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**Models of Organisation and Leadership
Behaviour amongst Ethnic Minority Communities
and Policing in Britain**

London School of Economics

PhD in Social Policy

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how the cultural, social and economic characteristics of the African-Caribbean community shape the type of policing problems experienced, and its response to these issues. Central to the problems encountered by this community is the historic role played by racism in shaping important aspects of its ethnic group behaviour. In order to elucidate these issues, a comparison of Jews and Hindu communities was undertaken. Drawing from cultural history, sociologies of race and ethnicity, organisational theory and criminology, the research highlights how the African-Caribbean community has evolved a particular tendency towards specific models of organisations and leadership strategies, premised on notions of group identity. The Jewish and Hindu communities also have developed preferred ways of approaching issues, which are examined in turn. Each approach seeks to address complex problems which leaders are called to tackle and have important implications for the strategies adopted.

The second part of the study presents evidence collected between 1993-1995 in a North West borough of London, and highlights the similarity of concerns between particular ethnic communities and the role played by the African-Caribbean community as a source of much of these problems, as well as being a victim of a range of difficult policing problems of its own.

The research found that while particular ethnic groups were able effectively to address specific policing concerns, the African-Caribbean had some unique constraints limiting its effectiveness. The principal set of constraints affecting them was found to be the greater number of structural problems it faced, and highlights the intrinsic relationship between the problems experienced by this ethnic community and how this is determined by broader political considerations. These difficulties were exacerbated by the group's own internal differences creating ongoing communal and organisational instability.

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CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this study is to examine the issue of African-Caribbean leadership, culture and organisation in comparison with other ethnic communities. Leadership is defined here as the ability of an individual, or body, to exercise sufficient power, or influence, to shape social and political behaviour (Gouldbourne 1991).

One specific research objective is to establish the extent to which racism helps to structure the organisational and leadership behaviour of African-Caribbean leaders and if any other factors contribute to the development of particular approaches, or models, of problem solving and organisational behaviour.

Two approaches will be examined in particular detail. One of these I call the 'black power model' which seeks to maximise autonomy and key aspects of the African-Caribbean group's cultural identity. The other has been termed 'accommodationism' and is reliant on a more pragmatic approach to power and influence. Both these approaches are historically rooted and have evolved from the initial contact between Africans and Europeans. The contrasts between these approaches inform much of the complexity of contemporary relations and debates. At the heart of these concerns is the practical issue of how does the African-Caribbean community and its leaders best pursue their community's interests, and what methods can effectively deliver the desired outcomes, including the various constraints at work? (Small 1994).

In order to examine some of these issues I decided to undertake a comparative study of ethnic minority communities and their response to priority policing concerns. One of the aims of this approach is to ascertain whether a combination of historical, social and cultural characteristics lead ethnic communities to develop particular modes of response to specific issues; and also whether there are any commonalities or intrinsic strengths and weaknesses in these strategies.

This study will examine how various ethnic minority voluntary associations attempt to influence specific policing problems at the local level. The underlying assumption guiding this study is the ability of minority leaders to influence the police is contingent on two important variables.

Firstly, each ethnic minority community develops specific models of association and leadership which evolve from its own unique historical, cultural, and social circumstances providing the basic resources and framework which they bring to social problems, of which policing is but one. An important dimension of these associational and leadership models, is that they represent values which are of fundamental importance to these communities and play an expressive role in the representation of group identity. While this study attempts to trace what is common to ethnic minority groups, it also seeks to elucidate the differences both within and between these communities. It analyses how these differences enhance, or constrain, attempts to influence the decision-making process of one of the key institutions of state, the police.

The evidence which this writer believes will illuminate the existence of models of leadership and association is assisted by Schein's (1985) work on cultural analysis and leadership. This rests on being able to identify attitudes on a range of issues, such as: values, cognitive assumptions, attitudes to autonomy/dependency, conflict and accommodation, and how group membership is defined *inter alia*. What is suggested is that the data presented provides a qualitative picture of broad types of orientations that help to shape how these groups understand and relate to the world.

Secondly, how minority communities are able to tackle specific problems is contingent on the nature of the problem in question. But equally important is the ability and effectiveness of communal associations and leadership to reconcile the resources available for given problems (Mintz 1978, Hood 1986). From the outset the author was aware that given the superior power of central government in comparison to ethnic minorities, it was not possible to assume that the effectiveness of ethnic leaders could be deduced simply from their degree of success in achieving specific goals, as in changing policy (Clark and Huggins 1982, Hesse 1989), as this is highly contingent on the nature of the issue in question and the types of countervailing interests involved (Lukes 1974, O'Leary and Dunleavy 1987: 36-37). In fact Hood (1986) suggests that many policy problems may well be irresolvable. Under such circumstances the data sought should indicate the ability of leaders to

successfully influence the behaviour of group members to act in a desired manner regardless of outcomes.

The two ethnic groups chosen for comparison with the African-Caribbean community are the Jewish and Hindu communities. The purpose of choosing these two groups is different. In historical and socio-economic terms, Jews represents one of the most established British ethnic minority communities. At the same time Jews are often held up as a comparator in identifying common historical experience (Lyons 1972, Parekh 1994); also as a model for other minority communities by the Jewish community itself and by observers (Alderman 1989: 139, Gilroy 1993b: 205-223).

Two important issues complicate such comparisons in how the Jewish community has been able to represent itself and its history, masking some of the unique characteristics and the contextual factors that shaped the group's development; as well as methods used to tackle key problems and the success of such strategies. Despite the almost irresistible urge to compare the Jewish community and newer ethnic minority communities, much of these judgements are based on inconsistent criteria combined with a significant degree of ignorance, lack of evidence, or the way such evidence is treated.

Gilroy correctly cites the particular commonalities between Jews and blacks and their struggle against racism. This is illustrated by the influences on the black intellectual community. At the same time Gilroy fails to address the fundamental differences between large sections of the Jewish community and black people historically and politically (Cruse 1984: 146-189, Bourne 1987, Powers 1996: 136-7). One key omission is Gilroy's failure to appreciate the role of Jews in slavery, which is interesting since he cites the seminal work of James (1963) on several occasions. Given the importance of this experience in structuring the worldview of significant numbers of black people (Baker 1994) Gilroy's omissions are an important deficiency and indicative of this complex relationship best illustrated in Abdul Malik (1967).

In the area of policing despite the Jewish community's long history, very little is known about how it has dealt with issues of concern in the past and even recently for that matter (Bowling 1993: 56).

The Jewish community is no stranger to antagonism regarding its perceived relationship to crime or the police. For example, the role of Jewish criminal sub-cultures is well illustrated in the world of 19th century literature such as Dickens' 'Oliver Twist', or in studies of the period of Jews and poverty (Colquhoun 1796, Gartner 1972, Kosmin 1981: 187, Samuel 1981: 76-80, Black 1988).

Rather than these issues being expediently side-stepped, as in popular explanations of the group's 'great tradition' (Lyche-Tambs 1975: 353), illustrated in the writing of Jakobovits (1986), critical exploration of this area helps to provide a fuller explanation of Jewish experience and how this community has managed to consolidate its position in British society.

The inclusion of the Hindu/East African Asian community serves as an interesting comparator given its relatively recent settlement. Moreover, this group's experiences of British colonialism has led many commentators to cite East African Asian's achievements, as with the Jewish community before them, as comparators with the African-Caribbean community. These comparisons too often obfuscate the intrinsic differences between such communities including the nature of both past and contemporary racial disadvantage and its consequences for many minority communities; of which the African-Caribbean community is the most obvious and best publicised (Seidel 1986). An important aspect of this is the racist attitude often found amongst these groups to each other, and what light this throws on understanding these different experiences (The Independent, 5 February 1997). This shared view towards African-Caribbeans is but one similarity in the attitude of some in the Jewish and the Hindu community.

Peach (1996) has suggested that the model of development evolved by the East African Hindu community is similar in kind to that used by the Jewish community. As in most of these comparisons, the implicit assumption that the models of development evolved by these groups are both desirable and unproblematic (The Independent *ibid*, see Levitas et al 1986). In the area of attitudes of young people, there is evidence to suggest similarity of experiences and cultural responses between young Asians and African-Caribbeans. This can be seen in terms of forms of self-identification and greater assertiveness to perceived racist behaviour (Westwood 1991, Alexander 1996, Sewell 2000).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The specific aims that this study will attempt to address are:

- to identify the specific policing issues affecting the Jewish, Hindu and African-Caribbean community;
- to identify the strategies developed by leaders and associations to influence the police;
- to identify and explain the degree of success these communities experience in bringing changes about and the role played by voluntary associations and leaders;
- to identify and explain the various responses of the police to the demands of these communities.

The research methods used in this study were largely determined by very practical considerations regarding obtaining the relevant types of data sought. In the first instance, this study focuses on the work of ethnic voluntary association elites and how they interact with other organisational elites. However, at the same time it attempts to elucidate how matters of ethnic culture shape the organisational, leadership behaviour, and attitudes of various communities. These concerns are particularly governed by the absence of in-depth studies on the role of ethnic cultures and how they inform the social behaviour of particular communities (Chapter 2). The weaknesses of general community surveys and quantitative methods are many despite their numerous advantages. For example, in providing more reliable data and explanations around a range of variables and the practical import in policy terms (Harris and McCullough 1973, Smith 1975, Noaks and Wincup 2004).

However, the inability to provide in-depth 'thick' or 'rich' descriptions of matters under study (Noaks and Wincup 2004: 94) weakens the use of quantitative methods in research of this type and is illustrated in Cumberbatch and Tadesse (1987). Some important considerations in shaping the writer's choice of methods used in the study were influenced by the following assumptions:

1. While all minority communities consist of various differences of interests (Studler 1986, Werbner 1991) there are some issues which provide the potential to obtain a

representative view of matters of concern to such communities without recourse to large survey methods, particularly in matters regarding ethnic norms and attitudes (Mintz 1978, Cumberbatch and Tadesse 1987: 67).

2. To the extent these issues are articulated, or are important in shaping the behaviour of ethnic groups, they will be acknowledged by the police responsible if and where possible. This does not imply that issues gain legitimacy through the agreement of the police, but what it does suggest is that when these claims are made the police are forced to acknowledge them, if only that.
3. The perceptions of respondents are valid sources of data for understanding their views on important aspects of the issues in question and the complexities which maybe involved.
4. Insofar as minority associations have an ongoing relationship with the police this provides a context for deeper exploration and sources of data.

As a consequence of these considerations and the research objectives, the methodological approach used was more closely related to the ethnographic tradition, despite Noaks and Wincup's observation that there lacks a clear consensus on precisely what such an approach actually consists of. Fundamental to this tradition is an emphasis on participant observation techniques, the utilisation of several research methods in conjunction, such as documentary analysis and in-depth interviewing to provide complementary or competing definitions of reality with which the researcher has to work with. In this regard Noaks and Wincup (2004: 91) argue it is possibly more useful to see ethnography as a research strategy as opposed to a methodology in the traditional usage of the term. But more importantly it seeks to obtain the best possible data by the use of a mixed array of techniques (Devine and Heath 1999).

The disparate tools used by researchers in the generic ethnographic tradition is also important in emphasising one of its strengths in providing flexibility insofar as it enables the study of a wide-range of groups and settings using different theoretical frameworks.

The first element of the methodology utilised was identifying suitable ethnic voluntary associations. The method used is based loosely on that of Dahl (1961) and Hunter (1980)

in their studies on political and organisational elites which consisted of initially obtaining a list of names from the local authority, and other statutory agencies in the area, who may have some knowledge or relationship with minority voluntary associations. This approach is justified on the basis that as most minority voluntary associations will have some interaction with statutory and governmental associations, it is possible to ascertain data on the types of associations which exist in the study area.

A similar process was used with regards to the police from whom a list of community associations was obtained from its Community Liaison Department. At the same time the national statutory body responsible for race relations, the Commission For Racial Equality (CRE), was approached for lists of local affiliated bodies and groups. Interviews were arranged with prominent individuals involved with race relations in the area who were familiar with the local scene and contributed by identifying leaders and associations. For example, the local CRE affiliated race and community relations body was to prove very useful in this regards. The local Police Consultative Group was also invaluable in playing a similar role. The archives of the local newspapers were visited, along with the monitoring of the local press to identify relevant organisations.

After collecting the various names of ethnic minority voluntary associations, which amounted to almost 200 groups, a process of elimination was used to identify appropriate associations. The key criteria used for making these decisions consisted of the organisation's function and active involvement in policing matters. The type of associations eliminated included a large number of predominantly single-issue Hindu cultural groups, e.g. art, poetry etc. Another set of groups which were excluded in this way were numerous mother and child associations, senior citizens groups and other age-specific groups with little ongoing contact with the police.

The exclusion of these associations does not indicate that they had no interaction with the police; in fact these groups may have greater fear or experience of crime, but whatever relations that existed was quite sporadic and inadequate for research of this nature. The critical criteria for inclusion of groups at this juncture was ongoing relations with the police which would facilitate the study of organisational and leadership problem-solving around social issues including matters about the relationship between them and the police. The remaining associations were then cross-checked with the lists supplied by the police in conjunction with local and ethnic press articles. Preliminary interviews with the police also

provided an opportunity to establish whether any of the associations or groups previously excluded could be re-introduced.

Once appropriate ethnic associations were identified, it was the writer's intention to study two voluntary associations from each community in order to obtain a more representative picture of the issues in question. This proved to be more difficult than first envisaged. In the case of the Jewish community, one organisation met the criteria and enjoyed a monopoly of representation on most aspects of Jewish life in the area. As a consequence two local branches of this national association, along with its central office, were included in the study.

One of the problems faced by the researcher was actually gaining access to associations which did not appear to be part of the formal system of ethnic representation (Buchanan et al 1988). This was particularly an issue with Hindu groups as the writer did not speak the languages and dialects spoken by various sections of that community. This was even more problematic given the large number of associations affiliated with the major Hindu social-welfare association in the area. Many were found to be a combination of religious sects, caste, social kinship groupings etc.

However, it became apparent that numerous associations and groupings were organised largely on an internally orientated basis and therefore even more difficult to access (Desai 1963, Werbner 1991, Nye 1993). Another organisation which purported to be a national Gujarati association was approached and interviewed, however it transpired that its involvement in policing matters were limited with contributions on the issue consisting of very generalised observations and concerns and not necessarily related to the local area. This led the researcher to question some of its claims regarding its representativeness and involvement in policing matters, and as a consequence the data obtained was not included in the findings.

Ultimately, two Hindu associations were chosen which catered for the needs of the predominantly East African Indian community in the area. The first association consisted of a local community association, the most established in a particular part of the borough. This association has been called the Hindu Neighbourhood Association (HNA). The second association is called for the purpose of this study the Hindu Mission, or Mission for short, a religious association with considerable presence in the borough.

In the case of the African-Caribbean community two associations on the same council estate were chosen. The population of the estate is estimated to be 7,000-8,000 residents (Robins 1992). One of these associations had dominated the local scene for a relatively short period until its rapid demise. The other, a tenants' association dominated by African-Caribbean representatives had just reconstituted itself with a new chairperson after an acrimonious split.

Given the high profile of these two associations, illustrated by their dominance in terms of press reporting, both were included in the study. These associations are called 'the Association' and the Neighbourhood Forum, or 'Forum' respectively. One important difficulty experienced was efforts to secure an interview with the founder of the Forum, who (unknown to the researcher at the time) had recently been forced from office. Despite successfully making appointments on several occasions he failed to keep them. Through the course of the fieldwork it became clear why this individual would have legitimate concerns about the purpose of the research and the uses which it may be put to and various implications for the individual in question (Blauner and Wellman 1973: 321-323). During the fieldwork the researcher was made aware of another group formed out of a specific set of incidents involving complaints against the police; because of the significance of this group's activities, and its relationship to the two other associations, it was decided to include this group in the research. This organisation is called 'the Support Group'.

Much of the fieldwork undertaken in this community was shaped by opportunities which were unexpectedly made available, due to accidents of timing, which the writer sought to exploit (Buchanan et al 1988: 55). The perceived benefits of adopting such an approach was judged to outweigh any methodological difficulties in terms of the inability to interview all respondents involved or gain access to formal records etc.

In many cases respondents were not initially included in those to be interviewed, but during the fieldwork and interviews their involvement came to light and were approached on that basis. These include two Senior Officers of the CRE with direct responsibilities for related areas, a Senior Police Officer previously responsible for A7 the then Community Relations Branch at Scotland Yard, a legal advisor at the local Citizen's Advice Bureau, the Director of the local race and community relations organisation, the Chairman of the local Police Consultative Group, a Senior Officer from the local authority and locally based Manager

and Community Development Officer. Also interviewed was the local officer of the central government City Challenge Programme.

Interviews were held with two leaders of various Pakistani Muslim organisations in the study area, given that many from this ethnic community lived on the housing estate where fieldwork was being carried out and were subject to muggings predominantly by African-Caribbeans, despite the study focusing on East African Hindus in the local area on the basis of relevance some of this data is included in the research. Interviews were also held with four leaders from two popular African-Caribbean Christian churches.

There were concerns regarding the instability of the African-Caribbean study targets because of major organisational problems involving impending court action and the difficulties of access due to the acrimonious departure of its founder and chairman in the other. The black churches were included as back-up in case the first choice study targets proved to provide insufficient data, or the termination of their involvement in the research project. This back-up data is not included in the following study.

In terms of the local police organisation those interviewed included the Chief Superintendent (Divisional Commander) for the geographical area and beyond, the Superintendent for the study policing area, two Sector Inspectors and four Sector Sergeants. Given the division of police work as it related to the study and its core concerns, interviews with police constables was deemed unnecessary; particularly given their lack of ongoing contact or relations with ethnic leaders. In total approximately 50 individuals were interviewed, inclusive of the police, the findings of which are included in the body of the work.

Problems of access were acute in the case of the Association. The problems experienced by this writer raised fundamental issues in understanding race and ethnic relations generally and consistent with key themes throughout this work. From the outset the decision was taken to use the researcher's professional role as a policy adviser for the police to gain access to key decision-makers. This approach was based on the assumption that the institutional status of the police provided both legitimacy and access which enhanced the possibility for more frank interviews and better quality data (Young 1991). The problems of access to key police decision-makers has been discussed by Reiner (1991: 39-42).

Being African-Caribbean allowed the researcher to benefit in two direct ways. The police, like most white institutions, assume that most ethnic minority professionals are accommodationist in orientation. A basic requirement for smooth interaction in such multi-racial context is a degree of accommodation and acculturalisation on the behalf of black professionals. This is assisted by being able to speak the dominant group's specific 'cultural language' (Small 1983: 131, Alexander 1996: 87) given that the researcher was already working with and familiar with the police.

The approach adopted in gaining access to institutions and other ethnic minority voluntary associations in the study was more problematic in the case of the Association. While the legitimacy of being a black professional working in the police was sufficient to gain access to most organisations, in the case of the Association these attributes were viewed with suspicion (Blauner and Wellman 1973). The pertinence of these issues within the research context is critical and many-fold. Social scientists are social beings and influenced by factors such as race, gender, class etc, as well as being potentially influenced by the phenomenon under study by the same token due to these affiliations or underlying values or attitudes. However, for the black social scientist researcher, Sawyer (1973) argues when studying matters with ethnic implications these dynamics may take on additional salience which have significant ethical consequences.

One such outcome and problem is the pressures resulting in 'withholding data' given that black communities hold attitudes and feelings towards dominant white society which are bound by ethnic privilege. This raises concerns about how much and what type of data should be revealed to the outside world; particularly as this may relate to strategies and tactics used to counter oppressive practices or other things which such communities maybe reluctant to pass onto the white community.

Sawyer maintains a traditional view of how these matters are resolved is shaped by what she terms 'matters of faith'; assuming researchers place higher value on beliefs that information provided with highest of intentions intrinsically results in positive outcomes at some point in the process. She goes on to argue that such a view given the experiences of many social groups is far too optimistic and can be seen in the use of black and other ethnic community subjects in extremely unethical and life-threatening scientific experiments (Smith 1975: 8-9). Moreover, as Blauner and Wellman (1973: 318) suggest, the view of research

having positive impacts on social groups beyond the life cycle of normal human beings stretches the ethical premise of the researcher extremely thin. In the face of such issues a critical concern for research of this type is what steps have been taken to protect the misuse of data; without resorting to the withholding scenario which has potentially adverse consequence on the communities in question and quality of the research and its usefulness in practical terms (Sawyer 1973, Blauner and Wellman 1973).

Another set of issues which serves as a potential obstacle to the ethnic minority researcher are dangers of over-identification or simply being too close to the subject matter to operate in an objective, critical and measured manner. This can manifest in many ways in this specific context (not limited to ethnicity) as for example, simply failing to interrogate police accounts given the researcher's familiarisation with its internal organisation and many related issues. This can apply in ethnic contexts or inadvertently respondents failing to elaborate due to their assumptions about pre-existing shared knowledge. Equally, shared ethnicity which can provide easier access in one instance may exclude in another; or may lead to data being withheld or 'softened' particularly in research of this nature which involves several ethnic communities.

The way the researcher sought to resolve these many important issues was by attempting to balance these considerations with the over-riding concern of producing research which hopefully contributes to potentially filling an important hiatus in knowledge with practical import for ethnic communities, agencies and institutions in a very accessible and immediate manner in better understanding their organisational and leadership behaviour including its strengths and weaknesses.

From the outset the researcher decided that any data found to be obviously harmful to individuals or communities, either directly or otherwise, in terms of allegations or unsubstantiated rumours would be excluded from the published findings. If such data was found to be important such as, issues regarding leadership competence or honesty, it would only be included if sufficient evidence from multiple sources could be provided. In other cases contradictory primary evidence has been included to counter various potentially damaging claims or are challenged by the author in the main body of text or footnotes etc.

While the initial risk assessment carried out may not be exhaustive (Smith 1975: 14-15), conscious attempts have been made to protect those believed to be most vulnerable from

the various potential and adverse outcomes which could be foreseen. This has involved in some cases disguising the gender of some individuals given the nature of their professions. Given the sensitivity of much of the data sought, attempts have been made to respect the anonymity of individuals; even though this was never stipulated by respondents as a condition of participating in the research. In the case of the African-Caribbean case study, many senior political and local authority officials refused to participate due to the political and legal sensitivity of issues in question. In some instances given the need to draw on primary reference material, names of statutory and voluntary agencies and their leaders may be mentioned in footnotes, although all efforts have been taken to reduce identification without compromising the integrity of the research. This being more difficult with individuals or organisations whose identities are already in the public domain, such as politicians.

Many of the aforementioned issues were to transpire early on in the research process. The request for a preliminary discussion with the Association was eventually granted after persistent phone calls. The first meeting between the researcher and a handful of organisational leaders turned into a trial by fire where the former was subjected to a series of wide-ranging questions about the research; but equally important the social and professional life of the researcher as well as the motivations for undertaking this work. One of the more insightful questions posed, albeit in an indirect form, regarded the ethnic origin of the researcher's partner; a key defining feature of group membership within the African-Caribbean community, and an issue seriously under-researched in terms of its social meaning to African-Caribbeans (Small 1983: 47, Burgess and Bowers 1989, Jones 1993, Alexander 1996)¹. The natural assumption of the researcher's heterosexuality tells us much about the basic norms of this group (Mercer and Julien 1989).

The purpose of this interrogation was explained by an individual, who seemed to be the principal leader, was to ensure that they did not 'waste their time' in something designed to 'denigrate' their community (Blauner and Wallman 1973, Sawyer 1973). Of specific concern was dissatisfaction with the way the Association, its leaders, and the local community were portrayed by Robins (1992). The Association agreed to give its full support to the research after a brief discussion to allay their fears about the dominant representation of their ethnic group in general and academic literature.

Another experience with the Association, of some consequence for the research and something that raises thought about future work and approaches, took place prior to the first interview with the founder and principal leader of the Association. An ad hoc meeting was arranged by this individual who sent another member to summon a number of volunteers, users and estate residents who were hanging around in the large and almost evacuated site. After a brief introduction by the Association's leader the researcher was asked to explain the nature of the research and subjected to a range of questions which evolved into a free-flowing discussion with approximately two dozen people, mainly young people, between the ages of 17-35 years of age.

The body of the discussion focused on social issues experienced by disadvantaged African-Caribbean communities on council estates told largely via personal accounts. The purpose of this impromptu meeting was later explained as allowing the researcher to hear directly from 'ordinary people' about issues affecting them.

The significance of this experience for the researcher, something encountered in other interviews in a lesser form, was the ability to observe the interaction between Association leaders, volunteers, users etc. What became evident, despite clear evidence that something of major significance had taken place (hence the 'ghost town' emptiness of the building), individuals demonstrated a great degree of warmth, respect and general camaraderie with and for the two leaders, who often popped in and out of the discussion while carrying out various tasks.

DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The specific methods used to obtain the research data were:

- to conduct an initial survey of all ethnic minority community organisations in the area with any direct involvement, or active interest, in policing or any organisation with important policing implications which had a significant ethnic minority membership or participation rate;
- to conduct taped in-depth interviews with key organisational leaders and/or other individuals or organisations with experience of working on police-related matters;
- to examine data, formal records etc collected by organisations on incidents, issues of concern or actions taken;
- to carry out participant observation of meetings and functions.

In total, approximately 16 hours was spent attending meetings in an observatory and note-taking capacity. One such meeting was a local race relations conference referred to in the findings. Seven months was spent in examining data and other information collected by organisations. Approximately two months was spent examining newspapers prior to starting the fieldwork which continued periodically throughout this phase of the work.

The specific areas of information sought is largely based on the research carried out by Butcher, Collis et al (1980) in their study of local community organisation and focuses on five general areas:

1. key events leading to the formation of organisations;
2. objectives and general aims;
3. development and evolution of organisations;
4. organisations' strategy and tactics;
5. organisational achievements, impact and failures.

The importance of obtaining data from these specific areas is that it illuminates the macro, mid-range and micro levels of organisational analysis (Ham and Hill 1984); particularly the last two areas so neglected in the studies of community organisations (Butcher, Collis et al 1980). All Interviews were taped and transcribed and on average lasted 90 minutes.

While the interview schedule was kept to in all cases, in particular instances issues were raised by respondents which required further exploration leading to some inconsistencies in the interview. These inconsistencies often took the form of issues raised which were then put by the interviewer to other respondents involved, subsequently only parts of the interview schedule were used. However, this was restricted to individuals, usually members of statutory agencies, whose perceptions were important in a very limited area. Interviews took place over a 10-month period from February 1993 with one follow-up interview taking place in April 1994.

THE RESEARCH SITE

The research site chosen is a Northwest Borough of London formed in 1965 after a local government merger of several different types of boroughs. It consists of a combination of once traditional prosperous suburbs, with many inner city type areas, which helps gives the borough its diverse make up.

The north of the borough is relatively well-off, made up of predominantly middle-class residents, while the south consists mainly of poorer communities disproportionately made up of black people (i.e. African-Caribbean 24,641, Africans 9,730) and Asians who constitute over half of the population. The largest Asian group is Indians with 41,621.

According to the 1991 Census, the total number of people in the borough was 240,291, of which 132,308 were white (including white ethnic communities e.g. Irish and Jews). Whilst it is difficult to precisely ascertain the numbers of Jewish people in the borough, Waterman and Kosmin (1986) estimate that 14,400 Jews were resident in the area, constituting 5.7 per cent of the total population.

Between 1920-1940 the borough was a major residential area of the new upwardly mobile Jewish community, as seen by the high number of synagogues, until the changes in residential patterns in the early 1960s (Waterman and Kosmin 1986)². By the 1990s there were 11 active synagogues in the borough with an estimated membership of 4,474 members (Schmool and Cohen 1991).

In terms of visible racial and ethnic communities the borough had one of the highest representations in the country; with the East African Indian community being the largest, standing at slightly under 20 per cent, three times higher than the average for Greater London area (1991 Census)³. African-Caribbeans constitute just over 10 per cent of the population, again three times higher than the Greater London average of 2.7 per cent.

Despite the broad geographical distribution of the minority communities in the south of the borough these groups are concentrated in particular wards. In terms of the African-Caribbean community, 30.1 per cent are concentrated in three wards creating the highest density in London (Peach 1996).

A similar pattern of residency is also present in the case of black Africans where they accounted for 40 per cent of all people in the same three wards. The Hindu/East African Asian community are concentrated, in what were once major centres of the Jewish settlement, and found predominantly in the north of the borough, in four wards where they constitute just over 30 per cent of all residents.

Political representation in the borough reflects the demographic make up of the area divided into three constituencies, the north, east and south. Whilst the north constituency has been a solid Conservative seat for some time, the others have been dominated by the Labour Party since before WWII (Phizacklea and Miles 1979). From the early 1980s with the rise of municipal socialism, political relations between the Conservatives and Labour have been acrimonious which contributed to a significant degree of instability, made worse by the internal schisms within the Labour Party itself (Lansley 1987, New Society, 28 November 1986).

In economic and social terms, the borough has evolved from what was predominantly rural parishes into an industrial manufacturing centre. These changes have their origins in the production of war munitions during WWI which peaked after the 1940s. The status of the borough, in manufacturing terms, can be seen by the fact that after WWII it had the largest amount of industrial floor space in London (Cruikshank 1987).

Military requirements were overtaken by the spread of manufacturing, (specialising in precision and motor engineering, food and drink, production of electrical goods); but some of the major forms of economic activity associated with the area. By the 1950s, many of these industries experienced a major decline exacerbated by the changes in the economy by the 1970s. Between 1971 and 1981 the number of the economically active fell by over 23,000, constituting 18 per cent of the workforce, almost double the average unemployment rate of the Greater London area as a whole.

The changing nature of the local economy to a service-led one has resulted in the Asian community dominating significant sections of local commerce. This was in the form of retailers providing a range of services; such as newsagents, grocers and food stores, moving into electrical goods and related services (Robins 1992: 18). An effect of these changes had been the marginalisation of semi and unskilled workers, which has had a disproportionate impact on disadvantaged communities. The 1991 Census showed that

while the white population had approximately 37 per cent who were economically inactive, the African-Caribbean community had 29 per cent, with Africans 37 per cent, Pakistani 46.5 per cent and Indians 33 per cent⁴.

The disproportionate impact of economic decline in the southern part of the borough, combined with a serious housing shortage and the preponderance of low quality housing, plagued the area for over half a century which served to compound its social problems (Phizacklea and Miles 1979: 102). Like other key aspects of social life in the borough, access to housing was defined, to a large degree, by racial/ethnic and economic characteristics (Cruikshank 1987: 39).

This borough was chosen as the site of research primarily because of its high representation of diverse racial and ethnic minority communities which provided a potentially adequate supply of study targets. Of equal attraction, this borough boasted of one of the largest self-help efforts ever undertaken by the African-Caribbean community, or any other in Britain (Robins 1992: Chapter 10). This created an invaluable opportunity to study an association and its leadership addressing difficult matters, which at the same time, illuminated issues which were generally applicable elsewhere.

The research fieldwork was carried out in the 1990s, at a time of the controversial death of Stephen Lawrence in 1993, the primary policing issue of concern for the African-Caribbean community was the ongoing issue of over-policing (MacPherson, 1999).

Notes for Chapter One

1. The Sunday Times, 6 March 1997, 'Mixed Marriages Put Celebrities On Trial'.
2. Figures ascertained by using mortality method of calculation.
3. The terms Asian, Indian, Hindu etc will be used inter-changeably, where necessary further qualifications will be made. The term African, West Indian, African-Caribbean, black, will be used interchangeably to describe members of the African-Caribbeans and reflects the complex and contingent nature of group definitions. The term dominant group, or white dominant group, will be used to refer to the indigenous population.
4. The Census data mask the true extent of the disproportionate rate of unemployment, especially in the African-Caribbean group, given the traditional reluctance to register inter alia (Cruikshank 1987), Peach (1996).

CHAPTER TWO

CULTURE, CONFLICT ACCOMMODATIONISM AND LEADERSHIP

In Chapter 1, one of the research objectives was identified as establishing to what extent did racism influence ethnic leadership and organisational behaviour, and how particular group characteristics informs this. An important aspect of social leadership of African-Caribbean communities is the role of high profile figures in popular culture (Small 1983: 47, Clarke 1987, Gilroy 1993a, 1993b, Chuck D 1997). An example of this relationship is the concern regarding the decline in communal standards and the behaviour of US hip hop artists (Crouch 1999, Hooks 1999). Similar worries have been expressed in a British context, seen by the role of groups like So Solid Crew in the centre of controversy around the promotion of violence and 'gun culture' (The Voice, 5 May 2003, The New Nation, 5 May 2003). Central to these concerns is the issue of social change and the decline of traditional influences on group behaviour (Sewell 2000).

The relationship between leadership and high profile figures is a close one, particularly given the history of diasporan Africans (Myrdal 1944: 727-735, Small 1994: 8) as seen by the status of individuals such as: Muhammad Ali (Emecheta 1982: 124, Hauser 1991), Bob Marley (Cashmore 1983; Clarke 1987), and footballer Ian Wright (The Voice, 11 August 1997, Evening Standard, 13 October 1997, The Express, 31 October 1997). Stogdill (1981) maintains black leaders who typify group norms are more likely to be held in high esteem than those that do not.

While African-Caribbean leadership has been examined by numerous authors (Rex and Moore 1967, Rex 1973, Rex and Tomlinson 1979, Werbner and Anwar et al 1991, Pryce 1986, Gilroy 1993a, 1993b), what is lacking is an adequate synthesis of existing knowledge which can provide a robust framework for the understanding of leadership and association in this community.

African-Caribbean leadership is intrinsically related to matters concerning group identity, cultural norms and practices which structures group life common to black Africans (Firth 1961, Diop 1963, Freestone 1968, Suckley 1982, Anthias 2001). Culture is defined here as the deeper level of basic assumptions and beliefs, which are shared by members of a specified group and operates at the unconscious and conscious level and manifest themselves in taken for granted beliefs (Schein 1985).

Closely related to the notion of culture, is ethnicity, which refers to the conscious maintenance of group boundaries by the construction of symbolic differences which are both inclusive and oppositional in character (Werbner 1991: 118, Alexander 1996: 13).

Werbner (ibid) elaborates:

'In utopian terms, an ethnic group is defined by a cluster of cognate features: a common territory, nationality, language, descent, religion, culture and history.'

The Politics of Ethnic and Racial Domination

The experience of conflict between white institutional power and the African-Caribbean community's efforts to assert aspects of its identity is central to understanding how culture is seen and utilised by this ethnic group. This can be seen in terms of the initial contact between Africans and Europeans, resistance against slavery and the development of trade unionism in the Caribbean (James 1963, Williams 1970, Hart 1985, Honeychurch 1985, Smith and Smith 1988). The origins of this tension can be found in the history of slavery and colonialism resulting in the dominant white group utilising what Blauner (1973) calls a 'cultural policy' of suppressing and undermining aspects of African/black ethnic culture that was perceived to be injurious to its political goals. The quintessential character of these forms of political and cultural control was the imposition of fear primarily by violent means to maintain compliance (Smith and Smith 1988: Chapters 4 and 5).

Racism can be viewed as a set of institutional behaviours, beliefs and practices that discriminates against members of other racial ethnic groups (Essed 1991: 27). A key dimension of this process is the development of ideologies that seek to explain and give meaning to others based largely on erroneous beliefs. Racism plays an important role in strategies of dominance in seeking to de-legitimise and render inferior the culture of the subordinate group Fanon (1967: 18). It is these experiences of racial domination that structure the basic ideological and cultural orientation/spectrum of diasporan Africans.

There is a contrast between those who seek greater political and cultural autonomy, and those who seek accommodation/assimilation within the dominant order; where the derogatory and popular terms 'Uncle Tom' or 'coconut' are used to describe blacks who are seen as culturally aspiring to be white (Mrydal 1944). Gilroy (1993: 206) cites similar differences and tensions amongst Jews. This broad spectrum in orientation runs through

all aspects of black life linking those at the apex, such as leaders and high profile figures to the 'marginal' (Perkins 1975, Weinrich 1979, Cashmore 1983, Pryce 1986, Alexander 1996, Cruse 1984). It can be seen in the sensitivity of 'black' feminists to the label 'feminist' (Bryant and Dadzie et al 1985: 173).

This suspicion towards aspects of white culture and its political and social norms (Baker 1994, Cashmore 1983, Bryant and Dadzie 1985, Pryce 1986) has been challenged by Gilroy (1988, 1993a). He describes African-Caribbean cultural and political life in diverse and pluralistic terms in his attempts to re-work notions of multi-culturalism and advance 'new' and inclusive concepts of black British identity (see Back 1996). Gilroy's analysis correctly identifies many important changes taking place within the African-Caribbean community, particularly the young, and how this in turn has affected the white community. For example, in the area of music, and other aspects of popular culture, language, style and the creation of a shared and inclusive urban sub-culture.

The major flaw in Gilroy's work is that he fails to show how these changes are counter-balanced and resisted by the maintenance of traditional attitudes within the African-Caribbean community. For example, in the area of popular music, Gilroy has advanced the notion of 'new urban music' to encompass a wide range of essentially black music forms that are enjoyed by blacks and whites. This has created disquiet amongst many black youth who have viewed this development as an attempt by outsiders to appropriate important aspects of the group's culture by attempting to 'act black' (Alexander 1996: 34). Further evidence, of how racial and ethnic affiliations transcend shared commonalities in the area of music and youth culture, is provided by Henry (2002) which clearly qualifies at least this inter-generational melting pot idea.

Like most pluralists (O'Leary and Dunleavy 1987) Gilroy is unable to explain, in terms of the internal normative and political structures of the African-Caribbean community, 'who governs' and why. Bulmer and Solomos (1998). This would allow us the ability to gauge how these cultural changes impact on other important aspects of community life. Hence Gilroy's concentration on a very limited range of phenomena, as in black music, and use of highly abstract critiques, which focuses on issues that lend themselves to such methods in order to advance his case (see Anthias 2001).

Similar deficiencies can be seen in the work of writers like Sewell (2000) who attempts to deconstruct the African-Caribbean community and expose its complexity. While citing black gay sexual identities, and the interests related to them, as an illustration of the range of differences within this community. This said, Sewell is unable to show how these 'new' black identities have any consequences for the cultural and political priorities of African-Caribbeans.

These priorities, which can be seen in the work of Alexander (ibid) shows that the cultural life of this community is structured in accordance with the broad normative orientations outlined above, and that those who share a strong sense of Britishness or affiliations (identified by Gilroy and Sewell) are less significant in shaping the group agenda. The importance of these observations are significant, particularly in attempts to understand leadership, power and influence and identifying those who can aspire to these roles (Stogdill 1981: 511, Chapter 1).

Underlying these tensions within the African-Caribbean community is the central matter of power and identity. Nowhere has this issue more saliency than in the context where black people occupy minority status in numerical terms (Myrdal 1944). The political project of important numbers of black people, to enhance their group status and power, inevitably leads to an intensification of conflict with the white majority who possess greater resources. Moreover, the acceptance of this outlook does not in itself guarantee that all the problems associated with black marginalisation can be effectively remedied (Small 1944: 202-204).

An alternative response to racist domination is the adoption of strategies of accommodationism based on reforming limited aspects of the social system via incremental and pragmatic change. This approach is premised on a general commitment to the status quo. This is often associated with strategies of cultural assimilation, whereby minorities seek to actively take on valued aspects of the dominant group culture. The popularity of this approach is largely due to its promotion by the white dominant group (Myrdal 1944).

A critical impediment to accommodationism is that the structural imbalance of power limits any matters open for negotiation to black people to issues viewed essentially as non-threatening to the interests of the dominant group (Small 1994, Hayley 1965).

Fundamental to the accommodationist/assimilationist strategy, is the acceptance of what Ryan (1978) calls 'the rules of the game', which relates to a range of values and behaviours about how influence is exercised and can be extended to what issues are open for discussion (Lukes 1984). In the context of racial subordination the rules of the game as Myrdal reminds us, also includes compliance to what he terms the 'system of racial etiquette' (Chuck D 1997: Chapter 4, Smith and Smith 1988: 45). One author cited in Fanon (1967: 49-50) describes the dynamics underlying these expectations. Black people he maintains:

'Are kept in their obsequious attitude by extreme penalties of fear and force and this is common knowledge to both the whites and the blacks. Nevertheless, the whites demand that blacks be always smiling, attentive, and friendly in all their relations with them.'

These norms regarding compliance structures the behaviour of accommodationists, and often serves as an expression of commitment to the dominant order, while on the other hand can mask deep resentment (Fanon 1967, Frazier 1979, Pryce 1986: Chapter 19, Allport 1987, Smith and Smith 1986). One way in which aspects of African-Caribbean cultural identity manifests itself in every day life, according to Essed (1991: 170-172) can be seen in the types of behaviours which have become the focus for 'problematisation' by whites. Essed defines 'problematisation' as a process whereby racial conflict is shaped by ideological construction and occurs in very specific contexts.

At the heart of this tension is the conflict between appearance and reality surrounding dominant notions of multi-cultural society (Gilroy 1987, Connolly 1987). Racism structures this process by attributing negative values to generally desirable behaviours when exhibited by black people (Mercer and Julien 1988). This can be seen in the behaviour of African-Caribbean parents, in the context of the Lawrences and the Walker family compared to white parents who are able to express emotions such as anger (Cathcart 1999, Wilkes 2005).

While the types of responses mentioned above refer to the two alternatives in how black people respond in interactions with the dominant white group, there are other forms of interaction that do not necessarily fall into any of the aforementioned. This third mode of interaction suggests that consensus, negotiation, or decisions on behalf of either party to consciously limit points of potential tension. This perspective takes into account that neither set of actors are homogenous in terms of attitudes, social background, or personality which

shape these interactions.

The Misrepresentation of African-Caribbean Culture

The important role of academics in reproducing the misrepresentation of African-Caribbean culture and behaviour has drawn comment in other areas of organisational analysis, Bentley remarks (1981: 236):

'Academics, no less than the general reader, are subject to receiving the distortions originating in the majority group's prevailing socio-cultural beliefs about black and immigrant groups.'

Alexander's (1996: 136) examination of the misrepresentation of African-Caribbean culture has cited the over-dependency on models of pathology and maladaptation. Ironically, both Pryce (1986: Chapter 7) and Cashmore (1983: 86-90) who are criticised in this respect have cited the misrepresentation of African-Caribbean males and their groups. Duneier's (1992) examination of the American literature and popular representation of African-American males draws similar conclusions.

One of the dominant images of African-Caribbean males as being 'problematic', 'dangerous', etc is seen in the study of education (Weinrich 1979, The Runnymede Trust Bulletin: July/August 1997, Sewell 2000) industrial relations (Bentley 1981, Essed 1991), popular culture (Cashmore 1983, Pryce 1986, Gilroy 1987, 1993, 1993b, Alexander 1996, Sewell 2000), and in studies of policing (Smith and Gray 1982, Brown 1982, Graef 1990, Phillips and Bowling 2002), or psychiatry and medicine (Mercer and Julien 1988, Essed 1991).

Sewell (2000) in his re-working of themes made popular by Willis (1978), demonstrates this problematising of African-Caribbean males when he argues that the perception of significant numbers of boys that educational success equates to being or becoming 'white' explains their rejection of educational values. The implications of Sewell's view are that the primary onus for the amelioration of this problem lies with this community.

This view is not only very partial given the plethora of evidence which shows the failing of white boys educationally in comparison with girls, but the numerous possible factors involved (Berlinger in Times Educational Supplement, 7 May 2004). But a critical weakness

of Sewell's work is that he ignores the fact that institutionalised discrimination against African-Caribbean boys is historic in character (Coard 1971). Sewell fails to appreciate that the behavioural norms of African-Caribbean boys can be explained as acts of empowerment and identity maintenance in the face of an educational regime, which in the first instance, seeks to undermine important group values and transform them in ways which young males find alienating.

This depiction of the African-Caribbean community, and males in particular, given their roles in popular and political culture (Weinreich 1979, Essed 1991: 31-33, Alexander 1996), masks the significance of this group and its tradition of 'rebellious masculinity' (Sale 1997) in resisting white domination. This is central in understanding the growing consensus amongst black writers who argue that white society has traditionally sought either to tightly control or seek to eliminate/marginalise black men either consciously, or through indifference, to the consequences of a range of institutional decisions (Madhubuti 1990, The Runnymede Trust Bulletin *ibid*, Wilson 1990).

The desire to assert important aspects of African-Caribbean group cultural identity, rejecting the suppression of self, required by the dominant group (Essed 1991: 173, Fanon 1967), is vital in understanding the unique status of this community as potentially the most threatening ethnic minority group in cultural and political terms, prior to the spread of Islamic extremism in Britain (Blauner 1973, Barker 1986, Allport 1987: 174-175, Hercules 1987: 81, Essed 1991, Gouldbourne 1991). How this is perceived is summed up by Gouldbourne (1991: 315):

'Like imported commodity extracts such as orange, rum or marijuana, people with a Afro-Caribbean background have come to be reconstituted in Britain, either as carefree and irresponsible, or as that super evil influence which threatens the body politic and social.'

The antecedents of this view of the African-Caribbean community as seditious is not a recent phenomenon caused by urban poverty; even though this experience complicates how these values manifest themselves. An important element in the history of white rule in Africa and the Caribbean is the resentment caused by the latter's loss of status. In many areas of activity Africans reached higher levels of development than their enslavers, such as hunting, agriculture, areas of science, educational methods and techniques, commercial, military and leadership traditions etc (James 1963: 21, Rodney 1972, Mair 1979, Cashmore 1983: Chapter 3, Honeychurch 1995:91-121).

One interesting aspect of early black-white contact was how it contradicted the later representation of Africans, leading to the propagation of popular pseudo-scientific racism, due largely to imperialist economic interests (Fryer 1984: Chapter 7). This is illustrated by public astonishment surrounding the visit of Zulu King Cetshwayo and members of his royal court to Britain in 1822 (Binns 1963).

The contrast between how sections of African people view themselves and the dominant white perception is a key element in the uncertainty and fear which structures much of their contemporary relations (Schutz 1976, Madhubuti 1978, 1990. See Powers (1996: 6) on notions of 'good' and 'dangerous niggers' and Graef (1989: 123), see Freestone (1968: 139) on the feared, but highly sought Gold Coast African.

This writer suggests that the failure to throw more light on how African/African-Caribbean culture and experience shapes the behaviours and values of British born African-Caribbeans, is due to writers failing to appreciate the cultural ethnicity of this community, seen by its designation as a racial, not ethnic group (Blauner and Solomos 1998: 827). According to this picture, the primary point of affiliation of members of this group is skin colour, and experiences of discrimination, not matters relating to group cultural norms (Anthias 2001). This picture is also replicated in contemporary work by writers on popular culture who seem to imply that group identity is determined externally (Gilroy 1987, 1993a, 1993b). This is why it is assumed a range of non-African groups can be subsumed under the designation 'black' such as Asians, people of 'mixed race' (Small 1994, Sivanandan 1983, Gouldbourne (1991: 312)), which suggests that African-Caribbeans have no other means to distinguish 'members' from 'non members', which is patently not the case (Perkins 1975, Pryce 1986, Hercules 1987 97, Alexander 1996: 31, 55)¹.

The 'ethnicity' of the African-Caribbean community has been given insufficient attention due to the underlying assumptions of these writers and their approach to the issue in question (Rex and Moore 1967, Lyons 1972, Rex 1973, Hiro 1973, Cohen 1974, Banton 1988, Gouldbourne 1991, Modood 1993), which suggests this group exists in a state of 'non culture'. Gouldbourne (1991: 304) goes as far to describe the assumption that this group has its own culture as 'the offence of the West Indian'. The historical subtext underpinning this view illustrates the relationship between the production of knowledge and the structures of white institutional power and how racism shapes key aspects of this process (Ladner

1973, Bentley 1981). It assumes that given the perceived formal absence of 'correct' cultural criteria, such as distinct language, religious differences, etc the African-Caribbean community lacks cultural identity, hence its 'English character'. An illustration of this is cited in Gouldbourne (1991: 304):

'I am very turned on by the Asian community. Culturally I find Afro-Caribbeans much more difficult to get to grips with: they're more like poor whites.'

Even if we assume that language and religious practice are the most significant aspects of culture, which is contested by some observers (Anthias and Yuval-Davies 1992), this view cannot explain the maintenance of African cultural characteristics which structures group behaviour and fundamentally distinguishes them from whites and accommodationists. For example, the Kweyole language spoken in the Eastern Caribbean (Alexander 1996: 57) is structured and spoken in a typical African manner, (Madhubuti 1979b: 13), which often renders the English and French which informs it unrecognisable (Roberts 1991); a common characteristic of the whole region (Barrett 1976, Sistren 1986).

Christianity as practised in many African-Caribbean 'non-conformist' churches has more in common with African religious practice than anything to do with Rome, or its English equivalent (Barrett 1976, Suckley 1987). Clarke (1987) explains the close relationship between non-conformist African-Caribbean churches and popular black political movements throughout history as being largely shaped by hostility to the white church as being inseparable from oppression and alien culture (Rex and Moore 1967, Pryce 1986, Moseley 1987, Johnson 1991, Robins 1992: 68-69, Gunst 1995).

One of the difficulties whites had in attempting to eradicate key aspects of African culture of slaves, was this was only possible in the most obvious areas, such as language, tribal customs etc (Blauner 1973, Suckley 1987). Historically, whites sought to exercise control in these countries by making access to a range of basic highly valued goals contingent on accepting the Christian faith as a pre-requisite, even in the most minimalist form and very late in the process of domination, often not until the early 20th Century. Examples of this are formally recognised marriages and access to rudimentary education etc (Genovese 1974, Henriques 1976, Kenyatta 1979, Smith and Smith 1986: 125).

However, compliance with white expectations did not affect many African cultural practices from being maintained. For example, African traditions such as 'witchcraft' not only existed relatively untouched in almost every part of the Caribbean, but were also brought to Britain and other places that group members travelled (James 1963, Mbiti 1982, Gunst 1985).

Whites were assisted in their policing of the African majority, where practical, by an accommodationist minority whose values distanced them from the group, making them subjects of ridicule at best and hatred at worst (James 1963, Lamming 1986, Smith and Smith 1986: 75, Thomas 1989). Baker (1994: 108):

'An important element in the centring strategy of the slaves and ex-slaves was a healthy suspicion and distrust of white people and those members of the coloured elite who espoused white values, attitudes that continue to run in Caribbean culture.'

This suspicion towards members at the margins of the group, or with close relations to whites, suggests that group membership is not solely determined by racial characteristics but individuals' perceived commitment to the group's cultural norms and the political agenda intrinsically linked to it or shared sense of community (Perkins 1975, Weinrich 1979, Pryce 1986, Alexander 1996, Sewell 2000). An illustration of this can be seen by the vitriolic attacks by Caribbean writers against accommodationist intellectuals during the 1930s who were viewed as products of the white civilising mission (Soyinka 2000).

The norms and values which gives the African-Caribbean community its ethnic character and assists in understanding its inner workings are clearly apparent, both in its rich literature and in-depth cultural historical studies of Caribbean and West African culture (Freestone 1968, Genovese 1974: 450-523, Barrett 1976, Nascimento 1979: Chapter 3-5, Franklin 1984, Suckley 1987). This can be seen in the areas of religion and related practices, such as medicine, superstition, folklore, gender expectations (Chevannes 2001), sex, marriage, notions of physical attractiveness and desirability (McCormack and Draper 1987, Mbiti 1982: Chapter 13), attitudes to age and seniority (Suckley 1987: 87, Baker 1994: Chapter 6).

