



The constitution of a community:
Spatio-temporality, 'race', and state resistance in
Liverpool.

**Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Sociology,
Criminology and Social Policy**

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For my Mum
Mary Elizabeth Tierney 1937 – 2021
And our good friend Gopal Birdie 1963 - 2022

Abstract

If capitalism and the rise of the bourgeoisie emerged in Europe as Marx amongst others has suggested. Then this thesis will show how the symbiotic relationship between 'race', class, and capital – articulated as racial capitalism - can be exemplified within Liverpool's Black community spaces. Liverpool has the oldest settled Black community in Europe thus offering this thesis the opportunity to analyse the first 'Black space' in Europe. Similarly, if England is essential to the development of industrial capital that accelerated the urbanization of the UK's industrial spaces – Liverpool again offers a prima facie example par excellence in understanding how racial capitalism fuelled that development. Racial capitalism as a lens can also be applied to the development of mercantile capital, in terms of Liverpool's legacy as the site of the great leap in relation to the transatlantic trade – a trade fuelled by a legacy of Slavery. The power this legacy brought to bear, shaped the UK's political approach in the development of Imperialism, and colonization and therefore influences the UK's contemporary attitudes towards 'race'. This study will show how the continuity of the psyche of colonial attitudes shapes the institutions and attitudes within Liverpool and beyond. Indeed, the decline of Liverpool, ensured the rise of a new breed of political actions at the forefront of the scramble for Africa, Asia, and the cadastral production of the 'pink map of empire', as the 'reformed' slaver families relocated their power bases to the capital. However, their legacy within Liverpool remains today and is revealed in all its insidiousness across this study. The concept of value – immaterial but objective - and its concatenation to contemporary articulations of Blackness will be exemplified through this study of spatiotemporality in Liverpool. Although the scope of achieving a complete oversight into such a complex and vast history tests the limits of what is possible in one thesis. This study's greatest strength is that it makes an important contribution towards renewing a fresh engagement with the relationship between 'race', space, and capital, and as this study will show – articulated as the racial fix -, the centrality of this trialectic to the development of urbanization of capital has been totally underestimated to date, across debates of racial capitalism and beyond. This thesis presents a study on racial capitalism in the 21st century via the process of racialized space within urban development.

Introduction

This thesis explores a phenomenon that has yet to be broached in this way and particularly with the level of detail contained within a history of the racialised urban spatialisation of Liverpool 8. The main strength of this study lies in that there is little if any, perspectives that have been written by an ‘insider’. Most studies (discussed further) or perspectives have failed to grasp the complexity of the racialisation of space in Liverpool – and particularly how the oldest Black community in Europe has essentially been enmeshed within the process of urbanisation since the early days of the city’s growth. What this study aims to counter is the dominant narratives that foster or apply negative connotations for many of Liverpool’s Black community in a city that was literally funded by the value inherent to slavery and colonisation. The extensive and detailed analysis set out within the empirical sections proposes a fresh insight into contemporary issues – racism, poverty, social anomie, social reproduction and alienation – that have their roots in the historical injustices visited upon spaces of Black density - Liverpool 8 in particular.

This introduction prefaces this study’s theoretical framework. A framework that aims not only to be sophisticated enough to analyse the socio-political economy pertaining to the complexities of ‘race’¹ across spatio-temporality, but also the resultant policy pathways shaping the spatial activity within areas of Black density. The urban policy framing to be applied for this study will be observed through the lens of the ‘inner city’. Although the term is rarely applied within policy development in more recent times, the conceptual value of the inner city is particularly useful to this study, in that it allows the theoretical framework to become firmly anchored within a spatial-temporal paradigm. Similarly, the periodisation which

¹ This thesis subscribes to Warrington’s sociological position that ‘race’ is a socially constructed expression of differentiation and therefore places ‘race’ in inverted commas across this study to underline this position. Warrington, P. (2008) *Pointing to race: distinguishing race as a critical conceptual problem in ‘post-racial’ classrooms*, Enhancing Learning in the Social Sciences

governs the empirical sections of this study focuses upon the how the inner-city has shaped urban policies in terms of how this is applied and understood within capitalism.

This study also makes explicit the overt and historic linkage between notions of the inner city, racial capitalism and the evolution of the perception of ‘race’ within urban space. The following chapter’s task is to present the theoretical anchors and themes pertinent to the thrust of this study. This will be presented in a way that offers a cohesive framework drawn from the political economy of Karl Marx, the historical-geographical materialism of David Harvey, theories of Intersectionality, Social Reproduction and Imperialism and Colonialism. Marxism offers continuity in encompassing all five theoretical boundaries, thereby offering the universality of a metatheory. David Harvey’s Marxist approach (discussed further) is crucial to this study – his body of work to date has set out a highly influential way of thinking about spatialisation from a Marxist perspective that has moved beyond the academy. However, as this thesis will show, his work has yet to adequately capture the centrality of racist forms of segregation (abstract and material), racial capitalism and the institutional racism influencing the process of urban spatialisation. Whilst this thesis draws upon the undoubtedly crucial contribution of his work to date, the overarching aim is to act as a corrective in what will be called the Harvey approach across this thesis.

The following passages summarise the chapter-by-chapter application of the framework, they will be presented within a given period and articulate the ways in which ‘race’ and class fostered the historical resistance of Liverpool’s Black community.

Chapter two presents the methodology of how this study was designed, developed and on what terms the research was influenced and shaped. What is apparent in understanding the complex nature of Harvey’s Marxist approach, is the level of spatial awareness (as set out within the framework), applied to the universal level. This ensures a focus upon the generality of themes, whereby the contribution this research design attempts to reconcile, is a localised-biographical

insertion into the historical-geographical materialism of Harvey. The reconciliation was made potentially possible through the discovery of autoethnography and particularly the application attributed to the Urban Sociology of Robert Parks. Autoethnography will explicitly allow space for a dialectical conversation between theoretical approaches encompassing the universal and the particular - within an iterative research process (also set out within the chapter). The autoethnographic aspect of the iterative design made for interesting and at times unexpected results across this extended research process.

Chapter three presents sociological insights into Liverpool's history and the city's politicization of spatiality and 'race' in areas of Black settlement. The period to be reviewed within the literature, will be from the 18th century to 1976 and focuses upon Liverpool's Black community, the legacy of its links to the Transatlantic Slave Trade and interactions with Britain's former colonies. The theoretical focus of this chapter will be to firmly ground the conceptual development of racial capitalism within the historical urbanisation of Liverpool. This study also suggests that the historic spaces of Black settlement in Liverpool may not have occurred due to the agency of the Black community. Liverpool's Black community have experienced a dialectical relationship across historic urban acts of resistance and oppression; solidarity and fragmentation that are intrinsic to understanding a broader grasp of Liverpool's working-class urban history. The broad sweeps of a historical racialised approach to capitalism considers these urban acts within the city's historic and prominence to the development of the Slave Trade and colonisation. It is a legacy that cannot be underestimated in moving forwards with a more recent analysis of Liverpool's Black spaces. Similarly, this chapter also aims to explicitly reveal the radical nature of working-class shared space. This form of radical shared space fostered a solidarity between the wider working class and Liverpool's Black community in the struggle for social and physical space.

Chapter four reflects upon the period of 1976 – 1979, a time in which the political imperatives of the state and local governance indelibly transformed the direction of urban policy towards a neoliberal model. This chapter unpicks the axiomatic assumptions of policy makers regarding the inner-city, (as set out within the framework below) and by extension, presents insights into the ‘racialised’ political process of uneven development. Similarly, although the process of ‘accumulation by dispossession’ was visited on the city of Liverpool following post WWII urban development. The political material analysed within this section reveals that ‘development’ and demolition programmes were applied very differently in spaces of Black concentration. Thus, drawing attention to the application of racial capitalism beyond the TST, its role within the development of post WWII and the ways in which it fostered radical resistance. The social conditions of Liverpool’s Black community can be understood in terms of a ‘spatial segregation’ that was increasingly fostered through Liverpool’s local institutions and politicians. Housing conditions for Liverpool’s Black community were amongst the worse in the country, and yet homeownership was promulgated as the city’s unemployment levels reached epidemic levels. This chapter traces how all of these themes resulted in a new form of radical resistance that emerged through the formation of Black organisation.

Chapter five charts the period 1979 – 1981 the analysis within this chapter sets out the institutional contribution to the social and spatial alienation which undoubtedly contributed towards Liverpool’s urban uprisings of 1981. As this chapter highlights, it is often forgotten that due to the uprising, Liverpool’s profile was thrust onto a global stage, thereby drawing attention to the intense structural problems facing the city during this period of naive neoliberalism². However, as this chapter will also reveal, *local governance* played a key role in exasperating the living conditions across spaces of Black concentration. The pathway to

² Naïve liberalism is used here to simply demarcate the early application of neoliberal policies from the later globalised applications.

1981 is set out within this short chapter in which the political consensus at the local level appeared to target specific areas of Black settlement even after massive injections of urban funds were in place to alleviate the clear disparities in urban conditions. This extended chapter also unpicks the local and national political consensus between Liberal and Conservative M.P.s and Councillors, national and local governments cascaded down to policy at the localised level that ultimately allowed this devalorisation of Black spaces.

Chapter six focuses upon 1981 – 1989 and unpicks the forms of radical resistance and political organisation emerging from inside Liverpool’s Black community during this crucial period of a wider workers movement. The forms of radical resistance, it is argued, emerges in response to the accumulation by dispossession set out below. It is further argued that accumulation by dispossession, in this study, is fuelled by the residuals of imperialism, and colonialism – thus articulating the racial capitalism set out within this framework. These theories are utilised to highlight the advent of specific state activity, psychology, and those (post uprising) local state political actions, that fostered a battle for visible space. The confrontation between the State and Liverpool’s Black community, led to a proliferation of radical acts of resistance in the form of public demonstrations, organisational development, and febrile engagement with the local state in a bid for recognition. The dialectical approach vacillates between the theories above and the participant voices from within this period of intense struggle, particularly the organisational influence of Liverpool’s Black Women in struggle. Myriad confrontations between the Black community and political parties highlight the nature of the institutional racism permeating the debates of the 1980s. But what is also very apparent during this period, it will be argued, is the ingenuity and radical militancy displayed through acts of resistance during the struggle for visible representation on every level of social and civic engagement. Ultimately the struggle for visibility of the Black community it is further argued, emerges

during this period as the vanguard of working-class state resistance in Liverpool and perhaps even wider.

Chapter seven analyses the period 1990 - 1999 in which control of municipal and social housing and in many cases, public space was increasingly transferred to the ownership of Housing Associations in Liverpool. Again, theories of uneven development and process value frame this chapter to unpick a continue disparity within how localised services were delivered under a new form of racial capitalism. Additionally, the analyses also focus upon how the urban entrepreneurialism (discussed within framework) that became synonymous with the delivery of contemporary social housing (see Harvey below), worked to exclude Black led housing in Liverpool. However, this chapter also sets out the form of resistance from which Liverpool's radical Black organisations chose to challenge the local state. In terms of employment opportunities, housing and by extension - spatial concerns, resistance at places of employment became an increasingly vital conduit through which radical Black politics increased the visibility of Black organisations and institutions within the city and beyond. Housing still played an important role in the struggle for 'equality', yet as referred to in the framework – the progress of institutions and organisation are dependent upon a sense of equality or social justice. This chapter will unpick how the proliferation of funded Black institutions curbed the radical nature of their politics and fostered the conditions from which the 'comprador' thrived.

Chapter Eight covers the period from 1999 to present day and attempts to dialectically both extend and reconcile the themes set out across previous chapters, accumulation by dispossession; value; imperialism/colonialism; devalorised space all contextualised within the process of uneven development across a history of racial capitalism – within what will be referred to as the racial fix (see below). The case studies explored within this chapter work to contextualise common threads and strategies that contemporaneous spatial campaigns in Liverpool 8 share with the past. It seeks to confirm the centrality of 'race' within recent

narratives of what constitutes a community in the mature neoliberal era - and the contemporaneous ways Black radicalism exists (or the spaces that have the potential to foster radicalism) within the totality of racial capitalist accumulation across Liverpool's history. The overarching aim of this chapter is to act as a coda in seeking key examples of resistance to devalorisation of community assets.

1. Framing the Urban

1.1 Spatiality and urban space

1.1.1. Cities and spatiality.

Wirth (2005) defined cities as consisting of three important variables in articulating urbanity: size, density, and heterogeneity. The prevalence of these variables influences the characteristics of urban space. Considered archaic within contemporary urban sociology (see Merrifield, 2002: 116); cities still formulate unique spaces for observing urban subcultures, diversity, global impacts, and inequalities (Lin & Mele, 2005). This thesis starts from a more critical sociological standpoint, focusing upon the economic conceptualisation of urban spaces and the interactions governed by ‘race’ that take place within. Thus, the critical urban sociology explored within this thesis conceptualises the city in terms of:

‘...conflict rather than consensus.... highlight[ing] the significance of capitalist accumulation and class struggle to the processes of urban development and resource allocation.....[which] emphasise[s] the role of social relations, including gender, class and race, in shaping urban form’ (Stevenson, 2013: 12).

The process of structuring and formulating the ‘urban’ and associated phenomena (taking place within the context of macro, global shifts) is compounded and filtered through the political expediency of national and local governance. These processes, in turn present further insights into ‘the nature and existence of a set of social processes that [are] specifically *urban*’ (Stevenson, 2013: 13).

Consequently, the objective social processes defining the geographical spatiality of the ‘urban’ directs the focus of this thesis, particularly the centrality of ‘race’ (and the issues the term raises) across spatio-temporality. A large part of the socio-spatial analyses presented across this thesis focuses upon Liverpool’s Black community and resistance towards the processes of accumulation by dispossession and the valorisation - devalorisation inherent to degenerated urban space. Particularly the ways in which Liverpool’s Black community groups have socially

developed (or not) in relation to the accumulation of capital or even more-so, the production of their immediate or living space. The suggestion at this point is that ‘race’ and therefore racialisation of space is central to understanding the conceptualisation of the UK urban spaces; the task is to now frame this proposition. Before framing this study’s approach, a brief discussion on the relevance of the term inner-city to the epistemological focus of this research. Inner-city policy development represents an important political-spatial reference across the empirical sections, but only as a window from which to view the development of urban policy.

1.1.2. Constructing the inner city.

If the development of urban policy has ‘.... historically been the [sole] preserve of the state’ (Margin, 2004: 2) and if difficulties often arise in attempts to compartmentalise urban policies within a coherent set of ideological approaches (Moore, 1995). Then what are the implications of these developments in terms of ‘race’ and class, or the implications of the state’s socio-economic and political choices and resultant policy pathways? Is there a ‘method in capital’s economic madness...in terms of value in motion’? (See Harvey, 2017: 1). Some Urban Sociologists suggest that UK urban policy often develops as a ‘chaotic conception’ (Atkinson and Moon, 1994: 20). Even so, the focus of urban policy research and its development now situates economic patterns within urban systems (MacLennan & Miao, 2017); thereby analysing policy within a ‘political economy framework’ (Jacob & Manzi, 2016: 21).

However, the role of ‘race’ within the framework of urban policy development is now ignored or at best overlooked for some urbanists (Smith, 2017). History suggests that the impetus for the urban expansion of the UK’s industrial and military complex can be found in geographical expansions. These historical expansions also fuelled a racialised history of slavery, imperialism, and colonialism (see Wolf, 1982). What is also evident is that

‘...competition between capitalist producers on the land encounters differential advantages...due to location relative to other forms of economic activity’ (Harvey, 2017: 36).

This implies a rationale to exploring ‘race’ within the complex urban historical development of capital (and the economic ideology) underpinning urban policy. Accordingly, the empirical aspect of this study seeks to illuminate the unevenness of the distributive aspects of policy by articulating the development relative to the dynamics of how capital accumulation specifically operates across urban spaces (Cochrane, 2007; Tallon, 2010). Yet it is the relationship between the ways in which space is organised on these terms (expanded upon below) and the implicit territorial or area focus of government policies that informs the understanding of urban policy development across this study.

It is posited that the uneven development of inner-city policy is integral to this urban development. Urban policy seeks outputs, dependent upon capital accumulating the assets of geographical spaces for extrapolating value (set out below). This is the crucial context in which capital moves away from the social (re)productive forces of labour power and into the realms of fictitious capital – just as Marx predicted. Accordingly, this study shows that the state’s ‘inner city’ designated programmes developed in this way, in part, to conceal the aim of urban policy – to support the accumulation of a racial capitalism.

1.1.3. Spatial fixation and the inner city.

Narrowing the focus of policy development within the spatial fixity (discussed further) of the ‘inner-city’ and its relationship to political economy - also highlights the state’s activity as it organises, and controls defined territories (Hirst and Thompson, 1996). But more so local responses to urban problems are continuously (and often detrimentally) in motion due to an incessant requirement of policy makers to ‘convert those ideas into locally appropriate solutions and to roll them out’ almost without recourse to economies of scale (McCann & Ward, 2011: xiv). This presents the policy parameters of this study, in that the development of

‘inner-city’ policy cannot be separated from notions or discourse of the state, spatial management, and ‘race’. This study further suggests that dialectical tensions between national/local state policy and the objective circumstances of Liverpool’s Black community, potentially articulate the unevenness of the disbursement and direction of funding programmes across those inner-city areas (Tallon, 2010).

1.1.4. Inner city and ‘race’.

In making the case as to why the term inner-city acts as a vital policy reference, it is important to understand that the ‘inner city does not represent a singular, unambiguous set of issues; but is polymorphic, bringing together a range of concerns’ (Rhodes and Brown (2019: 3243). However, ‘alongside notions of decline, disorder, poverty and economic stagnation’; it is the function of ‘race’ that can be understood as the ‘defining feature of the ‘inner city’ alongside notions of post-industrialism (ibid). It is taken as axiomatic that historically, areas of Black density have been portrayed and are subject to a ‘particular’ view. For example, ‘Toxteth’ and the urban uprisings of 1981 presented the spaces of Black concentration in Liverpool as the ‘archetypal ‘inner city’. Smith’s examination of ‘racialized space’ proves instructive in articulating this facet of urban policy development (see Smith, 1989, 1993).

More recent academic insights have acknowledged that the term ‘inner city’ may be better understood as a pejorative ascription in how space is viewed (Mavrommatis, 2011; Rhodes and Brown, 2019). This body of writing differs from the work of Keith (2005) or Millington (2011) in that the former focus upon the ways in which *space is constructed by the state*; whereby the latter focus upon the ways in which individuals negotiate or relate to their environment, thereby – it is argued - lessening the political thrust of the analyses. But the utility of Millington and Keith is their focus upon the key changes in the language of narrative – particular in articulating policy development. Ultimately both approaches signpost the language of the myriad ‘political

contestations sutured by ‘race’ dominating ‘post-war political discourse and urban policy’ (Rhodes and Brown (2019: 3243). It is this connection that the rest of this chapter will develop in attempting to frame the dialectical relationship between racialised space and urban development – articulated further as the racial fix (see below).

Rendering the inner-city in this way, has potential to provide further insights into the spatial fetishisms underpinning the ‘inherently political character’ of ‘imagined geographies of race’. The analysis also can further articulate the language of narrative and ‘techniques of representation’ (Rhodes and Brown (2019: 3244). Ergo, the ‘inner city’ can be understood as sharing a symbiotic relationship to previous ideas of the ‘American Ghetto’; hence the ‘inner city’ as a site of analyses offers

‘...a framing device through which the minority ethnic presence and its purported problems’ have been articulated and understood... [understood politically as] structuring how specific spaces are viewed, as well as well as reciprocally (re) constructing bodies associated with these spaces as ‘racially’ distinct...[representing] the spatial dimensions of race making and the ‘spatial character of race’ (Knowles, 2003: 78 – QF (Rhodes and Brown (2019: 3244)).

A framing device that is also

‘... representational [as a] ...subject of - and object for - forms of socio-political knowledge and institutional action.... [shaping] urban policy across the domains of housing, education, employment and policing’. In which ‘a selective vision is presented, producing specific (in-) visibilities that promote or occlude particular bodies, practices and issues’.

The contextual spatial shifts across the distinct periods set out across the empirical sections reveal how ‘race’ and spatiality converge across ‘a racial archaeology of space’ (Mavrommatis, 2010: 541). What this approach has the potential to reveal is that at a substantive level, the inner city presents opportunities to observe and chart the construction of racialised spaces. Thus, inferring that ‘value’ produces specificity across ‘urban cultures...political and institutional rationalities’ towards racialised spaces in the accumulating capital.

In turn racialised space, shapes and directs ‘national policy and political framings of ‘race’, ethnicity and space’ (Rhodes and Brown (2019: 3244 - 3245). The task now is to frame how this will be applied within a robust Marxist framework of urban analysis, explored next.

1.2. Towards a Theoretical Framework of Urban Analyses.

1.2.1. The Symbolism of violence.

In unpacking the ideology underpinning inner urban development and inner-city policy set out above, this thesis obviously considers wider urban decline within historic socio-economic/political considerations (Atkinson and Moon, 1994). For example, examining the State’s role in urban development and the economic relationship between capital, the state and local state, is drawn out within this framework to formulate the motive social forces relating to the ‘urban’. At this point it is suggested that the state’s role in localised socio-spatial economics is underpinned by neoliberal’s reliance on the state to apply force or violence in delivering the ‘coercive law of competition’ (see Harvey, 1989). Secondly it is suggested that the state and the UK neoliberalism model has increasingly resorted to what Bourdieu (1984) understood as symbolic violence.

Symbolic violence emerges from a legitimisation of dominance between the powerful and those without power (Bourdieu, 1984). Although non-physical, the threat is not diminished and often manifests within the power differentials between groups. Bourdieu suggested that Marxism did not have the tools to conduct a full theoretical analysis utilising ‘symbolic power and violence’ at its core. He suggests that a ‘logic of practice’ embracing ‘bodily practice’ within ‘fields of symbolic production’ offered more than a Marxist approach governed by ‘labour’. This thesis proposes a divergence from Bourdieu’s articulation and towards a dialectical ‘conversation’ across Marxist categories. It is further argued that Marxist categories offer more in terms of developing insights into the abstractions or idealisms that ‘drive history’ (Burowoy, 2019; 34-

38). The insights across this thesis unpick how the symbolic violence referred to above, manifests as power across recent urban history, chiefly in confrontations between the state and the Black community, thus leading to *contested inner city space* (see Smith, 2017). Smith (2017) suggests that contested inner-city spaces tend to consist of considerable Black concentrations.

The historic contextualisation of racial capitalism set out across chapter three, articulates how the state violence inherent to colonialization and imperialism shapes the management of contested Black urban space in Liverpool. This acts as a baseline when analysing subsequent decades. Similarly, the empirical sections also infer (from the same point of departure) that contested Black urban spaces and state violence (symbolic and physical) are mutually exclusive within racial capitalism. Thus, confirming what been implied within some US academic theory (Katznelson, 1992 or Gilmore 2002 for example) but is often missing from the UK. There are several challenges in articulating this facet of urbanity from a Marxist perspective, but there is also the potential to glean fresh insights into the current standing of the Black community communities in relation to urban socio-economic and political considerations.

1.2.2. Reading Capital.

Volumes, I II & III Capital allows a solid theoretical base of how historical materialism offers primacy to the objective factors latent in: and governing the level of the productive forces (of capitalism). Similarly, it also allows insights into how class relations are a vital component in the making of history (Novack, 1968). However, to further understand the ways in which racial capitalism shapes urban space, this study utilises David Harvey's body of work. Harvey's approach inserts geographical spatial considerations into the historical materialism espoused by Marx and Engels. Harvey's geographical, historical materialism allows concise insights into the motions of urban capital. This in turn potentially offers fresh insights into how racial capitalism shapes spatiality, in contradistinction to productive forces, thus building upon

Harvey's theory. On a basic level the conceptual tools of spatial fixity and motion (expanded upon below) are utilised to further understand how capital; when moved away from the productive forces of industrialism; fixes upon the building of urban spaces i.e., airports, shopping malls etc. (Harvey, 1985) Similarly Harvey's movement towards a 'philosophy of social space' also offers this research a firm philosophical basis (Harvey, 1973). The question was how would an understanding of historical-geographical materialism shape the research?

1.2.3. Production of spatial terms.

The challenges in viewing the urban in the way set out above, using 'traditional' Marxist perspectives, is that differentiation (class) is traditionally understood in terms of a social relationship - those who own the means of production in a dialectical relationship with those who sell their labour power, or:

‘...more concretely, a class of capitalists is in command of the work process and organizes that process for the purposes of producing profit. The labourer, however, has command only over his or her labour power, which must be sold as a commodity on the market’. (Harvey, 1982: 1).

If viewed within the narrow confines of industrial production, labour power translates as ‘socially necessary labour’ used to produce *things*. However, this approach *appears to offer little* relevance to the utility and formation of contemporary urban space, other than offering insights into urban development across the industrial development of the UK. It is, therefore, necessary to extrapolate further on the application of Marxist concepts to urban space. Within ‘traditional’ Marxism, the value created by labour power is often

‘...divided between capital and labour...depending upon the organised (or disorganised) power of each in relation to each other’ (ibid).

Historical materialism reveals how these same differentials occur across the workforce, in adding value to the labour process. Capitalism proffers that differentiation across production is due to ‘skill, status and position’ in adding value to the process of labour. What is also very apparent and will be shown across this study, is that ‘differentials due to gender, ‘race’,

ethnicity, religion and sexual preference’ are not formed outside of *the notion of value* (Harvey, 2017: 14). Marxist approaches, such as the Harvey’s, discussed below; offers this thesis a more productive route in seeking to understand the ways in which the capitalist notion of value *differentiates*. Applicably, it is this connection that the rest of this chapter will develop as an approach to understanding how ‘race’ and spatiality are crucial in articulating how areas of Black density have developed in Liverpool and how they may be better understood within a paradigm of racial capitalism.

1.3. Global political economy and the legacies of present-day power dimensions

1.3.1 Beyond a world system

The ‘world systems’ theory developed by Frank (1996) amongst others (i.e., Wallerstein, 1974) was also utilised by Robinson to explore the history of Black radicalism and racial capitalism (1983), and has a very particular application to this study, in that it allows this thesis to root broad historical sweeps within the narrative. Thus, proffering the ability to dialectically shift between the general (e.g., imperialism) and the particular (e.g., Liverpool). This is particularly enlightening across the historical sections, allowing the mapping and situating of the origins and development of Liverpool’s Black community within a broad historical perspective conducive to the racialised capitalist system of global production (see below). The broad historical perspective supports a view that capital’s domination is complete because of its ability to capitalise upon industrial and technological progressions. The issue which piques interest for this thesis is that technological progress also allows the process of fragmentation to keep pace with the same developments (Brenner, 1999). This fragmentation (and the process) resonates across the empirical sections, particularly the ‘countless community and small is beautiful groups seeking to protect their members livelihoods and identities’ (Frank and Fuentes, 1987), to be explored across chapter eight in the context of contemporary spatialised

strategies of resistance in Liverpool 8. The initial hypothesis from this point suggests that as neoliberalism individuates, the resultant atomisation undermines solidarity, but to what extent does racial capitalism shape individualisms?

Observing urban development potentially allows deeper insights into how spaces of Black concentrations have developed (or not) across space-time. Harvey's approach to date, has failed to fully articulate the way 'race' and class influence how value is construed within urban development. It will be argued that this phenomenon occurs in Liverpool, due to the historic socialised conditions fostered by racial capitalism and finds examples within Liverpool's Black community. In the first instance, these conditions are governed by the historical development of the Black community in relation to that same racialised capitalist development. It is here that this thesis conjoins with Robinson (1983) in that the concepts of colonialism and Imperialism resonate within this same development and Liverpool's Black community acts as a lens from which to view how this takes place.

1.3.2. The residual implications of primitive accumulation upon colonialism.

Marx (1976) distinctly referenced the colonial logic of capital and one of the more profound passages (at least for this study) in *Capital* has this to offer.

‘[the] Colonial system... [an] offshoot of the period of manufacture swell to gigantic proportions during the period of infancy of large-scale industry...like the royal navy, the factories were recruited by the press gang...’ (Marx, 1976: 922).

Meiksins-Woods suggests that the 'classical' articulation of primitive accumulation is Eurocentric and represents the accumulation of the mass of wealth required before 'commercial society' can reach maturity'. Whereby she suggests that this does not conceptualise

‘...capitalism as a specific social form, with a distinctive social structure and distinctive social relations of production’ (Meiksins-Wood, (2017: 31).

This articulation will be utilised across the empirical chapters in understanding why for example Imperialism/colonialism and primitive accumulation are inseparable from the social and historical processes fuelling the racial capitalism set out below. For, as Ghosh (2016: 234) suggests,

‘[in articulating] Western capitalism, theoretical critiques of capitalist accumulation process have almost done way with the state, as if capitalism unfolded in the long twentieth century without the state machinery and the imperialist order. Politics was once more taken out of political economy. In globally positioned views, the state always appears as a minor factor, while in local revolutionary views the state appears always as a crucial factor facilitating globalization and capitalism’.

In this way the implications of the ‘colonial system’ within capitalist accumulation forms a symbiotic relationship to the parameters of the symbolic violence inherent to the process of racial capitalism. It is further argued that the implications of the ‘colonial system’ within capitalist accumulation, also conforms with the parameters of the symbolic violence discussed earlier. In short, the violence inherent to the above rendering of primitive accumulation plays a crucial role in the form of slave labour. Robinson (1983: 81) states that as in the

‘...pre-capitalist societies... [slave labour] was an inextricable element in the material, commercial, and capital development...’

Therefore, as can be deduced from the above and as described by Marx (1976: 918), the treasures (including the labourer and his labour) captured outside of ‘Europe by undisguised looting, enslavement and murder... [flowed] back to the mother country... [to be] turned into capital. Then what is often missing from the analyses of Harvey for example, is the role primitive accumulation plays in developing an understanding of the dominant role racial capitalism plays within this social and historical process (see Robinson, 1983). The problem in analysing and situating the above Marx extract within racial capitalism (for example) is that the broad historical sweep (articulated above) offers little in understanding how this ‘fact’ shaped the psyche of the British worker towards people of colour, for example.

Kundnani (2007: 13) suggests that notions of Empire provided

‘...the British public with a grand lens through which to view events in Africa and Asia... [but it was a lens] that blocked out the actual experiences of the people living under British rule, thus enabling the demonisation of those same people when they settled in Britain’.

In this example, generalisation doesn’t offer adequate insights into the scope of colonialism and imperialism in the social history of Britain nor indeed Liverpool, but it does offer a baseline from which to proceed. As will be shown across chapter’s three, four and five, the residues of the ‘colonial office’ overlap with the ‘contested inner-city’ during the latter half of the twentieth century. Up until 1977 the British governmental department responsible for all aspects of the inward migration of African/Caribbean subjects; was the same office responsible for distributing grant funding across to Black communities (see Smith, 2016; Mavrommatis, 2010).

Refracting this ‘fact’ throughout this study’s analysis presents an opportunity to better understand the social capital of Liverpool’s Black community within the totality of racial capitalism. This will be particularly useful when illustrating the development of apparent colonial mentalities of the average British worker, for example. Understanding why ‘race’ and class (within the context of colonialism); are foundational to the development of racial capitalism *illuminates* rather than obfuscates socioeconomic barriers for ‘other’ social divisions; as it has the potential to unravel ancillary barriers (see Rodney, 2018). Applicably, chapter six charts’ politics outside of the homogeneous white and male political system i.e., Black Women’s organisations/groups and the role of social reproduction (see below) within this development. This also offers an opportunity to observe how *visible representation* is constituted (if at all) against the same ancillary barriers Rodney refers to above, but it also presents insights into the political dilemma for Black feminists. Both variables – the role of

visible representation and Black Feminism within social reproduction are discussed in depth below.

What becomes an interesting proposition in attempting to articulate the consequences of colonial history upon the development of racial capitalism, is how the vestige of colonialism maintains a residual presence across spaces of conflict in the UK. Chapter five reveals explicitly how the *residuals of colonialism* refract through public discourse, most notably across the media. Yet as chapter seven and particularly chapter eight reveal, colonialism is inextricably linked to an ideology of dispossessing Black people of space or selecting those individuals and groups that allow the coloniser to govern by proxy.

It is suggested that the *residuals of colonialism* may be better understood by drawing direct inference from the UK's imperial history to fully understand the racialised disparities within the development of urban accumulation in the UK. Investigating where the psychological impressions of imperialism and colonialism are apparent should prove a more fruitful component in seeking to unpick the ideology driving the historic development and impetus of inner urban accumulation. However, within this augmented 'totality' of urban accumulation, the final two chapters are essentially framed by the racial capitalism conceptual notion that

'...territorial divisions remain intact' where the 'centres, peripheries and semi peripheries still correspond...to the scheme of things' articulated within the concept of neo colonialism (Frank, 1982: iii)

This will be articulated through the proposition that - the measure of success for the neoliberal 'ethnic' group formation *displays all the facets of the ruling classes*. Rodney (2018: 320) suggested as much in that during the post-colonial Africa because,

'Africans were restricted to manipulating colonial institutions as best they could [and from which] fundamental contradictions arose within'.

The examination of spatial policy and participants voices work to highlight or contrast this very point, however the empirical discussion in the final chapter, reveals little to this study without absorbing the broad historical sweeps of racial capitalism set out within chapters four and five. The post-colonial example above, highlights a synergy to the processes inherent to the politics of identity (discussed below) often found within media narratives – explored extensively in chapter six – from which to *sneer at and attack radical black working-class formations*. In this way it is important to understand the ways in which

‘...the liberal left shares in the damaging mythology that some kind of national story of Britishness has to be created’ (Kundnani, 2007: 7).

Congruently, and building upon the foundations of the above as a point of departure, it is important to understand that in colonialism *the landlord was the landowner*, with the colonial subjects *working the value into the land*. Applicably, the later discussion within chapter eight is framed to refract and articulate this articulation of the residue of British colonialism as estate management (Wolf, 1996). This notion will be applied to the housing estates of Liverpool 8 and the management of ‘Black’ spatiality in general.

The initial stage of capitalist development was inherently mercantile or is not according to Meiksins-Wood (see above), in that trading of goods and the search for markets dictated the accumulation of capital. The system moved into a racialised but capitalist development and the colonised were now subjected to the whims and relations of the imperialist expansions, thereby converted into a nation of serfs and subjects through the exercise of sovereignty over land (Rodney, 2018). Applying the same proposition in analysing the urban presents a more insightful articulation of Black spatiality and vice versa. Particularly how Black spaces are ‘managed’ within the process of racial capitalism, as highlighted across this study’s empirical research, but also the ways in which the psychology of said management (sovereignty) influences contemporary urban institutions.

For example, and as explored within chapter eight, colonial transformation in recent history (i.e., Iraq) is often enacted through direct political power via *state sponsored companies*, in which ‘colonial subjects’ are coerced (or rewarded) into working for the imperialist out of economic necessity. This occurred historically due to the conquest of mercantilist (rentier) policies and subsequent capitalist relations (Evans, 2018). It is this framing of colonialism that will allow this thesis to analyse the residuals of colonialism across contemporary institutions in Liverpool i.e., the third sector or housing associations.

1.3.3. Imperialism and uneven development.

Marx also did not talk of imperialism - only of foreign trade; imperialism was a central concern of his noteworthy heirs, particularly Lenin’s ‘Imperialism: the highest stage of capitalism’ (1916) and Luxemburg’s ‘Accumulation of Capital’ (1913). In short Lenin believed that imperialism was not only an irreversible aspect of capitalist expansion but was also a necessary stage of capitalist development. Whereas Luxemburg believed that the tendency of the capitalist system to produce more than could be absorbed ensured that capitalists constantly looked for new customers. Although incorrect in her assumptions that wages would not rise (central to her thesis) for example, thus necessitating crises; Luxemburg did however highlight the tendency for the capitalist mode to

‘...expand in search of raw materials...and cheap labour...to process [them]...her empirical accounts are replete with examples showing how control [is achieved through] ...force... [thereby emphasising]...relations between the capitalist centre and dominated periphery (Wolf, 1992: 302).

In this fashion, imperialism is vital in underpinning the centrality of colonialism to capitalist reproduction and for Sivanandan (1989: 1)

‘Imperialism is still the highest stage of capitalism – *only, the circuits of imperialism have changed* with the changes wrought in capital by the revolution in the production process...’ [my emphasis]

What this essentially captures is an important transformational ‘moment’ in the realignment of class struggle but more importantly, signposts as to where the engendered factionalism referred

to above - can be found. In this way it is important to clarify the mode of imperialism underpinning this framework's theoretical positing. This brings forth several questions regarding the economics of capitalist accumulation, but more importantly flags up the inherent differences between *forms of colonisation*, for example the difference between Australia as a colony and Jamaica.

Perhaps a far more insightful synopsis to Lenin's thesis can be found in the analyses of O'Connor, who defines imperialism as the [my emphasis]

'...formal or *informal control over local economic resources* in a manner advantageous to the metropolitan power...at *the expense* of the local economy' (O'Connor, 1979: 118).

So 'property wealth' as will be shown across chapters five, six and eight drives fictitious capital in the form of credit, goods and services flowing from the 'metropole' towards the periphery, but crucially the surplus value flows back from the periphery towards the 'metropole'. What this relationship suggests, it has been argued by some including Roxborough (1979: 58), is a convergence or compatibility between the basic dicta underpinning theories of imperialism. Which in general, but without contestations; tend to assume that the effects of unequal exchange are compounded – but not exclusive – to the deleterious effects of foreign capital within the periphery. For example, 'foreign' capital

'[Within]...underdeveloped economies... may result in a transfer of the resources from the periphery to the centre... [also giving] rise to *blocking mechanisms*... [holding] back or [distorting] the economies of the periphery, thereby preventing...allocation of economic resources [to] produce economic growth' (Roxborough, 1979: 63).

This is a crucial context in which capital seeks opportunities to develop and accumulate, but it does not explain the ways in which value as a social relation – immaterial but objective – is valorised through the post slavery or indentured colonialist period for example. So, in conclusion, this study posits that imperialism and colonial dependency are inextricably linked through an innate desire to accumulate capital through investment in the peripheral, within a system

that is inherently racialised (Robinson, 1983). Thereby it is possible to view how the anti-colonialist polemics (qf, Amin, 1976, Cesaire, 1972; Fanon, 1963 or Rodney, 1972) are particularly adept in working to ensure that the theories of development/underdevelopment set out below are understood in terms of the centrality of ‘race’ to capital, imperialism, and the effects of this colonisation.

1.3.4. Development of underdevelopment.

Anthropologically this study aims to reveal that the mode of production can be understood as consisting of two priorities across human development. In the first instance it is human ‘behaviour in the material world’ – thereby discounting ‘mental events’ – or conversely

‘Priority to mental schemata as defined by people themselves...and treat behaviour in the material world as epiphenomena of these cerebral understandings’ (Wolf, 1997: xiii).

Chapter six proposes that articulating the social reproduction (see below) of urban economics in this way, allows a clearer insight into who does what in the urban division of labour with regards to the socially reproductive elements of racial capitalism (see below). This directs attention towards the

‘Processes...of socially distributed and variable repertoires of understandings and imagining into concordance and correspondence’ (ibid).

Making it possible to closely observe how

‘...knowledge is accumulated, communicated or withheld...how cosmological orders are built up and invoked to accumulate some forms of power while muting or disarticulating other forms...how mental schemata come to dominate others in the formation of gender, classes and ethnicities’ (Wolf, 1997: xiv).

If imperialism and colonisation invoke a more complete version of the history of accumulation, then it must reflect the *colonialised* experiences of the *development of capital* in concrete situations (Harvey, 2014). Yet Harvey does not insist upon the same primacy within spaces of Black settlement. By not extending the colonialism inherent to imperialism – for example Brit-

ish Imperialism and the cadastral production of maps – into a deeper and more relative examination of the former colonial institutions and the social reproduction of space; fails to fully articulate the *hegemony* of power and *ideology* towards people of colour and particularly women. This is where the former colonies and the role racial capitalism presents a crucial gap in Harvey’s theoretical exposition and this proposition will be extended to the analysis of chapter eight in articulating how and why this occurs in Liverpool.

It is the *process* and articulation of the unequal exchange apparent within imperialism and colonialism – *inequality*, in place of *opportunity* for the colonised - which proves instructive in understanding the centrality of ‘race’ within uneven development and by extension accumulation by dispossession. Consequently, chapters five and six articulate the plight of Black workers in this manner as they seek equanimity in the labour market, across the historical divide inherent to the conceptual insertion of the racial capitalism discussed further.

1.4. Policies of racialisation and racialised spatial segregation

1.4.1. ‘Race’ and housing the problem of value.

Across the current UK housing market and other global economies, property wealth contains transnational and increasingly corporate sponsored investment, leading to spaces of global capitalism (Harvey, 2006). This of course has ramifications for those unable to play the ‘property game’, but more importantly as chapter seven and eight explore, ‘property wealth’ and the politics of property are differentiated even at the ‘corporate’ level. Thus, it will be argued, when the corporate veil is lifted (as in chapter five) by conducting the forensic analysis of the public financial records; a clearer insight into how ‘value’ is attributed to Black spaces is revealed. The above forms the basis of an urban epistemology which it will be argued, fuels uneven development; but more importantly governs those power differentials impacting upon

spaces (understood as spatialised racial capitalism) that have been utilised to segregate marginalised communities.

Spatial segregation has, to an extent, been previously demonstrated in Liverpool across housing (Fru, 1979), politics (LBC, 1986; Small & Solomos, 2006), education (Swann, 1985) and the Liverpool Black experience in general (Small, 1983; 1991; 1994. Christian, 1998; 2002). The social consequence of spatial segregation feeds a wider counter-narrative of resistance (see below) that also offers the potential to examine those transitional moments shaping the socio-economic and political development of Liverpool's Black community. One way to draw out the consequences of these moments within the concept of racial capitalism, is to observe the dialectic between the state and segregated communities *in situ*. Chapters six, seven and eight, specifically articulate how the psychological impact of transitional moments in space time, provoked patterns of resistance and conflicts from within Liverpool's Black community. There have been little contemporary analyses of grassroots organising in Liverpool. Particularly how it impacts upon the political or socio-economic spatial development of Liverpool, nor indeed the Black community or those individuals directly involved in resistance. To understand this further, the literature contained within this framework recognises recurring themes, which emerged from within the research material to be analysed further within this study –

- 'race' relations in the context of community organising and resistance; and
- 'race' relations in the context of the struggle for equal opportunities across employment and housing.

Both frame this study's approach to clarifying the role 'race' played in underpinning the institutional arrangements and processes inherent to the urban liberal formations set out below. Thus, articulating the ways in which 'race' has been used as a tool to *compartmentalise* and *oppress* communities of resistance – politically and socio-economically – across space-time.

The above selections may appear on the face of it, a set of disparate correlatives, however as this thesis reveals, aspects of UK government programmes fuel historical racial injustices and resistance. It is argued that via a historic process of policy transfer, many, if not all; of the policies used to manage Black spaces replicate how the US manages African American communities. These have their ideological roots in the USA, but the overall focus of this study is to refract potential theoretical developments throughout this thesis and explore ‘race’ and urban resistance within a spatial totality. For example, community resistance against red lining in Detroit³ can act as a theoretical anchor to further frame a western universality of ‘race’ and spatiality (articulated below as the racial fix). Red lining worked to design out Black homeownership in specific areas in Detroit, symbolising the ‘racial’ politics operating across the U.S. post war period; but is discussed in relation to its application across Liverpool 8 in chapter six. Similarly, the positive action projects, designed to address levels of employment inequality rolled out across Liverpool following the urban uprisings; also frame chapter six to reflect the nature and implication of further policy transfers (Ben Tovim et al, 1989).

1.5. The economics of value representation and devalorisation.

1.5.1. The representation of value

In clarifying the ways in which the above framing will be set out, it is vital in the first instance to understand the ways in which value is considered from the Marxist perspective – or at least the way in which this study will draw inference. The proposition is that urban wealth in the form of surplus value, emerges from the spatial exploitation of certain communities and just as Marx proclaimed

‘Money as a measure of value is the necessary form of appearance of the measure of value which is imminent in commodities, namely labour time’ (Marx, [1867] 1990: 188).

³ The financial system played an integral role in the redlining of Detroit, one of the more incisive articles comes from Dreier, P (1991) Redlining Cities: How Banks Color Community Development, *Challenge*, 34:6, 15-23; but more importantly for the focus of this study is the role, is the ‘spatial variation’ set out within Kantor, A. C. & Nystuen, J. D. (1982) De Facto Redlining a Geographic View, *Economic Geography*, 58:4, 309-328,

What becomes apparent within Marx's demystification, is that money, as the expression of relative and equivalent (surplus) values; in fact, conceals the true nature of its relationship to value (socially necessary labour time) and exchange (concrete and abstract labour). It is by theoretically developing the application of 'concealment' which has the potential to bear fruit in further understanding how urban politics and the inevitable programmes/project and funding streams across urban spaces; are integral to the 'restoration of class power' inherent to neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005:7). Chapter four explores the 'enactment of the concealed nature' of capital accumulation by revealing how urban policy shifted from 'inner-city' (see chapter two) considerations towards 'property wealth' – under the racial fix discussed below.

Applicably the framing of chapter five aims to reveal how and why the material basis of value not only shapes relations of production and property; but illustrates how value interacts and shapes other social and cultural phenomena – particularly the ways in which Black communities are constituted under racial capitalism. For example, during the period from 1945-1973 there were very few financial global crises, but post 1973 'hundreds' have taken place and 'several of these have been property or urban development led' (Harvey, 2010: 8). In turn these crises tend to have greater impact upon those on the margins of society and in the USA the 'sub-prime' financial impetus and subsequent crash disproportionately affected African American communities and led to massive levels of unjust repossessions – the question was why were African Americans disproportionately affected? (Harvey, 2017). It is suggested that the ways in which the state ascribes and distorts 'property values' offers insights into how 'process value' occurs within racial capitalism.

Although the role of the neo-liberalised state (discussed below) played, should not be overlooked; because within these 'post-industrial' crises, the State, often chose, '...the financial system...and financial institutions over the...population' (Harvey, 2005:71). In essence this does not attribute all post 1970s financial crises towards urban development – the

flight of capital overseas towards cheap labour is another facet for example (Harvey, 2005). However, it does illuminate the flow and movement of financial capital, (underpinning global uneven geographical development) ascribing value towards spaces and groups (or not). So, in Liverpool the process of economic development ‘in the name of’ does offer the potential to look at how the local state draws attention to specific areas for redevelopment or not - and will be explored with the context of the unevenness of institutional services across chapter six.

In turn this should offer the ability to open new insights in analysing the composition of inner-city space, its relational problems, and inherent contradictions (Harvey, 2010). Charting spaces of historical Black settlement in Liverpool, also allows the possibility to analyse how value is ascribed within a particular locale and its ideological relationship to inner urban spatial development. But more importantly revising the conflictual relationship between community and local state, allows insights into the dialectical tensions governing how value is construed and for whom. In contradistinction it also has potential to lead to a clearer articulation of how certain spaces are de-valourised, by whom and for what purpose.

1.5.2. Process devalorisation.

As inferred above, process value within urban development, directs insight into the consequences of the *process of uneven development*, set out within Smith’s exegeses of the *devalorisation* inherent to spaces of geographical uneven development (Smith, 1997: 84-87). Whereby deliberate disinvestment is utilised as a tactical ploy in manipulating and instigating the baseline for potential capital accumulation. It is posited that there are no magic formulae from which urban capital investment shifts from the state of devalorisation - to one of revalorisation without considerable social forces operating in search of value or to be more precise – the representation of value – set out above. Crucially Marx set out the valorisation of capital as it differs from the money commodity in this way

‘In the simple circulation of commodities (C-M-C) the two extremes have the same economic form...commodities of equal value...but they are also qualitatively different use-values...the interchange carried out between the different materials in which social labour is embodied, forms here the content of the movement...[but in] the cycle M-C-M [differs] ... [meaning] more money is finally withdrawn from circulation than was thrown in at the beginning....this...I call ‘surplus value’...the [original value]...not only remains intact while in circulation, but increases...or is valorised...and this movement converts it into capital’ (Marx, 1969: 205-252).

This “process” *definition of capital* is important’ because for one - ‘process’ departs from the ‘classical political economics’ where capital is understood as ‘a stock of assets’ - or modern economics where capital is understood as a ‘thing like “factor of production” ...[whereby] capital is money used in a certain way’ (Harvey, 2010: 88-89).

For the purposes of this study, capital should not be understood as profit or fiat monies, but as ‘value in motion’ and consequently as a *process*, and not a ‘thing’ that potentially reveals the motions of the economics of urban space. The natural expression of this process (within the parameters of this study) is the movement of capital within the built environment and how designated urban funding orders *process value* in Liverpool. As demonstrated, it should also be noted that the representation of value (money), can only be realised within the process of valorisation – in this case the exchange, C-M- Δ M⁴. Ergo at the point of sale and profit. So, if exchange (not use) is the goal within the process of urban development, then what can be gleaned from examples of the process of physical development? Better still, the process of physical degeneration and targeted strategies of resistance? This will be a focus of the empirical chapters, particularly the transition of social housing in the context of uneven development of Black organisations and resistance.

To this extent the pathway - understood as *process devalorisation* - and even more so, the ways in which this pathway forms a symbiotic relationship with the accumulative imperative of local urban programmes or designated spatial fixes (see Harvey, 2006:415); is crucial in

⁴ Delta – Δ denoting surplus value

understanding any subsequent policy pathways. Chapter seven charts the motion of surplus value (valorisation) inherent to urban development initiatives (i.e., inner urban core redevelopment) and examines if Blackness is compatible within the parameters of *process (de)valorisation* in Liverpool (at any given juncture of capital accumulation). And if not, what was apparent within the institutional decisions, compositions, and spatial fixes (see below)? i.e. If there proves to be a ‘concealment’ of the machinations of devalorisation then it becomes vital to further unpick the institutional impetus behind the drive for surplus value or indeed any representations from which value emerged. It is for this reason that this framework proffers that money does not recognise ‘race’ without *considerable social forces influencing the money commodity’s valorisation*? These aspects of process value will be explored across chapters six and seven, particularly the struggle for equitable fund disbursement under the terms that racial capitalism has imposed, set out below.

Marx (1976: 255) sarcastically referred to the *apparent compounding* (exponential growth) of the money commodity as the ‘golden egg’ because surplus value *appears to grow* exponentially across space and time - for example $Xt = Xo(1 + r)^5$. But how do phenomena such as this occur as process and at what or who’s expense or exclusion, in what mode is *value* – immaterial but objective – ultimately realised within the conceptual development of racial capitalism? Here, the process of devalorisation and the ways in which the process of degeneration of Black spaces, offers the opportunity to observe and test ‘*value in motion*’ and will be explored within chapters seven and eight. What is also interesting is to observe how Liverpool’s Black community faced the challenges of devalorisation and, it is argued within chapter six that the struggle was initially one of recognition.

⁵ This is the basic formula to calculate exponential growth. Start by taking the original metric, e.g. property price – X - then evaluate the percent this increased over the years – 0 x t - giving the growth rate - r -. The exponent in the equation is the number of time intervals being measured. The graph should look like an upward curve.

1.6. Political inclusion/exclusion, political organisation, and resistance

1.6.1. The struggle for Black workers

The struggle for visible recognition – across employment opportunities – is also examined within housing across chapter six and seven resonates deeply with the work of anti-imperialist under development theory discussed above. Particularly in underlining the ways in which the imperialist psychology underpinning racial capitalism continues to undermine *peripheral* development - or as will be discussed across this thesis - ‘Black’ Liverpool spaces assuming the peripheral role. Thus [my emphasis]

‘One must also understand that the competitiveness of productive activities in the economy should be considered as a productive system in its entirety and not a certain unit of production alone. Due to the *preference for outsourcing and subcontracting*, multinationals operating in the South can be the impetus for the creation of local units of production tied to transnationals, or autonomous and capable of exporting to the world market, which earns them the *status of “competitive”* in the language of *conventional economists*. This truncated concept of competitiveness, which proceeds from an *empiricist method, is not ours*. Competitiveness is that of a productive system. For this to exist, the economy must be made up of productive elements, with branches of this production sufficiently interdependent that one can speak of it as a system... These multiple and complementary objectives are contrasted with those of *the comprador class, who are content to adopt growth models that meet the requirements* of the dominant global system (liberal internationalism) and the possibilities these offer’ (Amin, 2014: 44).

As the principle aim of this study’s empirical research reinterprets the discriminatory aspect and mode of the imperialist imperative - by extension neo-colonialists - towards the urban uneven development of Liverpool’s Black community (in contradistinction to the city centre for example). This proves decisive in explicating the ways in which racial formations⁶ (or the idea of) permeates the social movements addressing housing justice, articulated within the empirical chapters as path dependent policies inherent to racial segregation. Another vital component to

⁶ According to Omi and Winant, racial formation is “the sociohistorical process by which racial identities are created, lived out, transformed, and destroyed” (2014, 109).

these racialised assertions is set out across chapter four. This allows a demarcation in understanding the basis of the initial strategies of resistance of Liverpool's Black community, thus offering insight into the strategies of more recent times (explored within chapter eight).

In chapter eight recent policy programmes are evaluated by their effectiveness in visibly challenging the disparity across urban spaces and the policy pathways from which they developed. This should indicate how programmes of aid were managed for the Black community of Liverpool 8, thus allowing additional insights, and firming up of this framework's theoretical position of the spatial production of imperial/colonial underdevelopment inherent to the racial capitalism explored further.

1.6.2. A Constructive Critique of Harvey

The above is set out as an examination of geographical (spatial) uneven development in its totality with regards to racial capitalism and the racial fix. This is to be explored as an extension to the theoretical developments of Harvey's Marxist approach and aims to examine the ways in which urban space is imagined, shaped, and constructed in the physical sense. But more importantly - by whom, and how that process was enacted. Harvey's theory of uneven geographical development contains 'two fundamental components' working together for humans to produce a 'nested hierarchy of spatial scales... [from] which to organise their activities and understand their world'.

Further investigation into the inherent processes at 'any one particular scale reveals a whole series of effects and processes producing geographical differences in ways of life, standards of living, resource uses, relations to the environment, and cultural and political forms' (Harvey, 2000: 75-77). Yet although Harvey makes a very convincing case regarding the ways in which 'geographical variations' are not 'relatively static let alone immutable' but are in 'motion at all scales'. He also appears to underestimate how for example, the process of transatlantic slavery,

imperialism, and colonialism (as globalism) shaped the political interrelationships of Black communities within modern capitalist urban spaces (Harvey, 2000: 78). What the historical aspect of this study aims to highlight within its analysis, is to reveal that Harvey in reducing these processes beneath a simple or generic conception of globalism; fails to fully articulate their utility to the concept of value and devalorisation.

For example, Gilmore (2002: 22) in presenting her

‘...political geography of race [that entails] investigating space, place, and locations as simultaneously shaped by gender, class and scale... [thus ensuring] a richer analysis of how... radical activism.... exploit[s] crises for liberatory ends’

Framing the political context of UK inner-city policy within the historically situated process of the state’s urban programmes (discussed below) allows insights into the forms of organised Black resistance Gilmore references. Particularly across the spatial temporal processes of urban transitions, explored within the empirical section of this thesis. However, the analysis and insertion of the concept of racial capitalism alongside a more politicised geography will essentially expand upon Harvey’s theorising. Similarly understanding the Black radical struggle for inclusionary policies (discussed across chapters five and six) within employment/training, housing and political inclusion offers the potential to view the unevenness of these social reproductive issues (see below) *in situ*.

An overarching aim of this study will be to examine how uneven geographical development is historically couched within the process of urban development. But more importantly the way in which Black spaces have become delineated and de-politicised to the detriment of the Liverpool’s Black community. Framing ‘race’ is in this way is ontologically

“...directed to discovering the transformation of rules whereby society is constantly being restructured ... [therefore a] method that seeks to identify the transformation rules through which society is restructured’ (Harvey, 2009: 289-290).

What Harvey (see above) misses are the ways in which urban policy and subsequent programmes are often used within communities which have been politically, economically, or civically disengaged, without revealing how or why, certain communities became detached under neoliberalism for example. It is suggested that this is where grasping the overarching implications of racial capitalism and the racial fix, in expanding upon Harvey's theorising; should prove fertile ground.

Chapter eight unpicks how this occurs within the totality of racial capital accumulation. It is suggested that here Harvey's school of Marxism misses several important insights within his solely class-based analyses, and it is further argued that

‘...the intellectual qua intellectual can, in ‘grasping his contradiction’, take the position of the oppressed, he cannot, by virtue of his class (invariably petty bourgeois) achieve an instinctual understanding of oppression’ (Sivanandan, 2008: 6)

The aim of the empirical chapters highlights how the Marxist approach of Harvey in particular, misses the centrality of the intersections between ‘race’, class and of course gender. Thus, by articulating how Liverpool's Black community has been manipulated via racial capitalism's totality of urban spatial policy and economics, this thesis presents original theoretical insights into the institutional spatial domination of communities. This is where the theories of uneven development and racial capitalism should prove fertile ground in seeking to extrapolate the political and historical imperative. However, it should be noted that

‘...development cannot be seen purely as an economic affair rather as an overall social process which is dependent upon the outcome of man's efforts to deal with his ‘natural’ environment’...through careful study [of material conditions] it is possible to comprehend some of the very complicated links between the changes in the economic base and changes in the rest of the superstructure of the society – including the sphere of ideology and social beliefs’ (Rodney, 2018: 5)

What is crucial for Rodney is that quantitative societal changes ‘give rise to...an entirely different society’ in which the ineffectiveness of the social relations promoting economic or social advances is a key feature. But the problems – explored within the empirical chapters - arise

when resistance to change ensues. Applicably, the dialectic operating between the transformative nature of social change/reproduction and the ideology behind capital accumulation – creative destruction for example (discussed later) – offers insights into how transformational grassroots politics resisted the process of accumulation.

1.6.3. Militant Particularism.

Harvey (2016) draws attention to the ‘politics of abstraction’ within his ‘Militant Particularism’ thesis. From which the question is raised as to what ‘constitutes a privileged claim to knowledge’ or more so

‘...how can we judge, understand, adjudicate and perhaps negotiate different knowledges constructed at very different levels of abstraction under radically different material conditions’ (Harvey, 2016: 219).

The answer to the passage above is to demarcate, it is argued, the ways in which material conditions govern individual aims and objectives, with the aim of understanding

‘...that sense of value that seeks a commonality to social life even in the midst of a striking heterogeneity of beliefs. But the maintenance of such a sense of value depends crucially upon a certain kind of interpersonal relating that typically occurs in particular places’ (Harvey, 2016: 225)

In this sense value can be extrapolated as confirming the social, which is interesting in that to understand the constitution of political spatial relations is to understand that spaces can be found in which

‘The embeddedness of working-class political action...[manifests]...primarily in ‘place’...[whereby] the processes of place creation and dissolution –...a very dialectical conception as compared to the formed entity of an actual place – become active agents in the action. But the constitution of place cannot be abstracted from the shifting patterns of space relations’ (Harvey, 2016: 226-7)

Accordingly, in opening the possibilities for collective actions, for example industrial actions, Harvey’s approach to militant particularisms, illuminates the possibilities of achievement within the ‘realisation of consciousness and the possibility of a real alternative’. However, the

process of working towards a consciousness, often takes on board ‘the internalisation within that particular place and community of impulses...from outside’ (ibid).

There are complex issues inherent to social transformations because ‘capitalism as a social system has managed not only to negotiate, but often to manipulate such dilemmas of scale in its forms of class struggle’ (Smith, 1998: 13). In some ways the circumstances in which capital acts to divide and achieve ‘uneven sectoral and geographical development’ enforces ‘a divisive competitiveness between places defined at different scales’ (ibid). So, as will be explored further, the limitations of Harvey’s approach are revealed when the struggle for social justice – through strategies of Black resistance – is foregrounded in articulating the militant particularisms of Black resistance in Liverpool.

1.6.4. The visible politics of Black struggle.

In seeking a pathway to further understand the struggle for social justice and how this struggle manifested through strategies of Black resistance; it is vital to understand the political landscape from the perspective of the social reproduction (see below) of community resistance – particularly post 1970. There are plenty of examples from which to infer the imposition of political ideologies into specific communities; particularly from the post-civil rights era in the USA which offered African Americans a political self -realisation which Huey P Newton described as

‘... [viewing the black struggle] in terms of racism and exploitation and the obvious discrepancies between the haves and the have nots’ (Newton, 1973: 61-2).

It is possible to identify these same terms of conflict across anti-colonialist or pan-African texts. In this way it may not be too much of an exaggeration to place 1960-1970s Black political education initiatives in the context of an international ‘Black’ enlightenment. Where, political polemics – primarily from anti-imperialist, post-colonialist, and African American experiences

– influenced a new generation of activists across the African diaspora. Gill in articulating the period from the African American perspective, offers an insightful precis

‘The successes of freedom movement struggles in the early to mid-1960s would coincide with and later shape other emergent forms of consciousness, protest and strategy. Whether witnessed in changing nomenclature (from Negro to Black), a growing interest in black history and culture, or increased class for racial unity and solidarity, the years from 1964 – 1972 would be characterized by a growing sense of individual and collective affirmation of identity, of protest and ongoing struggle’ (Gill, 1991: 439)

As will be shown across chapter five, a powerful form of anti-racism resistance had the opportunity to grow rhizomatically across the UK - encompassing myriad ‘Black’ issues but also dialectically conjoin with wider working-class issues and themes (Ramdin, 1989). The Black led organising explored from chapter six and its relevance to the wider internationalist working struggles finds resonance in the suggestion that the natural trajectory of Malcolm X’s politics ‘was increasingly that of a revolutionary leader of the working class; not only African Americans’ (Barnes, 2009: 19). Yet this is often missing from the history of Malcolm X and his image is that of a ‘Black nationalist’ or agitator of racial violence (See Tyner, 2009). In essence this highlights a view that certain sections of society and governance have worked to exclude Blackness from the grand narrative of working-class history, particularly the ways in which Black issues have often been at the *vanguard of working-class resistance*.

Applicably, the strategies utilised by Liverpool’s Black community in their struggle for visible representation (explored within and beyond chapter six) should prove instructive in understanding how Black resistance in Liverpool was influenced – and in turn, influenced the city’s social and political history. This passage has revealed the ways in which Black resistance offers continuity across history in understanding working class struggle as a totality of racial capitalism. Again, the focus of the Harvey approach misses the centrality of Black resistance and its dialectical relationship with racial capitalism. Ultimately, it is suggested that this eschews a fuller understanding of the history of urban development within his body of work or

at best limits its implications in working towards a totality of historical materialism. This is where this thesis will find a more productive route in expanding upon Harvey's approach.

1.6.5 Political organising at the community level.

As will be explored within and across chapters four, five, six and eight 'relational' socio-spatial considerations, influence and underpin the various strands of local politics into a singular aim, it will be argued. Relational-spatial, subsequently and demonstrably – in every sense of the word – allows insights into how spatial representation - and by implication community – emerges across public spaces in Liverpool's post-industrial period. 1980s Merseyside was 'in crisis' (Merseyside Socialist Research Group, 1980), but crises do not occur in a vacuum. Accordingly, the

'...problems of the inner city cannot be understood outside of the context of the region as a whole...[nor] without an appreciation of the national and international restructuring of capitalism that is taking place' (Merseyside Socialist Group, 1980: 7).

If the political climate of the city was one of considerable fluidity and sites of immense struggle; what was the exact role of the Black resistance? Conducive to this, an aim of this study is to further contextualise political participation and of course the aims and objectives of members of the Black community as political actors – or indeed those involved in politics at the local level in contradistinction to national politicians. This should articulate the reasons as to why for example, the act of Black resistance was important for a wider solidarity during this period (see social reproduction discussion below). Liverpool has a history of political public confrontations and the 1980s were the zenith in contemporary times for organised working-class politics it could be argued. Overall, the empirical sections aim to articulate the socio-economic and political boundaries of Liverpool's Black community – thus understanding the role of mass

demonstrations in the act of resistance. This could also be framed as spatio-politically reflexive⁷ as practice (Sapana & Ranganathan (2019). Applicably, the call for new ‘frames’ of reference within a spatio-political reflexivity is how this thesis seeks to draw conclusions from the examples set out above. However, it is within conceptualising the ‘new’ boundaries that this thesis offers greater insights into the historical struggle for Black working-class spaces and in turn how they have developed. The following passages frame the concepts of community and value in such a way that strategies of Black resistance against racial capitalism for example, offer sound routes of inquiry. It is here that this research offers a series of correctives and addendums to Harvey’s approach, with an overall aim to enhance the utility of his body of work to date.

1.6.6. Conceptualising community and value.

Property wealth often represents the material barometer of urban differentiation (Harvey, 2013). However, the way in which the reification of property manifested through urban policy, only serves to highlight the powerful edicts, holding sway over the mobility of Black communities. For example, the Housing Market Renewal (HMR) programme’s devastation of working-class areas offers insights (Allen, 2007); but as will be explored within chapter eight, HMR was also used in Liverpool amongst other cities; to devalorise, divide and dispossess space – thus revealing the limitations or unevenness of ‘property wealth’. Lefebvre articulated an insight into why wealth and urban development became enmeshed.

‘They...mobilised property wealth around the city, the entrance without restriction into exchange and exchange value of the ground and housing. This had speculative implications’ (Lefebvre, 1996: 77).

⁷ Spatio-political in this sense is drawn from Sapana, D & Ranganathan, M. “Towards a Critical Geography of Corruption and Power in Late Capitalism.” *Progress in Human Geography* 43, no. 3 (June 2019): 436–57. In which they suggest that ‘recent articulations of corruption discourse and anticorruption efforts, not only in post-colonial and post-socialist contexts, but also in the so-called advanced capitalist world warrant new theoretical frames’ (pp 437).

This point was essentially extrapolated from Engels' 'Housing Question' (see below), nonetheless it highlights two things; the bourgeois idea of property and the potential for contradiction, in that bourgeois society focuses upon property ownership, not to enable social mobility but to legislate in this way [my emphasis]

'They [bourgeois society] were not proposing to demoralise the working classes, but.....*to moralise it*. They considered it beneficial to involve the workers....into a hierarchy clearly distinct from that which rules in the firm, that of property and landlords, houses and neighbourhoods.....In this way they conceived the role of owner-occupied housing' (Lefebvre, 1996: 77).

As a result of the moralising, newer forms of urban living and consuming, in which property ownership further mutates commodity fetishism (increased consumerism), and property owners are hitherto inextricably linked to the fortunes of the financial markets and most importantly - are 'disciplined' within the accumulative process (see Harvey, 1989). In this way chapter seven offers discussion upon how social consciousness *moves away from collectivism and towards individualism* (Harvey, 2013). But to analyse the urban without understanding the ideology behind 'property wealth', erroneously develops by viewing the *urban* as an autonomous entity (Katznelson, 1992). Similarly, as property wealth undoubtedly enriched lives across Liverpool's Black community, it is posited that much of the same community are subject to renting property in a period of rentier capitalism.

The study of the community land trust (CLT) in Liverpool offers a particularly insightful addendum to the notion of 'property' wealth, in that the CLT model emerged from the civil rights era in the USA. However as will be shown in chapter eight, this form of Black strategic resistance resulted in a very different approach in Liverpool and highlights how a fuller analysis of this form of urbanised capital is uneven in allocation in the UK. Again, it allows for a deeper and more insightful rendition of Harvey's approach to the commodification of urban property.

1.6.7. Development differentiation.

The second process which becomes of vital importance to this study is to comprehend the ways in which development and differentiation are inextricably linked through the notion of value (and by extension devalorisation) set out above. This facet of racial capitalism will be explored across chapter six to gauge the politics of uneven application. As referred to above, property as an objective form of urban ‘special’ development becomes contentious under the bourgeois conception of housing in that,

‘Capital does not desire to abolish the housing shortage even if it could ... [T]here remain, therefore, only two other expedients, self-help on the part of the workers and state assistance’ (Engels, 1887: 63)

Engels articulated the ways in which the housing crises in the 19th century for workers was addressed by the capitalist class, not from a sense of civic endeavour but because they were forced to do so out of efficacy. Consequently, it *appears* that housing is understood as an objective right; but what Engels revealed was that the Housing question *conceals* the bourgeoisie’s real aim - housing as (subjective) investment or housing as the site of social reproduction to accommodate capitalism’s growth. So, in an advanced capitalist society where ‘property’ and (a perception of) cultural capital is inextricably linked to the housing market and vice versa; what can be gleaned through observing differentiation within local housing development? How does it offer incisive articulations of the state and urban space? Chapter seven frames the ‘concealed nature’ of property relations within Liverpool in this way.

Consider this, Haussmann’s 18th century Parisian development it has been argued, was aimed to control, or exclude the lower classes. The architectural magnificence of the boulevards for which Paris is renowned, was designed as an urban social control mechanism allowing easy access for the military to quell urban revolts (see Harvey, 1989). Moses’ Post-World War two redesign of New York worked to eviscerate whole swathes of working-class history and are often reimagined as a great technological leap (see Harvey, 1990). However, it was a

programme designed for the destruction of proletarian space – and particularly Black space – on a mass scale. Whilst others, such as Jacobs called out the annihilation of the same New York communities within ‘urban renewal’; but she also inadvertently advocated the gentrification of the same spaces (Jacobs, 1970). In this sense, Schwartz (1993) found that Moses ‘Title 1’⁸ clearance would not have taken place without the full support of the liberals who claimed to speak on behalf of the dispossessed. A more recent example can be found in neighbourhood ‘racialised’ politics in Los Angeles, in which the pursuit of property wealth promulgates disproportionate responses for African Americans (see Davis, 1990). Accumulation by dispossession was used across all the above spaces and will be expanded upon. However, the analysis will contextualise differentiation within the conceptual model of racial capitalism. This will be particularly enlightening across chapter eight – in which the dialectical relationship between the socioeconomics of value and differentiation will be further articulated.

The above examples contain both abstracted and material elements of the conflicts inherent to spatialised politics, through the process of urban ‘special’ development programmes. However, they also reveal the ways in which ‘race’ or class (or both) are prevalent factors in the practice of urban accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2011). Similarly, they also display elements of a liberal, imposed view of the urban upon the collective psyche. What the above examples are drawing attention to, is that bourgeois property economic association *inter alia* – i.e., urban space, capital, and the market; only reveal the relationship *between capital and the market*. Whereas the inclusion of the broad historical sweeps of Liverpool’s historical racial capitalism in action, explored within chapter four, five and six - sets the socio-economic and political milieu from which the abstract imaginaries emerge. It is possible to then unpick and reveal the ways in which social (spatiality) is reproduced.

⁸ Under Title I, the federal government provided grants to local public agencies for the purpose of clearing away “slum areas”

In turn the process further allows an insight into the ways in which ‘spatial inequality’ is conflated via the relationship between ‘[property] wealth’ and ‘social reproduction’ (see Levin & Pryce, 2011). Across today’s housing markets the issue of social reproduction allows insights - but does not reveal why those from marginalised communities have historic low levels of homeownership unless they are understood in *relationship to the historical process* (see McKee & Muir, 2012). Additionally, by extrapolating upon the social reproduction theory set out below to chart the dialectical tensions between the urban and the historical - such as socioeconomics, political representations, and policy - allows a more precise insight as to why homeownership, renting or leasing, is often the site of spatial inequalities and the resultant resistance by Black communities (see Ramdin, 1983).

Deconstructing the role, that the local state and ‘third’ sector have played in the neoliberalising of the housing market and neighbourhoods for Liverpool’s Black community offers the localised institutional context. As will be explored within chapter seven, social housing organisations (including Black led organisations) actively sought opportunities to redevelop land or dispose of public property received via a large-scale voluntary transfer (LSVT) on the ‘open’ market for profit (see Murie, 2016). LSVT transferred ownership of municipal housing across to housing associations and has been castigated for acting as another facet in the deregulation of social housing (see Allen, 2007). However social housing providers also exert an oligopoly upon Liverpool’s inner-urban spaces - understood as neighbourhood management - but what insights can be gleaned from what is essentially an institutional spatial conquest? (Harvey 2011).

Again, it begs a question - who profited? More-so, what drives the economic imperative governing so called ‘non-profit’ organisations? It is suggested that the so called ‘third sector’ offers insights into how the ‘liberalisms’ of Jacobs for example – was ultimately manipulated by individuals such as Moses (see above). Similarly, during the build-up to the 2005 City of

Culture campaign, the Liverpool City of Culture team undertook a cynical use of ‘diversity’ as a leitmotif for their campaign’ but what did it mean for ‘diverse’ communities (see Jones and Wilks-Heeg, 2004). This aspect of cultural and economic cynicism, using communities to satisfy certain criteria; is apparent across the history of liberal economics (see Harvey, 1973) and will be explored in chapter five. Indeed, the African historian Kwasi Konadu, in a recent interview, proposed that mainstream funding of radical groups, in this case Black Lives Matter – places them at the behest of the funder, in addition to placing a level of distrust by the wider activist movement.

