbourhood, such as: 'an immediate £2 million programme to set up teams of builders and trades-people to work on every house in need of improvement or repair, work to start immediately on the proposed new houses, health clinic, school, community centre and play park . . .') (CCA leaflet, September 1974). It adopted direct action tactics such as blocking Chapeltown Road with rubbish and an abandoned car (August 1973) and dumping rotten fish in the council's Cleansing Department office (July 1974) (see Chapeltown News No. 11, 1973 and No. 19, 1974). Like the CPAG, the CCA was organisationally autonomous, but it attempted to use the media, professionals and powerful politicians in pursuit of its aims. It was persistently hostile to local Labour councillors and the Labour Chair of the Housing Committee (despite its demand that they provide improved facilities) and made life very uncomfortable for its one member who was a card-carrying member of the Conservative Party. Implicitly, it demanded greater local self-management, but, unlike the CPAG it never articulated this as a clear demand.

In two respects, however, the CCA could not be called an urban social movement. Firstly, in transforming itself from its origins as a public, open pressure group into a small activist grouping with radical demands, it was unable to mobilise the popular support which would earn the label of 'movement'. The Scott Hall Action Group, by contrast, even though it is best thought of as a short-lived pressure group, was able to mobilise widespread local support in May 1973 for its demonstrations holding up traffic on the dangerous dual carriageway at the western edge of Chapeltown. Second, its cultural amorphousness meant that it could never make a clear intervention into the structures of meaning within the city, or the locality. 'Transformation of urban meaning' requires a real shift in the way that a city thinks about itself, if such a reification may be allowed for a moment. Major changes at this level are only likely when relationships of power are disrupted by the emergence of new social actors, who are able to impose the particular meanings associated with the beliefs and practices which are specific to their value systems. The CCA - remarkable in one sense for its multi-culturalism, its coalition across ages, genders and class - was never able to generate a particular set of meanings which were capable of wide replication within the neighbourhood. The content of one possible mobiliser of common meanings, 'community', was never specified, probably because its members would never agree on what they meant by the term, still less about how it should be achieved. Castells' invocation of the phenomenological concept of meaning seems to me to be a major contribution to the analysis of social movements, urban or otherwise. Although it is rarely explicitly invoked, it is the search for new modes of Being, the new sense of meaningfulness that can arise when the dominant power is disrupted or overturned, which is required in the analysis of the anti-road protests and the alternative, ecological lifestyles we have seen in Britain in the 1990s (Maffesoli 1996, McKay 1996). It is perhaps ironic that the CCA utilised the term 'community', which still connotes the utopian aim of creating places in which relationships of warmth, solidarity and (in its radical formulations) equality might prevail, but was never able to spell out such yearnings. Unlike the CPAG and the action by the Sikhs, it could not escape from the burden of articulation by an appeal to the common sense of its members: it had no way of knowing what sense it had in common.

'Riot' and urban social movements

Chapeltown has been the site of two major events which the media refer to as riots, one in November 1975 and the other in July 1981. These events challenged both the practice of local politics and the theory of urban movements. In 1975, on the evening of 5th November - the night celebrated throughout Britain as the night they tried to blow up