Other important core group characteristics are styles and subjects of humour (Selvon 1956, Perkins 1975, Thomas 1989), and its highly developed oratory and linguistic skills popularised in contemporary music (Perkins 1975, 29-36, Kenyatta 1979: Chapter 5, Kunene 1979, Suckley 1987, Gilroy 1987, 1993a, 1993b, Alexander 1996).

Despite this potentially rich source of inquiry where culture is attributed to the African-Caribbean community, it is portrayed as largely negative and dysfunctional (Alexander 1996). This is clearly seen in what has been called the disorganisation thesis (Downes and Rock 1980) which is predicated on the assumption that the most important cultural institutions of African-Caribbeans were destroyed by whites (Goode 1961, Stinchcombe 1965, Hiro 1973, Brown 1982). Thus contributing to its pathological state of 'non culture' shaping many of its contemporary social problems (Gilroy 1990). The issue of African-Caribbean leadership and association brings together debates concerning group cultural identity, political strategy and ethnic/racial conflict.

One area where this can be seen is the differing and often erroneous nature of dominant perceptions of leadership legitimacy, which it seeks to impose on black leaders whose cultural traditions differ in significant ways. An example of this can be seen in Gouldbourne (1991: 301) who views African-Caribbean leadership as being primarily based on charisma:

'The charismatic leader is not accountable to any specific body for his or her power and therefore, the basis of legitimacy of his or her actions may be more intractable than in other cases. The elected or appointed leader is accountable to one degree or another, to the electors/constituents and the traditional leader has to respect the traditions and customs which underpins his or her leadership.'

The impression given by Gouldbourne is that the existence of 'primitive' charismatic leadership, based on the personal qualities of individuals, is in conflict with organisational or culturally based legitimacy. This reductionism fails to appreciate Mintz's (1978) point that ethnic communities possess what he calls 'performance positive norms', shaping the cultural resources they bring to situations, which leaders seek to utilise in mobilising the group (Anthias 2001). These characteristics of ethnic communities are significant in informing general perceptions of them (Allport 1987: 189).

An important set of cultural norms which has been transmitted over time, and shapes a key aspect of group behaviour, is the significance and status of what Mazuri and Tidy (1984) calls 'warrior tradition' or what the writer terms 'warrior ethic', which refers to a set of values around matters of group dignity and the high value placed on moral and personal courage in its defence. Central to these beliefs are issues of power and control (Akbar 1991) and a set of norms about men's relationship to their environment. These values can be seen in

the African military prowess stemming back to antiquity, seen in the great Ethiopian/Egyptian armies, Roman generals, the Moors and the figure who best epitomised this ancient tradition, Hannibal (Rogers 1972, Henrik-Clarke 1973, Fryer 1984, Mandela 1995: 237-288).

The inculcation of these values was an essential part of the socialisation process of males and females into adulthood (Freestone 1968, Kenyatta 1979, Kunene 1979, Ritter 1985) and a common practice throughout black Africa. The importance of courage and fighting ability is graphically shown by the Akumba of Kenya who constructed 'monsters' in sacred forests which young men had to engage as part of their preparation for manhood (Mbiti 1982: 124). Haley's (1976) famous televised novel (of the slave experience of one African-American family) starts with young Mandinka (Gambian) males preparing for similar tests under the watchful eye of senior warrior instructors².

Given African and diasporan African history, resistance to domination has required considerable courage; something highly valued by the group and can be clearly seen in the behaviour of the great African leaders and their descendents (Haley 1965: 79-89, Henrik-Clarke 1973: 2-3, Kunene 1979, Hart 1985, Suckley 1987: 138-140). For example, French historian Ribbe shows how Napoleon carried out a genocide programme against every African aged 12 years and over, resulting in the murder of approximately 100, 000 in Haiti and Guadeloupe, in order to rid these islands of ferocious Africans making them ungovernable, replacing them with slaves from tribes with 'weaker' fighting traditions (Sparks 2005). However, any benefits were short-lived and seen by the successful defeat of the French, Spanish and English and the merciless African retribution which was to follow (James 1963).

The strength of this essentially, though not exclusively, male warrior ethic (Ritter 1985, Kunene 1979, Freestone 1968) can be seen in Rastafarians whose dreadlocked hair styles was based on those worn by African warriors symbolically representing non-conformity to white power (Njama and Barrett 1966, Barrett 1977: 137, Cashmore 1983: 24). This warrior ethic has become part of this group's social memory which according to Gilroy (1993: 212) is the 'chain of ethnic tradition'.

These values are also reproduced through the socialisation of African-Caribbean males, both in home countries and in Britain, and fundamental to the norms of this group in terms of instilling attitudes of toughness and resilience in the face of challenges and adversity (Cooper 1994, Chevannes 2001). Moreover, these values are communicated inter-generationally by parents as part of the narratives of struggles which characterise the experiences of African-Caribbeans historically and in Britain.

Sewell (2000: 184) found that African-Caribbean boys topped the pecking order in the area of fighting (and related qualities). This view was shared by pupils from other ethnic groups and by teachers. They were less likely to be bullied by other pupils. Moreover, these boys were very conscious of their superior status and these shared feelings crossed groups from members of the 'elite' to those seen as 'disruptive'. Similar findings have been noted by Alexander (1996: 64, Robins 1992: 9, Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman 2002: 56-58).

Even in prison, the ability and willingness of African-Caribbean men to stand up to whites is seen as a natural group expectation (Hercules 1989: 34-35, Mandela 1995: 324)³.

The warrior ethic is a key characteristic of African-Caribbean culture especially, in understanding much of its masculine and social behaviour in a range of areas, as in the area of politics and social leadership.⁴

LEADERSHIP AND PROBLEMS OF GOAL ATTAINMENT

While culture provides the framework in which communal goals are shaped and pursued, their achievement takes us into the area of leadership skills and ability (Heineman 1972: Chapter 5, Williams 1985: Chapter 5, Robins 1992). The types of basic difficulties which all ethnic minority leaders face have been well-documented (Myrdal 1944, Frazier 1979, Werbner and Anwar 1991, Robins 1992: 9). They range from reconciling minority status with the political interests of the dominant group, and in the case of some communities, attempting to address the complex problems they experience with central government and local institutions.

These challenges are complicated by problems surrounding leaders' abilities to address the group's needs, while meeting their own (Rex and Moore 1967: 156, Rex 1973, Miller 1974). Collective action of this nature is highly problematic given the existence of differences in value orientations within groups producing what Chong (1993) calls a collective action problem. The problem of collective action has been a consistent feature in African-Caribbean history and the counter-balance to group efforts to empower itself. A common example of this was the dominant white group's strategy of using incentives to weaken the slave community's capacity to mobilise itself (James 1963, Hart 1985).

POWER, INFLUENCE AND VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

A key objective of this study is understanding and explaining the associational behaviour of ethnic minority communities (Chapter 1). Voluntary associations can be defined as groups of individuals who come together to address particular problems, by forming a relatively permanent secondary grouping; characterised by non-coercive interaction, and regulated by rules and norms which determine roles, responsibilities and boundaries between members and non-members. Included under this rubric is a large number of organisations and groups, ranging from those formed to pursue common hobbies and activities, such as, chess clubs to neighbourhood and community organisations, political social and economic organisations (Smith and Freeman 1972, Rothman 1974, Williams 1985).

Associations play an important role in the life of any community, particularly within ethnic minority communities. According to Rex (1973) ethnic community associations have four key functions:

- i) overcoming isolation,
- ii) affirming cultural beliefs,
- iii) goal attainment, i.e. access to rights,
- iv) pastoral work.

These associations are important as they are secondary social and political units for helping newly arrived immigrants establish themselves in new environments. The significance of community associations is not restricted to those who are active members, or directly receive services; but important in promoting group cultural beliefs and goals (Rex 1973: 24, Cumberbatch and Tadesse 1987).

One difficulty with Rex's view is the equal weight given to these associational functions. Associations may have particular bias to either primary goal achievement or more predisposed to internal goals, such as the opportunity to enjoy meaningful human interaction. A similar distinction has been made by Katz and Kahn (1976), Butcher and Collis et al (1980) between task and system goals.

A vital function of these associations is their ability to promote group integration at different levels in a superior manner than the primary group. In this regard, voluntary associations are potentially good indicators of aspects of group identity. The predominance of certain types of organisations in any community is useful in helping identify the priorities of their creators. This is particularly relevant when minority communities seek to exercise influence at a national, or regional level, and require appropriate structures to facilitate these ends (Babchuck and Gordon 1965, Tsouderous and Chapin 1965, Glasser and Sills 1966). Rothman (1974) has defined associations that seek to integrate and represent interest at a regional or national level under the generic heading 'peak associations'.

The interest in levels of analysis and geographical location as a locus for individual, group identity, and integration is reflected in the work of Pile and Keith (1993), Hesse and Bennet (1990: 111-114) illustrating the importance of geography and notions of centre and periphery in understanding identity (Werbner 1991, Alexander 1996). One principal way that voluntary associations can play this integrative function is through elite and high prestige members (Moore 1960), whose personal affiliations with major institutions provide the vital link between them and broader society.

As outlined earlier, the African-Caribbean community, like many others, has values that challenge the social order (Amis and Stern 1974, Rothman 1974, Butcher and Collis et al. 1980: Chapter 7, Freeman, Piven and Cloward 1978). Freeman et al (ibid) has shown how during the 1960s and 1970s many radical US feminists and others attempted to create organisations to act as institutional alternatives promoting 'counter cultures' to the dominant order, which was viewed as sexist, racist, and hostile to more inclusive definitions of democracy (Florin and Jones et al 1986, Downes and Rock 1988: 223). Consequently, one of the difficulties with Rex's view of ethnic leadership and association is his belief that their primary goal is that of integration and assimilation.

An important dimension of ethnic minority association and leadership is the issue of individual commitment, motivation and voluntary participation. Individuals commit themselves to this type of activity due to the motivational and psychological needs described by Myrdal (1944), Schein (1985: 66, Florin and Jones et al 1986). On the one hand motivation may be shaped by the appeal of superordinate goals (Sheriff 1958, Chong 1993). Moore (1960) argues however, that a significant motivating factor in voluntary participation is the status conferring capacity of the association, which in some cases can

exceed commitment to organisational goals.

A way institutions such as governments attempt to influence communities is through local voluntary associations. Billis (1993) points out the type of relationship or control the centre is able to exercise is based on important organisational characteristics of communal associations; such as levels of structural autonomy the degree of freedom of associations from sponsoring or regulatory bodies. Similar views are advanced by Taub, Surgeon, Lindholm et al. (1977), who argue that many voluntary associations are created by external agencies, or facilitated by their support, to further their goals.

The ability of external agencies to exercise influence on many communities, such as poor urban neighbourhoods, is often maximised by the absence of indigenous communal infrastructure, cohesion and clearly identifiable leadership. Government is central to the process described by Taub et al., given its role in passing legislation making community consultation statutory (Prashar and Nicholas 1986) and/or providing financial resources in the creation of community associations.

AFRICAN-CARIBBEAN LEADERSHIP AND POLICING

Few areas of race and ethnic relations have received so much attention as that of the African-Caribbean community's relationship with the police. With this in mind policing provides a potentially useful site to examine the key issues raised above concerning leadership, such as: who can become a leader, how well they tackle the many problems faced and how such assessments are made?

National controversy followed comments by Tottenham MP Bernie Grant, after the deaths of mother and grandmother Cynthia Jarret, a violation of the almost sacred status of motherhood and age within that community, (Mbiti 1982, Werbner 1991: 20, Baker 1994, Powers 1996: 257) and PC Keith Blakelock during the Broadwater Farm disturbances in 1985. Grant's statement that the police received 'a bloody good hiding'; put the issue of African-Caribbean leadership, culture and organisation, in the form of the estate's youth association firmly into the public eye. The reaction of the police and media illustrates the way racism shapes the portrayal and response to this community (Gifford 1985, Levidow 1987)⁵.

Grant's forced departure from 'the rules of the game' and the normal etiquette required by his status, in terms of his apparent support for the use of violence and the manner in which this was communicated, alienated him from the Labour Party and its efforts to maintain popular white support around policing (Downes and Rock 1988: 309). This brought to the fore tensions characterising the relations between the African-Caribbean community and the dominant group (Jeffers 1991).

The Grant incident highlights a consistent pattern of African-Caribbean community leaders being vilified, by both the press and the police, particularly in a context where its members have suffered serious violations (Keith 1993: Chapter 2). Smith and Gray (1983: 123) illustrate the degree of hostility towards its leaders and their organisations in response to the death of 13 children in a suspected arson attack in New Cross. Again, rather than leaders being viewed as responsible people exercising legal rights (Rex 1973), the image portrayed is in the most extreme and oppositional terms. This demonstrates the problematisation of African-Caribbean people described by Essed (1991).

The history of this community's response to policing has involved many problems. The long-standing concern about the issue of over-policing, specifically the use of excessive and often almost para-military tactics, to control this group (Keith 1993) as in the 'sus' campaigns of the 1970s, or large-scale high profile operations. There is also the issue of under-policing in cases of racist violence, resulting in the almost predictable pattern of police attempts to denigrate and control leaders in their efforts to mask the force's institutionalised racism and role in the wider machinery of the State (Clarke and Huggins 1982, Gutzmore 1983, Keith 1993, MacPherson 1999).

The experiences of leaders in matters of high priority show how under such circumstances the police's behaviour is mainly political and defensive in character. This is indicated by its attempts to manage conflict and to maximise the support of key white institutions, especially the press, who have traditionally jointly led the process of orchestrating white public opinion (Hall and Critchlow et al 1984: Chapter 5, Reiner 1978, Daily Express, 7 July 1995).

An example of this is former Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Sir Paul Condon, when he singled out the African-Caribbean community by publishing crime figures, highlighting the alleged disproportionate rate of offending males in various types of street crime (The Voice, 11 July 1995). The source of this antagonism was the fact that similar treatment was not given to white offenders in a range of areas of public concern, such as sexual offences being one example (Marable 1983: 72-73, Dunhill 1989: Chapters 6-8).

The political motivation of Condon can be seen, given that his actions took place in a context where he had come under considerable pressure from the leadership of the police rank and file regarding his tough attitude towards allegations of racial and sexual discrimination in the force. In addition, he sought to temper the growing unrest within the African-Caribbean community brought about by two high-profile cases involving the violent deaths of Brian Douglas and Joy Gardner. The death of Gardner, in particular, and police claims that she was the 'most violent individual' they had encountered, led to black outrage and a bitter campaign against them. Simultaneously the Police Federation accused Condon of abandoning his priorities (Brown 1982: 129-132, The Alarm, 14 September 1995).

Once again, police sought to de-legitimise African-Caribbean leaders by challenging their representativeness, while seeking to legitimise those who shared similar values (Keith 1988). Paradoxically, the 'Condon incident' highlights the weakness of the approach adopted by the police, given the widespread hostility surrounding his actions. This has also been true of his predecessors who have attempted to use police crime statistics in similar ways (Hall et al 1978, Sivanandan 1983: 29, Reiner 1988, Hercules 1989: 132). The intervention of Home Secretary, Michael Howard, unequivocally supporting Condon's claims and the proposed 'Operation Eagle Eye', only served to harden suspicions that the police were utilising its age old tactics of generating public support for its course of action (see 'Operation Whispering Eagle', Keith 1993: 24)⁶.

One question which immediately comes to mind in tracing the relations between the police and African-Caribbean leaders; is if the leadership of this group is so 'irresponsible', 'unrepresentative', or 'extreme', to name but a few of the numerous adjectives used (Hesse 1989: Chapter 4, Robins 1992: 8, Cathcart, 1999), why does it enjoy so much police and press attention? The well-documented history of police victimisation of African-Caribbean leaders seems to suggest on the contrary that these individuals play an invaluable role in the life of the group at odds with the picture too often portrayed (Bunyan 1977, Bryant and Dadzie 1985, Keith 1993).

Taking the importance of African-Caribbean leaders, and ethnic group political culture, as being vital in understanding important aspects of community life as a basic assumption, the policing literature was examined to establish the weight given to these issues. While a great deal has been written on the topic, much of this work has concentrated on a very limited area of investigation. The bulk of this literature can be subsumed under the rubric of police accountability. It concerns the interaction between police and African-Caribbean communities within a liberal democratic framework, as in the work of Baldwin and Kinsey (1982), Lustgarten (1986), Morgan (1987, 1992, McLaughlin 1991). A second major area of study concentrates on the processes governing police work and its relationship to this community, which illuminates the interaction between the police and this group. It analyses how police perception, powers and practices shapes this dynamic, as in the works of Smith and Gray (ibid), Reiner (1988, 1991), Grimshaw and Jefferson (1987), Waddington and Braddock (1987, 1991), Young (1991), Keith (1993).

A critical omission in these two, dominant but not mutually exclusive, approaches is a clearly defined and developed understanding of the role of leadership and organisation, which is usually treated in passing, or as an adjunct to other priorities. In what the writer calls the 'conflict literature', leaders and associations are represented as spokespersons and organisers of campaigns directed to highlight police injustice; as in the case of deaths in police custodies, victims of police malpractice, or racially motivated crime (Gifford 1985, Hesse 1989, Bowling 1993).

Despite the importance of many of these studies, little light is thrown on leadership and organisational issues and the strategies utilised to achieve communal goals. The key role of organisation, whether it be of a temporary or permanent nature, in this process is conspicuous by its absence. In many cases we are left with descriptions of events and actions, without any explanatory framework to assess the efficacy of the approaches adopted by the leaders and/or any difficulties they experience.

Another dimension of this treatment of African-Caribbean leaders is highlighted in the literature of social deprivation and disorder. Again leaders are treated as mere articulators of grievances, not key players engaged in the process of complex problem-solving (Williams 1985, Carthart 1999). This depiction of leadership is enshrined in the Scarman Report (1981) where the role of community representatives was reduced to that of providing police with information and supporting centre-led initiatives (Scarman 1981: 88-89, Graef 1990).

The dominant image of African-Caribbean leaders suffers from severe theoretical and analytical underdevelopment and is limited to portrayals, as being driven by conflict and anti-police in ethos on the one hand, or generally unrepresentative and/or ineffective on the other. These images have been mediated by another, that of leaders who are portrayed as being 'correct and approved' role models by white institutions (Keith *ibid*, Morgan 1984, Mrydal 1944, Powers 1996), which accounts for their low status and relative anonymity to the African-Caribbean community (Cumberbatch and Tadesse 1987).

The Lawrence Family's high profile campaign interestingly underlines the general treatment described, given the numerous interests at work outside the black community; particularly the Labour Party, which had a very important impact in how the parents were portrayed and subsequently treated (Cathcart 1999)⁷. However, the Lawrence campaign was subjected to

many of the traditional attacks directed at African-Caribbean leaders from the police prior to this (Cathcart 1999: 137-8).

The image of African-Caribbean leaders found in literature simply reflect those consistently reproduced by the police and media characterisation of this community (which has traditionally been utilised by these institutions) and the dominant group to undermine and attack such individuals, and indirectly, their communities (Bunyan 1977, Brown 1982, Bryant and Dadzie 1985, Gifford 1985, New Society, 28 November 1986, Craig 1992).

Given the importance of policing issues and their centrality in supporting or undermining the legitimacy of the state and white society on one level (Rex 1973, Gutzmore 1983, Bowling and Phillips 2003), and its immediate intrusion in the lives of the African-Caribbean community on the other, the study of leadership and the role of voluntary associations in this community potentially provides some invaluable insight into the interior life of this group, thus far relatively ignored. Keith (1988), Morgan (1984) and Brown (1982) have highlighted the fragmented nature of the African-Caribbean community's representation and the existence of both accommodationist and more radical sections of the community. The latter are more fundamentally critical of the police and have particularly strong affiliations with the young.

This observation is far from straightforward, as the ideological orientations of African-Caribbean youth are by no means homogeneous or consistent. This can be broadly divided in terms of those with various types of affiliation with the values of the dominant society, which often contribute to the internalisation and reproduction of racist views about black people and their association with crime and cultures of deviance, and those whose notions of identity creates more fundamental cultural conflicts with whites (Weinreich 1979, Cashmore 1983, Pryce 1986, Alexander 1996: 30-31, Sewell 2000).

Despite the general antagonism between young people and the police, Roach (1992) shows how members of a carnival organising committee developed good working relations with the police and how clearly defined common interests helped to facilitate a supportive and mutually beneficial relationship. The common goal in this instance was preventing opportunistic elements spoiling planned festivities. An important omission in Roach's study, is the question whether the co-operative attitude of youth towards the police in clearly defined contexts, is transferable outside these areas and the broader implications for police

community relations and priorities? The significance of this observation is that it demonstrates that the relationship between the police and the African-Caribbean community is potentially more complex and possesses scope for a wider range of interactions than hitherto appreciated (Keith 1993).

The question of what African-Caribbean leaders and organisations do, how well do they perform these functions, when not reacting to critical incidents and how does this impact on their roles within a policing context is absent in Roach's study (Chapter 1). Cumberbatch and Tadesse (1987) raise many of these issues, but fail to explore them in real depth, leaving only general impressions of community leaders. In summary, we are left with the distinct impression that African-Caribbean leaders and the community at large seem totally uninterested with other matters not directly related to police racism and tells us little about the process of leadership legitimisation. This type of representation of black leaders is reproduced in white popular culture, as in Wolfe's 'Bonfire of the Vanities', or numerous police dramas, such as 'The Bill' (Robins 1992, Powers 1996).

The underlying issue of political representation and the problem-solving capacities of the African-Caribbean community is the strength of the group, in terms of its organisational capacity, resource base and cultural norms (Mintz 1978, Suckley 1987). The history of the African-Caribbean community's relationship with the police suggests that policing issues have managed to galvanise communal resources in a way unseen in other areas; given the capacity of police behaviour to be seen as an open attack against the group with extremely serious and immediate consequences (Hesse *ibid*, Clarke and Huggins *ibid*, Gifford 1985). Moreover, given the culture of this ethnic community, such violations provide the context for leaders to utilise or appeal to its well-developed fighting instincts.

Equally important is how police behave when carrying out their perceived priorities and the type of tactics deployed. The police's attempts to dismiss the views of spokespersons antagonistic to them, as in the Bernie Grant case, or those illustrated in the work of Keith (1988: 180), highlight the way the police seek to control the African-Caribbean community leaders by attempting to impose its own norms on the group (Scarman 1981: 220, Gifford 1985: 61, Gouldbourne 1991, Reiner 1991: 204-5).

The police force's attitude serves to heighten the tension between representatives of this community and itself, given that the catalyst for this interaction is invariably the African-Caribbean community's desire to register protest or demand appropriate actions. The failure of black leaders to comply with the standards and methods of the dominant group, in the context of policing, creates another set of antagonisms that complicates their attempts to represent their community. As one police officer states:

'We think being British is the greatest thing in the world, they think being British is shit. You have to correlate those two philosophies.' (Graef *ibid*)

These presumptions on the part of the police, in assuming they can legitimise black leadership, is indicative of the behaviour of white institutions in its relations with the black people throughout history (Myrdal 1944, Marable 1987), and therefore important in understanding key features of the normative framework which shapes how leaders respond to matters of policing and the police role in the maintenance of order (Banton 1964, Cain 1973, Dunhill 1989).

This does not suggest that police behaviour replicates exactly a colonial model, however it does presuppose some important consistency with that system (Jefferson *ibid*, Walker et al: 140). As Keith has rightly pointed out, this is implicit in the police attitude towards the black community *inter alia* seen as cultural 'others'; summed up in the statement 'take me to your leader', i.e. someone who speaks our language, (Graef 1990: 123). The colonial comparison goes even further with the police actually attempting to define who such leaders should be, and using their power to undermine or remove leaders who are not conducive to its perceived interests.

This relationship helps explain the strong conflict orientation of African-Caribbean leaders, who see the police as essentially a tool of oppression. LaVeen (1980) provides possibly another dimension to this observation, when she argues, it is the absence of strong organisational infrastructure and resources that explains the preference for conflict and disruption as a means of exercising influence.

Even if we uncritically accept LaVeen's reductionism, it still raises issues about the role of community leaders and how they are able to utilise civil disturbance as a negotiating tactic or resource in the group's power relations with the police. LaVeen illustrates the importance of highly skilled leadership and effective organisation in maximising the

opportunities created by disruption. Insufficient work of a similar kind has been undertaken in the British context to assist us to make more informed evaluations of African-Caribbean leaders. While forms of disruption such as civil disorder have been well documented. Serious study of the role of leaders prior and during these events is conspicuous by its absence (Solomos 1988, Solomos and Rackett 1991).

While disruption may be potentially an important sanction available to sections of the African-Caribbean community, for the most part, there is little evidence to suggest public disorder or any other type of disruptive strategy, has involved significant organisation (Craig 1992: 82). Despite the perennial cries of the police and the press to the contrary, as is illustrated by their obsession with 'the outside agitator' which inexplicably descends on this community during incidents of public disorder (Scarman 1981: 74-76 Gifford 1985: 63-65).

LaVeen highlights the critical role of effective organisation prior to large-scale disruption and therefore makes the important link between communal strategy, leadership and organisation complete. It is this lack of effective organisation that causes significant difficulties for leaders and associations that emerge at the forefront of these events or who seek to exploit them (Hesse 1989: 57-85). Clarke and Huggins (1982: 42-143) illustrate how relatively well-developed and stable voluntary association played a key role in bringing about the abolition of Section 4 of The 1824 Vagrancy Act, commonly called the Sus Act.

Notes for Chapter Two

1. For ambiguous status of mixed race people see James (1963) for Haitian experience. Similar issues can be seen regarding the role of 'coloureds' under apartheid and the attitude of many blacks to the inter-racial male/female relations (Banton 1988: 69-70, Small 1983: 171, Abdul Malik 1967: 79-80, Selvon 1956: 90, Fryer 1984: Chapter 10, see athlete Daley Thompson views of black people in Cashmore 1982: 135).
2. For a detailed insight into the role of the warrior tradition and its contribution to black nationalism see Suckley (1987).
3. See Kunene's (1979) for warrior tradition of South Africa.
4. An interesting observation is how core aspects of this tradition have become a negative feature of contemporary stereotypes of black males (Cross and Keith 1993: 21-24). The term machismo which is Spanish in origin meaning exhibition of courage and or virility, more commonly referred to as 'macho' so readily used in describing this group's behaviour (Wallace 1979, Mercer and Julien 1989: 119-120, Jefferson 1994, Alexander

1996: 22) to undermine qualities that have been instrumental in its survival and an expression of dignity.

5. The rise of Bernie Grant into the popular hate figure, is intrinsically related to his gradual transformation and legitimacy in the African-Caribbean community from a traditional 'Uncle Tom', with a white girlfriend, to a generally respected spokesman both at home and amongst black leaders abroad (Black Perspective, 9 January 1995, The New Nation *ibid*).
6. The Evening Standard, 7 July 1995.
7. J Bristow, Spiked Politics, 22 April 2003.

CHAPTER THREE

ETHNIC AND RACIAL MINORITY SETTLEMENT IN BRITAIN:

CASE STUDIES

Jewish Migration and Settlement in Britain

Jewish settlement in Britain has its roots in the 10th and 11th century culminating in the development of established communities in Norman England through Jewish merchants who played an important role in the process of migration (Krantz 1972). The significant representation of Jews in commerce and finance led to the prominence of Jewish financiers as major fundraisers to British monarchs until their expulsion in 1290 by King Edward I (Kosmin 1981).

The re-admission of Jews to England by Cromwell in 1656 led to the first of many waves of Sephardi Jews settling in London, making it the centre of Jewish community settlement (Werbner 1991: 22). An important precondition surrounding the re-entry of Jews was that they should not become a financial burden to the state, and to have significant impact in the future development of the community in Britain (Werbner 1991: 20). The Sephardim who originate from Spain and Portugal, were followed a century later by the arrival of Ashkenazi Jews who came to Europe via North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula before settling in Western Europe, especially Germany. The Sephardim played a major role in African slave trade and critical to the Caribbean and world sugar industry (Williams 1970, Martin 1992).

Discrimination and the need to flee from persecution are important themes in the history of Jewish migration and led to the influx of Eastern European Jews who fled Russia around 1880. Prior to 1881 the number of Jews estimated to be in Britain was 60,000 of which 40,000 lived in London. Of this figure a significant proportion belonged to the Jewish professional class, i.e. merchants, shopkeepers, small traders and artisans (Higham 1978, Alderman 1989: 12).

The Russian pogroms of 1881 led to large numbers of Eastern European Jews fleeing to Britain. This wave of immigrants consisted predominantly of artisans, skilled workmen and farmers. Between 1881-1914 the number of immigrants was approximately 150,000. The

impact of this influx can be seen in the number of Jews living in London, which became the heart of the Jewish immigrant community, with a growth from 20,000-45,000. Between 1881-1900 the Jewish population increased to approximately 135,000, an annual growth rate of ten per cent (Alderman 1989).

Whilst the influx of Eastern European Jews prior to 1881 were largely skilled people, those who fled during and after the pogroms were working-class and the rural poor. The reaction of the established Anglo-Jewish community to the immigrants was characterised as being torn between the desire to provide assistance to group members and fears about the Gentile response; given the problems of accommodating such numbers of dependent people.

Jewish Communal Response to Eastern European Immigration

Self-help was the primary response of the Anglo-Jewish establishment in meeting the needs of the immigrant community. This led to the development of numerous mutual benefit associations of which welfare and charitable types were the most prevalent (Werbner 1991). The most influential was the Board of Jewish Guardians (JBG) established in 1859 (Cesarani 1990, Feldman 1994: 302). Various types of voluntary associations played a major role in the lives of all Jews, particularly mutual benefit associations, of which a significant number were attached to synagogues. For Jews these forms of associations played an important role in everyday life. Black (1988: 195) comments of the centrality of these societies to Jews:

'Beyond the supportive network of family and kin, the working man's friendly society remained his most important social institutions after his synagogue. Not only did his friendly society ensure him against illness or catastrophe, he met his friends there.'

The most basic type of benefit society evolved to assist mourning and burial due to the Jewish tradition of bereavement over a one-week period which required money to organise.

The first Jewish friendly society to be established in England was the Pursuers of Peace formed in 1797, followed by the Loyal United Lodge of the Sons of Israel formed in 1820.

The extent of Jewish identification and participation with these associations can be compared with that of Gentiles. A majority of the Jewish community were members of such associations unlike the latter. In 1898, there were 150 benefit societies in the East End,

while in 1911 there were 300 with a total of 39,000 members and funds totalling £80-100,000. In many cases individuals belonged to several of these associations in order to maximise the benefits available to them (Black 1988: Chapter 13).

An important motivator in the participation in Jewish friendly societies was the high degree of social snobbery associated with membership, epitomised by the attempts to maintain social distance through membership patterns (Moore 1960, Black 1988). Central to this status was the way self-sufficiency and independence were viewed by the group and how these institutions provided much needed security in matters of illness and death, thus negating the need for charity (Sinchcombe 1965, Mintz 1978, Black 1988).

The JBG sought to provide welfare relief preferable to the workhouse and poverty regimes of Victorian England (Alderman 1989: 12). Other forms of support provided by the JBG were the creation of orphanages and the development of apprenticeship systems; as well as the provision of loans to enable workers to acquire skills, purchase tools or to help establish small businesses. The extent of Jewish self-help can be seen as early as the 1870s with the creation of two important initiatives: the Industrial Dwelling Company Ltd and the East End Dwellings Company Ltd, which led to major house building programmes in order to alleviate the serious housing problems (Gartner 1973, Alderman 1989: 36).

Leadership in shaping the Anglo-Jewish response to the social problems experienced by the immigrant community was played by the United Synagogues and other major religious institutions (Alderman 1989: 16). The main concern of both religious and secular Jewish leaders was the effect of poverty, government treatment of the poor and cultural life of Jews. Of particular worry, was the impact of Victorian institutions had on dietary laws, the observance of the Sabbath and the effects on family life, particularly the splitting up of families. A central goal of the JBG was meeting the needs of the poor, while reinforcing and protecting fundamental group cultural/religious norms.

A key factor in the JBG and other Jewish agencies being able to carry out such a wide range of aid work was the vital role played by wealthy Jews who actively provided financial support. In the case of the JBG the bulk of its funds came from 40 elite families (Black 1988). The role of wealthy philanthropists also extended to leading initiatives, such as the Industrial Dwelling Companies, the brainchild of famous financier and industrialist Nathan Mayer de Rothschild (later Lord Rothschild).

Rothschild, like other members of the Anglo-Jewish elite involved in this project (banker Samuel Montague to name but one), played an important role in the religious affairs of the community by helping to create the United Synagogue, thus limiting religious and associational fragmentation (Gartner 1973: Chapter 4, Alderman 1989: 15). Given important characteristics of the synagogal organisation, individual members of the Jewish elite were able to have significant influence on the community, enabling them to shape communal representation.

Inadvertently, this also gave members of the Anglo-Jewish elite the opportunity to entangle and obtain support from the broader community in their power struggles. This was shown by Montague's role in helping to form the United Synagogue which sought to unite the liberal and orthodox wing of Judaism, largely an attempt to usurp the dominance of Lord Rothschild (Black 1988, Alderman 1989). The ability of the Jewish elite to respond to the needs of the immigrant population was shaped by the socio-economical and cultural characteristics of the community as a whole.

Firstly, the strong emphasis on achievement and economic independence so valued by Jews enabled the Anglo-Jewish community to develop a wealthy and prestigious elite, despite its exclusion from many aspects of social life (Mintz 1978, Feldman 1994: 298, Kosmin 1981, Brooks 1989). Secondly, group norms about philanthropy and the high status attached to it, helped contribute to wealthy Jews identifying with the problems experienced by weaker group members (Stinchcombe 1965, Brooks 1989). However, these considerations were tempered by more pragmatic concerns based on the need for minimising the possibility of friction between Jews and the dominant group, due to fears regarding the burden of the immigrants on the public purse (Krauz 1972, Feldman 1994: 302).

These problems were further complicated by the large financial cost on the Anglo-Jewish elite in making provisions for meeting immigrant needs (Alderman 1989: 6). This led the JBG to adopt an active policy of 'encouraging' immigrants to settle in countries other than Britain, resulting in the re-routing of approximately 7,000 people to Australia and the US etc during this period (Feldman 1994).

The East End of London became the residential centre of these immigrants (Rex 1973, Werbner 1991), where they were exposed to the social vagaries of 19th century Britain, in terms of living conditions, equally a life of hardship characterised by exploitative landlords and employers. Moreover, anti-Semitism exacerbated by fear of competition helped to create deep-rooted antipathy towards the Jewish immigrant which was exploited by local politicians including well-established figures.

The hostility against Jews intensified, as seen by the high levels of xenophobia following the Anglo-French wars, resulting in attacks on them and their property (Alderman 1989: 5). A leading figure in generating popular hostility against the immigrant Jewish population was Major General Evans-Gordon, MP for Stepney¹ and the leader of a group of Tories who formed the British Brothers League.

Anger against the Jewish immigrants was reflected in the racist propaganda aired during these demonstrations which characterised the immigrant Jew in the most derogative terms, i.e. criminals and generally amoral (Castle and Kosack 1973: 17-18). The outcome of these anti-Semitic activities was the establishment of a Royal Commission on Alien Immigration in 1902 and the passage of the 1905 Aliens Act (Alderman 1989: 39)².

The Socio/Economic and Cultural Structure of the Jewish community

By the turn of the century, the socio-economic structure of the Jewish community consisted of wealthy members of the Anglo-Jewry elite, well represented in business and finance. Subordinate to the Anglo-Jewish elite was the large commercial class of businessmen of various sizes (i.e. factory owners, independent artisans and watchmakers). Straddling the world of petty traders, and not uncommonly the criminal world, were peddlers who bought and sold a range of items, particularly old clothes. At the base of this structure were working-class and poor Jews (Kosmin 1981: 187, Samuel 1981).

Discrimination led to the disproportionate representation of Jews amongst the self-employed, which was complemented by the high status attached to self-employment (Kosmin 1981: 190). Many areas of work open to Gentiles such as working on the docks, was prohibited to the immigrant community due to hostility from indigenous workers. This exclusion led significant numbers of Jews seeking ways to expand their economic opportunities. However, it was shoe-making and clothing manufacturing which became

majors areas for both Jewish immigrant employment and business ownership (Kosmin 1981).

The economic progress made by significant numbers of immigrant Jews is reflected in the residential patterns of East London Jews. As their economic and social fortunes improved Jews were able to move to the then north east suburbs of Hackney and Stamford Hill and eventually to the more prosperous West End and City areas (Gartner 1973: 143, Cesarani 1990: Chapter 2).

While class was an important factor in shaping relations within the Jewish community, the cultural and religious heterogeneity of the group created important tensions. While Anglo-Jewry practised a reformed and westernised form of Judaism, the Eastern European Jews on the other hand were observers of traditional and orthodox Judaism. This difference was exacerbated by the East European Jewish practice of speaking Yiddish and their strong emphasis on the Talmudic traditions of learning (Gartner 1973: Chapter 4, Higham 1978, Cesarani 1990: Chapter 7). Other difficulties concerned the incompatibility of orthodox Judaism with British law, particularly around matters concerning marriage, divorce and Sunday working.

Differences in identity and affiliation contributed to several significant developments in establishing the political representation of the Jewish community. The power of the Jewish elite was buttressed by the total dependence of Jewish associations on private funds, and its ability to monopolise communal leadership through key institutions. The structure of communal authority at the turn of the century was dominated by three highly centralised institutions: The Anglo-Jewish Association (AJA), The Board of Deputies of British Jews (hereafter called the Board), and JBG.

The AJA (founded in 1870) jointly with the Board played a vital role in promoting the welfare of Jews worldwide through periods of international crisis (Cesarani 1990). The origins of what was called the London Committee of Deputies of British Jews, was born through the efforts of leading Shepardi Jews, to obtain legal protection from Cromwell to practice Judaism. Not until 1664 did 'the Charter for Jews' emerge³ which gave the Jewish community limited rights, albeit nothing approaching civil equality, but included the ability to build synagogues and to worship.

The unifying nature of the religious authorities of the Portuguese and Spanish Jews played a crucial role in creating the infrastructure for the development of a national representative association of the Jewish community. In 1747, after failed attempts to introduce legislation to grant Irish Jews naturalisation, the elders of the Shepardi community appointed a 'Senohores deputedos' to 'make use of any opportunity that may be for the benefit of the Nation'.

The appointment of Shepardi Elders of Deputies to represent the 'Jewish nation', was repeated in 1760, to pay homage to the accession of George III, and make representations on behalf of the Jewish community. German Ashkenazi Jews protested against these events, due to their exclusion, which according to the Shepardiim was brought about by its 'ignorance' of Ashkenazi mechanisms of representation. This difficulty was overcome by the creation of a joint delegation, consisting of both Shepardiim Deputies and representatives from the German Secret Committee of Public Affairs.

At the end of 1760, Portuguese and Spanish Jewish representatives wrote a letter to the representatives of the Dutch Jewish community on the matter of mutual co-operation, which formally marks the events leading up to the creation of the Board. However, it was not until well over a half a century later that any evidence of formal joint action across these various communities became evident.

At a local level the Jewish communal infrastructure consisted of a plethora of voluntary associations ranging from: religious associations based around synagogues⁴, social clubs, mutual aid societies, and a range of different organising and fund-raising committees which helped to meet various needs of the community, at the same time providing training and experience for potential leaders (Gartner 1973: Chapter 5, Black 1988: Chapter 13). Most of these associations were related or indirectly linked to the three predominant associations.

The ideology of the Jewish communal elite was assimilationist in character (Rosenthal 1960, Cesarani 1990) and premised on a commitment to British citizenship and culture, alongside a belief in asserting pride in particular compatible elements of the Jewish tradition. At the heart of this approach, was a practical concern about gaining support and influence amongst the dominant group, at the same time avoiding actions which could potentially antagonise and encourage anti-Semitism (Brooks 1989: 211, Cesarani 1990).

Although the influence exercised by wealthy and prominent Jews, the assimilationist approach adopted inevitably created conflict with sections of the community, none more so than East European immigrants and working-class Jews whose interests and orientations did not necessarily reflect those of the elite (Cesarani 1990). An illustration of how the Jewish elite was able to impose its ideology, can be seen by the role of the JBG, who developed as matter of policy an assimilationist approach to immigrants. Black (1988: 308) commenting on this cultural policy:

'It became increasingly apparent that the immigrants were to be a growing and permanent component of the Jewish population in England. Measures had to be taken to deal with the increasing numbers, as Joseph argued with characteristic urgency to convert such of them as are destined to remain with us into good useful British citizens, as speedily as possible.'

The 1905 Aliens Act brought to the fore many of these underlying concerns. The decision of the Board to support the calls for limiting the number of Eastern European Jews, in juxtaposition with the protests and demonstrations of anti-Semitic associations, served to generate hostility against the Board from East End Jews who viewed this action as tantamount to treachery (Cesarani 1990, Firth 1961). The justification given by the Board's leadership for its decision was based on the financial costs of the refugees, and the cultural and ideological differences of the immigrants which was viewed as being incongruous with the goals of assimilation.

At the heart of these differences lay conflict over the more orthodox and 'backward' religious practices of the immigrants. Even more disturbing to the elite was the connection between Eastern European Jews with socialism and Zionism⁵ (Gartner 1973, Cesarani 1990). The rise of socialism and trade union activism, in particular, led to sharp antagonism amongst immigrants Jews, but also between the latter and the Anglo-Jewish community. An extremely sensitive matter was the deep-seated antipathy of Jewish proprietors to trade unions, which were at the height of their popularity by 1889.

A characteristic feature of the sweated industries was the disproportionate numbers of working-class Jews in a sector of the economy where Jewish proprietors were themselves over-represented. The treatment of working-class Jews by many proprietors created bitter animosity (Gartner 1973: Chapter 4). This social relationship served to expose the fundamental class and cultural interests within the Jewish community and helped to clarify

and sharpen social identities and loyalties. In areas like Leeds, where trade union activity was at its strongest, the subsequent intra-group conflict was at its most intense and served to undermine the Board's and the Jewish religious authorities' ability to exercise influence over the immigrant community (Lipset, Trow and Coleman 1968: Chapter 3, Black 1988).

The identification of many young Jews with socialism led to dis-affiliation with the religious and cultural life of Judaism, and in many cases, led to more western thinking leaders to publicly ridicule and attack traditional symbols of authority, such as the synagogue. In common with the experience of American Jewish socialist leaders at the time, attacks against traditional symbols of religious authority often led to revolts amongst workers against socialist and union leaders, forcing them to adopt less provocative tactics (Firth 1961, Gartner 1973, Liebman 1979)⁶.

Another issue, which highlighted the indifference of many Jewish proprietors, was the casual violation of the 1871 Act by employers allowing Jews to work on Sunday. The restriction against Sunday working, based on the Sunday Observance Act of 1677, was eventually changed through the Board's efforts (Alderman 1989: 91-92). The provisions of the 1871 reform allowed employers to open on Sunday on the assumption that work is not carried out on Saturdays. However, many businessmen casually flaunted the legislation which invariably drew critical attention.

Changes in Jewish Communal Structure of Authority and Association

WWI marked important changes in the structure of Jewish communal authority, which were to last up until the start of WWII. These changes were brought about by Britain's decision to go to war with the Allies (which included Russia) loathed by Eastern European Jews as an ancient source of virulent anti-Semitism.

The Anglo-Jewish community's support of the government led to direct opposition, often physically, from immigrant Jews illustrated by campaigns of disruption used to break up military recruitment drives (Cesarani 1990). The strength of feeling amongst the immigrant community towards the war helped to spread Zionist ideas, entrenching the divisions within the community. A consequence of the growing popularity of these beliefs led to increasing solidarity of Eastern European Jews with oppressed Jews in Russia and parts of Europe, which brought them into direct opposition with the Allied powers.

The first major organised challenge by Eastern European Jews to the authority of the Board took place in Manchester, Leeds and Glasgow, the latter with a population of 15,000 immigrants. Many associations sprung up in these areas after the introduction of the Aliens Register, which led to thousands of Jews from Poland and Galicia being subjected to registering on the grounds of being 'enemy aliens' (Cesarani 1990). Despite the efforts of many local associations, such as friendly societies, which attempted to put pressure on the Board to intervene it refused to change its stance.

Boosted by wartime experience of serving on the various local emergency committees, and having developed requisite organisational resources, the emerging Zionist leadership was able to assert its influence on a local and regional basis. By 1917, this new force was able to make its organised presence felt by directly lobbying government, after failing to influence the Board.

The action of London Zionists led to the Presidents of the Board and the AJA writing to The Times newspaper, making public private deliberations, breaking long-standing conventions and inadvertently highlighting the discord within the Board on the issue of the war. In what was perceived as an attempt to discredit the Zionist opposition, the furore that followed, led to the resignation of the Board's President (Cesarani 1990).

The 'Times letter incident', as it became known, resulted in a formal split bringing several decades of 'low level' antagonism between the established Anglo-Jewish elite and the East European immigrants to the fore. In the same year members of the Anglo-Jewish elite, including the heads of most prominent associations and MPs, created the League of British Jews (LBJ) to promote support for the British war effort.

Provocatively the LBJ excluded from its membership non-naturalised foreign-born Jews, which only served to exacerbate the conflict between the immigrants and the Anglo-Jewish community. Despite the inflammatory actions which led to the formation of the LBJ, its leadership went even further, and wrote an article in response to another written in The Jewish Chronicle, attacking a leading Jewish intellectual who argued in support of Bolshevism (Cesarani 1990).

The underlying tone and implications of the LBJ letter served inadvertently to reinforce the association in the minds of the indigenous community, and significant sections of Anglo-Jewry, of foreign Jews with sedition. However, the decision of the LBJ to publish the letter, in a paper known for its anti-Semitism, only contributed to widen this schism.

During the early rise of the Nazi regime in the 1930s the Board's leadership sought to play down Zionist concerns about the Nazi anti-Semitism. At the time, both Presidents of the Board and the AJA were joint Chairmen of the Joint Foreign Committee of the two associations and responsible for monitoring important international developments. The cautious attitude of the Jewish elite was to remain until 1933, after raids were carried out against Jewish organisations by Nazis. By the time the Anglo-Jewish elite had recognised the seriousness of events taking place in Germany, numerous efforts and activities had already been initiated by local Zionist leaders, including calls for protests and a boycott of German goods.

Many individuals, who emerged as leading figures in the effort to provide assistance to German Jews, were members of a new emerging elite of wealthy and prestigious Zionist sympathisers. One such figure, was Simon Marks, a staunch Zionist and Board Deputy⁷.

In 1933, Marks made a rare intervention at a Board meeting, where he challenged the elite by suggesting that both Presidents of the Board and the AJA stand down due to their handling of the German-Jewish issue, in favour of the President of the Zionist Federation and former President of the World Zionist Congress. Even though Marks was unable to achieve his objectives, his open challenge demonstrated the growing lack of confidence in the establishment's leadership and the increased capability of Zionists. The shifting locus of popular support within the Jewish community, can be seen by the fact that even though the Board and AJA opposed calls for more direct and militant action against the Nazi regime, many of these actions enjoyed mass backing. A case in point is the boycott movement led by Henry Mond, director of the Imperial Chemical Company.

The rise of fascism culminating in the creation of the British Fascist Party in Britain during the mid-1930s led to widespread overt anti-semitism. Despite these developments, the Board's President, Neville Laski, urged the Jewish community, particularly working-class Jews who bore the brunt of violent attacks, to avoid tactics of confrontation in the form of protests and physical retaliation. The militancy of the East European Jews attributed to

their long history of being victims of anti-Semitism and in numerical terms constituted the largest Jewish community in Europe, and were more vulnerable to the changes in Germany, a fact reflected in the eventual victims of Nazi genocide (Dellapergola 1994).

Laski's desire to avoid any action which could antagonise the dominant group, went as far as to blame Jews for contributing to the wave of anti-Semitism, typifying the Board's accommodationist and racist character (Cesaran 1990: Chapter 1). Specific areas of concern for the Board were the actions of Jewish proprietors and their attitude to workers, which it believed contributed to popular hostility against Jews, especially surrounding the vexed issue of Sunday working. The sheer defensiveness of the Board's President went beyond perceived abuse of the law, but also extended to matters concerning the alleged over representation of Jews in the professions and the tendency for working-class Jews to physically retaliate, often leading to them being blamed as if they were perpetrators of such violence (Alderman 1989: 93, Cesarani 1990).

The rise of fascism led to an increase in political activity with the creation of the Jewish Labour Alliance in 1934, consisting of Jewish trade unions and socialist friendly societies. Central to these developments was the view that the Board had abandoned working-class Jews. The seeming unwillingness of the Board to respond effectively to the changing environment, led to the rapid growth in support from within the immigrant community for the Communist Party. Their uncompromising opposition to fascism and high-profiled tactics of confrontation, seen in the role played by communists in the 'Battle of Cable Street' in 1936, clearly illustrates the difference between them and the Board (Alderman 1989: 96-99).

The deterioration of the situation in Germany led to the arrival of approximately 20,000 Jewish immigrants, consisting predominantly of middle-class professionals (Krauz 1972). The reaction to this wave of immigrants from significant sections of the indigenous population was widespread hostility, particularly from the local press who portrayed the immigrants as swamping the North London suburbs of Hampstead and Hendon where 15,000 refugees had settled (Alderman 1989: 100). An important theme in much of the objections to the immigrants was fear of competition for very limited housing, along with what became the almost ritual charges against Jewish proprietors.

The Anglo-Jewish elite response to the influx of German Jewish refugees further illustrates the defensiveness which had characterised its initial response since 1933.

The essence of the Board's approach, followed by numerous other secular and religious based associations, was designed to make the presence of the immigrants as inconspicuous as possible (Alderman 1989). The principal means of bringing about this 'invisibility' was geographical dispersal to limit the potential for discernible German-Jewish communities developing. Published guidance specifying how immigrants could avoid drawing attention to themselves was distributed through various aid organisations in order to facilitate this process (Alderman 1989).

By 1940 the Board, through its Defence Committee, articulated one key element of its approach for tackling the rise of fascism by attacking what it cited as one of the 'internal causes' of the problem i.e. namely the behaviour of German-Jewish refugees. The specific targets of the Defence Committee's attention were Jews involved in the wartime black market and bad proprietors (Alderman 1989: 101).

The over-dependency on internal regulation, as a means of limiting the causes of anti-Semitism, was justified by the Board on the basis that this phenomenon was social in character and not something that could be addressed by direct political action (Cesarani 1990: Chapter 7). Despite much validity in the Board's explanations, its general defensiveness and accommodating character meant it was unable to temper the increasing hostility towards its leadership.

The incremental challenges by Zionists and socialists, which had taken place between WWI and WWII, resulted in a major shift in the structure of representation and leadership within the Jewish community by the end of WWII. This contest begun to make itself felt in terms of breaking the elite's monopoly of communal authority. The spread and resonance of Zionism within the Jewish community was due to its ability to deal with central issues regarding the nature of Jewish identity and experience, which despite its popular appeal socialism was unable to do, given its primary focus on matters material.

Similar changes had also taken place within the Federation of Synagogues over a longer period of time and resulted in the rise of a strong Zionist Chief Rabbi and a radical rabbinate (Cesarani 1990). By 1940 the ascendancy of Zionism was complete with the election of the first foreign-born President of the Board.