‘The funding has a way of managing the direction and even the leadership of these movements, and Black Lives Matter is no different’ (qf *Intelligencer*, Jan 31, 2022).

This chapter proffers that the ideological basis of classical Liberal economics can be found in today’s neoliberalism. This aspect of urban economics seeks to individuate and has its basis in what Marx termed ‘species being’⁹ and plays an important role in shaping state apparatus and a perception of the state’s apparatus. Particularly the individuated society initially devised, shaped, and executed by Thatcher’s government. This facet of neoliberalism fosters corporate and capitalist organisational approaches to urban accumulation (Harvey, 1989). These same facets impinge upon the notion of value and the ‘imaginary of community’, provoking patterns of resistance within Liverpool’s Black community. So, the aim of this framing is to reveal the nature of ‘value’ and Blackness within a totality of urban development – something that it is suggested Harvey’s approach should be corrected or elaborated upon.

⁹ In *Capital* (1967: 177-8) Marx states “what distinguishes the worse architect for the best of bees...the architect raises his structure in his imagination before he erects it in reality. At the end of every labour process, we get a result that existed in the imagination of the labourer at its commencement [not only changing the form of material] ...but.... also [realizing] a purpose’ (cf Harvey, 2000: 200). In this passage, Marx makes the distinction between the process of ‘abstract’ and ‘material’ perceptions, confirming the ‘humanist’ element within Marxism, that allows this study’s insertion of ‘autoethnography’

1.6.8. Resisting the politics of State economics.

Whilst private investment is the neoliberal solution to urban crises, ‘private’ investment usually ensures that capital takes the profit and the state takes care of the bill (Harvey, 1985: 52). This logic can be understood as the ‘inner dialectic’ intrinsic to imperialism (congruent to the internal colonialism above and explored across chapter seven and eight); and proffers the ability to trace the resultant politics of local development strategies. The inner dialectic essentially ‘echoes Hegel’s conception’ in which capitalism ‘perpetually requires something outside of itself’ to stabilise itself (Harvey, 2003: 153). In this way the inner dialectic highlights the very ways in which racial capitalism continuously searches externally for newer forms of goods and markets, or seeks to ascribe value to spaces, which it is argued; encapsulates the impetus of urban programmes. As chapter seven underlines, the concept of ‘race’ and nationalism is central to this inner dialectic. As are the forms of resistance that emerged in struggle.

1.7. The neoliberal turn and urban economics.

1.7.1. Resistance and neoliberal economics.

Competition in the form of entrepreneurialism was the apparent leitmotif of the post-industrial urban economic landscape (see Harvey, 1989). Yet Davies (2014) exposed the maleficence of ‘economics of imperialism’ inherent to ‘contingent neoliberalism’ made manifest through a ‘state of market exception’ where ‘competition is privileged’ (Davies, 2014: 189-199). Documents released following the 30-year embargo of the 1981 urban uprisings not only offer an insight into the psychology of early neoliberalism but situate the logic of subsequent economic unevenness of application for the ‘inner-city’ and the Liverpool Black community. In a letter following the 1981 urban uprisings a government minister suggested that the government should,

‘...get to grips with the problem. This has implications for urban policy. Should our aim be to stabilise the inner cities ... or is this to pump water uphill? Should we rather go for ‘managed decline’? This is not a term for use, even privately’
(Geoffrey Howe, Prem/19/578).

Advocating the abandonment of the ‘inner-city’ could be articulated under the Bourdieusian term *autonomy* (Atkinson et al, 2017). In which State actions the “conscious abandonment of a damaged or diseased part of the body politic in order to preserve the healthy remainder”. A *strategy or practice utilised to punish, insurgent civilian populations by containment*. It is unsurprising that such practices were suggested by the state, as they characterise urban strategies utilised in other ‘divided cities’ (Atkinson et al, 2017: 447). But it also offers insight into the political process inherent to Harvey’s theory of uneven development, particularly in drawing attention to the differentiated objectives of the state in shaping urban devalorisation as explored in chapter five.

Harvey’s view of the deepening incursion of a neoliberalising of the state apparatus and multinational organisational nexus is insightful here. Remarkably consistent within Atkinson et al (2017) is Harvey’s (2005) depiction of the ways in which the neoliberal experiment utilises a monopoly of state violence (physical and symbolic) to suppress dissent and *break collective action*. But what is interesting for the thrust of this thesis is to understand the ways and to what extent is the ‘neoliberalised’ containment of communities of resistance governed by ‘race’? However, to further understand the implications of the present status of ‘race’ within the totality of capital, then at this point the theory of ‘racial capitalism’ must be unpacked (Robinson, 1983).

1.7.2. Racial Capitalism

Racial Capitalism is an expansive but crucial conceptual tool for the development of the theories of ‘race’ presented within this study. Initially utilised by academics in South African during the 1970s to frame an analysis as to how the apartheid state, structured relations between

the accumulation of capital, in terms of ‘race’ and class (Kelley, 1994). It came to prominence through a model forged within the world system view (see above); by the Historian/Political Scientist Cedric J. Robinson to articulate a greater understanding of the totality of capital accumulation. Thus, for Robinson (1983: 66).

‘Racialism...ran deep in the bowels of Western culture, negating its varying social relations of production and distorting their inherent contradictions...racialism insinuated not only medieval, feudal and capitalist social structures, forms of property, and modes of production, but as well the very values and traditions of consciousness through which the peoples of these age came to understand their worlds and their experiences’.

European culture, according to Robinson’s concept, produces a consciousness within its structure grounding ‘social identity’ and therefore resultant ‘perceptions’, within a Eurocentric history that perceives ideas of ‘radicalism’ within the ‘political and material exigencies of the moment’. Whereby across ‘medieval and feudal social orders’ of Europe ‘radicalism’ was actually ‘substantiated through specific sets of exploitation’, that have historically and materially ‘exploited and expropriated’ the value inherent to the labour, cultural and economic output of ‘particular casts or classes’.

For Robinson (1983: 67) this can be distilled into ‘four distinct moments’, of which two can be found within the ‘dialectic of European development’, yet to be fully understood within his experience. They were,

1. The racial ordering of European society from its formative period, which extends into the medieval and feudal ages as blood and racial beliefs and legends.
2. The Islamic (i.e., Arab, Persian, Turkish, and African) domination of Mediterranean civilization and the consequent retarding of European social and cultural life: the Dark ages.
3. The incorporation of African, Asian, and peoples of the New World into the world system emerging from late feudalism and merchant capitalism.

The dialectic of colonialism, plantocracy slavery, and resistance from the sixteenth century forward, and the formations of industrial labor and labor reserve

Thus,

‘...the tendency of European civilization through capitalism was thus not to homogenize but to differentiate— to exaggerate regional, subcultural, and dialectical differences into ‘racial’ ones’. (Robinson, 1983, 26).

Indeed, the religious and philosophical epistemological development of the 18th and 19th century,

‘...merely served to extend the terms and rationales for the fantasy of racial inferiority...only the accumulated interests and mercantile activities of the ruling classes and [European bourgeoisie] ...could have accomplished such a massive scale of exploitation’ (Robinson, 1983: 76).

For others, for example Kundnani, this same racialised process [my emphasis]

‘...is about society as a whole and the relations between different societies, their structures and their processes and the power relationships they embody – the ways in which some groups of people profit from the systematic exclusion and subordination of other group, which in turn, result in some groups living lives that are harder shorter and less free. This...structural view of racism is important because it ***directs us to racist laws, conventional, practices, institutions and ways of thinking***, not just individual acts and attitudes...It is a ***view of racism that also calls our attention to the machinery of states in sustaining racist practices***. Crucially, it puts ***racism into history, asking us to consider how particular forms of racism come to exist and who profits from them***’ (Kundnani, 207: 10 – 11).

So as exemplified within chapter three, in which the process of racial capitalism and its concatenation to the development of Liverpool as a city is examined; conversely also offers insights into the role Liverpool played in the historical development of the ‘racial capitalism’ described above.

Indeed, Liverpool’s mercantile development, fuelled - and was fuelled by - the transatlantic slave trade (also discussed within chapter three) also offers an insight into how Liverpool’s plantocracy class influenced British imperial and colonial expansions. It is also the case that,

‘...the end of the British Empire in the second half of the twentieth century did not bring the end of racism. Rather it offered the pretext for its transformation. [as Britain lost its empire] Those who been made into colonial subjects as Britain over multiples ‘races’ were now to be excluded from the white nationality that Britain sought in a context of contracting sovereignty...’ (Kundnani, 2007: 15)

Chapter three contextualises how racial capitalism shapes the development of ‘white’ global trade emerging from Liverpool, it also draws attention to how,

‘...post-colonial leaderships that emerged after political independence had been formed by the anti-colonial struggles for national sovereignty. But debt and dependency had cut many of them [leaders] free from the aspirations of their people...’ (Kundnani, 2007: 32)

In this way the emergence of the comprador (discussed above) may be better articulated by observing how those same groups and individuals emerging from struggle (exemplified in chapter five and six), were subsumed within a neoliberalised ‘colonial management of space’ that appears to be omitted from the theoretical development of racial capitalism.

The political geography referred to above is important because in researching the geographical implications of ‘race’, Gilmore (2002: 15 - 16) correctly insists that the focus must be upon the ‘fatally dynamic coupling of power and difference signified by racism’. It is Gilmore’s geographical rendering of the term racism that holds particular interest for this study in that,

‘Racism is a practice of abstraction...a displacement of difference...[organising] relations within and between...political territories...’.

As will be shown within chapter five and six, in Liverpool this resulted in a political violence of abstraction that socially and economically reproduced spatial and racialised ‘fetishes’ in the form of ‘state’ and ‘normative views’ of the Black community. It is this rendering that offers a firm grounding in understanding the ways in which the state and local governance in Liverpool have suppressed, controlled and managed Black economic spaces across the city. These later insights are particularly prevalent across chapters seven and eight in understanding how neoliberalism further extends the boundaries of racial capitalism (see below).

Similarly, it is Gilmore’s view that ‘organization is always constrained by recognition’, (visible recognition will be discussed within chapter five and six) therefore it was important for her to articulate just how and why those women who ‘lived through political terror’; work within a

context that understands they have kept them ‘from living whole new ways of oppositional life’. This she explained with reference to the concept of racial capitalism – ensured that programmes such as ‘Roosevelt’s New Deal’ deliberately redistributed wealth unevenly, and ‘deliberately excluded [people of colour] from opportunities and protections’. In short, this geographical approach to racial capitalism by Gilmore articulates how the state ‘...reproduces hierarchy through its capacity to wield despotic power over certain segments of society...’ (2002: 17 - 22). This is crucial in understanding how the implications of the social reproductions – set out below – conflate within state mechanisms to further suppress the role of Black women within the historical development of racial capitalism. However, it also underpins how space has been utilised in Liverpool to socially reproduce concentrations of economic stasis through the management of Liverpool’s Black community.

1.7.3. Racialised Neoliberalism.

‘The mark of racist expression or belief, then, is not simply the claim of inferiority of the racially different. It is more broadly that racial difference warrants exclusion of those so characterized from elevation into the realm of protection, privilege, property, or profit. Racism, in short, is about exclusion through depreciation, intrinsic or instrumental, timeless or time-bound’ (Goldberg, 2009:5)

This conception of ‘racialised neoliberalism’ is particularly resonate with the analysis of chapter eight, framed to analyse UK neoliberalism and *aspects of its colonial past* when ‘managing’ Black spaces (see above). Furthermore, in returning to the process of urban development – it should also be remembered that ‘the legitimacy’ of the neoliberalised state’s urban policy was ‘underpinned...by the extensive selling off, of public housing...’ in a bid to increase the levels of homeownership (Harvey, 2005: 7). As will be explored in chapter five and six, homeownership for Black workers during the post-industrial period was not an issue, particularly with significant levels of unemployment/worklessness, social unrest and state violence (Ben Tovim et al, 1982). The resultant resistance took on myriad forms and was a key

factor in how spaces were shaped, borne out across the inner-city urban uprisings in which Liverpool's Black community communities were concentrated (see Scarman, 1986; Gifford, 1989; Frost and Phillips, 2011).

So, a considerable facet of the empirical investigation across chapters five and six focuses upon the hypothesis that the UK, differentiates the 'traditional' working class from Black working-class communities – as suggested by Robinson, (1983). Similarly, these chapter also ask to what extent was the particularly virulent racialised version of neoliberalism in Britain influenced by (neo) colonial mind-sets? To understand the unevenness of institutional vicissitudes and more importantly the social, political, and economic outcomes from inside Black working-class communities in response to this 'great moving right show' (Hall & Morley, 1979).

It will be forcibly argued across chapter four and five that the *right to space* within Liverpool plays an important aspect across the conjuncture of spatiality and political inclusion for Black communities. Indeed, the right to space is inextricably linked to the term accumulation by dispossession and is articulated through resistance strategies across chapters four, five, six and more recently in chapter eight.

1.7.4. The right to space.

The fomenting of grassroots resistance to the post-industrial landscape, set out in chapter six; could be understood as a fight for Black working-class spaces within the inner-city and will be extensively analysed in this way across the empirical chapters. The process of de-industrialisation per-se is not the focus of this study, however as industrial space became global, increasingly segmented, and technologically advanced; it was also challenged on a mass scale across the UK (see Hall and Morley, 1979). Harvey's later reflections upon the 'right to the city' (2013) does offer some useful departure points in seeking to understand in the first

instance the ways in which Black communities responded and challenged the uneven development of communities. For example, does the process of devalorisation and ‘white flight’ - which allowed insights into the mobility of communities in the USA - hold up if applied to the UK and in particular Liverpool (see Wilson, 1996)? In essence, ‘white flight’ offered the opportunity to understand that

‘...what kind of city we want, cannot be divorced from the question of what kind of people we want to be, what kinds of social relations we seek...’ (Harvey, 2013: 282).

Now in the first instance this directs the struggle for equanimity for the left behind communities – explored further within chapter eight. But more importantly, Harvey (2013: xiii) urges that

‘...the idea of the right to the city does not arise primarily out of various intellectual fascinations and fads...[it] primarily rises up from the streets, out from the neighbourhoods, as a cry for help and sustenance by oppressed people in desperate times’

Harvey acknowledges that the ideological grounding of the ‘right to the city’ *emerges from the oppressed*, (in equipoise to the liberal bourgeoisie); this could be articulated through the spatial issues of immigration and asylum (for example see Kymlicka, 2002). Although the spaces explored within the empirical section across chapter eight are undeniably contemporary sites of settlement for immigrants and those seeking asylum; but it is important to understand – historically - *how they initially became safe spaces* for those vulnerable groups. It is cogently argued in the final chapter that the visual representations of community set out in chapter six, articulate the historical resistance inherent to Liverpool’s Black community spaces. This will be explicitly set out in chapter eight in unpicking the way in which the ‘Masterplan’ commodifies aspects of inner-city space, but also excludes others.

1.7.5. Urban consensus.

Policy programmes designed to drive ‘...ideals of individual property ownership as a working-class dream’ introduced ‘speculative dynamism into the housing market’ in which exchange value became the end goal for a rise in bourgeois ‘asset values’, continued to drive the impetus

of urban development – understood as ‘urban entrepreneurialism’ (see Harvey, 1989). This insightful facet of the ‘neoliberalising of urban policy’, was also shown to have highlighted the possibility to examine the ways in which neoliberalism extricated the term ‘race’ from working class issues, shifting the focus towards the atomistic (it is further argued) agenda of ‘equality’, particularly during the New Labour Project.

The latter occurrence, as will be shown, stems from the previous efforts of national and local state mechanisms, working to control working class solidarity. So, the issue to be framed here is this - if (historic) Black community resistance was extracted from wider working-class issues; how did it instigate responses and how would this have informed the political resistance set out across chapter six and beyond? Analysing the ‘transformative’ nature of post-industrial economics and Black separatist strategies in this way allows a clearer understanding how space was used to politicize resistance both in the abstract and material sense. An important thread running through and across the empirical chapters of this study.

What also resonates, or more precisely – coincides - with the historic acts of resistance by Black communities, is how ‘middle class values are encouraged to include ‘many of those who had once had a firm working class identity’ (Harvey, 2005: 60-62). Here it is suggested the ‘middle class’ promulgated the idea of a Black bourgeoisie to atomise sections of Liverpool’s Black community. In turn, this played a decisive role in assisting newer forms of civic and political constraints placed upon Black communities (Sivanandan, 1982). But in the first instance it is the impact of the further ‘embourgeoisement’ of service providers (see Bourdieu, 1984) and their shift in ideology, which requires further unpacking across chapter seven and particularly through the articulation of the rise of the Black led housing associations.

1.7.6. Racialised liberalisms.

Sivanandan brilliantly captures the limitations of ‘liberal’ inquiries and reports of the post-industrial era, particularly the ways in which the liberal eschews objective material circumstances; whilst simultaneously creating a ‘narrative’ exonerating the state and the role of the judicial apparatus.

‘Underlying the whole of Scarman’s report is a socio-psychological view of racism, resonant of the ideas of the ethnic school, which when coupled with his view on racial disadvantage, verges on the socio-biological. Institutional racism, for Scarman is not the reality of black life but a matter of subjective feelings, perceptions, attitudes, beliefs. They do not ‘feel’ secure social, economically or politically...equally, if the police force was guilty of anything, it was not institutional racism but racial prejudice which ‘does manifest itself occasionally in the behaviour of a few police officers on the street’...Institutional racism [for Scarman] was a matter of black perception, white racism was a matter of prejudice...what he had effectively done was to reduce institutional racism to black perception and replace it with personal prejudice and so shift the object of anti-racist struggle from the state to the individual, from changing society to changing people, from improving the lot of whole black communities, mired in racism and poverty to improving the lot of black individuals (Sivanandan, 2008: 145-6)

The Scarman definition of institutional racism which Sivanandan excoriates, implies that the solution to this negative ‘Black perception’ can be addressed by further levels of ‘integration’ on behalf of Black communities – something to note in seeking to understand the ways in which the psychology of colonialism and racial capitalism congeals within State ‘community’ programmes set out in chapter seven. But herein lies the rub of these liberal formations; they assume that the liberal model (of governance, economics or politics) to be integrated into - is fair and equal for all ‘individuals’ - when it will be initially argued across chapter five and six that in practice the liberal model obfuscates equality – but to what extent.

1.7.7. Social Justice.

Harvey’s articulation of social justice – intertwined within the tenets of Marx’s analyses of capital – offers the view that,

‘Liberal values, which are all very well and involve... [with caveats] making ethical and moral decisions concerning the rights and wrongs of certain principles’. (Harvey, 1973: 118).

The question of ethics is key here and to what extent *just* consent (within liberal formations) requires further challenging across issues of ‘race’ within a Marxist analysis? Here this study, deviates from the substantive analyses set out within Robinson’s theory, in that Robinson (1983), it is argued, erroneously assumes that Marx bought into the Liberalism of Adam Smith for example. It is this assumption that liberal formations (explored above) - and therefore the inherent values - are universal in practice, which will be initially challenged in chapter five. However, at this point the model [universality of access] will be accepted as axiomatic in the first instance; but on the understanding that it in doing so, it is within the same way Marx political economy accepted the tenets Ricardo or Smith for example¹⁰. Ergo liberal formations *as process* ‘in reality do not take place in their pure form’ (regardless of what the liberal may believe). Therefore, it is necessary to *assume* aspects of their *supposed rights* in drawing attention to the social barriers which exist for particular sections of the working class and diverse communities i.e., to articulate racism, the term ‘race’ is obligatory. This is where the crux within Robinson’s theory will be particularly useful to the development of this thesis’ theorising in that,

‘Black radicalism is a negation of Western civilisation but not in the sense of a simple dialectical negation... [it is] a specifically African response to an oppression emergent from the immediate determinants of European development in the modern era and framed by orders of human exploitation woven into the interstices of European social life from the inception of Western civilisation....’ (Robinson, 1983: 73).

In this way the participants’ contributions across the empirical and case studies, provide a firm baseline from which to proceed in assessing the development and effectiveness of Liverpool’s Black radical traditions when challenging bourgeois political spaces.

Marx was essentially exposing the issues within the unequal exchanges, permeating ‘bourgeois political economy’. Nonetheless it is an important point to consider, in debunking the assumption that – *equality* as the measure of progression – is separate to, and not ultimately governed by the *dynamics of power* wrapped up within the *process*. Furthermore, Marx highlights the ways in which ‘the power which these persons [who control the process] exercise over each other [is nothing but] *the power of the commodity*’ (Marx, 1848: 262). Accordingly, this last point explains to an extent the fundamental tenets behind commodity exchange - and the process is governed by power paradigms in which chapter seven explicitly reveals those practices which enabled the exertion of political power to take place.

However, it will also be argued that the (conceptualising of) process (i.e., policy development) need not be solely wedded to an examination of the commodity (i.e., buildings), and that Marx’s definitive articulation of ‘bourgeois political economy’ expands the framework to test the ways in which the state and its agents sought to further dispossess under the guise of ‘area-based initiatives’ (for example), as shown across chapter eight. This study hypothesises that social justice within a liberal paradigm disregards an essentialist view underpinning the ways in which ‘social justice’ is ‘seen to be done’, but also the ways in which the Liberal formulates the parameters¹¹. Correspondingly the focus of chapter five analyses asserts that equality must also lie in the ways in which social justice *appeared* to be achieved; it is here that the Black radicalism discussed above – in contradistinction to political parties or policy – offers deeper insights.

¹¹ [If] ‘...justice is the basic structure of society, or more exactly the ways in which the major social institutions [political...principle economic and social arrangements] distribute fundamental rights and duties and determine the division of advantages from social cooperation...[then]...the principles of social justice must apply [even though societal institutions]...favours certain [people] over others’ (Rawls, 2004: 49-50).

The task is to scratch below surface appearances and inquire if the ‘Black radical activism’ explored within chapters five, six (to an extent seven) and eight achieved the *social justice* set out above. Furthermore – in what ways did the *appearance* of social justice inform or indeed expand upon the renewed Black ‘radicalism’ explored within chapter eight?

1.7.8. Urban entrepreneurialism.

The neo-liberal conquest can be found within process devaluation discussed above; but more importantly, it is the uneven applications that will be articulated across the empirical sections particularly in relation to the State and third sector institutions. As will be discussed further in chapter eight, Liverpool accessed myriad ‘area based’ funding streams including the ‘City Challenge’ with a successful bid in 1991, this could only take place due to the many ‘partnership’ agreements which had grown out the (NGO) Merseyside Task Force, instigated by Michael Heseltine M.P. and discussed within chapter five and six. The analyses of this aspect of intra-city competitiveness are touched upon briefly across chapter eight; however, the issue with programmes such as the City Challenge is that

‘When the physical and social landscape of urbanisation is shaped according to a distinctively capitalist criteria, constraints are put on the future path of capitalist development. This implies that though urban processes under capitalism are shaped by the logic of capital circulation and accumulation, they in turn shape the conditions and circumstances... of capital accumulation at later point in time and space...in recent years there seems to be a general consensus...that positive benefits are to be had by cities taking an entrepreneurial stance to economic development...across political parties and ideologies’ (Harvey, 1989: 3 -4).

Although extremely prescient for the time, Harvey further goes on to point out that the obvious problem with this approach to urbanism is that by reifying cities as ‘active agents’ in attracting ‘international finance capital’ only ‘poses acute dangers’. This occurs due to the self-serving players with ‘different objectives and agendas’ interacting within a ‘particular configuration...of spatial practices’. These spatial configurations,

‘...acquire a definite class content... [and] racial and bureaucratic-administrative contents [leading to] certain institutional arrangements, legal forms, political and administrative systems [and] hierarchies of power’ (Harvey, 1989:5-6).

So, in essence this approach would shape the context in which ‘cities’ (and not workers) were re-essentialized as growth machines, not to ‘house’ workers but as alluded to above, almost as an extension of the industrial factory. Whereas in the post-industrial period, urban economic growth came from the extracting value from the social reproduction of workers beyond ‘species being’. This will be explored further across this study, for now it is enough to hold onto Harvey’s historical assertion that the ‘new urban entrepreneurialism’ contains the system in which a ‘public-private partnership’ shapes the ‘speculative construction of place, rather than [the] amelioration of conditions within a particular [space]... (Harvey, 1989: 8). But more importantly it accurately encapsulates the impetus underpinning New Labour’s approach to an ‘urban renaissance’ for example (see Rogers, 1999). It is across the final chapter that the concept of urban entrepreneurialism, synonymous with the New Labour project; reveals the apparent contradictions within the accumulation of urban capital for those from Liverpool’s Black community. But what are the parameters of the argument? And in what way did it change the method of Black resistance?

1.7.9. Spaces of hope.

A further level of complexity can be added to an urban analysis of uneven geographic development. This takes place through understanding the relationship between the process of accumulation by dispossession and the neo-liberalized state’s further racialisation of capital accumulation and how they work towards instigating ideological imaginaries. If as Park (1967) remarked that ‘in making the city man has remade himself’, then it is suggested that the city is built in the image of the white European male. Harvey views the same point, through his articulation of ‘species being’ as the site of ‘dialectical co-evolution between human biological characteristics and cultural forms over the long term’ (Harvey, 2001: 204). What this entails is

a constant battle between the universal and the particular, which for all intents and purposes; influences 'loyalties, identities and political commitments' (Harvey, 2001: 184). In this regard Marx's political economy enables the identification of these same contradictions and conflicts that make capital accumulation inherently problematic and crises prone (see Marx, 1990). However, to fully comprehend the role racial capitalism plays within economic crises, it is vital to assume that the deliberate exclusion of certain groups, individuals and organisation is also an important part of that process and will be exemplified within the process set out within chapter seven.

It is within the spatial voids created by capitalist crises that 'economic imaginaries...play a role in stabilizing [capitalist] accumulation in specific spatio-temporal fixes' (Jessop & Oosterlynck, 2006: 1155). In this instance spatio-temporal fixes specifically refers to the ways in which capital is applied within 'moments' across history to further accumulate surplus value¹². Furthermore, political institutions of the state and their interests both assist capital in creating the basis for these economic imaginaries. For example, the metamorphosis of the Keynesian state (market regulation) towards the Schumpeterian competition (technological innovation) state produced strategies which 'target specific places, spaces, and scales...directed against specific competitors' (Jessop, 2002: 96). Schumpeterian competition in this sense denotes a state which is:

'...concerned to promote economic and extra economic conditions deemed appropriate to the emerging post-Fordist accumulation regime' (Jessop, 2002: 95).

¹² Harvey develops two analytically distinct but overlapping perspectives on spatial fixes, each with its own internal complexities. These perspectives correspond to two different types of fix: a more literal fix in the sense of the durable fixation of capital in place in physical form; and a more metaphorical 'fix' in the sense of an improvised, temporary solution, based on spatial reorganization and/or spatial strategies, to specific crisis-tendencies in capitalism (Jessop, 2004: 4)

Resulting in,

‘...the rethinking of social, material, and spatio-temporal relations among economic and extra economic activities, institutions and systems...encompassing civil society (Jessop, 2006: 166).

These imaginaries articulate how the state acts on behalf of global finance but also how the state directs economic investment towards the local level and for whom. So, the neoliberal notion of the ‘entrepreneurial city’ simply created intra area (also intra class and ethnic) competition in accumulating capital; as referenced above (see also Harvey, 1989). When state intervention/coercion/violence is understood (as the harbinger of imaginaries) in this way it affords a symbiosis to the Marxist definition of an ‘urban’ primarily constituted through ‘accumulation’ and ‘class struggle’ (Harvey, 1985: 1). But again, there is scant reference across Harvey’s oeuvre regarding how imperialism and colonialism shaped forms of resistance across Black working-class history (exemplified in chapter’s six, seven and eight). The application of racial capitalism across chapter eight focuses upon ‘the process of deriving social or economic value [at the expense of] the identity of another person’. This section unpicks how ‘...white institutions derive social or economic value from associating with individuals from non-white backgrounds’ whilst playing each side against each other (Leong, 2012: 2153-2154). Although explored here as a residual of *colonial capitalism* this will be framed more accurately as a direct consequence of the racial capitalism Robinson (1983); Kundnani (2007) and Gilmore (2002) amongst others have articulated (see above).

Marx and Engels recognised that capitalism was both creative and progressive in ways to extrapolate surplus value which meant that it constantly required internal revolutions; they also recognised that it was also extremely dysfunctional, hence capitalism cannot

‘...exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the relations of society...’
(Marx & Engels, 1968: 38).

Schumpeter (1976) picked upon this ‘Faustian’ vision (he who destroyed myths, values, and tradition to build a new world) and referred to the above as ‘creative destruction’. A concept that has been built upon by Harvey (1989), Smith (1997), Jessop (1997) and Brenner & Theodore (2002) amongst others. And so monopolistic and oligopolistic institutions i.e., Housing associations; within a capitalist paradigm are in turn fostered through government complicity, which requires practices that ‘incessantly revolutionizes the economic structure from within, incessantly destroying the old one, incessantly creating a new one...’ (Schumpeter, 1976: 83). Reflecting upon the transition from ‘Keynesian to Schumpeterism’, the analysis of chapter five charts those forms of radical Black resistance in Liverpool rooted in a wider workers movement. This is important as it frames several socioeconomic transformations, from the 18th century’s impact of the Transatlantic Slave Trade (TST), to how twentieth century capital *worked to exclude* groups at particular points in Liverpool’s social history. As alluded to above, the history of urban spatial development is one that is enmeshed within struggles reliant upon an internal logic that decides what is worth pursuing in *terms of value and for whom*.

Outside of the USA, little has been articulated of the interplay between gentrification and ‘race’ (Lee, 2016). Potentially, the most relevant and up to date analyses of the ‘unevenness’ of UK gentrification is Mavrommatis’ (2010) ‘Black archaeology’ of the inner-city, which in some ways contributes towards an urban baseline in understanding the actual movement of communities and the process of gentrification. This will be discussed in the context of organisational structure under the racial fix (see below) across chapters seven and eight. In this sense gentrification studies are often focused upon abstracted outputs without recourse to the material outcomes of those who are ‘moved’ on, this is particularly problematic in understanding gentrification within a ‘totality of capital’ (Harvey, 2017). Viewed this way gentrification studies somehow observe individual agency as a homogeneous ‘right’ without

demarcating the centrality of ‘racialised conflict’ across notions of liberal development which this study will articulate across chapter six.

1.8. Spatial fix and the production of the inner-city.

Those outputs pertinent to the production of inner-city space (particularly those policy programmes from the 1970s), which interest the thrust of this thesis, emerge from the re-politicisation and devolution of planning policy it is argued. This important facet in understanding the Black community’s resistance is explored in depth across chapter five. The aim is to evaluate and understand the manipulation of Liverpool’s spatial boundaries at the expense of particular social groups, and the eradication of the social history of *place* names. Space/place in the sense that Massey’s (2005: 9) ‘spatial imagination’ suggests is understood as the ‘product of interrelations as constituted through interactions’ (Massey, 2005: 9). However, if such urban spaces are representative of a multiplicity of identities, tenures, economies, and taxonomies, then it is their constitution and the ways in which spatial boundaries (imaginary and juridical) are imposed which becomes increasingly significant (Harvey, 2010).

There is potential for this thesis to gain greater insights in understanding why Liverpool’s Black community are located in areas of the city. Conversely, the exogenous factors become apparent when examining those conjunctures in which government policies and programmes interact with social groups and institutions. It will be shown that these *political-social* interactions; take place across historical paradigms, in which power persuades and presages through the symbolic and physical violence inherent to the racial capitalism set out above. Consequently, under these terms, it is suggested that the role of ‘place’ becomes precariously subjective and therefore loses its utility to this thesis.

In this sense chapter five clearly reflects the neoliberal influence upon urban space, but the detailed examination of the political process works to reveal how the historic power relations attributable to racial capitalism, manifest within the structures of government and local governance. But more importantly chapter eight also highlights the ways in which mature neoliberalism plans, funds, builds and sells the built environment as property development/ investment opportunities or as a place attractive to business; but clearly works to exclude certain communities or identities - see below (Katznelson, 1992).

1.8.1. The Racial Fix.

In understanding the process of gentrification and the displacement by affluent whites, of residents from areas with a majority of Black and Latino residents, Mumm asks ‘...can it be [a case of] more than economics...?’ Is ‘race an organising principle of gentrification?’ To articulate these questions of displacement, ‘race’, capital and urban policy, Mumm refers to a ‘racial fix’; articulated as the ‘fixing of value into place amid the logics of racial capitalism’. In this way this framework subscribes to Mumm’s excellent framing of gentrification as a *racial fix*, however what does it mean in terms of value representation (Mumm, 2017: 102 – 103)?

As will be shown within the empirical sections the racial fix manifests as

‘...a consensus building process that enables white people to create a sustain a market in order to secure social and economic benefits from the historical consequences of racial disparity and racism’ (Mumm, 2017: 104).

So, in terms of geographic restructuring – shaped by the racial capitalism discussed above - Mumm’s racial fix understands that the aim of urban development is to generate profit through the devalorisation and ‘newly invented value’ that Harvey refers to across his theoretical development of the ‘spatial fix’ (see Harvey, 1989). However, for the purposes of developing this approach, Mumm clarifies this within a racial capitalism paradigm, ergo,

‘...capital may...add value to itself, but... not... in [a] universally dispersed space, nor in a truly liberal, completely open and totally free market’

What chapters five and six will reveal is a similar coding process is enacted when local government policy makers equated the deprived inner city as coterminous with Liverpool’s Black spaces. In this way chapter’s seven and eight reveal that the revalorisation of capital within Black space ensures that property wealth within these spaces is enacted through,

‘...existing social conditions, state sponsored incentives, and insider information [ensuring]...less risk and a greater return [in this way the] fix [acts as] correction in a previous pattern, an agglomeration of new value in place, but [crucially] also an insider agreement’

However, this is not restricted to homeownership within the story of Liverpool as chapter eight reveals, but also governs the false economy of neighbourhood management by the oligopolistic measures of the social landlord imaginaries. The management of Black spaces by these organisations it will be argued, is set in this way to allow ‘buyers and investors to fix value by betting on the collective actions of other’. Essentially this is not a fair and equitable process as will be unpicked in chapters six seven and eight and the *fix* – as in the US – will be shown to fostering ‘local increases in white residents and white spaces’ (Mumm, 2017: 104). So, in terms of the white flight (see above) that Wilson suggests, and as the middle classes are increasing ‘compressed’; the search for wealth focuses upon buy to let and not buying property for social reproductive use – understood as ‘traditional homebuying’. This transition ensures that the middle class (predominately white) – gaze searches for those areas in which,

‘...cultural scripts indicate that increasing value is imminent... [in this way] the racial fix [is successful] since overtly racial prerogatives...[generate] profit...at the expense of Black...[communities]’ (Mumm, 2017: 105-106).

The racial fix has a distinct application within this study in that it utilises Mumm’s insights into how racial capitalism and therefore the racial fix relies upon,

‘...[an] overarching narrative of increasing value [which is then] associated with white people, white space, white symbols, and white public consumption – [which is then] framed against others [i.e., Black or Latino]’

Thus, within chapter seven and eight the professional participants working for the social housing corporates, should be framed in line with Mumm's assertion that,

‘...white [organisations]...reinforce the notion that value is linked to their increasing presence and the declining presence of people of color’ (Mumm, 2017: 108).

What is also interesting within this study is how the white professional participants assert many statements that conform to Mumm's assertion that the ‘racial fix does not happen by itself’; but is contingent upon the state intervention set out above and exemplified within chapters five and six. However, the interesting proposition here, with regards to expanding upon the racial capitalism explored above; is how ‘...white [organisations]...actively engage in forms of social disciplining of neighbourhood space’. This is presented as acts of neighbourly or civic pride, however as chapter eight expands upon the differential treatment in Liverpool, these are often carried out by groups or individuals who claim to represent the majority (Mumm, 2017). This is borne out by observing the difference between the community actions that are set out across the two voluntary organisations explored within chapter eight – in which the differentials between how the organisations are treated by the state is laid bare.

This is essentially how this thesis frames gentrification – as Mumm (2017: 113) suggests the racial fix ‘depends upon a constant stream of dialogue between white people that they are...safe...’ which is then conveyed to other white people. Where in equipoise, they foster the perception that the Black community's collective failure in the devalorisation of their community is ‘predicated [upon a] constant refrain of danger, dirt, and disorder, continually associated with people of color’. Identity within this process of social reproduction is key here, and the next section expands upon this very notion.

1.9. Feminism, social reproduction, and intersectionality.

1.9.1. The politics of identity.

Christian (1995; 1998; 2002) has authored several articles desquaming the complexities of the term Liverpool Born Black, but what stands out in relation to this study is in the first instance, his definition which is

‘Due to the city's seafaring links with West Africa and the Caribbean during the era of the Atlantic Slave trade and beyond, and the two world wars, many Black seamen, soldiers, munition workers and students settled in the city and married or cohabited with local white women...[and] developed a mixed racial origin community which spans several generations. Known in the colloquial sense as 'Liverpool-born Blacks', they make up the largest group in the Liverpool Black community... [1991 census figures]. 'Liverpool-born Blacks' ...also [historically experience] structural racial discrimination that is 'uniquely horrific' compared with other Black communities across the UK...’ (Christian, 1998: 20)

What can be inferred from this? Terms such as imperialism and colonialism have extremely loaded connotations across the Black community in Liverpool (see Ben-Tovim, 1989). During moments in Liverpool’s global history, the plight of the Liverpool Black community, resonated with several other historical and societal injustices. This aspect of Liverpool’s history of resistance – within the conceptual boundaries of racial capitalism - will be explored within chapters four and five. However, the fact that a large proportion of the ‘Liverpool Born Black’ was of dual/multiple heritage is not lost on this study. This can be understood as the ‘othering’ of a community from the aims and objectives of the state, particularly in that the term ‘Black’ is a politically charged identity both for those who claim the identity and for those who ascribe particular ‘characteristics’ to the term.

Importantly, it is Frank’s (1981) conceptualisation of an *internal colonialism* emerging in place of the *dual* economy so beloved by the *developmentalist*, which forms the basis of the *longue durée* of this thesis. This is an important because *internal colonialism as process* will be extrapolated from the analysis within chapter seven and eight. In some ways, colonial

mentalities, explain to an extent, the narrative set out across chapter six and seven, articulates how particular social systems are dominated by interests.

1.9.2. Feminine mystique revisited.

Harvey's approach has also been challenged – most notably by Massey (1989) - for its lack of engagement with the role of women (let alone Black women). A chief concern appears to be Harvey's apparent eschewing of the essential role women have played in the social reproduction and historical development of the worker within capital accumulation. Harvey has often utilised the suburban when theorising about the role of the household in the accumulation of urban capital (see Harvey, 1982). It is unsurprising that he often resorts to Friedman's 'feminine mystique' in drawing attention to the division of labour at 'home' during the post WWII urban development. Whereas the feminism ascribed to the participants in this study does allow these same insights into the process of the development of the 'home'; but more interestingly the participants with the empirical sections of this thesis offer the opportunity to draw attention to the disparities across social reproduction at home. This will be with an emphasis upon how the historical application of racial capitalism influences spaces of Black social reproduction explored below within the totality of uneven development. The aim will be to understand the tensions created by social differentials between Black Feminism and White Feminism as they manifest in struggle.

For 'if Marxism is incomplete without a consideration of feminism', then it is 'certainly true that neither is complete without a consideration of racial relations' (Joseph, 1981: 107). To clarify the potential Marxist assumption that 'sexism and racism' are fostered through the class system, Joseph (1981) suggested that the 'virulent suppression of one race by another' cannot be exclusively *economic in its determination*. Thus, a process ensues of 'black differentiation' requiring a 'Black feminist's' perspective playing 'a crucial role' in developing the totality of this study (discussed below). Thus, chapters five and six explores how the women of Liverpool

8 utilised social issues to form ‘their own organized base...directly [linking in with] the international struggles’. In this way it is essential to demarcate white feminism to ‘understand the nature of *their* oppression within the context of the oppression of Blacks’ (Joseph, 1981: 107-110).

Therefore, in viewing the 1970-1980s of chapters five and six as a site of socio-economic transformation (neoliberalism), it is vital to understand the influence that the social reproductive (see below) facets of racial capitalism have upon the ‘professional’ participants across chapters seven. In turn, this helps unpack the participant observations of the feminist narrative inherent to the empirical evidence of this thesis. Castigating ‘social systems’ that do not reflect the principles of ‘white’ western liberal or western Marxist thought can be exemplified in the way Black women and Black led Women’s groups have been overlooked within recent debates. The schism of the Black women’s movement from the WLM in Liverpool will be explored in chapter six before evaluating their legacy in the context of the social reproductive aspects of community action within the final chapter.

Examining the intersections of urban capitalism through an exploration of institutions dominated by white males, only presents the *scope of Black radicalism*. However, foregrounding social reproduction theory and the feminist movement into the analysis makes it possible to discern the oppressive nature of those institutions towards gender or/and ‘race’. This is particularly insightful in analysing examples of when patriarchy becomes ‘more complex in [its] application’ in that

‘...black men have not held the same patriarchal positions of power that the white males have established...[consequently] if applied to various colonial situations it is equally unsatisfactory because it is unable to explain why black males have not enjoyed the benefits of white patriarchy’ (Carby, 1982: 115).

The inherent pathology of some applications of the wider women’s movement, believed that in the role domestic workers, Black women impinge upon the women’s movement (within

White feminisms). But this is a far from new phenomena, Carby highlights the precedence in that the early ‘suffrage’ movements ‘have to be acknowledged for their racist implications’; because they also subscribed to the role of Britain’s imperialism in the colonisation discussed above. Carby’s contribution to how feminism is differentiated is vital to the feminisms set out by the participants of this study, so in viewing the family for example.

‘...it should be an imperative for feminist herstory and theory to avoid reproducing the structural inequalities that exist between the metropolises and the peripheries...[and the inappropriate polarizations between]...developed/underdeveloped...[when the] pattern of subordination of women can be understood historically rather than dismissed as the inevitable product of pathological family structures’(Carby, 1982: 121)

Hence, it is not always possible to view the patterns of oppression - if the *systems of oppression* are not thoroughly examined within their totality, hence

‘...colonialism was not limited to the imposition of economic, political and religious systems. More subtly, though just as effectively, it embedded racist and sexist norms into traditional sex/gender systems’ (ibid).

By extension and concomitant to the above, mainstream feminisms that *appear* to pathologize ‘third world’ systems on the periphery; in fact, mirror the situation within ‘western capitalist’ systems as articulated within the concept of racial capitalism above. For example, if ‘women of colour’ are merely relegated to a status of ‘feudal victims’ to depress global wages in the name of accumulation; it is argued the same logic can be extrapolated to the urban as understood through the racial fix above. Another extrapolation of this logic would castigate the inner-city Black mother for working outside the system to feed her family, thereby masking ‘the colonial relations of oppression’ inherent to racial capitalism. It is in this way that ‘sisterhood’ is weakened due to the non-consideration and potential of Black women and vice versa, unless

‘...white women in the women’s movement examine the ways in which racism excludes many black women and prevents them from unconditionally aligning themselves with white women’ (Carby, 1982: 127 - 128).

1.9.3. The importance of the intersection.

Kimberle Crenshaw coined the term ‘intersectionality’ in her insightful 1989 essay, ‘Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black feminist Critique of Anti-discrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics’. She argues that ‘Black women are discriminated against in ways that often do not fit neatly within the legal categories of either ‘racism or sexism’ – but as a combination of both racism and sexism’. With a definitive linkage to the racial aspect of the development of capitalism, Smith correctly states that from times of slavery ‘Black women...have described the multiple oppressions of race, class and gender’ often referring to a convergence of ‘interlocking oppressions’ and interestingly ‘simultaneous oppressions’ (Carby, 1982; *ibid*).

For Smith (2013) Intersectionality is the ‘synthesis of oppressions’ and in this way, Crenshaw aimed ‘to challenge both feminist and antiracist theory and practice’ and in ways which ‘accurately reflect the interaction of race and gender...because the intersection experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism’. This perspective articulates a greater insight into the ‘particular [ways] Black women are subordinated’ – thus a synthesis accurately portrays this subordination in context with the capitalist system. Others such as Collins have acknowledged the crucial role class plays and that ‘standpoints [of an Afrocentric Feminist epistemology] are rooted in... material conditions structured by social class’. (Collins *cf* Smith, 2013). Even the ‘widely accepted narrative of the modern feminist movement’ is factually incorrect and if taken from the Afrocentric perspective ‘decades before the rise of the modern Women’s Liberation Movement (WLM), Black women were organising’ – a point that emphatically manifests across Chapter five and six of this study.

1.9.4. Left wing Black feminism and political inclusion.

The search for alternative fora for Black feminists, in some senses directs the focus of the empirical chapters of this study. In that an analysis which takes on board ‘all forms of oppression’ is difficult to carry out in full, it is the totality of the shared experience of social reproduction which this study uses as a framework. And here it is argued that the conceptual development of Social Reproduction Theory (SRT) may offer greater insights into the differential aspect of feminism. Davis places the failure of White feminist theory to address the ‘centrality of racism’ within a system representing profoundly different experiences for Black and White women. For example, birth control began as a ‘racist sterilisation programme’ complicating the issue of reproductive rights, in 1932, in the United States,

‘...the Eugenics society [boasted] that at least twenty-six states had passed compulsory sterilization laws’ (Davis, 1981: 213-215).

Eugenics is shown to fuel racist perceptions in Liverpool during the same period and is explored within chapter three. What is interesting is that *society* castigated those white women who gave birth to ‘*half-caste*’ children – something to note in understanding the continuity of Davis’ observations to this study. However, it also offers an insight into the complexities of the Liverpool Born Black identity emerging from Black resistance that Christian (1995) refers to (see above), but also the role of white women in the history of Liverpool’s Black community.

Concomitantly the aim of this approach is to integrate a social reproduction theoretical rendering to better understand the insights as to how class, ‘race’ and gender often conflate to produce further differentials across spatiality. What is revealing – particularly across chapter five – is that individual Black women and ‘Left wing Black feminisms’ are crucial to understanding the material and psychological gains during periods of worker’s struggle. The

framing of this commitment by the women of the Black community in leading this left-wing organisation, cannot be overlooked in the context of Liverpool's wider history.

Consequently, the empirical section of thesis aims to show how uneven responses are often both the instigators and arbitrators of potential tensions and disruptions, producing further tensions and conflicts. It is within these tensions and conflicts that the Black Woman's experience in Liverpool and its concatenation to international struggles, and subsequent uneven regional and local developments, offers new ways of seeking to understand the present socio-economic and political reality for Women at the forefront of Liverpool's Black struggle. More important to this study, however, is the way in which these women reproduced the labour required to challenge the status quo both within the primary and secondary circuits of capital, but crucially within the wider remit of the community.

1.9.5. Social Reproduction Theory

Bhattacharyya, G. (2018) states that due to a '....21st century resurgence of authoritarian movements [feminist Marxism has refocused] attention on the racialised implications of social reproduction'. Bhattacharyya articulation leads to a fundamental question that asks 'who is reproduced and for what ends'? Essentially a Malthusian response to the 'browning' of America, however it does offer an overt linkage between the racial capitalism explored above and how society socially reproduces the worker, the home and the community. This she further suggests, is because the 'racist mythology' underpinning a 'fear' that 'fecundity is itself a racial characteristic' leading to a notion (discussed above) that 'racially privileged groups... [will be] overwhelmed within a few generations'.

So, what is social reproduction theory (SRT)? Bhattacharya, T. (2017: 19) suggests that,

‘...the primary problematic of what is meant by the social reproduction of labor power is.... [that] labor puts the power of the capitalist production in motion [and here for SRT] labor power itself is the sole commodity...that is produced outside the commodity’.

Applicably if labour power is produced outside of the primary circuit of production and is omitted from the ‘crystals of... social substance’ that Marx draws attention to in *Capital* (1976: 128); then how can SRT further explain this? The themes that are applicable within the empirical section to these questions can be found within how racial capitalism worked to exclude - based on phenotypical values. This can be exemplified within the discussion across chapter’s five and six, however the themes of who produces the labour (and therefore value) – is a fact that runs through all the empirical chapters to some degree or other.

Within *Capital Vol I* (Marx, 1976) the central themes of value have focused most researchers upon an abstract reading of how value is produced (see above). In other words, the focus is placed upon ‘labour power’ rather than actual labour, which overlooks *the actual process* of doing labour for example. In this articulation of the capitalist system Bhattacharyya (2017) and Meiksins Wood (2017) for example, have argued that capitalism is a process system, and in this way SRT theorises labour power and the *practices of how capitalism reproduced* the labour inherent to this system. Indeed, the labour expended within the production of commodities (in this case the urban) and the labour required to produce the ‘worker’ (and in this case the working-class family unit is key) constitute the SRT focus upon the totality of value (Bhattacharya, 2018).

So, for Bhattacharya (2018), SRT is principally concerned with the gendered racialised production of the class system. For her the notion within *Capital Vol I* (as text) of the dialectical relationship between abstraction and the material is important in developing Marx’s analytical approach. For example, the analysis of the abstractions of ‘community’ within the empirical

sections of this study will be unpicked to further understand how areas of Black density have been de politicised of Blackness. SRT should assist in understanding how the totality of racial capitalism creates imaginaries i.e., acceptable liberalised version of diversity or the liberalised application of multi-culturalism.

Similarly, the crises of post Fordism (atomisation of industrial labour), articulated through the ‘Sam Bond’ affair, in chapter five also highlights the ways in which SRT allows additional insights into how racial capitalism conforms to the analysis of Robinson (1983) above. Thereby offering an example of how the discourse from within the left, isolated the vanguard of working-class radicalism, in this case the campaign for Black employment within local governance. In this way SRT allows this thesis to suggest that racial capitalism is [my emphasis]

‘...a process whereby some populations are not hailed by capital as actual or potential sources of labour power but nevertheless are entwined in the money economy through other means...[which leads to] a way of understanding the emergence of subordinated sections of the economy as an outcome of capitalist development and, also, *a way of thinking about the interplay between subordinated social status and (semi-) exclusion from the mainstream economy*’ (Bhattacharya, 2018: 16).

In short SRT will be used as a lens to draw attention to the understanding that just as the greater burden of producing the labourer, falls to most women across history; then the empirical chapters reveal that women also foment and sustain the process of reproducing daily, the conditions for resistance. This is an important point to engage with as it reveals that those who have the energy to resist is built from the material and ideological conditions i.e., the household or community, from which the resistance emerges or is inspired. In the same way that household, resistance or community must subscribe to a network of allies in order to reproduce effectively. Conversely it should also be made clear that the same system also reproduces racism, and in accordance with this fact, chapters three, four, five and six clearly define how that system is reproduced. Similarly, chapters seven and eight clearly define the control of

living spaces because of the institutional control of social reproduction. This is where this study believes the utility of SRT is applicable to understanding and more importantly situating that utility within the process of urbanism.

Conclusion: Towards a philosophy of racialised spatiality.

Although acknowledging several ‘methodological problems at the interface’ in moving towards a unified theory of ‘social justice in the city’, Harvey (1973: 37) successfully navigated them – albeit with limitations. This was achieved by essentially extrapolating upon a theoretical development of the ‘geographical imagination’, a term that refracts the seminal text of Mills (1959). Mills ostensibly invoked the ‘sociological imagination’ to highlight how the *social* imbibes the *historical scene to make sense* of the present. Suggesting that a *social* imagination is not the sole possession of sociology, but a crucial and common bond for transdisciplinary studies. Whereby the *geographical* imagination [my emphasis]

‘...enables the individual [or groups] to *recognise the role of space* and place in [their] own biography, to relate to the spaces [they] see around [them] and to recognise how transactions between individuals and organisations are affected by the space that *separates* [them]’ (Harvey, 1973: 24)

Harvey’s theory and the role and *transformation* within geographical social space has previously been expounded through the prism of ‘race’ most notably by Tyner’s (2006) study. Tyner’s contribution suggests that Malcolm X was able to cogently articulate strategies of separation, by challenging ‘Jim Crow’ laws in the US. Those strategies of separation broadened the political aims of African Americans; because [my emphasis]

‘*Separation was seen as a technique, a strategy*, one that would most effectively enable African Americans to *gain a right to American spaces*. Separatism therefore is not incompatible with desegregation, although a map of both would appear strikingly similar’ (Tyner, 2006: 84).

In grasping the SRT articulation of spatiality and racial divisions (explored above), this thesis foregrounds the centrality of the thrust of the above passage, in further understanding how racialised notions of space underpin the process of urbanism within Liverpool’s inner-city. This

is essential in charting Liverpool's 'racialised history' – and is mapped out across this thesis in explicating the impact of this history and its concatenation to the racial capitalism explored above. However, the contextualisation and notable insights into the subsequent motivation and influence of Black political organising and resistance in Liverpool, brings to the forefront the levels of state symbolic violence driving the localised disparities within the contested spaces referred to above. Obviously, the Liverpool experience is less violent and not as pronounced as 'Jim Crow laws' in America. Conversely, it is argued that the USA does not have a history of global colonialism and imperialism, and the subsequent psychology towards the Black diaspora and colonial subjects. Yet the comparison potentially offers a unique insight into how Liverpool's Black community similarly worked to gain the 'right to space' and more importantly - the transformative nature of those spaces once secured. In this way the articulation of the *process of resistance* set out across this thesis is vital in setting out a more complete understanding of the social vanguard of working-class history. An overarching aim of the philosophical objective throughout this thesis is to specifically demarcate and articulate *why* social reproduction influences the spatial and vice versa, under the material conditions of a racial capitalism.

The empirical sections are particularly revealing, with regards to social reproduction within racial capitalism, in that they provide a detailed and insightful analysis of *the ways* in which de-facto spaces are politicised, for whom and to what ends. Not only highlighting those spaces in which *politics are enacted*, but also the politicised and racialised nature of the state response. Applicably, the spatial politics explored across these sections explicitly reveal the extent of the myriad political transformations taking place during the 1980s onwards; thus, highlighting the transformative nature of *relational space* (see appendix a.) within the realms of a 'racialised spatiality'. 'Relational space' is crucial in this context as it allows an articulation of the philosophical boundaries of this study in revealing how space does *not exist outside the*

processes that have defined it. Conclusively, the processes set out across the empirical sections assist in defining a racialised spatial frame, denoting that the *process of space* is embedded in - or internal to (the same) *process*. Proving conclusively that space cannot be disentangled from time. The ramifications for a more complete philosophy of social space is that the focus remains on the relationality of *space time* rather than *space* in isolation.

For example, the mass demonstrations of Liverpool in the 1980s, and the resultant pathways, explored within this study; offers the opportunity to observe how *relational space* proves instructive when identifying how an awareness of the socio-spatial is enacted and implemented (for individuals and groups) within radical political actions. In this way the radicalism of the mass demonstrations cannot be fully grasped until the symbolism of the contested space in which demonstrations took place is contextualised within the material conditions of the history of racial capitalism explored above. Along these lines the overarching thread of this thesis dialectically converses with and develops the theoretical grounding of Harvey's approach to a philosophy of social space within Marxism. Yet the overarching assertion will be to prove that 'race' is crucial in understanding how social reproduction shapes the urban – particularly in relation to the historical construction of the inner-city. Ultimately, the overarching utility of the approach to a *philosophy of racialised spatiality* acts to guide a path through the social reproductive complexities of spatiality at the intersection of 'race', gender and class' set out in the framework above. Similarly, it is at the intersection that a more complete philosophy of social spatiality is developed; one which offers the potential to draw out the ways in which socio-spatiality (abstract and material) is formed, developed, and experienced within the social reproduction of non-white working-class communities. It will show how incorporating the complex, interlocking forms of racialised oppression into the accumulation of capital – produces a more accurate interpretation of Harvey's philosophical assertions of the production of space (see appendix a.).

This is ultimately achieved by investigating how particular spaces in Liverpool are socially (re) produced via urban social movements or civil confrontations and the resultant antithetical pathways. This allows the research to view sites of conflicting ideologies and in turn, contested and racialised spaces offer this thesis its greatest potential to draw out new insights. This is where this thesis suggests a more rounded and sophisticated philosophical grounding in contributing towards, the gaps that extenuate Harvey's approach. The overarching belief of this study is that, if as Lenin believed – Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism – then it follows that the Black labour congealed within the global development of racial capitalism is often overlooked within the totality of capital. In this way Liverpool offers productive insights in charting the dialectical nature of the reproduction of racial capitalism and how it shapes the social reproduction of its Black community. Similarly, the historic development of Liverpool as a city at the vanguard of capital's global (and racial) development; offers a more rounded and comprehensive approach to a solely class-based rendition of urban development, that Harvey's approach is bookended by. It is ultimately suggested that the combination of 'race' and class within a fresh analysis of the socialised nature of urban development is crucial in understanding the development of capital as a totality. This study shows that it is within Harvey's overlooking of the centrality of 'race' and social reproduction across urban development within cities at the forefront of the historical but highly racialised development of capital, that presents a weakness within what is an important barometer of how urban development is understood. This is the contribution this study will make to Harvey's approach – the insertion of 'race' into his solely class-based analysis to draw out fresh insights and thus adding essential correctives into his considerable body of work to date.

2. Research design and methods.

This research was borne from a professional and academic focus on the Black community of Liverpool, which had directed my research interests, personal circumstances in my family history and life experiences. My undergraduate dissertation addressed notions of community cohesion in the UK and how governmental policies designed for ‘inclusive’ or ‘sustainable’ communities, were de facto programmes designed to discipline and control ethnic minorities. My M.A. dissertation was based upon a piece of action research conducted on behalf of a local Black organisation in Liverpool. Using a social justice critique, the research challenged the pace of institutional change and life chances in Liverpool’s Black Community in the decades following the 1981 urban uprisings. In this way it seemed logical that my PhD thesis built upon this body of knowledge. What emerged from initial scoping was a research proposal to investigate the history of how areas of Black settlement in the city were constituted, in so far as agency allowed.

I read extensively across critical urban studies of cities before focusing upon the literature regarding the ways in which Liverpool has been spatially organised. I also became aware of the influence of state institutions and community organisations in shaping Liverpool’s Black community and the spaces in which they have historically settled. With regards to understanding ethnic or ‘race’ considerations, two studies were influential in shaping my initial thoughts. Blokland's (2003) investigation into the role of neighbourhood and community, particularly regarding immigration and newer forms of social capital. The weakness of her geo-spatial analyses was in attempting to unpick the relationship between the immigrant and their networks through the individual. This resulted in a rather tepid critique of capitalism’s ability to exploit and control certain groups.

A further study that shaped my early scoping research was Brown's (2005) attempt to understand and articulate how spatiality and locale fosters culture in Liverpool in explaining the city's notion of place. Her study attempted to imbue Liverpool 8 as some sort of an essentialist utopia in shaping Liverpool's Black community. I read this anthropological tract as merely conforming to the idea of a 'scouse exceptionalism' (Belchem et al, 2006), whilst offering little in understanding how Liverpool's politics shaped the Black community across time. The study for all its merits also led to a firm critique from a Liverpool born academic, he describes the study as

‘...lacking in a profound understanding of the historical forces that have shaped the social and cultural world of Black Liverpoolians, specifically in relation to their collective identity’ (Christian, 2009: 659)

It is this notion – historical forces and the ways in which capitalism is inclusive for some – from which I began to formulate an idea. The initial enquiry, focused upon exigent factors shaping Liverpool's Black community other than the obvious 'racism' permeating the numerous facets of Liverpool's political and social history (see Ben Tovim et al, 1980; 1985; 1989 and Simon, 2013). A large percentage of the Black community in recent times, reside in rented social accommodation following the large-scale voluntary transfer of the municipal stock towards the Housing Associations (Ben-Tovim and Oduku, 1989). The body of work by Ben Tovim et al made it clear that social housing played a large part in determining where the Black community have historically settled in Liverpool. What could prove even more insightful was to investigate just how the local state and other institutions have shaped the physical space of Liverpool's Black community over time.

I have personal experience of how the contemporary Black community was shaped, for my heritage is a diverse admixture of African/Caribbean and Irish; two disparate and historically oppressed communities whom at one point in history converged to share proximity in Liverpool. This form of identity in the context of Liverpool has been previously covered in

depth by others (see Frost, 1997; Brown, 2005; Christian, 1995; 1997 and Small, 1994). However, in attempting to further understand the historical interaction of these communities, a more rounded insight began to germinate. In reflecting upon my personal experience of living in Liverpool 8 my whole life, having suffered from symbolic and physical state violence. Having experienced worklessness, lack of opportunity and the emotional stasis it brings to bear upon young males in the community. I had also had an upbringing of political astuteness, immense pride in my heritage and history. Through this I experienced working people coming together in struggle in addition to observing how the state and its laws act to contain, suppress, and oppress under given circumstances.

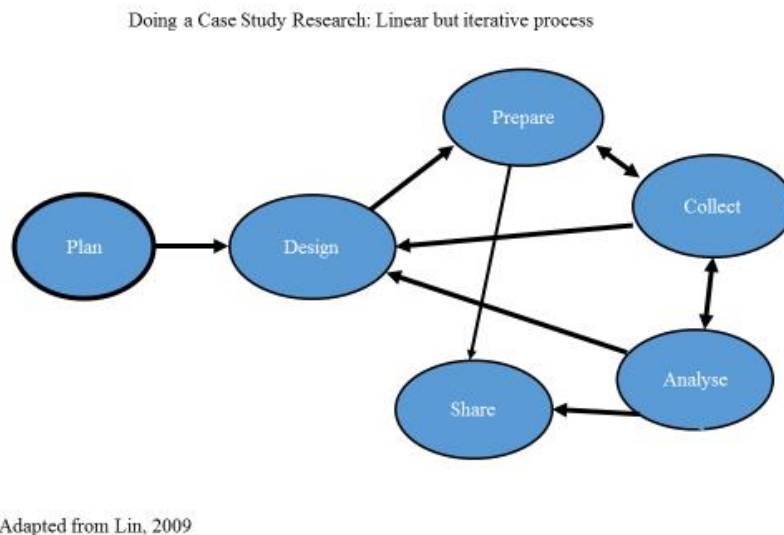
As a professional I had been involved in working on urban projects over the past 20 years so in some ways I recognised there appeared to be questions of structuration (Williams, 1976) within Liverpool 8. Essentially some facets within the scant case study literature (Brown, 2005; Christian, 1997; Small, 1995; Ben Tovim, 1980) I recognised; whilst others were alien in every sense of the word. I began to formulate the concept of utilising Liverpool 8 as a case study for a more in-depth analysis. The analysis would focus on how interventions shape urban spaces in which marginalised communities are situated; and in turn how those communities responded across the commensurate political epochs.

2.1. Researching Liverpool 8.

Liverpool's Black community has a piqued interest for many urban research projects, (for example McConaghy, 1972; CPD, 1979; Ben-Tovim et al, 1980; 1986; Ben-Tovim, 1990; Connolly, 1992; Frost & Phillips, 2011; Christian, 1995; Small, 1994 and Brown, 2005), I began to frame my literature review in such a way that it was constantly looking towards a bigger picture, essentially grounded within a realist approach (Seidman, 1998).

Figure 1 below offers a visual presentation of my early thought's regarding how my initial approach should be designed and applied. Lin (2009) was an important part of my thinking at this point

Figure 1. A linear but iterative process to research design



As can be noted, although the rationale for a linear process resides in where design and methodology follow form, i.e., the process of moving from point a) to point b); it also offers the opportunity to directly influence other spheres of the research process. However, opportunities for reflexivity are kept to a bare minimum within this iterative design. Iterative in this sense is understood as a process for arriving at a decision by repeating incremental rounds of analyses, with the objective of bringing the desired result or decision closer to the realms of discovery during each cycle (Gomm, 2008). This process has the potential to reflect soundly across the range of analytic narratives within case studies and qualitative research, for

‘...a given narrative suggests a model that when explicated ought to have implications for the structure of relationships (the institutions) with which the events occurred’ (Bates et al, 2000: 687).

However, upon further investigations within the design process of this study I began to become more immersed within the methodological approach of Marxism, in which the iterative acts almost as a corkscrew and the process subsequently can be understood as a constant iterative dialectic between theory and empirical research (Brenner, 1999). Essentially iteration can be articulated as a repetitive process of question – answer – analysis – question etc. In this way the constant return to the basis of the inquiry allows the direction of inquiry to remain rooted in the framework. Figure 1 presents a baseline from which to conceptualise themes pertinent to the research presented within this thesis. It also, in some ways, indicates the directions and departure points from which the data collection will take place and will be explained next.

The research design of the dialectical approach can be articulated as a ‘conversation’ between theory and empirical research, in which continuous movement results in a dynamic analysis of themes. The iterative also acts to bifurcate blockages across the empirical or theoretical development. What transpired during this study, as the iterative process shaped the direction of the research material; was that the emphasis of the research themes shifted from how urban regeneration and space is constructed in the inner city, to understanding the modes of Black urban resistance. The act of resistance appeared to take on forms under given circumstances and this became the more prominent feature from which to observe how the production of value is integral to inner city development over decades. Similarly, in attributing value, the motions or processes of the state became more prominent in that the advent of neoliberalism can be found within the early urban policies of the Thatcher ‘revolution’. Within these motions it was the process of uneven development that once located in the process of spatiality, became ever more relevant to the direction of this study.

2.2. Principles of Data Collection.

2.2.1. Triangulation as a validity check.

A particular important aspect for validity within any qualitative social research that utilises a multifaceted design of collecting and analysing data – with the aim of examining a particular research question from multiple perspectives; is the use of triangulation. For this study, triangulation of the data would be an important aspect of not only recognition within the iterative analyses; but would also allow the testing of any conclusion. Thus, if a particular method produces results which do not correlate to other data collected; the findings can be discarded as an artefact or aberration caused by the method used (Layder, 1993: 121). Therefore, triangulation is the rationale for using multiple sources of evidence and is a major strength of collecting data for use in empirical research (Lin, 2009: 114).

Flexibility of design and process in research was a major consideration for my plans as any research which is aimed at discovery – and is not the confirmation or verification of other research findings (an important point to bear in mind with regards to the social research previously conducted in Liverpool 8) has a requirement to be both systematic – to maximize discovery; and flexible, which allows responses to unanticipated issues and developments.

2.2.2. The historical dimension.

Proximate or immediate history of a particular subject, in contradistinction to a long-term history, will often lead to a set of contradictions; that in some cases are important to resolve (Layder, 1993). Fieldwork per-se in some ways tends to overlook the historical dimension to research, which if utilised in the correct manner will only serve to add depth (Layder, 1993: 173). For the analyses within the empirical sections of this thesis to move beyond mere historiography, then ‘the presence of particular people’ is important. This presence allows the discovery of the unheard or marginalised voices. Interactions in this sense tend to produce a

dynamic within an interview that possess the capacity to add an evanescence and transience to the everyday. It is then possible to contrast consequential social processes with the impersonality of those processes governing large scale institutional or structural changes, which, it is claimed, characterise the flows and focus of history (Layder, 1993: 176).

2.2.3. People, places, and process.

It became apparent following the review of the policy literature that the process of spatiality in Liverpool 8 had not been looked at in terms of conflict and critique since 1980 – 1990. During this period the University of Liverpool housed the Merseyside Area Profile project team. The team produced several research reports focusing upon racial disadvantage in Liverpool (see Ben-Tovim et al, 1980; 1986; or Ben-Tovim, 1989). With regards to social spaces, the literature was scant with only one entry, again conducted by the University. Ben-Tovim and Uduku (1992) and later Uduku (2003) contributed a chapter about urban regeneration and Liverpool's ethnic communities; however, the focus was on the Chinese and Somali communities. Two more studies (Wilson, 1999 and Brown, 2005) were conducted by scholars from the US and delved into anthropological and political participation as the focus. Therefore, I was presented with an opportunity to contribute to a gap in the knowledge of the social history of Liverpool. The more I read across the topic of 'race' and urban development the more questions of spatiality became apparent.

Eventually, I discovered the work of the Marxist Geographer David Harvey, who himself began his transition to Marxism through analysing the urban development programmes of Baltimore (Harvey, 1982). Ultimately leading to his theoretical development of historical- geographical materialism. I was drawn towards Harvey's work because his early research focused upon the African American community of Baltimore and his interpretation of Marxist theory within the process of urban development. After coming to terms with the geographical categories and

themes I was now convinced that this body of work offered the opportunity to articulate how urban programmes have shaped Liverpool's Black community and similarly allow an in-depth analysis of policy, programmes, local and national politicians. I have extensive personal experience as both an activist and professional in managing community and economic development programmes in the context of urban renewal/regeneration. I also contributed towards building the anti-demolition campaign which halted non-consultative plans for Lodge Lane, a now prominent ethnically diverse commercial and residential space in Liverpool 8. So, it seemed logical to analyse the history of the policies and actions that had shaped the 'bottom up' grassroots 'moments' within the Liverpool 8 area. In between focusing my literature reviewing I began the process of looking for primary source material to understand how and why particular decision were arrived at and also to put together an inventory of the areas that have underwent demolition, regeneration/renewal or had been left out of the process and why.

2.2.4. Individual or collective?

The grounded theoretical approach developed from the seminal work of Glaser and Strauss (1967), places too much of an emphasis on the subjective elements in contradistinction to the objective material conditions of social reproduction (see Katz, 2004). For example, the phenomenology of working-class experience by Charlesworth (2000), in which language becomes the ultimate signifier in identifying the locale of class distinctions. Though insightful in the sense of the consideration of working-class cultural shifts; the research fails to fully consider the economic imperative of displacement from the mode of production. Or similarly the 'urban bonds' in which Blokland (2003) analyses of the impact of 'ethnicity' on community, which again is insightful in that it charts the 'alternative' economy; however, Blokland's findings could be viewed as a snapshot of what drives the petit bourgeois, in that 'race' is neglected in the context of nationality.

One final approach that influenced the gravitation towards a Marxist analysis was the essay *Farewell to the Working Class* by Gorz (1982). Gorz's seminal text theorizes the working-class experience within a new technological imperative – calling for a socialism that reclaims the debates on wage labour. However, the research fails to reference how this would play out within urbanity or cities within an otherwise insightful analysis. For example, Gorz observed how individuals interact within a context, and this did appear applicable to my initial hypothesis, however his approach focused too much upon the 'human dimension'. The overall research aims emphasised the interactive aspects of 'meaning', which I felt would not allow an in-depth analysis of how objective circumstances determine conditions (Marx, 1968).

I anticipated that my research would be focused upon myriad redrafts applicable to constructing validity within a case study (Yin, 2009: 179). Consequently, I began to read around the works of Marx. As a sociology undergraduate I had studied Marx from the perspective of critical studies, I reasoned that for my research to gain a firm footing and methodological groundings; I would have to immerse my reading in the works of Marx (see above).

2.2.5. Historical document analyses.

The aim of my initial research was to construct a basis from which the theoretical could proceed, in this way I began searching public records within the Liverpool Central Library Archive. The archive holds extensive (but not complete) records of Local Authority and Local Council meetings. Although Gromm (2008: 197) draws attention to the pitfalls of using administrative data and the danger to the sociologist in constructing (in this case) events as 'ethno-statistics'. Nonetheless for the purposes of this project, researching the archives would allow access to decades of meetings, data and of course - the decisions, which in all cases were - invariably political. A fuller rendition of how I planned and implemented the research of documentation pertinent to this study is set out below in greater detail.

2.2.6. Qualitative: what works with narrative?

Back in 2015 when I was in the planning, literature, and design phase of this research, I was contacted by a board member of the Granby 4 Streets Community Land Trust (G4SCLT) committee. Sections of the committee wished to see a vacancy at the organization filled by a person with the prerequisite set of skills, but also from the local area. The job entailed assisting in progressing the organization from what was essentially a loose group of activists, community groups, housing professionals and local authority personnel; towards a position where they operated as an organisation. The Community Land Trust had recently been given 10 houses for redevelopment in the Granby area, in a stock transfer and although that aspect – architects, development agents etc, was in place. They were far from organized.

2.2.7. Decisions, decisions...

Following discussion with my PhD supervisors, I made a request for the experience to be included within my study. I reasoned that as the organization was based within the Liverpool 8 boundary; it was also an area that had undergone myriad unsuccessful regeneration initiatives but was still in a state of flux. It would also allow a degree of reflexivity in my research. This would, I reasoned, ensure that the research dissemination had the potential to move beyond the confines of the University. Following several meetings in which I insisted on bringing my personal life into the research process; my PhD supervisor suggested that I read around the scant literature on Autoethnography as a qualitative research method. Another sound piece of advice was keeping a research diary when I was in post, as this would allow the process of reflexivity within my own academic practice to both influence my academic and social practice, which proved to be extremely important whilst writing up five years later.

2.3. Biography.

Biographical instances would be referred to from my own experiences, both as a mixed heritage male born and raised within the Granby-Toxteth area. My own insights had the potential to articulate places and spaces that I believed added a lucidity to empirical data that at times could be viewed as ‘cold’. Secondly the ‘autoethnography of a worker’ within the latest regeneration initiative in the Granby area and incidents taken from my notes, observations and experiences would be utilized to build a picture of process. This will embed personal knowledge into a reflexivity to understand how the local scale as a relational entity, is produced via politics. There were several ethical considerations in bringing the above into the analyses, this issue always ensured that my attention to perception would have to be checked and validated. This ensured that at various points within the process of data collection and analysis, I would face a conundrum on how to proceed i.e., was I too close to this situation? Did I allow personal perceptions of individuals to enter into my value judgement? These issues will be considered below within the context of autoethnography.