Parliament - the first effort by black British youth to physically defeat the police force took place. In a planned retaliation against the police and fire brigade's dowsing of their bonfire the year before, young African-Caribbean men hurled bricks at police cars as they patrolled Spencer Place, one of the main thoroughfares of Chapeltown, where this grouping traditionally held their bonfire. Two police officers were extremely seriously injured and several cars were wrecked. Over the next few days eleven black youths and I were arrested. We appeared in court in June 1976, some of us facing affray charges, others accused of grievous bodily harm and possession of an offensive weapon. On most charges we were acquitted, but three received short spells of detention. The events of 12th and 13th July 1981 caused much more serious damage to property, including the looting of shops and the burning-down of buildings. The damage was estimated at £2 million. Perhaps 200 to 300 youths were involved, many of them white, from other low-income areas of Leeds. Twenty four people were arrested and almost all were convicted. In my initial analysis of the 1981 events, which I linked to both the Bonfire Night events and the campaigns by the CPAG and the CCA of the previous decade, I attempted to show that these were proto-revolutionary 'uprisings', not 'riots' (Farrar 1981). In analysing similar events of even greater physical violence in other British cities (Birmingham and London) during 1985, Paul Gilroy also argues that what is conventionally dubbed 'riot' is actually infused with potent political meaning. To back his argument, he uses the work of Alain Tourraine and Alberto Melucci on social movements. Tourraine argued that the social movements universalised the issue of emancipation (no longer is it the prerogative of the industrial workers) and aim for the social control of historicity (Tourraine 1981). Gilroy outlined Melucci's characteristic features of a social movement as: (1) the non-negotiable nature of their demands, (2) their aim for complete autonomy from the system, rather than for political power within the system, (3) the immediate satisfaction of collective desires, (4) the central place they give to the body as a medium for understanding that human beings are part of the natural world (5) a religious or spiritual component (Gilroy 1987 pp. 224-7). (For a more recent exposition see Melucci (1996). According to Gilroy, 'Britain's social movement around "race" exhibits all the characteristics suggested by Tourraine and Melucci' (p. 227). It might be stretching the point a bit too far to claim that young black men engage in physical confrontation with the police in order to take control over the course of history. On the other hand, those who in this period were influenced by Bob Marley's militant Rastafarianism would, perhaps, have argued that they were struggling against the Babylon system as a whole, and aiming for a new, spiritually-informed social justice, as outlined in Haile Selassie's famous speech to the United Nations on 'war' (and set to music by Marley in the song of that name). Rastafarianism is explicit in its longing for a new spiritual community where racism and oppression is extinguished. (On the spiritual meaning of Rastafarianism, see Owens (1979). On Marley, see, for example, McKnight and Tobler (1977). On Rastafarianism in Britain, see Plummer, Bishton and Homer (1978) and CCRJ (1982).) Melucci's criteria fit well with the youths who were involved in the 1975 'riot', and the young black people in the 1981 events might also conform, but Melucci (and Gilroy) are excessively optimistic if they claim that these are the motives of all, or even a majority, of those who burned and looted in Chapeltown in July 1981. Significantly, Castells' criteria are not mentioned by Gilroy at this point in his argument. Only in one respect do the conflagrations of 1975 and 1981 meet with Castells. They did have an impact on collective consumption patterns in the neighbourhood. The 1975 events galvanised the Education Department into further provision, in the form of adult education and community centre facilities (Farrar 1988). The 1981 events lead to wholesale restructuring of housing, leisure and youth facilities. They also had a significant impact on the power relations between the locality and the city council - an official body, the Harehills and Chapeltown Liaison Committee, was established by the Leader of the city council as an immediate response to the 1981 'riot' (Farrar 1988, 1996). But Castells stresses that - in an echo of Marx's dictum about class in itself as opposed to class for itself - if a mobilisation is to be called an urban social movement, it must be conscious of itself as such. Those who rose up in 1975 and 1981 were undoubtedly conscious of their power, but they were never able to specify wider social or political goals, and had no interest in formulating themselves as a movement. The re-allocation of welfare resources to Chapeltown was a consequence of their action which they did not foresee (although the many street intellectuals in their ranks would later retrospectively justify their actions in terms of services thus delivered to the people of Chapeltown). When Gilroy does utilise Castells' work on urban social movements, he does not make the link with violent protests. He refers to the types of campaign Chapeltown saw in the early 1970s - what Castells would call 'collective consumption trade unionism' and 'community movements' - as fulfilling Castells' criteria (Gilroy 1987 p. 230).

Explaining the decline of mass politics

One of the problems with Castells' analysis is its lack of focus on the reasons why urban social movements fail. In this section, I argue that, after 1981, the proto-urban social movements of the 1970s were unable to re-form with anything like their former vigour. To explain this, several concepts, outside the domain of Castells' 1983 work, are required. To understand the decline in salience of the social movements in Chapeltown, I argue that three processes require investigation: hegemonic incorporation, individualisation and processes of ethnic segregation. Each process rests on the elaboration during this period of specific discourses: of non-violent/corporatist politics, of equal opportunities and of ethnic particularism. In some respects, the argument here parallels those of Ian Law and of Elizabeth Lawrence and Nicholas Turner in Section III of this volume. The 'ethnic managerialism' identified by Law has prevailed within Leeds

City Council, to the detriment of social movement formation, but where Law identifies Conservative government, scientific management theory and the New Right as the culprits, it is clear from my analysis that a Labour-controlled bureaucracy willingly took the same route. Where Lawrence and Turner note the deference paid by equal opportunity officers to the social movements, my argument is that the wider discourse of equal opportunities has promoted an individualistic career-identification among a layer of people who, a few years earlier, would have pursued a 'community politics' identification. The end result of each of these processes, in Chapeltown at least, has been the segmentation of ethnic groups, further undermining the prospects for movements which pursue the generalisation of use values and autonomous political organisations.