The political decline of the Anglo-Jewish elite was not only due to the redundancy of its accommodationist ideology and handling of critical issues (Mintz 1978), but reflects some of the socio-economic changes which had taken place over this period. The wartime prosperity of the Eastern European Jewish communities in Britain took place at the expense of the established elite, whose economic prosperity was rooted in institutions and commercial practices which had long since peaked. The shift in economic power in favour of the Eastern Europeans can be seen by the ability of individuals like Simon Marks⁷ to rival and surpass the financial donations of high status patrons as Lord Rothschild during the German relief effort.

Policing Issues and the Jewish Community

Gartner's (1973) study of the Jewish community at the turn of the century provides ample evidence of a mature communal infrastructure to meet the various needs of group members, especially in efforts to combat forms of social deviance. The issue of deviancy and the community's response has featured in the work of Black (1988) who shows how the importance of this issue for Jewish leadership was heightened given its potential to exacerbate anti-Semitism. The efforts of the Board to address the undesirable effects of poverty, and the problems associated with it, extended beyond the provision of charity, but also included programmes of crime prevention and vigilantism (Black 1988: 194).

Leadership concerns about delinquency reflected the significant number of Jews involved in crime at the turn of the century, especially in London (Kosmin 1981). The types of crimes associated with Jews were essentially related to money as in: fraud, handling of stolen goods, (closely linked with the rag or scrap trade), pawn-broking, or organised pick-pocketing (Colquhoun 1796: 41-51). Involvement in prostitution networks utilising immigrant women, was another (Samuel 1981).

One distinguishing feature of 'Jewish crime' was the absence of violence-related offences (Gartner 1973). The strong association of Jews with crime is clearly evident in the mind of Colquhoun (1796: 41) when he states:

'The increase thereof of the lower order of the Jews reared under the influence of such evil examples and bred to no process that can render their labour useful to the country constitutes another of the chief forces of that depravity which prevails in the metropolis.'

While the prevention and rehabilitation of group members involved in crime constituted a major priority for Jewish leaders, by the mid-1930s and the coming of the war, their policing priorities had changed to matters concerning the protection and defence of the community. The rise of fascism and anti-Semitism, and specifically physical attacks on the Jewish community and their property, led to the development of a strategy which informs the Board's contemporary response to this issue.

The Defence and Ethnic Group Relations Department (DEGRD), so named after 1992, grew out of the work of the Jewish Defence Committee set up in 1936 in response to the emergence of the British Fascist Party in the same year. The work of the committee consisted of organising outdoor campaigns and the production of anti-fascist propaganda in conjunction with the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen (AJEX). An important element of the JDC's work was providing co-ordination for the Board's Committee's activities, in promoting positive images of the Jewish community⁸.

One of the significant achievements of the JDC, which the Board built on, was the creation of 13 London District Committees and 38 Provisional District Committees; along with the formation of a network of key contacts and informants who were to act as intelligence gatherers, and generally monitor the activities of fascist groups and political parties. The JDC helped create the foundation for the close relationship between defence work and political lobbying, due to its attempts to introduce a Community Libel Act, through its submissions to the Porter Committee (McCorquodale 1950, Cohen 1994)⁹.

The DEGRD took on other functions which included spreading good practice in terms of security and defence matters, training security personnel and more recently the launch of the Community Security Trust, an independent charity which provides a range of security services to the Jewish community)¹⁰. The addition of ethnic group relations to the responsibilities of the DEGRD in 1994 was designed to complement the work carried out by the department, by developing good relations with other racial and ethnic minority groups.

Another important Board institution in addressing policing related matters, is its oldest and most prestigious Home Affairs Committee, with its Law and Parliamentary and General Purpose Committee, which monitors Parliamentary and Municipal legislation affecting the Jewish community. The importance of this committee is that it illustrates one of the critical characteristics in the success of the Board in exercising influence, in terms of its legally

recognised statutory role¹¹.

Over the years the Home Affairs Committee played a very important role in influencing government decisions in many areas. Commenting on the success of the Law and Parliamentary Committee, during the 19th century, one author observes¹².

'The dedication and determination of the L&P (Law and Parliamentary Committee) in particular emerges in the scope of the issues examined, while the tenacity with which objects were pursued can be seen in the extent to which recognition, including where necessary statutory force, has been given to a wealth of rights for the observant Jew. Every great nineteenth century social issue can be found here in its Jewish aspect.'

The Board's response to the issue of fascist and anti-Semitic activities, illustrated in Cohen (1994) highlights some important strengths and weaknesses of its methods. The approach, adopted by the Board, was based on a two-pronged strategy which sought to utilise low-key lobbying of the Home Office with the intent of using legislative means to outlaw various types of behaviour.

The second element of this approach involved the Board developing its own intelligence gathering mechanisms designed to provide information on hostile organisations and leaders. The information collected in this manner was used to influence key decision-makers (Stenson and Factor 1992: 8, Rose and Miller 1992).

Cohen (ibid) found that while the Board was able to gain access to important decision-makers, it was unable to bring about necessary changes at government level. The ability to tackle particular types of anti-Semitism, (as in the case of literature not overtly racist on examination), created considerable conflicts with fundamental liberal democratic values such as freedom of speech; especially as the literature did not create obvious potential problems of public order (Cohen 1994)¹³. Despite political pressure by the Board for the Crown Prosecution Service to convict an established anti-Semitic figure for publishing perceived offensive literature, the legal authorities were very reluctant to act, and eventually, only did so grudgingly.

While the Board has enjoyed the status of an insider group (Brooks 1989, Kaye 1993, Studler 1986)¹⁴, on occasion it has resorted to mass action tactics by means of high-profile campaigns to apply pressure on the government. An illustration of this can be seen during

the late 1970s which saw the rise of the National Front, leading to the creation of the Joint Action Committee Against Racism, involving essentially moderate and mainstream bodies, such as the CRE and the British Council of Churches (Layton-Henry 1984: 103).

The use of regulatory strategies, by the Board and local leaders, to address the problem of delinquency has also been used by parents to limit the effects of social and cultural change bringing Jewish youth into contact with other minority youth defined as culturally and racially problematic (Stenson and Factor 1992, Rosenthal 1960: 284-287).

Jewish parental fear of further 'cultural contamination' was driven to a significant degree by racism, was exacerbated by acts of crime committed on young Jews by African-Caribbean youth. The response of the adult leadership involved the use of defence strategies, in providing information on potentially predatory individuals and/or groups, and creating a physical and organised presence in areas seen as 'Jewish territory'. One element of this strategy resulted in a campaign interestingly entitled 'Operation Alley Cat' which successfully led to the collection of evidence resulting in the arrest of several African-Caribbean youth for robbery.

This initiative sought to tackle specific incidents of mugging which took place in the area, but also provided a context where parental authority and control over the activities and behaviour of Jewish youth could be exercised. Commenting on this initiative Factor and Stenson (1992: 8) remark:

'The defence initiative, from 1982, involving trained adult male security volunteer deputies from the Board, moving from their usual territories in or adjacent to Jewish institutions, into open public space, which Jewish young people shared with other groups. They operated a dual role: on the one hand, they defended the young people, acting as a deterrent force to hostile groups and liaising closely with the police.'

An essential part of the defence strategy was the education and training of youth, in a range of technical and social skills, to enhance their capabilities for preventing victimisation, supplemented by cultural education by Jewish elders about issues of identity. This finding by Stenson and Factor highlights the strong relationship in the Jewish community between notions of identity, regulation and deviancy, which is highlighted in the work of Black (1988), Feldman and others. The authors describe the training programmes delivered:

'While continuing their street work they turned also to a strategy of education, they set up in synagogues and community centres ten week courses in street survival skills. The aim of the course were: to make young people aware of the hazards of the streets; to educate them about the nature of anti-Semitism Jewish identity and (assisted by visiting community police officers and solicitors) about the criminal justice process and how to use it with confidence where necessary.'

Another important dimension in the success of this approach lay in the ability of communal leaders to develop supportive and effective relations with the police at the local level. This was assisted by the status of the local Jewish community as respectable middle-class, generally law abiding, and supportive of the police (Cain 1973, Freidman 1992). In addition, many parents belonged to or had good relations with the Board, recognised by the police as the legitimate representative of the Jewish community (Chapter 1).

While the status of the Jewish community is a significant factor in shaping their relationship with the police, the actual issues in question and the course of action adopted by its leadership lent itself well to what Friedman (1992) has called 'co-production' of policing.

First, the issue of tackling crime, in this instance mugging, is central to the definition of police work as defined by the police themselves (Grimshaw and Jefferson 1987, Cain 1973, Brown 1982). Moreover, the offending group in question and popular perception about its intrinsic relationship to mugging provided a shared framework (Chapter 1).

Second, Jewish community leaders provided much of the resources needed to support their strategy, including personnel with specialist security expertise, in addition to that already possessed by the Board to achieve the designated goals. Thus not only drawing little from police resources but actually helping to relieve them in some instances.

Stenson and Factor (1992: 11) comment on how these factors contributed to the success of the aforementioned strategy:

'Such was the mutual respect of the Metropolitan Police and the Jewish community that one synagogue meeting in June 1988, which discussed the issue, was attended by a member of the national Police Complaints Authority and two senior officers of Superintendent and Commander rank. The latter praised the 'unique' and exceptional co-operation the police had received and which would be hard to envisage coming from any other community.'

One aspect of the Board's attempt to address this problem, which indicates the political nature of such issues, was efforts to develop dialogue with the African-Caribbean community leaders in order to politically manage potential conflict. However, this was found to be unsuccessful given the absence of appropriate leadership infrastructure within the latter (Stenson and Factor 1992: 9).

The African-Caribbean Community in Britain

The history of Caribbean immigration and settlement in Britain is related to the colonial status of the Caribbean islands. As early as the 16th century black people from the Caribbean and Africa resided in Britain due to slavery and maritime trade, which led to well-established communities around ports such as Cardiff, Liverpool and Bristol (Fryer 1984: 58-66). The changes in the Caribbean economy during the post war period, which had historically been structured to serve the needs of the white metropolitan powers, led to mass unemployment creating the incentive for large-scale migration.

The opportunity for migration came with Britain's desire to rebuild its war-torn economy. Caribbean service men were recruited during the war, working in numerous capacities, both in terms of military personnel and support staff. According to the 1951 Census there were about 17,000 of these individuals in Britain employed in a range of capacities, from military personnel to foresters (Peach 1996).

Large-scale immigration started in 1948, reaching its peak by the early 1960s, before rapidly declining by 1970. The Caribbean population was approximately 550,000 with 80 per cent of the group concentrated in four major urban areas: London, West Midlands, West Yorkshire and Manchester. This process was facilitated by direct recruitment campaigns initiated by the British government and large employers (Layton-Henry 1984: 18-20). In islands like Jamaica and Barbados, the National Health Service and London Transport led the rush to recruit West Indian labour (Peach 1996).

The patterns of immigration from the Caribbean differed according to islands groupings and region. Jamaica, the largest 'English speaking' (Barrett 1976), and part of the Leeward Islands led this process (Rose et al 1969). By 1951, 90 per cent of the 1,000 Caribbean immigrants to enter Britain that year were Jamaican. A pattern of numerical dominance which characterised African-Caribbean immigration until its secession. Barbados, the

oldest British possession followed. By 1955 the Barbadian presence was already established. Migration from the smaller Windward Islands (Dominica, Grenada, St Lucia etc) started in earnest in 1956 (Peach 1996: 40).

The socio-economic character of the Caribbean population consisted predominantly of working-class and skilled tradesmen and women. However, as the experiences of nurses in the National Health Service was to make very clear, the ability to ascertain the educational and professional character of this group with any precision is difficult given the degree of racial discrimination they experienced (Selvon 1956, Patterson 1963: 198, Rose et al. 1969, Braham and Rhodes et al 1981: 93). However, contrary to dominant perception the immigrant community possessed an upper-class elite (mainly business class) and a professional middle-class and a number of middle-class students. A significant section of the former were essentially assimilationist and often anti-black in character (Patterson 1963: 368).

In many cases, Caribbean tradesmen, as in cabinet-making, came from strong craft traditions with superior levels of technical knowledge and abilities than their white counterparts (Collins 1981, Brown 1984: 121, Chapter 1). A significant number were employed in declining sectors of the economy made available by the social mobility of white working-class and outward migration (Glass 1960, Layton-Henry 1984: 25, Brown 1984: 293).

The different patterns of island migration led to the creation of residential patterns based on regional, village and kinship affiliations, given the role of these networks in facilitating the process of migration in the first instance (Layton-Henry 1984: 23). Many Jamaicans settled in South London and the Midlands, St Lucians, Antiguan, and Dominicans in Northwest and East London, with Monserratians mainly in North London (Peach 1996: 40).

Problems And Issues

The new immigrant population was faced with numerous problems in obtaining accommodation, jobs and general acceptance from the white population due to widespread racial discrimination. Of particular importance was the fact that the urban areas where immigrants settled were experiencing a process of decline after the war. This led to the movement of indigenous whites and other previous immigrants, such as the Jewish

community, with their improved circumstances to other areas.

While racial prejudice had always been an aspect of the experiences of the Caribbean immigrants, to one degree or another prior to the large influx, however, the increasing numbers led to changes in the attitude of the white populous. Hostility to the African-Caribbean presence grew in the form of the politicisation of race and immigration, which characterised the immigrant community as contributing to the decline of British life, thus exacerbating racial tension (Foot 1965, Layton-Henry 1984: 70-71).

One of the major problems experienced by the immigrant community, and an issue which had plagued the oldest black community in Liverpool, was the matter of racial violence (Fryer 1984: Chapter 10). The African-Caribbean immigrants were subjected to violence, both on a random and organised basis (Foot 1965: Chapter 9). Despite this, the level of violence against the African-Caribbean community was significantly less compared to that of other immigrant groups (Jefferson 1993, Walker et al: 143), given their tendency to respond in kind (Chapter 2).

In 1958 white mob violence against African-Caribbean communities flared up in Nottingham and Notting Hill, London. The events in Notting Hill caught the attention of the national media, given the potential for public disorder, after the murder of young carpenter Kelso Cochrane. This brought members of the African-Caribbean community onto the streets and stimulated organised self-defence.

Although the press cited mobs of white hooligans, as one of the causes of the violence, it also stressed that the large numbers of people involved in the four-day disturbance was indicative of growing resentment towards the immigrant community (Layton-Henry 1984). The response of civic, religious and political leaders was to initially condemn the behaviour of the instigators of the violence. This was overshadowed by demands for immigration controls.

Popular prejudice notwithstanding, the presence of the African-Caribbean immigrant community, in areas short of many basic amenities, created problems for local Labour councils. The authorities struggled to meet these demands, particularly regarding housing, which had been a major problem since the war (Alderman 1989) an issue which could not be resolved by the small number of West Indian landlords (Selvon 1956; Rex and Moore

1967).

The outcome of these events was the passage of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act by the Conservative government. The Act came into law under stiff opposition from both the Labour Party, Liberal Party, African-Caribbean spokespersons and Commonwealth leaders. Moreover, the Conservative Party came under attack from within its own ranks, namely from the pro-Commonwealth lobby (Layton-Henry 1984).

The basis of this opposition was the historical relations between Britain and its colonies as well as the economic, political and moral implications of the Act. Also, the Act was seen, by those opposing it, as surrender to racial prejudice by placing the immigrant presence at the root cause of these problems, as opposed to the attitudes of the white public (Foot 1965: 155).

Feelings towards the Commonwealth immigrant community was to play a critical role in the Labour Party's policy after its election victory of 1964 which returned a Labour government for the first time in 13 years. The defeat of shadow Foreign Secretary Patrick Gordon-Walker, a firm pro-Commonwealth advocate, by Conservative candidate Peter Griffiths in Smethwick on an overtly racist platform caught the Labour Party completely by surprise. The outcome of these events forced the Labour Party's leadership to reassess its hitherto uncompromising stance on appeasing racism (Foot 1965).

The subsequent development of Labour's bi-partisan approach to Commonwealth immigration was premised on the need to de-politicise the issue of race in party political terms. At the heart of this approach was the attempt to balance the need to tackle racial discrimination, while providing statutory help by integrating the immigrant communities, while further restricting the ability of immigrants to enter Britain.

The result of Labour's strategy was the 1965 Race Relations Act, which made it unlawful to racially discriminate in public places and in some areas in the provision of housing. The Act also created the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrant (NCCI) to co-ordinate the work of local voluntary liaison committees, which had sprung up in local authority areas to facilitate the integration of the immigrants and to promote racial harmony.

In addition to the creation of the NCCI, the Act set up the Race Relations Board to serve as a reconciliation mechanism in cases of racial discrimination. An important consideration underlining the establishment of these statutory mechanisms was a desire to avoid growing black militancy and large-scale racial conflict, already intimated by the events of 1958 and in the US (Layton-Henry 1984).

In the same year the government passed its new Commonwealth Immigration Act, building on its predecessor, but also introduced a relatively harsh regime of restrictive measures, consisting of a quota system and a battery of powers regarding health checks, powers to deport etc, which clearly illustrated the problematisation of the immigrant population; especially given the wider demographic context of Britain's labour shortage and high levels of outward migration.

The political success of Labour's approach was due to the removal of race relations from the General Election of 1966, where it was returned with a significant majority. The decline of race as a politically sensitive issue was also highlighted in public opinion polls, which showed widespread support for the Labour government's policies (Layton-Henry 1984: 65).

Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, played a major role in the success of the government's approach. His commitment to an enlightened approach to the problem went far beyond what he believed to be a short-sighted focus on immigration control. At the heart of Jenkins' philosophy was the belief in the need to foster the integration of the immigrant population, enhancing British political and social life in the process.

In order for Jenkins to facilitate the desired changes, he sought to provide robust evidence of the degree of racial discrimination experienced by the immigrants. This resulted in two important studies, the Political and Economic Planning (PEP) study, and one under Professor Harry Street, into the effects of anti-discrimination legislation abroad. The results of the PEP research published in 1967 found levels of racial discrimination unanticipated by the government. In the case of the Street Report (as it became known) it found conciliation as a means of resolving allegations of racial discrimination was totally ineffective and recommended the need for strong legal sanctions.

Before the passage of subsequent government Bills, political events helped to undermine the consensus which had developed on the issue of Commonwealth immigrants. In May 1967 Labour lost considerable ground in the local elections - part of the growing unpopularity which led to it conceding control of the Greater London Council in the previous month.

During the summer of that year widespread press coverage of small numbers of illegal Asian immigrants entering the country helped to place the issue of immigration back on the political agenda. Around the same time, growing numbers of Asian-Kenyans holding British passports, not covered by existing legislation, began to enter the country. The catalyst for this migration was the policy of the Kenyan government to give preference to African-Kenyans (Layton-Henry 1984: 67).

The influx of the Asian-Kenyans led to near panic in the government. The public disquiet served to intensify the rush of immigrants entering the country before the introduction of anticipated restrictions. In the last fortnight in February 1968, 10,000 immigrants entered Britain making the introduction of new legislation inevitable.

The campaign for tougher restrictions was led by two Conservative politicians, Duncan Sandys and Enoch Powell. Powell's dominance of the anti-immigration forces was brought about, by what has become known as his 'rivers of blood' speech, in which he cast a picture of Britain torn apart by racial strife akin to a racial war. Powell's speech overnight projected him into the role of the leading national spokesman on the issue of race and immigration, and threatened to launch him as a potential rival leader of the Conservative Party. The impact of Powell's speech within the Conservative Party was immediate. Not only was the speech seen within sections of the leadership as pandering to the worst popular racist instincts and destroying the bi-partisan approach at a stroke, but it fundamentally compromised the Shadow Home Secretary, who in turn threatened to resign if action was not taken against Powell (Castle and Kosack 1973: 439). The result of these events led to the sacking of Powell which inadvertently reinforced his status as a popular hero (Layton-Henry 1984: 70-71).

The 1968 Race Relations Act represented a major development on previous legislation. The Act made an unequivocal declaration that discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, and nationality was unlawful. Furthermore, it expanded on its predecessor to cover

discrimination in employment, housing and within the public and private services. The NCCI was abolished and in its place the Community Relations Commission (CRC), was created changing the emphasis on facilitating the settlement of immigrants to greater priority on promoting racial harmony.

In order to balance these new reforms and to placate the pro-restrictionist lobby, the government also introduced the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act which sought to tighten the legal loopholes allowing the entry of Asian-Kenyans. The consequence of the legislation directly discriminated against black and Asian Commonwealth citizens. The Act drew scathing criticism from the quality press, leading individuals involved in race relations, and the church (Layton-Henry 1984: 69). A central theme in these criticisms was the obvious rejection of the once vaunted notion of the Commonwealth as a political and legal entity.

By 1971, the number of Commonwealth immigrants in Britain was approximately 1,500,000, of which one third was made up of the Caribbean community, a figure which remains relatively unchanged (Peach 1996: 98). An important change in the Caribbean population was the growth of second generation born primarily in Britain. Despite demographic changes, many of the problems experienced by the immigrant parent generation still created formidable barriers for their offspring.

Nowhere, were the obstacles against second generation African-Caribbeans more apparent than in the areas of education and employment where they experienced a range of problems, especially seen in the attitude and behaviour of white teachers (Chapters 1 and 2, Weinrich 1979, Small 1983: 65-68; Brown 1984). The obstacles to achievement was exacerbated by the barriers to group members entering business and independent sources of self-employment (Small 1994: 135-136).

The 1976 Act brought into being by the Labour government was official recognition of the failure of previous attempts to tackle racial discrimination. The new Act extended existing legislation to cover other areas. It also introduced the notion of indirect discrimination which made unlawful many practices used by employers and trade unions etc (Layton-Henry 1984: 137). The Act also made county courts and industrial tribunals available to individuals alleging racial discrimination. The Race Relations Board was abolished, and replaced by a more powerful regulatory agency responsible for both enforcement and

promoting good race relations, the CRE.

The political motivation underlying the Labour Party's introduction of the 1976 Act, lay in the experiences of the two closely fought general elections of 1974. The political importance of the ethnic minority vote to the major parties became evident with the publishing of the 1971 Census. This highlighted for the first time some important demographic trends with potentially significant electoral consequences.

In addition, research carried out by the PEP found evidence of the entrenched nature of racial disadvantage experienced by these communities, highlighted the failure of previous forms of intervention. Subsequently, the Act was passed with relatively little resistance from opposition leadership, despite considerable intransigence from many Tory backbench MPs (Layton-Henry 1984: 148-149).

Communal Association and Leadership

The strategy with the longest tradition in the African-Caribbean community, has been based on self-help and the establishment of associations designed to meet its needs. Hiro (1973: Chapter 3) shows how the early Caribbean community brought with it strong beliefs in the notion of self-help based on kinship or village affiliations.

While these types of organisations often took an informal form, the African-Caribbean community established numerous formal associations predominantly of a social-welfare type. Island-based social welfare associations were particularly popular with first generation immigrant communities. Most of these associations were non-economic in nature. However, a very common form of association were savings and credit union type groups brought from home and formed to save and raise small-scale capital, rather than depend on white financial institutions (Rex and Moore 1967: 264, Hiro 1973, Bonnet 1977).

Although many early welfare-type associations provided information and support, some ran other services; one of which was the provision of much needed shelter. An illustration of this can be seen in 1956 where the Willesden West Indian Unity Association set up a hostel and social club for newly arrived immigrants (Hiro 1973: 44). Another important type of association, which begun to make its presence felt during the 1950's, was formed to challenge discriminatory practices experienced in older black communities (Ramadin

1987: Chapter 10). In 1951 a small group of skilled workmen employed in an ordinance factory created the Merseyside West Indian Association (MWIA). The key objectives of the MWIA was to represent the rights of members against a background of harsh discriminatory treatment.

The goals of the MWIA were to help unify and promote co-operation amongst West Indians, in addition, it sought to protect the economic and political welfare of group members (predominantly skilled Jamaican males). The MWIA was stymied by a series of conflicts between more accommodationist leaders seeking closer harmony with whites and radicals (Chapter 2).

The points of tension within the MWIA were due to the decision to broaden membership to include an influx of whites, almost exclusively women (Chapter 2). This change in approach came about by MWIA's attempt to work closely with supportive white organisations. Another point of tension was the critical attitude of radical leaders within the organisation on the role of the Colonial Office and its treatment of immigrants.

The most significant association of this period was the Colonial Peoples Defence Association (CPDA) which was established in 1951 after the racial violence in Liverpool in 1948. This resulted in several men being arrested and the formation of the Colonial Defence Committee (CDC). While successful, the CDC consisted of a large all black membership with significant African-Caribbean representation.

Its leadership, however, consisted of a mix of accommodationist middle-class black notables and white reformers. The CPDA, on the other hand, was almost exclusively an all black organisation. The goals of the CPDA sought to foster unity amongst the various sections of the African race in order to promote its welfare. Central to these goals was the objective of eliminating racial discrimination and to bring about better understanding between races. During its short history the CPDA was able to go some way to achieving some of its goals, albeit in a modest manner (Ramadin 1987: 384).

After the war the problem of unemployed black seamen led to the Colonial Office's attempt to use repatriation to address the issue. The CPDA's response was the effective use of lobbying to propose alternative courses of action. The recommendations made by the CPDA eventually gained support from the Colonial Office, the Labour Party and Trade

Union Council and successfully introduced (Ramadin 1987: 386).

Apart from the CPDA's political activities, it gave active support to individuals in a range of problem areas, from fighting cases of discrimination in employment to acting as a social-welfare association, including helping to obtain work and accommodation.

In 1952, the CPDA organised a conference which was to have a significant impact on the future of the organisation. One of the decisions taken at the conference was that the CPDA should change its structure to accommodate leaders representing the black community on a national basis. The general opening up of the organisations was complemented by another decision taken to develop closer relationships between the white and black community, along with better representation of women. The outcome of the latter led to the greater representation of disproportionately the white wives of members on the organisation's Executive Committee (Ramadin 1987: 387).

Voluntary associations seeking to represent the interest of black people sprung up in significant numbers in established communities. These associations were unable to develop into strong organisations and lay the framework for growth due to the general middle-class and accommodationist tendencies of their leaders (Ramadin 1987: 371, Chapter 1).

Attempts to develop a national association to unify West Indians during the early 1950s, re-emerged in the formation of the West Indian Standing Conference (WISC). WISC's origins were rooted in the events leading up to and following the racial disturbances of 1958. A consequence of these events was the concern caused to the new Federated Government of the West Indies, who through its Migrant Services Division, dispatched two Community Development Officers to London to provide support to its nationals. The outcome of these high profiled meetings was the creation of WISC.

The goal of WISC was to represent the African-Caribbean community and its home governments who in turn would seek to influence the British government. WISC developed a federated organisation consisting of various local and island-based associations and by 1961 had approximately 18 affiliated organisations.

The collapse of the West Indian Federation, brought about by the withdrawal of its largest member Jamaica who sought independence from Britain, significantly weakened the role of the Jamaica High Commission in the affairs of WISC. The impact of this action was incalculable given the predominance of Jamaican nationals amongst the immigrant population.

The passing of the 1962 Immigration Act represented a changing and more hostile attitude to the immigrant community. Despite the stiff judicial response to the events of 1958 and sympathy from sections of the press (Bowling 1993: 21). The Immigration Act had a direct impact on the goals of WISC. Prior to 1962 white liberals were represented in significant numbers on the organisation's executive, the changing political environment led to increased unease towards them from more black nationalist orientated leaders. Fundamental to the latter's beliefs was a commitment to self-reliance and called for greater emphasis on economic development (in the form of credit unions, consumer co-operatives and businesses) and an assertion of ethnic group pride. This ran contrary to the assimilationists, with their commitment to legal reform and racial integration, which characterised the dominant thinking within WISC (Heineman 1972, Ramadin 1987: 411-413).

The efforts to radically transform WISC were frustrated by problems intrinsically related to structure and evolution of the association. In the first instance, many of the affiliated associations which made up the organisation were predominantly social in orientation. While many others consisted of numerous white individuals whose involvement came from various multi-racial groups which sprung up during the late fifties to facilitate conciliation. To make matters worse many whites occupied important positions within these associations (Layton-Henry 1984).

Given its infancy, WISC's leaders lacked the infrastructure to impose either its influence, or control on local affiliates. This was exacerbated, given that the majority of immigrants were averse to overt political activity, which was viewed as incompatible with their status and motives for being in the country (Lloyd 2002: 65). However, a smaller but more visible group opposed the spread of black power ideology and its depiction of whites (Chapter 2, Ramadin 1987: 412-413).

Another important attempt to develop a national association led to the creation of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD). CARD's origins stemmed from a visit to London by civil rights leader, Dr Martin Luther King in 1964, who urged community leaders to form a national organisation which could defend the interests of immigrant community.

As a consequence of King's visit, a group called Multi-Racial Britain (MRB) consisting of predominantly accommodationist members of the Caribbean middle-class and whites working in the area of racial conciliation, invited a number of Commonwealth Immigrant associations such as: the National Federation of Pakistani Associations and the Standing Conference of West Indian Organisations, and other white pressure groups, such as the Campaign For Nuclear Disarmament, to examine the issue of racial discrimination.

The decision to attract white liberal support was taken by the MRB, given the initial idea behind CARD was to act as a legal pressure group, and therefore required sympathetic individuals with expertise in the area (Ramadin 1987: 416). Shortly after the launch of CARD in January 1965, the organisation found itself in turmoil, after the announcement of the resignations of two of the new formations leaders Dr David Pitt, member of the MRB and Hama Alava Chairman of the National Federation of Pakistani Associations (NFPA), who accepted the Prime Minister's invitation to join the NCCI created, by the 1965 Race Relations Act.

Pitt and Alava actions led to bitter condemnation from WISC and the NFPA members for what was viewed as a betrayal of minority interests for self-grandisement. The government was also criticised for attempting to appease anti-immigrant and overtly racist forces. Furthermore, the NCCI was viewed, by many of its critics, as a vehicle for siphoning immigrant resources away from building strong independent organisations and politically managing conflict. At the same time, the NCCI was being promoted as an effective means to addressing the cause of these problems (Ramadin 1987: 426, Layton-Henry 1984: 127-128).

Several problems served to further frustrate CARD's ambitions. The first related to the difficulties in reconciling the different types of associations in question. Heineman (1972) describes five major types of associations which CARD attempted to weld together consisting of:

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1. multi-racial integrationist type association which sought to foster better race relations;
 2. a variety of religious associations;
 3. social-welfare associations;
 4. sports and leisure groups;
 5. economic development associations.

Of these associations type 1, 3, and 5 predominated with the other two enjoying greater support given the needs of the community. Tension was particularly prevalent between association type 1, on one side, and types 3 and 5 given the centrality of ideology and how it impacted on group strategy. The priorities of the early African-Caribbean community created an important obstacle for leaders attempting to attract large numbers of members to support mass activity, given its primary concern at the time with immediate 'bread and butter' issues based on individual, not collective action (Lloyd *ibid*).

A major deficiency of CARD was the inadequacy of its leadership. In terms of skills, its leaders were unable to understand and disentangle the range of complex social and organisational problems experienced by the African-Caribbean community which needed to be addressed (see Chapter 1, Heineman 1972: Chapter 5).

An important dimension of CARD's deficiency was the inability to identify achievable and manageable goals. A case in point being the difficulties in mobilising the community around goals which complemented immigrant priorities. While CARD had considerable problems attracting and influencing the African-Caribbean community; its leaders' lack of understanding of politics and political processes, specifically how to exercise influence across a range of interests characterised by different racial, religious and cultural difference served to frustrate its lofty ambitions (Heineman 1972: 24, Werbner 1991: 16, Lloyd 2002: 66).

While the skills of CARD's leadership were inadequate, they also lacked political legitimacy particularly regarding dominant Caribbean cultural norms concerning associations and personal affiliation with whites (Chapter 2). This clash in values was to manifest in the inability of the accommodationist elite to identify with the association's membership and the community as a whole. While the priorities of black power leaders within the organisation differed from the community and membership their core values did not.

Many CARD leaders were professional and highly assimilated blacks whose values, while complementary to the wider community on matters such as legal equality, were completely at odds on other fundamental issues such as ethnic cultural identity. This tendency was epitomised in physician Dr David Pitt, who considered himself 'an Englishman' completely identifying with British institutions and values, despite his Caribbean origins (Heineman 1972: 213).

The lack of confidence felt by significant sections of the African-Caribbean community towards the government and its commitment to legal equality, combined with the failure of CARD and its liberal ideology, served to hasten the development of new types of association by the early-mid 1960s. The demise of WISC and CARD led to the spread of black power philosophy from the US. This had considerable impact, especially among British-born African-Caribbean youth.

Enoch Powell's speech was a critical factor in changing the mood of the community which helped to bring about a growing assertiveness and general awareness of the centrality of ethnicity and race in the life of the group. This had an immediate effect on the number of people attending politically orientated meetings. One of the effects of Powell's intervention was the formation of new associations and the revitalisation of previously defunct ones. Manchester witnessed the establishment of three black power organisations alone (Hiro 1973: 92, Fryer 1984: 347-351).

The introduction of black power to Britain shows the close affinity between African-Caribbeans in Britain with African-Americans. An example of this is the visit of Malcolm X in 1964, marking the start of the British black power movement (Abdul Malik 1967: 139-45)¹⁵. The outcome of this visit led to the creation of Britain's first two black power organisations, the Racial Advancement Adjustment Society, formed and led by Michael Defreitas (more popularly known as Michael X), and the Universal Coloured Peoples Association led by Nigerian writer Obi Egbuna (Egbuna 1971). The former was heavily influenced by the physically striking intellectual, later scholar, Jan Carew. Martial arts expert Carew was pivotal in the spread of self-defence training and organisation within the early black power movement and one of its most respected leaders (Abdul Malik 1967: 149, Chapter 2). It was not however until 1967 with the visit of another internationally known American leader, Stokely Carmichael, that black power ideology established its dominance within the black community (Egbuna 1971: 16-19).

The black power ideology is a critique of the dependency of black people i.e. Africans and their descendants on white paternalism, and institutions, calling for greater group assertion and autonomy in all major areas of activity. An important cultural dimension of this philosophy was the rejection of white dominant cultural values, the reassertion of black cultural identity and solidarity on an international basis (Pinkney 1976: 165-6). Central to this project is the call for black men and women, particularly the former, to exercise their traditional prerogative of exercising control over their communities in accordance with cultural expectations (Chevannes 2001: Chapter 2).

One problem which immediately gripped the fledgling movement was the lack of consensus on specific strategies which would bring about the desired outcome. While the notion of black power in societies where black people are the majority is less problematic (Mazuri and Tidy 1984: Chapter 17), how this philosophy translates to the realities of in Britain lay at the heart of these disagreements (Chapter 2, Egbuna 1971: 19-22).

By the late 1960s and early 1970s two basic types of black power associations begun to spring up in numbers. The first type consisted of associations whose strategy was based on building independent black institutions, while supporting anti-western and capitalist revolutionary movements in Africa and the African diaspora.

Essential to meeting the needs of the community was the provision of specific programmes to provide a range of educational services, which included support for students and parents, bookshops and book clubs etc. A major feature of the programme of this type of association was the holding of 'consciousness raising' sessions designed to increase the general awareness on issues affecting the group (Bryant and Dadzie 1985: 142-143).

Holding public meetings was another popular practice in raising communal awareness, which represented a departure from the general apolitical attitudes of pre-Powell era. These associations participated in numerous campaigns against perceived injustice. Many actions derived from concerns about the quality of services provided to the group and, in many instances, led to the establishment of alternative forms of provision, as in supplementary schools (Chapter 2, Butcher, Collis et al 1980: Chapter 7).

The centrality of education to black power thinking at the time can be seen by efforts to establish a Free University for African, Asian and West Indian Studies by an organisation called the Black Power Party. This ambition was a natural outgrowth of the large number of study and educational groups that sprung up during this period (Hiro 1973: 92).

Closely related was the popularisation of African/African-Caribbean art, literature and culture, which led to the establishment of numerous groups dedicated to asserting the importance of this aspect of education to black people (Pinkney 1976: 122-146). This led to significant changes in fashion, with a preponderance of African-based styles and forms of cultural expression which rapidly became popular amongst the young who had developed a reawakened pride in the group's ethnicity (Hiro 1973: 93).

The second type of strategy consisted of building solidarity with anti-capitalist forces nationally and internationally, as a means of overthrowing British and world capitalism. Despite this orthodox Marxist approach, the basic design of these associations was similar to the aforementioned. The major difference being one of emphasis (Egbuna 1971: 21, Brown 1982: 126, Bryant and Dadzie 1985: 141-145). Regardless of the areas of ideological overlap, in many respects, the conflict within the black power community on matters of strategy was as intense, if not greater, than between them and assimilationists; particularly given the assertive ethos of these associations (Rex and Moore 1967: 250).

Fundamental to these tensions were issues related to culture and the political interests represented in the dominant sections of the black power movement; which believed that the acceptance of western class analysis would undermined notions of group cultural identity, similar to the conflicts which took place within the Jewish community. In addition white radicals, like liberals, were not immune from ethnocentrism and the desire to politically control the black community in line with their interests (Small 1994: 200, Bryant and Dadzie 1985: 146, Cruse 1984).

Those advocating a class-based approach, although in a minority, also sought to identify with the struggles of other disadvantaged ethnic minorities such as Asians, seen by their few instances of support, as in the Grundwick industrial dispute (Phizacklea and Miles 1979, Werbner 1991). This view was heavily influenced by Carew and important Pan Africanist radical scholar Walter Rodney and intrinsically tied to the ethnic politics of Guyana and Trinidad (Abdul Malik 1967, Rodney 1990). While Rodney took the view that many

working-class Asians had similar interests with the African majority, this diverged from the dominant black perspective which viewed the former as part of the dominant ethnic group in the Caribbean. This is illustrated by the violent anti-Asian riots in Guyana leading to the deaths of many Asians (Rodney 1990: 74-77). A similar view of Asians was held regarding those in East Africa, illustrated by the international black support for the actions of General Amin (Muzuri and Tidy 1987).

The evolution of black power organisations, able to integrate large numbers of people, was hampered due to the ideological and other problems which frustrated these formations, but more significantly curtailed by the intervention of the state (Chapters 1 and 2). The empowerment of the community brought about by black power ideology threatened the white dominant group given the former's rejection of assimilation and accommodation (Fryer 1984: 33).

The principal actors in suppressing the black power movement were the police who led a campaign of victimisation, coloured significantly by the fear of black men (Chapter 2, Egbuna 1971: 20, Bunyan 1977: 147, Bryant and Dadzie 1985: 142). This led to the imprisonment of many key leaders of the infant movement on a range of questionable pretexts: ranging from conspiracies to kill police officers, and 'other unknown parties', to incitement to cause racial hatred (Egbuna 1971: 10-16, Lester and Bindman 1972: 368-370).

The significance of the black power movement, in the eyes of the police and state machinery can be seen by the role played by Special Branch in what has become known as the 'Black power trials'¹⁶, which popularised the image of these leaders as dangerous extremists (Egbuna 1971: 12-13).

The outcome of the state attack against the black power movement only served to increase its popularity amongst the young¹⁷. However, one outcome of this campaign was its success in destroying the embryonic black power leadership and organisational infrastructure, thus diffusing the potential effectiveness of the new movement, and in the majority of cases, leading to its complete dissolution (Cashmore 1983: 46). The attack on the black power movement was more destabilising on London based activists who had not already evolved regional based infrastructure, albeit weak as in the Midlands (Hiro 1973: 92).

One of the few detailed studies of the black power leaders and voluntary association is that provided by Rex and Tomlinson (1979) in their study of Handsworth, Birmingham. The types of change in ideology which associations had undergone since the 1960s are explained by the Rex and Tomlinson (1979: 257):

'The most important single difference between Handsworth in 1974 and 1964, and Birmingham as a whole between those dates, is the growth in the militancy of the West Indian organisations.'

The type of strategy common to many of these associations consisted of an international dimension with an emphasis on cultural and racial identity and solidarity. This identification with the experiences of blacks abroad is particularly salient in terms of ideological influences and leadership strategy (Rex and Tomlinson 1979: 258).

The goals of one of the associations (studied by Rex and Tomlinson, the Afro-Caribbean Self-Help Organisation) was premised on the desire to enhance black autonomy in the areas of economics/employment. But also on the need to exercise political influence through conventional political means, combined with establishing independent black institutions, and methods of providing services denied to the community (Pinkney 1976: 107).

The importance of the relationship between associations of this type and black people world-wide is not one based solely on sentiment, but constitutes significant strategic importance in practical terms as in the establishment of supportive links (Rex and Tomlinson 1979: 257).

The second type of black power association examined by Rex and Tomlinson, Harambee, shared the ideological beliefs of organisations like the ASCHO, and in fact had members belonging to both associations. Despite sharing similar ideologies, the fundamental difference between these organisations is reflected in the nature of their respective funding arrangements and its political implications (Billis 1993, Ben Tovim et al 1986). While ASCHO was completely self-funding, principally through a range of small-scale fundraising business activities, Harambee was dependent primarily on funding bodies; particularly from the local authority, private charities and the local CRC (Rex and Tomlinson 1979: 260).

The specific programmes run by Harambee reflected the character of the personnel who made up its staff, primarily professional social and community workers who shared commitment to generic community development; especially regarding the problem of youth homelessness. Harambee ran a range of services and activities including: a hostel, legal advice service and a bookshop. Again, the issue of education was found to be an essential feature of its work. Specific programmes designed to meet this need included: a pre-school project, summer and Easter school for children run by teachers, project workers and volunteers.

While the basic curriculum taught in Harambee schools reflects that of the mainstream system, a particular feature of these educational activities is the emphasis on helping to develop a greater knowledge and pride in black history, achievements and culture, thus injecting a radical thrust into a largely mainstream framework (Rex and Tomlinson 1979: 261). A final feature of the association's education programme consisted of holding black studies courses, which combined both political history and current affairs. One of the principal target groups for these courses was hostel residents due to the association's desire to increase awareness amongst marginal group members.

While some of the leadership problems facing association leaders have already been highlighted, in the case of Harambee, one difficulty it faced was how to reconcile its black power ideals with its methods of funding (Chapters 1 and 2). A particular obstacle is the response of funding institutions to innovative programmes, while being able to meet the needs of communities, invariably create conflict with their norms and interests (Stewart and Whitting 1983: 28).

An illustration of this tension can be seen between Harambee and the local authority regarding the former's values which led to its rejection of Urban Aid funding. This stance by Harambee was due to fears of local authority control of capital assets, a common fear of African-Caribbean associations (Rex and Moore 1967: 262, Stewart and Whitting 1983).

The problem of how black power type associations relate to dominant institutions and white people as a whole, particularly those which call for the overthrow of capitalism, constitutes a major obstacle given the numerical dominance of whites. Experience from both the US and Britain highlights the perception of ordinary members of these associations, and significant sections of the black community, show great reticence to developing meaningful relations

with whites given their historical experiences (Heineman 1972, Pinkney 1976: 104, Phizacklea and Miles 1979: Chapter 5, Bryant and Dadzie 1985: 146).

Despite the importance of black power associations they failed in many ways to maintain and build on the support of the young. Central to this problem was the issue of leadership and its failure to appreciate many of the more subtle social processes and influences at work in their community. This was evident on day to day matters, such as, how to relate interpersonally to whites (Heineman 1972, Rex and Tomlinson 1979: 258, Bryant and Dadzie et al 1985: 144).

While racial and ethnic identity provides a potentially important basis for collective action, the inability of leaders to develop and sustain practical and achievable programmes to meet the needs of community members limited their effectiveness. Another dimension of this problem of collective action, was the inability of leaders to develop sanctions to tackle disruptive behaviour, which undermined the capacity for effective action (Chapter 1). In some cases the militancy and aggressive style and immaturity of these associations/leaders served to attract particular types of individuals which alienated them from ordinary members of the community. This highlighted a greater weakness in the black power leadership of the time, in the lack of leaders who could both temper these excesses and harmonise the varying ideological differences within the movement (Pinkney 1976: 110).

African-Caribbean Community and Policing

The efforts of the Caribbean community to influence police behaviour has stemmed from the issue of racism which has structured this relationship. An important dimension in police relations with this community is its perceptions of it as cultural aliens whose behaviour requires regulating (Banton 1964, Lambert 1970, Cain 1973, Solomos and Rackett 1991).

Soon after the Caribbean immigrants arrival they became targets for aggressive police attention (Blagg and Pearson et al 1989). This often took the form of the systematic harassment of individuals or disruption of social activities, such as police raids of social clubs and 'blues dances' etc, which sprung up to provide recreation for the immigrants. Consequently, areas with high Caribbean populations became symbolic representations of contested cultural space requiring particular types of policing (Keith 1993: 159).

The African-Caribbean community in areas such as Brixton and Hackney (Hesse 1989: Chapter 8, Keith *ibid*) became synonymous with tension with the police. After the events of 1958, the community's willingness to defend itself against racial violence was clearly communicated by the spread of self-defence groups around the country, especially in London and the Midlands (Hiro 1973: 55).

Community leaders were one source of enmity for the police, members of the new youth culture called the 'rude boys' which sprung up in the 1960s were another (Cashmore 1983: 56). The rude boy culture, as in all subsequent similar phenomenon, evolved due to the clash of young Caribbean males and white society. This differed from older group members socialised in the Caribbean, where people lived in relatively autonomous communities, and power was mediated by indigenous accommodationist intermediaries whose racism was generally more subtle (Thomas 1989).

The attacks on group identity experienced in Britain was far more ubiquitous leading to the emergence of resistance amongst young males and the assertion of group pride in response (Brown 1984: 148, Hercules 1989: 107-108). Fundamental to this response was the masculine warrior ethic and the assertion of group identity by means of lifestyles organised around new forms of radical Jamaican music (Cooper 1994, Chapter 1).

By the 1970s the relationship between the police and the black community had deteriorated to an unprecedented level. The severe beating of Joshua Francis by police in 1968, which led to the Black Panthers to campaign against the charges brought against Francis of injuring several police officers, as well as the mysterious death of nurse Asetta Simms in Stoke Newington Police Station, served to mark a new decade of growing resentment (Keith 1993: 33).

A main element in this tension was the failure of Labour's integration policy, based as it was on the false premise that members of the African-Caribbean community would and could easily assimilate to dominant norms (Essed 1991, Weinreich 1979). This ethnocentric view was as misplaced as it was for older West Indians, and premised on assumptions about their perceived commonality with white British society (Chapter 2).

Coming to England for economic short-term considerations and wanting to be accepted by whites were not one and the same, and can be seen by attitudes towards group members

associated with whites or their lifestyles (Selvon 1956: 111, Collins 1981, Fryer 1984: 33). The dominant perception of Caribbean immigrants and one deliberately fostered by Britain, was that their citizenship and the historical service, entitled them to the benefits of empire (Lamming 1993). In many cases the bitter reality led to those, who could afford to, abandon plans and return home (Selvon 1956, Collins 1981).

The marginalisation of youth caused by exclusion from the world of education and work, the latter exacerbated by structural changes in the economy (Chapter 2, Brown 1984, Jones 1993), helped provide the context for another black power based sub-culture Rastafarianism. This spread throughout the African-Caribbean community across the country creating an unprecedented moral panic (Cashmore 1983: 58). A pivotal figure in the spread of this philosophy was Jamaican popular artist Bob Marley (Cashmore 1983: 107). An important element in assisting the wave of hostility against Rastafarians, not only from outside the African-Caribbean community was the lifestyle which supported its ideology (Brown 1982: 42),

While the use of marijuana became a focus for popular attention, it served to mask a deeper hostility to this assertive and alien cultural presence which in many cases did not even recognise the white dominant group's laws. Furthermore, the rejection of 'shit work' available to African-Caribbeans, served to associate Rastafarians with delinquency and crime (Pryce 1986) and the new inheritors of the labels 'dangerous'; and in some cases dubbed a 'West Indian Mafia organisation' (Small 1983: 49-80, Cashmore 1983: 58-59).

The relationship between the police and Rastafarians were even more acrimonious than it had been to black power leaders. A key element of this was the role of the police in Rasta religious/political ideology termed 'Babylon', symbolising the principal guardians of an essentially evil western white social order, and an important period which witnessed the sharpening of the police's general aggressive attitude to the black community as a whole (Brown 1982, Smith 1983, Keith 1993).

The exclusion of young African-Caribbean males led to the growing involvement of members of this group in robbery related crime, and the start of yet another moral panic around the issue of 'mugging' (Chapter 1). From the outset the police faced considerable difficulties in how its racism shaped its relationship to this ethnic group. This was compounded by the consistent comments of police leaders in describing the community

and the way in which it sought to use crime statistics to justify its claims.

The deployment of the Special Patrol Group in black communities with its biased and provocative use of the 'Sus Act', brought them into direct confrontation with the African-Caribbean male community (Hain et al 1980, Gutzmore 1983). An important element in this dynamic, is white men's ability to fulfil personal needs in being able to exercise abusive power relations over black men, such as demands for respect and compliance, an explosive issue in itself (Norris and Fielding 1993). Also, in the treatment of women, for instance intimate body searches by male officers and allegations of rape and sexual abuse (Hain et al 1980: 153, Dunhill 1989: 11-12, Chigwada 1991: 140-141, Young 1991: 239-252). In Birmingham 1975, a policeman was stabbed to death in a confrontation with an African-Caribbean male after setting his dog on a woman (Hain et al 1980). The violation of women, particularly mothers, and closely associated with the status of age is a serious offence in the traditional values of this ethnic group (Werbner 1991: 21).

Throughout the country the pattern of police aggression and retaliation continued, particularly from Rastafarians, who were especially feared by the police, due to what Sewell (2000: 143) describes as the 'muscular' nature of this belief system and the notions of masculinity shaping it (Cashmore 1983: 175). The level of fear and hatred which African-Caribbean males generated within the police is documented by (Smith and Gray 1983) and contributed to the almost militaristic attitude to policing this community in terms of its zero sum approach, with any subsequent 'defeats' being seen as damaging to white male institutional and personal pride (Smith and Gray 1983: Chapter 4).

The outcome of this attitude led to an unprecedented level of coercive policing on almost every aspect of Caribbean life, including commandeering public transport to search passengers at will. A very common practice was the police's use of various justifications to enter Caribbean premises, as in complaints about noise or the whereabouts of individuals, and then carry out mass arrests and the destruction of property (Hain et al 1980: 186, Keith 1993).

A parallel area of police/community tension was complaints about the treatment of crimes against African-Caribbeans, which characterised the response to the death of Kelso Cochrane in 1958, compounded by the well-publicised brutal death of Nigerian David Oluwali and conviction of a detective sergeant in 1972. These incidents brought to the fore

the pattern of systematic violence handed out to blacks since their arrival in Britain (Hain et al 1980: 162-164, Keith 1993) and the police's perceived active involvement and collusion (Blagg and Pearson et al ibid 1989).

In many instances the behaviour of whites in their attacks against the African-Caribbean community reflected the pattern established by the police, in terms of the random and opportunistic targeting of individuals or direct attacks on institutions associated with this group. A case in point being attacks on social clubs, restaurants and community organisation premises, which had previously experience raids from the police (Bryant and Dadzie 1985, Hain et al 1980: 187, Searchlight 1993).

While the number of black fatalities were minimal in comparison to the Asian community (Bowling 1993). These incidents became a great source of anger, more so, given the belief that racist right-wing organisations which had increased in number and support were behind these attacks (Foot 1965: Chapter 9). These feelings were exacerbated by the National Front seeking to march through black communities, often in the wake of racist attacks, and the perception that the police sought to support not only their right to do so, but go to great efforts to this end (Hain et al 1980, Bowling 1993).