2.3.1 What is Autoethnography?

As mentioned above there is scant literature regarding autoethnography and its application, however what has been published to date is explicit in describing Autoethnography as a ‘research approach that privileges the individual... [attempting to] ...portray an individual experience’ (Muncey, 2014: 1). Whilst McIlvene et al (2013: 2) describe the broad conceptualization of autoethnographic principles as ‘a form of ethnography, with the definitive feature of autoethnography being the researcher's taking himself or herself as the subject of inquiry’. Interestingly the plethora of experiences of autoethnographies feature in a diverse range of research disciplines across the social sciences.

Within psychology McIlvene et al (2013) insist that it allows practitioners to advance an appreciation beyond the realms of the positivistic aspect of their discipline. They utilized the method to insert a more rounded view of social class into research projects, but stress that it would seamlessly transfer to issues of ‘race’, gender etc. Their insistence proscribes a ‘countertransference as a practitioner’ which allows a ‘process of sociopolitical development which manifests through conscientization’ (McIlvene et al, 2013: 2). Hannigan (2014) utilized her autoethnographic approach to understand visual aspects of place, a powerful sentiment came through from subjects’ themes which ‘represented place and identity’. Whereas her subjects had overlooked this aspect, she realized that ‘this was information [she] already knew...’ and therefore allowed her to immerse herself ‘deeper into writing about the subject matter’ (Hannigan, 2014: 1). This appeared to be sound advice for my position in that, there proved to be several points of data that I recognized and was able to utilize my own experience to progress the direction, e.g., I automatically understood the geographical scope of organizational names within local government documents.

Muncey (2013) also found that autoethnography ‘attempts to give credence to a view that does not fit with the mainstream view’ but that it allowed her to arrive at the realization that the ‘official narratives were at odds’ with her own experiences throughout her professional career (Muncey, 2013: 6). Again, this appeared to be conducive with how I perceived autoethnography to potentially shape my research approach; in that it allowed an opportunity to insert my knowledge and skill set into the research process without compromising and raising too much concern regarding research bias (Gromm, 2008).

This approach in understanding story over process is what is known as the ‘evocative’ approach and is particularly pertinent to research which seeks to understand personal experiences. Conversely the potential of an autoethnography which moves beyond the constructivist-interpretivist and into the ‘sound qualitative’ realms (in this study’s focus) of the critical ideological

paradigm (McIlvene, 203: 6); may be found in what Anderson (2011) describes as ‘analytical autoethnography’; whose model will be discussed below.

2.3.2. Analytical Autoethnography.

Robert Parks of the University of Chicago’s urban school often insisted that research students ‘pursue a sociological involvement in settings close to their lives...arenas with which they had a significant degree of self-identification’ (Anderson, 2011: 2). In this way moving beyond the realms of the evocative, proposes an autoethnography which includes:

- 1. The complete (CMR) status** – in which the researcher is a ‘complete member in the social world under study.
- 2. Analytical Reflexivity** – this has roots in interpretive sociological and cultural anthropological projects, however, therein rests a ‘deeper informative [form] of reciprocity between the researcher and other[s]’
- 3. Narrative visibility of the researcher’s self** – Mutual informativity, in which the researcher is ‘visible, active and reflexively engaged both in the active research and write up. This should ‘develop and refine generalized theoretical understandings of social processes’. Whereby this nomothetic commitment must avoid ‘self-absorbed digression’
- 4. Dialogue with informants beyond the self** – In which external and internal dialogues are understood as ‘relational activity’
- 5. Commitment to theoretical analysis** – in which ‘the defining characteristic of analytic social science is to use empirical data to gain insight into some broader set of social phenomena than those provided by the data themselves’ this should allow a move towards ‘sustained theoretical development’ (Anderson, 2011: 6).

There are several limitations to autoethnography, including a limited practical utility (Anderson, 2011) or focusing solely upon a phenomenon in a particular setting and place (McIlvene, et al 2013); or validity is difficult to prove within the realms of positivistic science (Muncey, 2014). A more pressing limitation for this research was that on the one hand my personal proximity to the cases meant that I had an in-depth knowledge of the research material. On the other hand, this was also one of the weaknesses, because of the ‘baggage’ I brought to the research process; for example, preconceptions of particular people, places, and organizations. So, the greatest strength of utilizing autoethnography would be my position as an ‘insider’ whereas this could also be my greatest potential weakness.

Nonetheless methodologically, and according to McIlvene et al (2013) *analytical autoethnography* ‘tends toward the objective analysis’ in contradistinction to the ‘aims to achieve empathy and resonance’ which defines *evocative ethnography*. Ultimately it offers an opportunity to predicate and pursue those connections between biography and social structure so central to the sociological imagination of C Wright Mills (1958). Accordingly, the ‘flux and innovation’ characterizing the social sciences’ new forms of ‘observation’ and ‘data analyses’ are usually ‘...incorporated into previously existing paradigms...’ and a belief in

‘...methodological innovation lies inherently in the epistemological commensurability of new methods with broader methodological paradigms’. (Anderson, 2011: 8).

The final section ‘Reflecting Theory’ below, sets out how this research incorporated these methods into one cohesive methodology in developing a theoretical approach to the overarching research aims and objectives.

2.4. Ethical considerations.

One aspect of the process of inserting autoethnography within this research would be to understand how my own personal experiences had the potential to shape my perceptions of historical or contemporaneous points of interest. This process was a constant iteration of my personal and professional career into the research material and vice versa, this posed the

potential to create an element of research bias into the process. I addressed this by talking over issues on a regular basis with my research supervisors, in the first instance and together we often discussed how to move forward with a particular issue. For example, I found that there were several individuals who I had met in a professional capacity, however when it came to interviewing them for this study, I did not have confidence in the veracity of what they said. Following a discussion with my supervisors, I decided to not seek to verify their claims in full, but to understand why they attempted to convey that message. This in turn led me to have more confidence in understanding my role across the research process.

2.5. Mixed method in action.

To operationalize the methodological approaches set out above, the ‘mixed methods’ approach should converge to allow the construction of a critique. This critique would be based upon a detailed analysis of data sources from myriad range of methods with the aim of drawing the analysis within the process of triangulation (discussed above). The bulk of the ‘cold’ data collection was extrapolated from primary sources at Liverpool Central Library archives. I outline below the process by which the ‘raw’ data was identified, collected, and organized.

2.5.1. Archival and documentary analyses.

The starting point was the analysis of primary sources and in this way the archive can be understood as the collection, organization, and maintenance of public or private records due to their value, or more importantly for this study - a public historical interest (Pearce – Moses, 2005). Similarly, it is within the archival data that history jars against common lexicons in that ‘...meaning is elusive. Language is clear only when there is nothing to argue about’ (Pearce-Moses, 2005: xii). Yet it is the very fact that documents are *produced during an event*, that enables researchers to get *as close as possible* to what happened during historical events. In addition, this adds validity to contemporary narratives or interpretations (Pearce-

Moses, 2005). Even so, and most importantly for this research – it allowed the evidential supporting of institutional forms and mechanisms, for example the minutes of local government select committee meetings. Access to these meeting was crucial during the research process as it allowed the identification and demarcation of the 'key historical branching point' or 'path dependencies' (Ventresca & Mohr, 2006: 4).

The key historical branching point be found in examining the process of how a political decision was made, for example. Whereby path dependency, in this case articulates that the actions or conditions of a particular period may have arrived at the status quo due to a series of discrete sequential variables resulting in a distinctive outcome/output or result.

So, following the consistency of the iterative design, whereby utilizing a critical reading of 'urban literature' alongside my archival research. It became apparent that there was little or any investigation into how the documentation available in Liverpool's historical archive at Liverpool Central Library particularly the varied and myriad historic housing, building, finance, and planning committees acting on behalf of the electorate. It became clearer as the vast amount of documentary evidence began to reveal persons or contested spaces, that these documents required a full and thorough investigation and review. The logic being that a full interrogation would reveal how the urban policy pathway in Liverpool is developed through local networks of power fueled by national government policies. It was this route that I began to trace and unpick and formulate the conversations I had with several individuals who may have been able to corroborate (knowingly or not) the basis of knowledge from which the archival research departed.

I approached the systematic review and interrogation of the archival documents by initially having several conversations with the very knowledgeable staff at the archive. After discussing the areas of interest – Liverpool 8, 7 and 1 Housing and Planning decisions – I was introduced to the cataloging of the Housing & Building, Finance and Planning Committees. The

cataloging process was akin to a mini archive itself and housed the index for the committees. These committees or their predecessors held planning and urban development public information in Liverpool going back two centuries. I specifically chose the year of 1975 as a starting point for the empirical research, to give myself a thorough grounding in the events leading up to 1977, the year that the White Paper for the Inner Cities (1977) was published.

The process usually entailed searching the index for the year, committee, and month of the Housing & Building Committee for example. I would then order the minutes and go through the items on the agenda. Using my intimate knowledge of the Liverpool area, allowed me to flag decisions made in the spaces of Black concentration in Liverpool. I made a note in my research ledger of the codes and index of items of interest and then ordered the full minutes, including all reports and additional information. The additional information could be specific documentary links to other committees explaining the rationale behind a point of order or advice or direction from the Finance committee or City Solicitor. The process was time consuming, I sometimes spent weeks in the archive interrogating a specific decision, for example the vast information available regarding the demolition of tenement blocks in Liverpool.

Particularly insightful were the supplementary reports used in evidence to the committees that often led to the revelation of long forgotten or obscure documents, reports or snippets of information that became vital in terms of the changing scope of the research. For example, whilst conducting a full review of the Racial Liaison Committee (discussed in depth within the empirical chapters), a name was repeated throughout the documents and following further investigation it transpired that the individual was a former Liberal Councilor representing Liverpool 8 ward of Abercromby. Upon further investigation this individual had donated his full political archive to Liverpool – over 100 boxes.

The information in the ‘Vasner Archive’ contained letters of correspondence for the 10 years he worked in Liverpool 8. He also he collected and documented every media item with reference to the Liverpool 8 area or incidents of ‘race’ in his role of Chair of the Racial Liaison Committee. This documentation was vital in piecing together the media and political narrative across the empirical chapters. I was then able to triangulate Liverpool’s policy or political pathway information against Hansard’s Parliamentary Record, this task, in some cases, was relatively simplified, because the Liverpool archive often contained the Hansard reference. I also conducted a scoping of the Hansard records of all Liverpool Members of Parliament from 1975 – 2016. This allowed insights into how policy pathways are created at the local and grassroots level, and more so allowed the formulation of the themes I intended to discuss during the interview process.

2.6. Interview selections.

Once the research process was underway and the archival areas of interest and key themes of interest selected. I also identified key issues from both the initial literature reviews and from conversations with former colleagues. In some senses these initial conversations could essentially be described as scoping interviews and allowed a ‘drilling down’ into the emergent issues where a knowledge gap appeared. This stage was an ongoing, fluid, and dialectical process in which I was then able to adapt an approach strengthening the validity of knowledge gleaned from dialogues informing my analysis. Following further conversations with my PhD supervisors it was agreed that I should focus upon those voices which had the potential to enrich or offer insights into what I understood as the problematic aspects of the urban process. In this way the interviews should allow an articulation from perspectives missing from the academic literature in addition to adding to public knowledge of past events, within a framework of historical-geographical materialism.

2.6.1. The participants.

The participants were drawn primarily from those sections of society who satisfied these aspects of my research aims. A requirement was that:

- a. Participants were involved within the ‘regeneration’ process in Liverpool during the past 30 years (or longer) and could provide expert insights into events, people, and the politics of the decision-making process. Particularly those decisions made affecting the areas of interest set out above.
- b. Participants were involved within organizations, (political or community based) based within the BAME community of Liverpool 8.

As noted above I began to collate names through a process of ‘snowballing’ (Gromm, 2008) in which conversations with key personnel led to introductions or suggestions for further discussions or interviews with other parties with the potential to offer ‘expert’ insights. All interviews (bar one) were recorded with the express permission of the Participant and the recordings were transferred to a secure driver at the University and an encrypted memory stick for working on transcriptions, also stored on my University of Liverpool personal drive. The location of the interviews was always at the convenience of the Participants; however, most were conducted in a public space i.e., cafés. As inferred above, some of the Participants were known to me either in a professional capacity, or in the case of several Participants – through a personal relationship: in some cases – both. It is here that the process of the autoethnography allowed a constant reassessment of the material to consider following interaction with the Participants. Similarly, there were also times when I was completely wrong in my preconceived assumptions regarding certain events, histories and in many cases – individuals. It was here that the process of triangulation was vital in fact checking assertions, experiences and – in some cases – allegations.

I contacted all but five Participants via my university email account with an introductory email, once a potential participant had agreed to a meeting, they were sent a further email with a participant information sheet, and informed consent form. Two of the Participants I called and discussed the scope of my research and arranged to meet at a local café, the third Participant agreed to a telephone interview with only note taking allowed. All meetings took place in a space that was mutually convenient for both parties and in two cases via telephone. All participants were offered the opportunity to comment on transcriptions and to ‘edit’ passages following the interviews. Not all interviews were successful or in some cases did not offer any insights beyond the standard corporate line and were therefore discounted at the initial analysis. Below is a table of those participants who fitted the above criteria and offered insight into the subject material of this research, Granby Street, Lodge Lane, and the Caribbean Centre.

Table 1. Participants

Category A		Category B	
code	Description	code	Description
A.1.	Self-described White Female – Housing CEO, former Liverpool Housing Officer, self-described: Cultural Economist/Consultant, Director of Baltic Creative & Former Chair of Granby 4 Streets CLT.	B.1.	Self-described working-class Liverpool black male. Worked in various H.E. & F.E. institutions for over 25 years. Politically active from the 1970s. Resident of Liverpool 8
A.2.	White Female – Former CEO of New Heartlands – Housing Market Renewal Initiative Merseyside.	B.2.	Self-described Liverpool Born Black male. Former CEO Housing and Research professional. Worked for various local and national initiatives addressing equal opportunity. Resident of Liverpool 8
A.3.	White Male – Divisional Director of largest Housing Association in Northwest. Former regional lead on New Heartlands.	B.3.	Self-described Liverpool Born Black with African Asian heritage, Female. Academic & professional equal opportunities advisor. Played an integral role in the development of many political organizations over the past 40 years in Merseyside. Resident of Liverpool 8.
A.4.	Current Liverpool Councilor. Cabinet lead on Regeneration, Housing and Communities. Former political activist in Liverpool from 1981	B.4.	Self-described Liverpool Born Black male. Former CEO Housing professional and political activist. Integral in instigating and building several Black led organizations, institutions, and initiatives across Liverpool. Politically active from the 1970s.

A.5.	Former Trade Union Convener and Political Activist during the 1980s industrial disputes	B.5.	Self-described Liverpool Born Black Female. Presently an officer within Liverpool City Council for 15 years.
A.6.	Former member of Labour Party and Liverpool Labour Militant Tendency	B.6.	Self –described Liverpool Born Black male. Former Manager of Employment Agency and Race Advisor to the Local Authority.
		B.7.	Self-described Black male – Liverpool born, resident of Liverpool 8 and former Industrial Trade Union Shop Steward.
		B.8	Self-described Liverpool Born Black Activists and Historian. Involved in several community-based organizations and campaigning groups.
		B. 9.	Self-described African-Caribbean Male and local community activist.
		B.10.	Self-described Liverpool Black Male. Former member of community led initiatives and community activist.

In line with the ethical researcher guidelines all participants were offered anonymity as standard practice, they could withdraw their transcribed interviews at any point of the process and of course were given notice of informed consent in line with the University’s Code of ethics (Statement of Ethical Practice for the BSA, 2004: 5 section 37). What was interesting was that all participants waived their right to anonymity with A.1. Stating that ‘what she had to say she would say in front of anybody’ (Participant A.1.). However, I still felt the responsibility to place a ‘veil’ over their identities, as several participants during the interviews made references to other individuals – who have been anonymised throughout the transcribing process – and obviously this could cause further ethical considerations. Nonetheless it was important to state their relationship to the process of urban community renewal/regeneration initiatives or community activism and in some cases, this potentially could offer an indication of the identity to certain individuals.

2.6.2. Participant Observation.

There were several opportunities to collect empirical data from outside my own *participation in the process*, which allowed further observations to record and transcribe keynote speeches

during public events. They are set out below, with the dates, venues, and brief event synopsis.

Table 2. Participant Observation Personnel

Person/Organisation	Date and Venue	Brief Description of Event
Carol Mathews – Chief Executive of Riverside Housing – largest Registered Provider in Merseyside with over 65,000 properties nationally	3 rd October 2015 Crowne Plaza, Chester.	Keynote speech at Riverside Tenants Conference ¹³
Ann O’Byrne – Assistant Mayor of Liverpool. Lead Cabinet Member for Housing in the City	9 th April 2016 – Liverpool John Moores University	Housing a Critical Perspective – two-day interdisciplinary conference on global theme of affordable housing.
David Waterhouse - Head of Strategic Development for CABE at Design Council	9 th April 2016 – Liverpool John Moores University	Housing a Critical Perspective – two-day interdisciplinary conference on global theme of affordable housing.
Kirsteen Paton – Academic, Urban Sociologist	9 th April 2016 – University of Liverpool	Housing a Critical Perspective – two-day interdisciplinary conference on global theme of affordable housing
Public Meeting held by the African Caribbean Grassroots Initiative	July 2020 – Crawford House Liverpool	Public meeting regarding next steps and community modelling.
Granby Four Streets Community Land Trust	November 2014 – January 2021	Various meetings, events, Granby Market.
Caribbean Centre, Upper Parliament Street	January 2019 – March 2020	Onsite protests, meetings, events, and refurbishment

There were also several national and international conferences, events, and public rallies that I attended due to my role in G4SCLT; to deliver a lecture, keynote speech, deliver a workshop or even just to support the aims and objectives of G4SCLT during the research period of 2015 – 2017. A flavour of these events can be gleaned within the acknowledgement section.

¹³ The researcher has been a tenant of Riverside for 20 years and was a member of the Riverside Service Scrutiny Panel 2013 – 2017.

2.7. Reflecting theory.

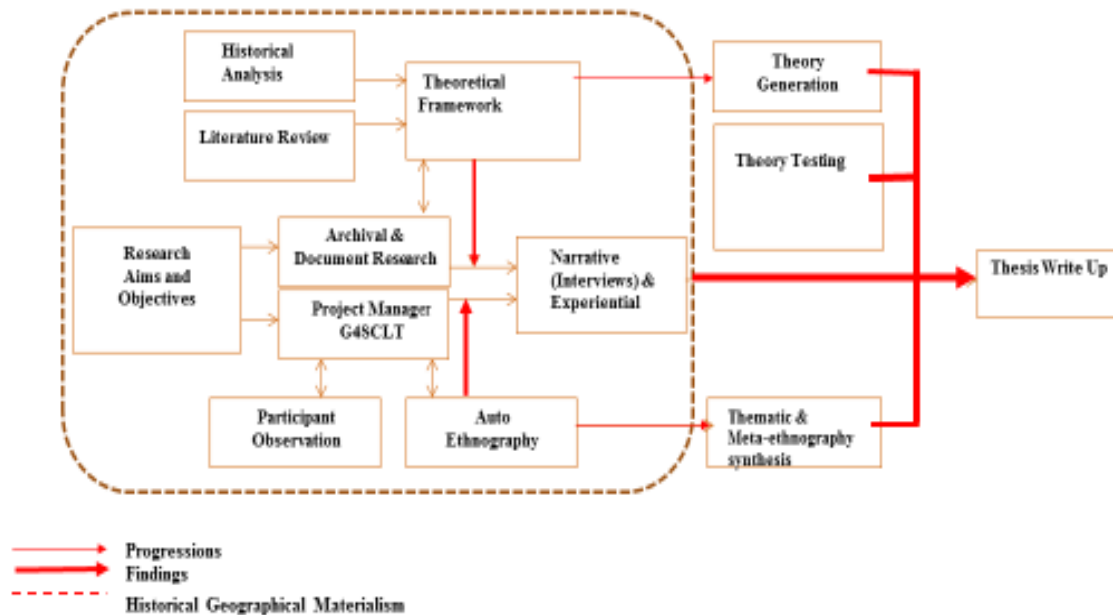


Figure 2. Methodology

Figure 7 above, again offers a visual representation of how the methods employed throughout this study were designed to collate, analyse, and progress relevant data towards a final process of triangulation, therefore,

1. Theory generation would be the result of consistent dialectical filtering of the emergent themes, controversies, and discoveries apparent between the processes of archival documents and interview with participants who were expert within their field of professionalism or had experience of the themes raised within the empirical data.
2. Validation would be to test the theory generated within; by referring to, for example Harvey's theory of uneven geographical development thereby validating points of reference.
3. Triangulation incorporates the emergent themes from within the subjectiveness of my own experiences and test against the above criteria for aberration or validation.

Thus, when generating a ‘fact’ to validate theoretical generation the following data sources in the representation below offer an indication of how the process feeds into validating particular and disparate forms of data, hence:

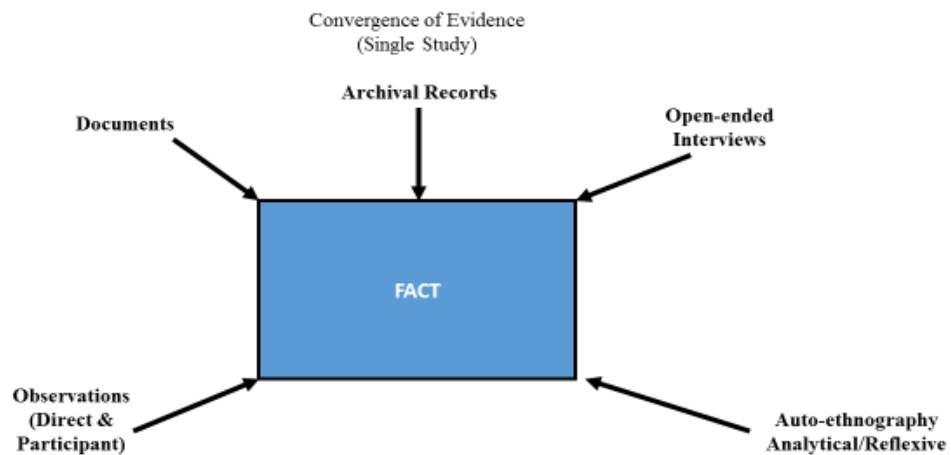


Figure 3. Verification

The above represents the process of how this research was designed, and although the application of Marxism drives the theory, the methodology set out within this chapter is set out in the first instance to demarcate the process of deriving ‘facts’ and of course the ways in which those ‘facts’ are utilised in building theory. The second aspect is to set out the process to ensure that that my professional and personal experiences do not impinge upon the validity of this research.

2.8. Ethical conundrums at the coal face.

If, as Hill (2020: 2) suggests, qualitative research is a ‘representational practice...interpreting the meaning of different practices, phenomena and processes’, then at times the same ‘meaning’ is bound to cause ethical tensions within Autoethnography. Thus ‘opening up space for dilemmas of ethics of representation’ (ibid), which for this research governed the discovery of my role within the research process. This invariably manifested when faced with my role within the interview process, or indeed the transcription process, where at times a particular

comment or statement appeared to contradict what the person had made public in the past or I knew to be a variance. There were times during the discovery phase where my supervisors and myself had to make decisions based upon whether further comment or investigation would enhance or detract from the focus of the study. As referred to above, this was a fluid, dialectical process in which at times, the end result crystallised into further insights as the write up matured. An important part of the editing process was to constantly re-examine these points of contention and re-evaluate whether to edit, improve or remove. I believe this approach ensured that the research material was given the best possible scrutiny in a fair and appropriate manner. It could never be perfect within the confines of the validity, however the point of Autoethnography was to allow my own experience to guide me through the process – I believe that this was a strength of what follows.

3. Liverpool's Black Community – A Brief History 1800 – 1976.

This chapter offers a historic overview on the development of racial capitalism within the City of Liverpool, thereby contextualising the same development within Harvey's geographical-historical materialism. In equipoise, this chapter will also chart, the specificities of 'race' within the act of resistance, which as will explored, emerges from within the literature regarding Liverpool's Black community from the late 18th Century – up to 1977. The 18th century was chosen as this was the era when Africans (and those who were enslaved) first appeared in the literature about Liverpool. 1977 was chosen for its utility to analysing the same period within the parameters of the urban development. 1977 was the year the UK Government White Paper for the Inner Cities (1977) was published.

The ramifications of subsequent 'policy progressions' and the path dependent nature of racial capitalism upon the development of urban space, referred to across the framework; is an important aspect of this study, however the Black community and its historical resistance in Liverpool occupies equal weight. Therefore, this chapter begins by exploring the early history of the Black community with regards to the Transatlantic Slave Trade, its concatenation to the development of racial capitalism in Liverpool and the impact upon the economic and social 'psyche' of the city. The following sections move onto explore the growth of the Black community and racial capitalism in context of the increasing local government spatial manipulation of community resources and people over time. Occasionally the focus of the tentative analyses will be fixed upon facets of that development. This it is reasoned will allow some of the themes to be prefixed prior to further research within this thesis.

The overarching focus of this chapter is to understand the historic forms of resistance forging later political acts and in turn offering insights into the temporality of forms of resistance in Liverpool. It is suggested that Liverpool's racialised history is in some ways unique,

Liverpool's international legacy, it is argued, was in fuelling racial capitalism (via the Slave Trade). However, and as will be shown below, resistance also plays a key role in the development of Liverpool as a city. More importantly, resistance to racial capitalism in Liverpool also shaped the history of Liverpool's Black community in ways that have been overlooked within the academic literature and beyond. Particularly the Black community's relevance to the aims and objectives of Liverpool's wider working-class community.

In researching the literature regarding Liverpool's Black community, it proves difficult to extricate the Atlantic trading link from the early history of Black settlement in the city as, in some senses; a process of symbiosis governs the two aspects. This chapter seeks to review and fundamentally lay the basis for further investigative insights. What is apparent during this period, is the Black resistance that Robinson (1983) charts, can be found in anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism movements within the broad historical sweep. However, what is also apparent within the literature and missing from much of Robinson's take upon radical resistance; is the solidarity that existed between workers sharing urban space in Liverpool. This chapter sets out how that occurred in Liverpool's Black and white shared spaces.

The literature below is primarily utilised as it charts Liverpool's Black community and its historical development and acknowledges the city's historical links Atlantic trading links; Ireland, North America, and the Caribbean (see Walvin 1992 for example). There exists a limited number of historical approaches ranging from the socio-economic (Ramdin, 1987; Costello, 2012), sociological, (Law, 1981; Frost, 1996; Christian, 1997; 2001; 2005; Small, 1992) historical (Walvin, 1992; Fryer, 1987; Belchem, 2014) and of course the local aspect (Cameron & Crooke, 1987; Heneghan & Onura, 2017). Similarly, there are also historical materialist insights that can, in some ways contextualise the growth of Liverpool's Black community. There are excellent historical materialist critiques of the slave trade; also known as the birth of the international capitalist system; where Liverpool's contribution is well

documented (Williams, 1944; Linebaugh & Rediker, 2000; Rediker, 2007 and of course Robinson, 1983). Finally, there is also an insightful approach which bears a mention (although not inclusion to this study), which charts the geographical dimensions of ethnic identity in contributing to ‘Scouse linguistics’ (Boland, 2011).

3.1. The Early History.

Liverpool’s black community has a visible historical presence in the city going back many centuries (see Fryer, 1997; Walvin, 1974 for context). Law (1981) traces black presence and issues presaging ‘race’ and racism, back to Slavery’s early beginnings as Liverpool occupied the role of ‘capital of the slave trade’ (Cameron & Crooke, 1992). In unpicking Liverpool’s social history, a distinct ‘racialised’ perspective emerges, deep from within the evidence. For example, the early academic writings on the Black community of Liverpool, tends to treat the community as something to be feared and controlled (see Christian, 1997 for example). Similarly, the media perception alluded to below, articulates – it is argued – the general narrative that the Black community of Liverpool were not quite foreign nor English. In some senses the sobriquet of Liverpool born Black, has its historical genus back in the early 20th century. These insights work to illuminate the symbiotic and fraught (it is suggested) relationship of Liverpool to its Black community (Christian, 2008; Walvin, 1992; Fryer, 1997).

Liverpool historian Costello traces an embryonic Black society living and, in some cases, thriving; within the city from the African/Caribbean diaspora dating back to circa 1730. He also concurs with the perception alongside others (Belchem, 2014; Fryer, 1997; Walvin, 1992 for example) that Liverpool’s Black community shares a complex lineage ostensibly shaped by the rapid ascent and decline of the city’s transatlantic trading history (Costello, 2001). In encapsulating the variety of interpretations of research regarding Liverpool’s embryonic Black community the focus is as variegated as it is insightful. For example, Law (1981) states that a

virulent militancy - from both slavers and abolitionists - existed in Liverpool during the 18th century. Runaway African slaves contributed towards a relatively cosmopolitan city and everyday life (Law, 1981). Whereas the ‘mainstream historical’ renderings of Thomas (1997) interpret the Black community in this way for the same period:

‘...about fifty black or mulatto boys and girls, mostly not slaves but the children of African merchants who had sent them to England for their education’
(Thomas, 1997: 301).

Christian (1997), May & Cohen (1974) also refer to the ‘special’ status of these young people, granted access to society because they were the offspring of merchants of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (TST). The contemporary research of Heneghan and Onura, (2017) assert that in addition to the ‘non slaves’; Liverpool’s burgeoning Black community was bolstered by ‘free blacks, such as seafarers...and refugees from the American war of independence’ (Heneghan & Onura, 2017: 7). This offers an insight into the material conditions, in that radical politics appear to be ingrained in the early history of the city.

It is also noteworthy that Costello traces the lineage of many of the city’s early settled Black population to families who still live in the city today (Costello, 2001). And it is a history of radical resistance born out of struggle and remains so, it is suggested. Liverpool 8 born activist, trade unionist, Black educationalist and later Head of Liverpool Community College, Wally Brown CBE had this to say back in 1981:

‘The black community in Liverpool has been denied a past, a truly glorious past... We black Liverpoolians of today can be proud of our ancestry. Black people in this city have no need to look elsewhere for black pride, it is here deeply embedded in the annals of Liverpool’s past’ (quoted from foreword in Law, 1981).

It is this ‘glorious past’ which this chapter seeks to contextualise and review from the available literature within the confines of the framework this study has constructed. It should also be noted the Brown went on to have a very successful and public career following this quote.

Much later when Brown was made a 'Freeman of the City of Liverpool, he spoke out about the lack of change in his lifetime, for most Liverpool's Black community (Liverpool Echo 14/08/2012).

It is fascinating to note that although early Black presence in the city codifies later BAME settlement, with regards to spatial propinquity for example. A great deal of the literature tends to obfuscate the, (for example) - 'glocalised' dimensions - which is where this research seeks to enlighten and illuminate the history in which

'...the privilege walks or fly away, and the others take revenge upon each other'
(Bauman, 1998: 37)

This last quote is particularly apt for Liverpool in that, during the early 20th century (and today) a large proportion of Liverpool's Black community born in the city, did not have those close connections to other countries or places and if so; most were not in the economic position to flee their circumstances. The result is beyond fight or flight in that *resistance becomes a key outcome* for those left behind. Resistance to the status quo or radical resistance to change becomes the dialectical impetus for the communities left behind within these circumstances. In some senses it could be argued that the fall of the British Empire was attributed to those communities of colour within the city in general; however, it appears that the Black community bore the brunt of the violence.

None-the-less Liverpool's past reveals a prominent role in the development of racial capitalism and its concatenation to subsequent international trade, including the immense wealth created by the cotton, sugar, and coffee Plantocracy class (Ramdin, 1987) of the new world is well documented, see Thomas (1997) for a comprehensive view situating Liverpool's global role in the Slave Trade or for the role of the Liverpool slave ship see Rediker (2007) or for early Black settlement due to TST see Fryer, (1997).

Walvin (1992) offers a more politically orientated historical study of the impact of the TST on Liverpool's history or (as mentioned above) Law offers an excellent locally focused political vignette into the development of the 'race' and racism accelerated by the TST (see Law, 1981). Cameron & Cooke (1992) similarly offer a comprehensive localised view of the TST impact but this time upon the socioeconomics of the city. However due to the confines of specialist literature, most tend to downplay a history of resistance (Law, 1981 and of course Robinson 1983, being the exception). This is where the development of Robinson's positing upon racial capitalism emerges as the prominent academic anchor across the chapter, in which he explicitly makes the connection between the TST development of international seafaring and capitalism; though Walvin, (1974: 1992) and does indeed make admirable attempts, to highlight the synergy. Yet it is suggested that this requires development in the context of radical resistance and Liverpool. For to ignore these factors is to eschew the dialectic in which TST history intersects with the radicalism of the enslaved; thus, depriving contemporary ancestors of this history and conversely, highlight those individuals and groups who benefitted from this process in the historic accumulation of capital (Linebaugh & Rediker, 2000).

3.2. Capital, Liverpool and the TST.

'It was the capital accumulation of Liverpool which called the population of Lancashire into existence and stimulated the manufactures of Manchester. That capital accumulation came from the Slave trade, whose importance was appreciated more by contemporaries than by later historians...it was a common saying that several of the principle streets of Liverpool had been marked out by the chains, and the walls of the houses cemented by the blood of the African slaves and one street was nicknamed 'Negro Row' (Williams, 1944: 56)

So, to understand the motions of capital accumulation's history across Liverpool's economic development, in that the fabulous wealth flowed into the city and 'became the basis of banks and new manufactories...Liverpool was also the main outlet for Manchester's...new products... [and]...cotton goods (Thomas, 1997: 248). It becomes apparent that via the TST - Liverpool's Black community is inextricably linked to early (primitive) accumulation as

discussed within the framework. Again, within the historically focused literature regarding the TST or Liverpool's early Black settlement, little is recalled of the agency of the Black community's resistance. There are glimpses; Ramdin, (1987) stresses the role of Liverpool's early black presence in building an emergent British Black working class, although he fails to make the overt link between TST resistance and its eventual impact upon later black communities.

Whilst Linebaugh and Rediker (2000) do explicitly link and unequivocally develop the impact of resistance and rebellion within and across the TST and the development capitalism in the broader sense; they do so from the perspective of the Americas – not Liverpool. Robinson (1983) does make explicit the link between resistance and rebellion within the development of a Black radical tradition, however it is argued that he overlooks the prominence of Liverpool's role in the TST. Similarly, it is argued that he also under develops the role Liverpool played in developing a sense of this radicalism. This is where a gap appears in the theory, and it is argued within the history of Liverpool and the TST role in the development of racial capitalism. This is an aspect that is often omitted from Europe's historical texts and even more so about the radicalism that led to TST abolition; often placed solely in the hands of bourgeois historiographies of the Christian abolitionists (see Thomas, 1997 amongst many others) until Robinson's *magnus opus*.

The former denies the importance of the myriad insurrections that shaped the Americas and Caribbean; most famously charted in the Black Jacobins of Haiti (see James, 1938), but also Antigua, Suriname, Guyana and of course New York (Linebaugh & Rediker, 2000, Robinson, 1983). These insurrections are important in tracing the continuity between the TST and resistance of those enslaved and how forms of resistance are the bedrock of the historical relationship between the occident and the contemporary African diaspora – particularly the descendants of the enslaved. It is this historical relationship which Robinson posits, has

fostered a radicalism within the African diaspora, that is in a symbiotic, but antithetical relationship, with the philosophical development of the Occident¹⁴. Liverpool's historical and prominent role in the TST, and therefore in the development of the racial capitalism discussed in the previous chapter, cannot be underestimated in the totality of capital.

What should also be noted is that history is generally written from one point of view and rarely takes in history from below (Thompson, 1980). In some senses this is also a weakness within Robinson's positing, in that his focus upon a very narrow view of Black intelligentsia, however enlightening, it subtly misses the political implications of the first international – why for example, individuals such as CLR James left the Communist Party. Similarly, it is also argued that he completely overlooks the influence of his contemporaneous Black Marxists, such as Thomas Sankara¹⁵ and Walter Rodney (see above). It is argued that these two latter Black Marxists have focused more upon the praxis of revolutionary action (radicalism) and have a much more profound influence upon Liverpool's Black community (see chapter four and five) and the Black working class.

In elucidating the *raison d'être* for his monumental tome 'The Making of the Black Working Class in Britain' Ramdin puts a stress the importance of presaging historical perspective in this way,

¹⁴ The "occident" in this case denotes the countries of the "West" most notably Europe and USA.

¹⁵ Thomas Sankara (1949–1987) was the central leader of the popular, democratic revolution in the West African country of Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta) from 1983 to 1987. Sankara entered military school in 1966. Continuing his training in Madagascar in the early 1970s, he was introduced to Marxism by students who had been part of the May 1968 upsurge in France. In August 1983, the Ouédraogo regime was overthrown in a popular uprising. Sankara became president of the new National Council of the Revolution, opening four years of revolutionary activity by peasants, workers, women, and youth. He was assassinated and the revolutionary government was overthrown in a coup by Blaise Compaoré on October 15, 1987.

‘...Plantocracy racism, supported by British Capitalists, politicians, historians and influential people of letters, engendered a dogmatic belief in white supremacy and institutionalised racism in Britain and her colonial ‘possessions’. Consequently, the cultural transmission of racist ideas was handed down over generations...[in response to blacks in the colonies]...resorted either ‘spontaneously’ or in an organised way to various forms of resistance, creating in the process, their own ideologies of Indian nationalism, Pan Africanism and Black Power and autonomous organisation. This tradition of struggle has, in turn, informed and strengthened the black working-class movements...’ (Ramdin, 1987: ix).

Therefore, with regards to TST influence in shaping Liverpool’s Black community, this chapter suggests that Liverpool’s Black history should be considered in terms of the development of radical resistance that Robinson (1983) makes explicit reference to. However, the more African focused perspective of Sankara and Rodney, should also occupy equal weight, due to a focus upon translating a more Pan African approach to Marxist philosophy. It is also suggested that across Liverpool’s history this praxis – African political culture - manifests in the community responses to historic attacks upon intra ethnic solidarity.

Solidarity was a prevalent factor in the abolition of TST from spaces articulating a different aspect of working-class history to be explored in contemporary terms. For example, the Lancashire mill worker boycott of slave produced goods, even though it placed many workers in dire straits (Heneghan & Onura, 2017: 9). Unsurprisingly intra ethnic solidarity was (and still is) viewed as a threat to capitalism and was therefore systematically attacked (Linebaugh and Rediker, 2000). This was even more so in the early port cities to discipline the masses:

‘...for the growth of cities, and especially of their maritime sector, depended upon a mass of desperate but essentially creative proletarians being forced to work for wages...a combination of such people [multi-ethnic] was not only more likely in a port city, but more dangerous than it might be elsewhere to the concentrated, established power of a cosmopolitan ruling class’.
(Linebaugh and Rediker, 2000: 181)

What is interesting is that as the ruling classes utilised the full force of government to implement a new sense of ‘white’ only solidarity, their attacks were concentrated on places in which a commonality between workers of all ethnicities was prevalent. Chief amongst the

targets were ‘alehouses’ viewed by the ruling class as dens of iniquity to be regulated thus ensuring that they were no longer places:

‘...where the wretched of many colors and nations gathered, [and] were indeed schools. These were places where such people told their Atlantic tales, yarns, and stories, their oral histories and lore of insurrection’.
(Linebaugh & Rediker, 2000: 208).

Essentially the fear of ‘shared stories’ offers an insight into how the ruling classes view the danger of intra ethnic worker solidarity. This solidarity would no doubt have existed in the shared spaces in Liverpool as borne out by the nature of mixed relationships and their offspring as explored by Frost (1999) for example. However, there is little written evidence across the literature of its existence. Undoubtedly solidarity between the Black and white working classes plays an important role in the history of Liverpool’s working class. However bourgeois history fails to acknowledge the importance of this form of worker power.

Similarly, it could be argued that by acknowledging the basis of this same solidarity also offers and insight into a Black working-class consciousness and its implications on a wider workers struggle. None-the-less this fear of solidarity, it is suggested, becomes an important point in the history and institutional vilification of Liverpool’s Black community some years later, where miscegenation compounded institutional racism. Something to bear in mind as this chapter delves further into the Liverpool’s twentieth century history.

The period circa 1840 - 1890 Liverpool, was in some senses the very definition of a ‘cosmopolitan city’ in which the residual wealth of the TST allowed the city patricians to build on a previously unprecedented scale (Belchem, 2014). The growth of terraced housing in what would later become the inner-city areas, were at their height during this period, built by a labour force that was predominately drawn from Welsh immigrants (Roberts, 1986). Following the decline of TST, for Liverpool slave ships did not cease following the 1807 abolition ruling (see Walvin, 1986). Liverpool’s powerful parochial political elite (those involved in the TST)

increasingly located to the capital (Cameron & Crooke, 1992) and so the British turned attentions to extending their imperial reach (Olusago, 2016). Although others suggest that during this period the concept of trade was beginning its ‘great transformation’ from the

‘...armed burgesses of the towns, the adventurers and the explorers, the planters and the conquistadors, the man hunters and slave traders, the colonial armies of the chartered companies’ (Polyani, 1944: 16).

And due to the increasing growth of liberal ideological ‘haute finance’

‘Trade was now dependent upon an international monetary system which could not function in a general war’ (Polyani, 1944: 16).

What is intriguing is that following the ‘abolition’ of the TST (it could be articulated as a payoff), the powerful political elite of Liverpool and their extensive networks transferred to London – and it is argued – transformed the very nature of British imperialism and global capitalism. From the Parliamentary powerbase Liverpool’s political elite now had the opportunity to orchestrate the shift towards indentured labour that followed the 1807 abolition and thus the international monetary system had opportunities to spatially fix capital in newer or extended colonies.

Wilks-Heeg (2003: 49) suggested that Liverpool’s ‘merchant class’ shaped the city’s ‘politics and governance at multiple scales’ consequently it is argued that this ‘colonial mode of production’ became one of the chief strengths of British Imperialism across the nineteenth century following the ‘abolition’. It is also suggested that the Liverpool ‘mode of governance’ thus shaped the internal politics. This resonates across later British restrictive legislature to check the influx of the Chinese (see Wong, 1989), or non-white colonial subjects (Belchem, 2014). Policies against ‘aliens’ were also later used as the basis in addressing the later influx of the Jewish communities escaping the pogroms of Eastern Europe (Kokosalakis, 1982). This ensured that Britain became increasingly less tolerant of the ‘other’ and began to view ‘colonial subjects’ across Britain’s cities as both essential and problematic (Christian, 1994; Walvin,

1986; May & Cohen, 1974; Fryer, 1997; Belchem, 2014). However, it should be noted that this period forms the basis of the height of British Imperialism and the beginnings of the underdevelopment set out within the framework.

3.3. Twentieth century, new beginning, same old story.

The early twentieth century underlined a growing intolerance to ‘other’ ethnicities, particularly those from African/Caribbean backgrounds. Several historical renderings of the development of Liverpool’s Black community chart the continuing influx of colonial immigration which added to Liverpool’s community. Costello (2012) traces the impact of African Seamen upon the city’s continuing maritime economic fortunes. Frost (2002) is more specific in tracing the diaspora of the Kru (a West African tribe) in Liverpool, which should be understood terms of workers migration to Liverpool. This occurred in some senses due to the socio-economic opportunities for West African sailors in seeking employment opportunities. However, in the broad scale of racial capitalism it is argued that the African and other colonial sailors were simply a cheaper labour alternative to their white counterparts (Heneghan and Onura, 2017; Law, 1981).

Such is the ingrained racism engendered by the spread of this division of labour within racial capitalism, is that interestingly during the 1907 Stuttgart Conference calling for a 2nd revolutionary international; the USA, GB and other European communist parties complained about colonial subjects and immigration. Indeed, Riddell writes that:

‘...many Socialist and trade unionists succumbed to the pressure of the capitalist class and fell in line with its efforts to promote antagonism against immigrants and racism against non-white peoples.’ (Riddell, 1984: 16).

The USA delegation was split, and one faction sponsored a resolution calling for restricting the immigration of “backward races”, which was countered by the Socialist Revolutionary Party (USA) in this way:

‘Away with the tactics which require the exclusion of the oppressed and suffering slaves who seek these shores with the hope of bettering their wretched condition and are driven back under the cruel lash of expediency by those who call themselves socialists in the name of a movement whose proud boast is that it stands uncompromisingly for the oppressed and downtrodden of the earth...’
(Eugene Debs 1907 quoted in Riddell, 1984: 16).

What these two passages reveal is that unlike the histories written about the later strikes by African seamen over colonial labour disparities within the Elder Dempster Shipping Company in Liverpool (for example Sherwood, 1994; Costello, 2012; Frost, 2002). There was in fact an international aspect to capital’s crises during the same period in which disciplining labour was crucial to solving the crises, however the role of racism within the fallout of crises should not be underestimated. The crisis not also impacted upon the ideological development of socialism, but it also fuelled a new racism – blaming the immigrant for the economic downturn. The fact that it impacted upon the colonial immigrants and again in the case of the Liverpool’s Black community also signposts and should contextualise the radicalism of Liverpool’s Black struggle within an overarching international paradigm.

3.3.1. Liverpool 1919 ‘Race’ Riots.

Ramdin (1985) had previously referred to the importance of African seamen upon Liverpool’s Black community in resisting the virulent racism that prevailed within the capitalist crises of the early twentieth century; leading to confrontations, rioting and murder. The decline of Liverpool’s once powerful economic drivers i.e., Transatlantic trade, and the aftermath of WWI conflated a national economic crises and attacks increased upon ‘coloured’ communities predominately African, Indian (pre partition) and Lascar (Yemini), but also included a very small, but well-established Cantonese community (see Wong, 1989). Racist attacks resulted in communities converging within Liverpool’s growing ethnic enclaves (Belchem, 2014; Law, 1981; Heneghan & Onura, 2017). The multi-ethnic community of Liverpool, estimated to be around five thousand at this point, increased as the maritime industry became increasingly

international (Heneghan & Onura, 2017). Although some 'Black' enclaves existed in the north of the city (see Belchem, 2014), the majority of the Black community were predominately located south of the city centre (Ramdin, 1987; Heneghan & Onura, 2017). In defence against the day-to-day racism, resistance was key, May and Cohen's extensive analyses of the contemporaneous reports and newspaper articles, found that Yemini and African/Caribbean seamen – although it must be considered that they may have also been local – armed themselves and several people, including the police; were shot at and some injured (May & Cohen, 1974). This led to the so called 'Race Riots' of 1919 – although for some 'we should refer to them as racist [riots]' (O'Brien, 2011: 143) - signifying a period in which major uprisings took place across several British cities including Glasgow, Sheffield, South Shields, Cardiff, Hull and of course Liverpool. A recent publication by local historians has recently revisited the 1919 racist attacks due to the uncovering of previously lost primary sources (see Heneghan & Onura, 2017).

Until Heneghan & Onura, (2017) the 1919 uprisings have never been placed into an international perspective; and only then with oblique reference to what the bourgeois African American intellectual James Weldon Johnson of the NAACP termed the 'Red Summer'. Johnson's appraisal – on behalf of bourgeois society it seems - defined the urban uprisings sweeping across the USA, where estimates suggest over 200 African Americans were killed by the state in Chicago and Washington (McWhirter, 2011). Of course, what happened in the US resonates with the Black plight within British cities and especially Liverpool. As the 'urban racial violence' against African Americans (Tuttle, 1970: 11) appeared to have transferred to Britain and was visited upon Liverpool Blacks. In the same way others make an articulate case for the growing sense of militant self-defence from within African American communities, an integral aspect to the 'new negro' returning from the 'Great War' (Tuttle, 1970: 208).

Ultimately what is missing from the history of Black Britain and particularly Liverpool is the imperative of the Black radical resistance to the state that Robinson, (1983) points to.

3.3.2. Death of a seaman.

During the 1919 ‘race riots’ a Bermudan seaman known as Charles Wootton was reportedly chased by a white mob to the dock waters, where he was stoned by the mob and drowned (see Christian, 1995; 1997; 2005; Frost & Philips, 2011). No arrests were made despite considerable police presence and the inquest concluded death by drowning (Heneghan & Onura, 2017). Olusoga (2016) describes it simply as a lynching. Eventually within the local and national newspapers questions were raised and asked in Parliament and beyond (May & Cohen, 1974). Following the intensity of the Liverpool uprisings there were concerted attempts to alleviate the damage done – not to the Black community - but to Liverpool’s global reputation in the aftermath.

During the 1919 Versailles ‘peace’ conference there was international concern regarding Black violence in Liverpool, fearing that it would spread to other colonies or countries. US Intelligence Officers flattered the ‘pan African and Liberian delegates’, such was the fear of Liverpool’s Black resistance deemed to be too subversive to spread to other global spaces (May & Cohen, 1974: 124). During this period the Black community of Liverpool, let down by governments, political parties and it is argued – international socialism – began to self-organise and a proliferation of workers social clubs within the Liverpool 1 and 8 areas of the city became the focus of community activity (Small, 1994). What is interesting for this history of Liverpool’s Black community, is how this proliferation of community spaces refract earlier bourgeois fears of spaces of resistance such as the colonial concerns of the ‘alehouses’ discussed previously.

In the year following the 1919 ‘urban unrest’ it is argued that the media in Liverpool (and beyond) increased the fear of the other and solidified spatial segregation of ethnic communities in Liverpool. The Liverpool Daily Post (now Liverpool Echo) ‘reporting’ below captures the alarmist nature of racism, miscegenation and therefore solidarity during this increasingly febrile international period of impending international revolution.

In 1919/20 the ‘defensive and segregated locales’ of Liverpool 8 and 1 were referred to as ‘no go areas for whites and police’ (a phrase which was to be repeated in the Echo the 1981 urban uprisings) and Liverpool’s spaces of Black settlement were known as ‘dark town and other alien quarters’ (Belchem, 2014: 42). In what would become a running theme over the coming decades the Daily Post ran an ‘expose’ of these urban spaces and commented that Liverpool’s Black community and colonial subjects:

‘...take over, as it were the general amenities to the exclusion of the English and other peoples, who may come to be regarded as intruders. Licensed houses and shops become the exclusive rendezvous of negroes or Chinese, where whites become undesirable customers.’ (Quoted in Belchem, 2017: 42).

The implication within the media meta-narrative is blatant, note the overt linking of ‘negroes and Chinese’ with ‘non-respectable’ (but ultimately working class) sites - ‘Licensed houses’ refract the research above regarding the authorities who deemed the regulation of ‘alehouses’ as integral in undermining working class intra ethnic solidarity.

Jenkinson (2014) also charted the history of the post 1919 riots and adds that a new authoritarian aspect emerged during this intense period of struggle in the form of law enforcement. The Chief Constable of Liverpool’s racist comments regarding the Black community (again a point which would recur over the decades) seem bizarre (but unsurprising) by today’s standards. He believed that Black males were ‘arrogant and overbearing’ as they ‘swank’ around in ‘new clothes’ (quoted in Belchem, 2014: 43), this again resonates with the ‘Zoot suit’ riots of 1943 in the USA, where Black masculinity was viewed as a threat and

enmeshed within the racialised imaginaries of urban spatiality (see Kelley, 1997). Even more alarming was the open hostility towards intra ethnic relationships and especially if it consisted of a white woman and Black man, in a letter found within colonial archives the civil service referred to,

‘...the provocative stance of the white women who live or cohabit with the black men boasting to the other women of the superior qualities of the negroes as compared with those of white men’ (quoted in Belchem, 2014).

This encapsulates a facet of colonialist mentality which is psychologically analogous to the miscegenation dominating the radical reconstruction period following the US Civil War. This is an important point to engage with in unpacking resistance to colonialism and imperialism and should be noted for future chapters. May and Cohen (1974) suggest that Liverpool instigated the beginnings of a transnational Black consciousness, even if the Black community in Liverpool were not fully cognizant of the message of their actions. Correspondingly these struggles took place during an international climate of ‘Bolshevism’ gripping the city in the form of working-class agitation. The 1919 Transport strikes resulted in the National government responding in such a way that ‘tanks and three battalions were moved into the city and a battleship and destroyers sailed up the Mersey’ (May & Cohen, 1974: 113).

In essence this section has made explicit that Liverpool’s Black community at this point, under attack, vilified by media, the state and internationally - all in plain sight, but hidden from history. What is clear is that this form of revolutionary resistance – international in the making – was crucial to the dialectical ebb and flow of the history of racial capitalism. What is not surprising is that this has been largely ignored by historians.

3.3.3. Fletcher and the interwar years.

The interwar years in Liverpool saw an increasing ‘social pathological’ approach (Laitinen and Sarkela, 2019: 82) to addressing issues within the Black community, growing exponentially

due to the addition of colonial and US soldiers, African and Yemini (Lascar) seamen and of course their offspring (Belchem, 2014). As Linebaugh and Rediker's (2000) note, in times of crises within the capitalist system, it is the Black population who have often borne the brunt of societal vilification. However, the social vilification of Liverpool's Black community appears to reflect the media and miscegenation narratives set out above on a whole new level. In turn this allows insights into how Liverpool's Black community were utilised to shape narratives and perceptions of inter-ethnic solidarity. Liverpool witnessed the publication of an infamous report (certainly in the Liverpool Black community) entitled - Report on an Investigation into the Colour Problem in Liverpool and other Ports (Fletcher, 1930). The report was the work of a social worker M. E. Fletcher and University of Liverpool Alumnus; on behalf of the 'Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Half-Caste Children'. It has been referred to as a blatant exercise in playing to the prevalent fear of miscegenation within those British urban areas (usually port cities) with burgeoning Black communities (Rich, 1984). Again, the fear of miscegenation is the recurring narrative, and conforms to the New York experience in dealing with ethnic solidarity insurrections – they must be stopped at all costs (see Linebaugh & Rediker, 2000).

Christian, who has extensively researched and wrote about the history and content of the report, that he calls a 'para-political tract', makes clear how it referenced and played to the racist ideology within the policies of resettlement of 'coloured' colonials from Britain and of course Liverpool (Christian, 2008: 200). The legacy continues in stigmatising the 'Liverpool Born Black' community in contemporary Liverpool (Christian, 1995; 2005) and young black males in the education system (Christian & Ackah, 1997). Fletcher was influenced by the burgeoning pseudo-scientific and biological racism (that also influenced the Nazi Party) and is a shocking indictment of bourgeois attitudes towards Liverpool's Black community (Belchem, 2014: 4). Even more intriguing for the overarching narrative of this thesis, is that the foreword

to the report was written by University of Liverpool Rankine Chair of Geography for 27 years Professor P. M. Roxby. It is food for thought that somehow a ‘distinguished’ academic appears to concur with the spatialisation of Liverpool’s Black community – something to note for later. Christian (2005) aligns this institutional ‘consensus’ approach to social pathology at the door of the University of Liverpool. It is argued he could well have a point as the University of Liverpool named a building after Roxby. The focus of the ‘Fletcher report’ is the Liverpool 1 area of the city, where ‘China town’ is located today. So, in addition to the proliferation of ‘sailors lodgings’ within the Parliament Street and Upper Stanhope Street areas of Liverpool 8, it appears that the Black community was essentially being pushed from the South Docks upwards towards the East Toxteth part of the city.

Following the outbreak of the Second World War (WWII) a follow up to the ‘Fletcher’ report was produced on the conditions of Liverpool’s ‘coloured’ population, from within the University of Liverpool. This report was produced with data collected from H. F. Prescod a colonial subject from Guyana of West African descent, working under the supervision of Caradog-Jones, a Reader in Geography at the university during the 1930s (see Christian, 1998). Following the uproar caused by the ‘Fletcher’ report, Caradog-Jones also caused considerable consternation with his own ‘scientific based statistical research’; which laid into the ‘inferior skills’ of the Irish, the ‘problematic negro’ and again the ‘half caste’ children (Belchem, 2014: 68). Nonetheless the data collected by Prescod was utilised to actively change urban social policy as the socio-economic conditions for Liverpool’s growing Black community deteriorated more so than other ethnic groups (Christian, 2005). It is argued that the Fletcher report influenced policy makers to begin plans to shape the geography of the city to ensure that Liverpool’s Black community were restricted to the postal code areas of Liverpool 1, 7 & 8.

3.4. Return to War.

The continuing arrival of colonial workers during the war added to increasing concerns regarding incidents pertaining to the previous war. Liverpool's Black community were viewed as disruptive or influencing other less radical colonial subjects visiting the city. This led to policies put in place to ensure that workers from the Caribbean avoided being 'contaminated' by the 'West African' seamen of Liverpool (Belchem, 2014: 83). Particularly the workers social clubs (Freetown Sierra Leone, Igbo, Yoruba, Somali and Lascar) referred to above, thus keeping Caribbean colonials away from the Liverpool 8 community in general. The local authority solution to attempt intra ethnic segregation was to open lodgings in the Bedford Street area of Liverpool 8. In a geographical materialist sense this ensured by default; that the Black community in Liverpool became visible in places outside of the 'coloured quarter' (Belchem, 2014: 84).

A narrative of social pathology, miscegenation and a social pathological approach intensified and 'half caste' children were still the main concern following WWII. Although there was still a considerable Black contingent living in the north of city centre docklands – or the Scotland Road area – the city appeared to be complicit in planning for most of the Black community in Liverpool to reside in the area around the St Margaret area on Princes Road/Upper Parliament Street. Similarly, after a protracted organisation and lead in, funds were obtained to open a new community centre in 1946 for the Black community at Stanley House also located on Parliament Street (Belchem, 2014).

3.4.1. Post war reconstructions.

The post war years witnessed a return to concerns regarding the 'aggregation' of the Black community in Liverpool. Institutional and state oppression and racial violence led to an increasing militant response from within the Black community (Belchem, 2014: 123). More so

the Liverpool Born Black community expanded mostly due to the offspring of both White and Black women's relationships with African American GIs. But also, with the increasing flow of stowaways from the Caribbean and Africa (Brown, 2005; Christian, 2005).

Yet in 1948 more 'race' riots erupted and this time they were spatially focused within the 'coloured quarter', located within the area covering Upper Parliament Street, St James Place, Upper Stanhope Street and Wesley Street according to Belchem (2014). It should be noted here that sometimes the history from above gets lost in the postmodernist's/revisionist's detail, for Belchem describes the myriad 'ethnic' cafés - these were probably the social clubs set up in the aftermath of the 1919 attacks (see Small, 1992). It may have been that the eruption was to repel an attack or incursion of external forces, in this way it is important to contextualise the research material with the authentic voice in place of those studies which may have missed such an obvious misinterpretation. This point is not made in Belchem's history however, it is argued that the authors reflection of lived experience of racism, explored within the methods chapter; makes this very important point (extrapolated below) - obvious.

Hall (2016:73) argues that the proliferation of post war social clubs was in fact due to a growing alienation of the working classes from the hitherto historical roots, and that

‘...working men's clubs provided important sources of agency, community and continuity for their members, during a period of rapid social and cultural change’.
(Hall, 2016: 73)

It is suggested that the focus of Belchem's historical interpretation, reveals little regarding the material conditions and struggle undertaken by Liverpool Black community (see Christian, 1997). Indeed, it could be argued that what is essentially missing from all Belchem's history here, is a distinct lack of understanding of community space and historical struggle. Similarly, the 'othering' of the Black experience in Liverpool and its concatenation to Imperialism is lost without seeking to understand, why racists such as Caradog Jones are still remembered in the city. A point that appears to be lost on Belchem and the University of Liverpool.

3.5. On the march.

Although far from one homogenous group, the Black community could be defined as Liverpool Born, African or 'West Indian' (Caribbean) and tensions could obviously be attributed to these differences (see Belchem, 2014), in the same way there probably existed tensions between intra ethnic groups i.e., Kru and Igbo or Liverpool Born Blacks and other groups (Frost, 2002). Nonetheless during the post war period there was also something else occurring, the rise of the 'race-consciousness negro' in believing that all 'negroes' should unite in solidarity (Ramdin, 1987: 381).

By 1962 due to white hostility and the fact that the Black population had in some senses penetrated the socio-economic fabric of Liverpool, a movement was born calling for the various components of the Black community to co-operate in struggle (Ramdin, 1986). Leading to formal associations, new alliances and due to the complex nature of the ethnic diversity within Liverpool's Black community, hindered a concerted political approach to addressing issues of urban poverty, racism, and housing conditions (Ramdin, 1987: 394).

Much is made in the literature of the 'illegal' drinking dens or 'shebeens' in the history of Liverpool's Black community, but it is argued that the sources are sometimes worrisome and probably apocryphal in other cases. It seems that Ramdin (1987: 376) is too quick to write about Liverpool's Black locale as a 'shady district' without recourse to contextualising where this information emerged. Similarly, Belchem (2014: 173) utilises dubious references to describe the clubs of Liverpool 8 as being frequented by 'prostitutes, dope peddlers, spivs and black marketeers'.

Again, it's easy to draw attention to what is another attack on 'shared communal' spaces in which intra-ethnic/'race' interaction took place, like the demonization of the 'alehouse' described earlier. It's remarkable that this happens time and time again throughout the

literature. Without delving further into examining why this is the case, this should suffice at this point - Gilroy in unpicking the cultural hybridity of the Black British (for British they are) experience but also why assimilation is ambiguous; places the context this way:

‘If we are to comprehend the cultural dynamics of ‘race’ we must be able to identify its limits. This, in turn, necessitates consideration of how blacks define and represent themselves in a complex combination of resistances and negotiations, which does far more than provide a direct answer to the brutal forms in which racial subordination is imposed.’ (Gilroy, 1987: 204).

Gilroy essentially argues that Black culture falls outside of the confines of ‘normalised’ cultural references, and this adds to ‘white’ commentators placing their own values upon their observations, although conversely; issues of racial stereotyping cannot simply be overlooked or ignored.

3.6. Exodus.

Vital snippets of information regarding the geographical locale of the Black community are written between the lines and in the period leading up to the 1960s there is recognition that the Black community was converging within the ‘Granby Triangle’ area (Belchem, 2014: 162). Around this time Simey (1992) working at the University of Liverpool in addition to representing the Granby Ward as an elected councillor, observes that in the run up to her victory in the 1962 local elections the enforced displacement of the Black community ensued. This occurred following the ‘settlement’ of the Local Authority with the University who began the process of evicting tenants to carry out their expansion. Thus, ensuring that a mass of working-class people ‘frequently black’; had been essentially displaced overnight and were essentially,

‘Crowded into rabbit warrens of multi-lets...not unlike a transit camp for refugees. Refugees they certainly were. Through no fault of their own, they were homeless and rootless and as such, unwanted and rejected...’ (Simey, 1992: 108).

It should also be noted that the obvious bourgeois social democratic perspective weaving across Simey's excellent book 'Disinherited Society' also contains the vestiges of the virulent racism of the day. The inference that an area is understood as a spatial concentration of 'Blacks' without recourse to mentioning any details, again would be lost in the detail to the outsider. As alluded to above the researcher's in-depth and localised understanding of the historical significance of these 'magnificent buildings' would argue that Simey's passage and attitude simply bolsters the spatialised - racist stereotyping of certain areas in Liverpool. For example, Simey adds that:

'There had for some time been a corner of the ward which was known to us as the black square, for self-evident reasons, but it had been possible to ignore its existence because it was separated from the rest of the neighbourhood by the wide sweep of the Princes Avenue boulevard. This delusion of harmony was disturbed by the arrival of the incomers from Abercromby' (Simey, 1992: 108).

Ramdin, (1987) states that at this point in Liverpool's history the Black community estimated at about five to six thousand; were predominately unskilled and therefore unemployment was a prevailing factor with the coloured quarter on the other side of Princes Avenue (Ramdin, 1987: 378 - 9). It is argued that the description set out by Simey above, can be clarified in this way – it appears that she does not agree to the aspect of shared living spaces within previously bourgeois areas, which was obviously apparent during this period. Simey lived for 60 years in the area now understood as the Georgian Quarter (see chapter seven).

3.7. The rise of Black consciousness.

The Afro-centred approach of Christian (2005) states that the period governing the 1960s sixties through to the 1970s, Britain fostered a brand of 'anti-Black discrimination'. During this period Black masculinity and their cultural identity is reduced to 'negative depiction[s] of Black/African culture via Eurocentric and ethnocentric learning' (Christian, 2005: 329). Thus, concurring with Gilroy's perspective and an important contextual narrative in further developing the role of Liverpool to further understand racial capitalism during this period.

For example, Belchem (2014), places considerable focus during this period upon Stanley House Community Centre, the first local authority sanctioned community association in Liverpool. Locally, Stanley House was the location for the launch of another controversial report - ‘Special but not Separate: The Report of a Working Party of the Liverpool Youth Organisations Committee on the situation of young, coloured people in Liverpool’ (1968). After meeting with young people in Liverpool 8 and hearing their views on life in the city, concluded that ‘Liverpool...left us with a profound sense of uneasiness’.

Much has been made on the impacts of this report (to understand the impacts upon the bourgeois professional community see Simey, 1997; for a more militant response see CDP, 1977), however it is also argued that the report was neither insightful – for those from the Black community – nor led to meaningful change for the Black community. Interestingly Dorothy Kuya a Community Development Officer who lived and worked in L8 area ensured the report was used as evidence for the Community Development Programme (CPD) rolled out to the most deprived Inner-City Areas.

Smith elaborates further and states that the studies were:

‘...commissioned from firms of architect-planners by the Department of the Environment in 1972, and were on Small Heath in Birmingham, Lambeth in London, and Liverpool 8. The final reports were published in 1977, but were the distillation of over eighty volumes of supporting research...they provided much of the theoretical and practical background for the approach of the 1977 White Paper *Policy for the Inner Cities*—the government’s formal response to the perceived inner city crisis’ (Smith, 2016: 584).

As this chapter closes in on the white paper ‘Policy for the Inner City 1977’, the starting point for the empirical aspect of this thesis; the following section sets out the other studies that shaped one of the most important attempts to tackle inner-urban decay – the Inner Area Act 1978. There were several reports that built upon the studies coming out of Liverpool and contextualised below.

3.8. SNAP, IAS & CDP: Liverpool an abbreviated city.

The advent of a post war political consensus between successive Labour and Conservative governments has been previously explored within the context of political will (See Miliband, 1972). In terms of urban policies, the CDP (1977) castigated the myriad departmental sponsored interventions for the little effect on the real issues of the inner city. The focus of the CDP study was to examine the overarching policy development of a gamut of urban programmes delivered in communities with a high concentration of immigrants. In Liverpool the first round of designated funding emerging from the CDP programme had the predominantly white working-class community of Vauxhall and the ethnically diverse area of Liverpool 8 competing to deliver the pilot programme. A further flaw in the programme itself lay in the fact that:

‘Their brief rested on three important assumptions... [1] it was the deprived themselves who were the cause of ‘urban deprivation...[2]...[problems] could best be solved by overcoming these people’s apathy...[3]...locally based research...would serve to bring about changes in local and central government policy’ (CDP, 1977: 4)

Eventually it was Vauxhall in the North of the city who ‘won’ and became the subject of the much maligned and problematic (for local and central governments) programme. This type of programme was the pilot of a funding disbursement approach which would be delivered under the Urban Aid Programme based in the Home Office. In many ways this outcome could represent the very basis of intra urban competition that underpins the entrepreneurial urban narrative referred to in the framework, pitting community against community. The danger with this approach is that it exasperated the ‘racial divide’ in that it allows the accusations to flow from both communities regarding who gets what in terms of funding and assistance.

It also signalled a new central government attempt to join up departments pertinent to addressing urban deprivation, which, later was revealed to be a missed opportunity to seriously address inner city poverty (CDP, 1977). The housing charity Shelter instigated an extra

localised urban experiment/development programme in Liverpool 8 from 1967 – 1971 called the Shelter Neighbourhood Action Programme (SNAP). Simey (1992) points to the influence of the film ‘Cathy Come Home’ for the drive to eradicate ‘slums’ still existing in Liverpool 8 during this period – but was scathing about the scope of the programme. At meetings in a Granby Street venue, between the project leaders and locals, the church led (and exclusively white) Granby Community Council were ‘...tossed up on a bank and left there high and dry while the tide swept past...’ (Simey, 1992: 116). Presumably the problem was that this money was considered ‘Black’ for some reason (see Christian, 1997). The issues according to the Granby Street locals included *undesirables, prostitutes, and criminals* – something to note. The successes or failures of SNAP are negligible and have been argued over in other articles (see Smith, 2016 for a full account of how the programme emerged or Thompson, 2017 for its impact in developing the Co-Operative movement across the UK). Similarly, important is that SNAP gave an opportunity for a new approach to the disbursement of funds to areas of deprivation, which invariably included the professional consultant.

Considering that the programme was delivered with funding designed to alleviate the problems faced by inner city areas of high ethnic diversity; it is telling that on Granby during resident participation workshops:

‘No one commented on the absence of black faces from our meetings, the majority of the locally born black were still youngsters and their difficulties were seen as part and parcel of the ‘juvenile problem in general’ (Simey, 1992: 116).

What Simey fails to refer to is that other programmes which had emerged from the Urban Aid and had a significant effect in focusing the militancy of Liverpool’s Black and increasingly diverse ethnic minority community, away from the confines of the paternalism offered by the church led community groups. For example, the Merseyside Community Relations Council (MCRC) operating from around 1970 with local Communist Party (CP) activist (and future

Granby resident) the late Dorothy Kuya employed as a development worker. It cannot be underestimated what this would have signified for the community in that the inclusion of a Liverpool born member of the Black community was now ‘embedded’ within the system. But it also highlights a particular problem for those with social aspirations in Liverpool, explored in the following chapter.

Of course, in some senses and in her own admission Simey was behind the times; for across the other side of Parliament Street, the new estate built on the site from which the ‘refugees’ of the settlement exodus had become spatially contested and again ‘race’ was the issue. Such was the focus of an increasingly militant response of the Black community, which again is missing from the bourgeois histories. The broadcaster Jonathan Dimpleby arrived in the city to broadcast a report on Liverpool in 1972. His prime objective it seems, was to investigate the ‘racial tension on Liverpool’s housing estates for the current affairs programme ‘This Week’ (BFI, 1972). What is interesting is that the programme refers to the ‘predominately Black area of Granby’ whereas Simey states the opposite within her chapter the ‘glory of Granby’. Simey recalls a meeting at the Methodist Church, located on what is now called the ‘Granby four streets’ (see chapter eight); she makes explicit reference to a lack of Black representation on Granby during the early 1970s. However, she fails to elaborate if this was exclusionary tactics or simply apathy on behalf of Black representation. What is interesting is that Simey found it noteworthy in respect of what could be understood in terms of community cohesion in modern parlance.

What is without doubt is that programmes such as SNAP led to the second ‘Inner Area’ study being conducted and culminated in the report ‘ominously titled Change or Decay’ (Belchem, 2014: 235). Belchem goes onto to list the numerous contemporaneous examples of an increasing rise in racism, racial violence including state sponsored symbolic, physical, and psychological, which in some senses defined the 1970s for Liverpool’s Black community.

In summing up the history of Liverpool's Black community up till the period of 1976/77 - it is apparent that the Black community were still classed as outsiders within their own city. As has been shown a history of violence visited upon the community is well documented across the literature, but not so much the militant responses and resistance it provoked. It is suggested that therein lies a failure of the previous literature regarding urban development in Liverpool 8 - if the reading of this history is viewed as simply one of intra ethnic oppression - without acknowledging the role of the state (both national and local) plays within designing policies for urban areas. That history that will immutably fail to understand the role of the Black workers in the fight against the racial capitalism set out above. Consequently, the following chapter deepens the analysis of those same urban policies 1977 – 1981, that led to the disturbances during the summer of 1981. In this history, the analysis delves deeper into the emergence a new weapon for racial capitalism in the form of urban policy and particularly those policies aimed to address the problem of the inner-city Liverpool – the racial fix (discussed in the framework). The failure of these racially divisive policies changed the very nature of resistance in Liverpool from one of sporadic engagement with the local state to a radical reconstruction of the Black community. Which again assists this thesis in presenting further insights into the development of racial capitalism, not only within the UK, but within a totality of capital accumulation as referred to within the framework.

4. Policy and rebuilding the inner city 1976 – 1979.

This chapter covers the years 1977 to 1979 and aims to draw attention to the neoliberal influence in changes to urban policies inherent to the racial fix referred to in the framework, particularly those which targeted the ‘inner-city’. It will be inferred that uneven development of the inner urban areas of Black concentration instigated and influenced the political forms of Black resistance that shaped the 1980s. Particularly resonate is how ‘inner-city’ policy pathways not only shaped Black urban spaces, but profoundly shifted the resultant Black resistance towards strategies of separation discussed in the framework of this study. However as will also be revealed, the political decisions made at the national level cascade down to Liverpool to emerge as policies of political containment in the form of the racial fix discussed above. The forms of uneven development and devalorisation referred to in the framework also permeate the policy pathways that ensued following the publication of several reports regarding the future of the ‘inner-city’. This was the period in which neoliberalism was in its infancy within national politics (referred to above as naïve neoliberalism). Through the actions of local councillors and executive officers, the form of racialised politics (set out within the framework) allows insights in framing how this form of racial capitalism/neoliberalism (discussed in the framework) was formulated, shaped, and enacted in Liverpool.