Given the political history of the area, the 1975 'riot' might have been expected to galvanise the local Caribbean activists into forming a movement around the youth arrested. No such movement emerged. A significant number of people paraded with placards on the steps of the Town Hall on the first day of the trial, and a formidable team of largely black barristers, organised largely by the women who had once been in the West Indian Afro Brotherhood, conducted a spirited (and successful) defence. (The sexism connoted by the Brotherhood's name was never fully reflected in the internal life of the group.) But the majority of local black people were under the sway of that most powerful aspect of the hegemonic culture of England: the view that violence has no legitimate part to play in politics. Raymond Williams' gloss on Gramsci's use of the term 'hegemony' is instructive. It refers to 'the central, effective and dominant system of meanings and values, which are not merely abstract but which are organised and lived' (Williams 1980 p. 38). He saw this system as 'deeply saturating the consciousness of a society' (ibid, p. 37). Williams argued that, in order to achieve this deep saturation, 'incorporation' must take place. He stressed the role of the family, education, intellectual practices and the organisation of work in instilling dominant values and meanings, but it also takes place in the aftermath of organised protest. Campaigns, such as those which predominated in Chapeltown until 1975, were a challenge to the hegemonic notion that black people were a passive underclass to be exploited and oppressed at will. Engaging in organised activity, people 'lived out' and embodied their opposition to those institutions that had personified their oppression. As we have seen, more often than not, the dominant institutions gave way to their demands. Their challenge was legitimated. As Williams pointed out, however:

alternative meanings and values, the alternative opinions and attitudes, even some alternative senses of the world, can be accommodated and tolerated with a particular effective and dominant culture (Williams 1980 p.39)

To the extent that these alternative meanings are institutionalised and significantly disrupt the hegemonic meaning system, the tag of urban social movement applies. But their very success may well usher in a process of incorporation, as aspects of their values and meanings are either taken on, or blunted, by those who run the dominant institutions in the local system. The young people who, in 1975 and 1981, engaged in physical violence were also living out, and embodying in an even more dramatic form, their challenge to that institution (the police force) which is itself most physical in its imposition of hegemonic meaning. Unlike their predecessors in protest, they experienced the full weight of the judicial apparatus. Nor was this form of challenge legitimated by black organisations. The older leaders of these organisations had, in the main, adopted long ago the discourse of political non-violence: they broadly accepted that element of the dominant meaning system which proscribes violence in pursuit of any goals, even those which 'rioters' might attempt to define as political. It is quite possible that their violent actions actually shored up the commitment of some key figures in the black organisations to the hegemonic condemnation of such methods of protest. Only the Chapeltown News Collective, influenced as it was by the discourse established by Malcolm X and the Black Panthers, wholeheartedly supported the defendants from the night of the 'riot' through to their trial. It was only on acquittal that the 1975 defendants were briefly celebrated by those in the black organisations who had failed to support them during the trial. The absence of militant organising in Chapeltown over the next five years can be ascribed to the fundamental shock wave that the Bonfire Night events sent through the local organisations. 'Politics', if the Chapeltown News definition was to be allowed, now veered too close to a terrain which could no longer be justified within the boundaries of English political discourse. The response of some of the radicals, black and white, who had been involved in the defence of these youth was to set up a Law Centre - an organisation which, it was thought, could pursue progressive policies through legitimate channels. The CCA went out of existence and Chapeltown News soon ceased to publish. No other initiatives were taken by local organisations. By 1981 the only organisation willing to offer any support to those arrested after the burn down of Chapeltown Road was a small, multi-racial group of politically-minded people called the Come-Unity Collective. Its effort to explain the events in terms Martin Luther King's words - 'How long must we live under the Iron Boot of oppression?' (Come-Unity News No. 3 August 1981) - and its appeal for a Defence Campaign, fell on completely deaf ears (Come-Unity News No. 5 November 1981, No. 6 December 1981). After two years of organising political and cultural activities, the CUC dissolved in 1982.