In 1976 many of these issues reached a climax at the Notting Hill Carnival, the largest gathering of its kind and originally held to enhance group solidarity (Johnson 1985) where youth fought running battles with the police after it was claimed they had attempted to apprehend a mugger. These events were important insofar as they brought together numerous small-scale tensions taking place throughout the country, transforming the event into a site of symbolic and physical opposition. The ferocity of the violence against the police led to an almost breakdown in its organisational capacity to handle events, despite evidence of significant over-policing in anticipation of serious conflict (Fryer 1984: 333, Ramadin 1987: 393, Keith 1993: 124). This defeat by African-Caribbean youth of the police only served to intensify the latter's aggression and the means deployed to control them.

The anger caused by what became known as the New Cross 13 in 1981, combined with SPG led anti-mugging drives, led to the largest disturbances in mainland Britain in centuries. This had been preceded only months earlier by the inflammatory comments (cited in Gutzmore 1983: 26) by the new Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police illustrating the link between African-Caribbean culture and behaviour:

'In Jamaicans you have a people who are constitutionally disorderly It's simply in their make up'.

These views simply put into the public arena the dominant white view, and one strongly formed by the police, about this community's failure to comply with its expectations (Keith 1993, Reiner 1991); and even facilitated study on aspects of Caribbean cultural history and ethnic group norms in shaping its ferocity and aggression at the police (Chapter 2, Brown 1974, 1982, see Cooper 1994). In the words of one Chief Constable in attempts to trace some of the roots of the warrior ethic in the Jamaican psyche (cited in Gutzmore 1983: 26):

'There is a penchant for violence within West Indian culture possibly stemming from slavery when the only method of retaliation was doing physical damage to the overseer, agent or even slave master. Whatever the source of this proclivity, there can be no denying its existence. The almost incredible enthusiasm for movies in Kung Fu idiom and the massive numbers involving themselves in the martial arts (as with more conventional contact sports) tells us something about young blacks' interest in violence, as do their celebrations of a range of anti-heroes'.

The Scarman Report (1982), which came into being as a consequence of the disturbances, was a culmination of decades of the black community's attempts to politically influence the police with little success. As early as 1958 and the publishing of 'Nigger Hunt', a report highlighting the systematic abuse of black people by WISC, failed to have any impact on police behaviour (Keith 1993: 24).

One common police response to protests of any type was the harassment of community leaders. The case of the 'Mangrove 9' for example became a focal point for black power activists (Bryant and Dadzie 1985: 142, Ramadin 1987: 394-395, Keith 1993: 46-48, 125). Where steps were taken to protect the community from racial violence, the police subjected male members to wholesale arrests; often on the premise of preventing unlawful behaviour, as was the experience of the Notting Hill community during the late 1950s (Abdul Malik 1973: 73-75). The violence which brought the Scarman Report into being placed policing on the public agenda, in a manner which decades of struggle had failed to do (LaVeen 1980, Hesse and Bennet 1990, Bowling 1993).

Scarman acknowledged many of the grievances of the black community (Gutzmore ibid) which led to a plethora of bureaucratic and management related initiatives designed to

improve police community relations, such as, improved training and the recruitment of ethnic officers etc (Sherman 1983, Morgan 1987, Solomos 1988, Holdaway 1991).

The second set of recommendations, sought to address broader issues of social deprivation (Scarman 1982: 157), called for the extension of equal opportunities and a concerted effort in addressing the structural problems affecting this group. Subsequent experience demonstrated that the government's economic and political priorities served to undermine the conditions needed to address these issues. However, in the case of the Thatcher government such proposals were an anathema to her views on the role of the state, and black people in particular (Lansley et al 1989, Levitas et al ibid, Solomos 1988). Solomos (1988: 62) commenting on the government's attitude to Scarman (see Freestone 1968: Chapter 16 for historical comparison):

'In the years since 1981, the one consistent response to urban unrest has been the provision of more resources, more training, more equipment to the police. Instead of tackling the causes of urban unrest, the government has built up force to deal with the manifestation of those root causes.'

The response to these events illustrated the government's ability to politically manage conflict for short periods of time via strategies of inclusion. By the late 1980s these changes had already begun to have a significant effect on the black community (LaVeen 1980, Stewart and Whitting 1982, Layton-Henry 1984, McGarry and O'Leary et al 1993) particularly the spread of equal opportunities policies (Boxhill 1990). The outcome of these changes led to the creation of an essentially accommodationist strata of middle-class blacks in segregated areas of professional activity.

A case in point is the existence of a small but increasing number of females in essentially social/welfare low status work (Small 1994: 124). In traditional high status professions, such as law and medicine (The Voice, 16 September 1997, Modood, Berthoud and Lakey et al 1997), the experience of African-Caribbeans is even more acute and led to the growth of race based equal opportunity orientated professional interest groups (Small 1994: 195). Another element of this containment strategy has been the use of poorly financed and highly problematic, low-paying community programmes designed to create jobs. Often in tandem with other police community initiatives (Brown 1982, Cumberbatch and Tadesse 1987, Parkinson 1993, Robins 1992).

Despite these further blows to the influence of black power leadership, also weakened by the short-lived involvement of black women with feminism (Bryant and Dadzie 1985: 174), they succeeded to develop models of action which still inform the Caribbean community's response (Johnson 1985: 291, Small 1994: 172). Examples of this are supplementary schools which operating in most communities.

The events which brought the Scarman Report into being had a significant effect in reducing police-community conflict, and created greater sophistication in how such matters are dealt with by the police. Given the bitter history of police-African-Caribbean community relations, the significance of this improvement should not be underestimated. However, this should not mask the real nature of police and African-Caribbean interaction (Connolly 1987). For example, the continuing deaths of black people by racial violence (The Voice, 18 October 1994, MacPherson 1999); and the disproportionate deaths in bizarre circumstances involving the police (The Voice, 15 September 1997). The African-Caribbean community is still the subject of periodic scapegoating by the police and media (Chapter 1), which indicates this reduction in tension is one of scale, not type (see Bowling and Phillips 2003).

Important structural changes in terms of the increasing exclusion of the African-Caribbean community, particularly young men, and loss of the internal momentum and motivation had a significant influence on the community's cohesion and values (Davies 1998). An illustration of this was the decline in Rastafarianism and evolution of less unifying sub-cultural formations (Sewell 2000). While black power leaders failed to develop important structures, they had a significant impact on communal values. The decline in this influence helped to create new problems which the community seems unable to effectively respond to at this juncture.

One outcome to the increasing economic desperation is the involvement of African-Caribbean criminal gangs with hard drugs and gun-related crime, such as armed robbery, involving greater organisation than the type of offending activity usually associated with the group (Davies 1998: 213, Minney 1993). Although the involvement with drugs has traditionally been relatively small (Phillips and Bowling 2002: 592), the effects of crack-cocaine had a dramatic impact on the lives of the community.

The relatively cheap manufacture of the drug made it 'affordable' to poor blacks and other marginal communities. The addictive and personality changing characteristic of the drug led users into more crime, such as theft or prostitution to maintain the addiction (Davies 1998, Phillips and Bowling 2002). The spread of hard drugs led directly to a significant increase in serious and violent crime both from the users of crack-cocaine and the gangs fighting for dominance and control of this lucrative trade. This had a direct impact on the quality of communal life and its relationship with the police.

While inter-communal crime is common to all communities (Phillips and Bowling 2002: 591)¹⁸, the spread of crack-cocaine witnessed an increase in the availability and use of guns within black communities and the steep and disproportionate increase in gun-related murders (Phillips and Bowling 2002: 591). Despite the fact the majority of reported cases of gun-related crime involved criminals and members of their networks, many shootings took place in an indiscriminatory manner often in the middle of residential communities; so much so that certain localities have become synonymous in the media with shootings, e.g. the 'murder mile' in Clapton, Hackney.

One dimension in explaining this culture of violence was caused by the impact of the 'Yardies' and their sub-culture (The Guardian ibid, Gunst 1995), with its crude disregard for life and the desire for status and notoriety. However, the rise in the use of guns within the African-Caribbean community has developed due its own internal dynamics, paralleling the Thatcher administration and her subsequent war against public services (Davies 1998). This is illustrated by the spread of guns and drugs in run-down housing estates and other residential centres of the poor which were to become notorious throughout the country (Robins 1992, Davies 1998).

Equally, members of African-Caribbean communities at the same time were more likely to become victims of general crime, such as theft, robbery etc (Phillips and Bowling 2002). Another consequence of these developments is that groups or individuals are more likely to arm themselves defensively, given the strong traditions of self-defence, and notions of masculine honour within the African-Caribbean community with little hope of serious changes in the social circumstances which would make such actions unnecessary (Stevens, 1988: 256, Squires: 2002: 85-103).

The availability of guns in the first instance to members of the criminal fraternity, mainly through white criminals and dealers (The Daily Mail, 27 January 2004) and then via friendship networks to the wider community, has created fear and uncertainty within the group; particularly given its relatively small size and the apparent ease in obtaining them. In this regard the African-Caribbean community's increasing fear and uncertainty due to this significant cultural change can be understood.

A recent case illustrates the precarious nature of contemporary life, as seen in the murder of 20-year old soldier Neral Sharpe, who returned from Iraq on leave only to lose his life in a bungled robbery attempt (The Daily Mail, 6 September 2004). This follows in the wake of several high profiled killings such as child Toni-Ann Byfield in North West London and the shooting of two teenage girls outside a Birmingham nightclub (New Nation, 17 March 2003). See Bowling and Phillips (2003).

The Hindu Community in Britain

Hindu Migration and Settlement

The relationship of Hindus to Britain was defined by their historical connections to British imperialism. As early as the 17th century bands of Indians, predominantly ex-seamen known as Lascars, were to be found amongst the poor along with their black counterparts. The number of Indians in Britain at this time was estimated to be around 2,000 (Fryer 1984: 262).

During the 19th century many Hindu students and professionals resided in Britain forming the embryo of the Indian independence movement. One of the leaders of this community was the first Asian MP, Dadahbai Naojori, elected to the constituency of Central Finsbury in 1892 (Fryer 1984: 264). A great number of this group left Britain eventually to take up positions in India (Hiro 1973: 104). By the time of WWII, Indians in Britain numbered approximately 5,000 long-term residents, of which 1,000 were practising doctors (Robinson 1988: 458).

The significance of this pioneer group is that they laid the initial social infrastructure which was built on by subsequent immigrants (Robinson 1996). Of equal importance was the practice of chain migration peculiar to this group; whereby whole communities migrated

from location to location on mass after initial exploration had been undertaken by its members (Lyons 1972: 3, 5, Robinson 1988).

Immigration from the Indian sub-continent started between the 1950's, peaking during the 1960s, due to the attraction of higher earning potential, particularly in British manufacturing industries stimulated by cheaper air fares, and the relaxation of travelling restrictions by the Indian central government (Hiro 1973: 107)¹⁹. Economic considerations were the primary factors in the desire to emigrate, shaped by the strong group norms regarding social status, and the need to maximise the opportunity to acquire material assets. This can be seen by the disproportionate rates of young single males amongst the immigrants motivated by the need to increase marriage dowries (Hiro 1973: 95).

According to the 1951 Census the number of Indians in Britain was 30,800 which increased by 1971 to a total of approximately 375,000, of which 68,000 came directly from East Africa (Robinson 1996: 98). The bulk of the Indian population in England was concentrated in the West Midlands, East Midlands, Birmingham and Wolverhampton in particular. The proportion of Indians residing in the Midlands was 50 per cent with the remainder being found in the South East of which London formed another important population centre. Other parts of Britain, such as Scotland, also attracted small groups of Indians/Hindus; especially in Edinburgh which had a small settlement numbering a couple of thousand (Nye 1993).

One important aspect of the chain migratory process was its impact on the pattern of settlement, as seen by how the role of economic considerations shaped where the Indian immigrants chose to live. Hiro (1973: 111) cites the lower rents in the Midlands was a vital incentive in attracting significant numbers of Indians, combined with the availability of work in industries such as heavy engineering (foundries and steel mills) and textiles (Hiro 1973: 117, Cohen and Jenner 1981, Brown 1984: 157-158).

The demographic characteristics of the Indian immigrant community was determined, to a greater degree, by the types of work available to this group, coming as they did, from predominantly agricultural backgrounds with little transferable skills and relatively low levels of education (Castle and Kosack 1973: 84-85, Brown 1984). Language difficulties was a significant factor in structuring job opportunities, which explained the high level of labour segregation of Indians in the least desirable areas of work. In many economic sub-

sectors it was not uncommon for most members of the workforce to speak very little English, with more established members acting as intermediaries between white supervisors/management and workers (Cohen and Jenner 1981: 116).

Communication difficulties also limited the capacity of Indians to work in areas open to other Commonwealth immigrants, such as working on public transport, which in comparative terms was disproportionately represented by members of the African-Caribbean community (Hiro 1973: 111, Brown 1984: 130, 160).

An important addition to the Indian immigrant community came as a consequence of the expulsion of East African Indians/Hindus from Uganda and Kenya during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Historically East African Asians occupied the roles of intermediaries between the white dominant group, and the indigenous African subordinates, under the British imperialist social order structured as it was on a hierarchy of race (Hiro 1973: 100-102, Mazuri and Tidy 1984: 167-168, Robinson 1988: 331).

Economically Indians occupied the role of 'middlemen', as traders and shopkeepers etc, between the African producers of wealth and white European exporters. Gujarati Hindus grew and prospered under this regime, leading to their control of over 90 per cent of trade in and between Uganda and other African countries. In educational terms, Gujaratis were the first group to establish educational institutions leading to their growing representation in the professions and access to the Civil Service. The growth of Gujarati influence took place in the context of gradual British disengagement with its African territories (Fieldhouse 1982, Robinson 1988: 331)²⁰.

However, the economic success of the Hindu community was not commensurate with their status, particularly in the eyes of the indigenous Africans, who viewed them with considerable hostility (Lyons 1972: 8). With the rise of nationalism in Africa the position of East African Indians became more problematic, and was brought sharply to the fore in Uganda with the ascendancy of Idi Amin (Pinkney 1976: 71-72, Mazuri and Tidy 1984: 167-171).

One of Amin's first actions was to pass legislation forcing the Indian community to become full citizens, thus subject to the laws of the new administration or to exercise their legal rights and return to Britain. The motive behind this action was to limit, what was viewed as,

the expedient relationship of Asians to the country and subject them to the will of the African majority, a very popular demand at the time. Consequently, the Asian community became the focus for popular and official hostility, a common response to many ethnic 'merchant' communities (Waldinger et al, 1990: 119-129, Seagrave 1996).

Between 1969-1970, 24,000 Ugandan Asians left for Britain in anticipation of expulsion. In many cases utilising the traditional strategy of sending elder sons to reconnoitre available opportunities in foreign territories, as the first stage, relying on existing networks in the country. Fundamental in the considerations of the Hindu community was the availability of educational and economic opportunities (Robinson 1988: 331-332).

Efforts by the British government to intervene directly were essentially ignored, and by mid-September approximately 42,000 Asians were in the process of leaving the country (Robinson 1988). The British government's response to the East African refugee crisis was complicated by the fact that problems associated with refugees was seen largely in terms of handling white ethnic groups displaced by WW2. Given the politicisation of race and immigration during this period the government sought to provide assistance to the immigrants, while attempting to insulate itself from any political repercussions.

The official government response to the influx of immigrants was multi-pronged. Firstly, It sought agreement from other Commonwealth countries to accept specified numbers of refugees leading to many settling in Canada and returning directly to India. The government also established the Ugandan Resettlement Board (URB), to help meet the immigrants needs. The important benefit of this approach was the ability of government to discharge responsibility to the URB, thus politically distancing itself from controversy. A similar approach was adopted regarding local authorities who were responsible for housing the immigrants (Robinson 1996: 333). The URB in conjunction with established charities, such as the Red Cross, helped create 16 instant response camps for many of the refugees who were totally helpless, and without the necessary social connections to establish themselves independently. At the height of the crisis the number of people in these camps was 13,000.

Government fear of the white public response to the Asian immigrants, led to the implementation of a strategy of geographical dispersion and to the creation of 'red zones', where they were discouraged from settling due to the fear of creating visible

ethnic minority communities. Despite government's efforts to enforce this policy, it was undermined by the fact that at least 23 per cent of the new immigrant community resided with family members who already lived in established communities with the necessary social infrastructure (Kalka 1991: 205, Westwood 1991: 149). Other immigrants once over the initial transition period, made their way to existing Indian communities.

However, the long-term impact of a combination of government policy and voluntary choices by the immigrants helped to shape the relative diverse pattern of settlement of this community. East African Asians are predominantly found in Leicester and parts of North West London, such as Brent, Harrow and Ealing (Cohen 1974, Kalka 1991, Robinson 1995: 113, 1996). The settlement of refugees in Harrow is quite interesting and illustrates how the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of this group allowed many to establish themselves in middle-class areas within relative short periods of time (Kalka 1991: 205).

The numerical impact of the East African Asians on the Indian community, can be seen by Census data which shows in 1981 there were 676,000 Indians living in Britain, of which 142,000 were of East African origin. In 1991, this number had increased to 840,000 of which 252,000 were of East African origins. The combined numbers of these distinct, but similar, communities helps make the Indian community the largest ethnic minority community, constituting almost 28 per cent of all ethnic minorities (Robinson 1995: 98).

Problems, Issues and Settlement

The experiences of the Indian community and the subsequent problems they faced highlighted the complexity of race and ethnicity, particularly as it related to the common and divergent difficulties faced by various Asian communities. The obstacles faced in accessing goods, services and legal entitlements is well documented in the works of Rex and Moore (1967), Rose et al 1969), Hiro (1973), and Rex and Tomlinson (1979) Brown (1984).

One of the immediate difficulties experienced by the Indian community was obtaining affordable housing, especially given the level of racial hostility towards them. The use of self-help to purchase cheap properties was the primary method of tackling this issue. This practice led to the establishment of numerous associations, such as mortgage clubs, where individuals pooled together to make regular financial contributions to purchase property.

These types of practices led to the growth of a significant and distinct class of Indian businessmen who provided much needed service to group members, and characterises the patron/client relationship common to Asian communities (Rex and Moore 1967, Dewitt 1969, Rex and Tomlinson, Hiro 1973: 113, 1979: 268). In the area of employment, Asians suffered numerous forms of racial discrimination such as being under-paid and confined to the most physically and less intellectually demanding forms of labour (Cohen and Jenner 1981: 116, Brown 1984: 157).

The PEP research found a great deal of contentment from both African-Caribbean and Asian workers, more so for the latter given two important features of this group. Firstly, most Asians worked alongside group members which insulated them to a significant degree from some of the difficulties of working life (Ramadin 1987: 266-268). This does not suggest that work-related grievances did not severely undermine the work experience, on the contrary, awareness of their economic exploitation was relatively high and exacerbated with the arrival of East African Asians. Secondly, because of the strong group norm of economic achievement within the Hindu caste system, members of this group were often willing to reconcile their longer term objectives of economic independence with their relatively poor working conditions; especially if opportunities were available to maximise income through the shift work system or access to over-time (Hiro 1973: 112, Tambs-Lyche 1975: 349, Blackburn and Mann 1981: 142-143). These norms were reinforced by the relatively wide familial dependencies characteristic of the group, often resulting in individuals having to pay back loans used to assist the process of migration or to assist others. The importance of capital accumulation to Hindus and Sikhs is clearly illustrated by one of Hiro's respondents:

'Money is our mother, money is our father, money is everything.'

In the area of social activity, the combination of cultural/religious differences and language barriers limited many of the racial problems associated with interacting with whites, along with the tendency of the group to avoid problems if possible. This characteristic was exacerbated by the fact that while Asian immigrants were subordinate in the economic and political structure of British society, according to their own cultural outlook western culture and civilisation was often viewed in inferior terms (Tambs-Lyche 1975, Chapter 2).

The dominant attitude of the Asian community towards social interaction with whites at the time is summed up by Hiro (1973: 113):

'Outside of the economic field, the average Asian had no aspiration, or expectation. He had come to Britain knowing full well that white people were culturally alien, quite apart from his own. And he had neither the inclination, nor the intention to participate in their life.'

An illustration of this can be seen by the Asian male's attitude towards white women. Given the essentially male character of immigrant communities, the shortage of women created an important problem. While Asian men were not adverse to sexual relations with white women, however, unlike some sections of the African-Caribbean community, this did not extend for the most part to serious ongoing relations due to the function of marriage within the group (Rex and Moore 1967).

One consequence of the instrumentalist and cultural orientation of the Asian community helped produce a general accommodatory approach to the white community, reinforced by its own self-imposed segregation. Asians were prepared to accommodate themselves to the imbalance of power in the workplace for the power enjoyed elsewhere. According to Hiro, this trade-off was viewed as basic to the status of immigrants and something taken for granted by Asians. Moreover, this attitude accounts for the lack of militancy within this community during the early stages of immigration, illustrated in its general absence in political activity, as in campaigning against the formal colour bar which widely operated at the time (Hiro 1973: 113).

Despite the general attitude of Asian communities towards overt confrontation, several significant exceptions were found. Beetham (1970) highlights how various Indian Sikh communities organised to fight against discriminatory practices within public transport service in Wolverhampton and Manchester. Central to these tensions was the ban on turbans which was perceived as an attack on a symbol of group identity, which was utilised by group leaders to resist racial discrimination (Mintz 1978).

The Hindu community were also involved in crucial industrial relations conflicts at Courtaulds textiles in Preston in 1965 and at Imperial Typewriters in Leicester in 1974, where predominantly Asian workers forced management to back down over discriminatory practices regarding pay and conditions (Phizacklea and Miles 1979, Ramadin 1987: 270). These disputes were particularly important as they managed to attract the support of black

power leaders at the time, demonstrating common solidarity in joint opposition to white racism (Ramadin 1987: 271).

Although slow in expressing their discontentment regarding their treatment by employers, it was left to the arrival of the more resourceful and assertive East African Asians to provide effective militant leadership, as seen in the Imperial Typewriter dispute. They again played a critical role in one of the most important industrial relations conflicts at the Grunswick Processing Laboratories in the London Borough of Brent in 1976 (Phizacklea and Miles 1979: 269, Ramadin 1987: 271-273).

One factor in the emergence of East Africans in these disputes was the status conflicts caused by their treatment and former social standing in their countries of origin (Chapter 1); while the less assertive Indians had resigned themselves to discriminatory treatment (Sivanandan 1976: 355, Ramadin 1987: 289, Parekh 1994: 614). Before the arrival of the East African community one of the most forceful and well-resourced sections of the Indian community were the Sikhs, who share many common characteristics with Gujaratis and played crucial, albeit, different roles in the British imperialist social order which contributed to their high status within the Asian community (Dewitt 1969, Beetham 1970, Lyons 1972: 7, Hiro 1973: 103-104, Bentley 1981, Gouldbourne 1991).

The struggle for equality in the workplace played a vital role and marking point in the efforts of the East African community, in particular, to assert itself. But in the area of self-employment the East African Asians were very well placed to develop their own economic infrastructures. Important characteristics of this community which helped it to achieve this is the high status placed on material success and its collective notions of social mobility (Lyons and West 1995). The best example of this can be seen in the Patidar (Patel) Hindu caste that represent the dominant Gujarati group in Britain, especially amongst East African Asians.

The emphasis on collective economic progress is further illustrated by the priority placed on professional careers which led to high material reward; as in the case of law, medicine and accountancy. Another highly valued activity amongst Gujaratis is business which historically has been associated with the group, and influences important aspects of its communal infrastructure (Allen and Bentley 1981). These are a few significant attributes which has led many observers to compare the Gujarati-Hindu community with Jews

(Chapter 1, Lyon 1972: 9, Hiro 1973, Tambs-Lyche 1975: 349, Kosmin 1981: 194-195, Parekh 1994: 614 Lyons and West 1995).

The economic strategy utilised by Asians generally, but with Gujaratis in particular, was self-employment. This was achieved by a combination of the use of finance gained by a combination of money obtained by working for white employers, in conjunction with finance borrowed from within the group to establish business ventures (Allen and Bentley *ibid*). A common business priority was meeting the immediate needs of group members by providing housing, food and clothing etc; then eventually extending out to encompass the provision of finance, insurance and other services such as establishing cinemas, publishing companies etc. Once the immediate needs of the Hindu community were met other ethnic communities, as in the African-Caribbean etc, are targetted eventually to encompass whites (Hiro 1973: 113-115, Allen and Bentley 1981: 216, Waldinger et al 1990: Chapter 1). However, in some cases, as in restaurants, the white community was the principal client target group.

The influx of East African Asians considerably increased the human capital of the Hindu community as a whole and contributed to the rapid social mobility of the group (Robinson 1966, 1988). These characteristics were important in helping this community to quickly adapt to their new environment with greater effectiveness than other Commonwealth immigrants.

Given the East African Asians' greater levels of resources in areas such as education, business, organisation and leadership skills, they were able to stamp their authority and dominance within ethnic minority communities and on the white community in a relatively short period of time (Parekh 1994: 614, Robinson 1995, 1996, 1998). For instance, Lyon and West (1995) have shown how the Patel caste dominate Asian business, while others illustrate how they have literally taken over specific business sectors as in independent retailers²¹ (see Chapters 1 and 2 research area).

Communal Association and Leadership

Hindu communities are organised primarily around family kinship and caste networks, usually closely associated with strong village and regional affiliations. This often overlaps with other forms of social identity, such as social class, and are not mutually exclusive forms of social identification (Werbner 1991: 118).

In the case of the Patel caste group affiliation is based on marriage or what has been called 'marriage circles' at the village level. This encompasses individuals linked by marriage most of whom originate, both directly and indirectly, from the same region of the Doab area of the Punjab or coastal plains near the Gulf of Cambay (Lyons 1972: 5). Marriage circles developed in Hindu society to ensure prospective adults access to marriage partners within similar status. In this regard this form of social affiliation is relatively exclusive even though in many cases group members may have direct, or indirect, access to other higher caste groups which is vital in cultures practising hypergamy (Tambs-Lyche 1975: 349, Nye 1993: 203).

Social leadership in Hindu and Asian communities stems primarily from within the kinship network system and buttressed by a combination of mutual obligations which shape these relationships, which played a vital role in the settlement and consolidation of these communities (Rex and Moore 1967, Dewitt 1969, Beetham 1970, Hiro 1973: 110, Rex and Tomlinson 1979).

Desai (1963) highlights how this system of affiliations and loyalties can operate across a wide range of individuals and specific families, providing considerable communal influence for emerging or established leadership elites. This can be seen by the ability of associational leaders to collect membership contributions directly through landlords or to enforce organisational decisions indirectly through key intermediaries such as shopkeepers. Given the strong material orientation of many Hindu communities, leadership and influence is closely related to socio-economic status and reinforced by a combination of group norms and personal status requirements (Chapter 1, Desai 1963: 91, Nye 1993: 203-205).

An important characteristic of Hindu philosophy, which reinforces the relationship between high status and communal service, is the emphasis on the duties of the wealthy to the

family and less well-off and its favourable attitude towards philanthropy generally. These beliefs reflect the hierarchical nature of the Hindu world-view and the notion that various types of social responsibilities are implicit in such relationships (Dewitt 1969, Hiro 1973: 134, Nye 1993: 204, Parekh 1994: 611).

Apart from the immediate dependence of Asian immigrants on the kinship network in facilitating their settlement, many immigrants were assisted in this process by voluntary associations, which were often not unrelated or distinct from the kinship system (Desai 1963: 109-116, Werbner 1991).

One of the earliest forms of associations were those formed to meet the specific social and cultural needs of the community (Desai 1963, Fryer 1984). These were similar to religious and caste associations, and in some ways difficult to distinguish between them. Cultural associations are one of the most common forms of formal associations in the Asian community, especially among Gujaratis (Kalka 1991: 206).

While cultural associations provided a meeting place for immigrants, many of them ran a range of leisure and educational activities, such as: providing access to newspapers and reading material from home countries, a place for visiting prominent group members and generally enabling members of the ethnic group to keep up with developments affecting the community at home and abroad. A key function of cultural associations is the maintenance of important aspects of communal life, institutionalised in the creation of forums for traditional artistic pursuits such as poetry, drama, singing and dancing. Some of these associations also ran programmes on alternative medicine, cooking recipes, as well as standard English language classes (Kalka 1991: 206).

Cultural associations were more likely to draw their membership from those who migrated earlier, and amongst immigrants who recently arrived in Britain, as in the case of East African Asians. In both instances this type of association provided an immediate point of common contact and familiar environment for group members and may remain so, even after the immigrant community is more established.

Cultural associations also provided a relatively segregated environment which insulated Asians from the wider society in keeping with its self-imposed social segregation (Hiro *ibid*). This is of particular importance given the traditional attitudes towards women in most Asian

cultures. Women are able to participate in a range of activities which are consistent with the group's cultural expectations (Cohen 1974, Ballard 1979). Cohen illustrates how middle-class East African Gujarati women, who experienced discrimination in the form of 'social coldness' from their white counterparts, used the environment provided by cultural associations to develop their own leisure pursuits and status structure (Chapter 2).

The other common associational type in the Hindu community is largely instrumental in character, designed to access a range of services, goods and rights on the behalf of its members (Desai 1963, Rex and Moore 1967, Rex 1973, Cohen 1974, Hesse 1989: 132, Werbner 1991: 15). Common examples of these types of associations are community-welfare organisations. However, it is wrong to view the two dominant types of associations found in Hindu communities in dichotomous terms, as Desai has done, given that it is possible and most likely that instrumental associations such as community-welfare organisations also incorporates many features of culturally-expressive type associations. Considering the importance of Hindu religious culture, it is likely that most types of associations may place emphasis on this type of issue (Hiro 1973, Kalka 1991, Parekh 1994).

The ability of Asian voluntary associations to combine these numerous goals gives them importance and centrality in the process of settlement (Rex 1973). Examples of how organisations combine these different elements can be seen in Dewitt's study of the Indian Workers Association (IWA); originally established in 1934 by Punjabi merchants, the IWA was later reformed under the leadership of a group of Gujarati doctors after post war immigration. The goals of the IWA consisted of providing international support for politics at home, social and community type work on behalf of kinship and other members of the wider community; as well as seeking to promote religion and culture.

Community-welfare association are the most common type of predominantly instrumental type association in the Indian community. Rex and Moore have traced the role of these associations in the Midlands during the early and mid 1970s, while Kalka and Cohen have studied them amongst East African Hindus in Northwest London during the 1980s. According to Desai, spokespersons or representatives of these types of associations are commonly referred to as 'community leaders'. A key function of leaders in these associations is representing communal interest by acting as intermediaries between the group and white institutions (Myrdal 1944, Desai 1963, Rex 1973, Werbner 1991).

Access to financial and other resources are the primary factors shaping the interaction of leaders with key institutions (Anwar 1988). While the Hindu community has been able to access communal and private resources to fund many of its associational activity, it has also exercised its right to access public funding (Desai 1963, Cohen 1974, Nye 1993: 205).

Obtaining public monies has created significant difficulties for associational leaders, given the intrinsic conflict of interests involved in playing such an intermediary role (Desai 1963, Werbner 1991).

In most cases leaders in these communities are those most familiar with the cultural and institutional norms of the dominant group, a fact which may compromise them in the eyes of their community (Hiro *ibid*, Rex and Moore *ibid*, see Chapters 1 and 2). These observations, while true in many instances, are based on the assumption that the relationship between the dominant white group and ethnic minority community is culturally and politically fixed. It does not take into consideration one of the key characteristics of the Indian community generally, and Gujaratis in particular, being their strong orientation for social mobility.

One feature of the Gujarati community's strategy of consolidating its position in its local environment, is seeking to exercise control over potentially influential bodies where it can promote its interests. Membership and participation in local statutory race relations organisations, such as local CRCs, have been important in this respect given their access to resources both locally and through central government (Gay and Young 1988, Cohen 1974, Kalka 1991). Rex and Moore (1967: 244-245) found greater interest and involvement in the Asian community in CRC's than within the African-Caribbean community because of the perceived opportunities available.

The adverse effect of participation in government agencies, such as the CRC, is the potential impact on indigenous Indian associations in leading to growing conservatism and co-option by the white dominant group, as was the fate of the IWA which lost many of its most able leaders who left to take up positions in government agencies during the mid 1960s (Josephides 1991: 264-265).

Leadership in the Asian community is not restricted to community leaders, and consists of numerous individuals located in its complex kinship networks which forms a powerful elite

structure (Desai 1963, Rex and Moore 1967, Werbner 1991). In many cases the establishment of communal associations have been intrinsically related to the emergence of communal elites, usually commercial in nature, such as small shopkeepers who play important leadership roles in bringing these associations into being.

The importance of the business strata in the organisational life of the Hindu community is well documented (Desai 1963, Nye 1993, Lyon and West 1995). An illustration of this can be seen in Brown's (1982) study of police and community relations where local shopkeepers played a very influential role in communal affairs and were a natural target for police influence. The desire for leadership status in these communities is not completely related to status needs, but often influenced by strong commitment to the group and its welfare. The support enjoyed by leaders and their organisations is also shaped by strong group values of loyalty and mutual obligations which has given many such association's great authority (Desai 1963, Nye 1993, Hiro 1973). The reason being that many who emerge as leaders are individuals who traditionally extended favours to less fortunate or provide assistance during times of need.

The growth of religious associations and leadership is intrinsically related to the emergence of other key actors in the Asian communal infrastructure, consisting of cultural associations and the business elite (Werbner 1991). Nye illustrates this in the various stages in the Hindu community's attempt to establish a place of religious worship in Edinburgh.

A key factor in the Hindus' ability to create its first temple was the arrival of several thousand East African Gujaratis, many of whom had considerable experience of leadership around similar issues, given the relatively high levels of religious organisation found in East Africa (Parekh 1994). The strength of religious organisation in this section of the community can be seen by the dominance of Swaminaryan-Hinduism, the most influential religious affiliation in this community, which established its first temple in Islington London during the 1970s (Tambs-Lyche 1975: 353).

Rex and Moore (1967) found similar patterns of development in the Hindu community's attempts to obtain suitable premises to conduct religious activities. Efforts to establish such institutions are central in these communities' desire to establish their cultural identities. Nye has taken this further and argues that the creation of religious institutions, in part, seeks to re-create notions of community. The role of commercial elites in the development of group

identity and power, becomes very apparent, given the significant amount of resources needed to bring about the building and maintenance of religious places of worship, even where outside forms of funding are available and used for such purposes.

While leaders are able to utilise kinship affiliations which are an important resource. By the same token, such forms of social solidarity can have extremely debilitating effects on organisations and communities, given the potential for strong sectional interests and loyalties to create conflicts (Chong 1993). The work of Desai (1963), Beetham (1970), Brown (1982), and Eades (1993) on East London Bengalis illustrates how these kinship affiliations often leads to sharp inter-organisational and communal tensions, especially in key decision-making bodies such as on management committees. Nye (1993: 203) has detailed how sections of the Hindu community from lower status/caste families were unable to exercise influence on the decision-making body of the local temple, without the support of traditionally dominant families. Cohen (1974) on the other hand, has shown how East African Asians within a relatively short time took over the local CRC excluding Pakistanis from decisions.

Concern about the negative impact of such insular group affiliations have led many Hindu leaders and other Asian communities to stress the importance of group affiliation at its broader levels, in efforts to reconstruct notions of communal identity (Nye 1993, Werbner 1991: 16). However, given the strong commitment to immediate kinship loyalties, most of these strategies have been largely ineffective given the constant competition for resources and conflict over priorities (Kalka: 220). Other tactics used to prevent these perennial power struggles have been the election of members of neutral kinship groups to important position, but as Desai (1963: 91-92) has shown this approach has been generally unsuccessful.

Identity, Ideology And Leadership Strategy

While Hindu economic instrumentalism limits the type of tensions experienced by other ethnic communities (i.e. Bengalis and Pakistanis etc) who are more dependent on white institutions for employment (Hiro 1973: 113, Brown 1984: 77, Jones 1993: 65, Modood, Berthould et al 1997). Hindu religious philosophy plays a significant part in the predominance of accommodation in Indian community thinking.

This is particularly pronounced regarding norms surrounding the nature of hierarchy, social rank and the undesirability of conflict (Parekh 1994). One interesting aspect of British imperialist domination of India is how the conservative ethos of the religious and cultural social order, by means of the caste system, served to create stability and compliance (Hiro 1973: 99-100, Fieldhouse 1982: 283-284). Rattansi (1994: 45) describes the dominant response to white rule as based on a 'contemplative' as opposed to the more 'militaristic' culture of Africans. Given the social structure and religious ideology of Hindu society, the ability to negotiate with members of dominant social strata without overtly overstepping social boundaries, is an important social skill mastered by ambitious and socially mobile castes such as the Gujaratis.

Many traditional norms regarding authority and power were brought to Britain by successive waves of immigrants who adapted to meet present exigencies. One important stage of communal and leadership development is the emergence of ideological convergence consisting of a broad consensus of ideas surrounding the goals of the group and how it seeks to achieve them (Werbner 1991: 17-18). This synthesis of the old and new has helped to create the core values of the Asian community epitomised by the East African Hindus.

Given the importance of cultural identity within Asian communities, an important ideological goal of its community-welfare associations is the desire to make government and local agencies more responsive to its specific needs; whether initially regarding the issue of language differences or providing services. These goals are part of a broader set of ideas about the preservation of group cultural identity within a pluralist multi-cultural framework (Sivanandan 1983: 365, Modood 1993).

After the 1981 civil disturbances the Asian community was able to pursue its economic and cultural goals in a more supportive environment. Kalka (1991) illustrates how the Gujarati community expediently utilised varying definitions of ethnicity to promote their goals in the context of the government's response to social disadvantage. Leaders were able to cite the disadvantaged position of Asians in the workplace to obtain high status positions made available by equal opportunities practices. The reality of the matter is that Muslim Asians, e.g. Pakistanis and Bengalis, experience some of the worse discrimination amongst all ethnic minority groups, unlike East African Asians (Brown 1984: 157, 165, Jones 1993: 35, 113, Modood, Berthould et al 1997: Chapter 4).

Other examples of tactics utilised by Gujaratis can be seen by their utilisation of the designation 'black', and its connection with the African-Caribbean community in legitimising its claims, despite its historic relationship to this community and the racism upon which it is structured (Lyons 1972: 8, Hiro 1973: 101, Kalka 1991: 217). This strategy of 'ethnic realignment' caused severe antagonism between Gujaratis and other ethnic communities, however because of the greater assertiveness and resources of the East African community it has been able to consolidate its position relative to other minority communities. An illustration of this is the ability of the Gujarati community to ensure that issues of relevance to the African-Caribbean community are prevented from reaching the decision-making agenda (Kalka 1991: 217, Vertove 1992, John 2006). While Hindu leaders were later to disaffiliate their communities from the term black, Modood has gone as far as to suggest that this ethnic community had never identified with the label (Alexander 2002: 652).

Gaining access to resources and positions of influence is a vital element in the strategy of the East African Asian community. Another important component of this process is the ability to win support from key members of the white dominant group (Chapter 1). Cultural associations have been one of the traditional vehicles for this type of interaction. 'Bridge associations', similar to those found in other ethnic minority communities were designed to improve 'racial harmony' (Heineman 1972, Fryer 1984) and also important vehicles used to advance these objectives. Kalka (1991: 208), found that the role of a bridging association in Harrow was played by the very influential Anglo-Indian Art Circle, formed to promote art and social integration (Rex 1973, Chapter 2).

Examples of this influencing process are illustrated in the work of Cohen (1974) and Kalka (1991), who highlight its essential social nature. Some elements of this approach was helping whites to understand the culture and history of the group, and its achievements, also using financial contributions to particular causes in order to change group status and how it is perceived.

The extent of these practices can be seen in Kalka's (: 207) description:

'On one occasion, for example a caste association invited the Mayor of Harrow to a wine and cheese party. One member described at great length the caste's history, thus conveying the message that his caste members were not to be confused with other Asians.'

Kalka continues:

'As on a similar occasion a donation for a charity was made, this time for the Mayor's own charity, so the Gujaratis were more successful in conveying the message that they did not as was often believed keep their resources to themselves. Events such as this which showed that Gujaratis relied on their own resources were designed to demonstrate that Gujaratis were an asset, rather than a liability to the wider society.'

Examples set by communal leaders were often followed by other members of the group elite or those who sought similar status:

'Money was also sometimes donated by individual Gujaratis. For example, a chemist who had a chain of pharmacies organised a charity event to raise money to send a sick white child and his family for a holiday.'

The multiple benefits of this approach to influence is explained by Kalka when she states:

'Individual Gujaratis who donated money, for whatever purposes, were highly praised by fellow Gujaratis. In addition to raising their status within their own social networks, acts of charity were also means of advertising their businesses to a potential clientele.'

The outcome of this influencing strategy can be seen by the East African Hindus' rapid social mobility and status among key decision-makers, as illustrated by the Conservative Party's efforts since the mid 1970' to attract their support (Layton Henry: 1984: 147-148). The result of which is the increased political support enjoyed by the Conservative Party in the Gujarati community and in the election of the first East African Hindu Conservative MP in 1992 (Geddes 1993).

Underlying the growing importance of the East African Hindu community is its increasing influence on local politics. This can be seen in the group's ability to make its presence felt on key institutions such as local authorities, Chambers of Commerce and the growing assertiveness of its electorate (Cohen 1974, Geddes 1993, Lyons and West 1995). Furthermore, many values of the Hindu community complement conservative and often

racist ideologies which has been quickly embraced and promoted by the Tories (Layton Henry 1984, Seidel 1986: 112-113).

One of the benefits from this closer relationship between the East African Asian community, and a party with historic animosity towards ethnic immigrant communities, is political legitimacy for its outlook; while symbolically refuting its association with racism (Chapter 1, Foot 1965, Anwar 1988: 38-39, Geddes 1993). The paradox of the strategy of the East African Asian community is based on its own experience of racism, at the same time its willingness to ally and identify with sections of the white group involved in the racist treatment of other ethnic communities.

The opportunism which characterise much of this approach is reflected in Kalka's remarks when she comments on a section of the Gujarati leadership:

'This elite is composed of well educated people who have taken it upon themselves to study subjects related to racism, colonialism, and so on. They hold numerous conferences and repeatedly debate these issues. The same people who now write speeches, manifestos, and pamphlets were only a few years back, to use their own phrase 'collaborators with the establishment.'

The potentially problematic relationship between the East African Asian strategy of ethnic realignment and its relations with the status quo, and how this is viewed by other ethnic minority communities is something not lost on many of its more reflective and possibly politically astute leaders (Kalka 1991: 218).

Policing And The Indian Community

An early study on the Asian community and policing is that of Banton (1964), which highlights how the culture and communal structure of these communities help to regulate the behaviour of its members, thus reducing the need for interference from external agencies. These values helped to create a general sense of mistrust of the police from older members of the group or those holding strong traditional outlooks (Holdaway 1991).

Apprehension towards the police is partly related to cultural expectations derived from home countries, but more so the racist attitude of the police in a range of every day experiences of Asian communities, as in their treatment as potentially illegal immigrants. An

example of this is the role of the police in demanding passports from Asians in generally innocent interactions (Gordon and Newham 1985).

While problems experienced by the Asian community with the police are common to other minority communities, the cultural difference of this group has helped to create particular stereotypes, which emphasised its perceived alien nature (Banton 1964, Reiner 1991: 206).

One important characteristic of the police attitude towards the Asian community is the perception of it being dishonest and manipulative. A good illustration of this is given by Smith and Gray (1983: 118):

'Far more common than open hostility of this kind is for police officers to say that Asians, or 'Pakis' are devious, sly or unreliable, and in particular don't tell the truth.'

The connection between these attitudes and the perception noted by Holdaway (1991) that Asians are 'shy' in their interactions with the police, can be explained by common racist stereotypes of particular ethnic communities; especially those with strong commercial traditions such as Jews or the Chinese (Schutz 1976, Seagrave 1996, Allport 1987: 192), who have been traditionally characterised as being 'devious' and 'manipulative' and compounded by language barriers.

While cultural explanations are important in shaping the response of the Hindu community in certain matters, such as family disputes. There are a range of issues in the life and experiences of the Asian community where its dependency on police intervention is important (Banton 1964). The issue of longest standing concern is that of racial victimisation. The lives of post war Asian immigrants were blighted by unprovoked violence meted out against its members, popularised in the practice derogatively termed 'paki-bashing' Cashmore (1983: 43). Three significant characteristics of the Asian community exacerbated the racism against them and the forms it took.

Firstly, important cultural differences helped to isolate them from the dominant group, particularly its most disadvantaged sections. Secondly, the strong economic instrumentalism of Asians served to threaten marginal whites who could justify wanton violence against them, given the general hostility against Commonwealth immigrants. Thirdly, unlike African-Caribbeans who have a strong warrior tradition, Asians were an easy

non-threatening target for acts of violence. Cashmore (1983: 43) explains how these factors contributed to paki-bashing:

'Young blacks were welcomed by skinheads not only because of their musical tastes but also because of their similarity of style, their art of being 'cool', their non encroachment in commercial spheres their predilection to fight back if attacked which is something the more passive Asians would not do.'

The proclivity for the African-Caribbean community to defend itself, and being perceived as physically tough (Robins 1992: 19) acts as an important characteristic used by Asians themselves in distinguishing between the groups; but is also an admired quality, and an important factor in more younger and radical Asians to later openly affiliating themselves with blacks (Sivanandan 1983, 1985: Chapter 2, Kalka 1991, Westwood 1991, Alexander 1996). Tambs-Lyche (1975: 53):

'When walking in unsafe districts at night friends told me to keep close to a West Indian. People don't attack them. They're usually big and strong.'

One important feature of the paki-bashing phenomenon of the 1960s, was the active participation of sections of African-Caribbean youth in the violence against Asians, due to what (Cashmore 1983: 185) cites as a deep-seated antagonism within the African-Caribbean community towards Asians. This common hostility from particular sections of African-Caribbean and white youth is still in evidence (Robins 1992: 17, Alexander 1996: 23).

The general passivity of the early Asian communities contributed to the impression of them being easy as targets for crime. In some Asian communities, such as Muslims and Sikhs, there is evidence of traditions of physical resistance against violence; often resulting in serious injuries to white aggressors²². In some cases, as in Luton, Bradford and Southall, this counter-violence took the form of relatively large-scale physical resistance (Hiro 1973: 176).

The type of violence experienced by Asian communities, often leading to death or serious injuries or damage to property (Rex and Moore 1967: 66, Hiro 1973: Brown 1982: 128, Bowling 1993: Chapter 1, Hesse and Bennet 1990: Chapter 1) constitutes an important ongoing theme in the policing concerns of these communities, to a lesser or greater extent.

An outcome of this under-policing resulted in the strong belief that the police were, racist and hostile generally, to non-white ethnic communities. Far from being cast in the role of 'guardians' (Waddington and Braddock 1991), police indifference has been a major point of antagonism shaping the Asian community's attitudes towards them.

The same reasons which contributed to violence against Asian communities also helped to target the group for other types of crimes, such as mugging and theft-related activities, by African-Caribbean and white youth. The relative success of sections of the Asian community served to create fears that they were victims of envy, seen by the experiences of its business strata and other group members (Brown 1982, Cashmore 1983, Cumberbatch and Tadesse 1987).

Feelings of envy may well shape the motivation of particular sections within the African-Caribbean and white community to carry out criminal acts against Asians. However, another important factor is the popular perception of Hindus within the African-Caribbean community, given their historical relationship, which contributed to combination of positive and negative attitudes, commonly held towards merchant communities (Hiro 1973, Seagrave 1996: 66-68).

How the economic attitudes and structural relationship of the Asian community to the African-Caribbean community contributed to these feelings is illustrated by the practice of Asian shopkeepers stocking African-Caribbean food products, but treating customers in a racist manner (Cashmore 1983: 186-187). This practice of consciously seeking an economic relationship with African-Caribbeans by Asians, is in direct contrast to its interaction with this community in other areas. Similar social relations and attitudes can be seen towards Koreans in African-American communities (Waldinger et al 1990: 121-122, Small 1994: 194-195).

Brown (1982: 65-66) highlights how the Indian community in Handsworth experienced high levels of 'muggings' against soft targets, i.e. women and the elderly. Moreover, Brown found a disproportionate amount of break-ins and robberies of domestic dwellings against Indians for highly valued consumer goods such as stereos, televisions and other easily disposed goods. Asian cultural practices also contributed to their high rates of victimisation. Brown (1982: 67) observes that one of the factors shaping the victimisation of women was the practice of Hindu women to wear very visibly, perceived to be, expensive jewellery. The

problem of tackling this type of crime was exacerbated by the high levels of under-reporting due to the traditional uncertainty towards the police.

Matters of culture and cultural change have been important in shaping the way the police are exercising greater intervention in the lives of Asian communities. One area of considerable significance is the growing evidence of intra-familial conflict caused by greater assimilation of sections of the community.

Tensions between young females and parental authority over a range of specific issues, such as marriage, or personal autonomy has contributed to numerous family disputes which in many instances result in women leaving home and police being involved in missing person enquiries or intervening in domestic violence in marital contexts (Rex and Tomlinson 1979: 272, Brown 1982: 96, 117, Sarwar 1989). Similar problems have been experienced between males within the family (Ballard 1979: 119).

The true extent of these cultural problems, and their policing implications, is beyond the scope of this research. Rex and Tomlinson however, suggest that the conservative and authoritarian notions of communal authority in Asian communities contributes to conflicts with policing implications, beyond the immediate family, and can be seen in disputes over control of communal institutions (Luton Herald, 16 June 1994).

While the primary relationship between the Hindu community and the police is the latter's role as victims (Smith and Gray 1983), there is evidence to show that the issue of youth delinquency, in some communities, has contributed to the growth of relatively small male criminal sub-cultures. This in itself is not surprising given the strong economic instrumentalism of this community and the frustration of individual ambition caused by discrimination, or by other obstacles in shaping offending behaviour (Merton 1970). Brown (1982: 65) cites the strong monetary considerations, for instance, in the involvement of Indians in car theft rings, in comparison to African-Caribbeans.

While mugging has been traditionally associated with African-Caribbean and white youth, evidence of growing involvement of Asian youth in this activity is documented by Minney (1993) in his study of violent street crimes in Luton. An interesting finding made by Minney, is that Asians involved in this type of crime are more likely to operate in groups, in a distinct and disproportionate manner than others ethnic communities; whereby African-Caribbeans

who are more likely to operate as lone predators. This suggests that the stronger group ethos and organisation shaping Asian involvement in such crimes, but also the need for participants to counter dominant notions of Asian physical passivity with superior numbers.

A key reason why little work has been undertaken in the area of Asian delinquency and crime, may be due to the stereotypical manner in the way these communities are treated which serves to cloud fuller understanding (Modood 1993). Another possible explanation for this hiatus, may well lay with these communities and how they utilise popular perception of themselves to fend off critical scrutiny²³; in concert with norms prohibiting such issues being discussed outside the group (Layton-Henry 1984, Seidel 1986).

The growing evidence of Asian involvement in serious crime suggests increasing levels of sophistication and organisation of those engaged in these activities. Robins (1992: 94) maintains that in, many areas of the country, the supply of hard drugs has become synonymous with Asians, resulting in the arrest of often highly respected businessmen whose involvement complemented legitimate business activity.

As is common in this type of crime, the consumers of these drugs are poorer members of other ethnic groups, which serves to complicate the racism towards the Asian community. One white youth respondent in Robins (1992: 94) comments:

'I don't do heroin because round here that's from Pakis.'