4.1. The last days of the Keynesian state.

The UK's fiscal crises of 1976 exasperated a period of social upheaval. Harvey cogently argued that a failure of government finance, compounded by international loans pushed UK inflationary rates to 26% and one million workers unemployed (Harvey, 2005). Budgetary deficits impeded the ability to meet the balance of payments to IMF credits, leading to the Labour government facing a stark choice, bankruptcy, with a further devaluation of sterling; or invoke an austerity package that would impose ‘draconian budgetary cutbacks’ upon state

expenditure (Harvey, 2005: 58). Amongst this crisis the publication of a white paper entitled ‘Inner Area Studies: study into inner city areas of Liverpool, Birmingham and London’ (1977), (IAS: 1977); led to a series of government proposals and was a key moment in the development of urban policy (HC Deb 06 April 1977 vol 929 cc1226-46).

4.2. The White Paper Trail 1977.

Prior to the publication of the IAS: 1977, a supplementary report collating a mass of evidence over a seven-year period, set out the distinct problems of post-industrial spaces. Smith (2016: 593) distils the epistemological focus of those reports in this way:

‘First, they reject a policy of managed decline, which had begun to be mooted.

Secondly, they foreground the need for a ‘total approach’ and added co-ordination between different agencies—showing greater sensitivity to the needs of local people.

Thirdly, they stressed that more money should be diverted towards the inner cities.

Fourthly, having identified the precipitous deindustrialization in these areas they argued that the local economy, and especially the number of jobs, was the essential key to the revival of the inner cities.

Last, a new approach was needed when it came to housing, and not just more of the same in terms of new building and municipalisation’.

Although it is difficult to argue against the thrust of Smith’s distillation, note the concept of *managed decline*, to be discussed later in the thesis. It was simply a rejection of those previous planning policies that fuelled large scale slum clearances that defined 20th century urban programmes (Smith, 2016).

April 1977, the Secretary of State for the Department of Environment (DoE), Labour Minister Peter Shore, released the *official* inner area results and the subsequent programmes to tackle deprived areas.

‘The main immediate emphasis is on the problems of the major cities. The existing Urban Programme of £30 million is to be increased to £125 million by 1979–80, and I have already issued invitations to participate in partnership arrangements with Government to the local authorities in Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester and Salford, and in London’ (Hansard, 15th June 1977).

The Urban Aid Programme (UAP) would be the funding body, with the Urban Deprivation Unit (UDU) responsible for the disbursement (Hansard, 15th June 1977). Devised in 1968 to address inner-city deprivation, the UDU operated from within the same department funding the Inner Area Studies. It is argued that politicians of all parties made changes to the direction of urban funding, acting against the interests of those living in multi-ethnic areas. The small amount of urban funding available was directed towards citizenship and immigration integration policies or ‘race’ relations up to 1977. That funding would now be transferred across to the Department of Environment (DoE) (see Smith, 2016). This virement of funding, previously focused upon the devalorised spaces of Black concentration, would now be now directed towards the beautification of civic space. This confirms the switch of priorities from alleviating ‘slum’ conditions for Black residents towards a generalised focus on urban planning. It is further argued that communities were now being ‘blamed’ for their poverty and thus the neoliberal era was underway.

In this way, the Labour Government fostered the negative taxonomy of ‘Blackness’ and ‘Inner Cities’, referred to in the framework, confirming the imaginary that the inner city was inextricably linked to Black communities. What is clear is that the UDU was unable (or unwilling) to address the problems set out within the ‘Inner-Area’ white paper, with the £7 million annual budget now eschewing targeted interventions. Could the restructuring of funding ensure that local authorities target the communities reflected across the same policy shifts?

4.3. Liverpool in Jubilee.

Liverpool City Council vacillated between leaders of the Liberal and Labour Parties with no overall control and in a political period that some refer to as the ‘lost decade’ (Parkinson, 1985: 25). Against this setting, the recent Race Relations Act 1976 and its implications offers insights

into how the act was viewed by the local state functionaries. A report to the Housing Committee from the Director of Housing (DoH) highlights the implications of the ‘indirect discriminatory practices’, warning the city’s Housing Committee [my emphasis]

‘If for example *certain procedures* or criteria are used which *result in a disproportionate number of ethnic minority families on poor estates* and which cannot be justified – this may constitute indirect discrimination’ (Liverpool City Council, 1977: DH/256/77).

The report also insinuated that ‘the use of *certain residential qualifications* could also be seen in this light’ (ibid), something to bear in mind for later in this chapter. Nonetheless it highlights two things, firstly it is argued that the above passage reveals the DoH to be (correctly) concerned regarding the implications of the new act upon Liverpool’s housing practices. Secondly and arguably, it also confirms that LCC housing departments were using practices that placed Black and ethnic families within substandard homes, or on failing housing estates. This can be qualified further.

Merseyside Community Race Relations Council, The Race Relations Board, and the National Race Relations Commission (discussion on the role of these organisation takes place further) wrote several letters to former Liberal Party leader and now Liverpool’s Chief Executive Officer, Trevor Jones. Addressing municipal obligation to the Race Relations Act 1976, the letter requested the recording of ethnic data to track allocations across the Housing Department’s allocations policy. Community concerns were initially raised in response to complaints regarding direct and indirect discrimination across housing allocations. LCC refused the request for ethnic data to be kept for the purposes for monitoring housing allocation.

The DoH stated that

‘Liverpool does not keep records of any individuals’ race, colour or creed...allocation policy is based solely upon family circumstance and housing need’

Adding:

‘Liverpool has an established immigrant community, comprising a variety of ethnic groups, many of whom were born in this country but whose grandparents or parents were born overseas. It would be ‘highly complex exercise’ to keep records of all their ‘ethnic origins’ [his parenthesis]. (ibid)

Liverpool’s Black community were still concentrated in some of the most appalling conditions in the country during the late 1970s. Most of the Black community were situated within the areas marked by the ellipsis on the image below in figure 4 (Black population density equated to line thickness). It should be noted that the map below is not an exhaustive rendering of the Black community in Liverpool at this point, but it offers an indication of those pockets of Black presence which were clustered within the areas previously referred to by Simey. Simey’s history (reviewed in the previous chapter) fails to recognise the Black presence around the bottom of Parliament Street/Park Road/” China Town”, still noticeable in number. Nonetheless the sections within this map are representative of the communities forced from the grand terraces of the ‘upper streets’.



Figure 4. BME Population Abercromby Ward 1967 – 1977 (Source, C.R.E.)

In the ten-year period leading up to the IAS:1977, the University of Liverpool's expansion included a demolition programme that relocated most Liverpool's Black community from within the 'Upper Streets' (Huskinson, Canning etc) of the Abercromby ward in what Simey (1998) referred to as an exodus towards the Granby ward. The Black community at this time, estimated at 25,000, with the majority living in Liverpool 8. Encompassing South-West (bottom left) Parliament Street (St James') and the Englefield/Berkeley area up to Southeast (top right) Parliament Street, where the Faulkner Estate (opened 1972) and the Entwistle Heights were situated to the right of the ellipses within figure 4. The above map also gives an indication of the density of housing (predominately terraced) ultimately demolished from 1960 - 1981. Looking towards the bottom of the map in figure 4, the space adjacent to Parliament Street St/James Street, the (Anglican) Cathedral precinct - was the location of well-established concentrations of Liverpool's Black community, discussed in the previous chapter.

In a report dated 22nd June 1977 the City Solicitor stated (my emphasis) that the

'...cathedral precinct [was not viable as a redevelopment project] as developers cannot be ensured of a profit on any phased development. Therefore, *a total change in environment is required*'

So, by 1977 Liverpool City Council (LCC) had shifted the municipal housing model towards private sector development. At the same time, areas of Black concentration – in this case - the 'Cathedral precinct' and 'China town' (discussed in previous chapter); the 'change in environment' calls for the removal of the Black presence from the area. This would be to ensure the accumulative viability of the racial fix discussed within the framework it is argued. It is also argued that the racial fix underpins the case made in later chapters, where areas of Black concentration are viewed by developers and the state as impacting upon profit and viability of housing developments. Similarly, the above passage verifies the conflation of 'race' and class narrative forging anti-value in Liverpool during this period. This can be found in how LCC dismantled the social hubs via demolition, eradicating social history and former sites of

community gatherings in areas of Liverpool 1, 7 and 8. This is essentially the components used to depopulate Black or ethnically diverse spaces – however white working-class spaces also suffered under these conditions. So, the problem for the Black community of Liverpool 8 was that they were doubly oppressed under these conditions – being Black and working class.

In summing up the years preceding the anticipated release of the White Paper, ‘Policy for the Inner Cities’ (1977); Liverpool’s Black community were increasingly relocated to the spatial concentrations referred to in figure 4. above. Some were removed due to spatial redesign or renewal projects; others possibly choosing to move alongside friends, family, and social networks. Liverpool 8’s disparate (in the planning sense) housing stock consisted of pre-war terraces, post war tenements, 1960’s new housing estates and tower blocks in the areas of Granby, Faulkner, Berkeley/Englefield, and Entwistle/Parliament. As indicated above Liverpool’s local authority placed an emphasis upon exploiting land value on the ‘open’ market (exchange) without recourse to addressing social issues exasperated by housing conditions (use) far in advance of the ‘right to buy’ revolution. This model of urban development, in which land value was placed before social need, was in its infancy in Liverpool; however it is useful to unpick the development of this policy within a national context. This should offer further insights into how the neoliberalising of urban policy utilised housing to organise and control inner urban space. Liverpool’s local authority shaped the spatial concentrations in Liverpool, not for the benefit of the community - but as packages for development and the accommodation of capital. Switching resources on this scale also requires ‘fictitious capital’ in the form of money supply and a credit system in advance.

4.3.1 The neo-liberalisation of space.

20th June 1977 in a House of Commons debate on Housing, opposition M.P. Michael Heseltine set out a Parliamentary motion to demarcate Tory housing policies from Labour’s. The change

can be better understood through the Marxist concepts of *use value* and *exchange value*, discussed in the framework. More importantly this debate exemplifies the call for shifting funding streams away from Black spatial concentrations toward former industrial parts of the inner city in shaping wider spatial fixes - again referred to in the framework. Put simply, the unshackling of fiscal restraints (i.e., deregulation of credit mechanisms) would ensure that capital accumulation had opportunities to circulate upon fixed assets in the form of buildings or land. Thereby focusing upon the sale of housing as a commodity (exchange) in place of housing as a necessity (use). The Labour government offered Local Authorities the ‘new housebuilding and public sector improvement block applications’ beginning in the 1978/9 funding cycle; designed to release funding to local authorities the funds to tackle ‘the worse blight’ across housing stock (Hansard, 20th June 1977: 920).

The figures for housing in an ‘unfit’ condition in England and Wales subsequently grew from 900.000 to 1.25 million to in five years. This research contests the narrative of ‘unfit’ properties in all cases; or at the very least, takes issues as to reasons why ‘unfit’ was utilised as a discursive tool with which to seize control of the narrative of decline (see below). These insights into Parliamentary proceedings, reveal how all political parties began to reformulate UK policies, with an aim of accommodating the privatization of urban development. It is interesting how this was applied within Liverpool, where, it is argued, it simply set the boundaries of the geographical uneven development referred to within the framework.

It is important to note the spatial zoning in which Liverpool home ownership plans were to be implemented. In line with Mumm’s (2017) assertions regarding the racial fix (discussed within the framework). In that home ownership appeared to *exclude* those residents within areas of significant Black presence, the ‘right to buy’ just did not happen for the majority of working-class Liverpool, even less so for the Black community. The debate towards what this thesis understands as *devalorised space*, produced a set of policies designed to exclude - at a time

when high institutional incidents of racial discrimination across Liverpool became an issue for Liverpool's Black community. In reflecting upon the history of home ownership in Liverpool Participant B.2. from the Liverpool 8 area observes,

'...like what happened in the USA, the black community of Liverpool was [historically] dispossessed, many black families were property owners, that's why they (LCC) demolished all those houses by upper Faulkner...because there were too many black [home] owners' (interview B.2).

4.4. Black homeownership.

Figures for BAME ownership across the 1970s and 1980s are not available, as ethnicity did not appear as a category to be recorded on the census until 1991. Even so, as Kertzer and Arel (2002) observed, when the census data became available, the UK government apparatus failed to - or did not know how to distinguish 'race' from ethnicity. The dynamics of Black homeownership in Liverpool during this period is inconclusive, even more so in locating a control for future growth. Thus, ensuring it is impossible to categorically confirm a plan by city officials to deliberately remove private property ownership from the Black community during the 1960s. Even so this theme was repeated across several comments during my research and is an anecdote often told within the oral history of Liverpool's Black families.¹⁶

Consequently, if most of Liverpool's Black community were subject to what will be referred to as *rentiers* (within a rentier capitalism). A series of questions to address next is why was the (very obviously) depressed municipal stock, increasingly attractive to those from Liverpool's Black and ethnic minority community? If it was private landlords who are historically castigated for unfit dwellings and rightly so, why not the local authorities? What were the

¹⁶ My grandmother born in Liverpool in 1905 in what was known as Little Africa in Parliament Street/Park Road, to a father from Freetown, Sierra Leone and a mother from Cork in Ireland. Both were property owners and ensured that my grandmother inherited their properties, which they occupied following the clearance and demolition programme of little Africa circa 1920. Those properties located on Upper Huskisson Street L7, were subsequently compulsorily purchased and demolished from my grandmother circa 1967 when my mother, who lived in a basement flat with my father, sister and brothers was pregnant with me. My grandmother received 300 pounds for each four storey Georgian townhouses and never owned property again.

reasons for increasing municipal tenancy ‘take up’ for those from the Black community? Why was there noticeable disinvestment or virement of sizeable funds away from these areas? These questions will be contextualized in the following section.

4.5. Change and Decay – the struggle for community space.

In April 1977 Liverpool City Council published the in-depth research findings which had contributed data towards the Inner Area Study final report. This report’s findings were codified and validated by community and resident groups across the inner area of Liverpool. The report inadvertently offers an insight into the status of the Liverpool Black community in revealing why those from the Black community chose to flock to the ‘slums’

‘Slum clearance has dominated council housing policy in the last decade, to an extent that rehousing has become the main method of obtaining a council tenancy’ (Wilson & Wolmersley, 1977: 6).

Those who did gravitate towards the slums, apparently did so in the hope of moving onto the Council housing list. Possibly in the hope of equal access to housing provision. However, not all opportunities were equal and private lodgings in the Liverpool 8 area remained

‘...large old houses have been converted into self-contained flats for young professional people or students. But others have been divided into furnished rooms and show all the signs of housing stress: sharing overcrowding insecurity, bad repair...’ (ibid)

Again, it is suggested that the terms used above indicate a differential treatment of tenancy, whereby the ‘young professional’ is to be accommodated in these ‘flats’ whilst conversely, the ‘others’ are frowned upon for living in multi let occupancy; to use contemporary terms. It could also simply indicate evidence in zonal planning, however as revealed above, zoning is a critical tool utilized to control and shape Liverpool’s Black community and the spaces in which they a) settled either voluntary or not and b) used to isolate and exclude the same community. A point to be extensively discussed further.

A great deal of Liverpool's municipal housing was in poor condition due to a distinct lack of investment; but still appealed to potential Black tenants, because it was more secure option than the private landlords who offered,

'... [the large houses that] provide shelter of a sort for many black people.....the worst rooming house areas are almost in one part of the city, in the Abercromby, Granby and Princes Park wards' (Wilson & Wolmersley, 1977: 7)

But here's where it gets interesting in linking the housing issue and Black resistance. The same report also recognised an increasingly militant Black community in Liverpool,

'...young Liverpool born blacks are developing an aggressive culture and lifestyle of their own that in effect is creating a new community where none existed before' (Wilson & Wolmersley, 1977: 92)

It could be cogently argued that this underlines the link between spatial conditions and militant actions from inside the community. It also offers the view that a form of identity (as per Christian above) was re-ascribed to Liverpool's Black community. It is interesting to note that Liverpool's Black community were now ascribed as an 'aggressive culture'. Perhaps this may have been the first time that the researchers had witnessed an 'immigrant' community which differed from their own (post-colonial?) experiences. A community aware of the change and perhaps becoming a group of themselves for themselves? An interrogation as to whether the same community could be understood as a 'class for themselves' in the Marxist tradition; or were simply alienated within a highly racialised but spatial context attributable to the racial capitalism discussed above; potentially offers further insights. In summing up, it is also imperative to draw attention to the subtext in the language used within the 'Change and decay' report, particularly terms that clearly illustrate a paradox in application, i.e., the apparent poverty of the Liverpool born Blacks and their so called 'aggressive culture and attitude'.

4.5.1. In our Liverpool home.

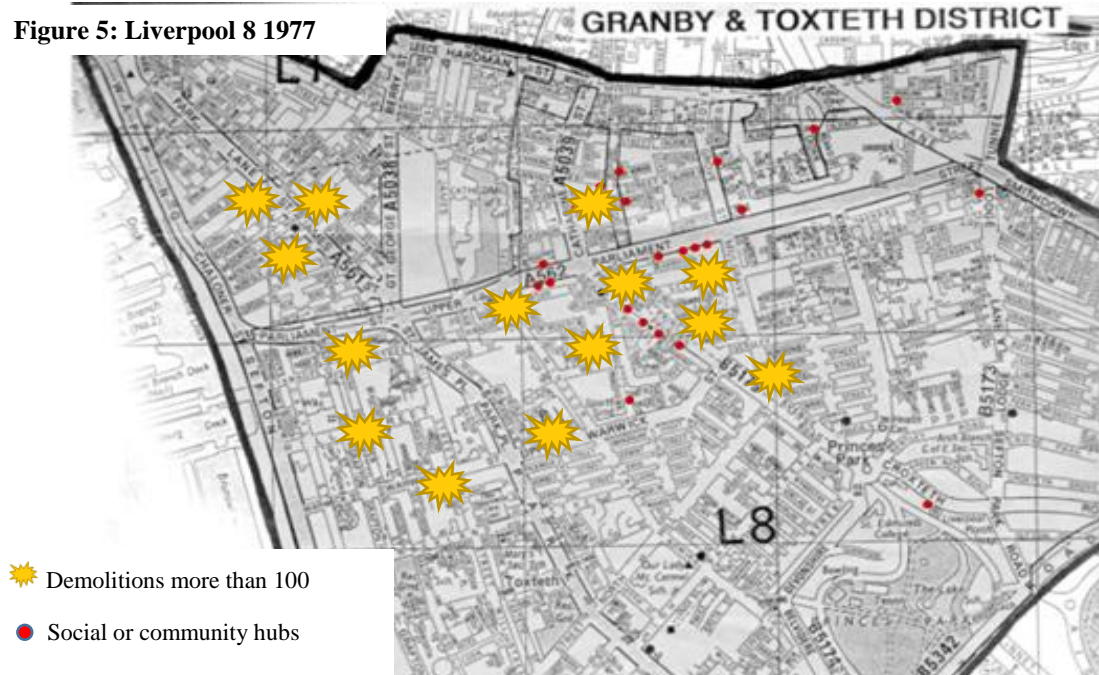
On 31st May 1977 a council of community groups met LCC, to ensure the Inner Area Study Report (1977) and Change and Decay findings were represented in the forthcoming White Paper for the Inner Cities 1977. The group produced a supplementary report entitled 'in our Liverpool home: A Collective Community Response by Community Organisations to the Inner Areas Study Report 1977'. A report by the LCC Solicitor (LCC/HBC/ MIN/Reports July 1977) glibly summarises the proceedings, so it is difficult to know the full extent and content of the meeting. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that no minutes were recorded from the official record or are missing. The report indicates that all the Senior Officers, Cabinet members of the Committees and Leader of LCC were present. Their contributions - other than vignettes filtered through the juridical 'voice' of the City Solicitor - are missing within the report. Even so, there were some interesting snippets of the collective voice.

'The group expressed the hope that the council would establish a structure to ensure that government assistance for the inner areas is disbursed to the greatest advantage' (LCC/HBC/ MIN/Reports July 1977).

There was Black representation at the meeting confirmed within the report. Up to this point Liverpool City Council appeared to acknowledge the Inner Area Reports or at the very least were open minded as borne out by the meeting it could be argued. The suggestion here is that the White Paper's policies would be utilised in Liverpool to further devalue Black working-class space, in preparation for the racial fix referred to above. The 'expressed...hope' above could be read as the beginnings of attacking this act of solidarity between working class factions. The result was the planned demolition of those areas of significant Black presence and the manipulation of new boundaries of 'racial' zoning, explored below.

4.5.2. London fiddles whilst Liverpool slashes and burns.

Figure 5: Liverpool 8 1977



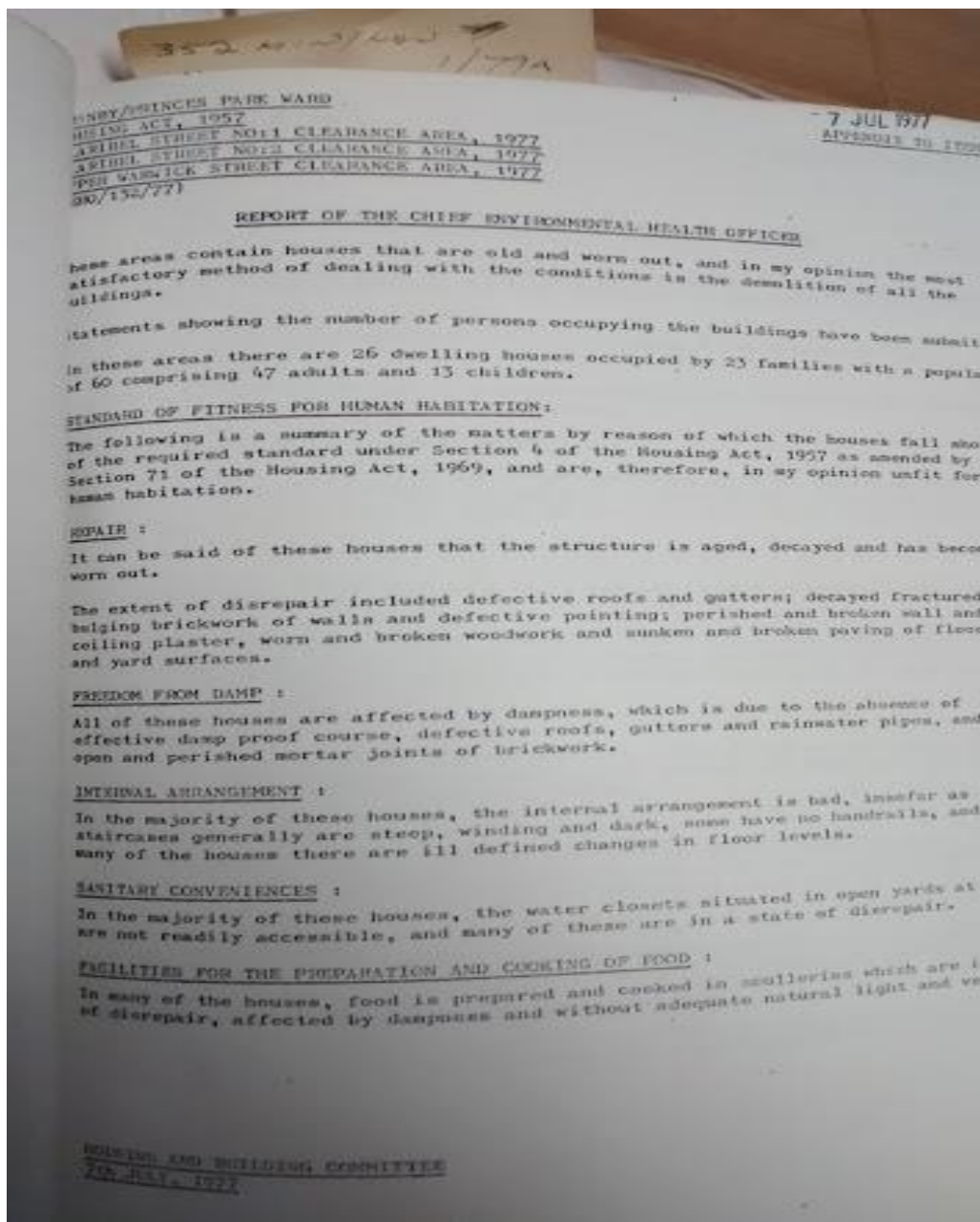
The map above in figure 5 depicts the locations (in yellow) in which demolition of 100 or more housing units (flat, maisonette and houses) took place amidst a discernible Black presence; also note the proximity of social and community hubs (in red) discussed further in the previous chapter. By the end of 1977 those locations placed under a ‘slum clearance’ order, outstripped the supply of new homes expected to be built within the slum clearance programme in the General Improvement Areas (GIA) or Housing Action Areas (HAA). GIA’s were referred to in the previous chapter and emerged because of the SNAP programme which ended in 1972 (see McConaghy, 1972). It appears that the GIA did little here, other than contribute to ongoing demolitions, despite SNAPs anti-demolition stance. There is evidence in the records of the Housing and Building Committee documenting an increased collusion between LCC and the burgeoning Housing Associations in Liverpool. Particularly resonant, is the amount of funding administered to the Canning and Falkner Street areas, and the large Victorian terraces transferred across to the burgeoning housing sector or sold at very favourable rates. Leading

to a loss of municipal stock which in today's value is in the 100 of millions and continues to 'haemorrhage Black residents' whilst 'attracting white middle class residents. (Participant B.6.)

The Lodge Lane area has a history which was conservative and white working class, and here 2238 units were proposed for clearance (eventually half were demolished along with 4 schools). Similarly, the North Hill Street area (adjacent to the contemporary Welsh Streets controversial development¹⁷) also with a significant Black presence, over 500 units were demolished adding to a shortfall of available housing, with 267 families requiring rehousing. In total and contradicting an earlier assertion from LCC of an 'oversupply' of housing in Liverpool, the Director of Housing for Liverpool City Council estimated a shortfall of accommodation for 1116 families: predominately from East Toxteth/Liverpool 8 (DH/446/77). What is interesting is that the surveys conducted on all these properties were identical and as if by rote, the reasons for demolition were predetermined. Figure 6 below is a copy from LCC records of Claribel Street (North Hill Street) in the L8 Princes Park clearance area, the conclusions were published following an 'inspection' of the properties. However, the same report was used for over 10,000 units across the city over a period of 4 years.

¹⁷ The Welsh Streets were the subject of a protracted planning battle to determine their future, culminating in a public inquiry in 2014. At that time there were around 400 empty Victorian terraced houses.

Figure 6. Report of the Chief Environmental Officer



Source: Liverpool City Council

The houses listed above still stand today, whilst others in arguably better condition were demolished within the same period, a situation that was repeated in the Granby area in later decades and to be discussed further. LCC, as with most local authorities - placed in the hands of a few councillors and senior officers; ultimate power to shape urban spaces and the path

dependent reverberations affecting public housing, the local economy, and the public realm (environment, crime etc). This is an important point to hold onto, not only to further highlight the racist attitudes of some officers and councillors, discussed in later chapters, but also in understanding the implication of designated space within the development of racial capitalism.

4.6. The right way?

There was little parliamentary debate regarding the planned urban programmes set out within the Inner Urban Areas Act 1978, given Royal Assent on 31st July of that same year. The Inner Urban Areas Act 1978 (IUAA78) failed to address the social and spatial needs of those communities singled out within Inner Area Studies: Birmingham, Lambeth, and Liverpool (1977) nor the White Paper for the Inner Cities 1977. Although the IUAA78 set out quite clearly the role of partnerships, ‘the powers in the Act are administered by local authorities’ (Hansard, 29th January 1979 Vol 961 c345W), leaving planning decisions up to individual authorities.

What is also telling, though not surprising; is that the Conservatives seemed more concerned with handing additional grant opportunities towards ‘leaders of industry’ under the Industry Act 1972. What this essentially assumed was that in developing former industrial sites, clause 5 (partnership areas) and clause 4 (special areas) offered flexibility in the redirection of funds towards targeted areas to alleviate unemployment. Liverpool’s inner city (particularly Liverpool 8) satisfied or surpassed all the criteria for these caveats – and the Secretary of State acknowledged so during the second reading of the Act in February 1978.

‘We all know that the inner-city areas suffer to a greater extent than the surrounding areas from both unemployment and other social problems. Inner Merseyside presents a more serious picture than most other parts of the region’ (Peter Shore, Hansard Deb. 9th February 1978 vol. 943 cc 1686 812).

Eric Heffer M.P. added that, ‘...in certain cities, such as Liverpool, there is no class society because there is nobody there...’ (ibid). Heffer an MP for the Walton constituency in the North

of Liverpool, could be referring to the industrial spaces in that part of the city. His ‘patch’ contained British American Tobacco, Tate and Lyle Sugar, Mersey Docks amongst other large employers, distinctly absent in the Liverpool 8 and its immediate areas. What is even more insightful regarding this period, is that employers refused to recruit workers from the Liverpool 8 area and often job applications would be discarded or thrown into the bin as discovered in later revelations (see Ben-Tovim et al, 1980).

4.6.1. Spatialising ‘race’.

Robert Parry the MP for the Scotland Exchange constituency (now Riverside and including Liverpool 8) overall welcomed the Act but raised the issue of (what would now be called) land banking¹⁸ an ongoing influence in spatial reorganisation across Liverpool. A system in which ‘the processes of clearance and redevelopment have got badly out of step [with central government policies]’. Parry also praised the utility of clause 3 (special areas) essentially setting the criteria for addressing problem estates and high-rise flats. To support his case for demolition of tenement blocks he had this to say [my italics],

‘They were built in *bad areas*. Because of the redevelopment of the city centre, they are now situated in vacant areas’ (ibid, 1722).

One year later residents of Caryl Gardens, an area of notable Black presence, who on masse voted via petition for LCC to invest, update and undertake a programme of repairs for their tenement block, thereby refusing the option of demolition (see report DH/325/80/Prog). A campaign that would eventually be lost three years later in 1983. Another insight into how Liverpool MPs viewed the housing conditions in Liverpool 8 can be found in Parry’s comments during a February debate. Parry begins by making some erudite comments - considering the

¹⁸ Land banking is one of the more insidious methods of capitalist accumulation that would govern the manipulation of urban spaces in Liverpool. Particularly those spaces which had been economically and socio-spatially depressed via the components set out within Neil Smith’s ‘rent gap theory’. The practice was used throughout this period as a method of offering ‘opportunities’ for inward investment but can be understood as the state abrogating its responsibilities for repairing, developing or selling buildings. In the decade between 1990 – 2000 and at the height of its use, buildings would be demolished and grassed over ‘packaged’ as a space for development within the inner-city.

above analyses on GIAs - regarding a new emphasis on the role of voluntary organisations in the new act, he warned that,

‘The majority of chairmen and members of the voluntary organisations live in the plusher areas of Merseyside. Many of them probably do not even live in Liverpool but probably have their homes in the Wirral, Formby or the Southport area’ (Hansard 9th February 1978. 1723)

However, he goes on to add [my emphasis]

‘...the people who should be considered are those in the tenements associations representing the large blocks of tenements and multi-storey tower blocks of flats. Note should be taken of the views of the neighbourhood councils. I *have two* in my constituency – *the Southern Neighbourhood Council...and Vauxhall Neighbourhood Council*’

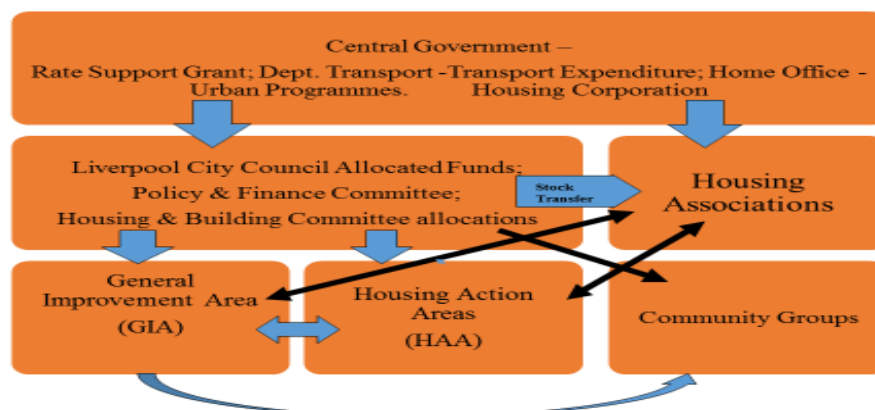
Whether Parry was unaware of the largest Black led tenant’s association, the Rialto Neighbourhood Council (RNC) was also based within his constituency is a matter for speculation. Nonetheless it does offer grist for the mill in mapping a pattern of institutional behaviour towards Liverpool’s Black community. It is suggested that Liverpool’s M.P.s were complicit in allowing the municipal housing stock decline in Liverpool as exemplified above. Why Liverpool MPs never drew attention to the conditions of the housing stock on behalf of working-class communities is perplexing, and it is argued validates Neil Smith’s rent gap theory in this instance (see framework above). Throughout most of the Hansard records from 1976 – 2000 there was no attempt by Liverpool M.P.s to halt the demolitions or support displaced residents. M.P.s offered plenty of comments or views supporting major demolition/redevelopment schemes, which was an annual occurrence and, in some ways, continues to this day. What is interesting from the above rhetoric attributable to M.P.s, is a complete disregard for the concrete conditions within Liverpool 8 - the area where most Liverpool’s Black community had settled (see above).

4.6.2. The path dependent reverberations of demolition.

In 1978 a report by a LCC Housing Manager' called for an 'immediate decision' to his recommendation of demolition for Liverpool's 'oldest municipal stock' [built 1930/40s]. The Housing manager claimed that 'expensive environmental improvements' and 'redesigning of open areas and communal landings' would 'little improve potential lettings' as most were located within the inner city and high unemployment left residents 'with little prospects for the future. Except for those tenement blocks in sight of the University of Liverpool or Liverpool Polytechnic precincts. They were offered to both H.E. institutions and to the Merseyside Voluntary Housing Group (MVHG), the amalgamated body for the Housing Associations in the area.

Even more insightful, is that there was a considerable proportion of the Black community living in the west of Toxteth 'in the blocks around Mill Street and James Street' (Participant B.4.). James Street mentioned in chapter 3, was the location of 'racial' disturbances during the summer of 1919. Moreover, the blocks offered for sale at a reduced price to the Universities and developers from the private sector are still in use today and are desirable or in the case of St. Andrews Gardens known locally as the 'Bullring'; are now privately owned enclosed spaces that act as a 'gated' community (Lin, 1998). Not for the affluent New Yorkers that Lin describes; but for students.

Figure 7. Funding Disbursement for Liverpool 8

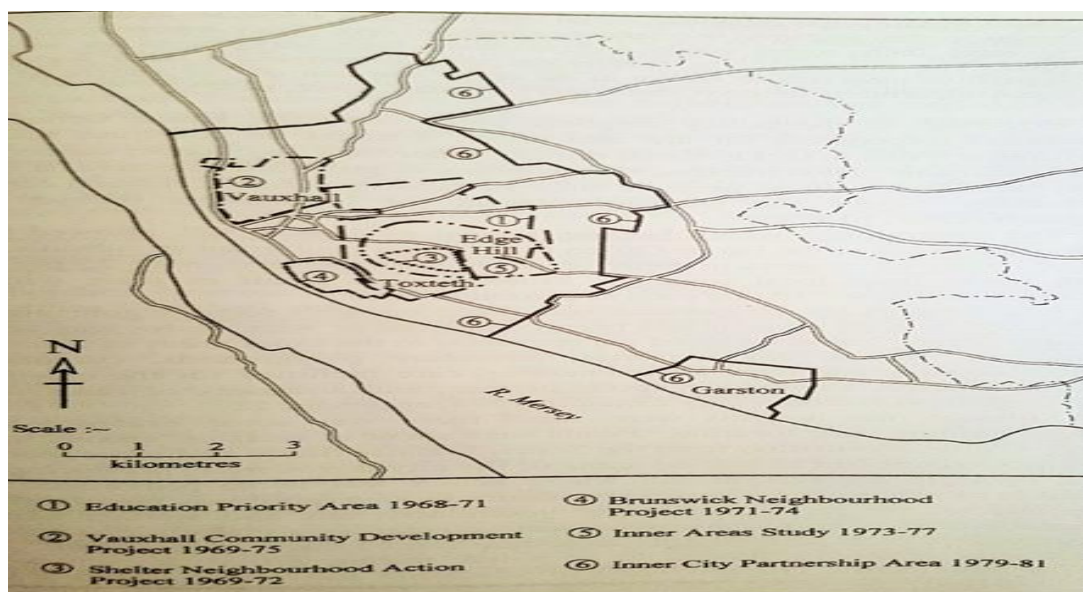


In the diagram above, figure 7 the blue arrows above indicate the direction in which central mainstream funding directly flows to designated portfolios, whereas the black lines indicate the flows of funds towards the grass roots or community level programmes. For the period of 1976 – 77 Liverpool’s allocated rate support grant was approximately £200 million per-annum and additional funds were approximately £30 million, while following the Urban Areas Act 1978 the amount was significantly increased to £100 million for 1977 – 78. A figure described as ‘chicken feed’ by Michael Heseltine (Hansard Deb. 9th February 1978). It is interesting to note how this was disbursed in Liverpool and more importantly - who profited?

4.6.3. Allocation or manipulation?

Liverpool’s Housing and Building Committee wrestled with the central government ‘block application’ grants offered 18 months before. The grant allocation was dependent on more factors than simply building new units, which it is argued was the ulterior motive in Liverpool’s urban development plans. An additional £75 million was earmarked from the new Urban Programme for Liverpool’s partnership, supposedly designed for ‘pump-priming’ projects which stimulated community involvement. (Nabarro, 1980: 25).

Figure 8. Inner City Partnership Area.



Source: Liverpool City Council Housing and Building Committee 1980.

Figure 8 above gives details of the wards Liverpool proposed for their Inner-City Partnership Area (ICPA). Within the numbered key below the map, previous projects/programmes are included. It is not fully clear why they referred to former zonal funding pots, it certainly was not added as a baseline (investment); for there was a distinct lack of figures or reference to reports within LCC documents. It can only be speculated at this point as to why it was deemed necessary to separate the Inner Area Study (Point 6) from the Shelter Neighbourhood Action Project (point 3).

Nonetheless the ICPA takes in most of the inner urban sprawl from the city centre to the immediate north up to Bootle and south of the city up to Princes Park (Garston the outlier). Evidence from within supporting documentation confirm that all areas of Black presence were included within the initial partnership area. As part of the ‘outputs’ conducive to the funding, LCC were required to update and report on the strategy and funding allocation on an annual basis. The focus on partnerships should not be underestimated when analysing the direction that the ‘urbanization of capital’ took during this period. It is logical to believe that the Black community must have benefitted from funding directly earmarked to address the social and economic problems underpinning the foundations of inner-city urban deprivation. Congruently it should be possible to analyse the success of the programmes that emerged from the funding stream. 1979 in Liverpool 8 began with a (comparatively) sizable overspend (around 12%) on a new build housing scheme – during an era of massive unemployment - no local labour was employed (Ben – Tovim et al 1980). Kimberly Street located on Granby Street was declared as a priority clearance area in 1976-77.

Figure 9. On the right gives an indication of the quality of terrace which had suffered from a chronic lack of investment in upgrading.



Source: Liverpool City Council.

Figure 9. Kimberley Street Liverpool 8.

These properties it is argued, were in similar condition to other two bedroomed houses on Granby Street¹⁹. Another more insightful factor in the devalorisation of Black spaces can be found in the demolition of vast swathes of shop fronts and housing on the opposite side of Granby Street. Within the adjacent area, the Rosebery and Hatherley Streets were demolished to clear the ground for the Rosebery Estate development, built and populated 1975 – 1979. The bisection of this area cut off Granby Street from the main thoroughfare of Upper Parliament Street; it is also locally lamented as the beginning of the end for Granby as the high street shopping area it once was (see Ben-Tovim et al, 1980).

Figure 10. Granby Street circa 1900.



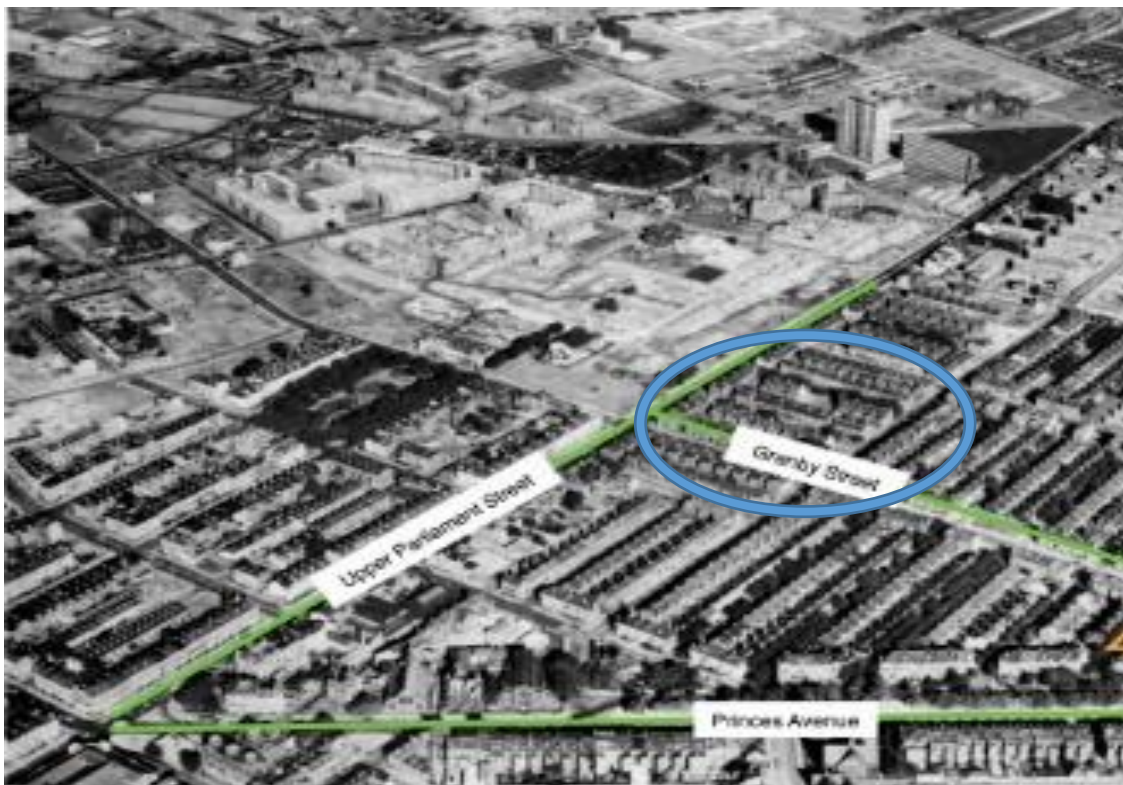
Source: Liverpool City Council.

Figure ten above shows Granby Street as a ‘High Street’ during the early 20th century, this view is looking south towards Princes Park from Parliament Street. Figure eleven below depicts the previous phase of rebuilding towards the end of the 1960’s, drawing attention to the large space to the left of Granby Street and on the opposite side of Parliament Street. In the 1970s this was the location on which the Faulkner estate below was built (now the site of the NHS Women’s Hospital). The Faulkner Estate of course was also the site of some of Liverpool City Council’s more outrageous claims regarding the Black community to be discussed further.

¹⁹ My family including my Mother, Sister and four Brothers, lived in a two bedroomed property on Granby Street at the same time as the 1977 study took place and I vividly remember the appalling condition of the houses above. To understand now that they were municipal stock only brings home why families such as us were moved into these properties in such an obvious state.

It is noticeable that there was still no overarching urban plan in place to protect the considerable investment made by LCC into the Faulkner Estate development. Which upon completion in 1972/4 was also the location of several racist attacks on the Black community (discussed within the previous chapter). The solution to solving the development's decline was via the Housing Improvement Programme (HIP) of 1979, however this involved the demolition of large swathes of property and the insertion of another new build estate, which in effect cut off and isolated Granby Street from the main arterial route. It appears that the plan was to 'house' the Black community within sections of Liverpool 8. If this is the case then this form of spatial planning, which it is argued became the leitmotif of urban spatial planning in Liverpool; acts to refract the economic impetus of the racial fix Mumm (2017) posits (with regards to property ownership), but crucially compounded the spatial segregation in Liverpool - this will be qualified further. The Kimberly Street area is marked out in the blue circle and the emergent problems across on the Faulkner Estate will be discussed in the following chapter as 1980 unfolded.

Figure 11. Parliament Street/Granby Street 1969.



Source Liverpool City Council.

By late 1980 the Black community spaces were limited to two areas - L8 and L7, that in effect corralled potential Black tenants into spaces that were *managed* – and not *evolved* as some commentators would have it (see Brown, 2001 for example). This spatial reorganisation, it is argued, acted as a locus for the Black community’s development over the following years and will be discussed further, in what could be understood as *spaces of solidarity*. This term differs from Lin’s (1997) ‘gateway cities’ narrative of immigrants gravitating towards certain areas based upon kinship, religious worship access and employment opportunities. This is axiomatic in a sense, but crucially fails to consider the socio-economic or socio-political contextualizing or the practicalities of community-based organising, visible across Liverpool’s Black spaces.

Ultimately it is argued that in extrapolating from Mumm’s racial fix here, indicates that *a municipal engineered de facto segregation* ultimately played a pivotal role in shaping the emergent militancy of Liverpool’s Black community. In that this form of residential segregation demarcated the spatial boundaries of Blackness in Liverpool. So, in the same way that the term inner-city was equated to the ‘othering of immigrants and deviance’ (discussed in the framework) Liverpool 8, became equated to a particular form of Blackness. In part, due to the symbolically violent act of corralling, but it is also argued that this process also fed a political self-consciousness of individuals who by nature of spatial concentrations were able to organise at the grassroots. Participant B.2. articulates the experience in this way

‘...I mean the segregation [apparent in Liverpool] doesn't happen anywhere else. Just doesn't happen anywhere else. I mean the only place a black person could feel safe in Liverpool was Liverpool 8 and Liverpool 1’. (Participant B.2.).

Liverpool’s shifted investment in Capital’s primary circuit (production of racial capitalism) towards the secondary circuit (the built environment as the social production of spatial segregation) as set out in the framework. It is now possible to assert this because Liverpool’s local government mechanisms began to clear and package land parcels, thus abrogating the state’s responsibilities, but also in anticipation of greater private intervention. It has also been highlighted above, that Black and White residents and workers were constituting as a ‘community’ in ways that contemporaneous researchers

referenced on several occasions. Housing was inadequate for both, and Black homeownership was not an option, as unemployment and lack of opportunities became a dominant extra-localised factor. All these issues fed a spatialised context in which Liverpool's Black community would begin to utilise as vessels for organising in the tradition of the Black radicalism and resistance (discussed above) from which to challenge the state. The next chapter focuses upon the ways the same Black resistance was utilised to challenge local government regarding the quality of life in areas of Black concentration.

5. 1979 - 1981 Pathway to an uprising.

This short chapter follows on from the previous incursions into understanding the political milieu from which strategies of Black separation were borne. What will now be discussed is how Black resistance in Liverpool, was viewed by the combined politicians of Thatcher's Conservative government and more importantly the Liberal Party in Liverpool. The Liberals were the prominent party in Liverpool and had marginal control over local governance. What is interesting from the Liverpool perspective is that this period reveals the extent to which the Liberal and Tory polices were often symbiotically working together in Liverpool – always to the detriment of the Black community. The themes of devalorisation and the scope of 'liberalisms' discussed extensively in the framework emerge as dominant factors in breaking down and articulating the mode of resistance that ensued, and as 1981's unprecedented urban uprisings direct – was invariably violent. The violence from the state – symbolic across the juridical and physical across the judicial – are at their most prominent during this period. What this chapter attempts to reveal is that Black resistance was ultimately violent in the form of urban uprisings; because of the devalorisation of spaces of Black concentration. The same devalorisation immediately influenced local agendas in the form of organisational representation at the local level.

5.1. Faulkner and Englefield/Berkeley estates – A match that lit the tinderbox.

Thatcher's 1979 victory and Liberal Councillor Trevor Jones' re-election as Leader of Liverpool City Council, initially fostered little change to the city's urban development programme. In less than 6 and 12 years following the completion respectively, the Faulkner and Englefield Estates had become synonymous with some of the worse housing conditions in the city (see above) and unsurprisingly had come to the attention of city councillors. Although the issues were not raised through the usual channels i.e., repair responses to physical conditions, as there appears to be scant mention of Englefield from elected representatives. Most of the information within Liverpool's council records

manifests through the correspondence of Englefield residents' group - Rialto Neighbourhood Council (RNC) attempts to coerce LCC into acting to address the decay of living conditions on the estate.

For example, in late 1979 RNC petitioned LCC to address the problems within the multi-storey blocks dominating the skyline of their area and contained about 180 units. With grant funding from the early stages of the Inner-City Partnership, the area was designated as one of three 'intensive housing management areas' (IHMA) across the city. The Idea of IHMA was to

'...improve the level of service to the tenant in the Inner Areas by providing devolved estate management function to smaller management areas and relating this to local maintenance depots' (Appendix B to Item B.3 DH/146/80/ADMIN).

The report goes on to add that the 'Officers from Project Office established contact with RNC', however a participant, who was a resident of the Berkeley/Englefield area at the time; clearly remembers the conflict with 'officers' and members of the RNC (of which her mother was a volunteer worker). She adds that,

'The RNC had to fight for every single thing that we had when we were kids. I remember my mum saying that the council don't want the people from the area to have anything nice...and the Officers just seemed as racist as the ones in town...they gave the community nothing... and...[names omitted] took us on trips, they started football teams, I was in the majorettes...the area didn't seem as bad as that [shown images] although we knew we were living in poor conditions...my mum would clean our whole block stairs and landings at least twice a week because the council didn't do anything' (Participant B.5).

What is telling about the two examples is that it gives a sense of the conflict between residents who attempted to civically engage with the local state in developing area-based initiatives designed to improve the quality of service; whilst the Local Authorities (political and institutional) viewed Berkeley/Englefield in terms of an area that was 'hard to let'. Furthermore, within the DoH report, the Director draws attention to [again my emphasis]

'...vandalism to void property and some communal features of the blocks is rife and newly tenanted property in the blocks *requires much delicate liaison between Management and Maintenance staff*...next to no preparatory work is possible before moving in...*because of the threat of vandalism*...there is much uncertainty attached to *the likelihood* in the property... because of this *type of many of the lettings that now characterises these blocks*...many existing tenancies tend to take up staff time in respect of arrears...'

Again, the report churns out the same predetermined analysis of the cost ratio benefits of any investment.

‘Even given the finance...it has to be doubtful [that] limited cosmetic treatment will bring about lasting benefits or alter the letting potential of the blocks...these blocks are now, in general only acceptable to low priority housing applicants’

Why, if the local resident’s group were so open to trying new approaches to neighbourhood development; did little happen with regards to moving forward with community-based solutions? A clue could lie in this passage further in the report goes onto explain that

‘...the Director would like to point out that the Estate Officer for the area has never [my emphasis] *been intended* to duplicate the work of the Neighbourhood Council...’ (ibid).

It could be argued from this insight that the DoH acknowledged RNC were

‘...concentrat[ing] their efforts on a large number of social issues, development of a sense of community, the encouragement of tenants block committees and general social support particularly in emergencies...’(ibid)

Whilst this passage also reveals a more sinister tone within the final section of the report. The DoH states that Southern Neighbourhood Council (SNC) also operate in an area, servicing an overwhelmingly white working-class area; but describes that relationship with LCC as ‘being one of friendly co-operation’. He goes onto inadvertently reveal that whilst there were no funds available for RNC

‘...in the Netherfield area [north of the city centre] there is a community worker employed...with grant aid from the Housing and Building Committee’ (ibid).

In a latter update to LCC on their activities since 1978 RNC replied that they were running projects or programmes with several opportunities that offered LCC the opportunity to work alongside the community in tackling local issues. RNC state that they had

‘...a full-time worker manpower services, who supervises a YOP programme who include child minding and OAP visiting’ (RNC Letter January 1980 to DoH)

The letter goes on to add that the Tower blocks were still used

‘...as a dumping ground for people with personal and social problems...from every walk of life and there is no alternative for them other than the tower blocks – simply because if one is homeless then the minimum of points [Housing allocation] is given and they have to accept [the blocks]’ (ibid)

In warning the committee and institutions about the consequences if the present state continued, RNC went to offer this statement

‘You may think this is just a social problem – it isn’t. While this situation is ignored, the Housing department will continue to lose thousands of pounds each year in empty properties, in repairing and replacing [damages/vandalism]. There is of course the other side. What about the people? They have to live somewhere but without support and help the situation will not improve. The remainder of the neighbourhood is aware of the problems and reputation of the heights and want action’ (ibid).

Again, it is useful to note that within RNC’s annual grant update to LCC is the revelation that the organisation had workers from a Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) monitoring and reporting general repairs to the maintenance department on a weekly basis. RNC requested further investment to continue this scheme to both train and monitor YOP for 6 or 12 months of low paid employment. The scheme appears to be sophisticated and particularly innovative for the time (think community wardens or support workers in contemporary terms) as the YOP workers reported issues conducive to the influx of former homeless tenants, with complex problems for example home support. These same tenants, who in the words of RNC,

‘...cannot cope and the support they need to settle and establish themselves is not available’ (ibid).

This last issue is crucial in understanding how pressures upon local spaces were exasperated by housing allocations. Similarly, is the understanding that fiscal rule differentials also applied to LCC’s support to local community groups, RNC stated earlier that they had a group of young women who set up a child minding and OAP support system. The group exerted substantial influence on the Englefield/Berkeley area – and was called the Liverpool Black Sisters (LBS). LBS delivered core voluntary services within the community prior to accessing mainstream funds, they made several attempts to widen the scope of their activity. It is this development of community led programmes which played an important role within the Black community of Liverpool and will be discussed in greater depth in the following chapter.

For now, it is important to draw attention to the following. It could be argued that as a Black tenant or a Black led organised group or residents' group, you may have paid your rent, but could expect no repairs, nor investment in the urban fabric i.e., environmental improvements. But where this odd behaviour reflects something far more insidious within the city's institutions, it is clear from the above that differential treatment of grassroots organisation played a crucial role in the examples above. But the letters reveal the level of exclusion from conversations within local government reports. So, what can be construed from this? On this point this research suggests that the evidence concurs with Harvey's theory of uneven geographical development and will make explicit why this is the case. However, it also conforms to the process devalorisation preceding the racial fix set out within the framework. Accordingly, it's possible to begin theorizing if clear that the foundations of the same assertion have the potential to highlight the ways in which city institutions displayed an increasingly apparent and socially differential treatment for areas of significant Black presence.

It is upon this display of social differentiation which this research builds a baseline underlining how 'race' and space conflated in Liverpool to produce the geographical uneven development extensively discussed in the framework. This is asserted because the unevenness of political, social and economic management of Black spaces took precedence in contradistinction to the 'traditional white working-class areas'. This at best displays indifference or something more insidious. The last point seems may seem tangentially abstract in making this leap; however, if we move across and up Parliament Street - the Falkner Estate was also the subject of comprehensive, but highly selective reports.

5.2. Lift the lid off.

The Falkner Estate as mentioned above, was a typical 1970's example of a concrete inner urban area housing development. By 1979/80 the estate had only been open for 5 years, but already there was a high turnover of residents. In the Housing and Building Committee (HBC) 12th January 1978 Councillor for the Smithdown ward, David Alton (Now Lord Alton), put forward a motion to the committee. It was to request a DoH report inquiring as to why the Faulkner Estate was in a 'state of

rapid deterioration after only four years' (DH/142/78). The DoH delegated this onto the City Architect and together in a joint report they replied to the committee, insisting that it was not possible to answer 'the general question on the deterioration of houses on new estates'. Which it is argued simply generalises the question towards non-specificity.

The report goes on to state that the Falkner Estate 'receives a better and quicker service than most...due to its intensive management programmes'. It is peculiar that within the previous report referring to Englefield as a pilot IHMA, did not list the Falkner Estate within the pilot areas report. What is even more revealing is that in response to the HBC picking up on resident's complaints regarding drainage problems causing stagnant 'sewage pools' across the estate. The report states that the problem must have been caused by '**the tenants removing the manhole covers and filling [the drains] with rubbish**'. Which is a truly remarkable statement of affairs in attempting to understand the indifference or malice. When faced with a question asking as to why rainwater overflowed from roof gutters causing mould growth which was permeating the walls, seeping into flats causing ill health. They also 'reasoned' that the mould growth

'...is simply caused by rainwater interacting with the atmosphere and the porosity of the bricks however – the bricks are not excessively porous' (ibid)

The response continues in this vein to fully refute Alton's accusations of shoddy craftsmanship on the estate and state that

'...the only deterioration is the brickwork, mould-growth and excessive vandalism and unless it is curbed the appearance will always be unsatisfactory...the city architect can find no evidence of defects in the structure (CA/16/79).

This statement although bizarrely inconsistent, could not be construed as discriminatory per se; but considering the previous assertions regarding Berkeley/Englefield Estate - it must be taken into consideration or supported further. Most surprisingly the supporting evidence can be found in a report by Chief Superintendent Reddington of Merseyside Police, and he explains that, there was 'a marked air of neglect and dereliction' around the Myrtle/Falkner area and when he first saw the Faulkner Estate [my emphasis]

‘I was appalled. The state of the buildings and surrounding areas was deplorable, littered with bricks, rubbish and...overgrown and damaged open areas, sewage...and no facilities for children...it appeared to me that...the *Local Authority departments were reluctant to spend their time and money there and felt justified in not making improvements or repairs ...*’ (Reddington, 1979: 4 -5).

Interestingly the Faulkner estate, described by the DoH as ‘perfectly acceptable’ and therefore suitable for the [Black] Community, was in fact the eye of the storm of the urban uprisings/disturbances the following year. It appears that the council had once again failed in addressing the crises preceding the spatial catastrophe - at least for local buildings - that was 1981.

Participant B.6. who was also a tenant during this period, viewed the estate in this way,

‘...Falkner [estate] was a shithole, I lived there for two years and it was the worse flat I ever had...during 81 it was where the trouble kicked off...everyone seemed to meet outside the Red Duster [pub]...maybe it was because the estate was surrounded by hills...it was also full of narrow [alleyways] that were too small for [police] cars or vans...it also had them overhangs [balconies] and landings...so when the coppers were chasing people through the estate, they were getting stuff thrown down on them...yeah they made a mistake in building that...if they thought it was to keep the people in...it became the coppers nightmare...(Participant B.6.)

Ultimately it should come as no surprise that the estate was demolished in less than 10 years following the 1981 uprisings. But the above confirms a vital component of the discriminatory factors which prevailed within the city’s institutions – and it is *dehumanising* of the Black community, a vital component in the imposition of geographical uneven development. The dehumanising of Black space assisted in laying the ground for the process of accumulation by dispossession also set out within the framework above. In effect, Liverpool’s Black community were now firmly excluded from the social, political, and economic concerns of the urban grant funding. Funding once claimed in their name from national government to address spatial concerns – was reduced to abstractions of local government finance.

5.3. The worm turns.

1980 was an important year in terms of urban policy, in that several major legislative changes took place; parliamentary proceedings began with a second reading of the Housing Bill in preparation for amendments to the Housing Act 1980. The Act was the diametric counterpart to Labour’s Community

Land Act 1975 in which Local Authorities were excluded as local commercial property agents. The Bill would also be aimed at releasing municipal housing onto the open market through the expansion of right to buy clauses. The neoliberalising of urban space is often overlooked with regards to its impact upon marginalised communities and particularly those from Black and ethnic minority communities. The ability to find meaningful or well-paid employment was a major obstacle for most of the Black community in Liverpool. So, if Liverpool's Black community – amongst others – were in no way financially secure in seeking to join the speculative property game; the question is to ask what the alternatives within these new financial changes were for the Black community.

It is in this way that the concept of 'accumulation by dispossession – a vital component within uneven development – begins to gain traction in understanding the spatial arrangement within Liverpool's inner-city core. As referred to in the framework, the more economically elaborate the social system governs material conditions; the more prominent the drive for surplus value becomes. Favourable conditions for further accumulation of surplus value are vital, this usually entails the organisation of political systems and policy development. Accumulation by dispossession does not simply entail the (re)production of space – it is also the appropriation of culture, histories and marketing of places that have a unique environment. These three factors of appropriation are vital in understanding the pathway of Liverpool 8 and its uneven development – but it also allows insights into how the Black community en-masse challenged the state. This chapter has argued that Liverpool 8 was unevenly developed when measured alongside other Liverpool wards or postcodes. As also shown, uneven development requires *external coercion* by a superior power, and penetration of some pre-existing social order and geographical place to gain advantage. But more importantly it requires an *ability to subordinate* groups in order to collaborate and grab power (Harvey, 2006: 92). It will now be argued that Liverpool was politically organised to further possess those spaces, and more importantly, the aim was to exploit Liverpool's Black community for the pursuit of housing funding streams, not in a drive for greater equanimity for working class communities - but in the search for profit.

Thus, offering an additional insight into the totality of racial capitalism discussed above, chiefly through an articulation of process devalorisation (discussed further) across of areas of Black concentration. The following section sets out how the localised political narrative in Liverpool (regarding Liverpool's Black spaces) inveigled its way into the national context.

5.4. Puerile petty politics in Liverpool.

Former Liverpool Liberal Councillor for the Low Hill ward (adjacent to the Granby ward) - David Alton - was 'hot-housed' into Parliament on the back of his Chair of the Housing and Building Committee. His general approval of the 1980 Housing Bill and welcoming of the 'provisions that would strengthen housing action and general improvement areas' (Hansard, 1980 vol 976: 1501), allows this study to decipher *the real path dependent* nature of local authority politics. Policies that the Lib/Con coalition in Liverpool had effectively utilised to oppress its Black community, it is argued. Alton also applauded the Tories for

'...the enabling powers that are being given to housing associations to acquire and improve property with a view to sale. The experimental scheme...was piloted...in Liverpool [and] we are pleased that the Government have seen fit to extend the principle throughout the country' (ibid)

Liberal M.P.s from Liverpool applauded the Government for policies designed to erode the public sphere as their local government colleagues introduced a housing system that resulted in market mechanisms with little or no public accountability.

Alton, the former Chair of Liverpool's 'Housing Committee', offered this qualifier (regarding his credentials) before Parliament 'I have personal experience of the city's housing problems'. He also acknowledged his ongoing relationship with LCC officers from the housing department – something to bear in mind for later discussion (Hansard, 15th Jan 1980: 1503). Alton confirms that the disposal of council houses in Liverpool began in 1977, with about 25% of housing stock having been sold on the private market. He also suggested that for each council house sale the profit was, on average £7,500. Yet for each new build the costs incurred were £25,164 for a three bedroomed house and £29,429 for a four bedroom. Interestingly, the workings of municipal finance reveal that these funds

are borrowed over a 60-year period, thereby bringing the total of £243,000 and £265,000 respectively. This point was raised by Robert Parry M.P. for the Scotland Exchange Constituency (now Riverside a historic area of Black concentration) at PMQs in a formal request for Thatcher to visit Liverpool 8 - where 65% of all residents were unemployed (Hansard, HC Deb 3rd December 1980 vol 995 cc276-8).







‘When the Prime Minister does meet the Liverpool city council leaders, will she congratulate the Liberals on carrying out Tory policies by cutting public spending in the poorest section of Liverpool’ (Hansard HC Deb 31st July 1980 vol. 989 cc1729-30).

Furthermore, and considering this statistic, it seems bizarre to discuss the benefits of the right to buy or the proposed housing market ‘competitive’ rents which would range from £80 to £93 whereby average council rents were approx. £15 – 20 per week. (Hansard, 15th Jan 1980: 1504). But there could be an ulterior motive for the treatment of Liverpool 8 by the national government – the political.

5.4.1. Liverpool – Politics of Difference?

Following more local ward boundary changes, all Liverpool councillors were required to put themselves forward for re-election at the local elections in May 1980. The Liberals returned the most seats whilst Labour had to make do with the popular vote. Consequently, this had the effect of strengthening Tory national policies as the Liberal’s seemed to have a good working relationship with the local Tories (Crick, 1984). Table 3 below gives the full election results:

Table 3. Election Results Liverpool 1980.

Party	Seats	Seats %	Votes %	Votes
 Labour	38	38%	36%	51,649
 Liberal	40	40%	33%	47,536
 Conservative	21	21%	29%	42,512
 Communist	0	0%	1.0%	1,473
 Independent Conservative	0	0%	0.6%	821
 Independent Liberal	0	0%	0.2%	308

Source: Electoral Commission

As can be seen above, the Granby Ward was the only ward south of the central inner urban core that voted for Labour Councillors and a Labour M.P. Granby also had a Black candidate from the Communist Party during this election. However, Granby’s immediate and adjacent wards, Abercromby,

Dingle, Arundel, Kensington, Picton, and Smithdown each had three Liberal Councillors. Furthermore Granby, located in the Liverpool Scotland Exchange Constituency and a Labour stronghold, whereas the immediate Parliamentary Constituents were Wavertree (Conservative), Edge Hill (Liberal); Liverpool Toxteth (Labour) and further to the south of the city Liverpool Garston (Labour). In this way Granby and other spaces of Black concentration were effectively isles of diversity within a sea of homogeneity; with a complex set of local politics, to be articulated discussed further by those participants born or living within the Liverpool 8 area. Which in turn offers a useful synecdoche into the 'Black politics', operating in a community overwhelmingly concentrated within a Labour ward and within a Labour Constituency. This acts to direct the focus towards the forms of radical politics shaping the Black community between 1970's – 1980s, often resulting in the community being consistently overlooked or ignored within subsequent policy cycles; leading to what this research understands as *concerted spatial and social alienation*.

5.5. Liverpool – Liberal Conservative pact.

The post- local election Housing and Building Committee (H&BC) meeting took place on 29th May 1980 and with regards to housing, the Lib/Con compact made preparations for the expected changes within the upcoming Housing Bill. Though as it will be suggested, those areas in which the Black community resided L7/8, and to a lesser extent L1, continued to undergo considerable disruptive and in some cases arbitrary approaches to policy programming. It is also noticeable that newer forms of government funding were in some cases, directed away from these spaces, which led to increasing political and community-based direct action as the response from within Black community became increasingly militant. This facet again will be discussed extensively in the following chapter. For now, it is useful to observe the differential treatment, interpreted at the local level through *concerted social and spatial alienation*, which laid the basis for the period preceding the accumulation by dis-possession.

5.6. Compulsory purchase orders.

As mentioned, in the framework, the use and scope of Compulsory Purchase Orders (CPO) would now be strengthened through central government mechanisms designed – it is argued - to underpin land parcel assembly. Decisions on all disputed CPOs sat with the Secretary of State for the Environment (SoSfE); with his decision being final. The cutting of bureaucracy in developing former industrial land was Heseltine's chief argument for the disposal of public assets. In this way the decision-making process would later play a vital role in the transference of council land to Merseyside Urban Development Corporation (MUDC), which at the time, was the flagship development of Liverpool's (and to an extent – the UK's) urban core. Nonetheless it is suggested that the powers offered to local authorities had already been used to intervene in the Liverpool 8 area, at the expense of residents and to the advantage of the Liberal's drive to empower the 'voluntary' housing movement.

The previous November (1979) the H&BC had issued CPOs for 15 large Victorian properties in the Princes Road area of L8 for preferable sale to Housing Associations, with Liverpool Housing Trust (LHT) and Neighbourhood Housing Services (NHS) being the chief beneficiaries of a subsidised sale. Following a request for sale to the Northwest Regional Office to be put before the DoE, the H&BC committee was informed that

‘...there is no power under Part V of the Housing Act, 1957 to acquire houses in order only to sell them to a third party’ (DH/241/80/IMP)

Following a second attempt on 10th January 1980, in which direct representation was made to the Secretary of State for the Environment (SoSfE) the reply came on the 1st May 1980 the City Solicitor informed the committee that the SoSfE had given a formal decision not to approve the order. His decision was set out as

‘...the Secretary of State is advised that there are no powers to...acquire properties for the sole purpose of disposal. In the circumstances the [SoS] has formed the view that the council's proposals render the order *ultra vires*. For this reason he has decided not to confirm the order’ (ibid)

Ultra vires – a rebuke to convey that it was *beyond the powers* of the H&BC; this may appear at first as unremarkable, maybe an oversight or getting to grips with the new regime? Not according to one

Liberal councillor, who made several requests for action on more pressing issues including presenting a council motion on the 13th May 1980 to intervene upon the derelict properties situated on Bedford Street South (another site of long-term Black settlement) which ‘has been a derelict shell since the war’ (Housing & Building Committee, 29th May 1980).

The same Councillor requested that the H&BC ‘...explain why...it has yet received no report from any officer’ regarding cyclical upgrades and essential repairs to several tenement blocks in the Liverpool 8 area. Additionally, he requested action to solve the ‘appalling condition of the...Falkner Estate’ or the lack of progress from the Englefield Green Intensive Management Team, adding that the ‘maisonettes...are in shocking condition’. But it is within his questions upon his own Party’s record, regarding the failure of the General Improvement Area (GIA) grants, which is most insightful.

He points out that

‘...why 9 years after designation as a General Improvement Area [that] not one single CPO has been issued on unimproved properties in the Canning Street area...[nor] no details [for] what action is to be taken to improve the area generally’ (DH/615/80/IMP).

Whether it is coincidence or not this area had considerable Black settlement participant B.6. who lived in the area during this period recalls that

‘...the area had loads of black faces...I had lived there in the 1960s I remember as a young lad seeing NF painted on the wall by Egerton Street...[we] had a property there...back then you the cooker on the landing and families lived in rooms...but in the late 1970s they [the houses] had improved some of them. I lived in a flat [at that time] ...there were still loads of [bombed out houses] but it was a proper working-class area, the pubs especially. Not like today. I think that’s where the beginnings of the Charles Wootton [Black focused Educational Institution] took place in a flat around that area...there was a ‘book club’ where a group discussed black literature and how to conduct direct action...’ (Participant B.6.)

So above offers an indication as to the goals of the Liberal Party in Liverpool and it is argued that the goal was acting in the interests of the burgeoning VHM (discussed above), which several of the Liberal councillors appear to champion. It is possible that they viewed Housing Associations as the answer to dilapidated municipal or private property, but from a Marxist perspective the voluntary sector is complicit within this form of ‘accumulation by dispossession’ through the emergence of the comprador. As suggested in the framework the comprador and bourgeois class factions are essential in

driving accumulation by dispossession through the powers of appropriations. Ultimately if the Liberals truly believed in the restorative powers of the VHM, that view becomes far more tenuous when considering the rise of Liverpool’s Black Housing Movement discussed in the following chapter. 1980 was the year that the Tories relentlessly pursued the neoliberalising of urban policy, resulting in several changes as to how urban funds would be disbursed in the years to come across inner city areas. Table 4. below offers a breakdown of the ‘hotchpotch’ of funding pots from which cities and particularly those with degraded inner urban areas, were expected to compete against each other.

Table 4. Urban Area Funding Disbursements.