The explanation for this down-turn in political activity in Chapeltown starts with Williams' notion of incorporation (which the Fainsteins (1996) re-phrase in terms of the acquisition of civil, political and social rights of citizens). It should be recalled that the events in July 1981 in Chapeltown were part of an enormous wave of violent protest

throughout England that were initiated in April of that year in Brixton and spread to all the major cities, and many smaller ones, in England during July (Benyon and Solomos 1987). The Leeds City Council responded rapidly to the events of July 1981. Under the control of a former full-time trade union official, George Mudie (now Labour MP for Leeds North East), the initiative taken was that which has served social democracy through the ages: set up a consultative body and consolidate the discourse of corporatist politics. The Harehills and Chapeltown Liaison Committee initially gathered all the leading figures in the African-Caribbean organisations, and within a short time attracted their equivalents in the Asian organisations. Skilfully steered by Mudie, then Leader of the Council, who insisted on the attendance and its regular meetings of all his heads of department and several of their minions, the Committee had great credibility with those local people who attended. As I have detailed elsewhere (Farrar 1996), the initiatives which were fed through the Committee delivered major material gains for the neighbourhood. But, by drawing so much of the energy of the local organisations into the Committee and its sub-committees, the possibility of independent action, such as that launched by the social movements of the 1970s, was severely undermined. Even the few radicals at the Law Centre (by 1980, I was one of them) - increasingly worried about cuts in their funding from the council - found themselves partially incorporated into the Liaison Committee's structures.

There were, however, two more significant processes, only partially connected to incorporation, taking place during this period. Following Emile Durkheim I call one the process of individualisation; the other is ethnic segmentation. Durkheim's (1964) argument that modern society is characterised by the increasing public prominence, and self confidence, of a category called 'the individual', is rarely challenged. Clearly, however, the process of individualisation is not one which continues at an even pace. Maffesoli (1996), for instance, argues that it is now in decline, and it seems likely that, at times when a social democratic party is in power there is less discursive support for, and perhaps less of the practice of individualism, than at times when free-market entrepreneurialism is hegemonic. It would be equally wrong to expect the process to take the same form in all sectors of society. In Chapeltown, there was little or no support for the brand of individualism which was promoted by the Conservative government during the 1980s. Strong collectivist traditions within the African-Caribbean and Asian populations of the area, combined with the remains of class hostility among the much of the white population, meant that few men would don the red braces and striped shirts that signified the era of the Yuppie. Only a few women aspired to padded-shouldered power dressing. But there was an alternative discourse to that offered by Thatcherism which became available in the light of the Labour council's effort to ameliorate the problems of Chapeltown. 'Equal opportunities' is a strange brew of conservative, liberal and social democratic political theory. It has the unique ability to sound extremely similar on the lips of spokespeople from each persuasion, and is therefore issued with similar enthusiasm by all. (It is almost impossible, post-Enlightenment, to imagine a positively defined discourse of Unequal Opportunity.) The institution of an Equal Opportunity Unit within the city council in 1983 signalled the slow march of black people into the corridors of local government. In many cases, jobs went to educated and politically aware black people from Chapeltown. As time went on, quasi-independent council and government-funded 'community' projects expanded and offered further job opportunities for local people. Their aim, in most cases, was significantly to improve the provision of services and the employment prospects of local people like themselves. Fuelled by an explicit commitment if not to anti-racism, then at least to multi-culturalism, the 'equal opportunity' discourse was able to disguise its implicit individualism - for the root of 'equal opportunity' is just reward for individual effort - in the guise of 'serving the people'. In the hands of a social democratic council it is administered on the basis of improving collective provision, and there is no doubt that such improvements took place. Black people in council and voluntary sector jobs, and the many white colleagues who supported them, could justifiably pride themselves on these collective achievements. But the impact on the structures of value and meaning within Chapeltown was not to enhance collectivist aspirations. The message that was received locally was: there are now well-paid careers doing worthwhile work to be had for the appropriately-qualified individuals. Socially useful, paid work is a primary value in any society; it is a bulwark of almost everyone's system of meaning. The emphasis on the social value of the work, its relevance to the collective needs of local people, must be fervently sustained in local and city-wide discourses if it is not to decay into a softer version of conservative individualism. No such fervour emanated from the council or from local organisations.