According to Robins one important factor in targeting the Asian community for certain types of crime, is the popular perception within particular criminal sub-cultures of the association of Asian businesses with drugs or other criminal activity. Evidence of the increasing involvement of Asians in crime came in the wake of the Bradford disturbances in 1995, relating to drugs, prostitution and other violent activities (especially against women). This has had an important impact in how this community is now seen (Macey 1999, Solomos 2003, Bowling and Phillips 2003).

Policing and Leadership Strategies

The most common method used by Asian communities to bring matters of concern to the attention of the police was using a range of formal approaches, often involving local voluntary associations. Rex and Moore (1967: 166) highlight the role of leaders of social-welfare associations in registering group dissatisfaction at the police's response to racial harassment. Very often these associations are able to utilise their relationship with agencies such as CRCs to give more legitimacy to their concerns (Brown 1982: 117).

In cases where extreme violence has taken place, as in instances leading to murder, the Asian Muslim community (who have disproportionately experienced these crimes) have often complemented its traditional emphasis on using established mechanisms by more militant expressions of dissatisfaction. This has taken the form of creating single issue campaign support groups, similar to those common in African-Caribbean communities (Hain et al 1980: 193, Hesse 1989). Many of these same policing issues have been taken up by other organisations, particularly youth associations, which sprung up in these communities during the 1970s (Bowling 1993: 45)

The 1980s saw an unprecedented rise in serious violent attacks against Asian Muslim communities, given their residence in predominantly working-class communities, more susceptible to organised right-wing and opportunistic violence. The outcome of these events led to growing militancy, particularly amongst young Asians, and a growing preference for strategies of confrontation. During this period many large demonstrations took place throughout the country, which involved thousands of Asians of all ethnic communities and other supporters. In many cases these events led to violence and the arrest of demonstrators (Bowling 1993). Many traditional community-welfare associations underwent a process of radicalisation leading to the establishment of non-conventional programmes of action, as in organising self-defence groups (Hesse and Bennet 1990: 25).

While these attacks were against particular sections of the Asian community, others were equally vulnerable to violence, as in the case of Sikh Sing Sunder who was killed in Windsor 1980 (Bowling 1993: 46). Brown (1982: 87) shows how the fear of racist violence during this period led to the joint effort of Indian and accommodationist African-Caribbean leaders and the police in planning a response to a proposed march by the National Front. In Southall, on the other hand, Sikh youth fought violent battles with skinheads and the

police, after members of the group were subjected to unprovoked violence (Bowling 1993: 57, Scarman 1982: 30).

An important development which gave institutional support to ethnic minority communities in tackling racist violence, was the response of local authorities and the Greater London Council after the disturbances of 1981 and the publishing of Scarman report (Scarman 1982: 31). The outcome of these changes was the creation of institutional mechanisms designed to tackle the problem of police responsiveness to racism and how it handled racist violence. While these bureaucratic structures and initiatives provided greater access for community leaders, the ability to significantly shape how issues were dealt with by the police has been generally unsatisfactory.

The attitudes of local police concerning priorities, work practices and its racism, have created major obstacles in bringing about the types of changes desired by Asian communities. Local difficulties with the police have been reinforced by the attitudes and centralised nature of police decision-making (Hesse and Bennet 1990: Chapter 4, Bowling 1993: Chapters 3 and 4). In this light government initiatives, as in efforts to increase the representation of ethnic minority police officers and providing information in ethnic languages, seems tokenistic given the inability to tackle the fundamental cultural issues in question (Scarman 1982: 194-199, Hesse and Bennet 1990, Holdaway 1991, Young 1991, Reiner 1991).

Racist attacks constitutes an ongoing concern for the Asian community, so is the matter of crime committed against it by sections of the African-Caribbean community. A specific fear is the possible effects of large-scale violent disturbances on commercial activity (Brown 1982: 118, Cumberbatch and Tadesse 1987: 65, Cashmore and McLaughlin 1991: 57).

Public disorder not only threatens to damage property, but also creates fear for the physical safety. A good illustration of this is the case of Handsworth in 1985, where two Indians died in a fire believed caused by a petrol bomb (Solomos and Rackett 1991)²⁴. Equally, in the Broadwater Farm disturbances Asian owned supermarkets came under attack from African-Caribbean youth (Solomos and Rackett 1991: 49).

The issue of African-Caribbean crime on Asians constitutes a very delicate problem for Asian leaders (Chapter 1). On the one hand, sections within the Asian community have

particular degrees of sensitivity and identification with the experiences of the African-Caribbean community and how this contributes to crime (Brown 1982, Scarman 1982: 226-228, Sivanandan 1985: 4-6). This stance by many leaders is based on a combination of principle and commitment to fighting discrimination, while at the same time being tactically important in maintaining notions of ethnic solidarity in the face of common problems (Kalka 1991, Cohen 1974). Equally, the Asian community has deeply held racist attitudes towards the African-Caribbean community which leaders seek to play down (The Independent *ibid*).

These contradictory pressures place leaders in a precarious position when dealing with matters concerning the African-Caribbean community. An illustration of this seen by the efforts of leaders from both communities who sought to play down press attempts to publicly exacerbate inter-communal tensions, by claiming that the disturbances in Handsworth were caused by enmity between these communities.

The difficulty of this task for Asian leaders, was complicated by the press efforts to utilise cultural stereotypes concerning the different ethnic communities, aspects of the group's attributes usually emphasised by leaders themselves (Mintz 1978, Solomos and Rackett 1991: 57). A problem for Asian leaders in such instances is the potential of being seen providing support for police racism against the African-Caribbean community (Sivanandan 1983: 28, Cumberbatch and Tadesse 1987: 66). In the case of similar disturbances in other parts of the Birmingham, Asian community leaders' response was indifferent to these sensitivities, and took the form of calls for tougher police action and mass resignations from the local CRC (Cumberbatch and Tadesse 1987: 65).

The ways Indian leaders have sought to address some of these problems is through their participation in various community consultative mechanism and police initiatives designed to create greater community harmony (Scarman 1982, Brown 1982: 115-116). Brown shows how the Indian community was able to increase police presence around business premises, and meet on a regular basis to discuss matters related to crime and other concerns.

An additional benefit in developing closer relations with the police was the Indian community's ability to more easily access other statutory agencies and resources in meeting its needs with police support (Brown 1982, Blagg et al *ibid*). At the same time, the

police were able to utilise this relationship to increase their intelligence gathering capacity by setting up mini-police stations and similar mechanisms in Asian institutions, such as local temples.

One major obstacle to the success of this type of strategy for improving community relations around policing matters, is the unrepresentative nature of accommodationist African-Caribbean leaders illustrated in the subsequent events of 1985 in Birmingham. While Brown suggests that the police were successful in helping these communities to develop a joint response where both faced a common threat, in more contentious areas they were less successful (Lloyd 2002).

It is highly unlikely given the fundamental differences in the orientation of the more popular black power leaders that they would, or could, reconcile their values with those which underpin such police-led initiatives. While accommodationist leaders from both communities may seek to make light of any differences between the groups, for the more nationalistic black power proponents, these differences are fundamental and historic in character Cashmore (1983: 186-7).

Notes for Chapter Three

1. A key ally of William Evans-Gordon was Sir Howard Vincent MP for Sheffield. A man with extreme hostility towards Jews, derived largely from his position as Chief Director of Criminal Investigation for the Metropolitan Police, where he developed his association of Jews and crime and other forms of social degeneracy (Foot 1965).
2. The Royal Commission established to examine the issue of Jewish immigration found no evidence to support the various popular charges against them. However, this did not stop the introduction of harsh restrictive measures under the Immigration Act. One of the motives behind the apparent 'irrational' attitudes towards Jews, can be seen in the often very revealing popular press at the time. Foot (1965: 94), highlights how the characteristics of Jews, such as their association with knowledge and strong achievement orientation, contributed to the fear they invoked (see Allport 1987: 192, 212).
3. Report of the Records of The Board of Deputies of British Jews by The Royal Commission On Historical Manuscripts 1976. What was termed 'The Charter of Jews' is encompassed in the Board's aims and objectives (see Constitution).
4. The key role of synagogues in the formation of the Board and structurally as its basic unit of representation is reflected in section 4 of its constitution.
5. Zionism is defined by one of its founding fathers T. Herzl (1972) as the belief in the

-
- creation, restoration and maintenance of a Jewish sovereign state in order to defend and promote the interests of Jews worldwide.
6. The rise of Zionism within the Jewish community was largely assisted in part by the marginalisation of Jewish experience and identity within the ideologies and programmes of both the Labour and Communist Party. See Kennedy in Phizackhlea and Miles 1979.
 7. Founder of Marks and Spencer stores.
 8. See page 7, report on The Records of The Board of Deputies of British Jews 1839-1966.
 9. See McCorquodale, 1950, 'The Board of Deputies of British Jews: A Brief Survey of Its Work 1933-1950. The Board's attempt to tackle racist propaganda took the form of examining ways of changing legislation in the forms of its Group Defamation Act. See Group Defamation: Report of a Working Party of the Law Parliamentary and General Purpose Committee, February 1992. For a history of the Board's attempts to tackle this issue see Lester and Bindman (1972).
 10. The Board Of Deputies Annual Report 1992 and 1994.
 11. The Marriage Act of 1836 was the first formal recognition of the unique role played by the Board in regulating religious practices.
 12. Another considerable legal and political sanction enjoyed by the Board is the legal authority of the Home Affairs Committee, which is responsible for the regulation of Jewish charitable associations through the Charities Registration Committee created in 1937 (Alderman: 131). See Report on the Records of The Board of Deputies (ibid).
 13. Studler argues that the Jewish community's political priorities are largely internal in character, and with the exception of foreign policy matters, largely indistinguishable from the dominant group priorities, which limits the need for political action on an ethnic group basis. Studler maintains that issues of foreign policy are more susceptible to insider-initiative bureaucratic bargaining, than external initiative strategies.
 14. What is interesting about the Board's resort to more public and militant tactics is that it seems to be largely brought about by fear of being politically eclipsed by more radical associations. (See Willesden and Brent Chronicle, 23 August 1990 and 5 November 1992 and Layton-Henry 1984: 14).
 15. The relationship between diasporan and continental Africans in the political movements of their various localities has been very close (James 1963, Henrik Clarke 1973: 14-28, Honeychurch 1995: 100-122, Jesse: 25-45, Devaux 1997).
 16. The role of security and intelligence agencies in the victimization of black power leaders is well-documented. See T'Shaka (1991: Chapter 16). The connection between US intelligence agencies and Britain is a close one (see Bunyan 1977).
 17. The relationship between the African-Caribbean community and the police at the time was described by a Select Committee as akin to a civil war (Fryer 1984: 392). What is particularly interesting about the white institutional response was the readiness to use the new Race Relations Act against black leaders (Lester and Bindman 1972: 369).

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18. The flow of immigrants from India to Britain came in the wake of the Central Indian government granting the right of local states to issue passports to travel. Prior to this travel outside the country was firmly restricted to those with sufficient financial resources and students.
 19. The relationship between Indian/Hindu in the Caribbean and the African/black majority is similar in some respects to that of East African Hindus and indigenous Africans (Williams 1970: Chapter 19, Hiro 1973: 100, Jesse 1994). However, the experience of Indian indentured labour complicates any simple comparison.
 20. The Business On Sunday Newspaper 23 February, 9 March 1997.
 21. Sikhs have a strong tradition of political activism and military resistance stemming back from its fight against Islamic domination (Fieldhouse *ibid*).
 22. The disproportionate lack of involvement of Hindus in crime and how it shapes the group's self perception can be seen by a feature in Hinduism Today, March 1993 where it stresses the group's peace-loving and law abiding nature, along with the assertion of having the lowest crime rate in the country.
 23. The motives behind the attack on the post office was believed to relate to a dispute over drugs (Robins 1992: 94).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND POLICING

In Chapter 3, anti-Semitic offences were identified as being a major source of historic concern to the Jewish community, and related specifically to group members' ethnicity, which were reflected in the research findings. Specific priorities took the form of protection from harassment, especially related to the policing of religious festivals, special events and the dissemination of anti-Semitic literature (Chapter 1).

While the general fear of attacks against the Jewish community was a concern for the Board, the importance placed on these issues differed and were highly contingent on the perceived level of threat from external and internal sources. The Westside Security Coordinator comments:

'The key issue for us apart from the holy festivals would be the fall out of the Gulf war and the growth of militant Islam in the country and other extremist anti-Semitic groups. The BNP does cause us some concern because of its activities in the East End Tower Hamlets.'

The Northside Security Coordinator makes similar comments:

'There has been a spate of incidents, including bombings with Middle East origins', which are of great concern for us which has called for even greater vigilance because we are talking about fanatics who have a hatred for Israel and the Jewish people.'

Of particular worry to the Board at the national level is the publication and dissemination of new forms of anti-Semitic literature. As seen in Chapter 3 this issue has been an ongoing historical anxiety. The feelings of the Board on these developments can be clearly seen in the following remarks:

'We are very concerned about the vicious anti-Semitism, if you like, the new brand which we see in the Holocaust denial literature which is much more pernicious and sophisticated than anything we have seen. It is able to quite easily get around existing legislation.'

Fear of street crime has been identified by Factor and Stenson (1992) as of particular worry. This problem has been shaped in part by the close proximity of many Jewish

communities to more deprived areas (Keith 1993), and is intrinsically linked to wider economic and political changes since the early 1980s (see Chapter 1).

This sensitivity to crime was reflected in the concerns of the Westside Security Coordinator:

'If we could somehow get more police on the beat that would help a great deal. People are very conscious of crime, who isn't? I know the police are stretched for resources, but if that could ever happen it would make things a great deal easier.'

The similarity of Security Coordinator's priorities is illustrated in the comments of the Northside Security Coordinator when he states:

'The policing issues which concerns us are things to do with nuisance, harassment and that kind of thing; and particularly where we are holding festivals. In the past we have had some trouble at the synagogue mostly children and young men making a nuisance of themselves, anti-Semitic comments and that type of thing.'

The demographic structure of the Jewish community had an important impact on perceptions of crime and acts of anti-Semitism (Dellapergola 1994). The Northside Security Coordinator states:

'The community tends to get very worked up and sometimes quite unnecessarily, things can often get out of hand or taken out of proportion, and I have to spend a lot of energy trying to calm them down when there are certain incidents. I like to try to keep these things in perspective. Many of our people are old and have very vivid memories of what happened before (holocaust) so when we have attacks on synagogues, or memorials, it is not difficult to understand the response.'

Summary

The key policing issues for the Jewish communities related to matters of under-policing specifically to concerns about various forms of anti-Semitic behaviour and the general fear of crime. These issues indicate that other than the concern about anti-Semitism of an essentially random nature, the main policing priorities of the Jewish community locally were no different than those of the average white public; especially given the age profile of the group and its proximity to deprived communities.

Ethnicity had little relevance on the overriding concerns of the Jewish community as a whole. However, the increase in anti-Semitism, whether it be indigenous and traditional right-wing in origins etc, or in the case of developments in the Middle East; or spread of anti-semitic literature was found to be of greater concern for the Board leadership and its Security Officers which is unsurprising given their specialist roles.

ASSOCIATIONAL RESPONSE TO POLICING ISSUES

A distinguishing feature of the Board outlined in Chapter 3, is its relationship with the police at the centre which evolved from its long association with government institutions. This illustrates, while racism has been an important issue for the Jewish community, this has not limited its ability to succeed. Access to the highest levels of society shows the success of the approaches adopted by Jews in gaining acceptability (Chapters 1 and 3). This characteristic of the Jewish community is unique amongst ethnic minority communities in Britain and serves to distinguish them from others. Both Cohen (1994) and Stenson and Factor (1992) have illustrated how this access to political power has assisted Jews in having many of their policing needs met.

The research found local synagogues were able to obtain the necessary policing cover for religious holidays due to this relationship, from which has evolved an established procedure.

The Westside Security Coordinator outlines this process:

'With regards the policing of these events, a message is dispatched from the Yard about ten days before the start of the festivals and I contact the local Chief Inspector (Operations) and give him the details of local activities so that the police can give us some casual attention.'

The Northside Security Coordinator:

'The procedure is set down. Scotland Yard dispatches the relevant dates of our festivals, and we contact our local station to give them the details of our events. It's as simple as that really.'

Similar mechanisms were used for reporting anti-Semitic incidents. The Westside Security Coordinator:

'We always tell those who attend synagogue that they should report any incidents to us which we pass on to the police and to Mike.'

His colleague makes similar observations:

'We have an established procedure whereby any racial incident can be reported to me by members of our synagogue and I record it and pass it on to the local police, where in turn it is passed up the line to Scotland Yard.'

Summary

The Jewish community has experienced instances of racial harassment, which indicates some residual hostility towards them from parts of society. Overall, the relationship between the Board, government and other important institutions indicates that the discrimination experienced by this group is minimal – hence the Jewish presence in the higher echelons of power. The Jewish community was able to have policing concerns addressed through the existence of established relations, between the Board and Scotland Yard, resulting in institutionalised practices for providing police cover for religious holidays and responding to anti-Semitic attacks.

POLICE PERCEPTIONS OF PROBLEMS AND ISSUES AFFECTING THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The research found that the police's attitude to Jewish concerns were related to the degree of the problems experienced in the neighbourhood in question and their status according to police priorities (Grimshaw and Jefferson 1987). The Westside Sector Inspector comments:

'Over the last couple of years or so there has been attacks on the war memorial and the spread of anti-Semitic material and that type of thing, nothing serious in real policing terms. There has been two incidents recently which does remind that the fears of the Jewish community are real and we mustn't get complacent.'

The Northside Sector Sergeant on the other hand was less than complimentary to Jewish concerns:

'Their perceptions of their problem goes along I think, with their personal level of intensity. I find you have the very hyper orthodox Jew, which we don't have many around here. But they do have businesses here and do come here to shop and the like, who is very aware of his perceived vulnerability, right down to the person who is Jewish by blood who still uses Jewish words, eats the food. But they are not really too concerned with issues of identity and that type of thing.'

He continues:

'In the last five years since I've been here, I have yet to come across very real evidence of any sign of hostility, or harassment, or that type of thing. We've had the odd bit of minor criminal damage, but there is no evidence to suggest anything sinister other than the average scally.'

These findings suggest that racism is not a significant issue in the life of the Jewish community from the police's perspective. Parking was identified as an issue that affected significant numbers of Jewish residents and a source of much police aggravation (Cumberbatch and Tadesse 1987: 65). This issue and its pedestrian nature serve to illustrate the different policing priorities the Jewish community has, compared to other ethnic minority communities such as African-Caribbeans (Chapter 3). This highlights important differences in experiences between these communities and the social characteristics that contribute to them (Chapter 1).

The Northside Sector Inspector comments on the importance of parking as a policing issue

for the Jewish community:

'One of the major problems we have is the issue of parking. Members of the local Jewish community go to the synagogue on Saturdays and it creates the inevitable parking problem. Very often we have to go to community meetings with various residents' associations to explain to people what we are trying to do to alleviate their concerns about this issue. To be realistic, there is not much we can do except to take action against the odd person who is illegally parked. There are no public car parks in many of these residential areas, so whenever there is an increased influx of people for whatever reasons there are complaints.'

Similarly the Westside Sergeant:

'Parking is the bane of the life of a policeman in this borough and in many ways illustrates that the majority of the things which effect the Jewish community are the same as most other communities.'

Summary

The issue of to what extent racism helped shape priorities and approach of ethnic leaders and their organisations. In the context of policing the research found the issues affecting the Jewish community, according to the police, were generally related to fear of anti-Semitism. This was the only concern to the Jewish community based on its ethnicity. However, the police's attitude to these concerns was mixed and to some degree contingent on the area's experience of this problem and its status according to the police's value system. Where the Jewish community had a larger presence the evidence suggests a greater degree of sympathy to their concerns than in the area where Jews were less represented.

The police acknowledged the Jewish community's fear regarding crime, and the desire for more protection. However, once again, police response was mixed both in terms of the efficacy of such demands and the ability to meet them. Finally, the issue of parking, another general quality of life issue with little ethnic significance, caused considerable difficulties for both the Jewish community and the police and a relatively intractable problem and source of mutual frustration.

ASSOCIATIONAL TYPE AND POLICING

The Jewish community and the Board's long history (Chapter 3) has resulted in the evolution of a large and bureaucratic peak association which represents and includes a wide range of Jewish organisations and institutions. An important institution at the local level, and an integral part of the Board structure, is the local synagogue and symbolically most associated in the public mind of Jewish ethnicity (Allport 1987).

The research found one of the ways the Board is able to represent the community is via its interlocking structures integrating local synagogues. The Westside Security Coordinator highlights the basic work of the synagogue:

'The main activities which we hold here are obviously largely religious. We hold services and celebrate the important festivals and carry out all the usual things associated with being a Jew. We hold meetings every three months to discuss religious aspects and that kind of thing. Because of our size we have to stick to the bare essentials.'

Synagogues also provide other forms of social activity designed to meet group needs (Rex 1973). The Northside Security Coordinator elaborates:

'Other synagogues you will find will have larger Management Boards because they have more activities. Some have friendship clubs for the elderly; they have Hebrew classes for the children or youth, or scout clubs, and things like that and they will have appropriate committees or sub-committees responsible for those areas.'

Commenting on the organisational structure of the local synagogue the Westside Security Coordinator explains:

'The basic work of the synagogue is run by members of our Management Board responsible for the general running of the synagogue and general administration, which include the basic roles such as secretary, treasurer, warden and so on. Members of the Management Board are members of the congregation, like myself who volunteer or are elected to help run the synagogue.'

Summary

The research found that synagogues were an essential component of the organisational machinery evolved by the Board to represent mainstream Jews. This constitutes an important difference between the Jewish community and other ethnic communities under study.

The principal functions of synagogues are to carry out basic Jewish religious practice and rituals. In this respect the synagogue is highly symbolic as an important source of cultural authority for observing Jews. Volunteer congregation members, who make up its Management Board, with the specific religious component being the responsibility of the Rabbi, administer the work of the synagogue. While the work of synagogues is religious in character, they also carry out a range of functions in the form of programmes to meet the various needs of the community. However, this was contingent on the size of the congregation and the resources available to it.

PROBLEMS AFFECTING THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND ITS SOCIAL AND ASSOCIATIONAL CONSEQUENCES

The central problem experienced by synagogues in areas with significant consequences for their organisational effectiveness, was the decline in congregations due to changes in the demographic character (Miller 1994). The decline in Jewish population was a direct outcome of its strategy of cultural assimilation (Chapter 3), and raises serious concerns about its desirability for other ethnic minority communities. These issues are already a major source of tension in the African-Caribbean community (The Sunday Times *ibid*) which challenges the efficacy of strategies of assimilation for other ethnic minority communities; using the Jewish experience as an example and goes to the core of issues outlined in the research objectives (Chapter 1).

The Northside Security Coordinator comments on the consequences of demographic changes on the synagogal organisation:

'I think it fair to say that this area is a dying Jewish community, which means we have to simply do more with less. They say that there is a revival of Judaism amongst young people. There is no way to really tell this by synagogue attendance because you can't tell from the Census and unfortunately many Jews do not belong to a synagogue.'

Continuing:

'I think financial factors have an important role in the fall in synagogue attendance, even though that is only part of it. At the United Synagogue we have to pay for the maintenance of the United Synagogue headquarters and overheads and costs keep on going up.'

The Westside Security Coordinator remarks on these changes and their impact:

'I think the number of Jews is down to 300,000. When I was younger I remember it being 500,000. A lot of its got to do with assimilation with so many youngsters going to university today and there is so much intermarriage. If you go back about 50-60 years ago if a person married outside their religion they were as good as dead, they were seen as outcasts.'

Summary

The major organisational problem experienced by local synagogues and the Board was the impact of cultural and demographic change on Jewish identity and affiliation. Cultural assimilation has led to profound changes in patterns of family life, as well as having a direct impact on the human and financial resources of the Board, which was particularly evident in the study areas. This finding raises many important questions about the efficacy of strategies of assimilation where matters of intermarriage or reproduction and cultural continuity are concerned. This strengthens the position of those against inter-racial relationships and weakens the attractiveness of this approach (Chapters 1 and 2).

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF JEWISH ASSOCIATIONS IN MEETING POLICING NEEDS

One way in which racism has influenced the Jewish community is by shaping the conditions that led to the creation of the Board (Chapter 3). A key element of the Board's strategy is developing close relations with government and key decision-makers (Chapter 1). Stenson and Factor (1992) have shown that the relationship between the Board and the Metropolitan Police, at the central and local level, contributed to a general satisfaction in the Jewish community's ability to have most of their policing concerns addressed.

The ongoing relationship between the police and Security Coordinators was an important factor in developing varying degrees of mutual understanding (Chapter 3). The Westside Security Coordinator elaborates:

'I've got four synagogues on my patch and they are all in Brian's sector and he is very cooperative. They appreciate the holidays and understand the significance of these events to us. I think the police's knowledge about our culture and other cultures and religions has increased. For example, you don't have to say the Day of Atonement, you simply say Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur and they know what you mean.'

In the case of the Northside Security Coordinator his relationship with the police was more formalised and relatively impersonal in character:

'My main contact with the police is with the Chief Inspector, who I contact when I have to usually arrange for a police presence. It's a polite routine I suppose, and really depend largely on who the Chief Inspector is. Some are sensitive and understand our concerns, others not, but at the end of the day we always get what we are requesting.'

Summary

The research found that the relations between the Board and the police at local levels was facilitated in some cases by an ongoing personal relationship between them and Security Coordinators, but was primarily influenced by the relationship between the two organisations at the centre in successfully meeting local needs. This relationship between the police and the Board is one that has grown over time that has led to the development of established practices for assisting the Jewish community with its concerns.

LOCAL INFLUENCE AND INFORMAL RELATIONS

A fundamental dimension of the Jewish community's ability to exercise influence is its dependency on existing interpersonal networks (Ryan 1978). Kaye (1993) maintains this reliance on interpersonal contacts is a defining characteristic of the Jewish approach to power and influence (Studler 1986, Cohen 1994). These features are described in detail in Chapter 3.

The Westside local Sector Inspector comments on how these personal contacts help to positively influence the relationship between the Board and the police:

'I've got a number of Jewish synagogues here and work very closely with the Jewish community Security Coordinator, who I've known for a long time since he used to be a Special Constable and was an Executive Admin Officer from the civilian side. We actually worked together 10 years ago when I was working at Area Complaints. It's enjoyable working with him and the Jewish community, not only because of our relationship but because from my experience with other groups. The Jewish community seem more positive and get things done. I suppose a lot of it is probably to do with the police mentality which both Peter and I understand.'

The Westside Security Coordinator comments on his relationship with the police:

'The police are a funny organisation. Once they know you and trust you they will bend over as far as possible to help you. Last year Yom Kippur was on Saturday and I was able to arrange to get the Specials to police the event. I simply approached the DO (Divisional Officer) who asked me what I wanted in specific terms and agreed to my request. Of course I can only do that where I am known, but fortunately I've always had good relations with the police.'

While the Westside Security Coordinator used interpersonal contacts where the opportunity arose and existing relations allowed; a similar approach was used by the Northside Security Coordinator. Commenting on his relations with the Police Consultative Group:

'We are not directly represented on the Police Consultative Group, but we have contacts there who will report back to us on anything of interest to us. One thing that is being discussed, which may be of interest to me, is the issue of local sector policing. If this means the police is going to be more responsive to local needs, then this is something we will have an interest in.'

Summary

The research learned that an important aspect in the successful relationship between Security Coordinators and the local police was the dependency on interpersonal relationships. One aspect of this which was shown to be successful was the reliance on inside knowledge to exercise influence, either in understanding the workings of those they sought to influence or in gaining important information. In this regard the Jewish community demonstrates many resources and practices of effective interest groups. This illustrates the effectiveness of the strategy adopted by the Jewish community (Chapter 1) and an approach unique to them when compared to other less established ethnic minority communities.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE POLICE

A central theme in the thinking and political behaviour of the Jewish leadership elite has been the commitment to the concept of accommodation. This group's attitude to influence has led to a relatively successful strategy (Chapter 1). This approach was evidenced in the research and supported in the findings of Stenson and Factor (1992) which showed the flexible and understanding attitudes to the police's problems of limited resources by Jewish leaders contributed to their mutually supportive relationship. The Northside Security Coordinator illustrates this:

'A greater police presence generally and at festivals would be great help which is something we always keep a close eye on, but we realise this is a national issue and out of the local police's hands.'

The Westside Security Coordinator comments in a similar vein:

'We would like more of a police presence at our festivals and more police officers on the beat generally, but at the same time we have to be balanced and realistic and realise the constraints which the police work under.'

Summary

The research found that an important characteristic in the successful relationship between Security Coordinators and the police was the former's accommodatory approach around the matter of police resources. Like much of the behaviour of local leaders this accommodatory behaviour is shaped by the preferred approach to influence and instrumental to Jewish success (Chapter 1). In the specific context of local policing this took the form of the Security Coordinators' preparedness to accept police explanations concerning resource constraints and being willing to work within this framework.

ASSOCIATIONAL STRUCTURE, POWER AND DECISION-MAKING

The Board is a highly bureaucratic national peak association with well-developed relationships with government and key agencies at the centre (Chapters 1 and 3). It has managed to provide services to meet community needs by creating specialist mechanisms to address major policy or issue areas. The area of policing illustrates this well.

The Security Coordinator's ability to exercise influence on the police, is rooted in the centralised nature of the Board's security infrastructure. The Westside Security Coordinator elaborates:

'We are part of a security organisation with a clearly established structure with people with roles and authority and responsibilities. On particular issues I advise the community on what should happen through the synagogue, and on others, Mike advises me. He has the responsibility for national security and therefore has the authority of the whole Board behind him. Every synagogue has a Security Officer who reports to Mike. We meet with him on a regular basis and discuss developments.'

The Northside Security Coordinator explains the basic function of the Security Coordinator:

'The security set up as such is that we expect that every synagogue will appoint a Security Officer. His job is to see that premises are safe and secure and whenever the synagogue is open there is always someone on duty outside to be on the look out for anything suspicious, or to act as a physical deterrent.'

The Northside Security Coordinator expands on the relations between Security Coordinators:

'Every two months meetings are held between other local Security Coordinators which I chair, where we share intelligence and discuss actions and issues. The meetings are informal, insofar as, we do not take minutes and that type of thing, but they are important in getting to hear what's going on.'

The area of security, which encompasses police-related matters, is mediated through the Security Coordinators locally and the Director of Defense and Ethnic Group Relations (DERG) of the Board nationally. The Westside Security Coordinator elaborates on the workings of the department:

'We work from the top downwards, we have a meeting every six to eight weeks at The Board of Deputies with Mike, which also includes Robert and other Security Coordinators from other regions. At this meeting we are told what the current situation is both world-wide, in Europe and of course nationally; whether it's Muslim fundamentalists or right wingers, or left wingers for that matter, or anything which is anti-Semitic, or poses a threat to our community.'

The Westside Security Coordinator illustrates the influence of the centre on the activities of the locality:

'Lately, because of this latest incident¹ the Board has been stressing a higher level of security, so I've had to go and ensure my people are doing their jobs properly.'

The Northside Security Coordinator:

'The Board is the legitimate representative of the British-Jewish community and therefore it is only right that on particular matters which have serious implications for all of us that they should take the lead. It is what we expect and what the community has come to expect.'

Summary

The effectiveness of the Board's organisational structures and practices is illustrated by its security apparatus. An essential dimension of the Board's status is its almost monopoly of communal representations, which is supported by an effective organisational machinery and a top-down decision-making process. This limits the capacity for collective action problems weakening the group's capacity to represent itself externally or respond effectively (Chapters 1 and 2). The area of policing demonstrates the strength of the Board's approach and the status it commands with the police.

SELECTION OF SECURITY PERSONNEL

One basic assumption of the research outlined in Chapter 1 is that the characteristics of ethnic communities are important resources available to communal leaders in developing approaches to meet group needs. The research found that the age of the Jewish community and its demographic make-up in, terms of education and skill pool, provides the Board with important advantages in meeting many of its goals. While technical skills and knowledge are one aspect of the human resources issues facing organisations, obtaining individuals with beliefs reflective of their values is also critical (Glasser and Sills 1966, Rex 1973).

The research found that the roles of Security Coordinators were filled by individuals, with a combination of proven commitment by means of active involvement in synagogue life, community work, and relevant organisational or professional experience.

The Northside Security Coordinator explains the background to his appointment:

'I was asked by the person who was leaving the role to take it over, and I did. I felt quite honoured to be asked, it is an important and responsible position. I think it was felt that I have a reputation for being reliable with a certain degree of commitment and ability. I was actively involved in voluntary work, running Jewish youth clubs, and generally working in the youth movement.'

The organisational experience of the Northside Security Coordinator in the area of voluntary community work was also complemented by his occupational activities:

'I work running a business. It's a Jewish company, and I suppose it helps in organising and working to deadlines and knowing how to deal with people and generally getting things done.'

The Westside Security Coordinator on the other hand came from a background in general Jewish community work, including the Jewish youth movement:

'I've been a member of AJEX ever since I came out of the forces back in the 1940s but I have only been active in the last 5 or 6 years since I retired, otherwise I was a member in name only.'

He continues:

'I come from a military and policing background, and am used to being part of a disciplined security organisation, and so when I was asked to take up this role without being unnecessarily immodest I had the perfect background and also had the time. The work keeps my brain alive and active and it allows me to do something for my community.'

Summary

The research found that one of the major advantages that the Board had over most ethnic communities, has been its ability to draw from a wider human resource pool, given its social characteristics to find appropriate staff for its various functions. In Chapter 3 the emergence of the Jewish community's class structure was outlined and illustrates the wide range of resources available to its leaders in meeting group needs (Chapter 1). The Security Coordinators and their background illustrate this well in terms of the Board being able to recruit committed people with experience or suitability for areas in question.

RELATIONS BETWEEN LOCAL SYNAGOGUE AND THE BOARD IN SHAPING JEWISH POLICING PRIORITIES

The DERG's function involved developing and monitoring strategies to protect the community from attack and victimisation. Its origin was found in the Board's response to the rise of fascism in the 1930s (Chapter 3) and demonstrates well how history informs much of its contemporary work, and also its considerable experience in tackling the matters in question (Chapter 1). This was achieved by the Board helping to create a high level of awareness of communal threats through its local Security Coordinators and other security related agencies, such as the Community Security Organisation. Other approaches include working through statutory agencies and bodies and encouraging the participation of local involvement on police consultative committees etc.

The DERG director comments on the Board's approach:

'We have tried to create a general heightened state of awareness of policing issues and try to make people aware of the various ways they can and we feel should be involved.'

One of the most important functions carried out by the DERG is the monitoring of anti-Semitic activity at home and abroad. The department is able to maximise its effectiveness through its coordination with other Board departments in particular; it's Media Network Initiative, Foreign Affairs Committee and prestigious Law and Parliamentary Sub-Committee. The DERG director elaborates on some aspects of its work:

'A lot of what we do is to collect and analyse information coming from a number of sources, both within and outside the Board and to develop concrete plans of action with the appropriate agency, or committees of the Board. We hear from the communities themselves; either through their representatives, religious leaders, or people contact us directly or we pick things up in the media.'

The significance of the Board's intelligence gathering capability is highlighted in the comments of the senior officer of the CRE responsible for policing matters:

'One of the things we are impressed by is the Jewish community's sophisticated intelligence machinery. Their intelligence network is very powerful, and in many respects more powerful than the police.'

Summary

The research found that the Board's possession of powerful institutional machinery in the area of security and intelligence matters, in conjunction with other specialist instruments and considerable experience of addressing these issues over the years, as important resources in influencing the police and other government agencies in ways favourable (Chapter 1).

POLICE PERCEPTION OF JEWISH COMMUNAL INFLUENCE

The type of legitimacy enjoyed by voluntary associations has shown to be a significant resource in exercising influence over agencies, like the police (Ryan 1978) and has important implications for ethnic minority communities (Chapter 1). One of the important finding in the research is the perception of Jewish organisational influence on the police at the local and national level.

The Westside Sector Inspector comments on his perception of the Jewish community's influence:

'I think they are very influential. Regarding the attack and the threats made against the Director of a local Zionist organisation we have on the division, who is trying to free an Israeli pilot captured by a Muslim country or Palestinians. My liaison in this case is the Israeli Embassy.'

Commenting specifically on the influence of the Board:

'The Board of Deputies, I maybe wrong, but seems to be a bit unique, because they are the formal representatives of the Jewish community so they carry a great deal of authority. You don't really get that in other communities, or not around here, or anywhere I have been in service.'

The Northside Sector Sergeant:

'They seem to be quite influential and very well organised. There is a very clear hierarchy, which cuts through most Jewish organisations. So if you speak to a particular youth group or a particular synagogue about a particular issue, they tend to always refer to a particular individual. The same individual who is on top of the pile.'

The police perception of the Board's influence at the centre can be seen in the remarks of the Commander responsible for this area of policing:

'I think probably because of their longstanding as an organisation with financial and political clout, I think they have become extremely influential. You can see this particularly by the types of people they're able to mobilise in support of their causes, which makes them formidable.'

Highlighting the importance of social class and the success of the Jewish elite (Chapter 3), he continues:

'The Jewish community is able to buy into the established British culture of education, money, power and contacts in the right places. In this respect, they are very typically British if you take my meaning.'

Despite the Board's 'non religious' character, it utilised key religious leaders to force issues of concern:

'The Chief Rabbi and Archbishop used to meet the Commissioner, I think once a year, and believe me the Chief Rabbi would be briefed to the eye balls on security, facts, figures, you name it.'

In order to bring about the desired change the Board was able to mobilise a number of important individuals in the legal justice system (see Chapter 3, Kaye 1993, Cohen 1994).

The DERG director elaborates on the Board's efforts to outlaw particular forms of anti-Semitic behaviour:

'We have considerable support on this issue. Sir Peter Imbert spoke out on the issue of racial incitement recently at one of our recent functions.'

An illustration of the type of resources the Board is able to rely on in the process of exercising influence, is illustrated by the Director's comment on one of the responses developed against new forms of anti-Semitic literature:

'We have adopted a strategy to bring about changes in legislation and have set up a working party headed by a distinguished QC, a member of the Board's Parliamentary and Legal Committee, to examine the issue and put forward some proposals.'

Elaborating on the above comments he continues:

'We feel the existing legislation can't deal with the more pernicious forms of racist harassment. We have made various recommendations which were quite different than those of the CRE and the representations made by the Muslim community.'

The Board's access to expert resources and how it is able to address the aforementioned legislative problem is highlighted in its sophisticated approach:

'The problem is it is too unwieldy, therefore if you alter the actual wording of the Act without substantially altering the intent of the Act we can deal with more issues. Our ideas on this matter are reflected in our submission to the Home Affairs Committee on Racial Violence.'

Several examples were found which demonstrates the unprecedented influence exercised by the Board. The Police Commander:

'The Board not only dealt directly with the Yard, but had direct access to ACPO which was totally unprecedented. No other ethnic group that I know of had that type of access. But what really drives the issue home is the fact that many of the issues they wanted to raise were strictly London based, which had nothing to do with most ACPO members.'

Continuing on a similar theme:

'We did spend a disproportionate amount of time and energy on them. For example we established a national indexing system on anti-Semitic material. We have done this for no other ethnic groups; even though many of them have had people killed due to racist violence. I am talking about a system set up completely independently from Special Branch.'

While the above findings relate to the ability of the Board to gain access to powerful decision-makers and bring about improvements in the police's intelligence gathering capacity. Clear examples of the Board's ability to achieve results despite police reluctance¹ were found.

The Police Commander elaborates on a well-known case examined by Cohen (1994):

'Another example is the case of Lady Jane Birchwood, who was charged for disseminating anti-Semitic literature. We simply wouldn't have taken her seriously if it wasn't for the pressure they brought to bear². Much of the material had been around for ages and to be honest in this day and age would only interest half-wits.'

Some cynicism was found about the political motives of the Board's handling of matters relating to anti-Semitism:

'I can remember being invited to address at one of the Board's meetings, there must have been about 500 people there. The thrust of my speech was that their perceptions of being under threat were greater than the objective reality. To be honest, I received a severe whipping; they didn't like it at all.'

Continuing the Commander remarks:

'I may sound a bit cynical, but I really believe that there is a far more simple explanation to most of this. The Board of Deputies is paid and funded by Jews themselves, especially business and the City Jews in particular. When these people have received this money they have to account to their paymasters and justify how the money is being spent. I wouldn't be surprised that a lot of this money they pour into this security activity must be for ulterior motives.'

Despite the evidence of initial reluctance by the police, in this instance the research found a significant degree of satisfaction on the Board's ability to bring about change. The DERG director sums up:

'Our relationship to the police is a relatively successful one. We have managed to raise their awareness on a whole range of issues where the Jewish community is concerned; as in the issue of racial attacks³, the distribution anti-Semitic literature. We have also been rather successful in the area of high holidays and have managed to get the police through ACPO to distribute information about these events, so that local police can respond accordingly.'

Summary

The policing issues of concern to the Board at a national level reflects priorities of anti-Semitism (Chapter 1). However, a specific worry was the spread of sophisticated anti-Semitic literature able to evade existing legislation. The success of the Board's intervention in these areas is a result of its status in policing matters, which provides it with access to national police leaders and senior officials, resulting in specific changes in police practice. The extent of the Board's influence can be seen by its ability to bring about police prosecution of allegedly high profile anti-Semites, despite evidence of police reservations. This demonstrates the Board's confidence and ability to depart from its consensual approach to influence when necessary (Chapter 3).

The Board was viewed by its representatives and the police as an influential organisation and a legitimate representative of the Jewish community. From the police's outlook, the Board's influence is related to the general socio-economic character of the community, the perception of its organisational capacity and contacts, making it an intrinsic part of the 'establishment'. An essential feature of the Board's authority, and one that drew comment from local representatives and police alike, was the legal status of the Board and its role as the formal representatives of its community. This acknowledgement demonstrates the authority of the Board compared with other non-white ethnic organisations and the integration of Jews in society (Chapter 1) (Modood 1993).

JEWISH AND ETHNIC MINORITY RELATIONS AND POLICING

Fear of crime and anti-Semitism are core concerns for the Board which it has been able to use legal and other forms of influencing strategies to address aspects of these problems. In other areas of worry where the Board has been unable to rely on these approaches has sought alternative methods (Chapter 1).

The Board's strategy for tackling issues of Islamic anti-Semitism and worries about mugging, led it seeking to build effective relations with other ethnic minority communities. This approach, while not completely unique in the Board's long history (Layton-Henry 1984), came about due to the ascendancy of new leadership who sought to create common cause with other ethnic minority communities.

This tactic departs significantly from the attitudes of large proportions of the Jewish community who view non-white ethnic communities in largely negative terms (Alderman 1989, Stenson and Factor 1992,). Given the difficulty separating the racist views of British Jews from the dominant white group, these attitudes towards black and Asian ethnic minority communities are not surprising.

Moreover, this shows the fundamental differences between ethnic minority communities and the questionable efficacy of using the Jewish model for groups with significantly dissimilar origins and experiences (Chapter 1). Jewish experience of racism being far more limited and a less significant factor in shaping their life experience (Rex 1973, Banton 1985, Modood 1993).

The DERG director explains the Board's change in strategy within its broader context:

*'The change in approach came with the election of Greville Janner as the President of the Board and the publication of the 'Faith in the City' which called for closer cooperation between the major religious communities, to address many social issues.'*⁴

The role of perceived anti-Semitism within ethnic minority communities was a major factor for the development of this approach:

'One of the reasons for us developing this strategy is our desire to avoid conflict with other ethnic groups. There is a growing problem with the spread of militant Islam in the country and elsewhere. Some Muslim bookshops distribute anti-Semitic literature often with Nazi origins. There is also the growth of militant Islam amongst some of the Afro-Caribbean youth.'

The issue of anti-Semitism from certain sections of the minority community was cause for anxiety and incidents of street crime involving African-Caribbeans was also cited as a pressing issue:

'There are also issues to do with the issue of victimisation of Stamford Hill Jews by black youth. We also had some nasty incidents in Hampstead, Golders Green and the Camden area where Jewish youth have been subject to robbery and violence and has led to a joint operation being launched by parents and the police.'

Ethnic Relations Strategy and Policing

The Board's strategy in attempting to influence its target communities consisted of using its access to statutory institutions with networks and contacts in those communities. Of particular value was the role of government agencies and various bodies concerned with race relations. The Board's historical role in this area is well-established and can be seen by its participation locally and nationally in local CRC's 'race relations' bodies⁵. The ability for the Board to operate in this manner illustrates the options open to it in being a white ethnic minority group with superior resources (Chapter 1).

One organisation which the Board sought to influence was the CRE. A senior CRE officer elaborates on its relationship with key decision-makers in government:

'We have a tripartite meeting between myself and the Home Office and ACPO every six months where we discuss the key issues of concern. We also meet the Commissioner at least twice a year because of the special status of the Metropolitan Police. Our general relationship with the Yard and most regional forces is very good.'

On the CRE's relationship to local communities:

'It goes without saying we have, and would like to think, that we have good relations with local communities. Most of us came from local community organisations. In fact almost all the leadership of this organisation and its staff came from years of work in our respective communities. We have good relationships, given that many of these local organisations are our eyes and ears; either through our various CRCs or directly from the community. We have very good formal and informal relations with black and Asian elected representatives across the country. Don't forget all the black and Asian MP's voted in were all members of their local CRCs at one time or another.'

Summary

The research found the Board was forced to develop different strategies to handle new policing issues involving other ethnic minority communities, departing from its traditional stance of identifying with the dominant white community, in which it is firmly established. This finding goes to the core of the research objectives set out in Chapter 1 in explaining important differences between the Jewish community and the African-Caribbean community. The Board's approach is not without serious difficulties given the differences between Jewish communities and others in question. Differences which raise serious concerns about the areas of commonality of interests; since given one of the paradoxes of assimilation of white ethnic communities, is the capacity to identify and share similar attitudes with the dominant white 'Gentile' group towards non-whites. These concerns were raised by the writer in Chapter 1 and supported by the findings.

However, the history of the Jewish community, the strength of its organisational machinery and contacts, particularly in race relations community, it has been able to exercise influence in a number of ways through central agencies like the CRE as a doorway into the various minority communities.

RESOURCES AND INFLUENCE

Whereas having access to CRE resources is essential for the Board's strategy, in turn its resources were important in determining the attitude of the CRE to it and the Jewish community. The importance of this mutual resource dependency (Ryan 1978) is illustrated in the following comments from a senior CRE officer:

'Another important characteristic of the Jewish community is that they have a very interesting community network, not only on racial attacks, but on welfare and other communal matters. They have experience in many important areas which can be useful.'

Another and more direct way the Board sought to influence specific ethnic communities was by seeking to gain access to ethnic religious associations; either through externally initiated action or by utilising group members with cross membership of these organisations (Moore 1960). The DERG director outlines some successes to date:

'We are developing strong relations with some of the most important Hindu organisations such as the National Council of Hindu temples and the National Congress of Gujaratti Organisations.'

In the case of the African-Caribbean community:

'We are also trying to develop relationships with Afro-Caribbean community through the New Assembly Church. These meetings are held under the aegis of the Council of Christian and Jews. The Vice President of The Board of Deputies is the President of the New Assembly of Churches, and has recently become the vice head of the Commission for Racial Equality.'

Regarding more political and radical associations, the Board's approach is described:

'We are developing good relations with the Anti Racist Alliance and have held several meetings with Marc Wadsworth. One of the Board's members is on the executive of the ARA.'

Concerning the ARA, the Board sought to enhance its influence by sharing its resources with the fledgling organisation⁶:

'We are trying many approaches to develop good relations with the Afro-Caribbean community. We have given practical assistance and expertise to the ARA in seeking funding.'

Another dimension of the Board's approach was based on developing support and fostering good working relations with members of the 'African-Caribbean' professional elite:

'We have held meetings with many high-profiled professionals and individuals in the Caribbean community. We helped initiate a forum with Paul Boateng and invited black professionals, such as Linbert Spencer, Jeff Crawford, Patricia Scotland QC, the new judge, but the forum collapsed⁷.'

The implicit difficulties of this approach have been outlined in Chapters 2 and 3.

PROBLEMS WITH BOARD'S ETHNIC RELATIONS STRATEGY

While the strategy adopted by the Board for improving its relationship with other ethnic minority communities is in its early stages, the potential for success seems variable in many cases and rather limited in others, due to the various fundamental differences in the cultural, social and organisational characteristics of these communities (Chapter 1). These difficulties are exacerbated by the apparent lack of communal associations that command broad support within these communities (Rex and Moore 1967, Robins 1992).

The DERG director expands on the difficulties experienced in bringing the Board's strategy into effect:

'The Afro-Caribbean community suffers from basic lack of cohesion and lacks basic infrastructure. You're not sure who you are dealing with and how much influence, or standing they actually have in their community.'

Regarding the Hindu community:

'The problems we have had with the Hindu community are that they lack basic communal infrastructure and the Board is providing expertise in helping develop their youth movement and institutions, such as student bodies.'

Commenting on the difficulties experienced with the Islamic community (Samad 1992):

'Because of the spread of militant Islam⁸ the only relations we have with the Muslim community is with small groups of relatively wealthy and moderate Muslims, like the Calamus Foundation, The Maimonides Foundation⁹ and through the Inter Faith Network.'

In the case of the African-Caribbean community, its ideological and objective interests (as illustrated in Chapter 1) serve to frustrate the Board's attempt at building bridges. An example of this difference is illustrated in the sensitivities exposed by the Board's action leading to the banning of popular African-American black power leader Minister Louis Farrakhan (Robins 1992: 71-72, 78).

The unexpected repercussions of the Board's actions are reflected in the remarks of the director to the response of the African-Caribbean community to these events:

'For example on the Farrakhan issue only a few of them actually spoke out. Paul Boateng is the only person who came to mind⁹. The Caribbean press and many others quite militantly defended the right of this anti-Semite to be allowed to address the black community in this country.'

The communal tensions caused by the Board's actions were found to have penetrated even traditionally accommodationist statutory organisations such as the CRC, which historically have been central in seeking to bring about multi-racial understanding. The local head of the CRC (featured in the African-Caribbean findings), comments on the impact of the 'Farrakhan issue':

The impact of the Board's actions is explained as follows:

'The Farrakhan issue is something that really made me have some sharp words of disagreement with my Jewish colleagues. I know and have worked with most of the Jewish leaders in this community over a very long time; whether they were Labour, Tory you name it. We have or had many of them on our Management Committee. Aurbery Rose, who is now Vice Chair of the CRE, is someone who knows me very well. My Jewish colleagues have always been able to call on me for their support, and I, on them. But I really took exception to the Board's actions regarding Farrakhan, and had to reject their request for support¹⁰. They claim he is anti-Semitic, because of some passing remarks it is alleged, but that is not the perception of a very large number of black people.'

As outlined in Chapter 1, despite Jews being used as an exemplar for other ethnic communities, these comparisons are far from useful and very misleading in many cases. Continuing his remarks on the relations between the African-Caribbean community and British Jews, the local CRC head states:

'I have been in this country and borough long enough to know this, without going into history where you see consistent patterns of Jewish exploitation and oppression of black people¹¹. The Board is proud of its long history, but conveniently forgets the role of a significant section of their own community who participated in every form of colonial exploitation and brutalisation of African and other peoples.'

Summary

A key element in the Board's strategy to address particular policing issues, is the attempt to develop closer relations with other ethnic minority communities. This constitutes a divergence from its traditional approach and brought about by new leadership and a changing environment (Chapter 1). An important dimension of this tactic is the attempt to address the spread of anti-Semitism from sections of the Muslim community.