Programme	Purpose	Form of assistance	Eligibility
Urban Development Grant (approx. 15 million)	To promote economic and physical regeneration of run-down urban areas by encouraging private investment which would not take place without grant	Grant or loan: required local authority support (25%)	Open to 57 designated districts in England
Urban Regeneration Grant (approx. 15 million)	Large scale private sector redevelopment and refurbishment in arrears affected by industrial change	Outright grant, loan or repayable grant for schemes not otherwise profitable	Priority to schemes in areas of severe unemployment and derelict or disused property
Derelict Land Grant (approx. 81 million)	To reclaim land so damaged by industrial or other uses that it cannot be used without being treated	Grant Payable as a percentage of the difference between the costs of reclamation and the increased value of the reclaimed land	Grants paid at 80% in assisted areas and derelict land clearance areas; 50% elsewhere
Urban Programme	Focus on economic, environmental, and social problems of inner cities, including enabling L.A. to assist private sector problems, ethnic minorities and voluntary bodies	Grants and loans for site preparation and improvements rents interest payments and workshops	Inner Area Programmes may be submitted by 55 urban authorities in England
Land Registers	To bring under and un-used publicly owned land to the attention of private developers	National and regional registers kept by DoE local registers by LA	Registers available for public inspection free of charge`
Urban Development Corporations	To regenerate its area by bringing land and buildings into effective use; encourage development of industry and commerce; ensure availability of housing and social facilities to encourage people to live and work in its area	Acquiring, reclaiming and servicing land for private sector development, and control of development within the urban development area.	2 initial UDCs (London, Merseyside) followed by Black Country (Cardiff in Wales), Teesside, Trafford Park, Tyne & Wear – followed by Bristol, Leeds, Manchester, Wolverhampton (budgets taken from above programmes). Lower Don Valley

Enterprise Zones	To stimulate economic activity by lifting financial burdens and administrative controls	Occupiers rates paid to local authority by Treasury for ten years; tax liability offset against capital expenditure on industrial and commercial development in the zone; simplified planning controls	17 in England; 25 in UK
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Source: DoE, 1987: DTI, 1988 & Cabinet Office, 1988

The examination of local and national government policy implementation is vital in understanding how the spatial configurations of Liverpool’s Black community are intrinsic to understanding how geographical development was applied in Liverpool during this period. This subsequently allows a more rounded analyses of the ways in which uneven development impacts upon Black communities, in contradistinction to Harvey’s assertion that class is the determining factor within capital’s development. Indeed, this chapter has tentatively engaged with how class and ‘race’ interact to fuel particular state responses across urban settings. It is further suggested that Robinson’s (1983) conceptual development of racial capitalism, offers a more insightful lens from which to observe how the Black community engaged with the parameters of these same spatial configurations. This is an important point to engage with at this juncture as it forms the basis of next chapter in which the aftermath of the 1981 uprisings will be discussed in the context of the social reproduction – discussed within the framework - of the Black community with regards to spatial configurations.

So, this brief chapter has acted to link the years between decades and offers several important indicators of what was to occur during the summer of 1981’s urban uprisings. In this way the treatment of resident’s groups in Liverpool’s Black community can be extrapolated from the example above. Particularly the way in which the RNC was consistently overlooked, and side lined by the local state. It is not surprising that several members of RNC were founding members of both the politically radical groups Liverpool Black Sisters and Liverpool 8 Defence Committee who emerged fully formed in the summer of 1981. What was also revealed within this chapter is the extent of Liverpool’s Black community’s commitment to the Labour Party - in that the areas of Black concentration, were overwhelmingly on the left of politics.

Similarly, this chapter has also drawn attentions to the ways in which the local state began to parcel land packages for disposal on the private market; thus anticipating Harvey's (1983) spatial fix, set out within the framework. However, it is argued that in Liverpool, the shift from industrial accumulation was enacted as a *racial fix* – in that the differential treatment by the local state towards Black tenants explored above – resulted in the *concerted social and spatial alienation* referred to above. Perhaps this could also have resulted in an extraneous or ancillary reason as to why the compact between Liberals and Conservative parties in Liverpool began to attack these spaces. However, the suggestion is that this conforms to the differential treatment of Black labour (and the social reproduction of the spaces that enable labour power), set out within the conceptualising of the racial capitalism above.

So, in addition to being othered for the colour of their skins, it is argued that Liverpool's Black community were also viewed as socialists by the local and national states. This forms an important anchor from which to understand how the insidiousness of local governance was vital in developing the boundaries of racial neoliberalism and racial capitalism. The following chapter reveals the extent of the radical nature of Black resistance emerging from the concerted social and spatial alienation of Liverpool's Black community.

6. Institutional differentials 1981 – 1989.

This chapter investigates the forms of radical resistance characterising the factional and febrile political landscape of 1980s Liverpool. Neoliberalism was now fully embedded within Thatcher's government, thus ensuring that urban policy focused on a narrative of the urban entrepreneurialism set out within the framework. This chapter also reveals the impact of Liverpool's particular brand of Black feminism that emerged in struggle during this decade. The form of Black resistance covered within this chapter became increasingly militant as newer, more radical groups emerged in what was a period of intense political action, not only in Liverpool's Black spaces, but also across the city's socialist local authority. However, the forms of racialized liberalism, racial capitalism and racialized neoliberalism discussed within the framework were not the only immediate impediment for a politically radicalised Black community. The Sam Bond affair became one of the most divisive elements to working-class solidarity in Liverpool during this period and socialism (at the political level) in the city would never recover it is argued. Both are integral to understanding the political fallout from this era.

A chief aim of this chapter is to examine how Black led organisation within Liverpool influenced the political landscape of the city across the 1980s; an additional intention is to also understand how geographical uneven development and accumulation by dispossession shaped this form of political resistance in Liverpool's Black community. More-so with the aim of attempting to pin down and further develop the gaps in applying the centrality of 'racial resistance' to geographical uneven development. It will do so with the aim of demonstrating that 'race' plays the decisive role in the political uneven development of the inner cities, particularly with regards to strategic and political inclusivity. The forms of political organisation characterised within this chapter offers additional insights into the imperialism and colonialism set out within the framework. However, both themes work to highlight how uneven development anchors the roots of the racial capitalism discussed within

the framework, within ‘race’ and class distinctions - but is ultimately governed by the residues of imperialism and colonialism it is argued.

The abstract constructions inherent to accumulation by dispossession also discussed within the framework, will be shown to inform the subsequent fragmentation of working-class struggles during this period, in the same way that Imperialism informs Britain’s colonial past. This fragmentation or de-politicization of the term ‘Black’ led to a series of political engagements with communities that has, in the opinion of this study, has been greatly underestimated in understanding Black resistance in Liverpool. What will now be set out is how Black resistance took many political and social forms across the 1980s and particularly from those voices who instigated, witnessed, participated, or shaped the resistance that defined Liverpool’s Black community in the aftermath of the urban disturbances of the 1980s.

6.1. A tale of two inner city organisations.

From the early 1970s two community groups operated on the border of west Liverpool 8 with funding from the Home Office ‘inner cities’ Urban Aid Programme. Southern Neighbourhood Council (SNC) served the predominately white working-class area of Mill Street²⁰ whilst Rialto Neighbourhood Council (RNC) served the ethnically diverse community of Berkeley/Englefield (alluded to in the previous chapter). Both groups were constituted circa 1976, and were continuously underfunded, more so RNC, who appeared to have received the *lesser funding but received the greatest scrutiny*. Primary sources, including letters of correspondence, requisition notes and general communication across 1977-78 Housing and Building Committee archival records, offer an insight into how areas with considerable Black presence were differentially managed by institutions in Liverpool. Similarly, but also more crucially, it offers a lens from which to observe the *uneven allocation or*

²⁰ Mill Street was once a former inner-urban high street with over 150 local shops and dense terraced streets and post war tenement blocks.

disproportionate virement of central funding streams impacting upon the socio-economic and spatial development of areas, invariably - Black space.

Take the arbitrary nature of the grant process for example, in 1978/79 RNC accepted the tenancy of a property at 19 Berkeley Street L8, ideally located for use as an organisational office space and for a weekly rent of £10.58 plus £2.54 rates; however, the actual rent was only £3.75 per week. The records show no supporting evidence as to how or why LCC arrived at this decision; the Housing and Building Committee did express ‘concern’ about the aims of the centre - what those concerns entailed at the time can only remain speculative, but noteworthy. The plans RNC submitted, suggest that the centre would have acted as the space to pilot their innovative grassroots programmes, i.e., community maintenance, housing advice etc, (discussed within the previous chapter). All requests for a review of the rent were refused as were the various programmes and projects proposed by the group. This offers a tentative indication of the negative responses of ‘engagement’ with the community, which appear to be remarkably akin to the housing allocation decision-making explored in the previous chapter (and the next) also to be further noted (DH/146/80/ADMIN).

Moreover, the above also displays a remarkable coalescence to the spatial analyses set out within the previous chapter, thus having the effect of both aggregating and *congealing* differential treatment *towards* Black led organisations by the national and local state. It is further suggested that the densely spatialized confines of the Black community, in poor physical condition, were exasperated *because* of the state’s bearing towards the same community, ascribed at best as prejudicial. What was not explored in the last chapter, was the relationship between the local state and Black led organisations and particularly relative to this study – Black led organisation as resistance to these conditions. Conducive to supporting the assertions of differential treatment at the local state level is the evidence which emerges from several research reports produced during this period and to be explored next.

6.2. Racial disadvantage and the local state.

In 1980, the Mersey Area Profile Group (MAPG) together with community organisations, set out a comprehensive analysis of the ‘racial disadvantage’ in Liverpool within a research report submitted in evidence to Parliament. The report sets out [my emphasis] a

‘...unique set of disadvantages facing the black community in Liverpool...problems of occupational discrimination and insecurity...residential segregation, mental stress...racist remarks or attacks combine to create an *oppressing and alienating* situation...’ (MAPG, 1980: 12)

Clearly the above statement refracts the conditions from which the social reproduction issues discussed within the framework are compounded, this will be qualified further. Conversely from the perspective of political organising, the Liverpool Black Caucus [of Black representation], emphasised that during this period.

‘The black community...should [have been] represented in the various local occupational strata...*housing forms and locations*...in proportion to its [population percentage]. But racism...*overt and covert*, conscious and unconscious, direct and indirect, personal and structural, has led to a situation of deepest inequality, exclusion and alienation of the black community from mainstream institutions’ (Liverpool Black Caucus, 1985: 17)

So as clearly implied above, racial disadvantage acted as pivotal aspect of inner-city poverty, not explicitly expressed within more liberal formations (see Scarman, 1981, Gifford, 1985), in the same way the breadth of institutional racism was never fully recognised in later decades (see McPhearson, 1999). Which is unsurprising as these reports were clearly limited in their scope and conclusions as inferred within the framework of this study. What is important to recognise within this example is the sociopsychology of racism inherent to this form of ‘liberal’ analyses and Sivanandan’s excoriation of those liberalisms set out within the framework. This version of institutional racism would have ‘racism’ as Black perception and incidents individualised to lessen reporting.

Conducive to this is what Harvey (2005: 109) terms ‘the politics of social struggles’ from which it becomes possible to discern the psychological underpinnings of those state machinations informing racialized struggle, which is invariably class orientated. Similarly, it is suggested that the dialectics

of this form of conflict is inextricably linked to the process of accumulation by dispossession within what this study understands as racial capitalism. However, to understand the form this took in Liverpool it is necessary to examine the ‘varying character of social struggles’ (Harvey, 2005: 110).

6.3. The characteristics of social struggles in Liverpool 8.

For the Black participants of this study, the empirical experiences of institutional racism were not limited to the political, but it appears, permeated every facet of their day to day living, including institutional and public recognitions. So, for example in explaining his experience of ‘being the first Liverpool born Black man’ at the University of Liverpool circa 1976, Participant B.2. explains that,

‘Everywhere I went [on Campus] there was...Africans and Caribbean [all] middle class...you know. But...no local blacks of course... [Across] all of the [universities]...not sure it has changed that much...but they knew the local blacks and they could tell difference between a local black and...you know a middle class, from overseas’ (Participant B.2.).

This offers an immediate indication of the ‘localised’ disjunction between institutions and Liverpool’s Black community. Participant B.2., ‘lived on the doorstep’ of the University campus, however the ‘white middle classes’ treated him as a pariah, whereby his identity informed, for the institution, the spatial confines of his community. He explained that whenever he mentioned ‘being from Liverpool 8’, always ensured ‘comments’ and ‘raised eyebrows’ were forthcoming. Class plays an integral role within this example, yet class is compounded by ‘race’ - which is not to retrench the crucial role class enacts within objective circumstances; but clearly emphasises the ways in which other variables emerge as *the dominant factor across material* circumstances. Crucially class informed objective circumstances are compounded in this way through ‘race’ (or vice versa) to create *institutional differentials* which, it will be argued, emerge as a specific form of conduct within racial capitalism. This form of conduct is exemplified in the University of Liverpool’s treatment of Participant B.2. - because the institution acted to differentiate his identity (apart from all students) as a ‘local black man’ - thereby *spatializing* his ‘Blackness’ and ultimately compartmentalising his identity beyond simple phenotype considerations.

It is illuminating to see that in 1979, the University of Liverpool as an institution, singled out a student (on many occasions), not solely because he was Black - but because he identified (and was identified) with Liverpool 8! Participant B.2.'s recollection of prejudicial behaviour and constant 'challenging' on campus is particularly revealing in seeking to understand the psychology of ascribed individuation but offers little in how institutional spaces exclude, and on what basis?

'They would stop me every five minutes "what are you doing here?" ...they could see I was local'

Whilst using the sports facilities alongside a fellow Liverpool Black student, they were challenged to leave the facility by staff who commented

'...why are you playing...one women said "what are you doing here?"...they kept telling us to get off the [badminton] courts, but we ignored them... [and] someone called the police' (B.2.).

The situation escalated when '...a security guard, [gave] me a mouthful [before] recognising me and said, "Oh no he's a student"...'. When asked if he complained to the University, he said 'yes...to the university Vice Chancellor...but nothing came of it' (Participant B.2.). In this example racism is inferred but ultimately institutionally defended; but more importantly this example governs the participant's understanding of the role institutions played in his own later challenging of *institutional differentials*. The example above may be better framed through the lens of social reproduction theory (SRT), in that the above highlights how Black students in higher education and further education establishments are often subject to particular or differential treatment by members of staff.

As set out within the framework, social reproduction plays an important role during this period (and clearly remains an issue today), particularly the importance of the 'visible recognition' of employment opportunities as a 'process' - because as Participant B.2. explains

'...if you see your mates going to work or in a job... [it allows an individual to believe] ...I can get in...that's how it is. It like that with most jobs in Liverpool...if you haven't got the people [employed] to begin with, then you're never gonna get in' (Participant B.2.).

Now here's the thing with how the 'liberal' formations referred to in the framework, play out within material conditions. The Participant experience here for example, could be ostensibly articulated in

the social justice terms set out within the framework. In this example the participant's view is not aimed at resisting the state or an attempt to change the system per-se; but simply to gain access to the system's benefits. Yet the problem in achieving equitable access is that there were barriers to accessibility within and across employment opportunities, exasperated (even for the white working class) by the area they resided in (see below). Similarly, Participant B.6. in explaining the rationale behind later attempts to increase employment opportunities for the Liverpool Black community, also offered a vital aspect of accessing opportunity for those individuals 'stuck in the rut of long-term unemployment'; and it was

'... [about trying to create a] feel good factor, getting up in the morning, going out to work, knowing that you had done a good job at the end of the week...then starting again on Monday. Whereas before there had just been that big void of unemployment, how do you deal with it' (Participant B.6.)

These contributions also represent a dislocation from society, articulated within a 'social justice' paradigm under the 'liberty principle'; ensuring that each person's equal right to access to the state and its aliquot functions. With the second principle exhorting that 'social and economic inequalities...are to be used to give the greatest benefit to the least advantaged...attached to offices and positions that are open and have equal opportunity' (Rawls, 1971: 302). So, the limited utility of 'liberal paradigms', particularly in understanding issues pertaining to social justice; is noteworthy across this example. Particularly in forming a cogent understanding of the pathway to resistance for Liverpool's Black community, it is argued.

As alluded to in the framework, the Marxian 'construction of race and ethnicity' within the nature of variable capital 'has to be a powerful force reconstructing them in distinctly different ways' thereby defining Liverpool's Black community at this point as not only 'unemployed' or refusing to acknowledge their student status for example. However, what is also crucial to understanding how racial capitalism informs social reproduction, is that the Black community were viewed by the capitalist class as 'outsiders' within the circulation of variable capital. Which suggests that as Black groups/individuals invest in their own 'social capital' – it does not achieve valorisation for the capitalist class, thus value is questioned. Something to note for below.

Whether Participant's B.2. and B.6. were either consciously or not articulating the goal of equality, is not the focus of this chapter - it is the *process* of obtaining equality of access that allows insights into the ways in which value is construed and apportioned under racial capitalism. Congruently the liberal formation of 'rights' in this way, directly informs this study's usage of the 'differentiation' which characterised the institutions of the state and local state impediments towards the social reproduction of the Black community. To be clear, as Bhattacharya (2017) insists within SRT and set out within the framework, racial capitalism is a system relying upon the exploitation of the participants above; in that the differentiation leading to inequality, is contingent (not exigent) to the production of capital. Racial capitalism is a system that relies upon the extraction of surplus value (articulated here as accumulation by dispossession), or the wage form and this chapter will make the case as to why Liverpool's Black community (as well as others across the UK) were excluded or offered limited access to the wage form.

So, in one sense the application of equanimity is uneven in its application in much the same way that Marx predicated the advent of 'unequal exchange' referred to in the framework. But more immediately, the process of uneven application within material conditions sets the *parameters for social struggles* operating in opposition to those social forces which oppress and compartmentalise. This, it is argued, places the Black community's struggle in equipoise to the inequalities inherent to unequal exchange between economically unequal, but juridical equal labourers; as set out within the framework by Bhattacharya, (2017). The struggle in this case was for Liverpool's Black community to join those productive forces of labour and property relations which enhance social life – thereby increasing their prospects to revalorise social capital investment. In taking on board this very point, then the *process of organisation* from within the Black community – under racial capitalism - becomes clearer. The resultant actions in the form of mass protests; offers the opportunity to analyse the development of social struggles in Liverpool and particularly the ways in which militant groups interacted with other local struggles.

6.4. Black Radicalism.

At the onset of 1981, issues of police brutality, unemployment *concerted social and spatial alienation* and palpable *institutional differentials*, exemplified above; compounded the devalorisation in areas of Black representation. Stop and search had been used disproportionately on Black communities across the country (Hall et al, 1978) and Liverpool was no exception. The events leading up to July of 1981 were far from linear in causality or restricted to a singular issue. There had been several major ‘racial’ incidents throughout Liverpool’s history as explored in other chapters of this study. The difference with the community insurgencies of 1980s was the politics which permeated and influenced community responses from the 1970s, i.e., Black Pantherism - but again it was far from the singular influence. What is undeniable is that this framing conforms in its development, to the concepts set out by Robinson (1983) within the framework. This is where pinning down the ways in which Liverpool’s Black community constituted politically, informs a crucial element in defining the interplay of ‘race’ within urban resistance.

6.5. Demonstrably different organising.

Projects such as the MAPG (see above) resulted in several publications from within the University of Liverpool, did not operate in a vacuum during the 1980s but were governed by the objective circumstances for the Black (working class) community of Liverpool. Taking this as evidence of existing conditions, it becomes clear that grassroots Black organisations initially organised to build a cohesive ‘anti-racist’ movement. Not to be overlooked is the influence of international struggles upon local issues, whether if it was of benefit or impediment to the localised politics emerging within the Black community is a valid point. What it did bring to these developments across community organising, was a cornucopia of organisations involved in struggle. Applicably Participant B.4. believes that context to the demonstrations is key,

‘You have to place it in the context – you had the [1970s] with the increase in politics and politicising...with that came...it wasn’t directly from the black community, but it did effect things – it reflected that it was another youth radicalisation...you know punk and Rastafarian movement, [was about] youth radicalisation. There [were] big Trade Union struggles... around ‘79 TU membership was the highest it has ever been ...TU density was about 48%...then in ‘79 on the world stage there was the Nicaraguan and Grenadian Revolutions and also the Iranian Revolution – 1978/79’ (Participant B.4)

This explains, to an extent, the convergence - but also offers an insight into the breadth of organisational involvement across demonstrations, in Liverpool and other comparable urban inner areas across the UK. What could have further implications in understanding how local interpretations of these *spaces of solidarity* played out, is how localised agendas progressed and in turn mobilised significant numbers from Liverpool’s Black community. This ensured significant visibility and direct involvement in mass public demonstrations. Due to the political nature of the demonstrations taking place within the central urban core during the late 1970s and early 1980s; Liverpool’s Black community re-emerged as a visible presence in the city.

6.5.1. The political appeal of demonstrations

Several participants from the Liverpool born Black community²¹, were indoctrinated into a radicalised version of politics through direct action and particularly public demonstrations.

‘...the first political action I was involved in was a free Angela Davis march, which I think was about 1971...I think that was one thing you could rely on and it was a solidarity that wasn’t just about our little shitty community...if you think about Eric [Caddick] and the rest of the [seamen] who supported the struggles in South Africa...the marches against treatment of the Irish political prisoners...Liverpool 8 was always the rallying point...’ (Participant B.4).

The late Eric Caddick, born into the Liverpool Black community, former Communist Party election candidate for the Granby Ward; was *officially* recognised in Liverpool alongside other seamen²² who conducted covert campaigns on behalf of the African National Congress across Africa during the 1970s. In this way a direct link for the community was viscerally apparent, South Africa was the exemplar in bringing to the masses the realities of the extremes of a racist state. This form of state

²¹ Liverpool Born Black was the terminology which a significant proportion of the Black community would have identified with during this period. In short this refers to the largest racial minority group in Liverpool [and] consists of...a mixture of nationalities...Black and White or not... heritage within a generation going back generations in some cases (Liverpool Black Caucus, 1987: 11 – 15)

²² The late Gerry Wan (a family friend), George Cartwright, Roger O’Hara all from Liverpool 8, Pat Newman and Bill Craig were also recognised <https://confidentials.com/liverpool/apartheid-our-part-in-its-downfall>

registered racism it is argued, also informs the psychology of racism beyond the borders of South Africa and governance; for example, the UK media during this period promulgated a sanitised version of the violence of the apartheid state. Thus, racists and subsequent anti-racist struggles in Liverpool understood the role of the British state and British Imperialism in laying the foundations supporting apartheid. Consequently, local demonstrations appeared to point to a more internationally reflexive struggle, reducing the parochial from Liverpool's issues, at least for a time. More importantly it is argued that this form of reflexivity allows the Liverpool Black community to situate their own struggle within an international paradigm; thus, opening the potential for revolutionary actions and thus segregated development – as predicated within the framework by Kundnani (2007) for example.

6.5.2. The dialectics of resistance and compromise.

Liverpool it is argued, offers clear examples of how the local state resisted the 'constellation' of social forces, exemplified, for example, in LCC's failure to fully put into practice the adoption of the 'Race Relations Act 1976', resulting in a de facto

‘...general lack of acknowledgement paid to ‘race’ both in terms of an absence of political will to develop overall race relations policies...’ (LBC, 1985: 24).

Which in seeking to understand actual existing forms of racism permeating the city's institutions is interesting; again, as Sivanandan points out,

‘...racial prejudice and discrimination, are not a matter of *individual* attitudes, but the sickness of a whole society’ (Sivanandan, 2000: 25).

Thereby the anti-racism struggle was a vital aspect of workers solidarity in late 1970s early 1980s, which reveals the importance of the anti-racist stance within wider political debates. This had the effect of inculcating the relevance of a wider workers struggle against capitalism within ‘Black’ workers. Furthermore, these developments gave impetus to the organisation of political and community based direct action – for issues from *within the Black community* - across a national forum. This greatly increased the potential to engage with the socialist precepts of the wider working-class struggle.

Participant B.4. recalled a political admixture of various organisations converging during mass demonstrations, but it should be remembered that there was relative inexperience in Liverpool's political history of Black workers leading social movements in the city.

‘...it wasn't London, wasn't Manchester, wasn't even Birmingham – Where there had been any history of independent Black organisations...it was the first time [that the Liverpool Black community had constituted a political force]...there wasn't that tradition, that history...you had it in London going back to the 1960s, 1970s in the Asian community you had the Indian Workers Association, the Asian Youth Movement began to be established...and people identified as black before it was Asian-ness...’ (Participant B.4.).

The above points could be incorporated within Harvey's (socio-spatial) analyses in this way, the *process* of a politically raised consciousness and thereby understanding of group (concrete) material conditions, orientates the individual towards political formations. Conversely, unequal access to individual employment opportunities (material conditions) governs the experiential (or abstracted) praxis of mass organising for individuals from the Black community i.e., access to trade union blocs; was *limited or more precisely non-existent*. So, in effect, what this ensured was that the cleavage used ‘culture as a vehicle for collective change rather than as a political end in itself’ (Kundnani, 2007: 42).

The result was a requirement to build a grassroots movement, reflecting objective circumstances (worklessness and exclusion), but more importantly with significant input from those with no political or public voice – the Black community as workers in struggle. In observing the motion of this dialectical development (between self-organisation and organisational blocs) it is possible to grasp how the issues (unemployment, ‘race’ and politics) interacted with other factors across historical social and geographical material circumstances. For example, there are several early historical indications in Liverpool of community resistance towards racism and the state (see chapter 4 and 5), but these former incursions appear to be defensive in character. It is in examining gender and ‘race’ within the context of mass organised *action*, that offers a more conclusive insight into the issues and underlying political developments of a Black community at the *vanguard* of social movements during this period – and indeed across working class history – a fact that is often missing from Liverpool's social history. Observing the ways in which mass organising was produced, not only offers an opportunity to understand how it concurs with the SRT framing of Bhattacharya (2017) referred to in the framework; but

it also reminds that as historical capitalist relations are revealed in full - they should then be theoretically analysed from the abstractions of racial capitalism.

6.5.3. Visions of space.

Figure 12. Black led demonstration, Lime Street 1980.



Source: Manny Uchebu.

The image above in figure 10 captures a mass demonstration in Liverpool at the point when the demonstration reaches the city centre. The emphasis of the image is important for two reasons, the first, is that the march was intended to address the accusation that there were ‘only one or two [black people] who worked in town’ (Participant B.5.). This was corroborated within a local media report at this time, which headlined ‘City worse for racial injustice’ further adding that Liverpool was ‘the worse [city] for racial discrimination in the UK’ (Liverpool Echo, 7th July 1980).

The image above references the *conquest of spatial confines* thereby exemplifying how the ‘personal is political, and the political personal’ (Sivanandan, 2008:1). Ergo the *occupation of material space* (regardless of how transient) offers the potential to link issues of *inequality, through social movements* – rather than focusing upon process value or economics of capitalism. The second, and more incisive point is that the conquering of material space in this case also underlines the *centrality of ‘race’ within struggles for ‘abstract’ spaces* during this period in Liverpool – something to note.

Correspondently, the large banner in the forefront of the image, is that of Merseyside Anti Racialist Alliance (MARA) who according to Participant B.6.

‘...became the political arm of the MCRRC [Merseyside Community Race Relations Council]... they were more ready to do the rallies and had a reputation for being agitators and it was all of those who were on the fringe of things, people who had more of an equal opportunity agenda than directly ethnic. There were those who didn’t see racism when there was racism, [but] they were prepared to say we will work together...’ (Participant B.6.).

To the right of the image is a smaller placard, simple in its construction but clear in content – ‘Here to stay, here to fight’ requires little explanation, but does offer an indication of the dual nature of *visibility across material and abstract spaces* in Liverpool. During the collating of primary sources within this study, it emerged that this placard belonged to an associate member of the Liverpool Black Organisations (LBO). The LBO was borne out of a series of meetings in Liverpool 8. Participant B.4. attended those meetings and places the LBO in context of other groups.

‘I think one organisation that had the best possibility [as a Workers collective] was the LBO, [it] started...must have been 1978 – I think...in the Charles Wootton Centre... there was Black History classes being run... They were quite informal almost semi – political and went on for about four or five weeks and the room was packed...literally standing room only. I don’t know where the voice came from, but someone said, ‘**all’s we do is talk, we need to do something**’ and that’s where the idea for the LBO came about’.

Standing room only in a political/educational workshop confirms that the initial fomenting of political actions was ascribed to and not condoned within the community - something to note. Still, he recalls that MARA were not a ‘revolutionary political group’ – as Participant B.6. would have it – but were a,

‘...moderate wing of the civil rights, [including] the Trade Unions, Labour Party and the Communist Party - who had a bit of sway [at the time] - but individuals really from them [organisations] and they would initiate some stuff...it was much more that sort of pressure group and *visible presence*’.

Visible presence appears to be intentional *action* and *outcome* to these demonstrations, again interesting to note for future reference. B.2.

‘...we used to have a picket on municipal buildings [LCC] everyday...whether it was twenty people or two people there was a picket there every day - that's how fervent we were - we didn't need to be paid’.

This offers an insight into the commitment to transformation from workers, but crucially, *Black led working class organising* at the grassroots level during this period. Even more enlightening for the direction of this study are the spaces chosen to *visibly challenge the state*. These geographical spaces, invariably local state buildings or precincts, allows the inference that the increased visible presence, as a tool of protest and resistance; is aimed *directly at the state*. A further more useful and fundamental snippet of information in developing an understanding of the centrality of mass demonstrations in challenging the state, is articulated by Participant B.6. He encapsulates a further dimension of the motivation for Liverpool's Black community to mobilise, he initially did so,

‘...for the IRA [hunger strikes], or anything that seemed to be opposing the British system - I was there [anything to do with] *anti-imperialism*’ (Participant B.6.)

This last comment, it is argued, acts as a firm baseline in seeking to reconstruct the colonial perspectives of geographical uneven development within the context of ‘race’. It also situates the residues of British Imperialism and colonization within the collective psyche of the community as a departure point for action, therefore underpinning those struggles which ‘refused to conform’ (Gramsci, 1971: 260). Hence it is important to understand how visible representation in Liverpool, linked the Black struggle to a wider historical materialist rendering of British Imperialism under the terms of the racial capitalism set out within the framework.

As also referred to in the framework, Imperialism, colonisation, and Black labour (congealed within the slave system and beyond as primitive accumulation) were vital to the development of racial capitalism and the ways in which accumulation under the social process - differentiates. So, drawing upon the psychology of imperialism and colonialism, the exclusion of the Liverpool Black community is not only based upon the labour deficit (skill, proximity, effort) referred to in the framework; but can be linked to a psychology permeating the history of racial capitalism, as discussed within the framework under the philosophical ideology inherent to the ‘liberalisms’ of racial capitalism (See Robinson, 1983).

Davis (1981: 244) refers to the ‘explosive revolutionary potential’ when minorities challenge institutions to address inequality. Although explicitly referring to the African American feminist struggle, it is argued that the previous spatial struggles in the USA bear remarkable similarities to the Black workers struggle in the UK. In that racial capitalism requires certain formations outside the family to reproduce, in this example SRT asks what the ‘race’, gender and class dimensions of the barriers to accessibility? (See Bhattacharya, 2017).

In this way it is imperative at this point to explore gender roles in the spatial struggle for visible recognition in Liverpool. Including how Liverpool’s Black women influenced the direction of the struggle in terms of organising the wider community outside of producing the household, required to facilitate the above. It is important to note the influence and political representations of the women of Liverpool 8, in that the SRT explored within the framework contextualises and clarifies the divergence of Black women from the wider workers struggle towards Black political organization.

6.5.4. The visible Female imperative.

Participant B.3., a Black female activist with a personal history of political activity during this period of the social reproduction pertaining to ‘race, class and feminisms’ – explored within the framework. In a material sense their actions relayed the importance of the *visible presence* of Black organisations and particularly women, in the production of socially necessary labour time, outside of the socio-political confines of Liverpool 8. She was inculcated into the struggle for ‘racial equality’ following a ‘conversation at a bus stop in the late 1960s with [the late] Dorothy Kuya²³’ and believes her visible Blackness and subsequent understanding of the ‘requirements of struggle’ led to Kuya, (described by Participant B.4. as bourgeois and by B.6. as posh but quite brilliant) recruiting her because the ‘movement needed good people’. This form of recruiting was a theme that was repeated

²³ Dorothy Kuya was a campaigner against discrimination and racism. Born and raised in Liverpool, she became the first Community Relations Officer on Merseyside in the 1960s, later moving to London as Head Race Equality Adviser for Haringey Council. On returning to Liverpool, Dorothy was a key figure in the community, involved in the setting up of the International Slavery Museum and playing a leading part in the Granby Residents Association. <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/research/sankofa/activism/item-661374.aspx>

by several participants who similarly recalled their ‘recruiters’ as being proactive and offering something which resonated with their situation.

Kuya in this case referred to a ‘movement’, which implies a socially planned approach to challenging objective circumstances (through the recruitment of individuals) by politicising those issues which racialize. Kuya was a lifelong member of the Communist Party so by ‘good people’ – it is assumed that *political intelligence* was axiomatic in developing a cadre of activists to implement social change objectives. In the same way those recruited spoke of ‘aspirations’ or ‘the value of education’. The Black female contribution to the struggle in Liverpool is apparent through-out this period and it was often ‘women who were at the forefront’ of the social movements in struggle. As fully articulated within the framework of this study, the women’s movement, although vital in the wider workers struggle became problematic for Liverpool’s Black women, in the same way that Davis (1981) articulates the African American experience within the framework. The following section offers an insight into the very real divergence in political aspirations for Black radical women in Liverpool.

6.5.5. The penny protests.

For Participant B.3. the militancy of her generation was initially forged within local issues compounded through direct confrontation with overt and institutional racism. Born in ‘Chinatown’ with a mother of African Heritage and a ‘Chinese – Cantonese Father’ she experienced racism from both ‘whites and Chinese’ and was raised to be ‘racially aware’. Her family were moved to South Liverpool from ‘Chinatown’ during the mass urban demolitions of the 1950s (discussed in chapter 4). Due ‘extreme racism’ in the area her family moved to in the early 1960s, she left home at 16 to become a ‘Beatnik’ working on ‘women’s international stuff...about 1968’. Racist *incidents* were on the rise across the 1970s, particularly on the newly built Falkner Estate incident 1971 (see chapter 4) and *overt racism* was summarily ignored by institutions.

Participant B.3. at this time joined the Liverpool Polytechnic as the ‘first mature student’ on their ‘social sciences’ programme. Her dissertation focused upon education and challenged the notion of the pathological approach to the ‘West Indian child’, ultimately finding answers in understanding educational sub-normality as ‘cultural alienation’. Importantly she linked the lack of language barriers for the Liverpool born Black child with racism – something to note for below. This exemplifies how the Black community looked for answers outside of the ‘politics of the UK’. It is unsurprising that narratives of ‘Black power, offered a newer pride in [being] Black’ as political and whilst it simultaneously influenced those involved in addressing the issues of ‘race, class and feminism’; due to the prominence of figures such as Angela Davis.

Applicably the feminism of the Black community had to be ‘different’, according to B.3., as she recalled an incident where ‘white feminists, called some of the lads, niggers’ and left her to ‘seek something else [in place of white feminism]’. A former ‘member of the communist party’ she left because they were not ‘radical enough’ and she also accused the ‘Women’s Lib’ of being ‘racist’. She recalls the impact of this new militant approach and had this to say,

‘...we [women of Liverpool 8] were far from stupid, there w[as] some of the most intelligent and radical women this city has ever had...schooled in...the work of Angela Davis, books like the...Soledad Brothers....also...Saul Alinsky...that’s where the idea for the penny protest at Army and Navy Stores in town came from...they [city centre employers] wouldn’t employ [black people] so it was organised to go in....[during] the busiest time... and use penny’s to pay for everything... and this caused a queue for hours’
(Participant B.3.)

Importantly she elaborates upon the divergence from the wider Women’s movement at this time simply as you ‘either [became] a feminist or an anti-racist... [and] it’s never been joined up again’. It was then that she moved from the ‘politics of the white left’ to secretary of the Liverpool branch of the ‘free Angela Davis campaign’. Aligning with ‘what [she] call[ed] the real politics of the Black community’ where books such as,

‘Bobby Seale’s “Seize the Time” moved the community towards Black Power movement, you couldn’t buy it [the book] in this city because it was sold out so quickly...the book was banned in Walton jail...because they had a lot of Black lads in there and they were becoming radicalised. So, there was a very strong influence [upon a Liverpool version of the Panthers called the] ...the Green Jackets?’²⁴

International influences, beyond African America, also played a key role in mobilising elements across the community into wider working struggles, particularly the ‘socialist revolutions in Grenada, Nicaragua, and the Iranian Revolution’, that for Participant B.4. were,

‘...real armed insurrections. So that was the context these things took place, so [it’s not surprising that] young people were out on the streets there was obviously the main target was the police – who were the *visible* part of the state...’

But in agreement with other participants, he also reveals that the penny protest resonated with him,

‘...but one of the more intelligent protests from within the community [also organised by the women] was the penny protest at the Army and Navy Stores...’ (Participant B.4.).

Participant B.6. similarly explains how the ‘penny protest’ played a pivotal role in galvanising workers into taking direct action. Explaining his mind-set as to how he approached those employers who refused to address unequal opportunities, individual or collective racisms. He often resorted to communicating to those affected by on-the-job discrimination,

‘...well look if nothing happens, we’ll be down there at the weekend for some **direct action en-masse**. It was all about the Saul Alinsky...I’d realised that when... [name] done the penny/half penny protest...I saw that worked’ (Participant B.6.)

The ‘penny protest’ took place in the early 1980s and refers to an organisational ‘moment’ in which the Black community mobilised through the women of Liverpool 8; to target a business identified as upholding racist attitudes towards customers by staff and the non-employment of Black workers. The protest was coordinated in such a way that groups of ‘shoppers’ entered the business, choose small items and simultaneously paid in pennies and half pennies at all tills, thereby slowing down sales for the day. It was successful community direct action and effective in the immediate because it shaped definite organisational changes to policies; but also inspired a new generation of community activists

²⁴ The Green Jackets was a group of young Black ‘paramilitary’ teenagers who modelled their actions on the Black Panthers. They were defined by their paramilitary jackets (purchased as Army surplus from the Army and Navy store – above) and were a prominent fixture in Liverpool 8 1971 – 1975.

imbued with international activism. Participant B.6. worked in employment opportunities explains why this form of direct action was so effective in engaging young people from the Black community.

‘I was racially discriminated against going for a job so South Liverpool Personnel helped me fight the case against them and I won it and got 75 quid. It was a Jewish [owner]... [I] knocked on his door, [looking for employment and he] ...gave me an interview; but when [I turned up at the place of work] to start on the Monday, he said “the white girls don’t like you. So, I said okay...and [that’s when] I really started to think about the issues...although my uncle...who was a communist...introduced me to politics, I didn’t think about it [until then]” (Participant B.6.).

Engaging racism and discrimination in this way led to his ‘first experience of community politics and his instruction in the militant potential of community was fostered through his ‘Black feminist’ manager at a Black led employment organisation, because she realised the ‘limits of what women could achieve and would be listened to at the time’. Thereby it is argued that the discrimination which he experienced, led him to understand how racism shapes material circumstances, but also offers an insight into the ways in which racism is not ‘genderless’. Racism directs how women of colour can be ‘exploited, punished and repressed in ways suited only for women’ (Davis, 1981:45). Crucially an understanding of the transformative nature of politics and its possibilities was borne out of, it is argued, the left-wing feminist Marxism discussed within the framework – but becomes crystallised when subjected to the further insights the SRT set out within the framework offers.

This further offers an indication of the ‘shared’ experiences or *solidarity in struggle*. Analysing the solidarity in struggle through the prism of the SRT explored within the framework, adds further insights into why the existential conditions for Black labour cannot be overlooked, because they articulate how oppression individuates, in contradistinction to politics, which collectivises. Whilst it is also interesting that ‘Marxism’ plays a prominent role in linking politics and narrative, but not all participants operating across Black politics subscribed to ‘Marxism’.

Participant B.1. also spoke of recruitment within the community into a radical form of politics and described his experience in this way. In the mid-1970s he was also approached by an individual known for initiating ‘pan-African’ grassroots movements and ‘organising against what he saw as

Liverpool's racist authority'. When asked how he was approached, he explains his 'recruitment' in this way

"...we were on the bus, and I was reading the Guardian...he comes over to me and says, 'oh aye, black man reading the Guardian...and he said, 'well we've [along with Kuya] started this thing, you know, this 'race' action group' (Participant B.1.)

This it is proffered, offers an example of the more direct action pursued by local movements, rather than an awakening as exemplified in the experience of Participant B.6. This form of action indicates sophisticated *actual Black led organising* and indoctrination, *led by women* (and Kuya in particular) in Liverpool. Again, this reflects Davis's (1981) assertions regarding the history of Black female organising. When placed under the lens of SRT then it becomes possible to,

'...to reflect upon the manifold ways that the neoliberal moment has forced us to reassess the potency and efficacy of certain previously uncontested terms in the Marxist tradition' (Bhattacharya, 2017:32).

In short, this last statement allows this thesis to suggest that in understanding the Feminist movement in Liverpool at this time, it can be asserted that the Black women of Liverpool appeared to eschew the wider women's movement due to 'race' occupying the greater challenge in their everyday lives. Participant B.1. further explained that several other 'well known' individuals from the Liverpool 8 Black community were also members of this 'race' action group [other than Kuya]. Indeed Participant B.1., also a member of this pioneering group alongside B.2., so his political indoctrination took place amongst a group of Liverpool 8 activists, in which he,

'...got [an] education from [Although] (B1) was more into the socialist bargain, so he came from a different angle...much more politicised than I was...my priority *was normal black politics*' (Participant B2)

Normal Black politics - this requires further unpacking. It is suggested that this statement represents a view that activists involved in the struggle for equality across the 1970s were simply taking part in a bid to 'join' society and its benefits. Under the lens of the SRT set out within the framework, this can be understood as a question of attempting to gain a foothold within those societal functions that allow the social reproduction of capital – social or economic. This facet of equality of access was alluded to above and extensively within the framework's 'liberal paradigm', the above example

though tangentially abstract – could be framed as placing group needs over wider aims. It is further argued that when the *individual* gains primacy in any struggle, in this case joining society and its ‘benefits’ – it leads to a diminution of a concerted struggle due to a decimation of solidarity, again a point to note and return to below.

Nonetheless the penny protest points to an increasingly sophisticated and *radical Black female activism* permeating Liverpool’s internationally reflexive and diverse array of Black politics across the 1970/80s. The relevance requires further unpacking in seeking to understand the development of Black organising and the groups from which this radicalism emerges. The following section sets out a more radical political narrative of those women operating within the confines of extra localised movements, occupying the more contradistinctive position against the liberalism of the wider women’s movement.

6.5.6. The vanguard of spatial solidarities

The Liverpool Black Sisters (LBS) were a Women’s group formed in Liverpool 8 as a collective and, by all accounts, operated informally across the geographical boundary of Liverpool 8, organising the community into taking pro-active, direct action to emerging events. Participant B.4. explains that they were essentially

‘...more of a collective and offered something different to the struggle... it was more a mixture of self-help, protesting and education...’

Groups such as this appear vital in ensuring that community action was not only co-ordinated but well attended and subject informed. This essentially captures the way in which the SRT set out within the framework, explains how the reproduction of the community governs the levels of emergent social action and its radicalism (see Gilmore, 2002). It should come as no surprise that whilst they are *visible* in many images of mass demonstration from this period (see images below), their effectiveness and tenacity, in directing community responses are little known outside the confines of Liverpool 8. Another participant had this to say about the LBS,

‘...they were another organisation that never gets credit...there was no support services [in Liverpool 8] until they started a crèche...or childminding as we’d say then...they also done a lot for the support of single homeless women and so many other supported housing projects. But they [LCC/Institutions] wouldn’t let them develop anything...but what they achieved was fantastic’ (Participant B.5.).

LBS would have made an interesting case study, particularly in conducting a deeper understanding and analyses of the intersectionality of ‘race’, gender, and class within SRT; however due to limiting factors it proved difficult at the time in gaining access to those individuals with intimate knowledge of inside the group - other than perceptions or anecdotes. Whilst it is important to understand LBS operating within a loose non-hierarchical structure, meaning that although their utility to this study appears tangential; it is nonetheless fundamental in understanding how direct action was organised and the ideological melding of feminism into the wider Black worker’s struggle. In one anecdote at a community event, an experienced female activist stated that ‘whilst the men argued about the system, the women of LBS did the work to change it’. In a recent publication (Clay, 2020: 114 -115) veterans of the LBS underlined their transition from workers towards activism

‘...looking back we reflected on the negative image of Black women stereotypes – aggressive, sexual and ugly. The Fletcher report demonstrated how academics influenced and perpetuated the stereotypes from the 1930s onwards...in the late 50s and 60s we had been influenced by the civil rights: the Black Panther movement was relevant to us Black women...in developing our sense of self- worth as a Black women’s movement, our struggles came as a challenge to the white feminist movement...[after attending a] L8 Women’s group meeting in the 80s...we attended to protest about [the treatment of a Black rape victim]...much of our struggles intertwined with defence against racism, directed at both men and women’

What is truly remarkable about the above passage is that it exemplifies the difference between the ‘feminisms’ set out within the framework of this study, and again proffers a dynamic which it is argued; was vital in the political organization of the spaces of solidarity – the Black Women’s movement and how they exploited the cleavage within the crises of capitalism to forge a very visible presence in Liverpool during the 1980’s.

The Liverpool 8 Defence Committee (L8DC) offers another example of women at the forefront of a Black led group – very effective in mobilising the community towards mass demonstrations across

Liverpool during the 1980s. Indeed, a veteran of the L8DC in citing the struggle for legal services over the years provides insight.

‘Women were at the forefront of these developments, providing the stability, tenacity and working as equals alongside men in the struggles for racial justice’ (qf Clay, 2020: 115).

The L8DC was initiated following the mass arrests following the 1981 uprisings as a community support system for those in the judicial system. Participant B.3. stated that she was

‘...instrumental in setting up the L8DC, while all the blokes swanned around with the international media me and [names two women and one man] did all the work...in the basement of the Charlie [Charles Wootton College]’.

Equipped with a similar *modus operandi* to the LBS (there appears to be a cross fertilisation of female members), in that they were not a political group per-se but were established in the community as ‘organisers’ and ‘agitators’. Participant B.1. refers to the impact the L8DC had upon the community,

‘...we had this whole background... [Self-determination of goals] ...the L8 defence [committee] which was *extremely militant*, but with a *fervour* for goals and they were to spread the word. **And that is not to be out on our own - but we could do it collectively**’ (Participant B.1.).

The above, it is argued, encapsulates the fundamental precepts governing anti-colonialist struggles i.e., self-determination through collectivism, which are vital ingredients in building social movements; but for others the group often overstepped what can be considered appropriate behaviour.

‘...L8DC didn’t have any strategies as such, it was just... [aggressive] tactics and let’s see what we can get out of [these white organisations] and [they became increasingly influential] over the black community organisations. They were saying that we [statutory/non statutory organisations] couldn’t have any meetings unless they were involved or part of it and people were going for it...’ (Participant B.6.)

On the surface this appears a condemnation of the methods used by L8DC; however, it is suggested that this view refracts more liberal formations and is due to the individual’s embeddedness within LCC organisational structures. It also presents the dichotomy facing the Black community during this period, also known as ‘playing the game or not’ (Participant B.5.). The dichotomy ultimately reveals tensions between what Newton (1973: 65) articulated as ‘do-gooders who professed to assist’ Black communities, when in fact the same people ‘offered the community solutions - that solved nothing’.

This is where it is argued, that the role of LBS adds a level of complexity to the wider Black struggle when placed under the lens of SRT, in that the reproduction of the labourer is not the sole purpose of SRT. Through this lens a further aim is to understand ‘that labor power is not only produced’ within the household but is also concerned with what can be understood as ‘historically determined habits... [in the] ...community’ (Bhattacharya, 2017: 20).

The praxis of LBS and L8DC fits neatly into the parameters of the militant particularism, set out within the framework to this study. Their methods may be construed by some, even in their own community, as ‘extremely militant’ as referred to above, however within ‘revolutionary’ paradigms, which post 1981 may not be too much of an exaggeration to compare; their tactics and presence had a practical use. For example, during the ‘Militant Tendency’ (MT) leadership of Liverpool, several of their Councillors used aggressive ‘steamrolling’ tactics across political circles (Crick, 2009); until confronted with the L8DC the MT ‘realised at that point that they wouldn’t be able to bully us, because we had serious people...’ (Participant B.6).

Ultimately, Black visibility also gave or coincided with, raised levels of confidence and the manifestation of Du Bois’ double consciousness²⁵ onto Liverpool’s political agenda. On the fundamental level pertaining to community-based action manifesting within the ‘relationship between exploitation and appropriation’ (Fraser, 2016: 165). Thus, bringing issues pertaining to the complexity of identity within race, class, and gender to the forefront of political debate in Liverpool. It is therefore suggested that the politics of Liverpool’s Black community – collectively - mirrored other wider global workers struggles, however they – as Black workers - were also differentiated historically through the process of the racial capitalism referred to within the framework. Within this

²⁵ I specifically refer here to a definitive spatial articulation of Du Bois’ theory set out by Vilashini Cooppan (2016) in which the ‘Double consciousness thus describes a psychic time that is simultaneously a political space; a time whose back-and-forth movement provides the measure of a nationalism and globalism that can never be plotted on a timeline of ideological progress (nationalism first, globalism after). Double consciousness is also emphatically not the assimilationist plot of racial identity becoming national identity, another chronological progression from one autonomous entity to another. Rather, double consciousness attempts to understand race, nation, and globe in terms of the quite different spatiotemporal plot of simultaneity. Race and nation, nation and globe are in this sense not constituted “before” or “after,” “inside” or “outside” each other. Rather, they coexist in a mutually sustaining fluctuation between seemingly opposed yet secretly conjoined states of being’ Cooppan, V. The Double Politics of Double Consciousness: Nationalism and Globalism in the Souls of Black Folk in *Public Culture* 17 (2): 299-318

period there were workers who sought to access the fruits of capitalism, some sought to agitate the state and others gravitated towards revolutionary paradigms.

So, in summing up this section - in addition to understanding the visible imperative of women as workers within Liverpool (as elsewhere across society), Black female workers were also expected to occupy the role of homemaker, child raiser and educator. However, as the SRT lens attests, Liverpool's Black women played an integral role in exploiting racial capitalism's crises by leading community-based organisation, particularly in coordinating radical resistance and fostering those spaces to counter state symbolic violence. This study draws attention to the dichotomy between White and Black feminisms discussed within the framework. As knowledge and self-realisation of 'race' within the objective circumstances, was imparted upon the Black women of Liverpool, it is argued that issues of imperialism and colonialism during this period exasperated their schooling and life experiences. The suggestion is that feminist self-realisation and reflexion, and in many cases feminist autodidacticism, were vital and decisive factors in fomenting a wider 'Black consciousness' during this period. This was an essential facet of the Afrocentric polemics emerging during the Pan-Africanism and Black is beautiful (naturalisation of beauty) of the 1970s. Influencing the radical politics of their generation in contradistinction to their UK education in the 1960s.

Mainstream UK education in the 1960s offered the 'pink map of empire' and those educated throughout this period were forced to imbibe 'the content of colonial education', rife in its 'inherent contradictions' (Rodney, 2018 [1972]: 301). As several Participants referenced the African American experience, it obviously held great sway across Liverpool's Black community at this juncture, with the scope of the polemics ranged from the liberalism of M.L King to the radicalism of Malcolm X and Angela Davis. This was exemplified within the tactics that were often planned, undertook, or enacted by the women of the Black community and it is telling that the women interviewed for this study understood the importance of 'a visible presence' and it was often the women of Liverpool 8 who were increasingly militant in their tactics, exemplified above.

6.5.7. Geo-political space.

The image below offers an indication of the ways that ‘political geography’ illuminates sociological inquiry and vice versa; in this way it is suggested that the political is made manifest across spaces of solidarity. Note how the *militant actions* (pigs head coffin in bottom left image) across public demonstrations, draws attention to the prominent message conveyed that in turn, identifies the role local organising played in creating spaces of solidarity. It is argued that liberal organisations (all too prevalent in today’s demonstrations) would have found this action – too controversial, also borne out in the subsequent media outcry. Crucially these images capture something missing in contemporary Liverpool – a politicized and politically cohesive Black community, visible and engaging the boundaries of their (political and juridical) ascribed territory. It is now argued that these demonstrations contribute towards this study’s understanding of the ‘rescaled territory²⁶’ of the ‘neoliberalized’ local state. In the first instance by articulating the ways in which the (now) politicised Black community influenced not only the *production of space*, but subsequent state rescaling of the *governance of spaces* or the re-territorialisation that Brenner et al (2003) articulates. In this way, state responses *moved beyond limiting resources* to these spaces to the insertion of a *corporate agenda* into the physical – ultimately designed to undermine both the concrete and abstract dialectical qualities inherent to spaces of solidarity.

²⁶ Neil Brenner et al, offer a dimension of state and spatiality applicable to territorial rescaling, and therefore can act as a departure point for investigating further the role of the state in defining the boundaries of territory. Ergo the theoretical foundations for observing one aspect of a triad of state and space dimensions ‘refers to competing spatial imaginaries that represent state and political spaces’ in different ways as a basis for demarcating states from each other. Demarcating the state from the wider political system and demarcating the wider political system for the rest of society. These spatial imaginaries also provide an important basis for the politics of representation, for the mobilization of territory - scale -, and place-specific forms of state intervention and for territorial politics within (and against) the state’ (Brenner, N.; Jessop, B.; Jones, M. and Macleod, G. (2003: 6) in *State/Space: A Reader*, Blackwell Publishing: Oxford)

Figure 13. Two radical organisations; Liverpool Black Sisters and Liverpool 8 Defence Committee leading demonstrations in Liverpool.



Source: Black Linx.

6.5.8. A right to the city's spaces of solidarity.

The insurgency fuelling the political *spaces of solidarity* alarmed the local state (and national state), such was the impetus for the curbing of public demonstrations. There is scant reference within LCC records, as to the ways in which the (neoliberalized) state and its local equivalent reacted to these events, other than the intervention of SoSfE. But it is interesting that the images above in some senses act as visual anchor thereby articulating a 'resistance movement' beyond a simple class analysis and finds continuity with the conceptual development of Black radicalism that Robinson (1983) set out within the framework. But, in capturing mass demonstrations the image also acts as a reference point for the radical Black struggle within the context of a wider workers struggle. As an illustration, the bottom left-hand image in figure 18, captures an anti-police demonstration, the 'constellation' of placards in the background portrays the unions, anti-racist organisations, and wider commitment to these issues or vice versa. In order to understand how access (to resources, structures, and civic

engagement) was denied to Black individuals and groups, it's important to understand how Liverpool's Black community increasing visibility and militancy was challenged by the state; but crucially it also reveals another facet of racial capitalism in the social reproduction of the Black worker – and that is how community issues were removed (or diluted within) from wider political class-based struggles.

6.6. The re-vilification of the Liverpool Born Black.

The images below documents the confrontation with the 'visible state' that Participant B. 4 alluded to above; following racist comments made in the BBC's Listener Magazine by the then Chief Constable of Merseyside – Kenneth Oxford. Oxford, had reportedly confided in a BBC reporter that the

'...half-caste[s] in Liverpool...were the products of liaisons between black seamen and white prostitutes in Liverpool 8 – the red-light district' (<https://thatchercrisisyears.com/tag/ken-oxford/>)

A remarkable position almost mirroring another Chief Constable 80 year previously (and discussed in chapter 4), even more astonishing is that the Chairman of a newly built local community centre the Merseyside Caribbean Centre, also added fuel to the fire in supporting this view and incredulously gave this statement to the local media,

'...it's not us West Indians who are causing the trouble...the far greater threat [to the city] comes from the Liverpool born blacks, the product of mixed marriages...the half caste won't compromise...it well over 50 % of the non-white population of Liverpool...if they ever came together, they would swarm over everyone else' (Liverpool Echo, 17 May 1981)

Participant B.4. put it more explicitly, 'the Caribbean centre [management]...basically said fucking half castes...they're causing all the trouble'. The L8DC vociferously called for the resignation of Oxford through organising a demonstration (see figure below) and the immediate occupation of the Merseyside Caribbean Centre. The sequestration and occupation resulted from the implicit differentials within Liberal/Conservative local policy that targeted local Black organisations who were critical of LCC policies (or lack of). It is also argued that LCC differentiated and fostered

relationships with ‘ethnic’ groups who appeared to be more accommodating to the aims and objectives of the local state, thus mirroring the role of the comprador – set out within the framework. Participant B.3. believed that in 1975 the Merseyside Caribbean Centre received ‘section 11 funding’ because they were ‘culturally and ethnically’ *identifiable* in the eyes of the state, whereby the ‘Liverpool born Black’ was left behind because society ascribed them as ‘not fully black’. The ramifications of this form of funding will be discussed within the final chapter. Of course, Christian’s desquamation of the term Liverpool born Black is definitive in this case (see framework). Participant B.5. disagrees, and for him the term is problematic in that it ‘narrowed the actual concrete circumstances’ of the community - in contradistinction to a wider international paradigm. Thereby leading to creating the bedrock for ‘identity politics’. This raises several issues which indeed emphasise the notion of an underclass or underpins the factionalism set out by Sivanandan in the framework. It is illuminating to understand and view the precepts of factionalism in action in Liverpool at this historical juncture. Similarly, the above passage of internecine confrontation acts to condense the complexity of the issues facing the Black community at the time.

6.6.1. The Politics of Racial Justice.



Source: Author

Figure 12. Demonstration Poster and front and back of LSDC demonstration leaflet July 1981.
Source: Author

The images on the left in figure 12 captures a poster of the demonstration alluded to above, the poster illustrates an explicit connection to another black led organisation, the CWC. The second image depicts both sides of a leaflet that was given on during the same demonstration. It offers a radical approach to ‘updating’ the community in the immediate aftermath of July 1981 – the incendiary nature of this leaflet offers an indication of the militant nature of community-based action and the CWC. This would cause disastrous ramifications for both organisations over the next decade, culminating in the closure of the college.

Participant A.1., a prominent Labour Councillor, admits that it was at this time of considerable social upheaval across the country, that he moved to Liverpool as an act of solidarity with what he saw as ‘revolutionary atmosphere’.

‘... I was a member of the communist party at the time, and I’d been on the Liverpool defence committee [L8DC] after the riots. I think I’d have been the only [white person] in the city on the defence committee but I thought fundamentally they [L8DC] could save the community and the organisations who represented the community’ (Participant A.1.).

The above draws attention to how the Liverpool Black community viewed the state and those who were perceived as acting in the interests of the state - as an ‘enemy’ or ‘occupying force’ including those community institutions who claimed to ‘speak on their behalf’, often leading to confrontations and mass actions. Interestingly, the above comment gains increasing veracity in understanding the ways in which the *spaces of solidarity* were ostracized and, in some cases, outlawed. Liverpool’s Black community in setting a particular identity, regardless of its utility; created the conditions for either *increased solidarity* or points of demarcation in the worker’s struggle. This led to an increased public profile, but it was not positive.

6.7. The media demonization.

L8DC, the Black Sisters and the Charles Wootton College (CWC) attracted the attentions of national newspapers over the next few years and particularly an incident occurring at a local primary school on the then notorious Falkner Estate. The incident in which a 10-year-old primary school pupil, was accused of attacking a teacher led to national hysteria across the right-wing press and used to alienate and denigrate Liverpool’s Black community - racially and politically. Deputy Leader of the Lib-Dems, Cllr Mike Storey (now Lord Storey) was a prominent voice in the vicious and, it is argued, racist excoriation of the Charles Wootton Centre and by extension - the Black community

‘...leaflets were handed out, before during and after last summer’s riots. You only have to look at the slogans daubed on school walls to realise something is going on. Clearly someone is trying to stir up trouble...’ (Daily Express, 24/02.82)

In the Daily Star on the same day, the M.P. David Alton further suggested that ‘left wing activists had incited the *young thugs*’. In the Daily Mail M.P. Anthony Steen said about the children at the *primary* school,

‘...the only thing young thugs understood was physical violence...these kids have to be segregated now or they will *infect* normal children’

Even Margaret Thatcher contributed and was also quoted in the media declaring that [my emphasis]

‘...*in such areas like this*, children suffer from what is called non accidental injuries and sometimes *children are abandoned*’ (qf Times 23/02/1982)

The measured and analytical voice in all of this, it is argued, came from within the Black community, in which L8DC had the opportunity to reply and offered this in response

‘[Thatcher] has caused all of this with her economic policies which have destroyed people’s chance of ever working. People who are frustrated will vent their frustrations on authority’ (Daily Star, 24/02/1982)

It is interesting that the militancy cuts through the hyperbole of this incident, but it also begs the question as to why a populist, right wing leaning tabloid would publish a historically (materialist) significant quote. It is argued, Liverpool’s Black community acted as the vanguard for capturing the zeitgeist of revolutionary praxis during this period; articulating a nonconformist stance to an increasing Thatcherite right-wing agenda inveigled upon the working classes at the time. In this case it is argued that the media demonization inculcated a national profile regarding Liverpool’s Black community as a dangerous threat to society. Something which is often missed from analyses of this period and beyond.

The attack on children of primary age fed into of a meta-narrative designed to divert attention away from financial cuts to those organisations within the area (and the UK). The denigration of workers associated with L8DC; it is argued; became one of the State’s common thematic attacks on Liverpool’s Black community. Storey, in a follow up Times interview, explained the so-called link and inferred that it was the L8DC [my emphasis].

‘...we have evidence that *militant groups* have been giving leaflets out to the children at the school gates’

Although he does not produce the evidence, nonetheless the attack continued with a (Lib Dem) Cllr Clitheroe explaining that she,

‘...was turned away from the school...by a member of the L8 defence committee...they said if you come back here again your car will be stoned and you will be battered...I was furious that this was happening in Liverpool’. (Liverpool Echo, 25/02/1982)

What is illuminating (besides that she made no complaint to the authorities about the incident) is that the same narrative was picked up across national media outlets, thereby further demonising the Liverpool Black community at the national level and beyond. It is also argued that the thrust of the narrative reads as obviously racist in intention. Furthermore the ‘member’ of the L8DC referred to, was the late Rashid Mufti, a University Lecturer. He was also quoted in the same report and offered this

‘...the only reason why two or three members went to the school was in response to requests from parent distressed at the persistence of some reporters...but they weren’t involved in any violence they just asked newspaper reporters to leave and not treat the problems as a sensationalist thing’ (Liverpool Echo, 25/02/1982).

So how does this inform the thrust of this study’s focus? Why this – all too familiar across the city’s history - vilification of the Liverpool Black community? Why attack and demonise children of primary school age from working class backgrounds as being ‘radicalised’ by a ‘militant group’? Part of the answer must lie within diverting attention away from the swingeing cuts the Liberal/Lib-Dems (propped up by the Tories) attempted to implement in 1982. However, the Liberals/Lib-Dems contestations with the CWC began earlier, in a letter written to LCC in May 1981, the CWC condemned Cllr Storey’s proposal to withdraw funding from the CWC (920VAS/2/1/2). In an interview in the local media the following year Storey offered this about the CWC [again my emphasis]

Many people in Toxteth were frightened to cross the threshold of the Charles Wootton Centre... [their educational courses do not] ...provide *value for money*...a lot of people see the centre as a base for militants...that is why the number of people who attend is so small...it is nonsense to spend money in the way it is at the moment’ (Daily Post 28th September 1981).

A spokeswoman for the LBC responded to the increasing cuts to local groups in a national newspaper, with an attack on the Liberal leader of the council Trevor Jones. She called the proposal a ‘direct attack on the black community...26 black people would lose their jobs’. Before adding,

‘While it is true that Sir Trevor Jones was looking for black votes, by seemingly offering black people jobs on the city council less than one month later these very same liberals led by Sir Trevor were discussing whether the grants of voluntary groups which exist in Liverpool 8...should be continued or axed’ (Caribbean Times, January 1982).

The above article by the LBS reaches the upper echelons of the Liberals/Lib-Dems as revealed in a Parliamentary correspondence between David Alton M.P. and Cllr Trevor Jones. Alton reminded him ‘remember I mentioned the need to [publicly] reply to this article’ (920/VAS/2/1/2). The subsequent reply appeared in the local media and draws attention to the internal machinations and political positions of the Lib Dems and by extension - LCC. Jones said [my emphasis]

‘...it has become obvious to us that this organisation [CWC] does not intend to work within *the criteria set by the council*. I had occasion to speak to them after the riots and make clear the councils concern about *their connection with the Liverpool 8 Defence committee*’ (Liverpool Echo 26th January 1982)

The reply from the Director of the Centre relayed the costs, the threat of cuts to funding would have

‘...it is a bombshell and the effect on morale has been pretty shattering. This seriously throws into question the benefit of the Heseltine initiative. It’s as though the riots never happened. This is basically part of the institutionalised racism that exists in Liverpool’ (ibid).

The Director of CWC refers to a racism that clearly permeated the City’s institutions (not restricted to LCC). Her response is unsurprising considering that LCC in the immediate aftermath of the uprisings planned to pull funds for the singular educational/training provision located in Liverpool 8 (the Octagon came later²⁷). The reply and subsequent institutional bias (towards spaces of solidarity) manifest within Jones’ reply and are also as premeditated considering Alton’s letter. The second and most insightful point in relation to the above, is that L8DC and their visible form of activism was effective in drawing attention towards their clashes with the local state. It could be argued that the local state in this example, is guilty of displaying racial prejudice towards the Black community. LCC in attacking (material and abstract) *spaces of solidarity* undertook punitive measures against those organisations connected to a local direct-action group operating within the law (borne out by no

²⁷ The ‘Octagon’ was an Access to Higher Education course, devised by Black academic activists, located on Grove Street opposite to the University of Liverpool. This was purposely located according to Participant B.3. – a member of the academic-activist team - to ensure validity in the project but also to gain a foothold in H.E. for the Black community.

arrests or public indictments of this incident). It is remarkably akin to, minus the extreme violence; the responses to the Black Panther Party's subversion of US local state laws, again something to note.

In concluding upon this incident, possibly gestating since a visit to the CWC by the Secretary of State for the Environment when he was 'introduced to the militancy of the community' (Participant B.5.).

It is argued that the attacks on Black organisation was governed by a reactionary and racist ideology (it remains to be examined as to how mutually exclusive these are), fomented by the Lib-Dem/Tory governed local state. It should not be underestimated or dismissed that the form of racial capitalism explored above was founded in British Imperialism and honed in colonialism. Therefore, it should not be too much of a theoretical leap to explore why post-colonial attitudes, still afresh during this period it is argued (see chapter four); permeated the decision-making process. It is also argued in the following passages that the reasons for the racism set out above was 'white' institutions had lost influence in their *mechanisms of control* – primarily through *spaces of solidarity*. Similarly, it is further suggested that organising from the street and not the industrial landscape led to abstract narratives (e.g., workerist politics) that fuelled intra-class factional confrontations – understood and articulated as *militant particularisms* below.

6.8. A question of racial awareness?

Racial equality in the workplace and community in Liverpool was to be addressed by the Merseyside Community Race Relations Council (MCRRC), who were based in Liverpool's city centre and constituted circa 1970 with funding from the Campaign for Racial Equality (CRE). Although viewed by some within the community as a mixture of bourgeois and working-class elements; they were nonetheless respected for their early work in charting and addressing racism across Liverpool (Participant B.5.). In 1979 they produced a report following research on apparent disparities in LCC housing allocations, the report produced evidence revealing that local authority properties were subject to sustained spatial clustering based upon assumed ethnicity or phenotype (manifest through 'interviews') considerations. More so the report also found that the allocated properties within these clusters were invariably those from the poorest stock (Fru, 1979).

Following lengthy negotiations with representatives of Liverpool's Black community, the Liberal Party, assisted by the Tories; set up within its housing department, an Ethnic Minorities Liaison Committee (EMLC) also referred to as the Race Relations Liaison Committee (RRSL). As referred to in the previous chapter this development had taken place following almost two years after the publication of the Race Relations Act 1976. However, it is argued the success came from a concerted campaign to induce Liverpool's political and economic institutions into recognising the racial discrimination that existed within the city as set out within previous chapters.

The forum consisted of Black organisations, LCC officers and Councillors to discuss reports and issues and thereby 'feed recommendations directly into the formal council structures' (LBC, 1985: 24). However, there appeared to be 'an absence of political will' and a 'general lack' of any understanding of the inherent structural problems in understanding racism, generally due to the non-commitment of senior officers, a 'lack of a corporate local authority mechanism' where policies could be 'developed'. The forum met only four times within the first 18 months and LCC failed to mention its existence in evidence to the Parliamentary select committee in 1980 (ibid). Yet the Chief Executive of LCC stated in October of 1980 to a subcommittee,

'LCC would feel that [by declaring itself] an equal opportunity authority [would imply that] it has not been an equal opportunity employer in the past' (cf. LBC, 1985:25)

Interestingly, in later years the Liverpool Black Caucus – EMLC representatives of Liverpool's Black community from 1983 – stated that this was a 'fair representation of the deeply rooted ideological resistance by the local political establishment'. But more importantly that this resistance 'cut across political party lines' (ibid). Something to note in understanding the stance by the increasingly political presence of the MT within Liverpool's political development, but more importantly underscores the imposition – across parties of all political persuasion – of the use of institutional differentials.

The Merseyside Area Profile Group's 1980 report on Racial disadvantage in Liverpool (referred to in the framework and above) found that the indicative indicators - *employment*, education, and *housing*; were the main barriers to inclusivity and social progression – understood above as the concerns

of social reproduction. Evidence emerged from *inside* the Housing department of LCC whilst reviewing how housing could be utilised in the economic development of Liverpool's Black community.

6.8.1. Housing and racial equality.

Following resistance to ethnic monitoring by the Director of Housing, (discussed in the last chapter) and the internal delays from across LCC; those who witnessed the workings of the EMLC/RRLC spoke of a determination to ensure that the forum would not simply become a talking shop. The aim was an attempt to integrate or reflect an understanding of racial awareness across new policy. Four participants who took part in this study sat on the forum at various junctures of its development and therefore had extensive experience of its beginnings and the eventual demise. As one participant, who was a member of the original EMLC put it,

‘...EMLC was set up in Liverpool following in the footsteps of several protests and agitations from the [then]...Merseyside Community Race Relations Council’ (Participant B.5).

Figure 15. LCRC – Mount Pleasant 1978



Source: S. Abdel Hadi.

The image above is taken outside the offices of Liverpool (later Merseyside) Community Race Relations Council circa 1978, located on Mount Pleasant in Liverpool's city centre. The aim of the location was to ensure a 'visible presence in the city centre... which [is]...still missing today' (B.5.). It could be argued that LCC were coerced into accepting the findings of the (L) CRRC as a subsidiary

of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE). However, this research makes the point that the ‘Ethnic Minorities Liaison Committee’ (EMLC/RRLC) was constituted despite resistance by LCC and succeeded to ‘hold back the influence of the CRE... as a competing or rival body to circumnavigate the Liverpool branch of CRRC’ (Participant B.6.).

It is similarly suggested that the forum was initially subscribed to by LCC because of the ways in which *institutional differentials* are used to atomise issues or favour groups that are perceived as less ‘troublesome’; something to note. MCRRC would become an important advocate of racial equality in the city. A now legitimate forum, representative of Liverpool’s Black community - the chair of MCRRC sent LCC a letter on behalf of sixteen prominent Black organisations advocating the collation of ethnic data, which reached the House of Commons (*HC Deb 20 May 1982 vol 24 c456*).

The tactics of MCRRC ensured that the letter politically bypassed the EMLC/RRLC designated Chair imposed by the Liberals (soon to be in an alliance with the Social Democratic splinter group), therefore it had no option but to concede to the demands. On the 9th December 1980, following a protracted clash, Liverpool adopted an Equal Opportunities Policy and thus (at least superficially) accepted and acknowledged the need for specific policy development of LCC structures. Two years later the Housing Department, following the commission of the CRE to investigate their housing allocations policy was found to be non-compliant with the law. This led to a period in which LCC *fostered factionalism* across Liverpool’s Black community, which, it is argued inspired a neo-colonialist approach to ‘managing’ the Black community, explored in depth in the following chapters.

6.8.2. A necessary coup.

In seeking to understand the militant behaviour of the Black community addressed above, but also integral to the following passage, it is useful to first acknowledge that the EMLC/RRLC was constituted at the (reluctant) directive of the local state. Due to a perceived lack of LCC commitment, isolated members of the group railed against LCC. In a letter dated 5th November 1980, EMLC/CRRL member Wally Brown, future Principle of Liverpool Community College and a prominent community activist at the time; criticized Leader of LCC Cllr Trevor Jones for his ‘constant deferment of any

positive actions' mediated through the forum (920 VAS/2/1/2). This offers an example of the 'continuous battling' which was the hallmark of all (six) participants who worked in posts with a 'racial equality' element within their job title. Participant B.1., stated that although his employer, Liverpool Housing Trust (LHT) were,

'...the first Housing Association (HA) in the Northwest to introduce ethnic record keeping and I did that - but I didn't agree with it at all...'

Perhaps his experience below goes some way in explaining this last comment.

'So, the first report [was about] what I was seeing, and what I was aware of and it was that LHT were **indirectly discriminating against black people in the context of over allocation to L8... under allocation to other areas and were pushing people into L8**. Next thing [knocks] "Ray come and see says the Director". [He said] What is this? I said it's what I see from the data he says, "that's not going to committee...I want it dampened down and some items took out". I said I'm not doing that but if you want to do it take my name off it. So, the director and I got off on the wrong foot - he didn't like me, and I didn't like him' (Participant B.1)

Participant B.6. who worked in employment as a 'race' equality advisor, also believed that monitoring ethnic data was a mistake,

'...monitoring was the main thing [the EMLC/RRLC wanted] ... which was one of the worst things we ever done you know – because it gave the employers the opportunity to say 'we've reached our target' or put a number on it (Participant B.6.).