The second process, ethnic segmentation, proceeded simultaneously with individualisation. After the initial delivery of collective provision, in terms of housing and environmental improvements, the Liaison Committee became a spring-board for the pursuit of local facilities tailor-made to the professedly separate needs of each of Chapeltown's ethnic groups. While special pleading rarely took place in public, the Committee provided the mechanism for private lobbying. The West Indian Centre was built. The Jamaica Society and the Barbados Overseas Association acquired improved premises. By the end of the decade, the Islamic Centre on Spencer Place had been considerably extended, the Bangladeshi Muslims acquired a Mosque on Markham Avenue (in the early 1990s they acquired a training and community centre on Roundhay Road), the Ramgahria Sikhs opened extensive premises at the south end of Chapeltown Road, the Namdari Sikhs obtained smaller premises on Louis Street and the main Sikh Temple on Chapeltown Road built a new hall opposite its Temple. Much of the funding for these buildings came from non-council sources, but the support of the city council was crucial in the provision of land, some funds and in supporting

applications to other bodies. Each of these institutions was sorely needed. Their consequence was to lessen the opportunity for inter-ethnic communication, since there was no commensurate pressure from any source to improve facilities at the one centre supposed to serve the whole 'community'. The Education Department's 'Chapelton Community Centre', one of the major demands of the CCA, had never fulfilled the function its name implied. As each particular organisation acquired its own premises only an organisation advocating an inclusivist, inter-ethnic ideology would counter the process of segmentation that developed during the 1980s. No such calls were heard. Instead, the discourse of ethnic particularism (Gilroy 1987, 1993) was further elaborated by local organisations, and reinforced by local councillors and their officers at every opportunity.

Partial struggles in the 1980s

As Table 1 reminds us, 'community struggle' did not disappear from the streets and meeting places of Chapelton during the 1980s and 1990s. Several campaigns can be briefly described which provide evidence that the processes which gave rise to the urban social movements of the early 1970s have not departed. One very brief, successful, mobilisation in November 1986 against allegations of racism by white instructors towards black youths at an Education Department training centre (then called Rutland Lodge, now The Scott Hall Skills Centre) laid the basis for a prolonged campaign between November 1987 and March 1988 (Root Out Racism in Education, RORIE). Initiated by black employees of the Education Department in protest against one of their number being rejected for a senior post to which he had acted-up for several months, the campaign involved a hundred or so African-Caribbean, white and Asian people (many, but not all, were council employees). Twice occupying council committee rooms in direct action reminiscent of the urban social movements, RORIE was an organised and militant grouping which indicated that there were still layers of people in Chapelton who were opposed to the processes of ethnic segmentation outlined above. (Equally significantly, RORIE included people whose identities were supposed, by some, to be fixed in lesbian separatism.) Since the person whose rejection stimulated the campaign eventually obtained the post he applied for, it might be counted as successful. In that it was organisationally autonomous, saw its wider goals as improving educational provision for all non-white people, and was conscious of itself as a political force, RORIE comes close to fulfilling Castells' criteria. But its focal concern - equal opportunity employment policies - opens it to the charge of promoting the very individualism which social movements disavow. Its instability as a coalition recalls the problems of inter-ethnic solidarity that emerge when the discourse of unity is being countered by that of particularity.