Another point of interest is the Board's desire to protect group members from particular types of street crime by sections of the African-Caribbean community. Even though there is no evidence to suggest that these attacks are motivated by ethnic factors, the potential for them to be seen in this way is a vital consideration in the Board's response. However, the motivation to interpret these acts as anti-Semitic in character, despite the lack of evidence may well serve tactical considerations in terms of the Board's broader political strategy.

At the heart of this approach is the Board's effort to influence associations involved in race relations as illustrated by its growing influence on the CRE. The Board's greater experience of tackling racism against Jews, and superior organisational capacity acts as an important resource in its interactions with these organisations. Similar methods were utilised by the Board in its interactions with other ethnic organisations, particularly in providing practical support in areas such as funding, as well as being able to utilise its personnel within other multi-racial associations.

While the Board experienced some degree of success, it was found that relationships with Hindu associations was hindered by the lack of institutional development. In the case of the African-Caribbean community, the lack of communal infrastructure is even more pronounced. Its attempts to improve relations with Muslim communities were equally unsuccessful. The reasons for this difficulty is the spread of militant Islam and its association in the Board's mind with hostility to Israel, equating to anti-Semitism.

The African-Caribbean community illustrates much of the same political, cultural complexity and relationship to the Jewish community, as the Islamic community; further complicated by the growing popularity of Islam in popular forms of black power philosophy. The actions of the Board in the banning of leader Louis Farrakhan served to create tension, even amongst generally accommodationist sections of the African-Caribbean community and contradicting

its claims in seeking to develop effective relations with blacks, given the way it approached matters. This clearly highlights the differences and potential antagonisms between these two ethnic communities, particularly given the Jewish community's historical involvement in black oppression (Chapter 1). Issues regarding slavery are akin to a 'black holocaust' that engenders similar feelings within blacks as the Jewish Nazi experience does amongst Jews.

In this context, the Board's efforts to impute or characterise the African-Caribbean community as anti-Semitic, serves to cover key areas of vulnerability in its efforts to build political relations on its own terms. As the Farrakhan issue clearly indicates, there is little evidence to suggest that the Board's association of the black power leader with anti-Semitism, has had little effect on the Caribbean community and the degree of support demonstrated for Farrakhan. Again, this is easily understood given the different approaches and models of leadership the African-Caribbean community has evolved and what the group respects and responds to.

The Board's ambitions to develop closer relations with high profile members of the African-Caribbean accommodationist elite, illustrates the dilemma if not futility of such an approach. Many of this social strata are subject to group hostility given their accommodationist values and 'white lifestyles', seen as anathema to the majority of the group (Chapter 2).

THE AFRICAN-CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY AND POLICING

The policing problems experienced by the African-Caribbean community on the estate reflected those already outlined in Chapters 2 and 3. During the 1980s the issue of 'mugging' was widely reported in the local media and was a major point of concern. The findings illustrates how these problems also undermines relations with other ethnic minority communities (Robins 1992: 19, Chong 1993)¹². Those communities principally affected are Asians living in close proximity with African-Caribbeans and contributes to the negative perceptions of the latter (Chapters 1 and 3).

The leader of a Pakistani association in a neighbouring part of the area, with a number of group members on the estate, comments on the relationship between his ethnic community and African-Caribbeans:

'We have had some trouble with some black youth but not whites. The majority of whites around here are Irish and they don't create any problems for us. We have good relations with them.'

The local head of the CRC (African-Caribbean) who played an important mediating role during this episode provides a qualified explanation of events¹³:

'This issue was complete nonsense. There were crimes against people who were seen as being easy targets, such as drunken Irish men and Asians on the estate, because they did not put up much resistance. But there was no evidence to suggest that this was racially motivated, even though this was played to the hilt in order to get transfers by Asians into areas with greater concentrations of their community.'

Similar sentiments were expressed by a female African-Caribbean Detached Community Worker working on the estate, one of many employed by the local authority since the riots of the 1980s (Small 1994):

'The issue of mugging is something which is really milked from all quarters on the estate, the police, and the Asian community in particular.'

The findings show how the issue of mugging was complicated by claims of racism, which were viewed as expedient in nature, but contributed in making common cause against African-Caribbean community given the shared prejudice of other communities (Chapter 1).

The role of hard drugs on the estate and its connection to criminally-related sub-cultures (Robins 1992: Chapter 3, Davies 1998) was an issue of great concern. The spread of crack-cocaine constitutes a new development and one requiring immediate action for the African-Caribbean community (Chapters 1, 2 and 3) and is explained by the leader and co-founder of the once leading organisation on the estate:

'People particularly parents are concerned about the shootings and stabbing of their kids, most of which are drug-related, which stems from depravation and the situation that people find themselves in.'

One of the problems which leaders face is tackling the effects caused by unchecked crime on the community. A management committee member, and leading figure in the Association, expounds on the impact of hard drugs on communal life:

'Crack is a heavy problem these days, because guys are beating up their girlfriends and doing all kinds of craziness to get money for it.'

The way policing is carried out against the African-Caribbean community and its consequences for violating important group norms is illustrated:

'While those black people who hang around on the street are more a target for police, but I believe the parents of offenders or potential offenders, which means anybody who is black, are harassed the same way; and there is no regard for their age, which is a very explosive issue. For example, yesterday I had a 45 year old lady who came to see me and told me that she was stripped searched.'

In Chapters 2 and 3, the impact of police behaviour in the criminalisation of the African-Caribbean community was illustrated. This was an important issue of concern, especially regarding the treatment of older women and rooted in values around motherhood and the status of age in African based cultures, and illustrates one aspect of the shared belief system of this community (Chapter 2). Disrespect to mothers being seen as a serious cultural violation (Perkins 1975: 32-36, Chapter 1). This can be contrasted with the historical response of Asians to the targeting of vulnerable members of their community as victims of crime (Chapter 3).

One of the difficulties outlined in Chapter 3 is how police racism frustrates their ability to carry out legitimate functions. The Forum's leader describes the difficulties involved:

'A couple of youngsters were going through the estate with one of them carrying his video. It is not the fact that the police stopped them, because they had the right particularly under the circumstances. It was the way they were treating the youngsters, like they had the right to push them around; as if black people are going to stand there and watch that type of thing. They were eventually forced to call for back up right from Wembley, because they were taking serious licks, and some got hospitalised for a good while.'

The consequences of the police's behaviour and its implications is highlighted by the leader of the Support Group who explains:

'As I got closer I could hear how the police was talking to a brother¹⁴ really rough and aggressive, and he was telling him that the video was his and trying to explain where he was going with it. But the police did not want to know and one of them grabbed hold of him and the struggling started. He (the police officer) then turned to me and said, 'shut up you wanker'. I swore back at him, the next thing I knew is that both the police officers grabbed me and took me towards the van, but I managed to get away. Three days later they arrested me.'

Summary

In Chapter 1, one of the key research objectives was cited as identifying policing issues of concern for the African-Caribbean community. The policing issues found in the research were those linked to the matter of racial disadvantage and the types of over-policing historically associated with the black people outlined in Chapters 2 and 3. Central to these problems is the issue of harassment of young males and their families by the police.

The sensitivity of mugging was intensified given that many cases involved other ethnic minority communities. This illustrates how black offending affects other ethnic communities and contributed to negative perceptions of the African-Caribbean community cited in Chapter 1. The role of African-Caribbean males in crime and how it contributes to popular negative perceptions, is qualified by the findings expressing concern in how these incidents of crime are exaggerated or used for ulterior motives.

The research found the concern with police stop and searches was crystallised in an incident over a video recorder, resulting in violence between African-Caribbean males and

the police and negative coverage of the former in the local press. This finding illustrates the precarious relationship between the African-Caribbean community, the police and the nature of policing in communities with a history of rebellious masculinity and traditions of warriorship (outlined in Chapter 2); more so involving the police than any other section of society (Chapters 2 and 3). The consequences of which being African-Caribbeans feeling less restrained in the use of force against the police than other disadvantaged communities.

The spread of crack-cocaine, and issues associated with it, was found to create concern within the community and indicative of a new set of policing problems (Chapter 1). One important finding was the impact of the more aggressive policing on the residents of the estate, especially for deteriorating social relations, as in the abuse of women. The significance of police ill-treatment of older women, in particular, was seen as a clear violation of Caribbean cultural norms. The result of which is to challenge the cultural expectation of African-Caribbean men as the ultimate protectors of the vulnerable in their society.

ASSOCIATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS AND POLICING

The Association

In Chapter 2 the paradigm which structures the spectrum of thinking in the African-Caribbean community, which has at its centrepiece a historical suspicion to group members on its cultural boundaries was outlined (Baker 1994). This framework is important in understanding the potential influence of black power leaders and their ability to identify with the values and sensibilities of significant sections of the community (Chapter 3).

The research found evidence of the Association's ability to exercise influence in terms of increasing awareness and mobilising important parts of the estate community (Chapter 3, Levidow 1987: 81)¹⁵. This finding challenges the dominant perception of African-Caribbean leaders and demonstrates the type of practical work they carry out in tackling some of the underlying problems affecting their community (Chapters 2 and 3).

The Association's founder expands on their approach:

'What we tried to do, was not only try to educate young people about the negative effects of drugs and crime, by developing and using their entrepreneurial skills and other talents.'

Continuing:

'I think we were very successful in terms of turning many people away from crime because many of those who were on the street hustling were the same people who used to attend our programmes and activities.'

The Support Group leader comments on the Association's achievements:

'They were very successful and nobody can take that away from them. The vibe was in the air and Leo and those guys really gave many for the first time an opportunity to make a life and build something. Without the hassle of dealing with white people, as if we have to beg or they are doing us a favour. A lot of brothers I know from the street who, most people would say they were too far gone to do anything with, but they did. Crime did fall because the community was not in the mood to tolerate it.'

The evidence highlights the importance of the experiences of African-Caribbean males and the appeal of the Association to this group, due to its exclusion and disempowerment by racism (Chapters 2 and 3).

The legitimacy of the Association was found to be an important factor in helping to create a relatively peaceful period in community-police relations. The Association's Chairman places this in its context:

'We used to get on quite well with the police for a while in the early days. I think they used to fear us because they realised what could happen if things went off in a place where many hate the police.'

This finding illustrates the important role of African-Caribbean leaders in creating meaningful relations with the police and the type of conditions which make that possible (Chapter 2).

The Association's leader explains his role and organisation's relationship with the police:

'I was the main source of communication and interaction between the police and the community because I am best placed to know what is going on. In fact I still am, even though the police would never admit it publicly. For example, if the community set up a group or a committee to deal with police harassment; as has been done recently, they will usually come and discuss it with me first or ask me to sit on it for advice.'

Leaders occupy critical positions in communal networks providing them with access to information, people and influence (Werbner 1991), that can be used in a variety of ways, which include assisting the police on matters of mutual interests (Friedman 1992, Grimshaw and Jefferson 1987). This is illustrated by the following:

'There were many occasions where the police were looking for particular young men and after obtaining reassurance from them we asked them to give themselves up, and they did. We had access to them at the station and the police kept their word, everything was cool.'

The Support Group

One of the most common forms of community action against police has been the use of organised forms of pressure to highlight mistreatment (Chapter 3). This response relies on a conventional approach to influence that has had varying degree of success historically,

and been particularly significant in shaping the image of African-Caribbean leaders and how they are perceived as being confrontational and unhelpful (Chapters 2 and 3).

The Support Group's approach consisted of attempting to bring about greater political accountability. Outlining the actions taken, its leader comments:

'We went to the Police Consultative Committee a few times and expressed our view'¹⁶. They took in what we were saying, but how seriously they took us I don't really know. What we really wanted to see was some action, but all they seem to do is listen and talk nothing else.'

The frustrations concerning the inadequacy of police consultative mechanisms is well-documented, given their inability to influence operational matters with relevance to communities (Morgan 1987, Keith 1993).

Another course of action adopted by the Support Group consisted of lobbying the local black MP. The Support Group leader remarks:

'A group of us went to see Paul Boateng at The House of Commons and met with him to show we meant business. He then wrote a letter to the Home Secretary asking him to come and meet the community to hear their experiences.'

Several factors seem to militate against the Support Group being able to gain intervention at the appropriate level. Given the limited nature of the incident and violence involved, while important in getting public attention was a 'one-off' incident and confined to the estate (Laveen 1980). Moreover, the status of the newly found Support Group seemed to work against the likelihood they would receive a favourable response from the Home Office (Ryan 1978). However, the evidence suggests a positive outcome:

'We met with Lord Ferris from The Home Office and told him about the type of treatment people are receiving on the estate from the police. He seemed to understand what we're saying. He said that he was looking into the matter and to see how this type of thing can be avoided on the estate, but we have not heard anything from him since last year.'

The Detached Community Worker shared a similar positive view:

'The purpose of the group was to gain attention on the issue, and they did, so they have been successful in that respect. Since the group's existence the number of reported cases of brutality and that type of thing has decreased significantly. The police have had to sharpen up their act.'

One explanation, which clarifies the apparent success of the Support Group in getting official intervention, is the status of the estate in the eyes of the political authorities, and particularly the role of the Association and its work. Robins (1992) cites the political attention the Association drew at central government level given its priorities at the time in promoting its enterprise culture. Under such circumstances the government is likely to be sensitive to local concerns of reducing tensions on the estate and not undermine the work taking place there.

One success of the Support Group is explained as:

'Most of the people who got charged like me got the charges dropped, because we were able to show that the police are just bare-faced liars and simply come here and just scrape up and abuse innocent people and get together and lie.'

The success of the Support Group in achieving its primary objectives also served to reinforce the perception of the local police being racist which compounds the view of local communities towards them (Chapters 2 and 3).

Problems with Support Group Policing Strategy

The methods used to influence the police's behaviour generally differs little between more radical elements of the African-Caribbean community, from those with more accommodatory views, which can be seen by the use of support group approach in the Stephen Lawrence campaign (Cathcart 1999). A key distinction between these orientations is the underlying explanations of police behaviour (Gutzmore 1983, Solomos 1988, Keith 1993, MacPherson 1999).

The limitations of traditional pressure group approach are explained by the Support Group leader:

'Things have been a bit quiet, but to tell the truth the police are a bit like children. If you catch them doing something and tell them not to do it, they will sit in the corner quietly on their best behaviour. But once you take your eye off them they will go back to their tricks. Look today, Leo sent a big woman¹⁷, Mrs Brown, to see me because they strip searched her and were roughing her up in the van. This is a respectable woman.'

He continues

'If something big happens, the community will be agitated and wants something done about it. What we are finding with the group, is people who were very interested don't seem bothered now that we have a result.'

The feelings of the Support Group leader illustrates the success and weakness of the protest-defensive strategy. While being effective in many instances in challenging acts of discrimination, this approach has been unable to challenge the systemic nature of police bias (Chapters 1 and 2). The consequences of this failure is the hardening of attitudes and further demonisation of the police and by extension the social system which enables it to operate in this manner (Small 1983).

The Forum

The research found evidence of improved interaction between the Forum leader and the police which was mutually beneficial (Chapter 2). The Forum leader states:

'When Inspector Chessington came to the estate he came with a very tough and confrontational attitude, until he was forced to change his attitude, because we weren't going to have him come here just like that and adopt that approach.'

Further evidence of success from the police's perspective was its role in bringing about the Forum leader's participation in particular initiatives¹⁸:

'I am in the process of becoming a Lay Visitor. I think it's a good thing, both for me and the community. When people such as myself work with the police in this way because it is good for the police to realise that there are good and ordinary black people like anyone else.'

Despite the evidence of improved relations between the Forum leader and the police, the former had little influence on core policing issues and limited to forms of passive consultation, something highly unacceptable to black power leaders (Reiner 1980 Morgan 1987, Keith 1988). The Forum's leader illustrates this point:

'Up until a year ago when the drugs thing was quite bad, say for instance in C block which was like the resident drug block. The police told us that they were going in with dogs, so basically if anybody was around that area when this took place we would know, rather than leaving it after the event which is good.'

Supportive views towards the police presence on the estate were also provided by the African-Caribbean Estate Manager (Small 1994):

'We try to get a police presence in areas which were concerning people. For instance we've had people coming to us and saying there are particular places where drug-dealing is going on and they come to us for help.'

Summary

In Chapter 1, one of the key research objectives was explained as identifying approaches used by leaders in addressing issues of concern to their communities, particularly in the areas of policing. Contrary to the traditional view of African-Caribbean leaders (Chapter 2), the research found the leaders of the Association carried out a programme of work to tackle many of the underlying issues affecting their community in the area of policing.

The Association's strategy in tackling its policing problems was believed to have been effective in beginning the process of change in two specific ways. In the first instance, it managed to motivate many young men at risk and provide an alternative structure of opportunity along with much needed role models, who they were able to culturally relate to.

Moreover, central to black power thinking is the belief in extending opportunities to group members and creating the environment necessary for them to maximise their potential. Secondly, the legitimacy of the Association and its multi-dimensional programmes assisted the process of helping to create beneficial interaction between the police and the community. Of particular importance, was the Association's ability to mediate directly between the police and suspects in a relatively unique manner highlighting the potential of the police/Association relationship.

This finding illustrates the importance of leaders in developing practices that mutually benefit the police and the community. The evidence suggests that such an outcome is more likely in areas which the police define as being central to its function, that of fighting crime. This contradicts the prevailing image of African-Caribbean leaders and suggests that more sophisticated relationships are possible under the correct circumstances (Roach 1992).

The Support Group's approach was successful due to its ability to draw the necessary attention to police behaviour. Their strategy comes from one with long antecedents (Chapter 2), and used by all sections of the community with varying degrees of success. At the same time these tactics have a limited effect in the longer term. The effects of public scrutiny brought about by the Support Group's actions contributed to a temporary respite in reports of harassment. This was reinforced by the success of the group in getting charges brought against its members dropped.

The initial relationship between the Forum and the police changed from being initially conflictual in character to more accommodating. This demonstrates how conflict between the African-Caribbean community and the police has adverse consequences on a wide range of leaders of different orientation and types of organisations, as in this case a tenant's association. However, the basis of this changing relationship was found to be largely interpersonal in nature, involving the leader of the Forum and the new Sector Inspector as part of the police's new strategy.

The dominance of police leadership in this context is seen by its ability to obtain support from the Forum's leader in participating in a widely discredited Lay Visitors Scheme. Regardless of improved interpersonal relations the Forum leader was found to have no influence on key policing action or even evidence of seeking such influence.

ASSOCIATIONAL RESPONSES TO POLICING ISSUES

The Association

The strategy used by the Association for policing issues on the estate was found to be consistent with types of black power strategies outlined in Chapters 3 and based on utilising a dual approach to address different sets of issues (Rex and Tomlinson 1979). The strategy is particularly attractive to leaders seeking to address numerous issues, while bringing together a relatively sizeable section of the community. Building institutions, combined with social-welfare and political action type activity, provides the context to motivate a wide range of people in terms of their participation and development (Chapter 2).

The research found that one-prong of the Association's strategy was based on a self-help programme that seeks to address social issues, while the other sought to influence the police.

The Association's founder explains one dimension of its strategy:

'Our vision was to help bring about the conditions where we could create the likes of Michael Jackson, the Muhammad Alis, the Peles¹⁹ so on. That's where we wanted to go to produce black people who if given the chance in whatever field could be the models of excellence.'

These comments illustrate one of the fundamental beliefs of the black power belief system that group development is seriously impeded in environments dominated by whites (Chapter 2).

The Chairman elaborates on the Association's goals and how it sought to achieve them:

'There is a word that used to be fashionable during Marcus Garvey²⁰ times which I like which explains it very simply. "Racial uplift". We were trying to uplift our people from the degrading state this society has put us in and has taught us how to undermine who and what we are, rather than to treasure our genius and potential.'

Black oppression and resistance to white racism placed males at severe disadvantage creating significant tensions over the course of history in various forms. The contemporary experience of many young British-born African-Caribbean males in many respects is as

acute, if not more, than those experienced by their immigrant forebears (Chapters 2 and 3).

The Association's Chairman explains how the impact of socio-economic disadvantage structure the lives of young men and the cultural expectations concerning key aspects of masculine identity (Chapters 2 and 3, Hercules 1989: 80-81, Chevannes 2001,)²¹:

'Black men have been particularly undermined in the sense that the ability to do what is culturally expected, i.e. maintain and supply their families has become very difficult. The white education system is unable to teach and relate to them. That's where the conflict start because black men are not like women and the rest is predictable from there'

One of the consequences of the exclusion of African-Caribbean males is that it further complicates the relationship with the police and the environment in which African-Caribbean leaders have to operate in (Chapters 1 and 2).

The rise of the Association and the specific events which shaped its ascendancy helped to contribute to an environment for greater cooperation and more sophisticated ways of relating to the police (Brown 1982, Cumberbatch and Tadesse 1987: 63, Roach 1992).

Commenting on the second strand of the Association's strategy, its Chairman remarks:

'We did have a very clear view of how we wanted to deal with the police. Leo²² was the major person who took the lead and instigated work in this area. Because we did not have a riot here, this enabled us to have quite a good relationship with the police.'

The Support Group

The strength of sentiments within the African-Caribbean community on the issue of self-help is an important factor for the appeal of black power thinking, albeit not unique to this perspective. Self-help has also been utilised by sections of the black community to promote interests at odds with those of the former (Marable 1983, Layton-Henry 1984: 174).

The popularity of self-help and its association with black power sympathies can be seen in the response of the Support Group leader, and member of the informal black power male network on the estate (Werbner 1991). Commenting on the problems faced in addressing many of the policing issues on the estate. The Support Group leader remarks:

'The way I check it, black people have to be doing things for themselves; getting people off the streets into work, or training and things like that. I am serious, white people cannot do it, and we should not expect them to, because we know their agenda.'

The need for economic independence in black power thinking from whites and other ethnic groups helps shape the nationalistic, and often prejudiced attitudes against these communities (Hiro 1973, Cashmore 1983, Waldinger et al 1990, Modood, Berthould et al 1997). These issues are crystallized in the Farrakhan dispute highlighted in the Jewish community findings. This sensitivity to economic dependence can be seen in the comments of the Support Group leader:

'If you look around here we are the majority, but we own nothing. There are a small number of Asians around here, and they own everything. Even though they provide a service, these people aren't doing us any favours and most of them don't like black people. They simply like our money.'

The Forum

Since the mid-1960s governments have sought to improve matters concerning urban development and in some cases race relations through centrally driven programmes (Stewart and Whitting 1982). The history of these programmes have been extremely checkered and characterised by short-termism, poor co-ordination and shaped largely by political considerations. Another problem with these programmes is their top-down nature which can have undesirable effects on the effectiveness of local communities. Stewart and Whitting (ibid) have detailed the experiences of the African-Caribbean community with these types of government-led programmes, which has not been good. However, the dependency on such programmes by many communities is reflective of the way racial disadvantage has limited alternative options (Chapters 1 and 3).

The approach adopted by the Forum is seen by its role in two major central government development initiatives. Commenting on these programmes, the Forum leader states:

'Both HAT's (Housing Action Trust) and City Challenge provides us with a good opportunity to do something constructive to make a serious change to the estate and create jobs and training for those who need them.'

However, as Billis (1993) Taub, Surgeon et al. (1977) has argued the ability for local community organisations to respond effectively to central government programmes is contingent on numerous factors, including their capacity in resource terms, structural autonomy etc.

Given the policing strategies adopted by the two other African-Caribbean groups already examined, the approach used by the Forum provides an insight to its leaderships thinking on the issue and related matters. The Forum's approach to policing is explained by its leader:

'We don't have any specific programmes with regards the police, but we have good personal relations. I know many of them of all different ranks.'

A specific illustration of these improved relations is provided:

'I would say Ian²³ is really what I would call a community policeman. Now I can't say a word against him, or many of the officers who I meet on the estate. He does his best for the estate.'

The Forum's leader approach to policing was based primarily on improving interpersonal relations between her and police representatives. This is indicative of the 'bad apple' theory of police racism (Keith 1993), unlike other radical perspectives which sees the problems regarding policing in largely systemic and cultural terms. The Forum leader's comments reflect the view that racism is a product of individual or group prejudice that is potentially transitory in character.

The response of the Support Group to policing (on the contrary) did not seek to improve relations with the police and consistent with the attitudes of the African-Caribbean community outlined (in Chapter 2) of wanting to assert their legal entitlements without seeking participation. This outlook is consistent with that of many blacks in seeing the police as beyond redemption, and closer to the black power perspective in seeking in effect separation from what is seen as a quintessentially racist institution (Udom-Essen 1962).

The Support Group leader elaborates on his attitudes to the police:

'We never had any relationship with the police and really don't want one. What I mean is the police have a job to do, and it is in everybody's interest to help them. But the problem is the police are dishonest and you cannot trust them.'

The centrality of racial and gender conflict as illustrated in Chapters 2 and 3, and the importance of fear in structuring African-Caribbean-police/black/white interaction, has been an important factor in history masking the 'carefree and jovial' image of the Caribbean and its people. A particular aspect of this relationship is the deep-seated animosity that significant sections of the African-Caribbean male community have for white men, who are viewed as less than equal in inter-personal terms.

How white men are viewed by large numbers of African-Caribbean males is described in the remarks of the Support Group leader in explaining police behaviour:

'There is something about black people which we do not even understand which terrifies whites, which is why they do what they do. The police are the worst. If you're a white wanker and you want to get even with black boys join the police. But as soon as we stand up to them they get terrified and hysterical and want to call in the SAS. I can't work it out what is it about these people.'

Central to these widely held views of African-Caribbean males is the belief that the white police's behaviour is shaped on one level by feelings of inadequacy (Fanon 1967: 162)²⁴. This explains the perception that the police operate with little constraints when interacting with African-Caribbean males and why they seek to victimise them (Smith and Gray 1983, Gutzmore 1983, Hercules 1989).

Summary

The type of strategy relied on by the Association in addressing policing issues sought to tackle some of the underlying social issues contributing to policing problems particularly in employment, at the same time working to improve relations with the police. An important target for the Associations' programmes were young men, whose experiences led to alienation from white society given their inability to meet cultural expectations and contributes to offending behaviour. The issue of economic and other forms of empowerment are important in shaping the relationship between black power leaders and

this specific section of the community.

The Association sought to utilise self-help initiatives to address the problems mentioned, while the Forum was dependent on its involvement in two centrally funded programmes. The Support Group however, while acknowledging the broader social context in shaping the community's policing problems and articulating black power solutions to address them, instead chose a more narrow focus of providing immediate assistance to group members in their difficulties with the police. The evidence illustrates the tensions between African-Caribbean males and their demeaning views of white males in the shape of the police, who were seen as attempting to destroy the life chances of African-Caribbean males with their predatory behaviour.

POLICE PERCEPTIONS OF POLICING PROBLEMS AND ISSUES AFFECTING THE AFRICAN-CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY

A significant aspect of African-Caribbean masculine sub-culture is the issue of resistance to white racism and has roots in the events leading up to and characterising the slave experience (Chapter 2). Common to most of these sub-cultures are perceptions of black masculinity being oppositional to notions of white compliance in many areas which complements broader cultural norms. Non-compliance or finding ways to subvert white expectations are highly admired values in the African-Caribbean community (Baker 1994).

The research found evidence of how the attitudes and behaviour of African-Caribbean youth played a crucial role in creating an environment of uncertainty for the police. The Divisional Commander elaborates on how aspects of African-Caribbean masculine sub-cultures contribute to undermining this relationship:

'The problem we have on the estate is the majority of people arrested are young black males, because of the nature of the community and the types of crimes in question. When they are arrested because of the egoism of many, they find it difficult to say that they were well treated while in custody. This is simply a job to the majority of policemen.'

The void created by the decline of Rastafarianism (Chapter 3) was filled by the Jamaican 'ragamuffin' masculine sub-culture Sewell (2000: 150). While this sub-culture asserts its pride in terms of its racial, cultural and class characteristics, this is reinforced by its tough masculine physicality.

Commenting on the ragamuffin sub-culture and its consequences for policing on the estate. The Divisional Commander remarks:

'One of the problems with many of these young black males is this ragamuffin²⁵ self concept, which you may be familiar with, which doesn't allow them to back down; because they have to be seen hard all the time which is pointless because it doesn't help them, it doesn't help the community and it definitely doesn't help us.'

One of the difficulties the police face in this sort of situation is being unable to appreciate the different perspectives of African-Caribbean men who interpret their behaviour in different ways; particularly concerning definitions of personal violation and reasonableness (Norris and Fielding 1993). As seen in Chapter 3 these dynamics have structured this

relationship historically.

The problems encountered by the police were exacerbated by the lack of harmony in the wider community (Banton *ibid*, Cumberbatch and Tadesse 1987, Skogan 1990). The Sector Inspector comments:

'Look at the estate for example there are those who genuinely try to cooperate with us and those who seem hell bent to destroy and undermine anything we do. We had a lot of problems down there with the previous Chairman who was very anti and made it difficult for us to carry out some drug raids in some of the blocks.'

The issue of mugging has a controversial status in the relationship between the African-Caribbean community and the police (Chapters 2 and 3). At the core of this controversy has been the accusations of the police criminalising this community by the misuse of statistics. The political sensitivity of mugging on the estate and its implications for the police's handling of this issue is elaborated by the Divisional Commander:

'One of my colleagues, the Chief Superintendent, was asked a straightforward question by the press during an interview about mugging²⁶. When he answered that our statistics show that the majority of muggings are carried out by young blacks it finished his career. There isn't any political will from the hierarchy to stand up and confront the problem.'

Concern about the spread of crack-cocaine²⁷ and its numerous ramifications as described in Chapter 3, was found to be an issue of high priority for policing the estate (Williams 1985, Grimshaw and Jefferson 1987, Robins 1992: 103, 106). The Divisional Commander explains:

'Another related problem we are concerned about is the link between crack-cocaine and firearms. Firearms create a problem on three fronts. First of all there's the fact that someone is shot or murdered. It makes no difference the individual's colour or whether or not they are involved in the crack trade. We simply can't allow people to believe they can behave in this way. The second aspect to this, and we have been saying this for a while, that if we don't do something some of our officers will get killed. Finally there is the straightforward issue that someone might get shot in the middle of a London street at 3.00pm in the afternoon while they're minding their own business; because lets face it these people don't have any concern for anyone be they white or black.'

One approach adopted by the police to tackle gun-crime was the formulation of a targeted

response, consisting of the use of video and other forms of intelligence gathering for large-scale raids (Squires 2002, Bowling and Phillips 2003).

The Divisional Commander elaborates on a proposed police operation:

'The idea behind this operation which is going live in a couple of days is to give a very loud and clear message that we are prepared to do something about it, because we are not going to tolerate it. We have had 19 reported shootings and four murders in the last year, all of which are related to drugs on the estate and four similar estates.'

In Chapter 2 the issue of the relationship between African-Caribbean leadership and the police was examined. At the heart of this interaction is the assumption by the police that the role of black leaders is primarily to provide support for their objectives. A weakness with this view of leaders is while they do share important areas of common interest with white institutions, it fails to appreciate the differences in outlook and priorities in specific contexts.

Given the sensitive nature of particular types of policing tactics, obtaining the support of community representatives is of great importance (Keith 1988: 181). However, in certain circumstances even the support of members of the accommodationist strata cannot be taken for granted by the police (Myrdal 1994, Powers 1996).

The Divisional Commander outlines his course of action regarding the CRC:

'I am at the stage now where I have to approach people like Neville, and to tell him our plans and present our evidence, to solicit support and help us to communicate our motives to the community. I must confess I am not very confident we will get the type of support we need.'

The desperation of police attempts to obtain support is illustrated by the Divisional Commander's revealing contradictory comments on the status of the CRC on the Police Consultative Group (Werbner 1991: 17):

'We have a representative from the CRC who attends to give us the occasional report, but I don't see them as representing the community. We don't have anyone from the estate.'

Similar frustration was found in attempts by the police to gain the support of the local MP:

'He is always willing to act on behalf of his so-called community's interests, and is not reluctant to call me to halt in Westminster²⁸. But when we ask him for his support on these matters, at the end of the day he always sits on the fence.'

Summary

A basic problem experienced by the police on the estate was related to its poor relations with young males which has strong cultural and historical underpinnings. This is highlighted in the numerous masculine sub-culture which have evolved from within the African-Caribbean community which have at their core place high value in resisting white men, for whom they share disdain (Chapters 2 and 3).

The research found that the primary issues of policing concern on the estate from the police view reflected issues that have shaped the relationship between the police and the African-Caribbean community. Mugging is one such issue which was found to be an extremely sensitive matter, which given history, is unsurprising (Chapters 1, 2 and 3).

Drug and gun-related crime are a new set of issues which shape police priorities regarding the African-Caribbean community (Chapter 1), and reflects important socio-economic and political changes which have taken place with disproportionate impact on the weakest sections of society. However, an important consideration in police thinking about these developments is the threat it constitutes to them; particularly the increased use of firearms.

Police concerns were exacerbated by their inability to obtain political support from community leaders or representatives for proposed operations. Though the police claimed support from older sections of the community, this needs to be qualified, given clear evidence that many of the incidents involving young males have both direct and indirect consequences for members of this age group (Chapters 1 and 2).

The inability of the police to obtain the required support from sections of the community, demonstrates the significance of policing matters historically for the legitimacy and status of leaders (Chapters 1 and 2). Under such circumstances it is highly unlikely that African-Caribbean leaders will offer their support in particular types of police actions. Lack of trust in police data on controversial issues and the negative consequences of how the police carry out specific types of operations, has created ideological convergence on such matters which explains the reluctance to come forward on the part of leaders.

Faced with the problem of having no major leaders who could be called on to support police plans, the police sought to exploit the structural weakness of the community to approach individuals or agencies, who could at the bare minimum symbolically fulfil the aforementioned role with little success.

ASSOCIATIONAL TYPES AND POLICING

An essential factor in how ethnic communities relate to the police and their capacity to exercise influence is the nature and character of their communal associations (Chapters 1, 2 and 3). The Association was established in 1981 at a time of high levels of awareness surrounding racial inequality. It was founded by two young men in their thirties raised in the area, who met in prison while serving sentences for robbery (see Robins 1992: 48).

A crucial dimension of the appeal of black power ideology is its ability to relate to the experiences of the group through the provision of identifiable male role models (Pinkney 1976: 98-100, Rex and Tomlinson 1979: 259, Hercules 1989: 97-98). These role models reflect the experiences of group members and their efforts to advance black people in difficult circumstances. This explains the importance of the warrior ethic in African-Caribbean culture in sharp distinction to that of passive compliance and accommodation seen as unmanly (Alexander 1996). It also explains the type of personal characteristics which are admired by this ethnic group and reflected in popular leaders (Stogdill 1981, Chapter 2).

Commenting on the evolution of the Association's black power philosophy, a founding member explains this process of transition (Perkins 1975: Chapter 5, Abdul Malik 1967: Chapters 4-5, Hercules 1989):

'You see in prison there are a lot of conscious brothers there, because for many it may be one of the first times they really sit back and look at their lives and really check how come they end up where they are. That's where I met Leo and some other brothers, and we used to have some serious discussions and read stuff about Malcolm²⁹ and those kinds of brothers.'

Another dimension of this ideology is the notion of black men being responsible for the leadership of their communal affairs, seen most clearly in the works of black power leader Marcus Garvey (Henrik Clarke 1973) and his descendents like Malcolm X (Haley 1965).

A co-founder of the Association (hereafter called leader) comments on the impact of black power role models and ideas on their personal and organisational development.

'When some of us begun to check it, many of those guys, like Malcolm and the Black Panthers, George Jackson³⁰ were brothers like us doing the same things we were doing, having the same conflicts with white teachers; white employers who want to take liberties, and that kind of thing. So, many of us began to look up to these brothers and used their lives as examples.'

One aspect of the early work of the Association which demonstrates the type of activities undertaken by leaders in addressing many of the group's social issues, and an area where the founder demonstrated a degree of talent, was the development of small-scale entrepreneurial strategies to generate money and to enhance skills and abilities (Udom-Essien 1962: Chapter 6, Levidow 1987, Heineman 1972)³¹. The Association's leader explains:

'One of the first things we really were interested in was raising and making money. One of the things I learnt on the streets when we were involved in crime is how to make money through juggling, buying and selling things, clothes, jewellery anything worth buying. So we started off here because we knew how to operate as entrepreneurs, and I was quite good at it.'

Continuing:

'We used to do a lot of buying and re-selling back to the community. Another thing we did was to set up a programme whereby we used to buy old furniture and repair them and sell them to various organisations and business. Many of the women used to make clothes which we sold to shops and at large functions like the Summer Festival. There was a lot of demand for their products because they produce good quality items at competitive prices.'

The Association leader explains its success in spreading an entrepreneurial ethos:

'One of the things we are proud of is the number of people who we have helped to establish themselves in business. This is something which our enemies want to forget. We have helped well over 100 people to start up on their own; whether as consultants or providing services, small companies of tradesmen, many of whom got their first break here.'³²

A major feature of African-Caribbean leadership is the very personalised nature of legitimacy³³, and the crucial role these individuals play in critical and defining instances eg the process of creating organisations, which contributes to this (Gouldbourne 1991). The personal nature of leadership legitimacy is clearly seen in the evolution of the Association

as explained by its Chairman:

'My involvement with the Association started really in a gambling session I was having in a pub where Leo used to come to quite frequently and would seek to stop the game or whatever was going on. He talked about this idea he was interested in for a couple of minutes. To be honest at the time I wasn't interested, nor was anyone else to tell you the truth. But to his credit he used to come back at least once a week for quite a while.'

One success of the founders of the Association in turning an initial group of two people into a large organisation was their ability to gain the commitment of community members (Miller 1974, Florin and Jones et al. 1986, Schien 1989: 66). The Chairman explains the motivations leading to his involvement:

'One day I was listening to him and he said they wanted some coordinators for some projects they had in mind and he pointed to some offices they had just finished building, where these coordinators were going to be. More through curiosity than anything, I got up and looked at the office and when I sat down again I kept on thinking about a dream or image I always had as a child; to be a boss somewhere in my own office; to be in charge of something. Just like that I went up and volunteered myself to become a coordinator and that's how it started.'

The status conferring capacity of voluntary participation as a form of motivation is clearly evident in shaping the involvement of the now Chairman (Moore 1960). This incentive is particularly salient given the role of discrimination in limiting the opportunities of African-Caribbean men (Chapter 3).

The motivation created by the Association is further illustrated by its head of Leisure, Arts and Sports:

'We used to hang around in the youth club when Leo started to get things moving. Leo asked me and some of the other guys to do the club up, paint and decorate it, and if we did that we would eventually run it. I asked him to repeat what he said, because I thought I had mis-heard him and I know I wasn't the only one. After a short while, just as Leo said, we got control of the club and things really took off and started to happen. We were running all kinds of programmes six days a week. Drama classes for kids which they loved, you name it.'

While the activities described were vital in attracting a small group of people to the ideas of the founders, one of whom who had begun to establish himself as the most prominent leader. Critical to his status was the possession of highly valued masculine characteristics.

Specifically his acts of personal and moral courage, which are important aspects of the African-Caribbean warrior ethic (Chapter 2). This notion of 'manliness' is central to black power ideology and helps to explain the heroic qualities associated with leaders who represent this tradition.

The research found the role of the Association's leader in defusing a potentially volatile situation was critical to his eventual prominence:

'Rumours had been spreading for a while that there was going to be trouble on the estate because of skinheads coming to look for trouble. Sometime before they had dubbed race hatred slogans, and that type of thing, there was always something in the air; rumours of people being attacked or chased. One night people begun to gather, many of the youth were prepared for war and were tooled up with knives, machetes, sticks, and petrol bombs. At the same time the police started to arrive in large numbers flooding the area which only made things worse because of the history of bad blood.'

He continues:

'When I saw this I ran over to the police and asked them could I use their PA system, but they did not have one. So me and another member of the organisation begun to shout out to people to come into the club or go home, but people weren't moving. When I went over to some of the guys and begun to reason with them that we shouldn't destroy the estate, especially when we were trying to do things to improve it. They told me to get inside because they did not want me and the other members to get hurt, but we refused and kept pleading with them. Some of the youths were very angry and asked me whose side was I on. But when they heard what we had to say and saw we weren't moving many of them threw away their weapons and begun to drift away. Tell you the truth we were shocked when this happened, because you know our people; especially the youth when they are vex and are ready nothing ain't going to stop them.'

This finding illustrates that the warrior ethic not only manifests in rebellious masculinity (Sale 1997) or the capacity to orchestrate or lead dissent, but also the capacity to bring about harmony through negotiation backed by personal authority. This demonstrates another dimension of the values around warriorship which is related to governance and order, insofar as those who possess the requisite resources are able to bring about the conditions for cooperation (Mair 1979, Mandela 1995).

The Leisure Arts and Sports Coordinator comments on the influence of the Association's founder, again demonstrating his personal qualities:

'The other day a guy came into where I work and told me that he knew me or should I say saw me on another occasion. When I asked him where he knew me from, he told me that he had come on the demonstration that Leo had led to the town hall. This was the only time in this guy's life that he had ever participated in anything like that before or since. There you have it.'

Summary

The Association emerged in an environment where racial disadvantage was a national concern and an important consideration in shaping leadership behaviour and the organisation's character. The riots which spread through the country, were an indication of the failures of government attempts, over decades, to accommodate second generation British-born blacks. The life experiences and outlook of those who went on to create the Association is typical of many African-Caribbean males which was examined in Chapters 2 and 3.

The Association was brought into existence by a small group of young males who were influenced by important figures in black political history. A vital characteristic of the organisation is its black power ideology. The effect of black power role models on African-Caribbean males was seen as empowering in contrast to the type of role models advanced by the dominant group (Chapter 2).

A key element of the Association's strategy is based on self-help and creating the conditions for independence and empowerment for the excluded in providing alternative and affirmative opportunity structures. Many programmes established by the Association were based on the cultural strengths of the group, and skills, which had been acquired in trying to meet basic needs. Moreover, the work undertaken by it highlights the role of leaders in tackling many issues contributing to their community's policing difficulties. Accordingly, self-help was seen as both instrumental and expressive in character.

The broader national context in the creation of the Association came at a time of high racial conflict. However, it was the successful intervention of one individual in a specific incident which contributed to his unchallenged position as leader in the local estate community. The authority of this individual clearly illustrates some of the positively valued masculine norms of the African-Caribbean community.

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE, POWER AND DECISION-MAKING

Despite the high-profiled nature and centrality of the Association's charismatic founder (Gouldbourne 1991) the organisation was structured through its management committee, with power vested in the offices of service area heads. In this respect the design of the Association was no different from other social-welfare type organisations (Billis 1993). At its apex was the Chairman and leader specifically responsible for liaising with external agencies, public relations, as well as the major area of youth development.

Management Committee members were responsible for the management of their particular areas of activity. The Chairman explains the process of selecting individuals to the Management Committee:

'The way people got appointed to the Council was through their involvement in the organisation's work. They had to work in the programmes that we organised and work their way up so that we could see their skills and qualities before we recommend them.'

On the structure of specific programmes the Chairman remarks:

'Each section of the organisation, such as the Arts and Entertainment, was set up and structured whereby we had our own committee and individuals elected as members from those who volunteered or participated in activities.'

Power and Decision-Making

According to Gouldbourne (1991) charismatic and formal authority are incompatible basis for leadership legitimacy. This is contradicted by the research findings. Decision-making within the Association was found to be collective. The potential influence of its founder was in some instances more significant than other members, given his unquestioned authority:

'Most of the time everybody has the same influence, but in others where there was a balance of a doubt I may get the support. But it is nothing that could be taken for granted. There have been major challenges to me from other members, which I have managed, to survive³⁴. If what you're arguing does not make sense, whether you are the founder or not does not really make any difference.'

The Association has a two-tier hierarchical structure that came together in its Leadership Council and in the role of the Chairman. The first tier of the structure regulates its internal departments and resembles that of any large formal organisation (Billis 1993, Tsourdeous and Chapin 1965).

The Chairman elaborates on these arrangements:

'The way the Council works is that everybody who sits on it occupies a leadership role within the organisation. My leadership responsibility was for the Arts and Entertainment Division at the time. At that time there were 12 members of the Council responsible for a variety of things. There was education and training; there was sports, there was a business section, youth section, there was an adult development section, information and technology, and administrative and finance sections.'

The second tier controlled the individual companies and independent projects accountable to the organisation, such as a bookshop and training company.

The consequence of the decision to accept external funding was the need to accept non-ethnic group members on the Centre Board of Directors (BOD). This was not found to threaten the dominance of the Association or its ideals concerning black control and power (Chapters 1, 2 and 3):

'The Centre Board of Directors consisted of 12 individuals, 7 from the Association, 1 came from the Council, 1 was an Asian representative and 1 came from the Neighbourhood Forum; and a representative from another similar estate's forum which had 2 co-opted individuals.'

Origins of the Neighbourhood Forum

The Forum is a loose collection of local tenants' bodies, social clubs, pensioner's groups etc. Its remit is relatively wide, and seeks to promote the welfare of estate residents in a range of social policy areas. The most obvious being the provision of amenities and the upkeep of the estate (Chapter 2).

The leading figure and driving force in the initial establishment and prominence of the Forum was the Rastafarian leader of another tenants' association on the estate. Like the leader of the Association, he was an advocate of black power philosophy and member of the informal black power network on the estate (Werbner 1991, Chapter 3).

The local Estate Manager describes the important role played by the Forum's founder:

'He was one of the major players in getting that group set up. He saw there was a need and did something about it. He started arranging meetings with the Department of Environment and the Housing Department to get something done.'

The present Forum leader elaborates on the significance of its founder Carlton Brown (CB) in its evolution:

'One individual who was particularly influential in the Forum and the estate, generally amongst black people, fortunately or unfortunately, was CB, or should I say was because his recent action with regards the HATs has hanged himself.'

The Forum founder's ascendancy highlights some of the personal characteristics of African-Caribbean leaders ignored in the literature (Chapter 2). CB's political legitimacy was found to be premised on his knowledge and background on the estate, and his well developed organisational and leadership abilities (Brown 1982, Cashmore 1983,). The Forum's current leader elaborates on this point:

'He was first involved in the trouble we had down here between police and squatters during the seventies. A lot of them were Rastas, and the police used the fact they were homeless to harass them which caused a lot of trouble³⁵. I suppose it is from there that he learnt so much, because he did know a lot of things; you know how to address certain things.'

Outlining some of the personal qualities which contributed to his rise to leadership, the Forum's leader comments:

'If there was a problem or there was a meeting he always spoke his mind. If there was a problem affecting the community he would do something about it and argue the case wherever, and produce and disseminate information so that the community knew what was going on. If there is such a thing as a good community leader, he was one. He was quite influential on both sides of the estate.'

The similarities in the personal qualities of the founders of the Forum, and the Association, are commented on by the Estate Manager and illustrative of core leadership characteristics (Chapter 2):

'Leo once again is like CB very articulate bright and knows the estate very well. They saw opportunities to do something for the community and took it. They were very important assets and if they had succeeded could have left a real mark for a long time to come.'

One of the perennial problems of African-Caribbean leadership is the lack of accountability in constraining damaging self-serving behaviour (, Rex and Tomlinson 1979: 260, Robins 1992). The Forum leader comments on an important deficiency of CB as a leader and personality:

'He is very skilled at understanding detail and seeing things that other people can't see, but he has a way at nit picking when he can't get his way. That's why he has been thrown out of every organisation he's been in. He has never left on his own accord or in peace.'

The local Estate Manager makes a similar comment

'My view on CB is that if he could temper or change his attitude, or I am not sure to call it views about certain things, he could be a real asset. He has his own political agenda which takes precedence with him just too often, more so than his beliefs at times. He is very bright, able and extremely professional and would be of great use.'

Citing a particular example where the personal interests of the Forum's founder and that of the community was perceived to be in conflict:

'We had great difficulty with him when we were trying to clear one of the blocks of drug dealers, who used to sell their stuff in there. Even though CB condemned the selling of drugs, for all the obvious right reasons, he did not support and done his damndest to stop the police from going in. I can appreciate that there is always a fear that these things can get slightly out of hand if the police go in. But I can't help feeling he was looking after his own political agenda and did not want to be seen to be sucking up to the police.'

The conclusions of the Estate manager placed into a broader context of what appears to be a consensus amongst African-Caribbean leaders on the estate, whether arrived at individually, or otherwise, to not support this type of police action given evidence already examined (Chapters 2 and 3).

The research found how leadership indiscretion led dramatically to the demise of the Forum's founder. The Forum's leader explains the background:

'Unfortunately he has abused his position as chair by using their facilities for party political activities. Using the platform he was given to broadcast to people telling them to vote against the HATs. Rather than giving people the pros and cons instead of trying to influence people's thinking by withholding information, which is simply out of order.'

An ex-member of the Forum's executive supports the explanation given for the rise and fall of CB, but also suggests that such behaviour is indicative of general weaknesses of African-Caribbean leadership:

'CB had a lot of influence. He is well known and respected, until he made a fool of himself with this no vote, and went around campaigning against HATs, even though the community eventually voted yes. But what has really created the tension is that even though he was sitting there negotiating on the community's behalf expressing their views and interests; while going behind people's backs and campaigning against their wishes and thinks he can get away with it. That is the problem of the community right there. We can't hold things together. Just as things are going nicely, you can predict that someone is going to put their personal business before the community. But one thing I will say he won't get away with this, people are mad.'

The Association's leader and fellow black power network member takes a more balanced view of the above developments:

'The sad thing with our people, and something we experienced from hard lessons, is that if a black leader makes a mistake, either through misjudgment or through genuine deviousness, white people will use whatever power they have to remove them. This means in effect that we will never have any real leaders because white leaders can make whatever mistakes, be involved in all sorts of nastiness and scandal and they can survive comfortably, because they are not controlled by outsiders.'

The dependency of African-Caribbean associations on the resources of external white agencies provides a powerful set of sanctions in punishing those who do not act in accordance with institutional expectations (Chapters 1 and 2; Ben-Tovim 1986).

The Estate Manager comments on the action to be taken against CB:

'It's a pity really but we have no real choice and I am in the process of evicting him from the office which we provided him to do his work. The rules are very clear and he knows that.'

The founder of the Forum was replaced with one of its members, a well-known local activist and middle-aged single parent (Robins 1992: 82). The criteria used to appoint a new

leader of the Forum is reflected in the comments of the ex-Vice Chairman of the City Challenge Forum:

'She has done the job before, you cannot compare her with people like CB who was dynamic and very knowledgeable about a whole heap of things to do with black people and history and all those things. But she is trusted, and we need somebody who knows the estate, because with this HAT and City Challenge thing here, which she is the chair of, it made sense.'

The Estate Manager provides a similar explanation:

'I think people see Shirley as a safe and trusted pair of hands who is known in the community amongst other things, because of her work with the luncheon club and things. She has been around a long time. But also there was a lot of people who simply wanted CB removed and I don't think gave much thought about who would replace him.'

Consistent with many accommodationists the Forum's new leader unlike her predecessor lacked any specific race based ideology (Chapters 1 and 2), other than a pragmatic and inclusive approach to community development:

'We don't have any real philosophy except that we want our community enhanced, because for too long the leaders of the local borough have neglected the people at the bottom. If you are in the £20,000 bracket you can take care of yourself. But for those of us at the bottom things are very tough and we need some assistance to help ourselves.'