He also believed that even those organisations claiming to adhere to an equal opportunities programme were 'playing with statistics'. For example, John Moores of the Littlewoods corporation, in a conference held at the University of Liverpool on 7th January 1983; claimed that he had 'agreed with his board a "5% Black policy" ...where, wherever possible we would ensure that 5% of our workforce would be black people' (qf Ben Tovim et al, 1983: 116). However Participant B.6., a conference organiser in his role with SLP, (about this last point) countered that,

'John Moores was one of them who used Equal Opportunities (EO) very lightly but as long as they had one or two black people they would say "I'm an EO employer" but I thought they could do more'.

The more militant response came from Participant B.4. who simply called ethnic monitoring a 'distraction at the time' and when asked if he agreed that it hindered employment opportunities, he simply countered that although there is a 'difference between, positive discrimination and positive

action'. Ultimately, he believed that the implementation of ethnic data collation in Liverpool was 'bollocks'. This in part, was due to the long-held resistance to the scope of ethnic data amongst the political class, indeed in the aftermath of 1981, with the announcement of Positive Action (PA) for posts at the Garden Festival a headline in the local media simply read 'Fury over blacks' jobs', the article went on to quote Cllr Derek Hatton, who stated that,

‘...labour opposed racism in every form but wanted equal opportunities for all ethnic groups...it smacks **of open racism**’ (Liverpool Echo, 16th December 1981).

The same paper quoted a CRE report two years later, underlining that 'Blacks facing "city no jobs" area', going on to add that 'black people are virtually absent from visible high street jobs in the big shops and stores, banks, building societies and insurance offices' (Liverpool Echo, 11th March 1983). Councillor Hatton led LCC to their most notorious clash with the Black community (discussed below), so in some ways the action that EMLC/RRLC took against these institutions and particularly LCC was not unanticipated.

Those involved in the 'coup' identified members of Liverpool's Black community who sat on EMLC/RRLC board they were observed and weighed for their political awareness; with those deemed 'weak' removed in what Participant B.2. described as a 'necessary coup'.

‘...in 82 there was a committee called the Race Relations Liaison Committee. So, you know we were all whippersnappers - look it was all part of a drive - we were like, look we need to be taking responsibility for our own direction here - no disrespect to [the elders] ...but they basically weren't delivering - so we had a coup and took over the RRLC'. (Participant B.2.)

Participant B.6. also expressed a similar insight into the replacing of the 'old guard' with a newer and younger set of activists on the committee, which he said,

‘... [the RRLC] had our ethnic elders on it. It came to a time...where there was a need for a change – so there [were] elections organised, so [organisations] like Charles Wootton, SLP, [MCCRC], [B.2.] from...LHT, so a lot of us got onto the committee at that time...’.

It is argued that because of the 'coup', the local state – LCC officers and Liverpool's elected officials - regardless of party allegiances, opened several fronts attacking Liverpool's Black community, which was increasingly visible through this episode. The coup presented an opportunity to expand upon the parameters of spaces of solidarity across local state sponsored mechanisms, but how was

this received by the local and nation state? More importantly, were the local state responsible in the national denigration of citizens of their city and if so – why?

6.8.3. It took a riot.

Reporting upon his two-week stay in Liverpool, SoSfE Michael Heseltine in his despatch ‘It took a riot’ laid bare the overall structural problems of the region and Liverpool in general.

‘Among the people who have left...the middle managers who have gone to the suburbs for better homes...More significant [is] the loss to Liverpool ...of the headquarters of its major firms.... there are hardly left. So, the leaders have gone, and decisions made elsewhere’ (Heseltine, 1981: 6)

In the first instance, note the comments regarding the ‘middle managers’ who have ‘gone to the suburbs. Secondly but unsurprising, Heseltine translates the deep-seated structural problems of a city undergoing the vagaries of the post-industrial period, in purely economic terms, without recourse to mentioning poverty. However, he also castigated LCC in this way [my emphasis]

‘...it’s not just industry and commerce. Local government...is remote, and much of its *housing indescribable*... [with] decision making processes are emasculated. The 2 tiers of local government make it worse’ (ibid)

Which is the exact opposite of what the Lib Dem Leader of the Council – Trevor Jones declared in the local media at the time. Jones, in defending his party’s record of housing in Liverpool stated,

‘You can’t say the cause is bad housing because the whole area is *completely redeveloped to a high standard*’ (Liverpool Echo, 6th July 1981)

Ultimately it is Heseltine’s extended exposition of the problems facing ‘Liverpool 8 or Toxteth’ which he states (this passage is underlined in the official documents) that,

‘...here the problem is most acute. This is the only black community on Merseyside – Liverpool people of several generations standing...*the reputation of the area is a barrier when applying for work*’

Thatcher’s government on first appraisal of the Liverpool 8 area; noted that the urban environment (housing) and poverty (employment) were the apparent issues, compounded by differential treatment, and considering Alton’s comments – political insouciance. Heseltine’s acknowledgement gives credence to the analyses set out above on the process of uneven development. For the process of uneven development to succeed within colonised countries, the former colonisers limited access to

the mechanisms of state to only a chosen cadre of compradors. Heseltine also highlighted the strength of the Black community's voluntary sector,

‘...the community groups. Voluntary agencies and self-help groups [who] can do things more cheaply and effectively than official bodies – and [thus] contribute to the growth of local communities’.

But he adds a note of caution [my emphasis]

‘...in spite of the dangers of *infiltration* and plain *inefficiency* – which burnt the Liberals fingers - I am convinced that within these groups are many who are interested in helping this community deal with social, housing...we must harness their energies. *If we do not these groups will not disappear*. They will be easy prey for those who seek to use them for other purposes’ (Heseltine, 1981: 5 - 6).

This offers an additional insightful account to consider alongside the former comments above, the strength and abilities of the local groups – recognised for their *potential*; but deliberately circumspect in elaborating as to a *potential for what*. It is suggested that the above comments by Heseltine, are almost akin to a colonial governor reporting back to the government regarding the restless natives.

It is argued that the narrative within the above passage was fed to Heseltine from the Liberals to deflect their role in the lead up to 1981. The media statement by Trevor Jones (discussed above) underlines the lengths to which the Liberals/Lib Dems were prepared to go. A note of caution on Heseltine's despatch can be understood in a very different context if taken from the point of view of those members of the community who met with Heseltine on his visit.

6.8.4. Ministerial box of tricks.

Participant B.1. suggested that what transpired, post July 1981, was ‘long overdue’ when pushed to elaborate he simply said, ‘Well there was a lot to answer for, wasn't [there]...so we capitalised on that’. He was subsequently employed by Liverpool Housing Trust (LHT) where his role was to ‘recognise the issues with race and equal opportunity...in the first instance [for] allocations’. Participant B.6. also recalls that SLP secured a contract to manage the employment opportunities that would supposedly arise from constructing the ‘Garden Festival’ site, which required extensive land reclamation and was funded via Heseltine and the Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC).

These opportunities were only offered, it is argued, because upon Heseltine's initial visit in the immediate aftermath of the disturbances/uprisings; local councillors and other LCC officials took him '...to the North End, Vauxhall...the Eldon [Eldonian project] ...one of the councillors [in a strong position] arranged that' (B.6.). When pushed as to why this occurred, he believes that,

'...for some reason they [Heseltine] thought that if they got the white business sector on board they [would] be able to develop outside the area' (Participant B.6.).

What this probably infers is that 'white businesses' would be offered, or cherry picked the best opportunities with a naïve assumption (or something more sinister) that 'trickle down economics' occurs, this point will be elaborated on further. Upon hearing of this development, the Liverpool Black Organisation (LBO), constituted the previous year and an increasingly militant political campaigning body (LBC, 1986); arranged to meet with Heseltine at the CWC in August 1981.

Participant B.6. relayed that the meeting was outside of Heseltine's planned calendar and took place because of visible protesting presence at his other Ministerial engagements. He goes on to add that during the first meeting, Heseltine, and his entourage,

'...got up and walked out of the room, [probably thinking] I'm not having any of that...so the next time we arranged the room and put him in the corner [opposite to the door] so he couldn't get out easy' (Participant B.6.).

In the image below in figure 14 the CWC is the only building alongside the adjacent doctor's surgery, untouched by the spatial carnage visited upon Parliament Street during the uprisings. This was in contradistinction to the Racquet club²⁸ which was raised to the ground. The CWC is the building to the left of the image, this offers an indicative reference to the scenes that greeted Heseltine on his visit and place his comments in context – regardless of what the local state may have it.

²⁸ The idea for the Liverpool Racquet Club was first proposed in 1874, it differed from other Gentlemen's Clubs in London and other major cities in that it set out to combine the same social facilities as those clubs with facilities for sport. It opened in 1877 on Upper Parliament Street, close to member's residences in Rodney Street, Canning Street, and Falkner Square (<http://racquetclubhotel.co.uk/a-history-of-the-racquet-club>).

Figure 16. Charles Wootton Centre, Parliament Street/Kingsley Road, 1981.



Source: Liverpool 8 old photos.

Participant B.6. recalls the reaction of the Minister and his entourage of businessmen, political assistants, and their initial ‘apparent willingness to commit finances’. He specifically recalls that amongst the representatives included the,

‘...banks [were] coming in saying we will be giving loans, there was [previously] no banking [finance] in the area...giving loans or whatever’ (ibid)

This did not offer the community any immediate or long terms results because,

‘...there were people coming forward [with business ideas] and would put their application in, but nobody was getting anywhere. The white organisations or the white community were getting more out of it’ (ibid)

The only thing offered, it appeared was,

‘...the garden festival was one of the only things we were able to get any sort of minimum benefit from with 6- or 12-month training [opportunities]’ (Participant B.6)

The city of Liverpool financially benefitted from the militancy of Liverpool’s Black community in attracting inward investment opportunities, whilst it appeared on the surface that little changed in terms of employment opportunities in the immediate. Black organisations grew exponentially in terms of scope, but crucially not geographically. The newly formed - with funding from the Catholic and Church of England Archbishops - Liverpool 8 Law Centre absorbed law and order campaigns

(particularly former members of the L8DC). SLP were at the forefront of training and employment opportunities, plugged into the piloting of council positive action schemes by the newly formed Black led organisation, Merseyside Skilled Training (MST).

From 1983 - 87 employment statistics were particularly appalling, with a paltry increase of 2% in 'ethnic minorities' within LCC. Participant B.2. who worked in the housing sector as a 'race' advisor, in addition to setting up the Law Centre, Merseyside Skilled Training, and Steve Biko Housing, exemplifies the 'different hunger' that Sivanandan, (2008) refers to. But it also highlights the organisational skills-base, hitherto ignored. Similarly, Steve Biko Housing also offers an insight into the *institutional differentials of social housing* and the localised state during this period - explored in depth in the following chapter. Its inception emerged from a call for more ethnically focused housing schemes for ethnic elders, which is unsurprising if the former comments regarding the age range of the (pre-coup) EMLC/RRLC are taken into consideration. But this development is interesting because during the MT governance 1983 - 1987 Liverpool's Black community was accused of conspiring with the liberals in a 'race relations' industry according to Taffe & Mulhearn, (1988) of the 'Militant Tendency'.

6.8.5. A declaration of intent.

Following 1981, the political struggle for Liverpool 8 became increasingly spatialized, both concretely and in abstract terms. Participant B.1. sets out the way in which those political activists in the community viewed the inherently spatial problematic on these terms,

“...Liverpool black orgs basically declared UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) and [were] saying fuck you, we're not interested anymore [in engaging], we're moving ourselves in this direction because of you... We had the Charles Wootton [college] then out of that sprang the Charles Wootton Tech for opportunities for black people. Then housing you had nothing you had MIH, LHT and then CDS [all housing associations] I can remember it [CDS] starting up in the early 70s in Elaine Street...”

In terms of material spaces, organisations such as the CWC, SLP and L8 Law Centre can be understood as concretising *spaces of solidarity*; not only for the services they provided, but in terms of activism, education, 'rights' and of course the CWC learning focusing upon a 'Black' curriculum.

The above passage offers a clear indication of the potential of these organisations in articulating *spaces of solidarity*, for example, in an area in which there was little educational or employment opportunities, operating under pressure from the local state, across a city ravaged by crises. Those individuals and groups fostering Black political organisation in Liverpool 8 understood the importance of not only creating *spaces for political debate* within the public realm; but also, the concrete or material spaces from which to *anchor and progress* the Black community's agenda within a wider workers struggle. Similarly, the CWC also employed local people and trained young people in the importance of political activism and Black history²⁹.

To emphasise the continued importance of *abstract spaces of solidarity*, the following example is instructive. In a conference organised by the Merseyside Association for Racial Equality in Employment & MAGP at the University of Liverpool 1982, it was stated that unemployment in Liverpool's Black community of Liverpool was at 60% in the Granby Street area for Black males and 90% for Black teenagers. SLP, funded through the inner-city partnership; was one of the organisations lobbying LCC to embed equal opportunity policies within their mechanisms to measure the progression of BAME employment across their portfolios. Clearly there were issues with how LCC were attempting to implement these changes (discussed in the previous chapter).

It proved difficult to understand the impact of the P.A. programmes outside of the experiences of these groups, as there is little evidence from the statutory organisations during this period and what little was published within reports, does not appear to correlate to other evidence from organisations such as the MAPG reports for example. Indeed, in the local media a report in the Daily Post in August 1982, an employee of SLP resigned her post as an employment advisor in protest at the latest published LCC ethnic employment statistical outputs. LCC, through the Liberals leadership, insisted that they employed 'many more' than the 169 BAME employees – out of a possible thirty thousand.

²⁹ I attended the Charles Wootton Centre between 1984 – 1986, initially taking the Black history courses, English and Maths, music lessons; before progressing onto a media course. All courses were political by nature in that the Eurocentric dominance of education was constantly discussed, exemplified, or challenged within classroom discussions.

A female employee raised the initial concerns stating categorically that the LCC statistics were a ‘lie’ and therefore she could not countenance ‘working within a system that condoned such behaviour’. Despite this, the accusations of a ‘race relations industry’ continued from within the Labour Party, whilst the use of contentious statistics and attacks upon the Black community continued from the Liberal – Tory coalition.

6.9. The Militant years: mutual assured destruction.

The Militant Tendency (MT), under John Hamilton won control of Liverpool City Council in May 1983 on a 12-seat swing with the Lib-Conservative coalition summary displaced, leaving only three Tory councillors in the city. Tonge, of the University of Liverpool, would have it that the policies of the MT made them popular across sections of the working-class masses. He states that,

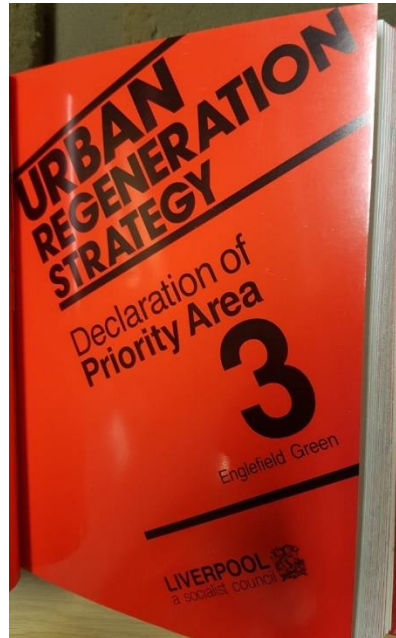
‘...Labour under Militant were undeniably popular among a big section of Liverpool’s working-class, as the city, with its declining port industries, struggled even more than others under Thatcherism. The Labour council-built houses and created jobs’ (New Statesman, 19th February 2019).

Whilst he is undoubtedly correct that the MT had the support of most of the voting public in Liverpool, and it is also undeniable that they were elected on a platform of anti-cuts and a progressive municipal housing programme. The tenure of the MT in Liverpool is one of controversy, not only within the realms of the Labour national executive, but still resonates across Liverpool’s Black community today. However, the MT municipal housing programme was the most comprehensive programme to create better living spaces for residents across Liverpool, since the failed ‘estate’ living programmes of the 1970s.

Note in figure 21 the declaration of ‘Liverpool – a socialist council’ which appeared on all LCC correspondence during the MT tenure. In some senses the MT incumbency should have marked a dynamic shift for Liverpool’s Black community to be forged in solidarity with a socialist local state. However as alluded to above in the introduction to this chapter – it is argued that this clash led to the MT missing the opportunity to work with the Black community, and ultimately led to their demise in

the city. The MT in the opinion of this study, had a genuine possibility to sow the seeds of a new socialism within the city.

Figure 17. Militant Regeneration Strategy Document.



Source: Author

6.9.1. The Sam Bond affair.

As alluded to in previous sections, the MT were diametrically opposed to any form of equality forums, based upon ‘race’ or gender (Frost & North, 2013). In their politically unapologetic tract ‘Liverpool – a city that dared to fight’ Taffe & Mulhearn (1988), depicts a take on the history of Black settlement in the city and their understanding the racialized spaces in the city. It immediately raises concerns in that they go onto elaborate that the problems with the Sam Bond affair ‘were rooted in the long history of black people in the city’.

It is argued that this misrepresents the affair, which – corroborated below – was about the lack employment opportunities for community and the ways in which institutions differentiate between groups on issues of social reproduction – terms the MT could relate to. However, the MT chose to attack the vanguard of Black organising, whilst promulgating solutions that are troubling, in that *they* appear to ‘know what’s best’ for the Black community. Which again is remarkable in that a ‘Marxist’

group espoused the same ‘coded’ colonial mentality approach to ‘managing’ a Black community; although it should be remembered that even Lenin had to address this facet of the UK’s version of Marxism back in 1917 (see Riddell, 1986). The affair for all concerned resulted in the political suicide of both factions.

Prominent Labour members such as Peter Kilfoyle, Paul Lafferty and MT members Harry Smith and Ian Lowes agreed that racism in Liverpool was ‘appalling’, with a ‘huge amount’ of vitriol aimed at Black workers daily (Frost and North, 2013:128 – 136). This highlights why lack of employment was considered the number one barrier (to social mobility) by the LBC, it is extraordinary that the MT did not acknowledge this fact. Secondly the Black community had already accumulated considerable experience in challenging state mechanisms, why the MT - for all their contributions towards socialism – chose not to draw the LBC et al into a wider workers struggle will always be viewed as a missed opportunity. Similarly, in the aftermath it left unsurmountable levels of mistrust between the two factions and particularly from within Liverpool’s Black community³⁰.

6.9.2. Race relations post.

Sampson Bond was appointed to the role of Principle Race Relations Officer for LCC in October 1984, although the Militant version of events is troubling, in which those from the Black community who challenged MT, were accused of being ‘...thugs...Liberals...Tories’. Collectively Taffe and Mulhearn (1988) refer to the Black Caucus as ‘self-appointed leaders...gathered together like one big boil’. This is the opening paragraph of the chapter on the Sam Bond affair, making allegations of ‘self-interested individuals’ in league with the Chief of Police Ken Oxford (alluded to above) and various personal scattergun character assassinations. But where does the truth lie?

³⁰ In July 2019 incorrect rumours circulated on social media that Ben Hatton, the son of Derek Hatton was on the verge of securing the development rights of Ducie Street – on Granby Street, Liverpool 8: the most ethnically diverse area of Liverpool. The rumours led to days of intense public debates on social media outlets with local people calling for direct action if it transpired to be true. Such is the animosity still surrounding Hatton in Liverpool 8.

6.9.3. Set the control.

It seems appropriate to begin at the pivotal moment – the interview for the Principal Race Relations Officer – which it should be noted, Taffe and Mulhearn (1988) fail to elaborate upon in their version of events. Three participants in this study were involved in the interview process, as jobseekers or sitting as observers. Therefore, somewhere between the raw information set out in Taaffe and Mulhearn (1987), the later MT version of events set out in Frost and North (2013), where members of the MT had time to reflect on their actions and accusations; will also contrasted with the experiences of the participants in Liverpool's Black Caucus (1986).

Although the MT correctly underline the innate racism of the 1970s facing Black workers, 'catastrophic by the early 1980s'; they also believed that white workers no longer held 'prejudice' towards Black workers and 'racial animosity' was vanquished. A statement loaded with either hubris or ignorance of the concrete conditions of Liverpool's Black community. The issue with 'race' for the MT is that it interfered with their intended 'clash' between 'diametrically opposed class forces' and diminished 'class consciousness'. However, they also believed that the Black struggle was reduced to,

‘...the race relations industry...threatened...by the appointment of just one Marxist to such a potentially important position’.

The MT also believed that the Black community had,

‘...standing behind them...all the forces of ‘official society’ (i.e., capitalism) determined to purge discussion on racism and how to combat it...’.

So, on the one hand the MT refused to countenance the existence of issues of 'race' in articulating the working classes, but on the other they also acknowledge an existence of inequality through their proposed post of Principle Race Relations Officer.

6.9.4. The interview.

LBC's equally loaded version of events would have it that the Liverpool Labour Group in opposition, displayed 'hostility' towards any form of 'positive action on race which...benefitted the black community' (LBC, 1986:45). On their ascendancy, the MT placed Derek Hatton (also Deputy Leader) as Chair of the council's RRLC, with Councillor Tony Byrne appointed Finance Chairman, both according to LBC had a track record of 'vociferously [opposing] positive action race initiatives' (LBC, 1986: 51). Nonetheless the initial period was thought to be 'making the right steps' towards a more inclusive council, this did not last. LBC (1986) suggested that under the pretence of 'union problems' the council would not support the Merseyside Skill Training (MST) positive action placements within the Housing Department, thereby putting the scheme in jeopardy.

The CRE - as noted above - on behalf of MRRC - undertook an investigation into Liverpool's Housing Department, which began during the Liberal/Tory leadership. MT considered recommendations from the published report - but failed to act on established facts that '...differential allocation on the basis of race/colour was occurring in L8' - but more indicatively for the CRE it was the,

'...extent to which allocations policy directly determines individual allocation decisions varies depending on the scope for flexibility and discretion...this process allowed for by an indeterminate allocations policy' (CRE, 1984:25).

The MT it was noted by LBC continued to ignore the role 'race' played within employment, training and housing, not exactly good omens for the post of Principle Race Relations Officer (PRRO), it is suggested, something to note in drawing conclusions.

At the interview two 'eye witness' accounts underpin the LBC version of events the first a NALGO representative who sat as an observer, offered that Sam Bond 'gave a poor interview and had difficulty in understanding questions', whilst Hatton (chairing the interview) boldly (but correctly) stated that he wanted an individual who 'would toe the party line' (LBC, 1986: 77-8). The second observer, an employment advisor and member of the Black Caucus, indicated that there was no 'record of Sam Bond, within the process' prior to the interview (LBC, 1986: 76). Similarly, two additional statements

from the Labour Party ranks, add credence to the last comments. The first statement included a passage in which Hatton declared – prior to the interviews - ‘he was going to London the next day to interview a ‘comrade’ for the post of PRRO’. The second statement was principally aimed at the veracity of Tony Byrne, who disagreed with the precepts of positive action, previously exclaiming that they did not assume ‘power’ in order not to ‘exercise power’ and it was for that reason that he said ‘[Bond] was appointed’ – again this comment was made prior to the interview. Leaving the complainant in no doubt that ‘the appointment of Sam Bond was cut and dried before the interviews ever took place’ (LBC, 1986: 79). Participant B.3., a founding member of the Black Caucus, but referred to it as a ‘subgroup’ as ‘very vociferous and very influential in determining how policy went’ but should also be viewed as ‘predominately led by professional women’. She was part of the ‘initial sift’ of applications, explaining,

‘I looked at all those applicants and there was no way that Sam Bond ever met the criteria, and he was put there at the prerogative of the Chair...Derek Hatton...that’s why there was murder...not because of his colour...there was white people [who applied] who we would have backed to do a better job...it wasn’t to do with local versus outsider’.

Bond was appointed, the Black Caucus and Union observers walked out and thus began two years of attrition which ultimately sowed the seeds of the MT demise thus allowing the Liberals/Lib Dems to regain control of the city. It was a remarkable situation in which violence appeared to be ‘doled out by both parties’ (Participant B.6.), protests and multiple sit ins at council meetings, proceedings and social events by the Black community (led by LBC) fuelled a febrile period which damaged the reputation of both parties. But perhaps it should be noted that the Trade Unions Congress (TUC) under serious contestation from the MT, backed the LBC; thus, the character assassinations were ramped up across local and national media. All this occurred with the ‘Liberals and Conservatives on the whole being passive spectators’ (LBC, 1986: 47).

Participant B.1. believed that initially, the LBC had a cordial relationship with the MT, and admitted being caught up in the excitement because the MT promised ‘five thousand jobs and five thousand new council houses’. He also stated that Derek Hatton ‘was sound’ and said there appeared to be no malice on Hatton’s behalf - but did say that others in the MT were clearly ‘racist in intent and outlook’.

Participant B.1. initially expected ‘support’ from the MT in recognition of the Black community’s struggle, however when,

‘...items on the agenda [were] being taken off the agenda – items not getting support, when they said they would be [supported]’

He added that sitting members ‘thought something weird is going on here’. Things came to a head for himself when he ‘actually applied for the [PRRO]’. He recalled that during the interview process;

‘There was six who were talking and one individual who was sitting there...and he wouldn’t engage [with others]’...So we all thought “who’s this?” ...by the time he left the room we all knew something was going on’

Participant B.6. who similarly ‘withdrew [his] application’ because he had been told Hatton would be ‘lining up MT supporters for all posts’, at the time he believed the MT would do this as a bargaining chip [with the LBC]. ‘I thought it was a joke...but...they were serious’. His objections to the process were that the MT were planning to employ an individual,

‘...not knowing the social, economics of the social strata of our community...when there were a number of practitioners in the community who could have done a better job’.

However Participant B.6. believed his role at the time was to ensure that no Black individual got the job simply because ‘they were part of the [MRRC] posse of social intellectuals...my role was to stop that’. He said that when the proceeding became clear that day at the interview panel, he -

‘...got up and said to [panel] we’re not gonna accommodate this...we will totally oppose it and will campaign against it’.

The subsequent boycott was taken up by the TUC, NUPE, NALGO, and Participant B.1. who was a TUC representative (and Communist Party member, it should be noted) said that ‘the whole TU movement...supported us...so LCC and the militant were in total isolation’. This in practice ensured that,

‘...when they [LCC] would go into schools...the teachers...would move away...they would not let them see the children, they threatened to go on strike if they [councillors] turned up’.

Thus, losing public media opportunities. The MT refused to back down from what they saw as ‘elaborate smokescreen’ presented to obscure the debate regarding ‘race’. According to Taaffe and Mulhearn (1988) the Black community were under suspicion for the disposal ‘of *considerable* funds

that had *flooded* the area from government and other agencies’ [my emphasis]. This level of incendiary language is unfortunate in an era when Thatcher had spoken of ‘swamping’ and could imply that the MT were guilty of patronising the Black community. Ultimately Zac Tunde Williams had this to say about the Sam Bond affair after reflection,

‘Bond’s appointment was an insult to the city... [he got the job] ...because race was not important.... [The militants] saw the working class in monolithic terms with little understanding of the secondary contradictions of capitalism that came out of class oppression’

With regards to the competencies of Bond, Williams believed that,

‘...he lacked any understanding of local issues pertaining to the specificity of race in a Liverpool context...this did not mean whoever was offered the job needed to be born and bred...but [a requirement was] needed to have a sense of the particularities of Liverpool and the way race was played out here...’ (Quoted in Frost and North, 2011: 158 – 160).

However, before summing up on what this debacle meant for the city in terms of ‘race’ and class in the context of the Black politics operating in Liverpool. The final comments are for those Councillors, who in 2011 still believed that they ‘had done nothing wrong’ or that on the day other ‘candidates were very poor indeed’ according to Cllr Lafferty. This comment comes from Cllr Paul Luckock who in 2011 believed that the reason Black job seekers were not getting employment opportunities at the council because,

‘...names did come through, but they were paper [forged] names...when it came to the interview, no one turned up...’.

Cllr Paul Luckock believed that the response of the Black community was a [my emphasis]

‘...small group of self-interested professionals...he [Bond] was the best candidate of the day...he came across as *articulate, respectful and understanding of the issues facing the Black and ethnic community*’ (Frost and North, 2011: 153).

The cleavage of the occidental but Hegelian, aspect of Marxism, was raised by Robinson (1983) where he suggests that racial capitalism is also built upon the foundations of a European white philosophy. This it is argued, could be levelled at the councillor above because of his comments about a group of Black ‘professionals’, why not call them workers? The answer is insightful in two ways – as shown above unemployment was at 90% for some sections of Liverpool’s Black community, so to

imply that L8 produces professionals (not workers) is abrogating the material conditions. In equivoque it does assist this study in understanding the introduction of the comprador discussed in the framework and above, in that the MT did have a point regarding the divisiveness of the ‘race relations industry’. Secondly, his comments about the Black community of Liverpool, not understanding the issues facing their own community; whilst seemingly, it is argued, a group of *white elected officials* did.

Cllr. Tony Mulhearn, believed that the Sam Bond affair was,

‘...blown out proportion and used as a weapon against us...the so-called Black Caucus inflamed the situation...I’ll tell you who supported the LBC...Michael Heseltine, Thatcher, the Liberals, The Tories and the Communist Party’. (Frost and North, 2011: 153).

The ‘veiled’ racism towards Liverpool’s Black community is the main concern here, in that on several occasions across the Frost and North’s book, members of the MT regularly conflate the LBC with Liverpool’s Black community and vice-versa. The MT leadership also suggest that a democratically elected group – representative (for all the implications of that word) via a medium chosen by the Liverpool Black community, was not legitimate. A further claim was that under the MT ‘*Granby* received more money than any other area in this city...in terms of resources’ [my emphasis]; however, this is not borne out by financial records during their period in office (Frost and North, 2011: 144). The MT undermined the Black workers struggle for access to employment and the social struggle for urban funding exemplified across this study thus far. Ultimately it was argued by some that the ‘money we got, was ours...fought for’, again drawing attention to the individual and not the group (Participant B.5.). But even more interesting for this study is how the MT inadvertently spatialized Liverpool’s Black community to Granby Street. Thereby underlining the ways in which ‘race’ is used in setting the boundaries of racial and political space – in this case Granby Street.

Ultimately, it was Derek Hatton who bravely debunked all the above when he admitted in 2011 that ‘once [Bond] came up...I had to appoint him, **but he was not the best on the day**’. He went on to make the assertion that,

‘The biggest tactical error that we made was appointing Sam Bond...we had involved the LBC in many things, they obviously had a voice... [it was] the one thing that lost us the support of a lot of the city’

A decision that ultimately led to a ‘split [on the] Labour left...aided and abetted brilliantly by the Liberals and the Echo’ (Frost and North, 2011: 156 – 163). If taken from the context of those who were involved in the Black struggle Participant B.1. simply believed that,

‘...they [MT] couldn't take it because we stood up to them politically and intellectually and they seemed to be pissed off that we were professionals’.

This penultimate comment offers, in the view of this study, a vital departure point from which to examine how the ‘Sam Bond affair’ not only offers an insight into the racialized narratives permeating this episode, but in equipoise offers a point of view from the MT which does require considering; and that is what constitutes a representative body? Even though the LBC was a democratically elected council, their idea of representation clashed with those who made policy, thus leading to an insurmountable and diametrically opposed opinions on how to tackle ‘race’.

Yet more recently a former political advisor for the national MT movement said,

‘...do you really think the Militant movement was only Hatton [et al] ...it was a lot bigger than Liverpool...nationally we had more Black members than any other political group in the UK’.

Whilst in contradistinction, Participant B.4. said about the LBC, ‘When they talk about [LBC] representing the community...I say I don’t remember voting for them’

6.9.5. Militant particularisms.

The period of the MT in Liverpool for the Black community it is argued, ensured that the political divide between, whomsoever was in power in Liverpool; continued to further alienate the Black community from the decision-making process. Indeed, for Participant B.6., the equal opportunities agenda was not ‘very productive’ and ‘SLP...were being threatened indirectly by the Militant...or

the Liberals...they [LCC] were putting a blockage on information'. He believed that the MT seriously underestimated the cadre of 'Liverpool black intellectuals...and strategists' who were associates of the LBC and co-ordinated 'meetings with the [national] Labour Party's main Black caucus...Paul Boateng³¹ et al'. So, for him it was no surprise that the MT set up a 'Black group' called the Merseyside Action Group' (MAG), with 'the MT paying members...that's when they [MT] set up the Race Relations Unit' (RRU). So why would the MT set up their own version of the LBC or the EMLC/RRLC if they never paid credence to the existence of a 'race relations' industry. Equally the Liberals/Lib Dems were accused of simply 'paying lip service to issues of race' by B.6. There may be some deeper insights in the explanation of B.1. as to why the MT set up 'opposing Black organisations'.

'They paid them and set them up in the Igbo centre - I won't mention names but there were people involved with the MT whose background was in opposition to local politics. Nothing to do with local politics. They [MT] were shitting themselves they had no idea what and who they were dealing with' (Participant B.1.).

In the first instance this does appear that the MT failed to implement an appropriate strategy that would have drawn the LBC and other Black militant groups in Liverpool towards a wider workers struggle. As Participant B.4. observes 'they sort of mixed opportunism with...Tamney Hall [style] politics', this led to some

'... [MT members]...stomping around Labour Party meetings...trying to [intimidate] trade union officials or influence full time lefties...'

Whereby he believed they should have focused upon 'the rank and file'. Similarly, the 'politics' of the Black community were also 'a diversion' when it came to the Sam Bond affair for Participant B. 4., he believed that the politics of the time were,

'...bigger than that...we had the leader of the TUC, Bill Morris - a black man...look [what happened] when [former L8 Black activist] took over Liverpool Community College...first thing he did was get rid of the Octagon' (see footnote 7 above).

³¹ Paul Yaw Boateng, Baron Boateng of Akyem and Wembley, M.P. Became the first 'mixed race' cabinet member. Between 1981 and 1987 he was an elected member of the GLC, before securing his seat in Parliament in 1987. He often expressed solidarity with several Black led organisations during the 1980s However since 2010 he was created Baron Boateng, insert CLR James's view here

But more so, it was a lack of ‘leadership’ which appeared to be the issue to which all participants agreed to an extent. This is where it is suggested that the understanding of the term and applicable usage of ‘militant particularisms’ highlights the deficit in excluding ‘race’ as an important component of working-class struggle.

As referred to in the framework ‘Militant Particularism’, raises the question as to what ‘constitutes a privileged claim to knowledge’ or more so

‘...how can we judge, understand, adjudicate and perhaps negotiate different knowledges constructed at very different levels of abstraction under radically different material conditions’ (Harvey, 2016: 219).

The levels of abstraction operating between the ‘workerist’ politics of the MT, and the objective circumstances of Liverpool’s Black community requires further unpacking. In the first instance the answer to the above is to demarcate, it is argued, the ways in which material conditions govern individual aims and objectives, with the aim of understanding how value and commonality of social life produce a series of indicators reflecting the places from which they emerge (as articulated by SRT in the framework and above). So, it is essential to comprehend Liverpool’s Black community’s drive in creating spaces of solidarity as a process in which,

‘The embeddedness of working-class political action...[manifests]...primarily in ‘place’...[whereby] the processes of place creation and dissolution –...a very dialectical conception as compared to the formed entity of an actual place – become active agents in the action. But the constitution of place cannot be abstracted from the shifting patterns of space relations’ (Harvey, 2016: 226-7)

In opening the possibilities for collective actions, for example industrial actions, militant particularism, illuminates the possibilities of achievement within the ‘realisation of class consciousness and an understanding of possibility of a real alternative’. The processes of working towards a consciousness, often takes on board ‘the internalisation within that particular place and community of impulses...from outside’ (ibid). So, the process of working-class political action, entails a dialectic which it is argued, ensures a more profound immergence within the *localised agenda alongside internationalist issues*. It is in this way that *spaces of solidarity*, created in the abstract, by the community, achieved greater level of community buy in. Whereby it is argued that

the MT mistake was attempting to place abstract concepts – such as the workerist version of *class consciousness* – into a community that did not accept the abstraction of that message over the impact that racial formations held within their daily lives.

If abstract ideas are to be ‘forged out of the affirmative experience of solidarities in one place’, then the ideology lying behind, for all their localisms, must be ‘generalised and universalised as a working model’. Therefore, although the MT legitimately believed that their approach to class based political organising was the way forward; it is argued that that same approach ostensibly failed to encompass the historic Black working class struggle against racism, unemployment, and poverty (exemplified within the concepts of racial capitalism set out with the framework). Furthermore, it is argued that the MT model presented, was not sophisticated enough to encompass the affectations and residues of Imperialism and colonialism, which historically laid the basis for the racial capitalism that compounded the Black working-class experience. It could also be asserted that if the MT did not consider these central tenets conducive to the psychology of imperialism and colonialism – then ‘...systematic obstacles’ which they conveyed through their brand of politics could only be ‘understood as abstractions...’ to Liverpool’s Black community.

As Harvey opines ‘...we should...never forget the brute ugliness of the lived experience for the oppressed’. Now this is not due to abstraction of ‘feeling’ or emotion, but to do so ‘...is to diminish or even lose the raw anger against injustice and exploitation that powers so much of the striving for social change’. But more importantly this episode represents a missed opportunity for Liverpool’s Black community to expand the spaces of solidarity across a more sustained political action, probably due to a naïve approach to local politics. It is argued that the creation of spaces of solidarity - materialised as abstractions to the wider workers movements and as ‘bolted on’ appendages to local policy in place of policy development, because of a lack of political astuteness by LBC.

Similarly, to also reference (even obliquely) the dialectical relationship emerging between issues of ‘race’ and equal opportunities is an essential component of understanding the state’s approach to the

term Black, something to note for consideration. Ultimately the 1980's became, in the opinion of this study, the decade which could be understood as the very public (re)emergence of the Liverpool Black community and, which paradoxically laid the ground for its subsequent political demise. This did not take place within a political vacuum, because the 1980s has also been accurately ascribed as the 'decade that witnessed the defeat of the working-class masses' (Participant B.4.). There is a valid question to be asked regarding the dialectical relationship between narratives of 'race' and equal opportunities, which this study simply cannot do justice to. Nonetheless it is imperative to understand, how inquiring into the realities of 'race' and not equal opportunities, offers a greater scope in understanding the history of Liverpool's Black community and the relevance to urban social reproduction within racial capitalism – *as a totality*. This will be further elaborated upon within the context of 'value' within the following chapter.

7. The Rise of Housing Associations 1989 – 2000.

The previous extended chapter uncovered the forms of resistance dominating the political and socioeconomic direction of Liverpool's Black community during the 1980s. The resulting housing and employment programmes that were put in place, are now the focus of this penultimate chapter. It is argued that the representatives of Liverpool's Black community now had the opportunity to unify the abstraction of labour (value form) in the workplace, whilst symbiotically reproducing their life making practices through concrete - but historically laden actions. This offers the opportunity to reveal how this relationship is crucial to the production of surplus value, in that capital requires such a system in order to force groups/individuals into a (false equivalency) found in the 'market' (Bhattacharya, 2017). However as will be revealed in this chapter, the rise of the social housing conglomerate in Liverpool, brought about fresh challenges for Black organisational development within this 'equivalency'.

This chapter also charts the forms of Black resistance within the 'superstructure' and reveals a level of institutional racism exasperated by a diminution of the radical nature of Black led political organisation in Liverpool. Social Housing plays an insidious but important role in the development of a more 'liberal' consciousness across Liverpool's Black organising as will be revealed through the participant voice. However, it is argued that value plays a vital role within the decision-making process across this period of 'Liberal democracy' in Liverpool, and it will be cogently argued that within urban policy's national and local government aims and objectives, Blackness was equated to devalorisation and therefore an impediment to value across urban development. This form of institutional racism not only offers concrete examples of the racial capitalism set out within the framework, but also allows insight into the fallacy of the equivalency within capital accumulation Bhattacharya (2017) sets out in the framework.

In expanding upon this last point, it is particularly interesting that Black organisation had a brief opportunity to work alongside those 'liberal' organisations, and as the MT predicted (see previous chapter) – they were picked off as individuals. Additionally, it is argued, Black resistance was

ultimately diluted due to individuals or former comrades/colleagues distancing themselves – from their once radical backstories or networks, or simply fading as politically active agents.

7.1. Paradigm shift.

On the 11th May 1989 LCC Director of Housing (DoH) produced a report to cabinet, heavily influenced by the recent Department of Environment publication “The Nature and Effectiveness of Housing Management in England” (DoE, 1989). The report consolidated the commodification of social housing provision with the DoH directing the executive to formally ‘consider the role of Housing Associations in the rented sector’ (DH/293/89/HS). The report sets out the benefits and direction of a policy shift towards an emphasis on making housing pay, (in lieu of the recent introduction of ‘rate capping’ across the UK); which in the opinion of the DoH would improve housing delivery in the first instance, the ways in which housing ‘success’ would be measured and would be more ‘financially advantageous’ to local government.

A follow up report further stated that Housing Associations (HA) ‘are able to provide a more intensive housing management service’, due to the financial predictability of the ‘housing revenue system’ (available through private finance); thus, highlighting the speculative impetus governing the increasing H.A. oligopolistic control of social housing (DH/235/89/HS). The report bizarrely (or forebodingly) states that ‘social housing and its management in England was not in a state of crises’ – 83% of council tenants against 65% of HA rated the area in which they lived satisfactory to good (note that is the area - not the property).

Conducively, this signalled the end of the ‘fair rent’ system and a further interjection by the DoH ended the municipal house building scheme introduced by Militant Tendency (MT), thereby conceding the rehabilitation of local stock to H.A.s in line with new funding arrangements indicated above (27th July 1989 ITEM No, A.16 [a]). In essence this set the standards of provision and underpinned ‘market rents’ for tenants in the city, but more importantly also led to LCC making greater use of Section 255 of the Housing Act 1985 and Section 2 [a, b, c] of the Acquisition of Land

Act 1981, from which to put forward a ‘Derelict Land Programme (DH/329/89/P&C); ultimately beginning a new round of compulsory purchases by LCC (RED/MISC/1295).

In short, the local state renewed the demolition programmes previously halted by the MT and began a process of packaging up of large plots for development. This arrangement in practice meant that properties and land acquired under the compulsory purchase orders (CPO) or large-scale voluntary stock transfers (LSVST); were now subject to financial ‘flexible terms’ and funding streams from the Housing Corporation (DH/315/89/IMP).

7.2. The embourgeoisment of social housing and the worker within.

In the years following LCC’s Housing Improvement Programme (HIP), including the Estates Action Programme (EAP); Liverpool continued to favour the transfer of its remaining stock towards H.A.s (Hansard, *HC Deb 12 June 1991 vol 192 cc897-8*). LCC records show the community and other local organisations calling for improvements to several buildings still defined as ‘slums’, appear to be not acted upon.

‘...communities in Liverpool who have suffered the worst effects of drug abuse, have witnessed the decline of their neighbourhoods, they have seen good housing become derelict and ghettoised’ (CS/189 & 190/89).

Falkner Estate, the epicentre of the 1981 uprisings, was cited within the report, possibly because it was now fully decanted and ready for demolition by 1990 (DH/120/90P&C). However, the physical condition of the Falkner Estate (discussed in chapter 4) played the decisive role in the decision to demolish. Participant B.7. and his family were one of the ‘last to leave the estate’ and he recalls the conditions in which they were forced to live in before they were eventually moved into ‘a white area and suffered racism on a daily basis’.

In Liverpool, H.A.s focused upon the spaces within working-class areas, essentially privatising the remaining municipal housing stock whilst doing little to upgrade the devalorized estates across Liverpool 8. Thus, compounding the problems of a high density of ‘marginalised communities’ in later years. Liverpool 8 ward Councillors appeared to focus upon buildings or developments located within the Canning/Huskisson/Falkner area. This could have been for the ‘easy win’ in seeking further

‘drawdown’ from the HIP monies, but little money flowed into upgrading the estates on Granby St, Grove St, and Berkeley St.

As Participant B.1. articulates below, LCC had now fully invested in the idea of the H.A.s the aim was to

‘...get subsidised central funding from the HC and through one way or another it will pay for itself [so for the Black community] in terms of social and economic benefits for L8 and in terms of commerce or business development or anything of that nature’ (Participant B.1.).

The outcome to the supposed benefits were ‘non-existent’, thus conforming to the *attribution of value* set out within the framework. It is suggested below that this novel way of delivering social housing actually resulted in the rebranding of Liverpool 8, designed to control, and exclude Black working-class spaces. This will be qualified further. The MT regeneration programme included the demolition of all but one of Liverpool 8 tower blocks; so now the H.A.s focused upon the terraced housing of the ‘Granby Triangle’ and the Falkner/Huskisson/Canning Streets (DH/282/MGT).

7.3. Uneven devalorisation.

The following section explores how unequal access to funding and uneven development of institutions, acted to restrict further opportunities to circulate capital within areas of Black presence for the benefit of the community. But more importantly they will show how funding disbursement shifted towards the (bourgeois) demands of new organisations. The result was to pose inter-ethnic competitiveness and proves instructive in understanding how neoliberalized local urban policy worked to exclude Black organisations during the 1990s, beginning with the social housing providers undertaking a programme of spatial dispersal.

7.3.1. Black led housing in Liverpool.

Black ‘activists’ from the community gravitated towards social housing at the end of the 1980s. In terms of employment, the pathway as to how this happened was extensively explored in the previous chapter and was led by sections of radical Black activism in Liverpool. Several of the participants introduced in the previous chapter, found employment in organisations addressing housing issues, in

terms of the living conditions of Black workers. A large proportion of these posts were secured from the 1980s protests and political struggles for employment opportunities; Participant B.2.'s response was typical as to how this occurred. He places the reality of the unemployment in Liverpool in these terms.

“I graduated...hoping to get a job in Liverpool, and I couldn't. And so I was sort of applying for jobs, and there were jobs going for a place called Walter Rodney House...I used to run a Black studies school in the Charles Wootton, and he [Rodney] was one of the people who came to speak”

So, this passage seeks to affirm the duality of labour (see equivalency reference above) for those in the Black community seeking employment. Even individuals with a higher education qualification working in institutions attracting internationally renowned academics of Walter Rodney's calibre;³² equality of access to employment continued to be the persistent issue with Liverpool still experiencing exceptional levels of unemployment at the outset of the 1990s. Considering *Institutional Differentials* (discussed previously) the problem was clearly even more acute for those from the Black community, educated or not it would appear. Those who were 'fortunate' enough to gain employment within the city, were 'limited to positions that were often [precarious] or part-time' (Participant B.6.). Nonetheless the main employers of Black workers in the city, other than special purpose vehicles such as MST; was LCC and by 1990, the Housing Associations.

It is throughout this period that the 'brain drain' (referred to in the framework) of aspirational professionals led to the diminution of Black intellectual resources in the city, and it is argued impacted upon the reproduction of spaces of solidarity. Those who 'stayed' were faced with 'daily confrontations...for shit wages' across the workplaces.

³² Walter Rodney was an internationally renowned activist, historian of colonialism and a leader of Black Power and Pan- African movements across the diaspora, most notably with the Guyanese Working People's Alliance up to his death at the hands of State forces in Guyana 1980, his seminal works 'the groundings with my brothers' and 'How Europe underdeveloped Africa' are utilised throughout this analysis.

7.3.2. Putting the Black in Housing.

Participant B.1. was working for Liverpool Housing Trust (LHT) in a ‘race’ advisory role, yet experienced considerable tensions with senior management, in a working environment with ‘97% of the workforce who were white’. In his opinion the ‘remit’ of his post was not singularly wedded to housing issues, and he lobbied the LHT board to

‘...extend the remit with regards to employment issues and policies... [for example] ...how do [LHT] recruit, where do you advertise, I was getting into more of those areas...I was determined to put the Black [experience] into housing...’.

The results were lauded, and he gained a regional and national platform, that led to the National Federation of Housing Associations (NFHA) showing an active interest in his work in Liverpool.

Participant B.2. also pioneered the national organisation Positive Action Training in Housing (PATH) and gave the credit for the model to Participant B.1. Originally, he had moved to the South of England³³ following in the footsteps of Walter Rodney, who was ‘running a hostel for Black kids’.

Participant B.1. subsequently began to organise a ‘number’ of Black led hostels in ‘Leeds, Manchester and London’ into a ‘federation of Black hostels’ with ‘two Black housing associations... [followed by] the Federation of Black Housing’ by that time he became the Director of ‘120... [organisations]...with a total - housing about 3000 people’. His brief was relatively simple - to ‘increase the number of Black housing organisations’ and ‘to increase the number of Black people in housing’. The PATH scheme became in his own words, ‘a phenomenal success, I mean absolutely’ (Participant B.2.).

The model and their context, emerged from the Black struggle in Liverpool 1970s-1980s. Thereby underlining the vital consequences of the fight against institutional differentials, in that it arguably placed the Black community at the vanguard of the workers struggle during this period. Participant B.1. admitted to ‘seizing the moment’ in recalling the increasing relevance of H.A. debates in the city, and directly led to the drive for a Black led H.A.

³³ Liverpool throughout the 1980s and 1990s continued to suffer from a ‘brain drain’ in which those with the drive and means to do so moved towards the south of the UK in search of better employment opportunities. This disproportionately affected the Liverpool Black community it has been suggested by some (Uduku & Ben-Tovim, 1997)

7.3.3. Liverpool 8 Housing Association.

As alluded to above, employment was still the issue going into the 1990s for those activists or unemployed workers involved in campaigns, as B.1. recalls, the promise of jobs and access to ‘commerce or business development or anything of that nature’ was by 1989 ‘non-existent, in terms of social and economic benefits to L8 – nothing’. Commensurately Participant B.1. believed ‘what was happening in Liverpool 8’; ergo the Black community being ‘corralled’ – led to a meeting of Black activists in response to the growing influence of H.A.s across Liverpool 8; the feeling was ‘like, hang on...why don’t we have our own housing association’. He added that he sought a mentor well versed in the industry who ‘put his arm around me and said this is how Housing Associations work’. Thus, began the ‘process...and the registration’ of a H.A, representative of housing issues pertinent to the Black community.

Liverpool 8 Housing Association, as it would be initially named; belied a ‘singular misconception’ that it was ‘set up by a group of concerned Black professionals’ (Participant B.1.). It was Black led – although ‘Shelter, [A Liverpool Black Sister] and representatives from NALGO’ were all instrumental in getting the idea off the ground. In 1983 a member of the CWC and the Ethnic Minority Liaison Committee at L.C.C. found that the provision of a service for the needs of older people from BAME backgrounds was non-existent. This all led to a nine year ‘battle’ for registration and recognition for the ‘Liverpool 8 Housing Association’. The project was substantially delayed, due to the MT virement of the project’s section 11 funding³⁴ ‘into their overall housing programme ‘because they didn’t believe in the whole race issue...we [however] didn’t see it that way’ (Participant B.1.). Figure 16 below is taken from the Black Linx magazine, 1985, which formed part of the public awareness campaign.

³⁴ Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 Grants for certain expenditure due to ethnic minority population. Subject to the provisions of this section the Secretary of State may pay, to local authorities who in his opinion are required to make special provision in the exercise of any of their functions in consequence of the presence within their areas of persons belonging to ethnic minorities whose language or customs differ from those of the rest of the community, grants of such amounts as he may with the consent of the Treasury determine on account of expenditure of such description (being expenditure in respect of the employment of staff) as he may so determine.

Figure 18. Ethnic Housing Scheme



Source: Black Linx Magazine 1985.

7.3.4. What's in a name?

Participant B.1. recalled that initially the name - Steve Biko³⁵ - was rejected by the Housing Corporation hierarchy, at that time the steering group believed that progression of the project should take precedence over the name. Later the group appeared to draw upon their experience of decades of campaigning in Liverpool by commissioning a provocative article "What's in a name" published two years later in the Federation of Black Housing Magazine (1987: 14). Participant B.1. also underlined the importance of representation across organisations, simply as a reminder to those who may not fully understand the historical role of political organisation, and the figures chosen to represent that development.

'Two months before the 1987 local elections...the name Steve Biko...[was] refused...Because of the political implications...I said [to the H.C.] does that mean Beatrice Webb Housing Association...who was also the founding member of the Fabian Society, has no political implications? And they were aghast...I was well versed in the history of H.A.s...eventually they backtracked and boom - Steve Biko Housing Association [was born]' (Participant B.1).

The problems didn't end when registration was granted, as Liverpool began to access E.U. Objective one funding, it did not flow 'directly into those organisations within the community'. In many cases

³⁵ Bantu *Stephen Biko* (18 December 1946 – 12 September 1977) was a South African anti-apartheid activist. Ideologically an African nationalist and African socialist, he was at the forefront of a grassroots anti-apartheid campaign known as the Black Consciousness Movement during the late 1960s and 1970s.

they were increasingly used to fund ‘buffer’ organisations, whether this was a ploy to ensure that finances were ‘kept in check’ or simply to ensure minimum autonomy for Black organisation is not clear, but it does represent a ‘different’ approach which conforms to Harvey’s *new managerialisms* (Participant B.1.). However, when framed under the conceptual lens of the racial capitalism explored within the framework, it is argued that this offers a clear example of the ‘metropole’ controlling and extracting value from the periphery (see Robinson, 1983).

Although there were marginal improvements on Black employment across the city - ‘people got [insignificant] jobs out of it... but it was jobs’; institutions were still holding back positions of employment (Participant B.6.). The employment opportunities model in-turn informed the ‘ethos’ of the fledgling H.A. business plan and on 1st May 1987, the Housing Sub-Committee of the *Emergency Committee* met with the board of the Steve Biko Housing Association (SBHA). The transfer of their maiden development - the River Avon Site - unanimously approved (DH/79/90/P&C).

The development would house a 40 bedroomed scheme called Hector Peterson Court³⁶ and SBHA ‘acquired the land next door’ to ‘build Steve Biko Close’ in partnership with ‘Rogerson Developers’ (RED/MISC/1293/315/89IM). SBHA implemented their plans for greater ‘social value’ initiatives, in that they coerced contractors to ‘give something back’ as the development schemes in total were worth ‘two million...so they were happy’. They secured paid construction employment for twelve posts for

‘...local labourers, bricklayers, painting and decorating [they interestingly developed and delivered] ...in-house racial awareness training... [to] a private company...so we were getting accolades’ (Participant B.1).

It could be argued that the interlocation of those organisations – the comments on Objective One monies above for example – raises the point that it was the ‘local’ Black organisation which displayed all the traits of entrepreneurial, whereby the funding from the EU social development funds (disbursed for such schemes) was withheld from SBHA and other Black led organisations.

³⁶ Hector Peterson, a 13-year-old schoolboy was shot dead by police and became the first fatality of the Soweto Uprising on 16th June 1976s, a protest by South African Students over the enforced teaching of Afrikaans in secondary schools.

During this period Liverpool's Labour led council faced a second non-discrimination notice from the CRE for 'widespread' racist practices still prevalent within their housing allocation (CRE, 1989). This more than likely played an important factor in LCC now 'playing ball' and facilitating the transfer of a significant land package to a Black led organisation. Participant B.1. underlines the distance that the radicalisation of Black politics had taken those activists in the community's agenda for change, in speaking about the S.B.H.A. approach he stated

'... [SBHA] were politically driven as an economic vehicle for Liverpool 8 and...we [were] not just a housing association, not just putting a roof over the head, we are there to encourage people to not only live in the property... [but are] spending in the area and...are making sure that we contract from the area and it enhances the quality of life...' (Participant B.1)

The above is remarkable, in that the thrust mirrors the corporate literature of many of the contemporary Registered Providers of social housing today. But this innovative and most importantly – working - community focused approach; had not impressed everyone and thus emerged the local state pushback, discussed next.

7.3.5. The means to stop us.

By the mid-1990s most of the Black radical organisations in Liverpool were absorbed into the mainstream community establishments and organisations. The Black led skills training scheme - Merseyside Skilled Training (MST) - which had initially trained Housing Officers; extended its remit and was in a compact with LCC to deliver onsite 'on the job' training across LCC departments. Former members of L8DC were also being absorbed into posts across local government or in one case 'training future police officers in racial awareness' (Participant B.3.). In the case of SBHA, Participant B.1. also Chair of the board of Trustees in the early years, believed that it was SBHA's innovative programmes that enhanced their housing provision. This soon resulted in detractors emerging from the upper echelons of 'white' organisations.

'[SBHA] were light years ahead of the game and they couldn't handle it, and I can demonstrate it...they were so far behind us [but] *they had the means to stop us*...I knew the Housing Corporation [CEO] did not like us [they were always enquiring] into where monies or funding came from' (Participant B.1.)

SBHA experienced a fractious relationship with the CEO of the Housing Corporation (HC), the non-governmental organisation responsible for social housing in the UK. Similarly, the HC also had the remit to audit, regulate and scrutinise as they saw fit to do so. Interestingly ‘cracks appeared’ in the relationship between SBHA and the HC, when SBHA put forth a proposal to become the main service provider within the Liverpool 8 area,

‘...when no...body...wanted to invest their housing allocation [funds] in Liverpool 8 ...LHT, CDS, MIH [the largest H.A.s] no one...so when [they] started the Granby Strategy Group...CDS owned nothing in Granby...I brought this up...a week later they went out and bought Arundel Street - No messing’ (Participant B.1).

What should not be underestimated within this passage, besides the nature of assumed seniority by ‘white organisations’; is the level of cooperation between the city’s institutions, H.C. and H.A.s. It should also be noted that that the street in question – Arundel – was fully ‘decanted’ by 1998 in readiness for demolition. What this potentially alludes to is a concerted plan to ‘manage the decline’ of Granby Street by those organisations, who assumed that SBHA ‘... [was] the junior partner’ in the ‘carving up of [Liverpool 8]’ (Participant B.1.). Similarly, the model that SBHA proposed as ‘lead developer’ would make a return in later decades – but with no SBHA involvement.

It’s not too difficult to understand how individuals living under institutional differentials, became disillusioned with the ‘constant challenging... [and]...side-lining’ (Participant B.2.) of their respective organisations. Or constantly being held to account over accusations that ‘Black’ schemes did not represent ‘value for money’ (Participant B.6.) something to note for below. However, it is how their peers across the housing industry assumed a level of superiority towards Black led organisation, which ultimately directs the attention in situating ‘race’ within the totality of racial capital accumulation. Participant B.6. explains that it soon became clear to him that if you were formerly (or actively) involved with L8’s radical groups ‘you were isolated from certain organisations that got you in the door’. He offered the example of an institution operating today to highlight why those radical Black activists were forced to compromise to local state mechanisms. The institution

today offers training provision exclusively for women and was set up by a radical female member of L8DC and retired CEO of the same institution.

She understood that most organisations already operating in Liverpool were reluctant to change, but those organisations and businesses ‘who were getting involved’ in the recent ‘EU funds’ coming into the city were more responsive to focused projects. Upon applying for a senior role ‘they took the ideas from [female] at her interview and gave the post to [another candidate]’. This lends credence to the imposition of the ‘comprador’, but it also appeared to foster an institutional strategy, in which those individuals who were seen to be ‘more accommodating’ towards the new regimes and funding bodies were increasingly hired across organisations.

Participant B.6. relayed that the successful candidate from the above example had only recently returned from living in the USA for over a decade but was viewed by the city as

‘...a nice little black woman...because she said she knew the area...but she didn’t have the connections or contacts - so it [the post] was a failure’.

This incident appears to mirror the ‘Sam Bond affair’ where institutions ‘gate-keep’ and control Black personnel at organisations. But what is different – is the apparent acceptance of the situation by those who had hitherto been part of protesting against this form of interference by large institutions. A period of ‘intra-class’ factionalism was becoming an issue within community organisations and a clear indication of the fracturing of working-class solidarity.

In summing up what can be understood as the zenith of radical Black organisation in Liverpool; the final comments regarding the views of those who were involved in local radical organisation are particularly instructive. Participant B.1. believed that he could ‘see the writing on the wall’ when a development SBHA built on Mulgrave Street (parallel to Granby Street) was opened by Diane, Princess of Wales. Although he reiterated that on the very same site now gaining national plaudits for its innovative social value approach to development, (detailed above). At the time the development was castigated by HC and LCC who had ‘...knocked down all the...properties that were built in the 1970s’ probably with EAP funds. Nonetheless the land on,

‘...Mulgrave Street, [was] flat...empty, all property [had] been knocked down and nobody wanted it but [the area] ...was still vibrant, still loads of retail... [names shops] ... LHT, CDS, MIH [didn’t] want the land’.

SBHA purchased the land on Mulgrave Street for development. Yet when SBHA

‘...brought in a Black architect from London...to build 4 and 5 bedroomed houses for larger families [because we] had the money...’

The HC were ‘apprehensive’ regarding SBHA use of the social value model prescribed above - employing local labour where possible - and the circulation of social capital for the benefit of the community. This, it is argued offers a perfect example of the symbiotic (concrete and abstract) model of surplus value in action (referred to above), however it was viewed with suspicion, particularly by the CEO of the HC in Merseyside. It appears they didn’t understand (or wished to acknowledge) the sophistication of the SBHA communal approach - utilising surplus value to enhance social value.

Participant B.1. explains it in this way,

‘So, you’ve got an economic cycle locally which is turning over finances but people who are living in the area who would be working within the area would be benefiting from the jobs would be benefiting from the contracts would be spending the money in the area and the theory of that is that it enhances the quality of live. That was always our ethos’.

Nonetheless it would be the last significant development for SBHA for over 20 years. In the same period Riverside, LHT and CDS³⁷ morphed into corporate behemoths, creating an oligopoly of vested interests in areas of high levels of Black concentration in Liverpool – with SBHA essentially excluded from the ‘top table’. This facet of what would become the (residential) spatial dominance of Liverpool by H.A.s will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

7.3.6. “The realisation that you are a token”.

Sustained political action often takes its toll upon individuals as history reveals, however it also has the power to corrupt and distort once held radical views. This can be ascribed to lack of leadership, self-interests or indeed as Participant B.6., believed; the radicalism waned simply because,

‘...we all got bought off...they bought us all in-house which made organisation weaker, people started to fall away and were [saying] “I’ve got a mortgage now’.

³⁷ CDS went on to become Plus Housing Group in 2002, then Plus Dane 2008.

But the end for him materialised whilst attempting to galvanize active support for a BAME colleague, he was told by the senior ‘Equality Officer’ at LCC ‘...this is not the 1970s, we’ve got jobs and mortgages to worry about’. Participant B.6. told the officer,

‘I said is this what we’ve come to? **We were knocking on the door and now this** – remember when something happens [to you] ...it’s the Black officers who would have come...don’t think you got this job for your pretty face – **you are a token**’ (Participant B.6.).

He further believed that his position as ‘race’ awareness advisor was ‘tokenistic’, and he was only called on to ‘smooth things over’ upon informing management without redress ‘of discrimination against a Chinese lad’. He finally realised his role was to ensure the ‘corporate line was toed...that’s when I woke up and smelled the coffee’.

7.4. New Labour – New Danger?

1997 was an important year for the city, the Labour Party under Tony Blair secured a landslide victory over the Conservatives, and their policies included the most comprehensive approach to what was now an issue of ‘social justice’ across the inner-city. But the following year Liverpool continued in its tradition of non-conformity to the national electorate and voted for Liberal Democrat control of the council for the next 12 years. As has been shown in previous chapters the relationship between the Black community and the Lib-Dems in Liverpool can be described as fractious at best. Indeed, it is argued that the Lib-Dems capitalised upon the advent of the new Equal Opportunities legislation, thereby inducing a fractural approach to community cohesion it is argued. Fractal in this case often manifested in ensuring that factions within communities competed for applications, jobs, training, and funding opportunities through ethnic minority quotas. Resulting in a shift towards a silo mentality in protecting ascribed ethnic characteristics, ensuring that their ‘particular group were added to data sets’. This facet completed the transition to the ‘politics of ethnic difference’ (Kundnani, 2007:20), which some believed was ‘a catastrophe for working class solidarity in general’ (Participant B.5.).

In some senses it is ironic that the medium from which the Black community chose to challenge the local state – social housing – soon became increasingly instrumental to the disbursement of the large-scale funding driving the inner-city spatial development at the close of the 1990s.

7.4.1. Best laid plans.

The images below are taken from the Liverpool Development Plan circa 1998 and depicts the de-facto strategic plan that began the Lib-Dem process of L8 ‘regeneration’ into the new millennium. The strategic plan was primarily in place for the use of the City Challenge funding, designed to focus on the inner city, particularly the city centre and dockland area, but formed a cohesive approach to planning the ‘regeneration’ of the inner-city core. European Union Social Funds began flowing into the city in 1994. Initial funds totalled £700 million of major developments to the south of the city, the city centre and upgrading of inner urban corridors across the inner - city, exemplified below.

The images are also instructive in that they depict a ‘broad strokes’ approach to urban planning, which can be best understood in the context of previous plans alluded to across this study. So, it is argued that this appears to be - not a genuine approach to manage urban change for deprived communities - but simply as a scoping exercise to attract funding to the city. Interestingly Participant A.2. who worked at the strategic level for the city during this period believed that,

‘...we [Liverpool] played a game in which the race was to the bottom [in order to qualify for funds] and in that way Liverpool was both entrepreneurial, if you like and played the game well’.

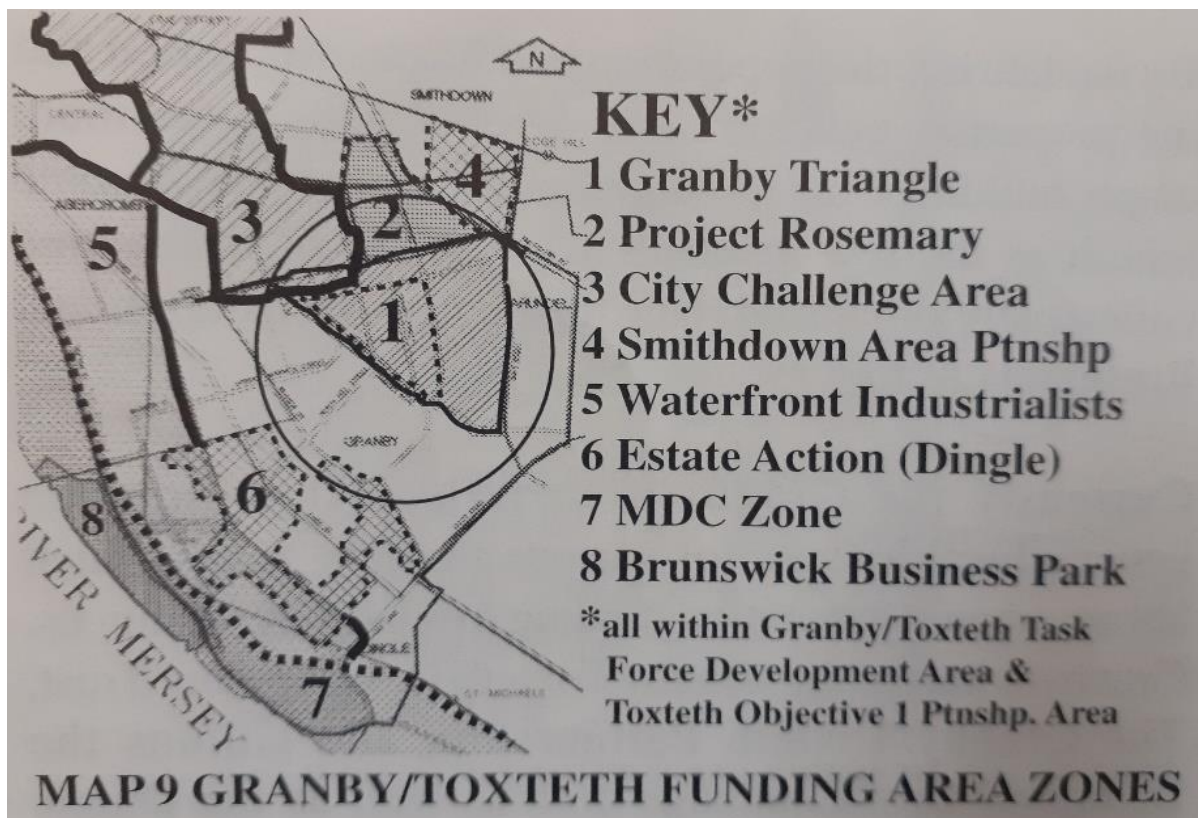
figure 19. Strategic Plans.



Within Plan 2 above, to the right of the city centre is the insertion of ‘Project Rosemary’ which it could be argued, completes the dissection of Falkner estate site from the Granby Triangle (also set out above). What is interesting is that the space in which Project Rosemary is located was, at least for the Black community; part of the Granby Triangle. Thereby, this offers a prime example and depiction of the process of accumulation by dispossession to shrink the material and abstract spaces of solidarity referred to above.

Below is more insightful map of the various funding zones, however it is possible to view what LCC understood as ‘the Triangle’ which is located inside of a larger area that local people referred to as the actual Triangle. Similarly, it is also worth noting that although all eight sub-areas fit within the Granby/Toxteth Task Force Development and Toxteth Objective 1 Partnership Areas, it is difficult to find a project (within this area) that had any substantial benefit for the Black community from this point in time. Offering a clear case of why ‘trickle down’ economics rarely works for the most deprived communities. There were clearly some wider economic developments, particularly within the city centre; however, it will be argued in the final chapter that they did little to advance the economic development nor the social reproduction of the Black community, particularly as budget reports indicated that LCC were still capitalising on the Granby/Toxteth community in securing funding. Again, this will be explored further.

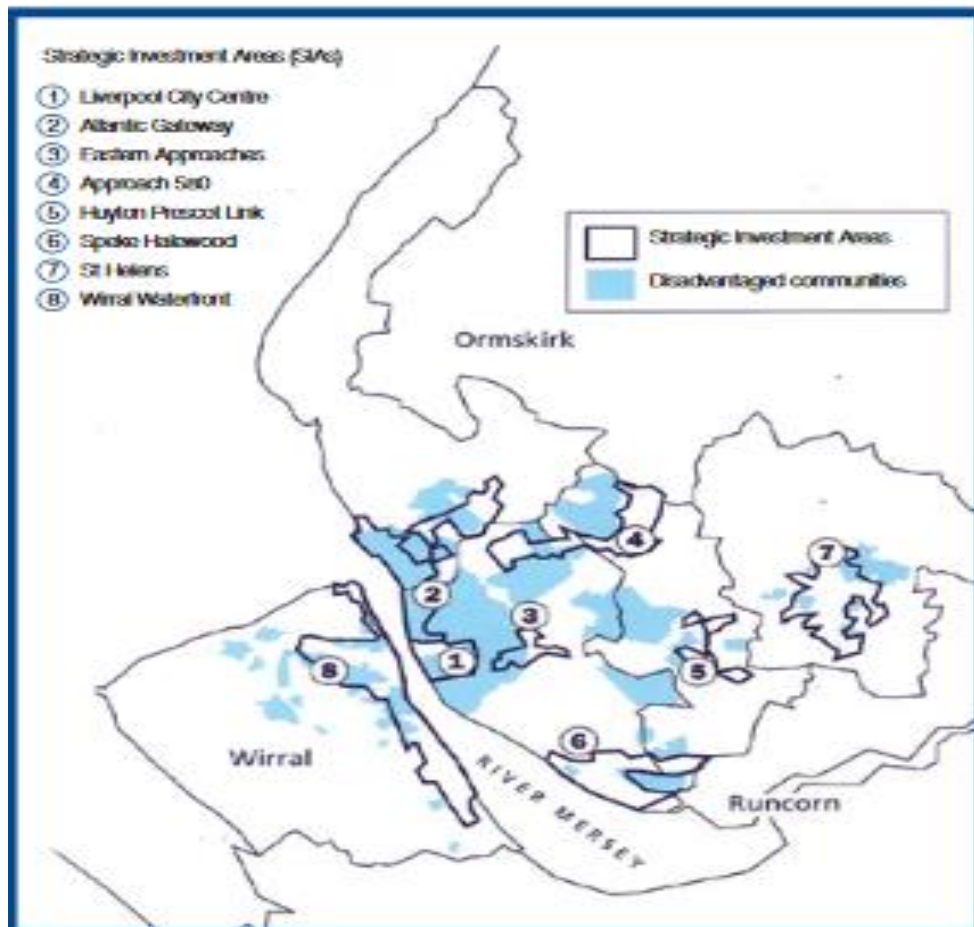
Figure 20. Funding Zones.



Source: Uduku and Ben-Tovim, (1997)

It is argued that the final Map in figure 21 below acts to confirm the spatial analyses offered across this study. Again, the map represents another interpretation, but this time from an LCC internal document during the same period. What is decisive in the opinion of this analysis; is that the same areas are set out along the lines of ‘strategic investment areas’ and those marginalised communities. It is simply grist for the mill to note that the investment (parameters) stops short of the areas in which Liverpool’s Black community were clustered.

Figure 21. Strategic investment areas.



Source: LCC.

Participant A.2. explains it in these terms,

‘...SRB [plan] which was carefully drawn down the middle of Princes Avenue and set a very odd divide between there for ever after...because the Dingle, Granby and Lodge Lane, there was a whole load of things that happened in the Dingle side but only up to Princes Avenue. That never happened across the other side because of that decision. So, you see how reputations get planted by one line on the map’.