The successful campaign (August 1987 to May 1988) to remove a senior police officer, Superintendent John Ellis, whose racist remarks about 'West Indians' had been tape-recorded, was similarly large and almost as militant in its tactics. It brought into common cause working class Asians, led by Omparkash Sharma, who had recorded Ellis' words, together with younger African-Caribbeans who were already critical of policing methods in Chapelton. Although the UCA had supported the Sikhs in 1974, and some Asians were involved in RORIE, never before (or since) had there been a politically militant type of alliance between Asians and African-Caribbeans in Chapelton. The challenge thereby posed to those who believe that cultures are hermetically sealed from each other would at first appear considerable. Close inspection of the transcript of the tape, however, reveals what was known privately at the time. Mr Sharma was in severe conflict with his African-Caribbean neighbours and he, and his members, were threatening violence towards local African-Caribbean youths whom they regarded as criminal ('Ellis Must Go!' pamphlet, May 1988, p. 5). The alliance was purely tactical from both parties' points of view. This was a noisy demonstration of local power, but it was not an urban social movement. Two further demonstrations against the police were equally partial and tactical. The Chapelton Defence campaign attracted about 80 people to march through freezing sleet to the city centre police station in December 1990 in protest against the rough treatment of a woman whose son was being sought by the police, following a series of representations to the Chapelton police about their inappropriate behaviour in making arrests. Black Direct Action for Equal Rights and Justice mobilised around 100 in a demonstration through the town centre in December 1994 following the arrest of young people in altercations outside a youth club held at the Chapelton Community Centre. Although the latter organisation initially had a wider social base than the Defence campaign, in that it involved several of the parents of the young people arrested, it was unable to sustain itself, despite highly professional publicity and support from the National Black Caucus. While all these actions are testimony to the willingness of small groups of people to maintain the tradition of local organising which characterises the area, none of them either raise general demands (relating to use values or to autonomous local institutions), or transform urban meaning, in the way that urban social movements do.

Conclusion

This rather small territory on the northern edge of the city centre of a major British city has witnessed a remarkable succession of political and social assaults on the local state over the past 25 years. Some of these have been launched by organisations which, it has been argued, conform fairly closely to the criteria established by Manuel Castells (1983) for the differentiation of urban social movements from other types of protest group. In struggling for use value, for

communal and ethnic solidarity and for local political control, several organisations in Chapeltown in the 1970s provided evidence that local people, black and white, would organise themselves for the social control of historicity. To explain their inability in the 1980s, and particularly in the 1990s, to mount campaigns which reached such high levels of political consciousness and organisation, this chapter has pointed to processes such as hegemonic incorporation, individualisation and ethnic segmentation, and to their associated discourses (non-violence/corporatism, equal opportunities and ethnic particularism). In an early version of this chapter I supplemented this analysis with a more detailed discussion of the shift away from 'political identifications' to 'career identifications' among key layers of young black people in Chapeltown during this period. (Stuart Hall (1997) has developed a similar argument.) The original paper also presented a typology of subjective orientations, based on the concepts of exclusion, alienation and ontological security, which is designed to illustrate the subjective aspects of social and political life in an inner city such as Chapeltown. Space does not permit the inclusion of that analysis here, but it seems to me that an adequate account of the rise and fall of social movements requires as much attention to the subjective processes at stake in political mobilisation, and de-mobilisation as is given to the social and economic processes. Political creativity can flourish when sufficient numbers of people feel secure enough and when alienation is - perhaps temporarily - lessened. On the other hand, anxiety suffuses large numbers of people when exclusion is hardened and anti-social behaviour by the chronically ontologically insecure increases. These subjective dispositions have a distinct bearing on the possibilities for progressive transformation of the inner city (Farrar 1997b).

Notes

i In this Chapter, all 1991 statistics have been derived from an Enumeration District analysis of the 1991 OPCS Census. The Enumeration Districts used were those for the area known to local knowledge as Chapeltown. Precise details are presented in Farrar, Max 'Struggling for Paradise - the Construction and Deconstruction of "Community" in an Inner City' [PhD thesis, currently submitted for examination].

ii Source: Tables 20a, 21, 23, 58 of the 1991 Census (OPCS), enumeration district analysis of small area statistics

iii Detailed figures and analysis of crime in Chapeltown is provided in the thesis referred to in note (I). Crime rates levelled out after 1995.

iv Where the 'campaign name' is given in brackets, the bracket indicates that no formal, single organisation was created to deal with the issue, either because there was a coalition of interest groups, or because (in the case of the 'riots') the issue was too controversial for an organisation to be formed, or because the matter was addressed so promptly that no formal organisation was needed.

v The following analysis is based on my participant observation of all the campaigns and groupings referred to. As will become clear, I never claimed any neutral, observational status during this work. On many occasions I actively took the side of the local organisations in their campaigns against the council and the police. My methodology is discussed in the thesis referred to above in note (I).

vi Chapeltown News was an entirely independent local 'community' newspaper written and published by a collective of which I was a member. Copies are stored in the Local History section of Leeds City Council's central library.

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