Given the significance of racism experienced by African-Caribbeans, the possession of an ideology, which does not directly address racial or ethnic concerns in ways understood by significant sections of the community, must weaken its appeal or the strategies derived from it (Chapters 1 and 2). This does not suggest that the approach articulated by the Forum leader, and other accommodationist type spokespersons, may not address many of the problems experienced by the black community. What this observation does assume is that leaders articulating such a 'colour blind' approach are in a much weaker position in motivating this community (Baker 1994).

Summary

From its origins with a small informal group, the Association had grown by the 1990s into a large organisation with its leadership in the form of a centralised management committee. In this regard the Association is similar to many social-welfare type organisations (Billis 1993). While the Association's leader enjoyed superior status in external communal affairs and held the most senior position, there was no evidence to suggest that he enjoyed more power than other leaders in the organisation. Even though having superior status, and the influence associated with it may be important in specific contexts, this did not necessarily give him greater sway in other matters.

The origin and subsequent status of the Forum is closely related to its founder, an experienced community activist and Rastafarian (Chapter 3), who developed it into a body representing the needs of local tenants. This illustrates well the process of how leadership is obtained in one set of circumstances (Chapter 2). Despite the ideological orientation of the Forum's founder and the dominance of the African-Caribbean community amongst its membership, the organisation sought to represent the interests of all residents.

The Forum has a relaxed structure regarding membership and attendance, contingent on the issues in question, which for the most part come from concerned residents of the various blocks making up the estate. Controversy surrounding leadership accountability led to the demise of the Forum's founder. This highlights important issues around black leadership, and how the community's interest can be undermined by individuals. At the same time, the estate experience illustrates how superior white institutional power and black dependency on it, can undermine credible leadership by the former using its resources to punish or remove leaders (Chapters 1 and 2).

The requirements of central government and local authority funded programmes shaped the context of the removal of the Forum's founder, the speed involved and the way his subsequent replacement was chosen. Given the nature of the Forum, government programmes served to increase its status by placing it in the centre of a range of statutory and non-statutory bodies, making it the official point of communication between the estate and these agencies.

OGANISATIONAL PROBLEMS AND VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

The Association

The issue of employment is at the heart of matters concerning crime and is shaped by economic factors at various levels (Chapters 1 and 3; Brown 1984: 120; Robins 1992: 124-126). The options open to African-Caribbean leaders are very limited and this is particularly pertinent for black power leaders in how they go about achieving independence in a range of areas which depend on broader considerations.

Unlike the Jewish community who has evolved a successful business and professional class which has played an important role in the group's progress, the African-Caribbean community however, who are relatively recent arrivals to Britain by comparison, lack these characteristics. Modood, Berthould et al. (1997: 98-101) show how males of this community are under-represented amongst higher professionals with the lowest representation, amongst managers and the self-employed in terms of small business ownership.

How the Association addressed employment issues is illustrated in the following. After the incident between young people and the police in 1981, the founder of the Association devised the idea of utilising a vacant bus garage as an all purpose centre, which could act as the focus for an ambitious development programme (hereafter called the Centre Project). The background to this is explained:

'We were looking for a way to tackle many of the problems faced by the black community, and the choice was either to go it alone and take a long time to only begin to scratch at the issue, or to respond to the pressure being placed on us to use money available and contributed by the black community; in terms of tax, and what we are entitled to in terms of government money. We thought we could get the job done quicker by taking what we could, but still maintain our independence which is something we weren't going to compromise on.'

The Association's approach to achieve its objectives is made explicit in the previous statement. The organisation could choose to rely on long-term development in an incremental manner and attempt to meet the needs of small numbers of people. A more ambitious approach, given its limited resource base, was dependent on external funding.

PROBLEMS WITH ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

In Chapter 2, the adverse effects of central government's influence on local voluntary associations was outlined. Billis (1993) has identified many characteristics of local organisations which make them particularly vulnerable to the negative influences of government funding, and in Chapter 3 we saw how the acceptance of external funding was a very sensitive issue for black power organisations (Rex and Tomlinson 1979).

The Association's decision to rely on external funding led to significant changes in its structure, from a relatively informal grouping of four members with the founder of the group (as de facto head) when it began. By 1992, the organisation had grown into a bureaucratic-type association responsible for 138 employed staff, 206 volunteers, and for providing a wide range of services for an average of 3,000 people a week. Stoper's (1983) study of the radical Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, shows the transformation of what she described as a 'redemption type' grassroots movement to a bureaucratic and distant organisation. Many of these observations are relevant to the Association.

The immediate effects of the Association's rapid expansion was the distancing of grassroots estate residents who provided its backbone of support, and helped shaped its initial bottom-up character (Stoper 1983). The significance of this organisational ethos is that it provides meaningful opportunity for participation for the community and a source for ideas. The Chairman of the Association comments on the type of practices which characterised the early organisation and contributed its close relationship with the community:

'Our objectives were set by the people themselves. One of the things Leo used to do in the early days, he would organise lots of public meetings and ask the people what they wanted us to achieve and people came with things like improved education, training in modern technology; or we want jobs or chance to set up our own business. So basically we took what the people wanted and formulated policies and specific plans. Both our Information and Technology Centre or SCOLAR programme are living examples of the success of this process.'

Summary

One of the most important ways in which racism constrained leaders is in the socio-economic character of the African-Caribbean community (Chapters 2 and 3). In the case of black power orientated leaders, like the Association, the communal character of the community undermines its efforts at establishing black independence through strategies of self-help.

One option open to the Association was based on adopting a more limited set of goals. This requires attempting to meet the needs of small numbers of the African-Caribbean community and working to a longer time-frame. The other alternatives are contingent on varying degrees of dependency on external funding.

The research found, due to limited resources leaders, sought to address complex social issues which potentially challenge their legitimacy. Nowhere is this more evident than the Association's attempts to fund its Centre Project. In this instance, the Association's leadership faced important ideological and practical issues of reconciling its philosophy of self-help with the realities of funding requirements.

The potentially negative consequences of government-led initiatives and funding have on local voluntary associations (Chapter 2) are particularly pertinent to black power orientated organisations given their values. The research found adverse effects of external funding on the Association, seen by the rapid growth and transformation of it, from a small informal group to a complex bureaucratic-type organisation.

EXTERNAL FUNDING AND INTERNAL CONFLICT

The weakness of a strategy based on external funding from the view-point of a newly formed black power based association can be clearly seen. One immediate outcome of the Association's increasing dependency on external funding was the gradual displacement of its core goals and values (Stoper 1983, Ben-Tovim 1986) and demonstrates the superior power of funding institutions in its dealings with disadvantaged communities.

The Association's Chairman describes the initial impact of funding on the organisation's goals:

'Basically the group started in 1981 and our original objectives were obviously intact but begun to broaden out by 1982, because that's when we got involved with the site and also there was a lot of pressure for us to get involved with the Council. We did get a significant number of clients who were from our original target group. But there was no way we could keep out 'outsiders' for want of a better word. For example, those who were using the Information and Technology Centre came from all walks of life. We had Asian kids, whites. There was no way we could keep them out and still obtain funding from the local TEC's³⁶ or local authority.'

One important factor in the Association's changing attitude to funding was the influence of black elected representative and council officials about 'the rules of the game' and the need for pragmatism (Robins 1992: 54-55). A Management Committee member comments:

'It was happening all the time really, and we were too close to see it. We were trying to do what was against our instincts, but were forced to make compromises. These people claimed to be wanting to help us, give us advice, and we could not come out and say no just like that.'

The Association's rise in public profile and changing organisational character had a significant impact on its relationship with the local community (Chapters 2 and 3). The Support Group leader comments:

'Those brothers, both Leo and Huey, were bone fide brothers from the street like us. Where Leo messed up is when he started to put on bow ties and top hats and going to Buckingham Palace; or to see all those big shots like Thatcher³⁷ and they forgot about us. You should have seen how many of these people were down here. The place come like Hollywood.'

The access to relatively large sums of money served to marginalise the use of self-generated income, which hitherto was the principal source of revenue and reinforced the changing nature of the organisation (Billis 1993, Chapter 2). The Association's Chairman explains:

'In the early stages most of our support and funding came from the Borough Council. We were also raising our own funds for our activities, buying and selling etc. Our self-generated funding was to become of less significance because very little emphasis was placed on it after a time.'

The outcome of these changes led to an organisational split in 1984-5; with a small break away faction under the leadership of one of the two co-founders of the Association, decided to launch their own group, based on the principles which brought the former into being (Robins 1992: 77-78).

The Association's leader describes these events:

'The split with the Panthers emerged because they saw the hood-winking, they saw the creation of a great bureaucracy and our growing dependence on whites. All of which black people have seen before. They were not prepared to go down that road.'

A Management Committee member provides his perception:

'The Panthers supported Leo in the beginning. In the early days Leo took no regard of local bureaucracy and would do whatever he thought had to be done to help the people of the estate. White people did not know how to handle him, but that began to slightly change after a while. It took place bit by bit really with us trying to be flexible and taking the advice given to us.'

The creation of the new group and the competing demands for local authority funds illustrates the power of funding bodies who are able to determine how resources are distributed and help to influence community leadership (Rex and Tomlinson 1979, Stewart and Whitting 1982: 29, Ben-Tovim 1986, Werbner 1991: 119-132).

The Association's founder explains the impact of the creation of the Break-Away Group (BAG) and the role of external funding in this process:

'The creation of the Panthers did manage to split the community to a significant extent. I believe it was the intention of the local authorities to split us. They tried to give Huey the impression that we had all the resources, which prevented them from getting proper support. While trying to make out to us that he was a villain and we should not associate with his organisation.'

The issue of economics again was to severely test the legitimacy and effectiveness of the Association and its leadership (Chapter 1). One critical decision which was to have a significant impact on changing local attitudes towards the Association, is explained by a Director of a local construction cooperative:

'No to be truthful they did a lot for the community in the beginning, and nobody can really deny that. But they did some things even today only God knows how they come to this conclusion. The thing that really burnt people like me, who came from a construction background like so many on the estate, is how they gave all these white companies work and their own people did not gain any benefit whatsoever. I don't know who was advising who, but believe me the community was let down very badly.'

The Support Group leader makes similar remarks:

'One of the things that got people stink was when they were spending millions of pounds to build the site and our people did not benefit. It was hurtful. Huey was for the people, he would never stand for that, and I think that was one of the things that turned him against Leo and things just get stink after that.'

In Chapter 2, the role of sub-cultures in structuring responses to racism and their predisposition to modes of black power ideas was outlined. An important illustration of this is provided by a Management Committee member regarding the BAG:

'The Panthers used to be very militant and were not afraid to use violence if need be. Leo would make noise but never threatened or get into violence. Even though they only had a hard core of about seven people, all young men. They did have a group of supporters from a similar background, many of whom respected them; and some who were afraid of them because they didn't mess about.'

The biased depiction of African-Caribbean culture and masculinity is highlighted in the press portrayal of the BAG (Robins 1992: 81; Chapters 2 and 3). The founder of the Association:

'The Panthers never advocated crime, or the selling of dope, but the press tried to portray them as drug dealers and criminals which was disgusting and out of order. Nobody said anything about the good work they were doing in the area, such as trying to set up business and taking young men off the streets, and teaching them physical training, martial arts, discipline and that type of thing'.

The Support Group leader makes similar remarks about the BAG leader:

'I can take you and show you so many people who he helped, take young boys off the street. He taught many guys photography or printing. He even taught people to drive out of his own pocket so that they could get work.'

How the warrior ethic is misrepresented by the media in the creation of a one-dimensional racist imagery is explained by the leader of the Support Group:

'Don't listen to those white people and the lies they talk about Huey was some big time gangster. He wasn't no gangster, he was simply a man who commanded respect. He had no fear of white people in any shape or form. You know what these people are like anytime black people set up an organisation that really deals with the community. They will turn around and say they are the mafia, the Black Panthers³⁸ or anything to frighten whites. At the same time they are promoting creeps like Michael Jackson and Tina Turner, and who's that other idiot white boy - Frank Bruno.³⁹'

The above also illustrates how the media promotes blacks who represent approved values and how this is perceived by significant sections of the African-Caribbean community (Chapter 2).

An important theme, in the culture and behaviour in particular sections of the African-Caribbean community, concerns what constitutes legitimate behaviour in the context of racial subordination and the implications of subsequent choices (Pryce 1986: Chapter 2). The founder of the Association explains the BAG's views on the relationship between black people, white society and crime:

'The bottom line for those guys was simply if white society has 70 per cent of a cake and blacks have 30 per cent. Do you really expect white society to take from its 70 per cent share and sacrifice for blacks? That's the real issue and they were right. Where we differ is what do we do if we accept that fact. To the Panthers black people had to use whatever means necessary to increase their share of the cake. They felt that the only way you could assist some of the young who are involved in crime, was to turn a blind eye to guys who would come into the centre and sell 'weed'. Because as they saw it these guys weren't earning and they've got to earn somehow. According to them, unless we were in a position to offer these guys something concrete then there was no use in running them down.'

The press and the police's characterisation of the BAG and the local youth club, which became its base, as a centre of criminal activity increased the difficulties for the new group (Keith 1993, Robins 1992: 81-82). A Management Committee member expresses his reactions to these developments:

'They (BAG) eventually got into crime, and that let the community down, and did put us back and allowed white people to say all the racist things the press were saying were right. Not that it made a difference, because white people want to think these things anyway.'

The local white Catholic priest, and a member of the Forum, comments on the BAG and its connections with the club:

'During the time of the Panthers I wasn't welcomed up there because they said I couldn't be trusted. But you need to remember that you are talking about a small group of people of about six people, but it became a very popular place where local youths went. I suspect the Council acting on the police advice went to the club and boarded up the place because it fell into the hands of the Black Panther group.'

The local Divisional Commander gives his perception:

'The so called Panthers, as they became known, were criminals for the most part who used that club for a place where they could carry out their dealings or other criminals could go and hide; or peddle their wares under the watchful eye of so called youth workers. It's that simple. The fact that two of the ringleaders are doing good sentences for an armed robbery, and I think some more of them are banged up for a murder or something like that is evidence enough.'

The Divisional Commander makes a very revealing remark about how the police criminalise black power leaders by mis-information and their role in the downfall of the BAG (Chapter 3). The Divisional Commander states:

*'Leo's relationship to the police and crime is extremely interesting. He was either a member or closely associated with the Panthers. In fact it was because of the criminal activities of the Panthers, which led us establishing our unofficial police intelligence unit on black crime in the district. They were involved in drugs, among other things, which eventually led to a double murder. They were the first group that we ever deliberately went out to destroy to be quite blunt.'*⁴⁰

In Chapter 3 it, was shown that the police have played a central role in campaigns of harassment against black power leaders. The attempts to associate black power leaders with crime have been fundamental to the political policing of this section of the community (Bunyan 1977, Hain et al 1980). Black power leaders given their potential influence, represent the 'super-evil influence' amongst African-Caribbeans from the police perspective that require special attention (Gouldbourne 1991, Chapter 2).

What is so revealing about the Divisional Commander's statement is the police's obvious inaccurate information about the relationship between the Association and the BAG and the events surrounding the origins of the latter. Furthermore, the above account contains major inaccuracies about the relationship between the BAG and crime on the estate, which in many ways are not directly related (Robins 1992: 101). For example, the more likely reason for the police setting up an intelligence-gathering unit on the estate took place in the context of hysteria concerning the 'Yardies', crack-cocaine and gun-crime (Chapter 3). Moreover, the BAG leader was arrested for armed robbery—nothing drug-related.

Summary

The research found that the decision to accept grant funding had a number of adverse effects which seriously weakened the Association. The immediate impact on its ethos illustrates the difficulties for African-Caribbean leaders given that the decision to accept funding created major tensions within the organisation. An outcome of which was the creation of a rival organisation and its challenge to the Association's leadership due to the latter's adoption of pragmatic accommodationism, seen as constituting a betrayal of original values.

The leader of the BAG possessed similar personal qualities as those demonstrated by the Association's founder illustrating issues, outlined in Chapter 2, about some of the attributes necessary for leadership in this community. However, within a short duration the BAG was faced with similar problems, initially experienced by the Association, on how to fund its strategy. This shows how the socio-economic character of the African-Caribbean community and the racial disadvantage which informs it constitutes an almost impenetrable barrier for leaders in addressing the problems in question (Chapters 1 and 3).

The decision of some of the BAG leaders to return to criminal offending illustrates the frustration in the alternatives available to those from disadvantaged backgrounds who are seeking to advance themselves collectively. This led to the new group being associated with crime which invariably brought it to the police's attention and its eventual demise.

Fear of the influence of black radicals is an important factor in shaping the police reaction to those who articulate these values given their significance to crucial sections of the African-Caribbean community. Part of the process used by the police in responding to this section of the community is use of racist discourse about black leaders and their association with crime, which speaks to deeply shared views of black people generally in society.

CONFLICT WITH THE LOCAL COUNCIL

Changes in Political Environment and the Demise of the Association

In Chapter 3 the lack of government commitment to tackle the structural and related issues identified in the Scarman Report, led to a programme of symbolic reform to appease the black community. This experience reflects the attitude of expediency that characterise government behaviour since the arrival of Caribbean immigrants to matters of race relations.

This uncertain political landscape is a major constraint for African-Caribbean leaders who seek to develop strategies dependent on supportive government attitudes, particularly as government itself is not averse to appealing to popular racist sentiment (Chapter 1). The political response of the government to the disturbances of 1981 was perceived as mainly shaped by short-term considerations.

The founder of the Association describes the attitude of political parties at the time and their role in the development of the Centre:

'Put it this way, everybody was out to help us for their own reasons, Labour, Conservatives, you name it. We were like the prodigal sons who had returned and everybody wanted a piece. What we were attempting had never been done before on that scale, so we were not only a novelty because we were black and from criminal backgrounds.'

The political interest shown in the Association by all political parties and the government allowed them to benefit from several competing sources, without tying themselves to anyone (Robins 1992).

An important factor in the course of action taken by the Association was the rise in ethnic minority elected representatives, which was widely seen as an important step in the progress of race relations (Anwar 1988, Saggar 1993):

'Even though they may try to distance themselves from us today many so called black politicians were instrumental in the course we took, because they were making us all types of commitments and reassurances. They put pressure on us saying we should stick together and not go our own way.'

Changes in government priorities led to strenuous efforts to reduce public spending followed by political and press campaigns discrediting the claims of minority communities (Searle 1987, Lansley et al 1989). An element of this backlash was the attack against black leaders in order to justify changing spending priorities. A central dimension to this campaign against black leaders was the creation of new popular images of being 'dishonest' and or 'incompetent' (Johnson 1985: 284, Stewart and Whitting 1982, Levidow 1987, Hinds 1992, Wolch and Rocha 1993), this complemented those already established in the popular white mind (Chapter 2).

The Association's decision to build a multi-million pound centre created many organisational problems that served to provide the context for its eventual demise. The first of these problems was lack of experience dealing with complex financial matters (Robins 1992: 105), which seriously exposed one critical weakness in the Association's strategy. By 1992 this problem had become very apparent. The Chairman explains:

'The trouble really started from the beginning, if I was to be frank. We were carrying a large financial debt from the development stages of the building of £35,000, even before we even opened up shop. It crippled us really because we were paying back approximately £60,000 a year in interest repayments alone. When we worked out our plans we were short by £350,000. The borough loaned us that money and we had to repay them and that's where we got trapped. This crippled us to the point where any day from now we stand to lose the site. As a matter of fact I am actually in the High Court next week with regards to the whole issue of the site. I can't see how they will fail to get a winding up order.'

The explanations provided by the Association's Chairman is supported by Robins (1992: 101) who maintains the thinking of the Centre Project founders was fundamentally flawed and assumed that it could be self-sustaining without assistance for an extended period of time.

Another important dimension of this lack of appropriate experience was the Association's distrust of white professionals (Greenwood 1985, Levidow 1987: 80). The Chairman elaborates:

'If we had the foresight we would have bought a cheaper site, which is what they were trying to force us to do in the first place. We told them we didn't want to build some shanty town.'

This finding illustrates how racism, or expectations thereof, created uncertainty regarding the integrity of white professionals that was to have a major impact on the Centre Project.

The change in local authority practice towards greater use of performance targets, management and financial audit was found to have a crippling effect on the Association:

'We were cutting back on our programmes so much that we were really pushing it, because one mistake and we would have had it. We were walking on wire every year. They set targets which they knew we simply could not meet, and on many occasions we agreed targets and they changed them with no form of consultation. They had the whip handle because they knew we had made a serious initial miscalculation and there was no way we were ever going to make up that shortfall.'

The Association's leader provides further illustration of the ambivalence to white professionals:

'Very often these so-called professionals told us things assuming that we could not do it ourselves, and we did, or assume we did not understand things and we did; often better than they did. When we wanted to get money from the EEC we were told that they (the Council) would put our case for us, because you needed to know how to approach these things. We made it clear that we would represent ourselves and got a wonderful reception when we went there.'

In many areas the Association was able to provide its own resources, as in the field of education, training and electronics etc. But in other critical areas it lacked the necessary expertise crucial to effective management and leadership of any large organisation, especially voluntary associations (Stewart and Whitting 1982: 38, Kay 1994, Robins 1992, Modood, Berthould et al 1997):

The Association's Chairman comments on its human resources:

'In the early days we had skilled and experienced people. We got a great many of them from the church, amongst other places. Some made a crucial contribution before they went on to do their own thing. Mike who led our ITEC initiative and those who ran our SCOLAR programme are just some examples. To be honest I think they would still be here, but we couldn't pay them. When you check it we were running something like a corporation and paying people next to nothing.'

The attempts of the Centre's BOD to appoint a Chief Executive provides another example of the limited resources of disadvantaged communities (Robins 1992: 105):

'He was one of our members at the time. He was one of those with academic backgrounds. He had good administrative skills, but not good in terms of having entrepreneurial or leadership skills needed to take initiative and find angles.'

The attempts to recruit externally was equally unsuccessful:

'We then managed to secure funding to get an experienced Chief Executive, but again things did not work out, and he only stayed 18 months so we were back to the original position. One of the factors in him going was from the outset he wrote a report for the Council showing them that we were seriously under-funded. But they weren't interested and ignored it.'

The research found little evidence of any respondents having undergone formal training prior to or after taking up their roles (Chapter 1). This is largely explained by the pressures of the funding process (Stewart and Whitting 1982). The local authority's Director of the Voluntary Sector Team puts the issue of training into context:

'I think all this talk about training really misses the point. Training depends on the level people start at and I think it is disingenuous for people to claim that projects like this fail simply because of training. The basic problem is the technical demands placed on these types of projects has no relationship to where people are at, and expect at this level of voluntary participation. It is not a mere coincidence that the most successful groups are run by very experienced people with management experience, and not uncommonly business experience. The Indian community is one group who automatically come to mind, and these are very established groups who know about money management and either possesses expertise and can get it relatively easy.'

The attack on the Association's leadership and management capabilities was part of local authority's efforts to impose a new management team to run the Centre. Support for the local authority's intentions are articulated by the Forum leader:

'People such as me and other people want a new management board. What I always said years ago, how can they (the Association) have seven out of thirteen Board members? The Council is right, I would bring in a wider representation from the community and business because the Centre is a beautiful place which can be used for so much good.'

The Association's response to these challenges to its autonomy and fundamental identity is summed up by its leader (Stoper 1983):

'As far as we are concerned it is very simple to understand. We started the project with a very clear set of goals in mind. Everything we ever did was meant to meet the needs of the majority of our people. That included being in control of our destiny, and we were not going to allow white people to impose themselves on us more than they had already done. That is the bottom line.'

The issue of managerial expertise, a central theme in the local authority's problem definition, became personified in the Association's founder. After a prolonged struggle the Association's founder resigned in order to save the project. Its new Chairman explains these events:

'I became Chairman of the Centre on 31 March 1992 after Leo resigned due to the conflict between us and the Council. Prior to my taking over as the chair, the Council said they were unhappy about the management and leadership of the Centre on the basis that the targets set were not being achieved.'

The belief that the local authority used the resignation as a ruse to close down the Centre Project is explained:

'When Leo resigned on that day the Council stopped providing us with any funding. So basically from the 1st April 1992 every member of staff was made redundant. We were supposed to receive £285,000 but they cut it. The actual services we use to provide begun to plunge downwards. Obviously we couldn't hold on to the staff. I was the only experienced member of staff who could stay because basically I was getting my food, so to speak, from somewhere else.⁴¹ That one blow cut the organisation to pieces from top to bottom.'

Given the ability of white institutions to reproduce their interpretations of events, especially in ethnically charged contexts (Chapter 3), the criticisms of managerial incompetence levelled at the Association's leadership was quickly accepted by other statutory agencies. The local police Sector Inspector illustrates this:

*'I think Leo, it was felt, because he was a local boy come good he would have been the figure head who perhaps got the local community interested and involved and use those facilities. But it seemed as if his managerial skills were not up to the job. The losses they have incurred are phenomenal. One of the stories I heard is that one of the people up there had £50,000 in a brief case, which he simply forgot, it is claimed.'*⁴²

One of the problems African-Caribbean leaders face is preventing accommodationist elements from undermining their views by providing alternative channels of communication (Chapter 2). This is clearly seen by the comments of the Forum Chairperson:

'I think the issue has very little to do with racism or colour. I think it was their own fault for not wanting to listen to anybody because they knew best. Yes they were inexperienced but had help if they wanted it. The Council and people like the Manpower Service Commission put too much money in that place to let it fold so easily.'

Another example of how the negative impression of the Association's leadership had a direct impact on other sections of the African-Caribbean community with interests dependent on good relations with the local authority⁴³. The Director of the construction cooperative remarks:

'We were actually based at the Centre and I use to work there years ago. Because most statutory organisations and the like are scared of anyone who had links with the place. Even when we went to the Borough Business Venture⁴⁴ when we were starting up the company, they told us that if it was known we had any links with the place it could finish us. We had to get out of there, because at that time we were getting complete blanks because in this business we need money up front.'

The belief that the local Conservative controlled borough had a covert motive for its handling of the Centre Project is forcefully articulated by the Association's founder:

'I believe we are in this situation because there is an orchestrated move to contain and stifle black movement. During the early eighties when they thought that there was going to be a riot, they were bending over backwards to help us. Once the immediate threat was over and their priorities changed, the same whites do their best to return us to the position we were in. You only have to look at the history of black voluntary associations and projects to see that, and how local government around the country have systematically closed them down by using the same tired excuses over financial mismanagement. No, they simply waited for the opportunity to turn white people against us and close these organisations down one by one. It is either that or black people are all incompetent and thieves⁴⁵. Isn't it funny how they are so quick to call us thieves, but up to this day they haven't arrested one person?'⁴⁶

Similar claims are made by the CRE about the motives of local authorities:

'All local government had done is to simply and constantly move the goal posts to frustrate those brothers and to make sure that they could not achieve their goals. All the accusations being made have been made against Caribbean organisations across the country. Sitting here we can see the clear national patterns. Of course some authorities are more blatant than others. The problems of lack of experience and expertise which has contributed to these problems are not unique to black people. What is unique is the spotlight which these groups are placed under.'

The impact of local authority actions on black organisations nationally is elucidated. He continues:

'One by one across the country the vast majority of Afro-Caribbean organisations' buildings are being repossessed by local authorities, except where you have things like housing associations or running things for the elderly where local authorities are getting services on the cheap; where they would have to spend a whole heap more money.'

The role of local councillors in this process is stressed by the Director for the Voluntary Sector Team:

'No matter what is put into the pot, councillors must take their share of responsibility. I think many of them genuinely wanted to do good by the Caribbean community, but the whole thing was not thought out. This was a massive undertaking and it has ended in bitter recriminations and in many ways one cannot but feel sympathetic with the Association, because they quite rightly feel let down.'

Commenting on the role of black councillors the Association's founder remarks:

'We had the largest number of black councillors in the country and supported them and expected them to look after our interests just like Jews or Asians take it for granted that their political representatives will look after their interests. But we became an embarrassment in their eyes. Because we refused to beg and play their game, almost all of them sold us out.'

The extent of the damage inflicted on the legitimacy of the Association's leadership is illustrated by the comments of its Chairman:

'What has happened today is 100 per cent of the white community in this borough is against us, because they are judging us by what they have heard or the broken down state that they see us in. I would also say that 95 per cent of the black community is against us, largely due to the campaign of propaganda against us by the white press and some black people with their own agendas.'

The full extent of the role of the press in the undermining of the Association is seen by its utilisation of racist images which are highlighted by its Chairman:

'The power of the press and the way they focused on us with the sole intention of discrediting us as a group of people had to be seen or experienced to be believed. We try to uplift ourselves and they attempt to sow the seeds in the minds of both white people and our own people that we are dishonest or incompetent, which is the same thing no matter how you turn it. One of the conclusions that I have come to is these people are frightened of black people or are driven by pure hatred.'

The centrality of white fear in the portrayal of black people and how they are seen (Chapters 2 and 3) is clearly illustrated:

'Why do these people not want to balance their lies with some truth? Why don't they look at our Information and Technology Centre which is a success, which we built from nothing and is still running today; or our bookshop or all those people who have created their own business or who have gone on to do good things? No they are not interested, because it would expose one of the longest conspiracies and lies in the world today about how the white man has got the position he has, and why we are in the position we're in. This is why they hate Farrakhan and Malcolm X, and wiped out the Panthers in the States⁴⁷, and will stop at nothing to stop any black person who dares to speak the truth about certain things.'

According to this view the desire to control black political expression is shaped by cultural inadequacy which requires black people to be seen as non-threatening to maintain the structural relations of superiority/inferiority created by racism.

Summary

Many key issues are elucidated in the demise of the Association. A crucial constraint for African-Caribbean leaders in developing approaches to social problems facing their community is the inconsistent behaviour of government. Government is not beyond pandering to popular racist sentiment in order to mask its agenda. The research found that one of the important outcomes from the Scarman Report was the funding of ethnic minority

community groups to meet the various problems they experienced. Another very significant development was the election of a number of minority MPs. The latter was shown to be a critical factor in influencing the decision of the Association in developing its pragmatic approach and can be understood by the desire to maintain a broader black unity.

The changes in central government priorities concerning public spending and the backlash against expenditure on perceived minority issues led to a radical shift in attitudes from local authorities on the issues in question. In this context the initial issue of under-funding of the Centre Project, combined with allegations of poor management and misuse of funds, provided the background for conflict between the Association and local authority.

One tactic used by local authorities was the reliance on racist depictions of African-Caribbean leaders in explaining the difficulties experienced by them. These racist stereotypes are based on deeply rooted attitudes, associating African-Caribbeans with crime or otherwise predisposed to other negative qualities (Chapters 2 and 3), highlighting the slippery landscape that leaders have to negotiate.

What is interesting, and again highlights the wider problems faced by this community during this period, was the absence of political support for the Association from black politicians. The perceptions of the Association leader suggests the absence of this backing was due to the desire by former to protect their immediate interests in a very hostile environment against minority communities.

Another finding was how mistrust between Association leaders to advice from white professionals contributed to the former's poor decisions in particular instances. This reflects how the socio-economic structure of the African-Caribbean community manifests in a relatively under-developed professional class, which in this specific instance limited its leadership's ability to inform its decision-making.

The local authority's tactic of defining the conflict with the Association as one of poor management, was successful in winning the support of the Forum leader. The role of the Forum leader in this context illustrates how white institutions are able to utilise accommodationist leaders, more often than not, to support their racist definition of issues (Chapter 1).

Moreover, in the context of the estate leadership politics, this finding demonstrates how the Forum leader has managed to obtain position by default with the demise of more popular leaders (Chapters 1 and 2). This also shows how the black power paradigm compliments a generally shared framework of African-Caribbean people (Baker *ibid*) and why terms such as 'Uncle Tom' is usually associated with accommodationist leaders or those aiding whites in their conflicts with blacks.

The conflict between the Centre's leadership and local authority centred on the former being prepared to abandon its fundamental beliefs in black control over the project it had founded. The local authority's objective of replacing the Centre's Chairman became a final contest in which these issues were played out. Given the superior resources at the local authority's disposal the resignation of the Centre's Chairman had a high degree of inevitability surrounding it.

THE FORUM

Central Government Funding and its Organisational Consequences

An important strand in the Forum's plans for improving the relations between the community and the police is contingent on the success of the City Challenge Programme. The assumptions shaping the Forum leaders' view is indicative of the type of thinking that characterises accommodationist behaviour. This does not suggest that accommodationists lack critical capacity or are uniformed as a group. But as Pryce (1986) has argued 'mainliners' are more likely to accept uncritically the prevailing views of white society.

While the Association's leaders grudgingly accepted local authority funding, this is clearly not the case with the Forum leader's acceptance of the City Challenge Programme. Parkinson's (1993) study of this initiative raises serious questions about many aspects of the programme, nonetheless pressing than its basic operating assumptions of reducing public spending.

A problem with this type of initiative, similar to other urban development projects (Stewart and Whitting 1982, Brown 1982, Robins 1992), is the unreasonable expectations placed on disadvantaged communities. This is supported by the female African-Caribbean Department of Environment official seconded to manage the local City Challenge Programme (Small 1994):

'The way City Challenge works is you've got to generate measurable outputs. Whether they are achievable or not is another thing or whether you can do this with local organisations like Community Forums is also another thing. I really have my doubts.'

Elaborating on previous attempts to establish the programme on the estate:

'As far as I am concerned the first Forum failed for a number of reasons. The problem as I see it is there is no time to really develop projects properly. You've got to be developing and producing outputs and spending money at the same time. Now we are talking about a group of individuals who are basically thrown together and told you are the Community Forum, start achieving instantly.'

Similar reservations were expressed by the Forum leader who became the Chairperson of the City Challenge Forum created to implement the programme:

'One of the things that created problems for little community groups like us is we don't have the resources to meet many of the demands of people like the Council. It seems to me that they treat or expect us to behave like we were some big time organisation. I am always complaining to the Council about this with regards our luncheon club. It's just me really and I have to be doing a million things at one time.'

Funding and Collective Action Problems

The political priorities of government while acting as an important constraint to the achievement of local community goals, also exacerbates internal problems within poor and disadvantaged communities by creating differences in interests by making public monies available (Chong 1993).

These problems were found to play a major role in the failure of the first City Forum. The DOE official stresses this point:

'Trouble started over money which was claimed by some staff with the ex-Chair, then its Development Worker, who took serious issue with some matters. A split occurred in the Forum with accusations being made about the misappropriation of funds. Does it sound familiar? Letters started to go backwards and forwards to the DOE and the local press. Obviously the DOE was concerned. Eventually my boss who was placed under a great deal of pressure had to step in and pull the plug.'

The importance of external funding in exacerbating these types of problems (Werbner 1991), is no clearer than the following remarks from the Director of the local construction cooperative:

'I used to be Vice Chair of the City Challenge Forum and tried to exploit my position to prevent it from being just a talk shop, giving lip service to action. I manipulated the situation really. I was approaching people and talking about this cooperative idea while a group of us were behind the scenes planning things, working out strategies. We started off with 15 people. We have now withered it down to 3 of us.'

Elaborating on his comments:

'We are going to have a Housing Action Trust to generate the whole estate and the area. Therefore, we have to gear ourselves up to the point where we are able to get a big slice of the contracts and that's what we are doing.'

The Forum leader's views of the above is somewhat different:

'One of the concrete things that came out of the previous City Challenge Forum was a construction company involving some members of the Forum Executive and the Council. Rather than representing us, the community, these people used their positions to their own advantage and eventually left the Forum after a lot of conflict.'

These findings illustrate the potentially divisive impact of external funding on disadvantaged communities in undermining broader unity. This can be seen by the instability of voluntary associations in the study and conflicts around funding. In this instance the Forum leader is critical of others whose motives she questions. However, her own role in the fall of the Association is also open to question.

The way in which social disadvantage creates the incentive to support government programmes and how this limits and impacts on its leadership (Chapter 1) is explained by the leader of the Support group:

'All they have done is to starve us, and people like the Association, of resources and then give us this option because they know there is no work around here. City Challenge is there to fool and use us that's all. A couple of years time the government will close it down and nothing will have changed; except a few people may get fat out of it, and we will be able to see clearly what they always were.'

Summary

An important difference between accommodationist and more radical leaders is their acceptance of dominant explanations of social reality. The accommodationist orientation is in opposition to the views of significant sections of the African-Caribbean community (Chapters 1 and 2). This tendency to accept dominant thinking can be seen by the reliance on the City Challenge programme by the Forum leader, despite the plethora of evidence to suggest that such optimism is misplaced. This scepticism was supported by the official administering the programme in the area.

Racism shapes the options open to African-Caribbean leaders seen by the socio-economic structure of their communities (Chapter 1). This places leaders in a very weak position in maintaining cohesion within the community, especially in the face of external funding which has the capacity to create factional interests. Nowhere is this more evident than on the estate where the formation and decline of the Association, followed by the conflict, which beset and finally led to the demise of the first City Challenge Forum. The replacement City Challenge Forum subsequently experienced internal conflicts with a faction led by its Vice Chairman attempting to access funds for their own programmes.

The outcome of these dynamics is the poisoning of relationships between key activists and network members of the estate which had a cumulative effect on the leadership capacity and morale of the immediate community.

POLICE PERCEPTION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE AFRICAN-CARIBBEAN ASSOCIATIONS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

In Chapter 2, the importance of mutual interests and a common framework for effective police/community relations was outlined. This absence of common ground has been a major obstacle in the history of the relations between African-Caribbean leaders and the police and particularly important in explaining the difficulties experienced by the former in advancing its concerns (Chapter 1).

The research found that the Association's needs for funding provided an important opportunity in which the police sought to develop relations with the organisation (Roach 1992, Brown 1982).

The Divisional Commander explains the role of the police in this process:

'We took the view that any assistance we could give to Leo would be beneficial to all parties involved. We have an obvious interest in helping the community where and how we can, and despite what some detractors may think, the last thing any police officer wants is to be caught up in a public disturbance. The Divisional Commander at the time put his full weight behind Leo both behind the scenes and publicly.'

Commenting on the opportunities created by the rise of the Association and its leader:

'The early LJ was a great inspiration. He was, if you like, the bad boy turn good and provided the role model that is desperately needed in this place⁴⁸. It was also good from the perspective of the police and many of the local agencies who I think really wanted to see him succeed and to make a positive impact on the estate.'

For the police a significant consideration in supporting the Association was the broader national context of violent disturbances between the police and black youth. The attitudes of the Association's leaders in discouraging violence made them particularly valuable to the police in developing this relationship (Chapters 2 and 3).

The Estate Manager shares this view:

'Everybody wanted them to succeed, and shared the pride and hopes for what Leo and the Association were trying to achieve. It was a massive task. But it would have put the borough on the map and show that these things did not have to end up in violence and accusations, everybody had a stake in it.'

The views of the Estate Manager can be explained by similar considerations as other statutory agencies working on the estate, which includes consulting and meeting the needs of disadvantaged communities (Prashar and Nicholas 1996).

Summary

The issue of shared mutual interests and ways of looking at the world has been an important factor in how the police approach community leaders and their demands. The rise of the Association led to a gradual change in this pattern of relations, with the creation of opportunities for the emergence of a mutual set of interests. The prominence of the Association met a supportive response from the police who used its resources in aiding the organisation. The interest of the police in this context is to develop meaningful relations with the Association around matters of crime and its prevention, against a broader backdrop of allegations of police racism and civil unrest. The evidence suggests prior to the deterioration of the Association's relationship with the local authority, important steps were taken in bringing about changes that had a beneficial outcome for police and community relations on the estate.

CHANGES IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ASSOCIATION AND THE POLICE

Given the character of the Association, problems experienced in the achievement of its core economic objectives had a significant impact on other areas of activity (Greenwood 1985: 102). Conflict with the local authority had detrimental effects on the Association's relationship with the police. This finding supports those of Blagg, Pearson et al (1988) on the mutual dependencies of local authority and other statutory organisations.

The Association's founder comments on this change in police attitude:

'Whatever dialogue we used to have has completely broken down. Then they tried to mash up our plans. White people are white people, when you have disagreements with one they quickly run and tell the others to get support. Once we started having trouble with the Council they switched and thought they could treat us how they liked, because they thought we were in a weak position.'

The major priority of the Association given its difficulties was raising money. One route chosen to do this was organising social functions, known to be a reliable source of fund-raising. The Association's founder explains the conflict over an alcohol license extension:

'We were trying to get a late drinking license for our bar and the police blocked it on some bullshit pretext. Do you know how many people who have used this place and how many incidents we have had here? One minute we are fine with them, next minute they're pulling stunts using some stupid excuse.'

The evidence crystallises the different priorities between the Association, the local authority and that of the police. Given the police's primary concern during this period was the national issue around drug-related crime, requiring the political support of African-Caribbean leaders (Keith 1988: 178, Cumberbatch and Tadesse 1987: 63, Roach 1992).

In addition, several incidents of violence at various dances held at the Centre, no evidence of being drink-related, served to provide the police with a rationale for denying the Association its requests by utilising racist notions of culture and disorder (Robins 1992: 106, Keith 1993, Minney 1993: 121-122).

The Divisional Commander comments on the breakdown of the police relationship with the Association:

'LJ, I don't know, but I would dismiss him as a voice for his own means quite frankly. If he feels that there is a crust to be made on the end of some crusade he'll join it. I am sorry that is a very cynical view, but I've come to that view from experience not preconception. He only wants to see me when it suits his very narrow interests. For example, when he thinks he can use me to obtain funding or get some leverage on his license application. I am sorry but that's not how I work.'

The decline in the legitimacy of the Association and how the police viewed it can be seen by the comments of the Sector Inspector:

*'The Association is almost irrelevant to the work taking place here. There is a great deal of suspicion and mistrust towards them, not only from organisations, but most agencies and us. The problem is the Centre is a fantastic facility, but it's not used by the black community because they cannot afford it, and the white community is afraid to go there. There are frequent shooting incidents there.'*⁴⁹

Summary

The relationship between the African-Caribbean community and the police, as illustrated in the literature has been one largely of conflict. Central to this has been the differences in interests and outlook between the parties in question, which constitutes an important constraint for leaders and the strategies they rely on (Chapter 1). The specific events on the estate created opportunities for mutual cooperation between the Association and the police.

With the changing fortunes of the Association, its relationship with the police was severely affected given its relations with other statutory agencies. An important factor in this changing relationship was the ability of local authority to establish its definition of the problems in question, which was quickly accepted by the police. This finding demonstrates the importance of institutional relationships and the complexity of some of the problems facing African-Caribbean leaders when attempting to tackle issues of concern (Chapter 1). Under such circumstances progress made in the relationship between leaders with one institution, can be undermined by another member of the statutory network. This illustrates the precarious environment leaders face given the general nature of the demands made on institutions that challenge dominant norms (Chapter 2).

Once the relationship between the Association and police had changed, to conflictual in character, the police not only relied on the racist explanations being promoted elsewhere, but actively contributed to the development of this narrative. This was complemented by police use of racist notions of cultural disorder to explain the demise of the Centre. Moreover, the police were able to use its power to punish the weakened Association, given the latter's unwillingness and/or inability to comply by with its needs for cooperation using its leverage over an alcohol license.

PROBLEMS OF POLICE COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF LEADERSHIP AND ASSOCIATIONAL VACUUM

Despite the police's ability to exploit the divisions within the African-Caribbean community when expedient, as highlighted in Chapter 2, this only serves to frustrate their objectives in other contexts.

The Divisional Commander illustrates some of the difficulties experienced by the police that took place in a leadership vacuum in the African-Caribbean community on the estate. The following refers to a spate of accusations of police assaults against black males:

'We then had Lay Visitors come to the station as a matter of course. We urged people to seek independent medical advice regarding alleged injuries. We invited Reverend Brown the local clergy, who was very vociferous at the time whenever someone was arrested from the estate. After we closed down that option the issue begun to change. They started to say they were being assaulted in the van, so we publicly announced that we had installed video cameras in the vans.'

Continuing:

'The funny thing is we never installed any cameras anywhere, but the complaints stopped. The complaints then shifted to assaults taking place in the yard, once they got out of the van. I am not a fool and neither are determined police officers, and I know there are police officers who do assault people, especially if they feel they have been assaulted themselves. But you cannot explain this consistent claims by this explanation.'

The integrity of the police was not only the subject of cynicism within the African-Caribbean community, but also from leading members of the white community. The priest and member of the Forum (mentioned above) sums up his attitude towards the police:

'The police are a bit like British Rail. They mess about with the timetable, procedures and policies, but the trains still don't run on time. I don't believe that the police beat and abuse people as a matter of course. But nobody is going to tell me that it doesn't go on.'

One of the ways police could benefit in this context is by the presence of leaders and their role in actively highlighting legitimate complaints of assault on the estate, in a similar fashion to the Support Group or within the capacity of the Association before its demise.

In Chapter 1, it was discussed in determining what kind of evidence could indicate the influence of leaders and that less traditional measures were valid indicators of influence. Even though leaders and associations may suffer serious damage to their legitimacy, this does not negate their capacity to exercise 'negative' influence in matters concerning the police (Chapter 2, Brown 1982: 123, Keith 1988: 181). This observation is illustrated by the contradictory comments of the Divisional Commander regarding the influence of the Association's founder:

'Whatever influence he ever had is literally non-existent and the future of the Centre is almost irrelevant to the black community on the estate. During the early days of the Prince's Trust he was on the crest of a wave. Since this problem with the money and the Council, he has almost disappeared because it has dragged on for so long.'

The influence of the Association founder is clearly evident when the Divisional Commanders states:

'What frustrates me and makes my life so difficult, is that none of these black leaders or spokespersons, will stand up publicly and say to their constituents hold on a minute you're wrong, and when particular sections of the community like LJ does it is usually for the wrong reasons. When he does, it's usually to attack other black representatives who are trying to develop meaningful relations with us. Neville was made aware of the operation because of the real potential for serious disorder. I must again say that I am disappointed at the end of the day and say that this is something that has to be done for the community in that area, many of whom are black. Instead what I get is our local MP criticising us after he has been wound up by LJ and his associates.⁵⁰

Associational and Communal Decline and Policing

An important aspect of the difficulties facing the police with the African-Caribbean community, is how political and economic changes affect the environment in which it operates in and frustrates its ability to achieve important goals (Lansley et al 1989: Chapter 10). While the increase in certain types of crime are one consequence of these events, the police's ability to respond effectively is constrained by the nature of social disadvantage. Graef (cited in Squires 2000: 88) describes how the police in systematically arresting and harassing local gangs contributed to destabilising local communities thereby creating a vacuum and making crime and nuisance worse. In this instance, the police's role in undermining the Association served to limit its ability to carry out its functions effectively on the estate. A worker at the local Law Centre describes the outcome of numerous changes

on the estate:

'Looking back at the last 14 years I think the community's effectiveness has taken a downward spiral. During the eighties there were greater expectations of changes to people's lives. Greater demands were being made. Then there was the GLC, who were funding groups who were articulating issues of concern to black people. But because most of these groups have failed, the onslaught on public finances, and the fact that many of the people who played leading roles have either been forced into the mainstream; or have willingly entered it. We are seeing the results in large scale apathy and dejection.'

The local Sector Inspector remarks:

'I heard a figure that almost 85 per cent of all people on the estate are Afro-Caribbeans, which is even more strange because people wont open their doors and come out and get involved with things taking place where they live. People don't seem interested.'

The Forum

The research found that the police's general perception of the Forum's leader was positive, not necessarily due to her present level of influence but her potential role in complementing their goals. This differs considerably from its relationship with the Association, insofar as it was a stronger organisation with an independent support base in the community, with a radical ideology, and able to relate to the police in a far more assertive manner.

The Sector Inspector commenting on his relationship with the Forum:

'All we are trying to do is to make ourselves available to people, and to do as much as possible to let them know that the police service is their service and can work for them with some mutual cooperation. This is the approach we have adopted with Sheila and the Forum and many similar people. We work together on our Community Safety Forum and in other ways, and that helps build up the trust and mutual respect. I think we have worked at our relations and have a good working basis.'

Summary

One main consequence of the Association's decline was the creation of a leadership vacuum and communal apathy that had direct implications for the police in carrying out its work in many ways. This illustrates the importance of credible leadership for the police

being able to function effectively in these communities (Chapter 2). One aspect of concern for the police was its inability to counter consistent allegations of assaults on African-Caribbean males on the estate, an area where the involvement of legitimate community leaders play a potentially important role in helping the police manage these concerns.

These issues were again evident in the police's attempt to obtain political support for its proposed drug raid. Despite police claims that the Association's leader was no longer influential, the evidence shows his ability to frustrate police efforts to obtain support for its planned operations. This finding also illustrates the types of evidence of leadership influence outlined in Chapter 1, given the possible limitations on other forms of data that ideally could be used to indicate the effectiveness or influence of leaders.

PROBLEMS WITH POLICE STRATEGY

A problem experienced by the police in their interactions with accommodationist leaders is the assumption they make about the relationship between them and other sections of the Caribbean community, particularly the young (Lewidow 1987, Keith 1988: 64-65). In other instances due to lack of alternatives, the police seek to ascribe such representative attributes to these individuals (Chapter 2). This characterisation can be seen in the comments of the Sector Inspector who states:

'Its a matter of trust and communication. This mistrust between sections of the Caribbean community, or should I say the youth. It will only change when they see their friends say the police are not that bad and appreciate our role here. The only way we are going to achieve this is by working with people like Sheila, who is part of the community.'

The erroneous nature of the police assumptions are highlighted by the comments of the founder of the youth-based Support Group, regarding his familiarity with the leader of the Forum:

'To be honest I only heard of the lady the other day. I don't think I've ever met her, even though I could know her face. I was looking for some money to fund an arts project and someone mentioned City Challenge and her name came up. But I said no because I don't want anything to do with those kind of things or people.'

The police interest in the City Challenge is articulated by the Sector Inspector and City Forum member and indicates a changing emphasis from 'real police work' (Grimshaw and Jefferson 1987) in order to address the leadership vacuum:

'What I would like to see, or achieve is a way I could divert young people away from crime and provide people with meaningful education or training leading to decent work through local businesses, rather than purely arresting and detection which is largely ineffective. It's a waste of my officers' time to nick people for drugs because all they're going to get is a £40 fine and there's all the aggravation that goes with it.'

Continuing, but also indirectly illustrating the significance of the work of organisations like the Association, he remarks:

'If we can stop as a result of these initiatives somebody who is eight or nine and we stop just four of five of them becoming drug dealers, that is a significant success. If we can make some decent life prospects for some of the young people, then that must have knock on effect because of group pressure and role models.'

Commenting on some of the practical activities being planned as part of the police's Crime Concern Initiative, the Sector Inspector states:

'We've got an ex-amateur boxing champion who runs our police boxing club, which is quite successful and is run very well. Because of this we have been given an old teacher's building and after we have refurbished it, we are going to set up the club near to the estate and see what happens from there.'

Summary

The absence of effective leadership on the estate created a serious problem for the police given the central role leaders play in community life (Chapter 2). This can be seen particularly in the lack of motivation from local residents to participate in the various programmes taking place on the estate. While it is too early to come to any conclusions about the effectiveness of the Forum and its leader and the various initiatives taking place. There was no evidence to suggest that the optimism expressed by the police about the initiatives on the estate would have the desired outcomes, given a range of issues and problems already examined.

THE HINDU COMMUNITY AND POLICING ISSUES

The policing issues of concern to the Hindu community reflect those already highlighted in Chapter 3, in the lack of confidence in the police, believed to be partly shaped by racism. This takes place against a historical backdrop of Asians being subject to racism in the context of Commonwealth immigration.