When asked how this decision was made, the answer was even more insightful into what governed the decision-making process. According to Participant A.2. her personal experience as a self-confessed ‘outsider’ is that ‘The psyche of a city is embedded within its people...’. She also went on to reveal that whilst working for LCC at the senior level on the Strategy for Liverpool 8.

‘...sitting with the housing strategy manager, someone who draws red lines on maps...and I said come and have a look at [Granby] and she said...and this is a Liverpool woman through and through, 20 years with the council...I’ve never been there! So, I thought ok...this is the woman who is *writing the housing strategy for Liverpool 8 and she has never been there...*so she said *I didn’t bring my own car because we’re going to Liverpool 8...*so the redline existed in her head before it was ever on the map’

This passage reveals another twofold problem for L8's Black community, the first is that the senior manager responsible for delivering the overall strategy, had not even visited the area. The second and it could be argued more damning argument; is that the same person appears to have bought into a narrative that labelled Liverpool 8 an area of crime in refusing to drive there in her own car. It could be cogently argued that these two perspectives can only work to inform upon the 'psyche of the city' and the resultant attitude towards L8's Black community.

In summing up this penultimate chapter, it is important to note the objective circumstances from which inner city urban regeneration projects were launched in Liverpool – not to support social reproductive projects for the Black community, but as mechanisms of spatial control and by extension controlling radical political activity within a community. It has been suggested in this chapter that within the city's Lib Dem led institutions, there was a concerted plan and 'psyche' to exclude or discipline those groups and individuals who were former members of Liverpool Black led groups and organisations. What is also suggested is that this approach eroded the spaces of solidarity and those spaces (abstract and material) from which Black political and direct action was launched. The Black working class gained little benefit from the monies flowing into the city during the 1990s as exemplified above. In fact, this chapter will go as far as to suggest that the city was moving towards a process of re-segregation underpinned by policies increasingly utilising accumulation by dispossession, which is vital to the accumulation of racial capitalism within urban development. What is also interesting is how the lens of SRT allows an insight into the difficulty facing Black labour, in terms of equivalency (see above and framework). Both these factors will be explored in the following chapter in the context of value and 'race', for now it important to understand that the arguments mirror much of what has been understood within the work of Robinson (1983) but also within post-colonial and anti-imperialist literature set out within the framework. For example, the way in which value is extracted from the 'periphery' towards the 'metropole'. This was exemplified above by the ways in which those Black activists who sought to resist the state by attempting to change the state from within – simply aided in the ultimate spatial conquest of once radical Black space.

8. Property and the Bourgeois State 1999 – present day.

The final chapter attempts to reconcile the themes of resistance from previous chapters into a totality of how process i.e., devalorisation or uneven development is constantly (re)produced within racial capitalism and exemplified in contemporary spaces of Black concentration. What will be inferred is that in terms of the ‘value’ extensively discussed within the framework of this study; resistance can be understood in observing the ‘rebuilding’ of the value of political spaces of solidarity in Liverpool. However, this appears to be politics with a small ‘p’ following the election of Blair’s NLP, it is argued that the social and political gains from previous struggles were subsumed into a larger and less cohesive mechanism of ‘ethnic diversity’ for Liverpool’s Black community. Resulting in a period of political inertia for local Black radical action. Nonetheless the result of those struggles manifests in today’s local government politics, in that Liverpool has four Black councillors, one Black female M.P. and the more recent ascendancy of the Mayor of Liverpool – another Black female.³⁸

This did not occur through the vagaries of the mainstream political parties in Liverpool, but it is argued occurred in response to the mismanagement of Liverpool’s spaces of Black concentration. The synergy in that instance is remarkable, however the role of the comprador discussed in the framework and earlier chapters requires a mention in framing the Labour Party’s new Black caucus (the irony is that they haven’t subscribed or admitted as much) and finally where the emergent Black radical resistance is located in a city that is now fully signed up to the tenets of the neoliberal city (see Harvey, 2005)..

To understand the conquest of Black spaces, it is crucial to understand how Liverpool’s choice of public/private ‘partnerships’ - defining the changes to the urban core - appeared to constitute and develop a strategy in which the ‘Black voice’ was excluded. This chapter sets out how the processes

³⁸ Kim Johnson chose the site of the Kuumba Imani Millennium Centre – a building meant to signify the achievements of the Liverpool Black Sisters. Although they were drawn into a final confrontation with the local authority and after the building was ‘taken’ from their ownership. The local Lib-Dem Party put in place other women, who it could be argued were more amenable to the aims and objectives of the Lib Dems, the closing of the Black Sisters nursery being the final nail in the coffin of Black feminism it is argued. Nonetheless Johnson on her nomination acceptance chose the venue to underline her political affiliation and her speech referenced the Liverpool Black Sisters several times.

of monopoly/oligopoly organisation and the aggregating of decades of devalorisation by RSLs in the Liverpool area compounded the physical decay of most residential and commercial buildings within the ‘Granby Triangle’. The following section sets out how the devalorisation and in many cases abandonment of Black space was enacted, the chapter then moves on to explain how the NLP policies cascaded down to shape the inner-city clearance and in turn how it disrupted the Black political spaces understood as ‘spaces of solidarity’. The discussion will move onto the last vestiges of community politics within three coterminous but very different approaches to fostering spaces of solidarity within the age of NLP’s vision of neoliberalism. This will be explored within the context of three case studies which point the way towards a more politically inspired action in the future.

8.1. Liverpool beyond the core.

A report by the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) found that at the end of the 1990s, Liverpool remained the most deprived local authority in the country, with East Toxteth (Granby/Lodge Lane/Berkeley Street) occupying the top spot in the country for deprivation, crime, early death and lowest for educational attainment, housing quality and employment opportunities (SEU, 1998: 16- 29). What is interesting for the scope of this chapter is the ways in which the reports reinforce particular aspects of ‘liberalised notions’ and further characterise the policy development of the NLP. But importantly, it is the ways in which they link the *condition of housing* stock to poverty and the problems listed above (and it is further suggested, conflated issues of ‘race’) which offers a very different perspective upon ‘third sector’ involvement in urban regeneration mechanisms i.e., consultations. For example, the report clearly makes the case for mapping the spatial, but also defines the conditions of residential stock. Yet the housing portfolios of most of Liverpool’s social housing providers (still called housing associations at this point), ensured that they had ‘considerable input into the direction, development and upkeep of areas of concentrated social housing provision in the city’ (Participant A.2.).

Participant A.2. in his role as Director of an H.A. sets out the parameters of the perceived issues as they saw it [my emphasis]

‘...we had this stock...Victorian Edwardian terrace housing...very poor quality, back of pavement low demand. *You had to demolish or you wouldn't get paid to be honest...*we had the *stock but not the tools to deal with it...*in the 1990s we were really in trouble...in the 1960s and 70s we had *acquired these portfolios of terraced housing.....having been part of the solution we were now the problem,* particularly with home owners sort of blamed us because we were blamed for the very high turnover and...associated with bad behaviour *because you had families that weren't the best...*because...[of]...low demand...environments...we were not very good at dealing with....the high density...’

It is suggested that the change from ‘unfit dwelling’ or ‘slums’ towards ‘difficult to let’, shifts the emphasis from the actual *physical condition of the housing stock* within the inner city; towards seeking reasons as to why *particular groups of people* do not find the inner city attractive or vice versa. What should not be underestimated is the influence of those historical narratives which had governed previous decisions across inner urban programmes – i.e., the Faulkner Estate report discussed in chapter five. It is similarly suggested that the examples utilised across this chapter simply acts as a ‘coded’ reference for the dispersal of areas of Black concentration (via a process of accumulation by dispossession) as set out in chapter two - something to note. However, what is interesting is that the following offers concrete examples of how Mumm’s (2017) racial fix, referred to with the framework; is enacted through the manipulation of spatial organisation in Liverpool. The manipulation of Black spaces of solidarity was made possible by the increasing dominance of social landlords and the oligopolistic practices inherent to the management of social housing and public space.

As also alluded to in the framework, the conquest was made politically palatable by a shift in narrative that develops during the NLP tenure. This narrative diluted the public perception of institutional state racism and violence by changing the symbolism of ‘race’ into a narrative of ‘equality’. However as discussed within the framework, the liberal notion of equality differs little from that of the right wing of neoliberalism. This can be located within the narrative of ‘difficult to let’ housing, and appears in this case, to seek to influence the ways in which *value is adduced* rather than assessing any internal business case solutions to satisfy *value for money consideration*. Conducively this offers additional

insight into the ways in which H.A.'s manipulated the value of stock conditions across 'deprived' neighbourhoods and moved the scrutiny gaze away from the devalorisation of the stock they 'inherited'.

The fact that most of the H.A. boards in Liverpool were overwhelmingly white and middle class – Steve Biko Housing and Pine Court Housing serving Liverpool's Chinese community were the only organisations with substantial BAME presence on the board – should not be underestimated. A full breakdown in the appendices depicts the ethnic characteristics of all the social housing boardroom personnel in Liverpool and it is suggested that this lack of diversity can only be understood within the conceptual development of the racial capitalism set out within the framework. Particularly as the H.A.s who act as the main social housing provider in the L8 area **do not have one single ethnic board member**. Something to note for further reference.

Conflating social issues and the factors inherent to poverty in place of investment by the H.A; was all designed – it is argued - to cherry pick those areas in Liverpool 8 for 'de-densification' – invariably 'poor', Black and dislocated from what is construed as 'civic society' in a narrative of 'social exclusion'. Which in turn shaped *a linguistics of policy* to reflect these bourgeois articulations, and it is suggested brought to the forefront a conceptualisation of liberalism set out within the framework to inner-urban problems; in which the professional, the *expert* and the ordination of *third sector* alternatives to service delivery defined the NLP approach to urban development. Participant A.2. in explaining the direction that NLP took urban policy development explains the trajectory towards the Housing Market Renewal Initiative (HMRI).

'...the sector had been involved in a lot of the thinking (behind the policy) rather than a policy that we had to respond to...it was a policy that was developed... [through the] seminal research...which *used the data of the housing association*...this became the *main influence on the Labour government* to create the programme'.

What this confirms is a clear link between the data utilised to drive forward the HMRI – housing associations, who are not subject to the freedom of information act (FOI) and therefore do not offer public data other than key performance indicators (KPIs). This chapter argues that H.A.s worked in

concert with the L.A. to ‘cleanse’ particular areas of certain groups. Essentially explaining terms relatable to that of the ‘missionary’ in which residents who do not ‘accept the word’ are ascribed apostates of the ‘market’ and judged upon whether they are desirable or indeed a hindrance to the ascribed ‘value’ the inner city. It is remarkable how the conceptual development of the Mumm’s racial fix within the framework, charts this same development within the US property market, as a tactic to ensure that within racial capitalism – property wealth is considered ‘white privilege’ (see Mumm, 2017: 104)

8.2. Policy imaginaries.

Liverpool along with other core cities³⁹ were required to bid for funds and compete for funding streams such as the ‘City Challenge’ or the subsequent ‘single regeneration budget’ (SRB). However as participant A.2. suggested within the previous chapter; this led actually encouraged communities (or cities) to display ‘all the negative facets of their neighbourhood’ in the pursuit of capital investment. One of the first NLP funding pots to acknowledge and conform to competitive tendering was the New Deal for Communities (NDC) – the Kensington community (L7) in Liverpool (adjacent to Liverpool 8) was one of the successful recipients and shared access to the £1.71 billion government funds (Batty et al, 2010). But as Participant A.3. acknowledges,

‘Social housing [financial] options [in the late 1990s] would have been City Challenge, SRB was around in force and then NDC came about...this was focused around [the area of] Kensington...they were specific area initiatives (ABI) there were a plethora of these type of initiatives that were part of the solution to *bring welcome money*, but weren’t particularly joined up...and *generally had a redline drawn around a particular area...*’

Two important issues are emphasised in the above extract, the ascription of the boundaries of investment in the form of ‘redlining’ (discussed in the previous chapter) but also an implicit reference that the name of the game was ‘money’ i.e., valorisation of capital. Applicably, this form of area-based initiative (ABI) underpinned the ‘joined up thinking’ policy development to the ‘urban

³⁹ The core cities group – self-elected and ‘self’ financed was set up in 1995 by eight councils – Liverpool, Bristol, Cardiff, Leeds, Newcastle, Nottingham, Sheffield, and Birmingham. What is also interesting is that all have notable spaces of Black concentration.

renaissance' characterising the NLP approach to inner urban renewal. However, many - including the architects of the policy - castigated the policies for how they were rolled out – as a series of programmes and strategies designed to attract the (white) middle class professional back into the inner city (see Colomb, 2007 for example). Several local media reports also revealed the problems for Kensington were *in fact exasperated by the NDC* and its 'place based' approach to 'property led' regeneration. Just five years following the 'completion... of the NDC' in the UK, the Liverpool Echo reported that Kensington, where an influx of African migrants 'were deliberately housed' away from the Liverpool 8 area (Participant B.4.); was now the 'place that Liverpool forgot'. Even more alarming is that residents reported '...drains...collapsing - there is actually sewage running down my road...' (Liverpool Echo, 16th April 2017). Almost identical to the problems reported on the Falkner Estate 30 years earlier and discussed in chapter three. Participant A.3. believed that the Housing Corporation's 'analyses' of Liverpool's housing provision 'was basically saying...this city has too much rented housing...' concluding that Liverpool,

'...has got a distorted housing market which sees the inner core as deprived of middle-income households in particular and are over reliant on the private rented sector'

Leading to Participant A.3. in his strategic role, towards a mind-set of,

'...so how do we shift that and obviously the way to do that was to bring private sector development in – that said the idea of the H.A. was still valued'

The housing sector speak of 'a plethora of funding' and yet they still subscribe to 'private investment' across social housing. So, it is clear that the desire to increase middle-class (white) settlement within the area of Liverpool 8 meant that areas of devalorized space, such as Kensington and Picton; would be populated with displaced BAME families from Liverpool 8. Participant A.3. describes the density of Kensington as 'built for crime really', which may or may not influence; but nonetheless conforms to the racist media of the 1980s (discussed in the last chapter and within the frameworks as racial fix). He goes on to explain [my emphasis] that '...in areas such as Kensington where the 'traditional' community saw us as part of the *problem*...'. It is suggested that the problem was the attempts to 'place' Black families outside of their 'natural boundaries' in the eyes of the residents who were

overwhelmingly white (Census, 2001). In a concerted effort to ‘upscale’ L8 properties, some residents were going to be moved on. The question to ask is – who or what invoked this ‘vision’. The following sections set out how the city’s revanchism towards Black space and Black led organisations who played a leading role – were finally defeated by the state’s resistance to issues of ‘race’.

8.3. Liverpool’s vision.

In 1998 an information resource pamphlet was produced by the Mersey Partnership, Liverpool City Partnership and the Chamber of Commerce entitled *Local Partnerships: Leading sustainable regeneration by empowering local people* (Liverpool City Council, 1998). The local partnership group (LPG) was constituted it would appear; to direct the virement of the European Objective One funds underpinning the ‘pathways programme’. The CEO of LCC stated in the foreword.

‘It isn’t that local government services are no longer important [but] best value concepts place a stronger focus on performance in relation to services – but another agenda, of working outside the traditional boundaries of services has also come to the fore’.

Notice the usage of ‘best value’? Nonetheless what became apparent from this research is that the LPG was the first public body in Liverpool to apply the term within urban redevelopment. This conceptual development emerged from the strategic body behind the ‘redlining’ of East Toxteth/Liverpool 8 referenced above and within the previous chapter. In this way it is argued that the corporate line for ‘best value’ was in order to place a series of KPIs, (see above) designed to control the third sector – thereby restricting the involvement of grassroots organisations and economic sustainability. Again, framing this example within the concept of racial capitalism also highlights that the attribution of ‘value’ is already weighted against sections of the Liverpool 8 area – and that area housed the largest concentration of Black residents.

8.3.1. Strategies of partnerships.

LPG morphed into the body which would become the Local Strategic Partnership – Liverpool First (again it appears that Liverpool adopted the neoliberalized linguistic turn post haste) and developed a framework of policies supporting the formation of a public private regeneration company with an ‘agenda... [relating] to its three overarching policy frameworks of’

- City living and environmental sustainability
- Competiveness jobs and the learning age
- Equality, social justice, and local democracy

Not only does the report fulfil all the criteria of the ‘linguistic turn’ - in that it sets out a ‘social justice’ strategy for a ‘cohesive city’ offering to ‘capacity build communities’ and ‘encourage active participation’. It further suggests that ‘Liverpool must be a city for all of its citizens...celebrating cultural diversity...’ in which the ‘needs of neighbourhood communities of interests and places’ (Liverpool Partnership Group, 1999: 32-33). Participant A.3. recalls that he too,

‘...sat on a LSP and I’m not saying it was a short-lived affair – probably five years and it was a noble attempt to bring *private and independent and voluntary sector together to take collective decisions* which was great in its own right...[however] LSP were certainly created by LA as a controlling mechanism for funding’

LSP ideology varies little from the Merseyside Development Company vision, again the focus was upon the inner urban core for the majority of Liverpool’s capital programme. Suggesting that a chief aim was to ‘reduce the polarization and spatial concentrations of deprivation and exclusion’ - because it ‘undermined the city’s prospects for growth and prosperity’ (Liverpool Partnership Group, 1999: 47).

It could be argued that this was a positive move for the residents of Liverpool 8, located within the immediate ‘proximity’ of the proposed strategic development. However, the Leader of Liverpool City Council (and driver of this initiative) during this period was Liberal Democrat Councillor Mike Storey and denigrator of Liverpool’s Black community (see chapter six). The CEO of Liverpool Vision was

the former Chair of the Housing Corporation ‘who had locked horns’ on many occasions and whom Participant B.1. believed treated Black workers and organisations as,

‘...criminals...I mean he really hated us...and came down hard on us when SBHA [organised] a trip to South Africa to meet Mrs Biko’.

It is unsurprising that many of the Black participants in this study became increasingly ‘dislocated from the whole regeneration [process]’ during this period (Participant B.5.). Or decided that they ‘wanted nothing to do with the likes of the Lib Dem leadership’ (Participant B.8.). It is suggested that Storey amongst others ensured that certain groups in the Liverpool 8 area would not be part of the overall strategy, question is what forum would replace them – if at all?

8.3.2. Vision On.

Cllr Storey set out an agenda for Liverpool Vision – of which he was a director – in ‘reinforcing city communities’ and that vision was that the

‘...city centre must become increasingly relevant and connected to its surrounding[s]...existing communities must feel the benefit of change and not be overlooked when the city...grows (Liverpool Vision, 2000: 30).

A remarkable statement considering what transpired during a period which can be better understood as the *accumulation by dispossession* of Liverpool’s Black spaces as set out within the framework. But it also draws attention to how the racial fix set out within the framework, equates Blackness with devalorisation and an impediment to white residential success. If this appears tenuous then his subsequent public statements superficially acknowledging Liverpool’s ‘diversity’ and ‘history’ in looking towards 2007 – the city’s 800th celebrations – whilst failing to recognise the bicentenary to commemorate the end of the Transatlantic Slave Trade which was *taking place in the same year*, offer an indication of the indifference.

Participant B.5. believed that the city offered little support in the years preceding the bicentenary celebrations and it was ‘left to individuals and Black led initiatives’ to ensure meaningful ‘participation’. She recalled a trade union meeting in which members believed ‘...it was racism...pure and simple...the way the leadership of the city behaved [towards Black led groups]’

(Participant B.5.). It is important to recognise why the leader of the city *devalorized* the potential socio-economic spaces vital to the social reproduction of Liverpool's Black community - his past conduct sheds a different light upon their inference it is argued. In chapter six this thesis reported upon Storey's public declarations of the 'radical' nature of the Black politics of Liverpool. In the same way that the above example demarcates the imaginary lines between what the city *wished to project as its former history* and a history enmeshed within the Transatlantic Slave Trade, Imperialism, colonialism, and racism. It should not be underestimated that the 'city's lip service apology for its involvement in the TST' is viewed as 'necessary but cynical in its reasons' (Participant B.8.). It is ultimately argued that this last passage, places the development of Liverpool firmly within the racial capitalism, pronounced by Robinson (1983) in the framework, however this can be unpicked further.

8.3.3. Obfuscation through dislocation.

Liverpool First and Liverpool Vision, created a hierarchy of power without a single BAME representative in any of the institutions and organisations delivering regeneration in Liverpool. Not at the strategic, senior nor 'middle management' levels, in addition to very little meaningful participatory activity from the community during this period - other than a succession of reports and 'action plans'. Similarly, a Housing Corporation's review of its flagship neighbourhood engagement the 'Merseyside citizens' panel' aimed at addressing the lack of BAME representation across the localised decision-making process. The report found a 'serious' problem in terms of participation with the panel administration having trouble in attempting to be seen engaging Black residents. In the report, residents claimed,

'...that little consultation has actually happened, and it is not linked into other initiatives (e.g., the Pathfinder) and there is little incentive for panel members to participate' (Ahmed, 2005: 22).

The above articulates the dislocation of residents from the decision-making process in general, but even more acute for members of the Black community. Residents believed that recruitment was inherently flawed due to its visible non inclusivity (phenotypically) across the engagement process.

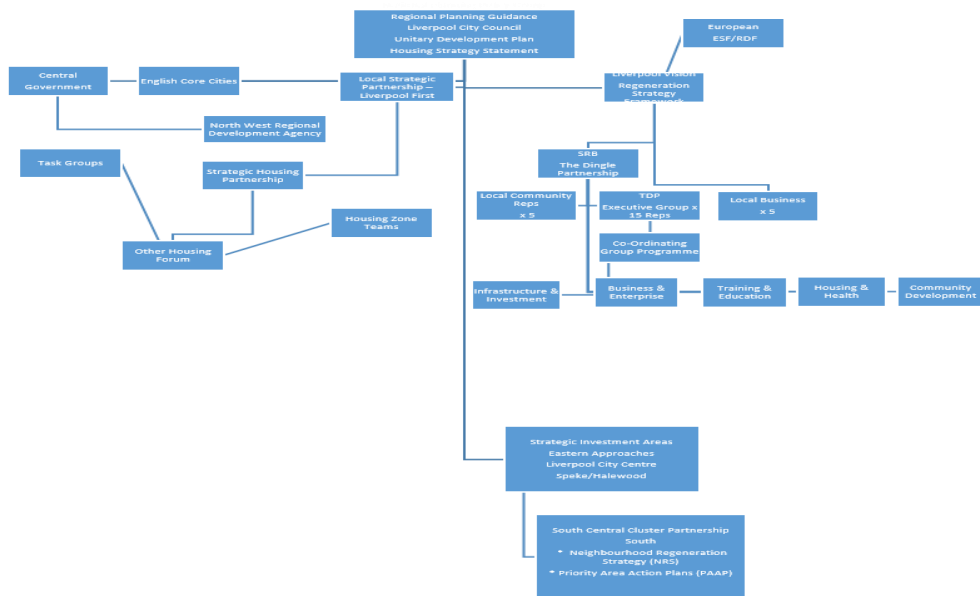
The Black community also expressed concern that regeneration was delivered on a plethora of funding pots that were not available to grassroots organisations. Hundreds of millions were drawn down in the name of the most economically challenged – of which Liverpool 8 was amongst the most deprived. The pots now consisted of Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) European Regional Development Fund (ERDSF), European Social Fund (ESF) and City Challenge (CC) regional urban spaces. Whereby, the most deprived residential spaces could access Neighbourhood Regeneration Fund (NRF), New Deal for Communities (NDF) and Education Action Zones (EAZ). Poverty and health related funds included Health Action Zones (HAZ) and NRF areas. East Liverpool 8 (between Princes Avenue and Lodge Lane) fell within the top 1% of deprived wards in the UK across all Super Output Area (SOA) indicators, within the Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD). However little of the above funding flowed directly through Black led community organisation, indeed nor other genuine grassroots organisations.

Participant A.2., employed as a senior executive for LCC, articulates a view that many other executive organisations in the city appeared to mirror. In addressing the virement of funding during this period she believed that government funds had ‘corrupted’ the city and led to a reliance on ‘hand outs’. But what is interesting is linking this statement with Liverpool 8

‘I went around [Liverpool 8] and there was a flipping partnership on every street corner and each one I went to told me to shut the other one down because they were corrupt; that was a community doing [that] to itself and all of those partnerships were not there to run a business, they were all after public money...I think grant giving is very destructive...’.

Participant A.2. believed public funds should only *be used to pay for public officials or office*. Whilst conversely her view that partnerships (community centres etc) on ‘every corner’ as being problematic - is enlightening. During this period of neoliberalism, the NLP fostered a narrative of ‘communities taking charge... [yet] they wanted to close us down’ (Participant B.5.). Although A.2.s statement presents an element of hyperbole, it also offers an insight into the perception that Black led groups in Liverpool 8, although still visible, were viewed in a particular way; in contradistinction to the statutory and ‘third sector’ groups drawing public monies set out in the diagram below – something to note.

Figure 22. The Hierarchy of Urban Regeneration in Liverpool 2000-2010.



Source: Author

Immediately apparent is the breadth of external organisations delivering the apparent ‘community led regeneration’. The constitutive organisations focus upon business and enterprise; but as was shown through the comments of Participant A.2., the business approach to funding disbursement would be limited to the city centre. SRB, delivered within the Dingle boundary of Liverpool 8 and located on the West of Princes Avenue, was the location of the existing ‘carefully drawn [red] line of SRB’ (Participant A.2.).

This ‘redline’ ostensibly excluded Black spaces from major funding and gave rise to the pilot of a local ‘social enterprise’ regeneration company instigated by the local state and housing associations - now called Registered Social Landlords (RSL). This regeneration company – Include Neighbourhood Regeneration Ltd – acted as the conduit through which ALL regeneration initiatives in Liverpool 8 would flow through in addition to socio-economic programmes⁴⁰. This form of ABI is

⁴⁰ I was employed by The Include Consultancy (TIC) a subsidiary of Include Regeneration Ltd 2004 – 2007 on several projects including those designated under Neighbourhood Renewal Funding and the Pathfinder projects.

symptomatic of the ‘trickle down’ effect, referred to above. Although its usage was indicative of this period, the problem with this ideological approach to economics is that in this case, the ‘trickle down’ effect appears to be political cynicism (based upon power relations) feeding the ideology of racial capitalism, alluded to above i.e., ‘they don’t trust us to spend it in the right way’ as Participant B.5. would have it.

This power relation is crucial in understanding how the mechanisms used in ‘regeneration’ planning and delivery implemented what can be understood as *a re-colonializing ontology*. The *recolonizing ontology* permeated the institutional approach to managing the Black community during this period, spatially, economically, politically, and ideologically. This can be articulated through observing the accountable bodies who worked to exclude the Black community, substituting resident and community groups with *politically sanitized* ‘panels’, ‘forums’ and ‘networks’ (Merseyside Community Voice for example). They also foster, it is argued, compradors, handpicked by the institutions and not the community. The *recolonizing ontology* when enacted in this manner, in which a professional layer of ‘experts’ (including business), housing professionals and ‘third sector’ representation - managed the decision-making process. Individuals and groups from the L8 community believed these ‘experts and their organisations, positioned themselves as the authentic’ voice of communities (Participant B.8.). In L8 this had serious repercussions for the politics of the Black community and more importantly the spaces of solidarity which they had hitherto created in struggle.

8.4. HMRI to all that.

Housing it is argued, became the final battleground in the struggle for space during this period and for the remnants of community organisations. A considerable tranche of the urban funds during the early 2000s came via the Housing Market Renewal Initiative (HMRI). HMRI was initiated through the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit (NRU) creating ‘pathfinder’ strategic areas of ‘joined up’ urban ‘renewal’. Which according to Participant A.2. was ‘one of the more innovative aspects of the

Neighbourhood Renewal Funding’ (NRF). Except that the ‘joining up’ did not include the ‘...Black organisations who got nothing out of the [NRF]’ (Participant B.5.).

The NRF programme emerged from the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal (NSNR) document in 2000, in which the NLP identified 88 urban areas across the UK for targeted interventions to ‘arrest the decline of deprived neighbourhoods. The way it was delivered in L8 could be split into a neat bifurcation set out below, which ensured that Liverpool could apply for both tranches of funding – and successfully did so.



In 2002 a report was produced by Liverpool City Council (LCC), procured by the Granby Toxteth Partnership (the remnant of the Thatcher inspired Merseyside Task Force) and the new ‘neighbourhood’ focused sub-committee of the LSP. The committee was called the Liverpool Neighbourhood Regeneration Programme Group (LNRPG) of which the South-Central Cluster (SCC) would cover Liverpool 8 (see figure 22 above). This was the funding conduit under which the social and economic programmes across Liverpool 8 would be ‘managed’. Entitled ‘the Granby Audit’, the report was immediately accused of bias by sections of the local community and led to the boycott and in the case of the Granby Toxteth Partnership – the departure of more prominent Black activists. Participant B.8. recalled the anger over the alleged ‘half a million pounds wasted’ on a report which essentially advocated the hiving off parts of Liverpool 8 to be ‘rebranded’. Interestingly the insights into the logic and ideological approach towards the Liverpool 8 community, (and the Black community by implication) are immediately apparent in the introduction to the document, where the author articulates the visible problems of Liverpool 8.

‘One of the most profoundly disturbing characteristics of the area is the extraordinarily high number of vacant and derelict homes. In some instances, whole streets remain void, their openings boarded up for decades and what were once undoubtedly fine Victorian terraces and streetscapes now resemble a ghost town’. The area the report relayed can be ‘split into four distinct areas’ (Granby Audit, 2002: 1).

Before this chapter addresses the reasons as to why the ‘extraordinarily high number[s]’ were left in this state (and by whom) it is also important to also highlight that these areas were:

- Canning
- Granby
- Lodge Lane
- Princes Park

It is interesting, but the initial ‘audit’ document (there was a follow up ‘masterplan’) recognised the ‘sense of place’ (a problematic term itself) explicitly inferring a link between Liverpool 8 and Black community. It should be noted that the ‘audit’ was not intended for public consumption, so it *how this information was to be utilised* which implies a deeper ideological and politically driven approach to the plans for physical (and civic) redevelopment in the area. For example, the ‘Granby Toxteth Partnership’ area, set up in the political aftermath of 1981 also included the Berkeley/Carter Thackeray area within their ‘patch’, but was omitted from the ‘audit’. The Princes Park and Lodge Lane areas still had an overwhelmingly white working-class percentage of residents⁴¹, something to note.

⁴¹ It should be noted that the process of ‘white flight’ was also noticeable across these two areas in the sense that Julian Wilson (1987) referred to. A substantial percentage of white working-class residents took up the opportunity to take the ‘disturbance compensation’ offered by the RSLs and LCC and move onto other areas across the city. It is argued that those in the Black community were in a more difficult position as moving to an area away from the ‘super diverse’ area of Liverpool 8 gave rise to fears of racism in other areas of Liverpool as exemplified by Participant B.2. in chapter 6.

8.4.1. LIFE in a ZOO.



Figure 23. Zones of opportunity – Source: Granby Toxteth Audit (2002)

As can be seen above, these areas were designated to be ‘Zones of Opportunity’ (ZOO) by H.A.s, what this essentially highlighted was that the same spaces were ‘open for businesses’ particularly for private capital investment. Participant A.3. who had major input into developing the model stated that to satisfy the strategic aims of the HMRI a requirement of the H.A and L.A partnership was

‘...to identify and lead because (Pathfinder) had to have priority areas...they were called cifs at one stage...I think...so they *identified geographical areas which were to be the epicentre of investment* and for each one of those areas they wanted lead HA partner, so this notion of the LIFE model emerged’

The conflating of this term alongside the H.A. model of monopolistic/oligopolistic practices – **Lead** in an area; **Influence** what happens; **Follow** by collaboration; **Exit** upon completion – was known as the LIFE model. So unbelievably the RSLs strategically managed Liverpool 8 under the LIFE in a ZOO model – either an unfortunate idiomatic expression or something more sinister? Participant A.3. stated that ‘it was a useful conceptual model’ he also made several references stating that the model was also a powerful ‘tool’ in ‘land assembly’. Participant A.3. believed that the same ‘tool’ was unevenly applied in Liverpool, more so than the other HMRI areas across Merseyside.

‘... you couldn’t go into an area and say “right give me the list” *you could in some areas – probably more so in Liverpool*’

At this point it becomes difficult to separate the monopolistic/oligopolistic practices inherent to ‘regeneration’ from the very worse of the practices of the ‘organizational decentralization’ governing the mode of production that drove the industrialization of the 19th century. The point is that the ‘breaking up’ of ‘localized monopolies’ in this case Black led organization; was crucial in constructing a monopoly/oligopoly of community-based management organisations (see Harvey, 1982: 144). This facet becomes even more insidious when viewed through the lens of the social reproduction of racial capitalism, explored within the framework, then the precepts of the racial fix materialise as a process. However, if further evidence is required, the following section sets out how this was put into action – with the masterplan.

8.4.2. Negotiating the negation of a community.

The Granby audit sets out how this can be achieved. It lists the strengths of the Liverpool 8 area - the ‘strong sense of community cohesion’ the ‘ethnic and multicultural mix’ the ‘exceptional quality...of the architecture’ and a ‘proximity’ to the urban core and therefore the potential for economic and social development. Whilst in equipoise the inherent spatial ‘weaknesses’ can be attributed to

- Abundance of left-over space - clearance and poorly positioned redevelopment has resulted in a proliferation of small redundant spaces throughout the study area
- Recently built development - much of the area has been redeveloped but this new build in the council sector turns its back on existing streets, offering introverted cul-de- sacs with standardised bungalows and 2- storey houses which have no contextual relationship with its surroundings - they could be ‘anywhere’ (Granby Audit, 2002: 11).

So, in 2002 the *expert consultants* paid to survey the Liverpool 8 area confirmed that the community cohesion of the ‘diverse’ (note the shift in language referred to above) residents was noteworthy. Whilst the ‘new-build’ properties and ‘spaces’ left behind by demolition programmes were viewed as problematic – something to note in respect of the HMRI programme.

8.4.3. Not in our name.

In 2015 during a keynote speech in Liverpool, Senior Civil Servant David Waterhouse, the Head of Planning and Renewal for the Housing and Growth Directorate at the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) responsible for the Housing Market Renewal Programme; used images during his PowerPoint presentation to animate the clear references he made of the ‘poor design’ of Liverpool’s recent housing developments under HMRI. The developments singled out for criticism were mostly located in the Liverpool 8 area. Waterhouse called them extreme examples of ‘bad practice’ leading him to underline that the,

‘... [HMRI] programme was not designed as a demolition programme; those decisions were made by the local authority element at the local level... [HMRI] was not designed to replace the quality of the demolished stock with this [developments referred to above] ...’ (David Waterhouse, Housing a Critical Perspective Conference, Liverpool 8th April 2015).

Liverpool, Sefton and Wirral councils formed the partnership for the Merseyside ‘pathfinder’ programme to be called ‘New Heartlands’. The economic mechanism of New Heartlands was set up in such a way that ‘the L.A [was] in control...when it came to how the resources were cut up’ and Liverpool would be the L.A. through which all financial transactions would take place. What is more insightful is how Participant A.2. viewed the actual function of HMRI, contradicting David Waterhouse’s version above. Participant A.2. said that prior to HMRI there was no,

‘...real tools for clearance at that time...I suppose CPOs existed...at the discretion of the L.A. but critically the money to do that at any scale wasn’t there until HMRI came along...much bigger budget, much larger areas...that in a sense some of these tools were rediscovered...you know whole processes of land assembly, demolition...the creation of a critical mass...’

This in ‘his own opinion’ allowed RSLs to offer incentives to private developers because previously ‘the *confidence* to invest heavily in areas where we were struggling to let wasn’t there really’. Confidence being the operative word, it is suggested - which draws attention to what developers construed as ‘value’ and the potential for extracting surplus value under racial capitalism as discussed within the framework. In this way it is the ‘tools’ which also pique interest in the above example in that they enabled,

‘...big parcels of land to come to market and [allow] H.A. to get involved in... mixed tenure development with a private developer involved [which is] just second nature now but it was new back then...the name of the game was tenure change with HMR’.

New Heartlands former Chief Executive explained that she was recruited in 2003 for the post with a background delivering ‘NDC and Health Action Zones across Nottingham’. One of the chief reasons she was employed - with a background and ‘M.A. in Public Health’ - was because ‘they didn’t want a housing specialist in charge of the programme’. This is surprising (to say the least) that the LSP⁴² believed there was no need for a CEO with substantial experience of urban planning or housing development in charge of the initial ‘four hundred million pounds’ funding pot – or perhaps there is something within this decision which later comments may explain.

At its inception New Heartlands had an ‘initial staff of three’ and a remit which would be ‘independent from the LA scrutiny reviews’ removing them from *scrutiny of value for money*. Which is interesting considering the ‘constant scrutiny for [Black led] organisations who were told they weren’t offering value for money’ (Participant B.1.). Nonetheless the LA ‘...*investment* came in the clearance land packages that *were made available*’ (Participant A.3.). This lends credence to the earlier positing regarding ulterior motives for utilising local state demolition programmes – ergo there was a rationale to *packaging land in the pursuit of potential funds*. This is an important point to return to when considering the programmatic delivery at the community level, the role of RSLs and LCC officers in attributing ‘value’ towards areas of Black presence and here, it is argued, the *re-colonializing ontology* played a decisive role in ensuring the management of the racial fix in Liverpool. So in lieu of the comments by the CEO of New Heartlands, it is important now to demarcate and acknowledge the ways in which the previous chapters investigation into the underlying focus of uneven development, clarifies how the notion of value is applied within the accumulation by dispossession of large swathes of Liverpool 8.

⁴² Although not directly involved in the running of the Pathfinder programme. Several members of the LSP were integral to the recruitment process, whilst wearing ‘different hats’ according to Participant A.3.

It is further argued that the decision-making process governing the ‘extraordinary level of voids and derelict properties...and vacant land’, were not due to a ‘lack of demand’ - but occurred because of a historic and concerted approach to disrupting the spatial configurations (and thereby the communities) of Liverpool 8 explained further below (Participant A.3.). What the ethnic or racial characteristics of these configurations were at a given juncture requires addressing; in this way it is pertinent to reflect upon why the process of *accumulation by dispossession* has acted as the chief neoliberal mechanism of urban development across the history of Liverpool’s Black community. Particularly in its utility to continue (albeit in a mutated form) fuelling the process of uneven development through successive demolition programmes, spatial displacements, and gentrification in the form of the racial fix (see framework).

However what accumulation by dispossession fails to elaborate upon is the *centrality of the dispossession of community support mechanisms* i.e., community-based institutions, cultural significant movements. What is even more important is the loss of the abstract qualities of the social reproduction of the Black worker – resistance, community-based organising etc - inherent to spaces of solidarity i.e., forums in which feedback loops existed (regardless of how febrile) between institutions and grassroots organisations from within the community. The local example which makes sense here (explained below), is the ‘racial liaison committee’ (regardless of its limitations) explored within previous chapters. But in the larger scheme of internationalism; accumulation by dispossession is the process used in the Imperial land grabs across spaces of the African diaspora, and is exemplified within the framework and particularly the theories attributed to Frank, Amin, and Rodney.

8.4.4. Accumulation by dispossession and value.

In summing up the rationale behind the omission of Liverpool Black political leadership from the spatial strategy of the city, it is simply argued that the LSP and LCC strategic executive worked to exclude Black leadership. Furthermore, being employed by a Black organisation ensured that equivalencies (discussed above) – e.g., personnel competencies - are *uneven in terms of attributable ‘value’* for the local state and their intermediates. Observing the ways in which local state and

intermediary structures operated during this period; presents clear opportunities to highlight the differential treatment inherent to racial capitalism. Chiefly in perpetuating the negative assumptions and ascriptions of Blackness in Liverpool and the desire to displace the radical nature of community Black politics. It is argued the ultimate aim was to dispossess the spaces of solidarity and accumulate the surplus value from the racial fix (see framework) at the expense of the L8 community - all implicit to the *hegemony of a re-colonising ontology*.

8.4.5. Internecine differentials

Problems (unsurprisingly) arose at the strategic level for the New Heartlands almost immediately, due to the RSLs competing for strategic dominance or the intra-local state competition. The CEO relayed that she immediately

‘...wondered why the role of [RSLs] was not particularly scrutinised...and also how the process of procurement would work alongside [RSLs] and the private sector...as this was really a partnership between public and private sectors on a large scale.... I don’t think they thought it through’.

This is particularly interesting and offers an insight into the role Liverpool Vision (with the former Director of the Housing Corporation as CEO) played regarding the apparent unevenness of the process, as they had considerable input into the programme delivery. The real problems emerged because [my emphasis]

‘...in reality...3 local authorities *were in competition* and therefore the *decision-making process* was invariably affected in a negative way’.

Note that in this case – competition is a barrier. Participant A.3. also listed issues with the strategic delivery of Liverpool’s HMR programme as the senior Director responsible for working with the New Heartlands team,

‘...the name of the game [HMRI] was to change the tenure of residential areas...this city... [had] too much rented housing...*the inner core deprived of income* [rateable values] and they believed they needed to shift that and the way to do it was with private sector development.....to get investment in the first place...you needed to display a new build solution...showing off housing schemes that looked different...’

It is argued that because the local state competed for national urban funds, they were complicit in producing a framework already designed to remove local input into the process of planned physical

development i.e., limited resident participation. Indeed, they appeared to focus upon the management of the urban environment, as financial assets for profit (explored below) but more importantly – re-construct local governance structures devoid of Black representation.

It is posited that whilst HMRI was utilised in Liverpool to deliberately displace working class residents and therefore Black organisation. The actual process was utilised *differentially* when applied to the Black community as set out within the Granby Audit. The impetus appears to be a concerted attack on removing sections of the community from the decision-making process - and thereby the spaces of solidarity they had created. Resulting in shifting the Black community as a residential bloc, away from the inner urban core; the spatial configuration with access to the greater tranche of funding outside of the city centre.

The attribution of value from the strategic level was to view Blackness (and thereby Black spatial and social configurations) as a barrier to the circulation of capital within the secondary circuit (the built environment). Thus, underling how the continuity of the racial fix, accumulation by dispossession, worked to dispossess space, however it should also be underlined that the social reproduction of Liverpool's Black community became increasingly drawn into a wider narrative of 'ethnicity'. In this case and drawing upon the concept of racial capitalism, the view of 'entrepreneurialism' set out within the framework, depends upon the *attribution of value*. This can be explained by observing the 'vision' of the objective social relations behind the immateriality of value laden decisions - for example areas designated for redevelopment or those mechanisms from which decisions are made. In this way the social layer of interlocutors administering mechanisms i.e., 'forums', 'panels' or 'third sector' play a decisive role in also promulgating the hegemony of a *re-colonising ontology*.

8.4.6. Value and entrepreneurialism.

This framework of regeneration (creating oases in landscapes of 'impoverishment') became the wider hallmark of the Liverpool's strategy, particularly the model above; yet what about the neighbourhood level? What is remarkable from the Granby Audit is that the resulting report, deconstructed the

constitution of neighbourhoods through geographic architecture; thereby invoking a plan that would instil an approach bearing all the ideological and theoretical indicators of the racial capitalism explored within the framework. In this way, redevelopment is central to ensuring that ‘periphery’ resources are exploited to benefit the ‘metropole’, this is achieved by utilising ‘accumulation by dispossession’ to solve periodic crises of capitalism. Which brings the ideology back to Imperial primitive accumulation (Marx, 1976).

The neoliberalizing of spatial configurations and the *reconfiguration of the governance of recolonised spaces* acted as a key policy choice during the 21st century to ensure the continued accumulation of capital. It is now possible to discern if these facets of a *re-colonising ontology* can be unpicked across the spatial configurations at the extra-local level in Liverpool – the neighbourhood. The following seeks to understand how HMRI translated across those spaces already earmarked for change within the ‘Granby/Toxteth Masterplan’ – the report upon the findings of the Granby Audit.

8.5. The Master Plan.

The “Granby Toxteth Regeneration Framework – Master Plan” was launched in September 2003 and one of the most notable variances from the ‘Granby Audit’ from 2002 was the explicit removal of the reference to the ‘groups’ existing within the area. For example, within the summary of the ‘plan’ was the ‘boundary of the master planning area’ amended to now include the Carter/Thackeray/Berkeley (still overwhelmingly populated by Black residents) but to exclude the Canning/Huskisson/Catherine Street areas (now referred to as the Georgian Quarter within the plan). What this essentially confirmed – it is argued - was that Black spaces required a different approach to daily management than those spaces with ‘supposed aspirations’.

8.5.1. Culture club.

Liverpool was confirmed as the ‘capital of culture 2008’ and put into place a marketing narrative proclaiming a history that has been ‘welcoming of over 40 cultures to Liverpool’. Which is interesting in that the ‘strengths of the community’ originally raised in the audit were now replaced with a turn

of language insisting that the strengths were now ‘...some of the architecture...parks and open spaces’. Amazingly the plan also put forth a vision in which the Granby/Toxteth area would be ‘depopulated...transformed into a new heritage landscaped park’. The rationale again referencing ‘an excess of social housing’. Whilst in equipoise, the ‘re-populate vision’ would use ‘substantial [but] sensitive...demolition’ to ensure a

‘...critical mass of people and development needed to support a range of...*facilities within walking distance* [of the city centre] comprising of well-designed new build and quality refurbishments’.

This would lead to ‘five distinct but inter-related character quarters’ Smithdown – a proposed bar-code housing quarter [selected demolition]

- Lodge Lane and the Groves – commercial core with new build shops, library commercial business and new housing [wholesale demolition]
- Granby Triangle – refurbishment and rebuild
- Kingsley Road and Granby Street – leisure and learning [Demolition]

(Granby/Toxteth Masterplan, 2003: 2 – 12).

Activists from the Black community and groups from the wider community refused to accept the precis of the report and opposed the plans. Thus, because of the ‘arrogance of the council, the housing association and others’ (Participant B.5.) – *spaces of solidarity* were recreated afresh, to develop opposition. These spaces of solidarity, it is argued, allowed the remnants of community, political activists, and those groups concerned with housing issues – gentrification, demolition, and housing justice – to form, in many cases, cohesive and effective campaigns to be explored next.

8.6. Granby Street.

In 1992 residents on Granby Street organized against redevelopment plans and following several public meetings, Granby Resident Association (GRA) was constituted. Initially to ensure local input into ongoing re-development plans. The initial focus of GRA shifted when plans included significant the mass demolition and new build of Granby Street, which residents’ feared gentrification was the

end game (Julienne, 2000). By 2000 and following further demolition, four streets remained, possibly because they held the highest concentration of homeowners refusing the ascribed (by RSLs) ‘market price’ for their home. Nonetheless it was obvious that by 2002 the strategic management of the redevelopment program was flawed at best (see above) but also ascribed as a ‘racist approach to planning...because it removed the influence of Black groups’ (Participant B. 5.). The Granby Audit summarized L8’s spatial conditions in this way [my emphasis]

‘...it is surely unacceptable in this first world country with its booming economy for people to be living cheek by jowl with appalling dereliction and blight. Both the City Council and the Registered Social Landlords *must stand accountable for such conditions*’ (Granby Audit, 2002:53).

Regardless of the narrative behind the professional and academic literature, portraying ‘perfectly sound’⁴³ Victorian terraces as undesirable buildings or not fit for purpose homes; the actual decanting of large swathes of Granby Street *took less than 10 years to enact*. Participant B.5., a resident of Granby Street prior to this period remembers that it was ‘impossible to get housed on Granby’ due to the houses being ‘very popular’; as she found out when attempting to move onto Granby Street around 1994. ‘The issue was that there were far too many Black [people] and the council saw that as a problem’. It should also be remembered that this was a period in which the area was constantly referred to in the local press as a ‘no go area’. Fitting in with the ‘media’s incessant depiction of crowd violence, child abuse and street robbery’ flowing towards a narrative of an ‘unruly black underclass’ (Cashmore and McLaughlin, 1991: 2). What is remarkable is that this ‘narrative’ mirrors the language used across Chicago to substantiate the racial fix. Here, the media, newcomers (invariably white) and city officials promulgated ‘...people of color generally as pathological. Problematic, and inexorably linked to lower value’ (Mumm, 2017: 107)

Additionally, narratives of ‘difficult/hard to let’ or ‘undesirable’ and ‘not fit for purpose’ belie the construction of a social relation underpinning the situation. The aim, it is argued, was to depopulate

⁴³ This comment is supported by the successful ‘Welsh Streets’ refurbishment by private finance of an area that was ‘saved’ from the demolition order by the Conservative Minister for Communities – Eric Pickles. Pickles rescinded the demolition order much to the chagrin of the leaders of Plus Dane housing and LCC.

areas of Black residential concentration (as was the case in Chicago). By 2005 Granby Street, a hotch-potch of infill green spaces in place of communities and visible dereliction caused by,

‘...housing associations deliberately removing the windows of the upper floors of building to let in the [rain]’.

Thereby causing considerable ‘structural damage to the unoccupied buildings’ and thus ‘accelerating the end result... demolition’ (Participant B.6.). The images below chart the deliberate *devalorisation in this way* and the de-populated space left in the wake and ready for the private developers referred to above.

8.6.1. The Devalorisation of Granby Street.

Figure 24. The Devalorisation of Granby Street



Source: L – R Wikicommons, What-if, Almay & Indy Media

Residents opposed demolition (at least publicly) and maintained a sense of visibility on the streets. GRA piloted a street market, commissioned two independent reports, attempted to pilot a ‘house for pound scheme’ and continued dialogue with RSL and LCC forums – all to no avail, with the ‘decanting’ increasing in scale and focus. This also resulted in a misleading narrative or at best incorrect assumption within the media (and some organisations including ‘community’ led) that local shops ‘went out of businesses’ (Participant A.1. & www.granby4streetsclt.co.uk). However, this was

challenged by Participant B.5. who formerly owned a successful business on Granby Street but not the building, which belonged to,

‘... [a] guy from the Yemen...but they bought him out with an offer that seemed good [at the time] but [I know] he regrets it now’.

So, in a spatial configuration where Liverpool’s Black residents, shopped, socialised, and lived; a *concerted and aggressive campaign to remove the social structures* which support a community was *politically* enacted. Thus, leaving little space to foster a movement which could continue to *countermand* the process, as referred to in the framework and extensively above – of the racial fix.

Figure 25. The decline of Granby Street



Source: Author. Left to right eviction of ‘drug dealers’ from Jermyn Street 1995; Author giving a talk to students from the USA on Jermyn Street 2005; Jermyn Street 2010.

8.6.2. Granby Four Street Community Land Trust.

In 2012 following the Labour party victory in the local elections, Deputy Mayor Ann O’Byrne was given a task to ‘bring back into use...15,000 empty homes across Liverpool’ left in the wake of the failed HMRI demolition programme. In 2015 O’Byrne attended the ‘Housing a Critical Perspective conference’ and revealed that following the 2008 capitalist crisis and the 2011 rescinding of the HMRI - the ‘mayor simply said do something...but there is no money’. It is interesting that she admitted to looking for ‘solutions that cost little but had potential’ and it is in this way that Granby Four

Street Community Land Trust (G4SCLT) capitalized on the loss of HMRI funding by Liverpool. Below is a synopsis of how this happened.

8.6.3. Renewing spaces from the grassroots?

In 2011 after attending a resident's conference, the Chair of GRA life-long communist, the late Dorothy Kuya returned with the idea that a Community Land Trust (CLT) model may be of use to the residents; although the idea was not immediately followed through at that point, the idea 'stuck in the mind' of some residents. The concept of the CLT emerged directly from the civil rights movement (ML King's siblings were involved at the inception) and was explicitly to address the issues of land grabbing or gatekeeping within areas of African American settlement. But the reality was that it was designed to give access to the acquisition of property within a community.

In 2011 Granby Four Streets Community Land Trust (G4SCLT) launched following the 'asset transfer' of 10 derelict houses on Cairns Street into their possession from LCC. However, 5 houses were also given over to a group of white, 'middle class professionals' to form a 'co-housing' re-development - but with many living outside the area and in some cases Liverpool, it is argued that rather than gaining from this transfer, sections of the Black community questioned the decision⁴⁴. The trust's ambition gained traction in 2009 following up on the small scale 'guerilla gardening' (Thompson, 2016), won a regional prize in 'Britain in Bloom' and brought them to the attention of the national press and a 'social investor' in the guise of millionaire former 'corporate investor' John Davey (Financial Times 2nd December 2016).

This led to an investment of half a million pounds for the group to commission the architectural collective Assemble who were working with a group of young people on Lodge Lane at the time. Assemble drew up plans and a feasibility study which allowed the drawing down of public funding and following the refurbishment of 10 properties, led to a nomination for the 2015 Turner Arts Prize (winners), Street of the Year (runner up) and European Habitat Awards (winners).

⁴⁴ The five houses are still in a state of dereliction 9 years later with the 'group' still searching for funding for refurbishment – it would be interesting to note if the group is still the same individuals.

8.6.4. Participating in the Streets.

I worked with various organizations (including GRA) during this period and later became a member of the G4SCLT, initially as a volunteer, then paid employee and now board member. I observed, supported, and played a role in (attempting to) direct the process from activist to volunteers for group members and it is a worthy transformation. However, G4SCLT have only a small stake in the area (but punch above their weight) the rest of the properties still belong to the same RSLs responsible for the devalorisation of L8. It should also be noted that G4SCLT also had as their chair 2011 - 2018, the former Neighbourhood Director of Include Regeneration – the same individual who oversaw the depopulation and demolition. The board consists of 1/3 residents from the Four Streets; 1/3 resident from L8 and 1/3 ‘stakeholders’ which allows the group to bring on board expertise where their skill deficit is apparent.

Whilst I was a paid consultant developing the organization, G4SCLT were also successful in accessing millions of pounds in grant funding to deliver community-based projects i.e., the Winter Gardens and over 13 million pounds worth of investment within the Four Streets. However, it is debatable if this ‘oasis on Granby’ - as one resident living outside the four streets put it – has a deeper impact outside its immediate area. The state of affairs led to a former board member complaining that it is engendering ‘gentrification’ and that the organization act as ‘gatekeepers’. For example, the dominant narrative within G4SCLT literature, invoking community issues, is wrote by an individual who has never lived in the area and tends to focus upon ‘utopian imaginaries’ that bear little relation to the Black experiences, explored further. Similarly, the ‘story’ of the ‘women’s struggle’ although uplifting, is exactly that – a story – but it expertly used to craft a narrative which was picked up in all the media and academia (see Thompson 2016, 2017 for example).

This should not be levelled at the women of G4SCLT; however, it does raise the issue of the collective sidelining of the Black women of Granby Street, LBS for example, who it appears are not mentioned in any of the literature and media reportage following the Turner Prize. Which again conforms to the tensions operating at the intersection discussed within the framework, as most of the women involved

with G4SCLT, have expressed an interest or self - identify as feminists.

The former chair relayed the ‘humble beginnings’ but as she was at pains to elaborate - it is ‘her truth and there are many truths’ as to how she became involved in the project.

‘... I was friends with some of the residents there and they had tried and tried [to get something done] as GRA met with the council forever, **you know I hated those meetings with the council, I hated them when I was with Plus (RSL) I didn’t bother going to them after that – [because] they were going no-where...**’.

Regarding her opinion on the genesis of G4SCLT Participant A.1. reveals ‘her truth’.

‘...as I perceive it **some women**... began sweeping their own streets, painting the tinned-up. houses so they looked a bit better, planting and that got other people joining in and eventually the street market...so it was **a predominately group of elderly women** taking action as opposed to going to meetings and that got them some credibility because it was doing something positive instead of saying – **we need**’

There are several holes in the above statement, but she does draw attention to the proviso that it is ‘her truth’ again - interesting. Nonetheless if taken as the actual truth, then it could be argued as to why she would not have raised objections to her ‘friend’s’ house being devalorized. However, it is argued that the ‘coded’ language (emboldened above) she constantly uses to demarcate the difference between the ‘Black organisations’ and her white middle class ‘friends’, again draws attention to Mumm’s (2020) conceptual development of the racial fix, explored within the framework and above.

Similarly, in the image below taken circa 2010 it clearly depicts the houses in Cairns Street (the main base for the CLT activity) being painted by operatives from Include Neighbourhood Regeneration and probably at the behest of the chair in her former role as Director of Include. Similarly, there are several indications highlighting the thinking behind her former role as Neighbourhood Director which offer grist for the mill for this study. Referring to residents (GRA) meetings in such negative terms is particularly enlightening and in part confirms that ‘something else going on’ as it was suggested by a resident. Similarly, the removal of any reference to the past is symptomatic - it is suggested – of the desire to create an imaginary that Granby exists because of ‘their’ struggle, although any ‘struggle’ would have taken place against institutions such as the one she was a director, throughout the wholesale demolition of Granby Street.

In a more recent interview in the media (Guardian, [14/2/2018](#)) another resident and founding member of the CLT inadvertently relays the power of narrative. She stated that they ‘formed a CLT on nothing but imagination’ which is interesting in that it was also initially funded to the tune of about 750k and superseded a former (but considerably more diverse) resident group.

Figure 26. The ‘community’ beautification.



Source: Granby Four Street CLT.

Conversely a former member of the board had this to say.

‘I never believed their hippy-dippy nonsense...in many cases as a Black woman I was often spoke over at meetings and my suggestions ignored...I believed that my [‘race’] played a part in that...’

As a participant in this process, there was ample opportunity to witness several moments in which members of the group became angry at the thought of ‘outside’ interference, or if particular members took a dislike to an idea (which didn’t fit in with their vision). But more importantly, it became apparent during these early days of the 10 House project that a hierarchy existed within the CLT and although understandable in light of their history; it is nonetheless disconcerting when the majority of the group at that time were – white and middle class. Similarly, there was also a propensity (which still exists) to procure the services of consultants from outside the area and in many cases Liverpool. This does not mean that parochialism should dominate – however there are not many cases of Black

working-class consultants (other than myself) employed or commissioned by the CLT and this working practice continues.

Figure 27 below highlights a very worrying facet of the political orientation of G4SCLT (or lack of), particular across the procurement process of the group; I raised objections regarding the company paid to manage the project. The company – Mitie – have been criticised for their treatment of low paid workers, their involvement in ‘detention profiteering’ centres for asylum seekers and refugees and their refusal to pay minimum wage to care staff at their Care services. Corporate Watch also castigates them for a business model which allows them to bid for contract and ‘fulfilling them cheaply by paying a pittance to precarious workers’ (<https://corporatewatch.org/mitie-company-profile-2018/>).

Similarly, I attended and observed a meeting between four CLT board members and a local contractor who placed his bid to develop Ducie Street (see below). The chair relayed that she ‘had to go...if only to hear him out’. The local contractor – who has completed several new commercial and residential developments in the area, did not get the contract. Indeed, Ducie Street is still in a state of disrepair and has been transferred to West Tree Developments to build 80 apartments.⁴⁵ In 2021 the street has become a site of resistance for some local activists (not CLT members) – the CLT have not made any public comment other than to oppose the group and plans. However, other ‘community members’ have spoken of issues with the development housing ‘asylum seekers’ which is truly a staggering and shameful statement.⁴⁶ Another issue appears to be centred on the fact that the CLT formerly held possession, they had plans drawn up, the social investor wished to invest and yet there was no announcement regarding the transfer. This again highlights that the CLT is far from radical, it is argued that it conforms to a media – neoliberalized – version of what radical entails. Indeed, a

⁴⁵<https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/plans-approved-major-toxteth-housing-16822771>.

⁴⁶<https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/dozens-council-properties-awarded-developer-19807655?fbclid=IwAR0j6C5gI5Hg3FH0d7rK13eGCxeVrFwFkdADTIcN2DkxiN5m691AkNo>

spokesman for the Northern Alliance Co-Op - the group who have yet to put a shovel in the ground for their five-house project on Cairns Street (see above) – was quoted in the Liverpool Echo

"There has been a very strong swell in the community that this development is just not suited to this area"⁴⁷

Figure 27. Contractors Mitie onsite.



Source: Ronnie Hughes.

Secondly and as explored in chapter four and five, the circulation of (a more equitable) capital within an area is a vital aspect of community independence advocated by the Black Panthers amongst others; whereby the CLT fail in this respect. But it also brings to the forefront the ‘militant particularism’ that defined groups of the preceding decades – the ‘radicalism’ which now exists is it could be argued, is in creating a gated community on Granby Street – sans la grille – promulgating the vision of a white property-owning class (see Mumm, 2017) on Granby Street.

⁴⁷<https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/last-derelict-street-liverpool-neighbourhood>

8.6.5. Putting the social in investment?

The social investor in Granby Street was variously referred to by a former board member as ‘the guilty banker’, obviously a reference as to his reasons for investment; and ‘a right-wing libertarian’ by another departed board member. In an article enigmatically entitled ‘We have our streets back’ - Davey (the social investor) regurgitates ‘Cashmore’s’ underclass and Mumm’s racial fix concepts referred to above in that ‘when he first visited [in 2011] “The taxi driver didn’t want to bring me. He said it was too dangerous”. This narrative has been offered many times publicly but belies the racism which existed in the city and yet continues to be espoused at every opportunity by the bourgeois media⁴⁸. i.e., the Taxi Driver regurgitates and underlines the ‘Black underclass’ racist narrative of media and police. The ‘five women’ narrative was once again inserted; it is interesting that the article focuses upon the streets being taken back, but in lieu of the analyses above – question is **taken back from and for – whom – and for what?**

Ultimately the more important conclusion is G4SCLT functions as a local organisation concerned with ‘fostering diversity’ within their living space; is that the CLT has - at the very least - set in place a structure from which individuals from the Black community have right of access to as elected representatives. The CLT works on a one member one vote⁴⁹ at AGMs so technically it is possible for all members of the community to have input. Something which is often overlooked by members of the Liverpool 8 community or more importantly misunderstood by some members of the organisation – an experience I witnessed on a regular basis.

It is interesting that most board members have been sitting continuously on the board since its inception and it is fair to say that they have the lion’s share of decision making. This is in contradistinction to the ‘Black groups’ explored across chapters six, who were wound up or constantly audited for lesser practices. Similarly, the 10-house development resulted in one local Black woman

⁴⁸ The same prevalent attitude remains firmly and is still a regular occurrence within the comments section of Liverpool Echo stories regarding L8 particularly Lodge Lane

⁴⁹ The actual new residents subscription is less than 20% of total members, which is 70, less than the regular volunteers it took to complete the Caribbean centre (see below)

(an artist) buying a property, and one renting from G4SCLT, the rest of the properties were either purchased by what has been described as ‘white artists’ by Participant B.5. There is also a noticeable disconnect of G4SCLT from the rest of the community, the AGM was very poorly attended, with little visible Black participation. As Participant B.10. told me, ‘I live in the fifth street and I think that’s where...they think... Granby ends’, such is the local disappointment shared by other residents is that they ‘don’t bother getting involved in the very little they have going on’ (Participant B.5.). B.6. relayed this,

‘A woman who I used to work with, got one of those houses on Granby... funny thing is she has never lived in Liverpool till about... a few months before... she got a flat in [L8], put her name down and because she could afford it [due to her salary], got one... you couldn’t make it up... I like her... but that is fucked up... if you’re gonna sell houses in a poor area... who can afford a mortgage?’

The focus of G4SCLT now appears to not be about ‘saving’ the existing properties from demolition. Several demolitions have taken place since G4SCLT have been ‘in control’ of the area - as one resident suggested. Nonetheless G4SCLT has created new spaces of solidarity within a predominately Black area, even if that is not reflected across the organisation, and offers the opportunity for more active involvement in the coming years. It is debatable if ‘value’ has actually resulted in any economic boons for Black residents in an area which is still blighted by dereliction, decay, and a lack of economic opportunities for the local Black community.

8.7. Lodge Lane.

In 2001 residents were invited to view plans for the re-development of Lodge Lane and immediately opposed the proposed wholesale demolition of large swathes of the area. Following the ‘consultation’ a small housing association Cosmopolitan Housing, who were to play a minor role in the ZOO (discussed above); asked residents to form what they hoped would be an ‘accommodating and complicit sounding off board’ for the plans (Participant B.7.). What took place was the constitution of a group that would skilfully subvert the process, successfully challenge LCC and the RSLs and bring about a complete halt to the re-development plans. The group was called Lodge Lane Regeneration Group (LLRG), as a founding member there was the opportunity to work alongside

seasoned and young activists from a myriad of youth and community organisations, Trade Unionists, Chartered Professionals, Academics and most importantly – an active community - in challenging the process. What is also interesting is that the,

‘...figure of our ire’ in the clashes with ‘LCC and the...RSLs...do you remember her...how cheeky she was...telling us that we had no option...we fucking showed her’ (Participant B. 9.)

The ‘official’ in question went on to chair G4SCLT a few years later, something to note. The former chair of LLRG believed that it was the ‘stupidity of the RSLs which came back to haunt them’. As they believed that they

‘...could manipulate the people of Lodge Lane into demolishing their community...they were just too stupid to even think they would people would fall for that one’ (Participant B. 9.).

Another prominent member of LLRG, who had several properties in the area at the time and was a life-long resident of Liverpool 8 remembered the ‘pain’ of displacement visited upon his family back in previous decades. In which his family was ‘thrown into’ an overwhelmingly white working-class devalorized space and ‘were subject to racism almost every day’. He relayed that the experience for his family now ensured that taking ‘direct action when necessary’ is a vital tool ‘in the Black community’s arsenal’ to make their presence felt within the city. He also believed that the,

‘...likes of [Participant A. 2.] never understood the community...they looked at us from.... [Offices] that we didn’t work in... tried to make plans that were meant to exclude us’.

He believes that the ‘history of racism in Liverpool is enshrined within Liverpool 8’ but also that spatial configurations have always been under attack, simply for housing the Black community in the city. He stated that in the future ‘people will look back on LLRG and what we [did] and will say... “wow that was really effective” ...’ (Participant B.7.).

8.7.1. A new approach to activism.

The campaign was such a success that Cosmopolitan Housings Association⁵⁰ ‘who thought we were [involved] simply to rubberstamp their plans’ were taken aback but,

‘...immediately tried to set up an alternative consultation group...[alongside] Steve Biko Housing...because they knew we were a force to be reckoned with...I fell out with [CEO] of Steve Biko because I told her you are facilitating that’ (Participant B.7.).

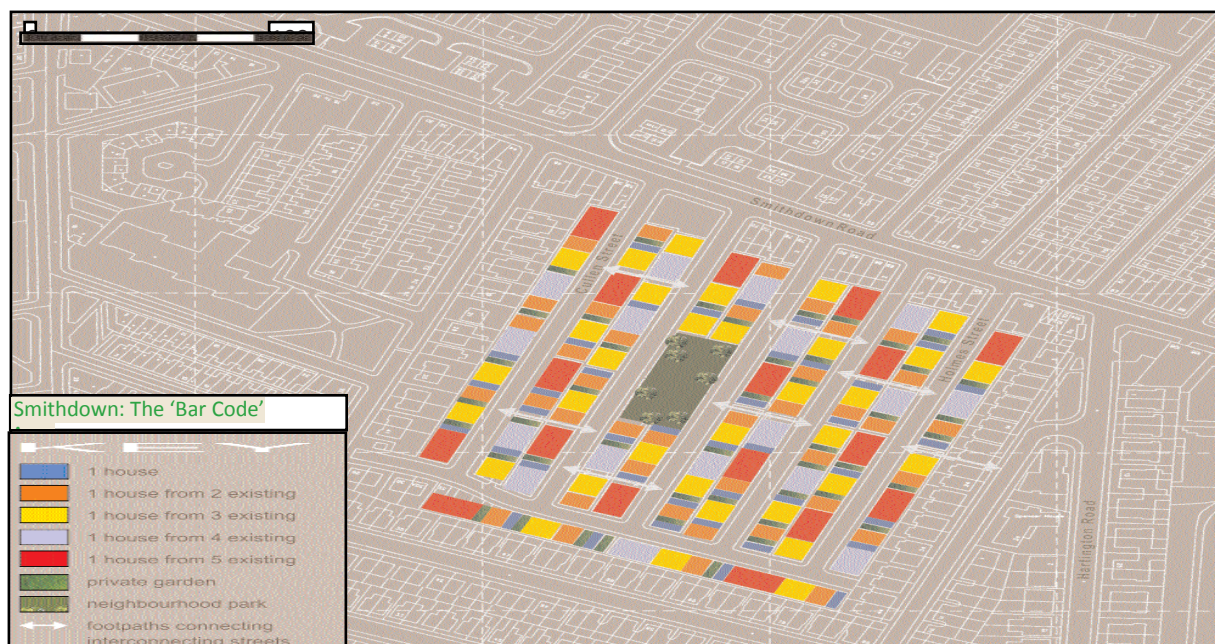
During our interviews he made the point that it was a pity ‘we didn’t keep a comprehensive record of the activity’. Recalling a particular insight into RSL ‘board room shenanigans’, whilst serving as chair of LLRG; he stumbled upon when gate-crashing a meeting in which directors of RSLs were discussing,

‘...selling off housing to private developers...that’s how we got that LHT scheme...they used to hold meetings during the day because they knew most people wouldn’t be able to attend... anyway [a project manager at an RSL] said “we are selling these six houses to such and such” – I said...just because you [RSLs] say so? I don’t think so – no consultation or nothing.... then [LLRG] got the houses sold them for no profit to the community and [RSLs] capitalised and put that down as one of their successes...I think LLRG pioneered a lot of that stuff and don’t get credit for it’.

LLRG opposed plans for the wholesale demolition of large swathes of the streets that took up the overspill of displaced residents from Granby Street, particularly the ‘Groves’ on Lodge Lane and the Smithdown Streets. Below is that same reality in stark contrast to what existed.

⁵⁰ Cosmopolitan Housing Association are no longer in existence due to ‘failing to keep accurate records’ or lying in most people’s perception. ‘The liquidity situation, and the way it was managed, made it clear to us that Cosmopolitan did not have adequate capacity to run itself effectively,’ says the source close to the regulator. <https://www.insidehousing.co.uk/insight/insight/cosmopolitan-the-true-story-37943>

28. The barcoding of Smithdown Streets.



Source: Granby Toxteth Masterplan 2003.

As can be deduced from the above, in those spaces left behind the 'decanted' residents who 'took the disturbance money' to move on – the plan was to substantially de-populate the area and 'build...property that would be far too expensive for most people [to afford]'.

LLRG believed that a large part of their remit was to ensure that local people were aware of the impact this would have, but also to ensure that the group were the 'genuine grassroots' voice, which meant strong representation within the process. The RSLs were not happy.

'They had the attitude if we can't get you to come on board...we'll go somewhere else... [if] we can't get you to do what we want, so we're not gonna do what you want like [they] were supposed to...remember that was the buzz word - **community regeneration**...'
(Participant B.7.).

In seeking to accumulate by dispossession, the RSLs utilised tactics similar to those used on Granby Street – 'encouraging' tenants to move on, by offering 'disturbance...money of up to four thousand pounds in some cases' (Participant B.5.). In an area of high unemployment and little economic activity across the SOA – this was a considerable amount of money to turn down. Another tactic was to decant residents out of the area for scheduled 'major repairs' only to inform the former occupants that the house was beyond repair and was up for demolition, the house would then be 'boarded up'.

‘...when the Thatcher report came out about ‘managed decline’...that’s what they used to say about the [Lodge Lane] ‘groves’...they blatantly said in meetings if a family leaves a house it immediately gets boarded up – even if the house was in good condition – and that’s what they called it and it wasn’t like they were saying it in secret...that’s when [LLRG] came along we were like “what are you talking about...no way are you doing that - this is our community, we want you to fill houses and if you don’t - give them to someone who does” (Participant B.7.).

This form of ‘decanting’ went on for over four years across Lodge Lane before LLRG’s public campaign brought it to a halt, yet the above goes some way to explaining the ‘lack of demand’ narrative which appears to permeate the media and academia. Participant B.7. understood the implications and [my emphasis]

‘...used to meet regularly with all the RSLs... [names a senior person]...the one from LHT...she said the council had told her when a house becomes empty – *don’t let anyone move in - board it up*....that’s when they spoke about “*low or lack of demand*” in HMRI...these houses are no longer fit and all that shit...but we got our own independent surveyors who said “the quality of the houses was great”.

In hindsight active members of LLRG involved in organising the campaign – which lasted over five years – understood the terms of engagement with the local authority. It is posited that the strength of the campaign lay in its militant particularism and refusal to accept the ‘expert view’ as the ‘truth’ (to paraphrase Participant A.2.). The group recruited their own experts - or on one occasion ‘a guy who used to work for CABA⁵¹’. It was about *significant local representation and attendance at public meetings*, ensuring that the campaign and *militancy remained visible* in the public eye; but also ‘not allowing middle class fears get in the way of working-class anger’. It is this interpretation of spaces of solidarity that allowed for a more effective outcome than what transpired on Granby Street.

This last comment is interesting in that at times in campaigns such as the above, the strength of character across sections of the working-class manifests through behaviour and language. If taken from the perspective of understanding the radical nature of community based radical activism, the transition from actor - to active - through to activism in all forms of direct action are,

- Initiative – the issue which sparks the action

⁵¹ Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment – a nonexecutive public body of the UK Government. From 1999 to 2011 CABA gave independent advice to help people create better buildings and spaces <https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110118095359/http://www.caba.org.uk/>

- Consolidation – indicative of how the initiative is undertaken, grows to the point of becoming a threat reaching a scale in which the action cannot be ignored
- Success – when official channels concede to the action and broader movement
- Official action – important phase whereby the state act to resolve the issue and will seek to co-opt any radical action, supplying legitimacy

(Ward, 2001: 89-90)

The above not only directs how the process plays out in general, but also demarcates the innate differences between the G4SCLT campaign and that of LLRG. Another point to engage with is that the LLRG campaign, although initially supported by an RSL (in terms of administration and access to space) in its initial formation; was driven forward through the radical activism of the group. For example, in the following extended passage Participant B.7. captures the essence of what he called ‘academic activism’, [again my emphasis]

‘I remember meeting Ed Miliband when he was working on HMRI...he was an arrogant bastard back then... junior minister for communities or something...he came for the launch of one of the *shit new build* “business hubs” on Tunnel Road...I said to him in a public Q&A “listen there’s not enough flexibility in this HMR programme” so you’re saying that for *every house the RSL demolishes [the government] will give [RSLs] money for development...* all he said was “[the programme] is flexible”... it was a public meeting so I just said to him...well it’s not – you’re supposed to be *asking the community what they want and it doesn’t happen...* your minions are *insistent on demolition; whereas we want refurbishment...* in the [HMR] document it might say refurbishment - but in reality you’re offering *far more money for new build than refurbishment...* [therefore] everyone is obviously not going for refurbishment...’

He recalled that he was told to desist from asking questions – which he refused until he got an answer that he deemed acceptable or in which the Minister admitted to the fault alluded to. This form of activism was the route that GRA chose in its early days; as a participant in those early days of Granby Street campaigns, the militancy of those on Granby was a large part of why they held off demolition for a considerable period. Since the inception and launch of G4SCLT there have been multiple demolitions both to the remaining buildings which used to house the shops (see figure 23) and to several properties on the four streets – including four in the G4SCLT property portfolio. It is important to demarcate the nature of the two campaigns in that LLRG was a form of *radical activism* – couched within the *history of united workers struggle* in Liverpool. The aim was to protect the buildings, the community and economic spaces to aid the community. Whereby, G4SCLT bears all

the hallmarks of the *petit bourgeoisie* in that it was home ownership which was central to their redevelopment plans. Yet G4SCLT are still referred to across the bourgeois media as a radical project. Thompson (2018) appears to be particularly impressed regarding the supplanting of decades of struggle for Black space within a narrative of ‘guerrilla gardening’ and overlooks the centrality of the emphasis in circulating capital within the Granby Street area for the RSLs. Radical is now *couched within the homogeneity* of a neoliberalized state, and the interest of the state is promulgating the racial capitalism set out above, it is argued.

In contradistinction to the above interpretation of radical campaigning, Participant B.7. explains that the Black radicalism of the past inspired the LLRG campaign, and that the dispersal of Black concentration across the inner city was something that galvanised the group,

‘...these are some of the discussions that were going on at LLRG as a community group and as **we increased the militancy within the community they saw how the numbers in the meetings increased**, because when people feel they are going to lose their houses, it was easy to get most involved once they know that physically its gonna have a major effect on their lives....some people we had to convince that demolition wasn’t the best way to go...this idea that everyone was getting a new **house...you’re not...if you demolish 10 houses and only build 4 – what happens to the other 6 families**...its decant...even if you keep the high street, the knock on effect on footfall would be disastrous...as the rest of the country now knows...unless you’re driving in and out...but those people won’t use our shops...these were the very rational arguments [LLRG] used to challenge all their plans the redevelopment of that area...**Granby Street was the harbinger for Lodge Lane, decanted houses, all the shops closed and the area then becomes more and more run down, becoming a self-fulfilling prophesy**...then they [RSLs] have to demolish because there’s no one in the houses and they are falling down. Look at Ducie Street [Granby 4 Streets] ...it’s a travesty. I was... [guiding visitors] around the [Granby] streets and they couldn’t believe that houses of that quality were left to fall to the ground...they demolished the good side and left the worse side...that’s how nasty it was...**but Granby wasn’t an anti-demolition campaign like ours – Lodge Lane was a completely different beast and look the way that worked out**. What was important about Lodge Lane is that it was like “listen just let people live in their houses” when you get a big project like what happened on the four streets it inevitably doesn’t mean what it says [community] those people [Assemble and RSLs] are looking to see where they can make the biggest impact. Which doesn’t necessarily mean that it’s the best option...when you get someone in to do something to all the houses it then becomes...homogenous’.

Participant B.7. articulates a different perspective on narratives of ‘radicalism’ within a neoliberal paradigm; one that the bourgeois perspective finds difficult to acknowledge. Radical movements are often subsumed within a greater narrative but can still be acknowledged and used as a reference point.

However, this study suggests that when demands, or ideologies or even critiques are put forth from the vanguard of Black social movements (often coinciding with social movements' per-se) they become the victim of 'push-back', to use the latest political parlance. In some ways this brings this study neatly into its final case study – the Caribbean Centre.

8.8. The Caribbean Centre.

In 1976 Liverpool City Council under pressure from the local community (see chapter five), accessed section 11 funds from the Home Office budget to decant and demolish several Victorian built terraces and local shops. A new purpose-built community centre was earmarked for construction which immediately raised suspicions across the local Black community. The first time it was brought to attention of the community, was recalled by Participant B.3. who explained

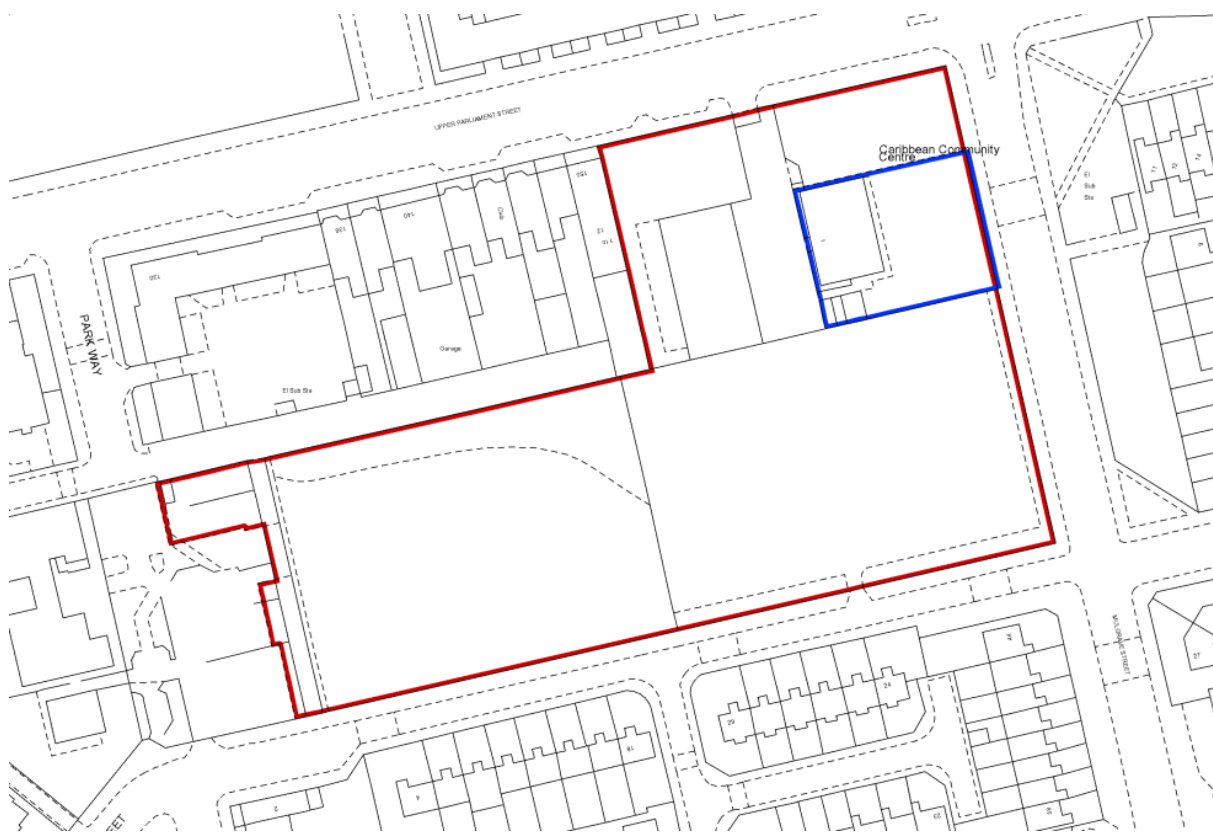
'...this is really significant...Dorothy Kuya who was senior officer at the community race relations council...there was changes in legislation [to the 1976 race relations act] she was going around talking to the various ethnic groups, applying for [section 11] funding...so [it was about] immigrants in communities...*so the Pakistani's got their centre, the Caribbean's got their centre and the LBBs got nowt...shite basically...that started an awful lot of the agitation...* the Pakistan centre seemed to be left alone...because that was too different...have you heard about the five island committee...that was the misconception of the government...so the (five island committee) interpreted that [only for Caribbean] to the letter of the law and *wouldn't let anyone else use it...*[so there was an occupation] and the headlines in the paper were "when black and brown fall out"...that was the direct background to the riots...you could be a member...*but you had to come from the five islands to be on the committee...*so they had it really tight [the exclusionary gatekeeping]. So, Dorothy realising the error of her ways in encouraging the section 11...started saying to us LBBs *you need to get you act together if you don't want to be left behind...*and that's when we started really...we had a meeting in Stanley House to establish the LBO'

What is interesting is that the land on which the centre had been based was situated near Stanley House Centre (discussed in chapter three), used by the community since 1946 after it was 'gifted' due to previous radical action by the Liverpool's Black community (see chapter three). By 1975 Stanley House was earmarked as a 'trouble spot' because it (literally) reflected the rise of 'Reggae music' through the 'blues [dances]' and projected an overt Black presence in close proximity to the adjacent 'racquet club'⁵² the 'gentleman's club' frequented by 'judges...police and other [elements] of so-

⁵² The Racquet Club was razed to the ground by fire during the 1981 uprisings – see chapter six.

called civil society...’. Yet as the Stanley House building was devalorized, the council pressed ahead with the purpose-built community centre after asking members of the older and more gentele Caribbean community to ‘form associations to justify the build’ (Participant B.9.) exemplified above. The ‘Caribbean Council’ constituted individual associations for the various ‘Islands’; they were Jamaica, Guyana, Barbados, Trinidad and Antigua/Barbuda. The new centre was opened to the community in September 1977 by the Bishop of Liverpool Derek Sheppard. Immediately noticeable below in figure 29 is that the ‘footprint’ of the centre includes a substantial land package. The centre is framed in Blue and the rest of the grounds on the title framed in red. The Centre has its own private road/access and currently the piece of land to the left of the centre is currently used by the NHS Women’s Hospital. There is also an additional field to the right of the carpark which was named the ‘Ashanti field’ when it was leased for a peppercorn fee to the Caribbean council by the Church of England.

Figure 29. Caribbean Centre Area/Title Plan.



Source: H.M. Land Registry.

8.8.1. Schism.

In 1981, following comments by the Manchester based Chairman regarding the local Liverpool born Black community, confirmed assumptions across the community that some of the ‘elders’ were siding with state oppression (discussed in chapter six). Local young people and activists ‘occupied the Caribbean Centre’ the outcome was eventually ‘worked through’ however there remained a mistrust between the Caribbean Council and the local community. Although the centre was well attended during the annual carnivals and numerous ‘dances’, Participant B.9. believed that ‘it was the least successful...of local organisations and that it had ‘no political...significance’. Nonetheless and following the local state decision to halt the grant which had sustained the centre (over one hundred thousand pounds per annum) due to financial irregularities and lack of supporting evidence with regards to inclusion. The centre closed in 2010 and despite several early attempts to keep the doors open it lay dormant, unused, and fell into serious disrepair.

8.8.2. False dawn.

In 2013 I attended a ‘community meeting called to address the condition of the Caribbean centre/building’. The meeting was well attended and took place at the offices of the Steve Biko Housing Association on Lodge Lane. One of the chief outcomes from the meeting was a unanimous decision to ‘form a new entity’ from which to act as ‘guardians of the centre’. Individuals were nominated for an interim shadow board who would drive the ‘search for funding’. Yet this did not please all who attended. Participant B.9. believed that the project was ‘doomed to fail at the first fence’ because instead of driving it forward,

‘...some people believed that the exact reason why it was closed [funding]...would somehow fucking work this time’.

Nonetheless the project moved slowly ahead through a social media platform (Friends of the Caribbean on Facebook – see below) and in the beginning meetings were well attended. For some members of the Black community the problems began when members of the shadow board ‘started getting vague about how it was progressing’. Following a public consultation and a general meeting

at the Methodist Church on 11th March 2014 the Centre (and campaign) was to be renamed African Caribbean Heritage Centre (ACHC). Although the ACHC board often made public declarations of ‘transparency’, there was a distinct schism between what they believed was transparent and the community’s belief.

A very public spat began on social media in which members of the community regularly commented upon ‘when work would begin on the centre’. An official post by the ACHC board acknowledged as much when they posted on 20th November 2014.

‘I have had...quite a lot of comments from folks in the community saying they don’t know what is happening with the Caribbean centre, or have we stopped doing what we are doing...from today, all minutes will be available’.

This proved untrue, of all the 20 pieces of information made public over four years, little information is offered as to how the plans, fund raising or even management of the project would take shape. There were at least four of the public ‘minutes’ that were simply templates of agendas. It is not surprising that this aroused suspicion. As Participant B.10. explained,

‘...if you look at the kind of organisations they were working with...the police, the probation...RSLs...LCVS...these are all organizations that have played a part in the racism of the past...and now so-called members of our community were saying...fuck you...just because they couldn’t organize jack shit’.

ACHC often used the ‘community payback scheme’ described as ‘forced labour’ and then ‘wondered why no one turned up to their fucking “clean up” days...beggars’ belief really’. This in some sense offers an insight into how a group of ‘concerned’ community members viewed the situation but were ‘constantly ignored’. Although ‘94% of the community wanted the centre re-opened’ (ACHC, consultation summary 2013), the board now spoke of ‘stakeholders...meaning LCC, housing associations and the like’ in making this happen. Unsurprisingly a growing sense of ‘discontent at the situation’ arose and following an announcement by the ACHC, and following a meeting with LCC, they agreed in ‘principle to accept the offer a new build community centre’ (see figure 30). The ‘planned’ centre would apparently be based within a new development of luxury apartments and would be leased to the community, with ‘twelve community events allowed each year’.

Participant B. 10. explains that,

‘...the arrogance and stupidity...or much worse...[displayed]...by the group...proves they didn’t understand how section 106⁵³ funding works...’.

Little activity was recorded for the next two years and appeared to instigate accusations via the group’s Facebook page, their main information conduit to the public.

Figure 30. Kingsley Place.



Source: Elliot Group.

Once the above ‘proposed development...was made public...that’s when you just knew that there was more to this’. A former member of the board relayed that he was initially ‘...side-lined and then...illegally removed from the board’ upon which he attempted to take ACHC to ‘court’ but failed to be heard. He believed that the ‘board had decided to sell for their own interests’, and he was ‘...gonna make public [that they were] robbing the community’. The Developers - the Elliot Group - had taken into consideration the potential for public backlash within their publicity package for the proposed development.

⁵³ Planning obligations under Section 106 of [the Town and Country Planning Act 1990](#) (as amended), commonly known as S106 agreements, are a mechanism which make a development proposal acceptable in planning terms, that would not otherwise be acceptable. They are focused on site specific mitigation of the impact of development. S106 agreements are often referred to as 'developer contributions' along with highway contributions and the Community Infrastructure Levy.

In their ‘offer document’ they set out a series of ‘Key Facts’ acknowledging the history of the site.

My emphasis,

‘The proposals aim to regenerate vacant land located off Upper Parliament Street on the edge of the Georgian Quarter suburb of Liverpool which is currently occupied by the disused Merseyside Caribbean Council Community Centre and a car park. Housed across five modern buildings, the development will provide 438 high quality residential units, communal facilities for residents, a new Caribbean Centre with associated external areas, innovative hard and soft landscaped areas, car parking and cycle storage’

A former ACHC Board member relayed,

‘...it was when they [Elliot Group] started talking about how the centre could be used...what ‘events’ we could put on a year... which was laughably small...it was about 8 [events] I think...including funerals.... that I thought, hang on sounds nothing like a fucking community centre...’

Participant B.10. puts it even more bluntly;

‘.... they were fucking stupid to think that they were gonna...invest all of them millions in that [development] I mean...Elliot had sold townhouses on the Georgian Quarter for over 600 thousand and [the board] really, actually believed he was gonna stick a centre for Black people on the same site....’

Over the following two years constant clashes over social media and a lack of any clarity resulted in a group of ‘older lads, who had enough and thought fuck this’ organising ‘through word of mouth’ and decided to make their displeasure public.

8.8.3. Leaning on the past.

I was invited to join several of my peers from Liverpool 8 on a wintry morning on Saturday 2nd February 2019, to conduct a public demonstration at the centre’s gates. The ‘gathering’ was attended by over twenty males, many of whom who had not been involved in ‘demonstrating since the 1980s’, most of the attendees on that day were visibly from Liverpool’s Black community and that caused a stir with the passing traffic. After less than 20 minutes a police patrol car rolled up. I approached the police car and they politely asked, ‘what was going on?’ I informed them of the intentions – to raise public concerns about the loss of another community asset – the reply was,

‘Good keep it up...we had no problems with the centre...you’ve pissed someone off, because we had a call saying, “there’s a big load of Black lads hanging about” ...’.

The sense of irony of the police backing the protest was not lost on the assembled group; what followed was member of the group decided to ‘have a look inside’ – once the police car left the scene. The group entered through the rear of the building through a back entrance, which had clearly been compromised and discovered that around approximately five ‘squatters’ were living in the main hall. The squatters were visibly alarmed, however after a lengthy conversation they were assured that they could stay in the immediate as they were obviously allowing the building to ‘breathe’ as a member of the group remarked, and there appeared to be no vandalism. The squatters were given a mobile phone with numbers of several of those present to call should they have problems from now on regarding bailiffs etc.

The ‘meetings’ were convened for weekly Saturday afternoons, however during the second week, a group of older women from the community appeared, to ‘get involved’. The group transitioned to deciding to ‘take the centre back’ as it was a ‘line in the sand’ in the ‘fight against being pushed all the way up to Picton’ for the Black community. I was told that ‘they can see us if we keep the centre’. Although not all were confident that it was the ‘right way to go’ as the group could be ‘[prosecuted] for trespassing’. This was relayed by a young Black Professional male who ‘worked within planning’ in Manchester as ‘they won’t give a [position] like mine to a Black man in Liverpool’. Nonetheless the discussion although, insightful was ended when the group began on masse – clearing the inside of the building. The rubbish – including perishables in the kitchen – had been there since the centre closed seven years previous, as the ACHC group were ‘advised’ by LCVS to not ‘enter the building as it would be trespassing’.

8.8.4. Within the law.

A mobilization of local volunteers resulted in the centre undergoing a complete refurbishment within two months of the first incursion into the building. A letter to the ACHC board was drafted and delivered to a ‘board meeting’ in an attempt to reconcile the two groups (see appendices). The ACHC Chair accepted the letter and agreed to ‘get back to the group as soon as [the board] have discussed the matter...’. Which is remarkable in light of all the activity that was happening at the centre on

daily basis. The volunteers moved towards constituting as a group with a working name of the African Caribbean Grassroots (ACG) and began to research the various community interest company (CIC) models available to run the centre as a 'social club'. The aim was to open the centre with no grant funding, the reason seemed to be a consensus that '...the centre was closed' because of funding or others believed that 'funding always comes with conditions from funders'. In this way the group believed that by 'staying outside' of the L.A., would ensure that the radical nature of their project stood a better chance of succeeding.

The ACG group continued to offer to work collaboratively with the ACHC group, but the replies from ACHC – when eventually forthcoming – were usually dismissive of the group 'you are trespassing' or 'ACHC will discuss the proposal [for collaboration] at our next board meeting'. This never happened or no minuted record exists, the ACHC board consisted of six members at this point, half capacity; so ACG put forth six volunteer names in a last attempt to join forces. ACHC refused the offer. A community meeting was called and took place in May 2019, with an invitation extended to the ACHC board through a local church – the meeting was attended by an impressive cross section of the community (see images below). Although no one from ACHC made an appearance, they let it be know that they had renegeed on attending and updating the community. The public meeting made resolutions for a more 'militiant approach' in any dealings with both ACHC and LCC in securing the centre's future.

8.8.5. To the future?

The ACG began to fundraise with events and meetings at the centre, progress was slow as the ACHC board refuse to give up tenancy, exasperated because they are in debt to LCC and yet continue (prior to the COVID factor) to refuse to close down the ACHC Charity as an entity. This impacts upon how far the ACG can take the project – legally – for example the utilities cannot change tenants due to the ACHC group refusing to cede their claim with organisations. The mayor of Liverpool visited the centre and congratulated the volunteers on saving the centre, he asked ACG to meet the Elliot Group, which was agreed. During that meeting it became clear that ACHC were not going to move on their

position and Mr Elliot said if the community didn't want the build 'he would walk away'; because he believed 'an angry community was not good for business'.

8.8.6. Caribbean Centre rebirth – a photographic essay.⁵⁴



The first poster in the campaign. This placard was displayed at the first meeting on the site and was subsequently used in the campaign literature and social media campaign.

⁵⁴ ALL IMAGES TAKEN BY MICHAEL SIMON



Part of the group on the first public demonstration at the Caribbean in February 2019.

8.8.6.1. Banners.

Home made banners became a visible manifestation of the anger, concerns and historical perspective of the campaign, which had the added benefit of suggesting a more community based approach. What is visibly noticable is the uncompromising language and attitude conveyed in each of the banner below, which in turn refracts the banners of the 1980s visible protests. For example there are references to a community that has been ‘sold out’, similarly, there are messages which convey an understanding of the past, including the loss of most of the radical community associations which are now lamented. It is suggested that the group’s focus upon the history of Black radicalism of the L8 area, invoked a sense of de’ja’vu amongst those ‘[LCC] officers who were watching’ as one participant believed. The self awarness and rawness conveyed within the banners can be understood in terms of the Black radicalism discussed across chapters four, five and six.





8.8.6.2 Going beyond.

The image below shows the area in which the squatters were staying; to the right of the photo it is possible to view the possessions of one of the last of the squatters to leave. ACG ensured that the squatters were assisted into local support services and were allowed to stay until they were



comfortable in their options. Similarly two of the ‘squatters’ continued to work at the centre and continue to do so today as voluntary and productive members of the group.



8.8.6.3. Communal labour.

ACHC had previously accessed funding for a complete survey the condition of the centre and its estimated that it would cost at least 22.000.00 (see appendices) to bring the centre up to the minimum ‘decent’ standard. The whole cost of the ACG refurbishment including materials, planning, professional advice and labour was burdened by the volunteer force, community mobilisation and ingenuity. The refurbishment of the kitchen was completed with volunteer labour, donated materials and a member of the wider community appeared one day and offered to refurbish the cooking range for no cost – not even materials. The central heating system (which the centre did not have previously) was donated and fitted by volunteers who turned up daily to offer their services. It was a remarkable insight into how ‘social value’ and social reproduction in the community - through genuine volunteers - are vital in taking ownership of local projects. Which is in contradistinction to projects such as G4SCLT. The images below depict the vital work that was carried out by not only members of the L8 Black community but also those workers who recognised the aims and objectives of the collective

movement and turned up daily in solidarity to work alongside the community. This it is suggested is where the utility of spaces of solidarity has re-emerged as a factor in community based direct action.





To offer an indication of the amount of work undertaken in such a momentous task can be seen in the images below, depicting one of seven donated ‘demolition skips’ needed to remove the rubbish and building material generated during and after the renovation.





8.8.6.4. The sit down.

Below is an image of the public meeting held at the Crawford centre to decide the next steps and to extend an offer to the ACHC board.



8.8.6.6. The contrast.



The above image shows the clean up of the ‘cricket nets’ on the site and below is the repurposed space which lends itself to an outdoors family space, with an apiary to the left behind the netting. The

plan is for the area to serve as a social space with live music. Below is stage one of the plans with local community members using the area as a picnicing site during summer 2019.



8.8.6.5. Return of the radical Black space.

Below is an image of one of the many ‘events’ which any individual or group using the centre are invited to propose. The below event was a review of radical Black history, in which local activists were invited to discuss the historical significance of Liverpool within the context of Black history. The aim is to foster the parameters of the centre to reinvigorate ‘public participation...radicalism and political education’. In 2019 the centre was also the backdrop for a major TV series ‘Tin Star’ and the centre was paid a substantial sum and the set decorators also decorated the interior following the end of the location shoot over four days. Local employment jobs were offered by the productions company and local young people were paid to act as ‘extras’.



The final image below documents the ‘seal of approval by the Mayor’ as one volunteer articulated it. However it remains to be seen in light of recent developments for Mayor Anderson if this is a help or hindrance to the centre’s future.



8.8.6.6. Policy as development – New Labour legacy.

This study posits that institutions reliant upon the surplus value produced through the ‘spatial fix’ inherent to accumulated capital (ΔM) purposely produce scarcity by actively structuring urban land use and residential patterning (as exemplified within the above masterplan). This also has the ability of normalising unethical or immoral practices in a bid to maximize profit; manifesting – as has been shown - in the practice of deeming specific neighbourhoods as bad investments or as referred to above ‘difficult to let’. In practice, this form of labelling invariably resulted in depriving those same neighbourhood of government funds, resulting in poor service delivery. The ultimate aim, it is suggested was to remove tenants from land ripe for development (Harvey, 2009).

This process has been referred to in the US as ‘blockbusting’ although it is an articulated concept which would seamlessly transfer in understanding the impetus of local governance in Liverpool across the 1990-s to the present. It is no surprise to find that ‘blockbusting’ is invariably imposed upon areas of Black or Brown concentration, yet Harvey misses the centrality of this process to capitalism. This is what can be understood as an active moment within the development of Harvey’s approach to capital. A place in which the ‘spatial fix’ proactively produces urban spaces and yet also proactively devalorise others. One of the chief mechanisms is the use of accumulation by dispossession to manipulate space, creating areas of primary accumulation within the secondary circuit (built environment) of capital. In this way it is often missed within public discourse that the residential environment is also the site of daily ‘race’ and class struggles and accordingly Liverpool’s inner city in general acts as an example par excellence in how the uneven development of community is enacted.

Yet it is argued that Mumm’s racial fix is far more applicable to the above, in that ‘race’, class and gender are crucial when attributing value to the urban reconfigurations Harvey makes explicit reference to across his overall theory to date.

Applicably this chapter has shown the spaces in which the dialectical relationship of ‘race’ and class conflates accumulation by dispossession ‘to produce conflictual ‘money in process’ paradigms - wherein accumulated capital subsumes living labour at the expense of productive labour for profit. Yet as viewed through the lens of SRT, this misses the ways in which labour is reproduced outside the primary circuit of capital. Again, this is crucial to expanding upon the exigent demands, ancillary barriers (discussed within the framework and beyond) and in addition to the pressures of reproducing labour under the same material but differential conditions undoubtedly shaped by racial capitalism.

What differentiates those living in those Liverpool areas with high levels of Black concentration, is that these spatial configurations (under racial capitalism) became increasingly ‘models of neighbourhood management’, thereby rendering the idea of community as an abstraction. This was exemplified above by the ways in which RSLs carved Liverpool up into ZOOS (discussed above) and directed state funding towards these new configurations of the ‘local level’ in whatever way they saw fit. What this infers is that the monopolistic and oligopolistic practices of RSLs within Liverpool, for example the notion of RSLs occupying the role of ‘lead developer and lead association’ (Liverpool City Council, 2007), within inner-city programmes and initiatives have played a significant part in manipulating the property market by ‘cherry picking’ areas for redevelopment; thus, marketizing once publicly owned properties. Again, crucial for Mumm (2017) is how the racial fix conceptualises a theory analysing how property ownership focuses upon ‘whiteness’ in undertaking urban (re)development.

The implications it is argued, is the further commodification of community goods, in the form of property, services and governance and the third sector forums, panels and boards - transpose to the RSLs *Hegelian idea* of community, as set out within the framework under the liberalised approach to ‘social justice’. Which differs dramatically from what Marx’s term objective reality – the difference being that in a community in which ‘race’ and class struggles are played out through non representative executive boards sitting above deprived urban communities, concocting an ‘imaginary’ in their own image (but with caveats) on how others should live. In effect, it was the bourgeoisie who

began to ascribe their subjectivity towards those spaces of solidarity and, it is argued – decided that the value of the material space would be best served by decreasing the *visibility of Blackness* or at least diluting that visibility behind narratives of ‘equality’ and ‘diversity’.

So, if viewed through the lens of racial capitalism and SRT, then the urban programmes referred to across this study are far more insidious, in that they have imagined a community to be ‘regulated’ as a distinctive ‘imagined economic space’ - at the expense of the people within (See Robinson 1983, within the framework). It is this notion of ‘vision’; its implications, and the problematic assumption that terms such as this presents, which alert suspicions, particularly as to what constitutes value for the bureaucratic management of Liverpool’s Black community under the terms the racial fix offers.

Black communities and residents experiencing exclusion (social, political, and economic) from mainstream society’s decision-making processes have argued that the process of *devalorisation* was and is - a conscious decision to direct funding streams away from addressing innate socioeconomic problems. New Labour believed that a communitarian approach to inequality was the way forward for deprived communities. However, the model was designed from above at the national level (Lord Rogers, SEU etc) and local level (RSLs and LCVS) with little or no input from the same communities – only the ‘expert’ or the ‘consultant’. This ‘vision’ of community deliberately placed Black communities, their spatial (abstract and material) conquests and social capital, at the forefront of a highly racialized political campaign to ‘reclaim’ the inner-city by the middle classes. The leitmotif of the politics of identity it is argued, was a cynical tool utilised for the (re) conquest of Black space in Liverpool, this was aided and abetted by the media, politicians and of course the emergence of the comprador’s role (set out within the framework and exemplified within the empirical chapters) in what this chapter has referred to as the recolonising ontology.

More so, this can be further expanded upon by extrapolating from the racial fix discussion above, regarding the ‘communitarian’, in that the approach of NLP was to ensure the exclusion of those Black led spaces of solidarity which defined the 1970s and 1980s.

It is argued here that NLP and not Thatcherism developed urban renewal firmly within the model of neoliberalism that Harvey's theorising captures so brilliantly within the framework. As Harvey (2005) draws attention to, neoliberalism requires the possession of assets, (urban in this case) and this invariably has been proven to take the form of dispossession of assets, ultimately dependent upon state violence. With the racial capitalism model discussed within the framework, Robinson, (1983) makes the very convincing argument that the capitalist system has always been so, from the African diasporic perspective.

So, in expanding upon, Mumm's (2017) racial fix, then this thesis posits that the neoliberal urban model, has dispossessed Black space, which also includes dispossession of the means to socially reproduce the abstract qualities of everyday life for the worker. In Liverpool this resulted in the civic, political, and social structures being commandeered or destroyed in order to dispossess a community of its social capital assets. In this way, it is argued that the NLP finessed a modern approach to re-colonisation of Black spaces as set out within the framework. This took the form of a racialized (neo) liberalism that depoliticised areas Black concentration across the UK.

The same racialized liberal approaches to urban development, as shown across this study can be historically located within the conceptual development of the racial capitalism discussed within the framework. What is also argued, is that the management of Black space within Liverpool mirrors a psychology of colonialism and imperialism. These approaches articulated above, have been shown to promulgate organisations and policy pathways designed to manage Black space, or as shown dispossess Black space by superseding local organisation. Although not as viscerally explicit as the 19th century version of colonialism - it is suggested that in shifting away from a narrative of 'race' towards the NLP version of 'diversity' or 'cohesion' was simply understood as 'the imposing [on the community] of identity politics' (Participant B.7.). The neoliberalized tenets of the NLP – enabled in Liverpool through the Lib-Dem party – proceeded to subvert or subsume the historical maltreatment of the city's Black community within narratives of equality. This it is argued, was accepted on the basis that a few 'token' representatives could and would turn back the tide of centuries of malice,

hatred, and state violence. This is where the role of the comprador referred to in the framework, becomes ever more visible. However, the comprador in the cases set out above, are simply individuals subsumed into a larger more delinquent system of ‘racialized’ and class-based hierarchy – another facet to the success of the hegemony of the recolonising ontology referred to above.

In reflecting upon the socialism of the preceding decades, where issues regarding ‘race’ always had recourse - it is argued - to refract an internationalist perspective inherent to socialism; and an opportunity to solidify social solidarity between global working-class factions. This facet of solidarity was vital in fomenting the basis for development of the UK Black working-class programmes within the city, as revealed in earlier chapters. It is further argued that the ‘individual responsibility’ permeating the policies and narrative of the NLP played a crucial role in ensuring that representation and more importantly ‘value’ fostered during this period - were subsumed into a bourgeois property narrative designed as exclusionary (not inclusionary), but for whom?

Identifying and deconstructing the mechanisms that blunted Liverpool’s Black community as a local political force has shed some insight into this period. This began with the city buying into (at least superficially) a narrative of trickle-down economics, in which the resources of the city continued to offer up opportunities towards the vagaries of private capital – but this time in the name of ‘value for money’. So, as referred to within the framework, value measured in this way would not include a ‘vision’ of Black males standing on a street corner as it was put to me in a conversation. As this chapter has underlined, the use of the ‘racial fix’ is crucial in ensuring that property development and accumulation are promoted as inherent to white value. As the framework reminds - behind every transaction seeking to valorise surplus capital; lies a social relation - immaterial but always objective. It is further posited that as value appears to be measured, obtained, and fetishized within the ‘commodity’ (in this case the urban) directs how ‘race’ and the millennial development of inner-city Liverpool interact within a dialectical relationship with the above development, it does so to the detriment of Liverpool’s Black community across space and time. It remains to be seen where the

future of Black space lies on the more modern map, because it certainly will not be within the historic boundaries of their former spaces.

Conclusion

This study's empirical chapters began by presenting the historical context for the process of racial capitalism in Liverpool, particularly the spatial configurations in which the Black community are – or - have been concentrated. What has also been made clear is that the early plantocratic economic model, homed in Liverpool, manifested in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, ensured that Liverpool became a city of fabulous wealth producing several prominent public figures who were vital to the development of British Imperialism. It was also argued that Liverpool's urban historical development mirrors the continued development of racial capitalism and offers several indicative representations to support Robinson's (1983) thesis. Where the Liverpool perspective slightly deviates from the USA examples, is the prominence of acts of intra ethnic solidarity within Liverpool's early history, including spatial proximity - which have played a decisive role in shaping how Liverpool's Black community have historically identified themselves. The fear of the miscegenation exemplified within chapter three - plays an important internal role in the history of Liverpool, more so than other major cities it is argued. The suggestion being that a particular insidious form of racism, reflecting this fact, has been reserved for the Liverpool born Black. However, the complex issue of phenotype, as has also been shown, appears to be an impediment to a wider workers solidarity, and was exemplified through the 'Sam Bond' affair discussed in chapter six.

The spatial configurations of Liverpool's Black community have historically, borne the brunt of the periods of international crises of racial capitalism in the UK. State response has always been to sanction the community economically, through the use of physical or symbolical acts of violence. What has been shown is that radical resistance in fact absorbs and refracts different forms of social protest i.e., abolition, anti-colonialism and pro-labour movements, which emerge from crises. Black spatiality in Liverpool reflects and exemplifies the major urban developments that have taken place across the 20th century. But what became clearer as this research progressed was that Liverpool's spatial development is inherently racial in the same way that the genus and development of capital is racial.

In terms of the political decision-making process that enables the development of racial capitalism within urbanism, the exploration within chapters four and five found that the racialized development of the inner-city is enacted by Parliament in the form of urban policy, but cascades down at the local level to organisations and institutions outside the representations of the political process i.e., Housing Associations and the Housing Corporation. This study has highlighted how Black space is perceived within those organisations, institutions and individuals who subsequently went on to make decisions that were often to the detriment of Black communities. What was also made clear within chapters six and seven, was the response from within Liverpool's Black community was one of increasingly radical resistance to the power of these organisations and institutions. The period 1978 - 1997, articulated under the terms of *concerted social and spatial alienation*, plays a crucial role in the uneven development of inner-city policy. It was argued that this period witnessed the management of Black spatiality as sites of immigration, resulted in local government policy ensuring that the *othering* of the Black community was utilised to draw down additional funding. This was exemplified by highlighting how the government department in charge of the inner-city funding, was the same department who addressed issues of commonwealth immigration. What was also apparent across chapter six seven and eight is how the virement of these funds was utilised to socially and economically suppress the social reproductive qualities of the Black community.

With the development of the neoliberal model, accumulation by dispossession and state violence proved vital to this process and this study has found that the resistance within Liverpool matched the violence of the state. However, what this thesis has shown and in agreement with Robinson (1983); is that capitalism is built upon a European ideology, and that same ideology is inherently racist. This has ensured that Liverpool's Black community has historically engaged in a dialectically antagonistic relationship with the state that has shaped the development of the 'psyche' of racial capitalism within the city. This psyche manifests in the allocation, distribution and use of urban funds and how they are managed and in many cases across this study – the deliberate virement away from Black space.

Chapter six uncovered how the local state, local and national media fuelled the antagonisms by attacking local resistance because it was seen as subversive. This relationship has played a vital role in the production of Black space in Liverpool, exemplified within the racial fix that Mumm (2017) makes particular reference to. More so, the racial fix builds upon the notion of spatiality that Harvey places at the forefront of the neoliberal model of capital development in the form of the secondary circuit of capital – the built environment. The development of the secondary circuit, according to Harvey and exemplified within this thesis; is uneven in that development. As this thesis has shown, this is not a natural process of unevenness but lies in the social relation of capital development – value – however as has been underlined; value is immaterial but objective.

So, the decision-making process between local political or institutional functionaries' cascades down as a set of politically but highly racialized decisions and have historically attacked the value of Black spatiality in the city. This was enacted through spatial containment of the Black community and the devalorisation of those same spaces that chapters seven and eight highlight. All the aforementioned it is argued was enacted to possess surplus value, through land assembly for the private sector or interlocutors from within the third sector. What was clear was the sophistication of the community responses, manifesting in local actions, that were clearly ignored and exemplified in the constant overlooking of local Black organisation i.e., SBHA

These responses present the radical nature of the direction of local Black politics calling for self-imposed strategies of Black separation, thus mirroring the Black radicalism that Robinson (1983) draws attention to. As Harvey (1985) has underlined within the spatial fix, in the UK during this period, capitalism – shifted occidental surplus capital from the productive forces of industrial surplus value towards fixing investment within urban spatiality. However, this study has refracted Mumm's (2017) extension of the spatial fix – the racial fix - and has shown that under the lens of racial capitalism - this same process value (and devalorisation) is shown to be exactly that; a 'fix'.

What has also been enlightening within this study, is the way in which Liverpool's history reveals how the residuals of colonisation and Imperialism congeal within the formation of surplus value

across the racial fix. For example, it has been cogently argued that the city was founded upon the TST and subsequent mercantile development, the surplus value is fixed upon the buildings and therefore is built upon the labour of the city's Black community and their forbearers. Imperialism and colonisation are crucial factors shaping the dialectics between the Black community's resistance and that history. Thus, the fight for material and abstract space within the city, emerges as the prominent mode of resistance within the Black community's in the sense that they understood their right to access these spaces across the historical development in Liverpool.

Interestingly, during the period of crises referred to above, Liverpool's Black community chose to enact a visible presence as modes of radical resistance across those spaces that were seen as political and white within the city centre. Thus, if viewed through the lens of SRT the act of public demonstration across these spaces was socio-political in geographic terms and plays an important role in the development of Liverpool's Black community as a political entity. Indeed Bhattacharya (2017) suggests that restrictions upon access for working class communities is of vital concern in the development of SRT. The violent acts of restriction to public socialised services and their functions, highlight how access is affected by the 'race' and class dimensions that inform the social relations – which in turn reproduce themselves, but are also vulnerable to interruptions.

Conducive to these interruptions, this study has illuminated how periodic crises of capital, actually racializes space in seeking outcomes and solutions. As was articulated, the radical forms of resistance and spaces of solidarity emerging from crisis, due to the Black community bearing the brunt of white working-class anger (directed by state) usually through narratives of immigration and miscegenation. This peaked before the summer of 1981 and led to the form of (defensive) Black resistance turning into offensive resistance by capitalising upon the interruption of capital as predicted by Gilmore (2002). The local state financially benefitted from this insurgency, but the forms of racialized differentiation continued. State violence, maybe not as pronounced as the USA – became increasingly symbolic and manifested in the local state through newer versions of devalorized space, with an ultimate aim it has been argued within this study, to dispossess. Again, the collusion between central

and local governance in using the monies claimed to alleviate poverty within areas of Black concentration, can be exemplified within the *institutional differentials* it was argued.

The process of *institutional differentiation* manifested within the *concerted social and spatial alienation*, brazenly apparent before 1981, but subtly still in play thereafter as the spatialized but highly racialized abstractions – became the state’s normative views that Gilmore draws attention to (2002: 15-16). It is concluded that the ‘political terror’ (ibid) of the state, was exemplified within its approach to attacking political grassroots organisation within Liverpool, and particularly the role of the Black women of Liverpool. As the Black community became more militant, Black women it is argued, played a central role in reproducing the conditions for this form of militant particularism in Liverpool. In which their claims to knowledge of community and self, pushed the boundaries of the vanguard of working-class resistance, thus conquering the spatial confines of their area. This led to immediate spatial gains in the short term but ensured that the right to space was still the issue, in terms of who owns and manages community assets.

As chapter seven and eight articulated, the resultant responses from the local state to the above was to exclude the Black community forums from the decision-making process, through the advent of identity-based politics. In which Black groups and organisations were subject to greater levels of scrutiny, enacted by individuals and organisations with a history of confrontations with the Liverpool’s Black community.

The de-politicisation of activists coincides with the organisational transition from ‘race’ to identity politics, ultimately leading to an increase in ethnic quotas. The conquering of Black space was enacted by H.A.s however, as was argued in chapter seven, the denigration of SBHA which curtailed their impressive rise; crucially removed their participation from the H.A. conglomerate who divided Liverpool 8 between themselves - as shown in chapter eight in the Masterplan. The increase in cadastral zones under the Lib-Dem funding and uneven devalorisation it was argued across chapter seven and eight, were simply capitalist tactics to dispossess space. However, once Black led housing, was removed from the overall execution of the Masterplan, it highlights how *institutional differentials*

were based upon 'race' – thus underlining how capitalism is inherently racial. It is now possible to assert that the social production of spaces was governed by the formation of funding zone maps (see pages 260 – 264); which ultimately mirrors the cadastral production of Imperial maps, referenced within the framework. What was also conclusive is that the act of redlining within Mumm's racial fix, was also mirrored at the local level in Liverpool to enact these zones. This was confirmed in chapter six, through a senior 'manager' making decisions based upon the same cadastral production (see chapter eight) – and in agreement with the participant making the revelation - it reflects the institutional 'psyche of the city'. It is therefore possible, through the lens of SRT, to understand how the abstractions within the process of social reproduction have influenced the material direction and production of social capital.

The final chapter unpicked this process, revealing how Black spaces were dispossessed (particularly the Georgian Quarter), the housing stock (Granby St.), and social housing providers (SBHA) were manipulated. Designated social funding, claimed in the name of devalorized space through initiatives or programmes such as the LIFE and ZOO models offer up prime examples of the 'psyche' referred to above, which must influence the process. However, it should also be noted that all of the above was managed by officials, who had a history of confrontation with Liverpool's Black community as set out within the later chapters. This is a central theme within the racialized production of space that is vital to what this study has understood as a *recolonising ontology*. The recolonising ontology in turn, has ensured that the production of Black spatiality is and always will, be reliant upon the how racial capitalism chooses to oppress those spaces in the 21st century and beyond under the racialized terms of the spatial fix. Under these terms it is suggested that they direct the ways in which a philosophy of Black spatiality should be concerned with addressing. This study it is suggested, has set out a cogent set of terms from which to examine further, how race, class, gender and spatial reproduction conflate to produce inequalities within Liverpool's urban development.

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- VAS/2/2 Race Relations in Liverpool
- VAS/2/3 Race Relations Nationwide
- VAS/2/4 Ethnic Minorities and Housing Liaison Committee
- VAS/2/5 Brixton Riots and Scarman Inquiry Media Coverage
- VAS/2/6 Toxteth Survey Documents
- VAS/2/7 Toxteth Riots Personal Stories and Responses
- VAS/2/8 Toxteth Riots Media Response
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Appendices.

a. Philosophy of Social Space

	Material Space (experienced space)	Representation of space (conceptualized space)	Spaces of Representation (lived space)
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<p>Absolute Space</p>	<p>Useful commodities, concrete labour processes, notes and coins (local moneys?); private property/state boundaries, fixed capital, factories, built environment, spaces of consumption, picket lines, occupied spaces (sit-ins); storming of the Bastille or Winter Palace</p>	<p>Use Values and Concrete Labours exploitation in the labour process (Marx) vs work as creative play (Fourier); maps of private property and class exclusion; mosaics of uneven geographical developments</p>	<p>Alienation vs creative satisfaction; isolated individualism vs social solidarities; loyalties to place, class, identity, etc; relative deprivation; injustice; lack of dignity; anger vs contentment</p>
<p>Relative Space</p>	<p>Market exchange; trade; circulation and flows of commodities, energy, labour power, money, credit or capital; commuting and migrating; depreciation and degradation; information flows and agitation from outside</p>	<p>Exchange Values (value in motion) Accumulation schemas; commodity chains; models of migration and diasporas; input – output models, theories of spatiotemporal ‘fixes’, annihilation of space through time, circulation of capital through built environments; formation of the world market, networks; geopolitical relations and revolutionary strategies</p>	<p>Money and commodity fetish (perpetual unfulfilled desire); anxiety/exhilaration at time-space compression; instability; insecurity; intensity of action and motion vs repose, “all that is solid melts into air...”</p>
<p>Relational Space (Time)</p>	<p>Abstract labour process fictitious capital; resistance movements; sudden manifestations and expressive irruptions of political movements (anti-war, 68, Seattle...); “the revolutionary spirit stirs...”</p>	<p>Money Values Value as socially necessary labour time; as congealed human labour in relation to the world market; laws of value in motion and the social power of money (globalisation); revolutionary hopes and fears; strategies for change.</p>	<p>Values Capitalist hegemony (“there is no alternative”); proletarian consciousness; international solidarities; universal rights; utopian dreams; multitude; empathy with others; “another world is possible...”</p>

b. Registered Social Landlords Board Member Ethnicity

Housing Association	Group	Board Numbers	Male	Female	Reside in Merseyside	Ethnic Minorities	Tenants
Your Housing Group	Y	10	7	3	0	0	0
South Liverpool Housing	N	9	7	2	6	1	1
Steve Biko Housing	N	6	3	3	2	4	0
Sanctuary Housing	Y	9	6	3	0	1	0
Riverside Housing	Y	8	4	4	0	0	1
Regenda Housing Group	Y	11	6	5	0	1	0
Plus Dane Housing	Y	10	7	3	0	0	0
Pine Court Housing	N	6	4	2	6	2	1
Pier Head Housing	Y	9	6	3	2	0	0
One Vision Housing	Y	9	5	4	6	1	2
Muir Housing Group	Y	10	5	5	0	1	0
Liverpool Mutual Homes	Y	9	7	2	4	0	1
Liverpool Housing Trust	Y	7	3	4	0	0	0
Cobalt Housing	N	9	8	1	6	0	0



UNIVERSITY OF
LIVERPOOL

CONSENT FORM

Title of Research

Project: 'Race' and
Urban Regeneration

Researcher:

Michael Simon

**Please
initial box**

- 1. I confirm that I have read and have understood the information sheet dated for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.
- 2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my rights being affected.
- 3. I understand that, under the Data Protection Act, I can at any time ask for access to the information I provide and I can also request the destruction of that information if I wish.
- 4. I agree to take part in the above study.

Participant Name	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

The contact details of lead Researcher (Principal Investigator) are:

Michael Simon (PhD Research Student)
m.p.simon@liverpool.ac.uk
 University of Liverpool
 School of Sociology & Social Policy
 Eleanor Rathbone Building
 Bedford Street South
 Liverpool L69 7ZA
 T: 0151 794 2986

Race' and Urban Regeneration: Urban policy impacts

To whom it may concern

You are being invited to participate in a research case study. Before you decide whether to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to

read the following information carefully and feel free to ask if you would like more information or if there is anything that you do not understand. Please also feel free to discuss this with your friends, relatives and GP if you wish. We would like to stress that you do not have to accept this invitation and should only agree to take part if you want to. Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the study?

I am currently a PhD research student at the University of Liverpool in the Department of Sociology and Social Policy. This part of my research is to be used in understanding how individuals and organisations have influenced or understood the process of urban regeneration within the Lodge Lane and Granby Street area.

Why have I been chosen to take part?

Part of the research process is to interview local people living through regeneration changes, individuals from organisations involved within the process of regeneration and other 'stakeholders' who may wish to express an interest in my research. The aim of this part of my research is to explore and document relevant stories and experiences from interviews to help build a picture of shared spaces and places and the process of change.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is completely voluntary and should you feel uncomfortable with the research process at any point, you can withdraw immediately without question.

What will happen if I take part?

You are invited to be interviewed on a one to one basis or as part of a focus group with the investigator, Michael Simon. Interviews will take place in suitable and convenient venues across Liverpool. It is estimated that the interviews will last approximately 30-45 minutes for individuals and 40 – 1hour for any focus groups. Although all interviews will also be recorded, all participant identities will be anonymous throughout the research process and eventual published report.

Are there any risks in taking part?

There will be no risks for participants, however as stated above you are free to stop the interview, or leave the focus group at any point should you feel uncomfortable

Are there any benefits in taking part?

There are no direct benefits to taking part, but individuals have the opportunity to voice their opinions giving them an opportunity to reflect on how they think about the change within the local neighbourhood, the wider community and its impacts upon Liverpool.

What if I am unhappy or if there is a problem?

If you are unhappy, or if there is a problem, please feel free to let me know by contacting Michael Simon on **07810043184** and I will try to help. If you remain unhappy or have a complaint with which you feel you cannot come to me, then you should contact the Research Governance Officer on **0151 794 8290 (ethics@liv.ac.uk)**. When contacting the Research Governance Officer, please provide details of the name or description of the study (so that it can be identified), the researcher involved, and the details of the complaint you wish to make.

Will my participation be kept confidential?

As stated above all participants will remain anonymous and all data collected will be kept in secure, password encrypted data bases. Any transcriptions of interviews will not contain your personal details or details that can identify you. The data will be used to construct overall arguments or analysis within my PhD thesis and will not be used in any other published material.

What will happen if I want to stop taking part?

You can withdraw at any time, without explanation. Results up to the period of withdrawal may be used, if you are happy for this to be done. Otherwise you may request that they are destroyed and no further use is made of them.

Who can I contact if I have further questions?

Michaels Simon (PhD Research Student)
m.p.simon@liverpool.ac.uk
University of Liverpool
School of Sociology & Social Policy
Eleanor Rathbone Building
Bedford Street South
Liverpool L69 7ZA
T: 07810043184



COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH ETHICS

**APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL OF A PROJECT INVOLVING
HUMAN PARTICIPANTS, HUMAN DATA, OR HUMAN MATERIAL**

NOTES

- 1) This application form is to be used by researchers seeking research ethics approval from the University, as per the University's Policy on Research Ethics involving Human Participation. If an application qualifies for expedited review (Section C) it may be reviewed at Level 2, by your School or Institute's research ethics process.
- 2) Applications to the University Research Ethics Committees must normally include an **application form, participant information sheet and consent form** (all templates available online), along with any other relevant information, and should be submitted by email to the relevant contact listed at <https://www.liv.ac.uk/intranet/research-support-office/research-integrity-and-ethics/ethics-subcommittee-dates/>.
- 3) Applications from Student investigators: the Committee will require proof that your Supervisor has approved the application to be submitted. Please attach this to your email. Your supervisor must be copied in on all correspondence relating to your application.
- 4) This form must be completed by following the guidance notes, accessible at <https://www.liv.ac.uk/intranet/research-support-office/research-integrity-and-ethics/ethics-subcommittee-dates/>. Please complete every section, using N/A if appropriate. Incomplete forms will be returned to the applicant.
- 5) For studies involving overseas sites, please ensure you have researched any local approvals that might be required. Wherever possible this should include local research ethics approval. In the absence of a research ethics approval body, other relevant local approvals should be obtained, e.g. authorisation from a site, letter from a local organisation or group etc.
- 6) This form does not constitute insurance approval which must be sought separately. Please contact the **University's Insurance and Risk Manager** if your project involves overseas sites, vulnerable groups or is a clinical trial.
- 7) Staff investigators: You are encouraged to discuss your proposal with your Head of Department prior to submitting for research ethics approval.

RESEARCH MUST NOT BEGIN UNTIL ETHICAL APPROVAL HAS BEEN OBTAINED

FAILURE TO SEEK RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL IS TAKEN EXTREMELY SERIOUSLY BY THE INSTITUTION.

BEFORE COMPLETING YOUR APPLICATION PLEASE CONFIRM WHAT APPROVAL YOU ARE SEEKING

(Please check with "x"):

- | | |
|--|--------|
| a) Expedited review of an individual research project | |
| b) Full committee review of an individual research project | x..... |
| c) Committee review generic* approval | |

*to cover a cohort of projects using similar methodologies and in line with Policy on Generic Approvals which can be found at www.liv.ac.uk/researchethics . Boundaries of the research must be defined clearly. Approval may be granted for up to 3 years and will be subject to annual review

Declaration of the:

Principal Investigator _____ **OR** **Supervisor and Student Investigator** x
(Please check with a "x")

- The information in this form is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief, and I take full responsibility for it.
- I have read and understand the University's Policy on Research Ethics
- I undertake to abide by the ethical principles underlying the Declaration of Helsinki and the University's good practice guidelines on the proper conduct of research, together with the codes of practice laid down by any relevant professional or learned society.

- If the research is approved, I undertake to adhere to the study plan, the terms of the full application of which the REC has given a favourable opinion, and any conditions set out by the REC in giving its favourable opinion.
- I undertake to seek an ethical opinion from the REC before implementing substantial amendments to the study plan or to the terms of the full application of which the REC has given a favourable opinion.
- I understand that I am responsible for monitoring the research at all times.
- If there are any serious adverse events, I understand that I am responsible for immediately stopping the research and alerting the Research Ethics Committee within 24 hours of the occurrence, via ethics@liv.ac.uk.
- I am aware of my responsibility to be up to date and comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data.
- I understand that research records/data may be subject to inspection for audit purposes if required in future.
- I understand that personal data about me as a researcher in this application will be held by the University and that this will be managed according to the principles established in the Data Protection Act.
- I understand that the information contained in this application, any supporting documentation and all correspondence with the Research Ethics Committee relating to the application, will be subject to the provisions of the Freedom of Information Acts. The information may be disclosed in response to requests made under the Acts except where statutory exemptions apply.
- I understand that all conditions apply to any co-applicants and researchers involved in the study, and that it is my responsibility to ensure that they abide by them.
- **For Supervisors:** I understand my responsibilities as supervisor, and will ensure, to the best of my abilities, that the student investigator abides by the University's Policy on Research Ethics at all times.
- **For the Student Investigator:** I understand my responsibilities to work within a set of safety, ethical and other guidelines as agreed in advance with my supervisor and understand that I must comply with the University's regulations and any other applicable code of ethics at all times.
- **Signature of Principal Investigator** or **Supervisor:**
- **Date:** (20th October 2014)
- **Print Name:** Diane Frost and Dave Whyte
- **Signature of Student Investigator:**
- **Date:** (dd/mm/yyyy)
- **Print Name:**

SECTION A - IDENTIFYING INFORMATION

Title of the research (*PLEASE INCLUDE A SHORT LAY TITLE IN BRACKETS*).

Regeneration and the Re-Constitution of a Community: Ethnic Minorities and the impact of public policies

A2) PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR / SUPERVISOR *_(PLEASE DELETE AS APPROPRIATE)*

Title:	Mr	Staff number:	
Forename/Initials:	Michael P	Surname:	Simon
Post:	5 Longfellow St. L8 0QU	Department:	Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology
Telephone:	07810043184	E-mail:	m.p.simon@liverpool.ac.uk

A3) Student Investigator(s)

Title and Name	Post / Current programme (if student investigator)	Department/ School/Institution if not UoL	Phone	Email

A4) Co-Applicants

Title and Name	Post / Current programme (if student investigator)	Department/ School/Institution if not UoL	Phone	Email

SECTION B - PROJECT DETAILS

B1) Proposed study dates and duration (RESEARCH MUST NOT BEGIN UNTIL ETHICAL APPROVAL HAS BEEN OBTAINED)

Please complete as appropriate:

EITHER

- a) **Starting as soon as ethical approval has been obtained**

YES (PLEASE DELETE AS APPLICABLE)

Approximate end date:	09/15
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OR

b) Approximate dates:

Start date:	Jan 2015	End date:	Sept 2015
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- B2) Give a FULL LAY SUMMARY of the purpose, design and methodology of the planned research. N.B. Please use as little jargon or technical language as possible. Where jargon / technical language is unavoidable, please ensure you provide a lay explanation. Please define any acronyms. The summary must be understood by persons outside of the subject area including members of the general public**

My research ostensibly investigates how Government policies cascade through Local Authorities and are realised within local communities. Furthermore, the research will observe how class and ethnicity intersect and although often integral to the formation of policy strategies, have historically within local communities have little local input. I will be using the diverse community of Liverpool 8 as my case study. This area has been the subject of myriad 'regeneration' strategies and policy research over the past 40 years; however, it would appear that recent regeneration of local space has occurred at a grassroots level and outside the large funding streams i.e., Housing Market Renewal Initiative. There appears to be significant economic boons and diversification of housing provision from the more recent tranches of immigration. Consequently, my methodological approach has formulated a framework which seeks to understand and articulate the processes and local interpretations and will utilise Marxist conceptual tools to understand and articulate findings.

Therefore, a significant aspect of the empirical research will be to match the 'grey' literature of government (Local and Central) policies and programmes to what took place at the point of delivery. This will be augmented by qualitative interpretations from those at the point of service delivery i.e., local Councillors, Members of Parliament, Executive Officers of local strategic partnerships, Housing and Community Regeneration Officers, Third Sector Project Officers and Local Activists and Community Members of tenants and resident groups, activists, and local businesses. Due to recent development within the regeneration initiatives of the Granby St. area there will also be an aspect of participant observation. This will be primarily to understand and observe the process and interaction between 'community stakeholders' and local physical change.

- B3) List any research assistants, sub-contractors or other staff not named above who will be involved in the research and detail their involvement.**

None

- B4) List below all research sites, and their Lead Investigators, to be included in this study.**

Research Site	Individual Responsible	Position and contact details

B5) Are the results of the study to be disseminated in the public domain?

YES

➤ *If not, why not?*

B6) Give details of the funding of the research, including funding organisation(s), amount applied for or secured, duration, and University of Liverpool reference

Funding Body	Amount	Duration	UoL Reference

B7) Give details of any interests, commercial or otherwise, you or your co-applicants have in the funding body.

--

SECTION C - EXPEDITED REVIEW

C1)

<p>a) Will the study involve recruitment of participants outside the UK?</p> <p><i>For studies involving overseas sites, please ensure you have researched any local approvals that might be required. Wherever possible this should include local research ethics approval.</i></p>	No
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<i>In the absence of a research ethics approval body, other relevant local approvals should be obtained, e.g. authorisation from a site, letter from a local organisation or group etc.</i>	
b) Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent? <i>(e.g. children, people with learning or communication disabilities, people in custody, people engaged in illegal activities such as drug-taking, your own students in an educational capacity) (Note: this does not include secondary data authorised for release by the data collector for research purposes.)</i>	No
c) Will the study require obtaining consent from a “research participant advocate” (for definition see guidance notes) in lieu of participants who are unable to give informed consent? <i>(e.g. for research involving children or, people with learning or communication disabilities)</i>	No
d) Will it be necessary for participants, whose consent to participate in the study will be required, to take part without their knowledge at the time? <i>(e.g. covert observation using photography or video recording)</i>	No
e) Does the study involve deliberately misleading the participants?	No
f) Will the study require discussion of sensitive topics that may cause distress or embarrassment to the participant or potential risk of disclosure to the researcher of criminal activity or child protection issues? <i>(e.g. sexual activity, criminal activity)</i>	No
g) Are drugs, placebos or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) to be administered to the study participants or will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind?	No
h) Will samples (e.g. blood, DNA, tissue) be obtained from participants?	No
i) Is pain or more than mild discomfort likely to result from the study?	No
j) Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?	No
k) Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing?	No
l) Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?	No

C2)

a) Will the study seek written, informed consent?	Yes
b) Will participants be informed that their participation is voluntary?	Yes
c) Will participants be informed that they are free to withdraw at any time?	Yes
d) Will participants be informed of aspects relevant to their continued participation in the study?	Yes
e) Will participants' data remain confidential?	Yes
f) Will participants be debriefed?	Yes

If you have answered 'no' to all items in SECTION C1 and 'yes' to all questions in SECTION C2 the application will be processed through expedited review.

If you have answered "Yes" to one or more questions in Section C1, or "No" to one or more questions in Section C2, but wish to apply for expedited review, please make the case below.

C3) Case for Expedited Review – To be used if asking for expedited review despite answering YES to questions in C1 or NO to answers in C2.

this should be filled out, saying:

- 1 that you live in the local community where interviews will take place and therefore you are very familiar with the area and with the businesses where the research will be advertised
- 2 that interviews will always be held in public places such as cafes or at the workplace of the relevant interviewee
- 3 reiterate that no vulnerable people will be included
- 4 reiterate that although you have identified a risk that personal biographies may emerge during the interview process, that this is minimal

SECTION D - PARTICIPANT DETAILS

D1) How many participants will be recruited?

50 -70

D2) How was the number of participants decided upon?

The case study has an element of historic development of policies, for example the Local Authority Officers have a tendency to move on within employment; therefore, I may have to interview several people who occupied a particular senior role at a particular point in time. Also, there are a several community led groups operating within the case study area and it would be remiss to exclude any even if they may have limited input within and across the research area.

D3)

a) Describe how potential participants in the study will be identified, approached and recruited.

The participants will be drawn from individuals and organisations identified through council and local documents, as having input into and across the process of regeneration (realised and non-realised) within the case study area. Pertinent Senior Executive Officers of the Local Authority will also be approached to contextualise local initiatives and programmes. Local groups will be identified through the researchers local knowledge and will be augmented by potential snowball samples following initial interviews.

b) Inclusion criteria:

Inclusion will be based upon local knowledge, subject matter, or professional remit. All participants will be adults as this study is based upon adult experience.

c) Exclusion criteria:

Below the age of 18

d) Are any specific groups to be excluded from this study? If so please list them and explain why:

Vulnerable Adults – If this becomes pertinent i.e., nursing homes, schools etc; then it is the Managers or Senior staff that will be interviewed as it is the organisation that will be the point of interest not the service users.

e) Give details for cases and controls separately if appropriate:

None

f) Give details of any advertisements:

I plan to use Facebook and Twitter for local recruitment and a poster to display in targeted places of interest.

D4)

- a) State the numbers of participants from any of the following vulnerable groups and justify their inclusion

Children under 16 years of age:	0
Adults with learning disabilities:	0
Adults with dementia:	0
Prisoners:	0
Young Offenders:	0
Adults who are unable to consent for themselves:	0
Those who could be considered to have a particularly dependent relationship with the investigator, e.g. those in care homes, students of the PI or Co-applicants:	0
Other vulnerable groups (please list):	0

- b) State the numbers of healthy volunteer participants:

Healthy Volunteers	All
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D5)

- a) Describe the arrangements for gaining informed consent from the research participants.

Participants will be issued with an information sheet detailing the topic and nature of the proposed research, data protection and confidentiality issues. Additionally, they will be required to sign an informed consent agreement prior to interview or participation in focus groups.

- b) If participants are to be recruited from any of the potentially vulnerable groups listed above, give details of extra steps taken to assure their protection, including arrangements to obtain consent from a legal, political or other appropriate representative in addition to the consent of the participant (e.g. HM Prison Service for research with young offenders, Head Teachers for research with children etc.).

N/A

- c) If participants might not adequately understand verbal explanations or written information given in English, describe the arrangements for those participants (e.g. translation, use of interpreters etc.)

N/A

- d) Where informed consent is not to be obtained (including the deception of participants) please explain why.

N/A

D6)

What is the potential for benefit to research participants, if any?

This study is intended to furnish the local community and organisations with an accurate piece of research depicting the historic, economic, and social development of the local community. The research could similarly be of use to those policy professionals within the housing, third sector and other community-based organisations which seek to understand the process of particular policy development and delivery. Similarly, it is envisaged that the local community activists will have the opportunity to contribute towards a research project which may have a wider resonance in addressing accepted political axioms.

D7) State any fees, reimbursements for time and inconvenience, or other forms of compensation that individual research participants may receive. Include direct payments, reimbursement of expenses or any other benefits of taking part in the research?

None

SECTION E - RISKS AND THEIR MANAGEMENT

NOTE: Completing section E fulfils the requirement for risk assessment, provided that this section is reviewed if circumstances change, or new information makes it necessary.

A copy of this form should be given to your departmental safety coordinator to enable monitoring of risk assessments. The findings of the risk assessment, especially the precautions required, must be communicated in a user-friendly way to all those doing this work.

- E1) Describe in detail the potential physical or psychological adverse effects, risks or hazards (minimal, moderate, high or severe) of involvement in the research for research participants.**

Due to the nature of the topic it is envisaged that confidential data in the form of personal information will not be required. However that is not to say that personal biographies may not emerge during the interview process, in which participant may reflect upon what they have revealed. This is considered a minimal risk.

- E2) Explain how the potential benefits of the research outweigh any risks to the participants.**

If the aforementioned minimal risk arises, participants will be assured that information is confidential with regards to data protection and will be anonymised in the report.

- E3) Describe in detail the potential adverse effects, risks or hazards (minimal, moderate, high or severe) arising from this research to the researchers or anyone else.**

None

- E4) What precautions will be in place to minimise the risks identified in E1 and E3?**

No individuals will be identified within the study's reporting, all will be assigned a designated alpha numeric ID. Similarly, participants from professional organisations will have the option of withholding the identity of the organisation they work at or worked for in the past (should that be the focus of the interview).

- E5) Will individual or group interviews/questionnaires discuss any topics or issues that might be sensitive, embarrassing or upsetting, or is it possible that criminal or other disclosures requiring action could take place during the study (e.g. during interviews/group discussions, or use of screening tests for drugs)?**

NO

➤ **If Yes, give details of procedures in place to deal with these issues.**

- E6)**

Describe the measures in place in the event of any unexpected outcomes or adverse events to participants arising from their involvement in the project

The project will be monitored by the academic supervisor and progress discussed during regular meetings.

E7) Explain how the conduct of the project will be monitored to ensure that it conforms with the study plan and relevant University policies and guidance.

The research will be regularly be discussed at supervisory meetings and a record kept of all contacts with potential and participating subjects.

SECTION F - DATA ACCESS AND STORAGE

F1) Where the research involves any of the following activities at any stage (including identification of potential research participants), state what measures have been put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data (e.g. encryption or other anonymisation procedures will be used).

**PLEASE NOTE THAT UNLESS THERE ARE EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES, ALL DATA MUST BE HELD SECURELY ON THE "M" DRIVE AND IN LINE WITH UNIVERSITY POLICY. VISIT THE CSD WEBPAGES FOR FURTHER INFORMATION*

Electronic transfer of data by magnetic or optical media, e-mail or computer networks	All audio data will be kept on a laptop in which only the researcher has access to, and which is secure through a series of passwords
Sharing of data with other organisations	N/A
Exporting data outside the European Union	N/A
Use of personal addresses, postcodes, faxes, e-mails or telephone numbers	N/A
Publication of direct quotations from respondents	Anonymized unless pre-agreed upon and documented
Publication of data that might allow identification of individuals	Participants will have access to full transcripts before publication. Use of pseudonyms to protect individual identities
Use of audio/visual recording devices	Recording device will be used during interviews, and immediately transferred to University PC's M Drive of researcher. Data will systematically be deleted following each interview's audio transferrance.
Storage of personal data on any of the following:	
Manual files	
Home or other personal computers	Data will be securely stored on the UoL M Drive or PC – from which I can access through a university app.
University computers	Data will be securely stored on the UoL M Drive or PC – from which I can access through a university app.
Private company computers	Data will be securely stored on the UoL M Drive or PC – from which I can access through a university app.
Laptop computers	Data will be securely stored on the UoL M Drive or PC – from which I can access through a university app.

F2) Who will have control of and act as the PRIMARY custodian for the data generated by the study?

SUPERVISOR (FOR STUDENT PROJECTS) / PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

(PLEASE DELETE AS APPLICABLE)

F3) Who will have access to the data generated by the study?

Michael P. Simon

F4) For how long will data from the study be stored?

In accordance with the policies of UoL

SECTION G – PEER REVIEW AND TRAINING

G1) a) Has the project undergone peer review?

No

b) If yes, by whom was this carried out? (please enclose evidence if available)

This is research for PhD fieldwork and the research strategy has been fully reviewed by the supervisors, Dr Di Frost and Dr David Whyte

G2)

a) What date was your most recent training in research ethics?

Date:	2011
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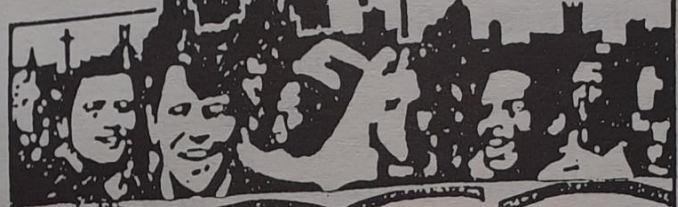
b) Please provide details of the training provider and course:

Training provider:	University of Liverpool
Course title:	SOCI 501 Introduction to Research SOCI 507 Advanced Qualitative Strategies

SECTION H - CHECKLIST OF ENCLOSURES

*PLEASE ADD "YES" WHERE
APPROPRIATE*

Study Plan / Protocol	No
Recruitment advertisement	
Participant information sheet	YES
Participant Consent form	YES
Research Participant Advocate Consent form	N/A
Evidence of external approvals	N/A
Questionnaires on sensitive topics	N/A
Interview schedule	N/A
Debriefing material	N/A
Other (please specify)	N/A
Evidence of peer review (If G1 = Yes)	N/A



Black Caucus Support Group

Liverpool Trades Council; M.T.U.C.U.R.C.;
 Mossley Hill CLP; Riverside CLP; Picton Ward
 LP; Bootle Ward LP; Granby Ward LP; Arundel Ward
 LP; Pirrie Ward LP; Vauxhall Ward LP; T&GWU;
 NALGO; ASTMS; NATFHE; G&MBATU; NUPE;

Somali Association,
 Chinese Community
 Centre, Caribbean
 Centre; Sikh
 Community Organisation;
 Circle of Literary
 Friends; All
 Pakistan Womens
 Association; Bishop
 Sheppard; Arch
 Bishop Worlock; St.
 Benards Church; St
 Margarets Church,
 Methodist Centre,
 Charles Wootton
 Tech Centre Ltd;
 MCRC; MST Ltd; L8
 Law Centre; Charles
 Wootton Centre;
 Third World
 Promotions; Chinese
 Advisory Group;
 Womens Technology
 Centre; C.P.G.B.; Area

Profile Group; University of Liverpool Sociology
 Dept; Princes Park & Granby Community Council;
 NUT; Labour Party Black Sections; South
 Liverpool Personnel; MATSA; Passionist Inner
 City Mission; Liverpool Black Womens Group

SHOW YOUR SOLIDARITY IN OUR COMMON STRUGGLE

Send your letters of support to:
 The Black Caucus Support Group,
 c/o 64 Mount Pleasant,
 LIVERPOOL L3 5SH

Send your letters of protest to:
 Cllr. John Hamilton,
 Leader of the City Council,
 c/o The Municipal Building,
 Dale Street,
 LIVERPOOL L69 2DH

TAKE IT FROM ME,
 THE BLACK CAUCUS
 HAS NO SUPPORT!
 D. HATTON.



AN INJUSTICE HAS BEEN DONE — IT MUST BE SEEN TO BE UNDONE!!

BLACK LINX

Published by the Merseyside Community Relations Council.

December 1984

20p



Black organisations and sections of the Labour movement demonstrate against the proposed appointment of Sam Bond as Principal Race Adviser for Liverpool City Council.

**SPECIAL ISSUE
RACISM
and the
CITY
COUNCIL**