The HNA leader elaborates on the policing issues of concern to his community.

'People have no trust in the police. Very often the results never come at all. You can't expect results in your favour all the time, everybody can understand that, but that is not the issue. The issue is the police doesn't help the Asian community and people are very unhappy about their performance.'

A specific example of the type of police response mentioned above:

'I was talking to our colleagues from the BIA who told me about an incident where some white guys who from the way they were driving seem that they were up to no good, and suddenly turned around to change direction and in the rush reversed and knocked down the wall outside the organisation building. People present ran towards the car to find out what was going on, to be met with a barrage of racial abuse. Even though there were witnesses who took the details of the car. Months later the police still say they cannot trace the car. This is a car which was speeding down the high road with broken rear lights, and tires screeching. People don't accept those types of excuses because as ethnic minority people we know the police are not slow to chase up the most minor detail when dealing with us'.

A distinguishing characteristic of the older members of the Hindu community is their lack of confidence in interacting with the police and complicated by language barriers (Chapter 3, Gordon and Newman 1985, Holdaway 1991):

'One of the things with Asian people, or should I say Indian people, are very shy to go to the police station. For one thing they are very frightened of the police. The second is they don't speak the language, and there is no way they can communicate effectively on the spot. This is where the community leaders are important to the police in this regard. For example, if someone has been burgled, particularly if it is a lady, they won't go to the police straight away. But it will be raised in conversation with me or my colleagues who will bring it to the police's attention.'

Despite the communication problems outlined above, lack of trust in the police was also found amongst younger group members (Bowling 1993):

'Even those who speak the language well, like young people, have absolutely no faith in the police. I suppose it comes both from the experience of others, but also from their own. We have heard cases where Asian boys, like most young boys, are driving nice cars in the area and the police stop them and harass them for no apparent reason. But when it comes to catching those responsible for interfering in the peace and safety of the community that is another story all together.'

A problem experienced by the community already referred to in the context of the African-Caribbean case study is the issue of mugging:

'One of the problems we suffer with is mugging, particularly on the high road which is busy until quite late. But when we bring this to the police they do nothing. I suppose they lack resources and it's not their fault but something really must be done about this. The victims are usually women and the elderly.'

The policing issues for the Mission have changed over time. During the 1980s when the organisation was being established in its new location, there were numerous allegations of police harassment and other forms of racial discrimination to this perceived alien cultural presence (Reiner 1991, Keith 1993). One form this behaviour took is that of under-policing (Chapter 3).

Much of these complaints centre on everyday activity taking place in and around the temple established by the Mission. However, specific complaints about police conduct at particular religious festivals served to intensify the ill-feeling towards them. The Mission's Security Coordinator elaborates:

'A couple of years back we had a Diwali festival and we had visitors, people not members of the Mission, who had parked their cars on the road and they were all towed away when it was obvious what was going on. If it were causing a problem it would not have taken a few minutes to sort out, if there was any good will there. When we formally complained to the police, the following week they came and gave tickets to all our cars.'

Another incident that took place on the same day serves to illustrate the strength of feeling and perception of Mission members about the police's motives.

*'A police van was reversing through the gate and hit a young man who was walking behind the van. They weren't looking at what they were doing. They didn't even apologise, or even get out of the van. Reluctantly, the policewoman came out of the van because members of the Mission started to come over. I was present, so were other colleagues. The woman's attitude was disgusting. She asked the man what did he want and tried to blame him for being in the way. The young people there were ready to beat her, if it wasn't for me and my colleagues who they knew.'*⁵¹

Even when Mission members were victims of vicious and unprovoked violence by whites the police's attitude was perceived to be biased against them (Bowling 1993, Blagg and Pearson et al 1989). The Security Coordinator recalls a specific example:

'There was an incident a couple of years ago where one of our youth was crossing the road outside. When a white man who was walking stopped in front of him, forcing the youth to go around him, when he suddenly pulled out a baseball bat and chased the youth with it into the temple car park and started to beat him with it. When the young people from the Mission saw this they grabbed hold of the white guy, while the police was called. When the police came they tried to imply that we were doing the beating. They didn't want to listen to us, in fact the police said if they were forced to nick the white guy they would nick some of us as well '.

The attitude of the police towards the new Hindu presence and its experience of crime also took the form of procedural indifference. The Security Coordinator explains:

'When it became obvious to us that we were being targeted by criminals the police simply didn't want to know. They were not cooperative. If we reported a crime or something like that they would simply come and take a report and we would never hear about it again.'

The Security Coordinator sums up the organisation's view of the police:

*'We used to see the police as being prejudiced against us. We find that they did not want to know us as an organisation in the area or what we are trying to achieve and contribute to the community. They look at us as simply another group of unwanted Indians.'*⁵²

Summary

Racism has been a significant issue in shaping the interaction between the Hindu community and the police (Chapter 1) and has its origins in the controversy surrounding Commonwealth immigration, where these communities were viewed as an unwanted alien cultural presence (Chapter 3). The police attitude is reflected in the findings concerning the

early experiences of the Hindu community and their organisation's attempts to establish themselves in the research area.

The policing issues of concern to the Hindu community were centred around its victimisation regarding street robbery, and other forms of crime and perceptions of police indifference reflecting the traditional complaints about under-policing, and in the case of the Mission, overt hostility of a racist nature. The generic Asian community has been seen as a relatively easy target for crime since their arrival to Britain by both whites and African-Caribbeans (Chapter 3), given the perception of Asians having money and seen as being relatively passive.

ETHNIC ASSOCIATION'S RESPONSE TO POLICING

The methods used by ethnic minority leaders to meet the various needs of their communities was identified as an important research objective. In Chapter 3, it was seen that a popular course of action used by East African Hindus was reliance on informal contacts and participation on formal bodies that were perceived to provide influence in key areas of interest. Examples cited, such as various race-relations committees etc which were generally ignored by African-Caribbeans. This was reflected in the research findings.

The HNA leader remarks on his various attempts to make the police more responsive to their needs:

'I sit on the Lay Visitors Panel, and am a member of the Police Consultative Group, where I often raised these issues and complained in various ways, but all the police say is they will look into it and nothing ever happens.'

Continuing:

'Some time ago, I suggested that we had a quarterly meeting with the police in order to address particular issues that concerns us, and they have turned the idea down on the grounds that they didn't have the resources. What I have difficulty understanding is that I have meetings with other statutory agencies, such as the social services, the health service which are very useful to all concerned.'

An interesting observation about the HNA's leader involvement in the above police initiatives differ to that of the major African-Caribbean leaders on the estate. Another specific objective of the HNA that has equally failed to bear fruit:

'We are trying to get the police to adopt the system which the social services and the housing department have. It's a very good system. We have a special line which allows us to go straight to the manager, or supervisors or whoever, rather than simply hanging around at the counter. We can phone and tell them that we're coming at such and such a time, and then arrange to meet them; rather than hanging around at the police station which is what we have to do at the moment, which simply creates frustration. What we want is a direct line between the community centre and the police, but I am not getting anywhere.'

The HNA's attempts to utilise its political resources to address these issues was found to be severely constrained:

'We have good relations with both Indian councillors and have tried to use their support to bring pressure on the police, but it depends on who is in power. They want to help us, but Labour is not in power so all they can do is to keep raising the issue.'

Elaborating on the limited effectiveness of fellow Hindu leaders:

'Not long ago when it was decided that the police were going to move to sector policing, even though I knew of these developments because of my role on the Consultative Group and things like that. We were never formally informed as an organisation. When I heard nothing, I raised it with the division. After a while I still had heard nothing, so I raised my concerns with one of the Councillors who wrote the Chief Superintendent a letter and I quickly received a letter of apology.'

The frustration experienced by the HNA is clearly illustrated:

'I am very unhappy by the police's response on these matters. Until some big boss comes out and says that we've got to do something about this issue nothing is going to happen. While lack of resources is an issue, how you use the resources available to you is another matter.'

The Mission in its efforts to hold the police to account sought to gain the assistance of the local authority. Its Security Coordinator explains:

'We brought this matter up to the Council, who then brought it to the attention of the police who told us that the traffic police who had behaved in this manner had come from another area. I must confess I wasn't happy by this explanation. Do they take us for fools this did not happen just once or twice.'

He continues:

'I personally wrote on behalf of the Mission to the Council's Police Monitoring Group⁵³ at the time and sent a copy to the police. I got a phone call from the Inspector and I must confess I told him I wasn't interested by his excuses. We must give credit to the Council, because they did put pressure on the police to respond.'

Summary

The research found that the Hindu community used its traditional reliance on conventional methods of exercising influence by the use of formal mechanisms. In this instance the methods used were the HNA leader's participation in the Lay Visitors Scheme and the local Police Consultative group, along with lobbying Hindu politicians.

The experiences of the HNA leader reflects the issue, raised in Chapter 1, on how to evaluate the effectiveness of leaders when attempting to bring about change in policy or practice which is beyond their immediate influence. In this instance, due to police resource constraints, which is a national issue of concern, both associations sought to bring influence to bear on the police by raising matters of anxiety through conventional methods with little success; even though there was evidence that the intervention of the local authority and Hindu elected representatives were able to raise these issues albeit within constraints.

POLICE PERCEPTIONS OF HINDU POLICING PROBLEMS

The research found that the police viewed the problems experienced by the Hindu community, highlighted by the HNA, as being a product of limited resources. The Divisional Commander elaborates:

'The Indian community does not have a crime problem, insofar as significant sections of its members are involved in criminal activity like sections of the Caribbean community. If anything they are more likely to be victims because rightly or wrongly they are seen as having money. The Hindus are relatively quiet and law abiding people, we don't have much problems with them.'

He continues:

'We also have some difficult general problems. For example, it is easy pickings for these offenders because the streetlight is so poor especially at night. On the high road, where a lot of this goes on, it is extremely difficult to police given its size and the number of minor roads and side turnings coming off it. Our resource are limited, this is difficult to get through at times.'

On the issue of resources the Divisional Commander states:

'To be frank, we probably have the most easiest part of the borough to police. Having said that we are still very busy and under-resourced. I suppose if you say that often enough it may sound like a cracked record, but it's true. Some of the demands or expectations the community has is unrealistic, however I would like to think our relations with the Asian community is quite good.'

A particular problem experienced by the police, already noted in Chapter 3, Banton (1965) and Holdaway (1991), is the under-reporting of crime which is shaped mainly by suspicion of the police and Asian experience of racism:

'One of the major problems we have constantly experienced with the representatives of the Indian community, who we deal with, is that even though their members suffer more than their fair share of street robberies, they tend not to talk to us and prefer to keep things in-house.'

In 1992 the police implemented a new strategy (see 'Partnership in Crime Prevention' 1990) where they sought to move from a predominantly reactive approach to policing, to greater emphasis on local community and inter-agency collaboration in meeting local needs (Weatheritt 1993). The Divisional Commander comments on the implication of this change:

'What we are trying to do here in simple terms is to improve the quality and types of service we provide the public by making what we do more responsive to the community's demands, where possible. In organisational and managerial terms this means providing the necessary structures and systems to allow this to happen. In that we are more likely to develop a more meaningful partnership between us and the community. Without this we are unable even to effectively carry out what many would see as our basic and fundamental functions of providing safety and upholding the law; never mind detecting and apprehending those who break it.'

Regarding the HNA in particular:

'What we are hoping is that the new approach we have adopted will help us to eliminate poorly used resources and work collaboratively with people like Mr Patel (HNA chairman), and with their help try to explore various approaches to tackle these things.'

The Mission

Concerning the issue of robberies the Police Inspector comments:

'We have a problem with assaults and robberies on Asian people by predominantly Afro-Caribbeans in the general area; but particularly the high road which is a hot spot for what we use to call mugging. This has been going on for years but has started to build up over the last three or four years now.'

The implementation of the new policing strategy at the ground level was further emphasised by the appointment of a new Inspector responsible for liaising with the Mission along with other community groups in the area. The Sector Inspector commenting on his experience on taking up the post:

'When I came here I think there was a general perception of the relationship between the police and the temple. Claims of discrimination were not uncommon. A very sensitive issue was the organising of Diwali and how the festival was policed. I am glad to say over a period of a couple of years we have managed to turn these problems around.'

A potentially important issue for the police is the matter of inter-generational cultural change and its social implications for the Hindu and other ethnic minority communities (Chapters 2 and 3). One illustration of this is the greater proclivity for young Asians being prepared to physically fight back if attacked (Alexander 1996: 55).

The Divisional Commander comments:

'We have had a couple of problems at different schools and we've got one that is still going on between a group of Asian youths and white youths which isn't necessarily school-related, but I don't know the real history and how far back it goes. But it resulted in one of the white youths being stabbed. We've got another school in the area where there's been some fighting between Asian and white youths.'

The Sector Inspector comments about the fears on the changing relationship between Hindus and crime (The Guardian *ibid*):

'While they don't have a crime problem now. If you were to ask me the same question in six years from now I might give a different answer because I remember what happened in Southall while I was there, and the rise of gangs like the Tooting Nuns. Many of the leaders I speak to at the temple, and elsewhere, are frightened that some of the Indian youngsters may pick up some of the negative ideas from this society which they feel leads to a breakdown in culture and authority. This is a common and very real fear. This is why so many of these organisations spend so much of their time trying to spread their culture and things like that. If you ever go to their school and see how well behaved and disciplined the children are you would be forced to say the same thing.'

The impact of changing attitudes amongst Asian women was found to be an important issue leading to police intervention and supports findings already highlighted (Chapters 2 and 3, Rex and Tomlinson 1979, Ballard 1979, Sawar 1989):

'We are having some problems with some young Asian girls in the area. Their parents are first generation here from East Africa. The girls are going to secondary school and mixing with other cultures, English white people and English born black people, whose parents are much more easy going with them and allow them a lot more freedom and allow them to go to discos and clubs and see their 'bad boys'⁵⁴. While the young Asian girl is frog-marched to school and frog-marched back again, and are expected to improve themselves, and there is a lot of friction developing in the families. So we're getting quite a few of them leaving home and running away. Quite a few have been reported missing. We had a couple of instances where the local authority actually got involved and took the girls into care because they've rebelled against parental authority. This is something I think is going to grow in this area mark my word.'

Summary

The policing issues experienced by the Hindu community according to the police were largely associated to matters related to under-policing and lack of resources, specifically in response to its disproportionate experience of mugging (Chapter 1). This problem is exacerbated by the tendency for under-reporting due to cultural norms surrounding the relationship between the group and the police. An important element shaping Hindu behaviour is caused by beliefs of police racism towards this alien cultural presence reinforcing initial reluctance to confide in them (Chapters 1 and 3). In the case of the Mission, the police's handling of important religious events was a critical factor in shaping its perception of the police and its relationship to the group. These religious events are an integral part in Hindu cultural life, hence police frustration of these activities invariably create resentment with important resonance.

The findings also highlights a set of new policing concerns for the Hindu community (Chapter 1) with the impact of intergenerational and cultural change and its implications for altering the traditional compliance associated with group norms concerning familial authority and the law. These changes were found to have different gender implications that call for intervention from the police.

ASSOCIATIONAL TYPES AND THE HINDU COMMUNITY

In Chapters 2 and 3, Rex 1973, Rex and Tomlinson 1979, Desai 1963 inter alia argue that social-welfare type voluntary associations are the most common type of organisations in ethnic immigrant communities and play a critical role in meeting the various needs of newcomers. The HNA was formed in the late 1970's, as an offshoot of the major Hindu social-welfare association in the borough. The Chairman of the HNA elaborates on its formation:

'After being a member of BIA for many years, we begun to say to ourselves why don't we start up an organisation on this side of the borough because there is nothing there? In those days it was inconvenient travelling because there were hardly any buses, but people had to make their way there because there was nothing else. It was difficult for them to attend functions or to get the services being offered. People in the north of the borough were therefore in a fortunate position.'

Continuing:

'With that in mind, me and a few others started this. This was in 1978. Before that for about three years we carried out work to establish whether there was a need for an organisation such as this before we went any further. We did not rush, or jump to anything, we spent a good time going to people we knew in this part of the community and asked their opinions about whether there was a need for something like the BIA down here. Both of us lived down here, so we were able to speak to a lot of people in the community. We also organised meetings to discuss the issue.'

On the important role of the BIA in this process:

'We had tremendous support from the BIA executive from the start, and after three years of planning the HNA was formally launched based on a similar model and approach of the BIA.'

This relationship was found to be complemented by ongoing interactions and cross-cutting membership not uncommon in particular types of voluntary association (Chapter 2):

'Mr Desai and Mr Patel of the BIA are good personal friends of mine, and also members of this organisation. They live local and are always here.'

The HNA's purpose is explained:

'Our main objectives are to look after the cultural and social welfare needs of our local Asian community. That doesn't mean we will exclude other communities as clients, as long as they accept the goals of the organisation and the rules set down.'

Continuing:

'Our other main objective is to educate our community so that they can participate in the affairs of the country. We particularly target those who are over 45, the elders, they need a bit of education because the youngsters are educated here and exposed to that type of thing.'

An important aspect of these organisations is seeking to influence local decision-makers in meeting the group's requirements. One of the HNA's goals is to make local authority more responsive to its needs (Chapter 2):

'Local authority a lot of the time don't understand our individual or community or cultural needs and that's where we get involved. For example, if there is some problem between a youngster and the father, if the social services get involved the next thing they will tell you is to go to court, but we have our own way to handle this type of thing.'

Developing on the above:

'What happens is that external agencies in this country are not very helpful. Its not their fault, for the most part, it is simply they don't understand our problems. We have an extended family system and no matter what problems arise we try to patch things up and try to stay together, while external agencies are too quick due to their lack of understanding to want to jump in and exaggerate the problem and break people up. Our main objective in these cases is to keep our families united. This of course has lot to do with our religion and culture, but it is also more than that.'

According to Rex (ibid) the primary function of ethnic voluntary association is to facilitate integration. However, this does not suggest, as implied, that this process is one dimensional as illustrated by the findings.

An important goal of the HNA was the promotion of core Hindu values:

'A lot of our people have a very strong belief in the family and want it to last and develop. We believe that due to the work which we and other organisations and institutions are doing will guarantee that our culture will last at least a century or so. Having said that, there are some of the younger generation today who by the look of them things may be different if they are what is to come.'

On the specific cultural programmes run by the organisation:

'We are very concerned about the preservation and maintenance of our language and run classes where we teach young children. We have also developed other youth programmes which seek to reinforce this and other values. One of our most popular programmes is the Indian dance class which is run by two famous artists who live in the borough and who are much loved by the children.'

The Chairman elaborates on the role of the HNA in specific cultural events:

'We both participate in borough-wide Hindu festivals and organise our own events, such as for Navratri and Diwali, which are very important events in our community and culture.'

This illustrates the writer's criticism of Rex (1973) and Desai (1963) who suggest that these types of associations have a mono-dimensional character (Chapter 2).

In the area of social-welfare:

'We hold free advice sessions every day, which is run by a team of four to five people who have responsibility for different areas. We have one person who is from the Social Services Housing Department who comes here to advise on housing matters. There is another person from the Social Services and they advise on things like benefits and that type of thing. The rest of the issues are dealt with by me and my other colleagues.'

He continues:

'We also have a group called the Asian Elders Group which provides a range of services for our elders from singing, organising trips and their own social clubs, anything which is of interest to them. This is one of our strongest and most established programmes.'

Explaining the methods used by the organisation leader's to identify group needs (Chapter 1):

'Our general approach is to try and identify and meet unmet needs and trying to address them. When you go into the community or you listen to the issues and problems people bring to our advice session. From this feedback we try to shape our activities. For example there is growing concern about sections of the youth who are neglected and marginalised provision, and in some cases are becoming delinquent because of this provision. It is a difficult issue which is of concern which we have not yet been able to address properly.'

The history of the HNA helps to explain some important aspects of the organisation and its character:

'We had a split in 1979-80. In those days we managed to get, I think it was something like £52,000 pounds in grants, which was a lot of money; and some of our more selfish members who were unemployed for a long time thought if they worked for the organisation and community why couldn't they get wages; or if they couldn't get why couldn't their son or wives get it? Conflict started from that point because people like me opposed that type of thinking. Of course arguments started from there and accusations were made of the usual kind.'

A crucial element in the local authority's response in terms of its political partisanship and its contribution to this conflict by the means of grant funding is explained (Ben-Tovim ibid):

'During the early times, about the time of the split, I was a member of the Labour Party and the other chap was a member of the Conservative Party, and what happened is the politicians tried to use us. One party tried to fight our corner to give us the money and the Tories were fighting to give their chap the money. The Tories got in and for a long time we didn't get any money and the other group were getting all the funds, but we survived with the help and commitment of the community.'

Explaining the importance of communal support, voluntary participation, and ethnic group values through this critical period (Chapter 2):

'One year we got £1,000 to run this building and all our activities seven days a week, but we said all right we will show these people this group will survive. People came up to pledge their support. Our teaching staff came to me one day and said don't worry we won't demand a penny from you and will work as long as we have to, and this was what our people did up until 1990, until the Council realised we were stronger than they thought. We held out for seven years until even some Tory councillors began to say that we had been treated badly.'

The devastating impact of the conflict and its depiction in the local press⁵⁵ on the organisation's leadership is described:

'It was a very difficult time for us, and had quite an impact on us, and particularly in our ability to deliver services. Some members of the community did not know all about what was happening and who was right and who was wrong. You can't tell everyone in the community about every aspect of the disagreement it is not possible. But the number of people who used our facilities did drop for a while.'

An important factor in the ability of the HNA to survive this ordeal was the commitment of members and its leadership in continuing to provide ongoing service to the community:

'After a while people begun to see for themselves who was sincere and committed to meeting their needs, and who were using the community for pursuing their own personal interests and agendas, and came back to us in larger numbers than before. For instance, there are many services which we provide here totally free regardless what it involves. People were coming back to us and saying that they were being charged for such services, directly or indirectly, such as being asked to make contributions for assistance in gaining information from a government or council department. If we have to act as advocates or help people communicate directly with these bodies, they shouldn't have to be charge; that's a golden rule.'

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE AND DECISION-MAKING

The HNA structure and decision-making process consists of six executive members, which includes the Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer etc, along with 17 general executive members elected from the local community. Elections to the Executive Committee are held every year to coincide with the elections of the General Committee Members. In this regard the HNA was structured along conventional management committee lines common to social-welfare type associations (Billis 1993).

Explaining the reasons for a particular HNA election practice, its Chairman comments:

'Given our previous experience, there is a great concern to keep the organisation as democratic as possible which meant instead of having elections every two years, we now have them every year. Sometimes if you have a bad chair in the office he can do a lot of damage if left unchecked; so we have an election every year. If the Chairman is doing his job properly then there is no problem people will want him to stay, if this is not the case he can be removed without much fuss.'

The Chairman and incumbent for the last five years explains his role:

'I am accountable to my Management Committee for the overseeing and day to day running of the centre and the management of our voluntary staff and ensuring everything runs according to expectations.'

The structure of the Mission was found to combine both traditional religious and management characteristics. The head of the Mission, the Principal Trustee, oversees the committee (Pracher) consisting of six other Trustees responsible for the overall running and management of the organisation, reporting directly to the sect's Guru. The Principal Trustee can take responsibility for very important projects, e.g. the building of the new temple. Other Trustees head various committees responsible for particular areas of work: religious affairs, finance and administration, security, education, women, youth and children.

The decision-making in the organisation is characterised largely by a top-down approach, however this depends on the issue in question. The Security Coordinator elaborates:

'On specific important matters like the building of the new temple most of the key decisions come from the Trustees. People like me have our areas where we make day to day decisions, but on policy issues and things like that, even though we have an important input because on certain matters we have greater experience. But at the end of the day our elders have the final word and so it should be.'

Explaining his role the Security Coordinator remarks:

'My role is to look after the security of our people and property, which is quite wide and includes installing security systems on buildings. Anything really to do with the police is my responsibility.'

The work of committees is carried out voluntarily by professionals, and experienced individuals, drawn primarily from established members of the Mission's congregation (Chapter 2). The Security Coordinator, whose background is specialising in the designing and installation of security alarms, explains how he came to occupy his position:

'I was known to the Trustees for a long time. I grew up as a child in this faith. My parents were very strong followers, as is my own son, and I was approached to take on this job by the Trustees because they knew I could do it. I've been doing it for 14 years. Before that I was a youth leader for the Mission when we were in Islington.'

The decision-making structure of the Mission was found to be based on a combination of traditional religious authority and professional expertise. This demonstrates the complexity of leadership legitimacy and authority in many ethnic communities, rather than positing these as conflicting sources (Gouldbourne 1991).

MEMBERSHIP

Membership was open to individuals of all ethnic groups who support the HNA's goals, even though Hindus constituted all of its membership⁵⁶. Commenting on some of the exceptions to the organisations inclusive attitude regarding membership:

'We do not approach or encourage politicians to become members of our organisation, because from our experience they tend to be trouble trying to involve you in their political schemes and agendas. We also do not want to attract or involve fanatics or any sort of fundamentalists. If you are Asian and approach us to become a member we will say yes, however if we come to know that you are a politician, or a fanatic of any sort, we will have to tell them in the nicest possible way that this is not the type of organisation for you.'

This finding illustrates how the conservative ethos of the HNA reflects a major characteristic in the Hindu approach to power and influence generally, which relies essentially on a low-key strategy not so dissimilar to that of the Jewish community (Ryan 1978). An important consideration in this regard is preventing conflict, and negative perception of the group externally (Chapters 1 and 3).

The Mission's attitude towards eligibility for membership was similar to the general conservatism of the 'non' religious HNA:

'We are not interested in politics on an organisational level. We are interested in looking after the interests of our members. The members can vote for who they like or be involved in whatever they like, as long as it does not bring our beliefs into disrepute. Fanaticism of any type is dangerous, it destabilises society and breaks down social discipline and the system.'

The Mission

The Mission originally located in a small community hall in North London (see Chapter 3) and formed by PC Patel, it's Principal Trustee and a small group of devotees in 1973. The authority of the founder and leader is shaped by his relationship to its Guru in India (Barot 1987). The Security Coordinator comments:

'Pramukhmaharaj can see the individual's soul and if the individual is dedicated and their soul is clean he can appoint them to any position, such as a Trustee. We don't question him, even though most of the Trustees are long time followers who have proven themselves. He doesn't look at the individual's qualifications, or paper, but at their hearts. Our Principal Trustee was given the power by Pramukhmaharaj to come to England and to start this work.'

This finding challenges the views of Gouldbourne (1991) on the various basis of leadership legitimacy in ethnic communities and illustrates its potential complexity.

While the Mission exists primarily to promote the beliefs and ideals of it's religion, an important element of its goals is the promotion of Hindu culture:

'One of the things we are proud of is we have a full-time school which caters for several hundred children from the age of four upwards. Our community is very concerned that our children maintain their cultural identity. You only have to look at what is taking place all over the country. While we have a range of other events which are designed to meet the same aims. The temple we are building is really designed to pull all these things together into a major cultural and religious centre.'

MISSION RESOURCES AND THE TEMPLE BUILDING PROJECT

The building of the temple started in 1991 and is planned to be completed by 1997, at the cost of £13,000,000, funded by the Mission's membership and supporters. This project illustrates very well the importance of ethnicity and social caste as a source of resources, and in this instance the socio-economic character of East African Hindus (Modood, Berthould et al. 1997)⁵⁷. Furthermore, it highlights how religious and personal authority in the form of the Principal Trustee is mediated by other forms of legitimacy (Chapter 2).

The Mission leader comments:

'On the temple project the people are predominantly professionals from all walks of life. We've got electrical engineers, mechanical engineers, labourers, doctors, architects, project managers and planners. We've got businessmen who have donated their time to do what some could view as menial work. We also have many university students who have committed their time.'

While most of the resources for the project came from members of the Mission's congregation, this did not limit its ability to gain the assistance of other Hindus through both personal and organisational contacts (Chapter 3). Nye (1993) in his study of temple building in Edinburgh shows how Hindu's relied on a similar approach for mobilising resources (Chapter 1). The Security Coordinator describes the process used in obtaining necessary resources for the new temple:

'If our expertise is exhausted we will then try to get the expertise from the wider Hindu community on a voluntary basis. It's quite easy to get people. For example, I am a technical engineer and I know other Hindu engineers who I can approach and ask to make a contribution. What we are doing here is for the Hindu community as well as the whole society, and any good Hindu would want to contribute. We have quite an extensive network as can be seen by the number of people on the site.'

The Principal Trustee elaborates on the extent of the Mission's resources:

'Many of the gentlemen who we saw working on the central tower are traditional Indian craftsmen from Gujarat who were brought over for this project. Temple building as a craft has been passed down through families from father to son for generations. These people are expert builders. We want to build the first traditional Hindu temple in the country, so we had to get them because no one else can do it. There are some other castes, but they are from the Bengal region.'

Another source of resources is provided by the joint membership of many caste-based associations (Chapter 1, Barot 1987: Chapter 4, Werbner 1991, Lyons and West 1995, Tambs-Lyche 1975, Desai 1963). The Security Coordinator explains:

'I, like so many of the Patel's in the Mission, are members of the local Patidar, even though I am a passive member because I am devoted to my work here. But I have many good friends and family members who are also part of the association, who I can call on to give a hand when needed.'

The Mission's leader develops a similar theme:

'We are members of the BIA, which is the major umbrella organisation for Hindus in the area. We have excellent relations and provide mutual support whenever needed.'

The Mission illustrates many of the characteristics of the Hindu community which contributes to its influence, progress (Chapter 1) and its access to a wide range of resources; either through caste based networks or those of the BIA which acts as the peak organisations for Hindu's in the borough. Given the socio-economic character of the Patel caste which dominates the local area and whose members are found in a range of disciplines and occupations, which provides the Mission and its leadership with a considerable resource base.

Summary

The research found that the HNA was modelled on another more established traditional Hindu social-welfare type association representing first generation immigrant communities (Chapters 2 and 3). An important function of these types of organisations is to address the needs of immigrants in a range of areas and is reflected in the character of the HNA.

One facet of the HNA's role is acting as a channel of communication and representation for sections of the community. Attempts to make local statutory agencies more responsive to its needs, by the HNA providing services with the assistance of the local authority. This is particularly important given the various constraints that limit the access of immigrants from services and entitlements, such as language barriers (Chapters 1 and 3). Community leaders play a vital role in overcoming these obstacles and facilitating the progress of the group through this transition.

The importance of cultural identity, in Hindu thinking and organisational strategy, is seen in the desire to maintain key aspects of group culture by running language and traditional dance classes, along with celebration of religious festivals. This illustrates both instrumental and expressive functions of the HNA.

The HNA's history helped it to develop a significant degree of experience in the politics of local authority funding, but also its potential to exacerbate internal conflict. This understanding is reflected in aspects of its structure and organisational practices, as in eligibility for membership and the selection of officers. A fundamental concern behind many of the organisation's practices is limiting conflict. The organisational structure consisted of voluntary executive officers responsible for managing various organisational activities, headed by its Chairman.

The Mission exemplifies a religious sect-type organisation where the formation of the association is intrinsically linked to the personal authority of its head. However, this did not exclude other sources of authority, such as technical expertise. The goals of the Mission are essentially religious in character, but also possess a strong social dimension based on maintenance of traditional values and practices which reinforces its essentially conservative character. This bears a great similarity to the Jewish approach with the exception of the Mission's leaders seeking to maintain aspects of its culture other than its religion which are seen as inseparable (Chapter 1). A significant facet of the Mission's conservatism is its fear of radicalism, or association with politics, as found in the attitudes to eligibility for membership or any kind of activity which potentially threatens its accommodationist outlook on most issues. Once again the similarities to the dominant Jewish approach are very striking (Chapter 1).

Important characteristics of the Mission are the relatively high levels of financial, human and organisational resources available to it, which reflects the socio-economic status of the East African community, in particular the Patel caste in Hindu society (Chapter 3). The Mission's membership of the more established BIA gave it access to a very wide network of resources that its leadership could call on if necessary. This can be seen clearly in the Mission's capacity to organise and fund its multi-million pound new temple.

ORGANISATIONAL PROBLEMS

In common with other ethnic minority communities already examined, lack of financial resources was found to be a matter of concern in supporting various social programmes and maintaining organisations (Chapter 1). The HNA's leader elaborates:

'Money is always important to us for obvious reasons. But money is not the most important thing, because there are times when you have to do something or provide a service whether you have to do something or not. There is so much to do. We are all community members who volunteer our time and we all share responsibility for running this place all 14 of us.'

The type of day-to-day problems which the HNA seek to respond to on limited resources is illustrated:

'The other day, just recently, we had a case involving the hospital. A woman died and there was no family or contact person. The hospital who know us very well phoned me and asked for our help. We asked around to see if we could find out who the woman was and came back with nothing. After contacting various people in the community we were able to give her a decent send off. It was not a matter of money in these types of cases. It's a matter of human dignity and under such circumstances we often have to go into our own pockets or the community's.'

One of the strengths of the HNA that enables it to deal with many of the demands made on it is its abundance of volunteers (Chapter 2). Its leader explains:

'We don't have much problems getting human resources on a voluntary basis. We get quite a few of our community who volunteer their time. This whole organisation runs on voluntary labour, this is why I can't speak to you earlier in the daytime because I am at work, so are most of my colleagues. If you came in the morning someone else will be sitting here. On the weekends I am not here, unless it is an emergency or something like that; but there is always around the clock supervision.'

Qualifying the above comment:

'One of the problems we have is sometimes we cannot get people to do voluntarily work when we need it, or some people will not commit themselves to do anything unless there is a clear financial gain. But then there are many others who have a completely different attitude and will volunteer themselves if they know it will benefit the community. This is the beauty of our community, particularly amongst the middle-aged people and the elders. The grown ups were not born here and grew up in communities, or environments, where it was expected and taken for granted that they would work on behalf of their communities.'

The role of local businessmen in the communal affairs of the Hindu community has been shown in Chapter 3 to be both direct and indirect, with businessmen either playing leadership roles or providing backing to other leaders. The research revealed evidence of the numerous ways Hindu businesses provided resources to the HNA:

'My boss is a Hindu businessman and he has been very supportive to the centre and myself, by allowing me to be as flexible as I like so that I can attend to community business and keep office hours. If I was working for a white man I don't think the idea would have even been raised. We also receive some financial donations from some local businessmen now and again, but they usually help by providing us goods and that kind of thing cheaply or for free from time to time. It all depends how good business is.'

Impending problems perceived by the HNA with significant implications for the organisation, is the impact of assimilation amongst second generation Hindus. This supports the observations made in Chapter 1 (and illustrated in Chapters 2 and 3) that cultural change brings with it mixed blessings for ethnic communities and paradoxically dominant white society. Elaborating on this the HNA leader remarks:

'These youngsters today who will be 18-20 in the next decade or so, I doubt if they will work for the community as much as we have done because they are very westernised. Their names and skin colour may be different than the whites, but their values are the same. My fear is that if we do not watch out we will end up like the Asians in South Africa. In South Africa, as you know, there are Asians there but they are all mixed. It's not that you are a Hindu or Muslim, they are all brown skinned and mixed and called Asians. There is no religious or cultural identity there.'

The main organisational problem experienced by the Mission reflects that already mentioned by the HNA i.e. related to the demographic and cultural changes taking place within the community and already outlined in Chapter 3 in terms of its contribution to social

problems and crime. The Mission leader:

'There are very many things taking place in this society which deeply concerns us. Whatever changes which take place amongst the society as a whole has a strong impact on the morality of us as Hindus, which is why we are seeing and hearing from parents of all kind of social problems which are really alien, but are being picked up by the young; and inevitably leads to crime and all types of social problems.'

Summary

The findings illustrate that common to all ethnic minority communities and their organisations are the concerns about financing their various activities which constitutes an ongoing problem (Chapter 1). This was of particular concern for the HNA given its character. But less so for the Mission given the type of organisation it is and its capacity to draw resources far wider than the local area.

A new set of concerns expressed by leaders of the HNA and Mission, similar to those outlined in Chapters 1, 2 and 3, regarding the impact of inter-generational cultural change which constitutes an important dilemma for ethnic leaders of all communities. The creation of new inclusive urban cultures which include young Asians, African-Caribbeans and whites, in many instances, leads to the weakening of parental cultural values, increasing delinquency and crime.

The impact of this type of cultural change (clearly seen in the case of the Jewish community) is its consequences for potential resources. For local community organisations like the HNA, this threatens to erode the notions of group solidarity and undermine its potential access to volunteers and supporters, the lifeblood of such organisations.

THE EFFECTIVENES OF HINDU ASSOCIATIONS

One of the principal research objectives outlined in Chapter 1 was identifying the methods used by ethnic minority leaders in attempting to influence the police. The HNA found their efforts to make the police more responsive to be less successful. The changes identified in the findings were brought about by the adoption of a new policing strategy. Commenting a year later on the HNA's efforts its leader states:

'As I said I think things are changing slowly. The police are more involved and integrated into the community than before. I think this change has come about in say the last year or so, since the reorganisation to sector policing and trying to increase the involvement of the community in order to improve the service. This is what we have been saying all the time, but again it had to wait until some big boss somewhere had to bang their desk to get things moving.'

Continuing on a specific issue of concern:

'We still have yet been unable to get the system that I want the police to introduce in place, but I think the atmosphere is more favourable to getting the matter seriously discussed.'

The Mission was successful in making the police more responsive to its needs, brought about by the aforementioned changes in police strategy. The Mission's Security Coordinator comments:

'Since the introduction of this new policy and the arrival of our sector Inspector Ian, the whole relationship between us and the police has radically changed. To be honest I can't remember the last time we have had a crossed word. He is extremely helpful and goes out of his way to try to accommodate us.'

Overviewing the interaction between the Mission and the police, he concludes:

'Our relationship with the police is quite excellent, Ian has my home number and I have his. If I have any problems or vice versa he can always get me. If I am not there he knows how to contact the elders in the temple. I think most of our policing issues, particularly around our festivals have been resolved. However there are general issues of crime which effects us, which are still there.'

Summary

The research found that despite the HNA being unable to get the police to introduce new practices. Its leader felt that the introduction of sector policing created a more positive environment in pursuing the objective in question, and contributed to a more optimistic attitude towards the police from local Hindus. This illustrates a point raised in Chapter 1, that in many instances, ethnic leaders are unable to bring about desired change, due to any number of reasons beyond their control.

In the case of the Mission, sector policing has led to considerable improvements in its relationship with the police especially around the issue of religious festivals, which more easily lends itself to resolution with police cooperation.

THE POLICING OF RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

Regarding the policing of religious events, the findings confirms considerable improvement in police cooperation in meeting the needs of local leadership. The Mission's Security Coordinator comments:

'1993 was a good year for us, with the police policy changing and with Ian coming, and that was the best Diwali we ever had. It was excellent everything went well, the community really enjoyed Diwali that year, and everybody will remember it. Ian⁵⁸ made a great difference. He was very down to earth and has gone out of his way to be of help to us.'

Security of New Temple

The improved relationship between the Mission and the police was found in other areas concerning the new temple. Commenting on the police's role in this context, the Security Coordinator elaborates:

'We are very concerned about vandalism and racist attacks on the temple which has cost us over £7,000,000, most of it is marble specially shipped from India. The police have been absolutely marvellous. Ian arranged for us to speak to their team which specialises in crime prevention issues and how best to protect the temple.'

Policing and Ethnic Group Relations

The building of the temple created foreseeable problems between the Hindu community and much older white residents where the police were perceived to have a role in mediating between these communities (Banton 1964, Cain 1973,). Kalka (1991) highlighted the type of approaches used by the Hindu community in anticipating and seeking to ameliorate potential racial conflict with whites in the pursuit of broader objectives. Similar tactics were evident in the Security Coordinators remarks:

'We don't have much contacts outside the Hindu community and Ian is helping us to develop good relations. The temple, we hope, is something which can bring the community together and put the borough on the map in a big way. We do not want it to become a source of difficulty and Ian again has been excellent in this regard.'

Summary

In the case of the Mission it was successful in eventually getting many of its key policing concerns addressed to its satisfaction around the policing of religious events. Although, these changes were brought about through centre-led policing initiatives. This improvement in relations created opportunities for the Mission to build its relationship with the local white community in pursuit of developing programmes around the new temple. The police were seen as important given their role as mediators in improving race relations and is consistent with the approach used by Hindus mentioned earlier (Chapters 1 and 3).

POLICE PERCEPTIONS OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF HINDU ASSOCIATIONS

In Chapter 3 the political strategies utilised by Hindu leaders in developing influence was outlined. The findings highlight many aspects of the favoured approaches used by this ethnic community.

The perception of the Hindu community's growing influence in the borough had a major effect in the Mission's ability to bring about the desired change in its relationship with the police. The Sector Inspector explains:

'The Hindu community has a very clear agenda and its called power, money and influence. They are becoming very influential in the borough, if you look at the make up of the Council. Looking at Ealing Road, the traffic down there on a Friday and Saturday is terrible, but the Council won't do anything despite the complaints. In fact they condone it, because it is in the heart of Indian business and commerce down there, what the locals call 'Little India' and there is a lot of Conservative votes there. Look at the Navratri fund⁵⁹ set aside by the Council to help them fund their religious event. In a way the Navratri festival which is a Hindu ritual has become part of the borough whether anyone likes it or not, and a large number don't, believe me.'

The local authority's Director of Voluntary Sector Team makes similar observations about growing Hindu influence:

'The Hindu community in this borough is extremely influential and well-organised, which is why they are so important. They are very well-represented in many marginal wards. There were, and are still, many people who are not happy about the Navartri fund. But I usually respond that I am happy to set up any fund that Members ask me to for whatever group. The fact of the matter is that these are political decisions.'

The effectiveness of Hindu voluntary associations in accessing resources and using it to exercise influence amongst whites in the area provides some indication of the community's potential strength and the strategy it utilises to pursue its goals (Chapter 3, Kalka 1991). The Sector Inspector comments on the only Hindu senior citizens association in the area.

'They've got access to EEC food surplus, such as butter and stewing steak. They foster good relations with the white community, because whenever they get this food stuff anybody who is eligible regardless what community they're from can come and get what they need. These people never seem to have difficulty getting what they want. The Mayor will always come to their dinners.'

Commenting on the Mission's ambitions:

'The Hindu community, or shall I say the Swaminarayan community to be more particular, is spreading in the area because they have bought their own school; a lower and an upper school; they have large areas of land around the temple. They made an attempt to buy the road adjacent to it, but the Council wouldn't sell it to them, because they had occupied council houses on it. So they tried to buy out the houses but they couldn't do that, so the Council refused. They plan to make some substantial investments into the area using the temple as the centre of this new community if you like.'

POLICE RESPONSE TO HINDU RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

The success of the Mission in getting police assistance in organising two major Hindu festivals constituted a major development compared to earlier experiences. The close working relations between the Mission and the police in putting on these events is explained by the Sector Inspector:

'We now have a complete list of all major Hindu festivals. When they have say Diwali there is up to 30,000 people for each day, over a two-day period⁶⁰. It's fair to say that the traffic gets absolutely blocked, nothing can move for miles in any direction. Things can get very difficult, but because of our good working relations we are able to coordinate things.'

An important factor in this improved relationship is the Mission's ability to use its considerable resources to offset the demands made on the police (Chapter 3):

'Diwali and Navratri have become important major events and I suppose demonstrates very clearly the kind of weight the Hindu community now enjoy in the borough. Consequently we have to find the resources to police it. Having said that the Indian community who contribute through various ways, are not adverse to contributing in any form to the staging of these events, which is something when you consider the kind of thing we experience when policing large events in this area.'

A specific illustration of how mutual interest structures the interaction between the Mission and the police is provided by the Sector Inspector:

'I have been trying to set up a Neighbourhood Watch which one of my PCs is responsible for, which is now going to be using the existing temple for meetings. There is a pelican crossing near the temple that I've managed to get them to pay to get it removed. They see these things as being good for their interests and who am I to complain.'

The growth and consolidation of ethnic minority communities may have significant consequences both foreseen and unforeseen. A serious problem that is thrown up by such developments is the policing implications of potential racial tensions over contested space, a key element in racial violence. An important outcome of the Hindu community's growing assertiveness in the area is its effect on the perceptions and social relations with other ethnic groups, in particular the white majority community (Hesse and Bonnet 1990, Werbner 1991, Keith 1993).

The Sector Inspector for the Mission area comments on the growth of the Hindu community:

'Asians tend to stick together as units, because they'll buy a property between them all and then they'll buy another one, and before you know it in a matter of ten years they could take quite a large area over and that's only one family.'

Elaborating on the perceived consequences of the spread of the Hindu community:

'You have to remember that the high road cuts through what was traditionally a predominantly white area and many people now feel they are being pushed out and the Indians are taking over everything. Many of the white people here grew up in the area. In fact there are quite a few people in the job who grew up around here. Some don't want to move because this is where they know, others can't afford to move.'

The construction and development of the temple in the eyes of the police Inspector creates potential points of conflict, similar to the high road, calling for police intervention:

'You have to try and also look at things from the point of view of some of the older white communities here, the family who are sitting in their cars on a Saturday trying to do their shopping or trying to get into Ikea. It's horrendous and can breed all types of hostility that's why I am trying to get the communities together.'

Regarding the temple:

'The actual temple is as high as some council blocks. Most of the residents are not aware of this, but it has been formally approved and is well on the way. What I'm trying to do is to get the indigenous white residents, who live in the bulk of the council flats, and the leaders of the temple and local Indians together to prevent certain problems. The temple is aware of these issues and are eager to prevent them.'

Summary

An important set of factors shaping the police perception of the influence of the Hindu community generally, and the Mission in particular, is the growth of the group's economic and political status (Chapter 3). The Mission's resources, in terms of financial and political influence, was also important in forming the police's response to cooperate in policing key religious events, as in providing human resources to alleviate pressure on the police (similar

to the Jewish community's approach). This also shows that the socio-economic character, levels of organisation and specific policing issues in question, creates greater possibility for ethnic minority leaders to exercise influence regardless of previous experience of racial discrimination (Chapter 1).

The police's relationship with the Mission was significantly assisted by the accommodating attitude of the latter's leaders. The Mission's posture enabled the police to maximise their own goals thus creating a relationship facilitated by mutual interest and shared norms. Again, this is similar to the approach used by the Jewish community that has been largely successful in influencing the police. The growing influence of the Hindu community led to the legitimising of important religious events as activities that warrant police cooperation.

However, according to the police, the growth and consolidation of the Hindu community creates the potential for deterioration in race relations given their advancement and how white communities perceive this. This illustrates how racism is a potentially important constraint to the activities of ethnic leaders in achieving their goals at various levels (Chapter 1). This change in the character of the local area was to potentially provide the police with a new set of problems, but also an opportunity to exercise influence over Hindu organisations by posing as mediators or informal representatives of white fears and sensibilities. These dynamics gives the police increased informal power in their dealings with ethnic leaders. It also highlights the observation that the police see themselves as representing a particular ethnic and social order, not commensurate with their own rhetoric about multi-racial society.

RESEARCH FINDINGS OVERVIEW

The research reveals that the policing concerns for the Jewish community were directly related to issues around crime: lack of available officers, nuisance and issues around car parking. Many of these issues reflect national policing concerns but also the aging nature of the Jewish community. Limited acts of anti-Semitism was the only area of concern to the Jewish community that was directly related to their ethnicity (Chapter 1).

The Board illustrates important aspects of the Jewish community's ability to consolidate and exercise influence and the political thinking guiding this process. The Board has evolved a very elaborate organisation, characterised by top-down decision-making, that incorporates a range of Jewish communal associations at the local and regional level (Chapters 2 and 3). A distinguishing feature of the Board is its status in being able to exercise almost a monopoly on representation of the Jewish community. These processes have given the Board, and many leading Jews, the status of governmental insiders where they portray many of the classic characteristics of successful political interest groups.

A dimension of the dominant thinking amongst Jewish leaders, clearly seen in the Board's development, has been its commitment to cultural assimilationism with the relegation of ethnic religious matters to the private domain. The willingness and ability for Jews to adopt this approach is based on its common European racial origins, which has enabled them to overcome many of the barriers affecting other ethnic groups (Modood 1993).

Evidence of the Board's influence shown in its ability to get a procedure adopted, by the police at the centre, for policing important religious events. An important factor in the success of this relationship at the local level is evidence of Security Coordinators adopting an accommodatory approach in their interactions with local police and sharing complementary ways of working.

The research revealed that the police's perceptions of the primary concerns of the Jewish community varied according to its size. While in one area, characterised by a sizeable Jewish community, the police confirmed the concerns of anti-Semitism in terms of harassment and attacks on property, however, these occurrences were very infrequent. But the overriding issues in both locales were confirmed to be non-ethnic in character and related to general quality of life matters. One major issue for the Jewish community, which

has direct import for its communal institutions and the Board in particular, is the outcome of cultural assimilation. This is witnessed by the subsequent decline in numbers of actively practicing Jews, reducing the human and financial resources needed for its numerous institutions.

The Board managed to address anti-Semitic activities at the centre due to its powerful security and intelligence machinery, which has proven to be an important resource in monitoring activities and providing intelligence in influencing the police (Chapters 1 and 3). Despite the Board's flexible attitude, the organisation on occasion resorted to more forceful approaches to achieve its goals. The police acknowledged the Board's influence at the centre, particularly with government, and its status compared to other ethnic community organisations and attributed this to the socio-economic status of the Jewish community and the stature of many of its members.

In light of Jewish unease and allegations of 'black anti-Semitism' and criminal activity from the African-Caribbean community, and others, the Board's new leaders sought to depart from its traditional stance and to develop relations with other ethnic minority communities. One dimension of the Board's approach was forming relations with peak associations including religious bodies and through the statutory agency the CRE. Another aspect of the Board's approach was through the provision of funding to ethnic minority groups and the use of interpersonal contacts on race related bodies (Chapters 2 and 4).

The Board's strategy seems particularly precarious given the fundamental differences between the Jewish, African-Caribbean and various Islamic communities. The most apparent being the Jewish community is racially from the same group as the dominant white community, whose points of tension regarding discrimination is limited to a small number of issues. These important differences makes the citing of the Jewish community as a comparator or model for these ethnic communities as erroneous for the most part (Chapter 1).

The issue of institutional under-development is common to most ethnic minority communities, compared to Jews, creates problems for the Board in advancing its strategy. However, it is the basic differences in character of the African-Caribbean and Islamic communities that render the Board's new approach extremely problematic.

Nowhere are the above issues more apparent than the conflicting interests revealed between the Board and the aforementioned communities illustrated in the Farrakhan issue.

Even accommodationist African-Caribbean leaders found themselves in conflict with their erstwhile Jewish colleagues. These differences are even more explicit in the case of the leaders on the estate who clearly identify with Farrakhan's black power teachings.

The above findings support the writer's thesis (Chapter 1) that the history of white domination/slavery of Africans/African-Caribbeans involved Jews as a relatively undistinguishable section of the white dominant group. The African-Caribbeans experience of discrimination in Britain led to the positive predisposition towards black power type ideologies on a popular level. It is therefore difficult given this recognition to see how the Board could work successfully with African-Caribbean leaders who promote such values (Chapter 1).

The research found the priority policing issues for the African-Caribbean community was directly related to institutional and other forms of discrimination experienced by this group (Chapter 2). In particular the perennial issue of mugging of other ethnic communities served to complicate and strain the relations between these ethnic groups and contributed to the negative perceptions of African-Caribbeans and their association with crime (Chapter 1).

These tensions stem not only from the fact that the perpetrators of these crimes are African-Caribbean, reinforcing popular negative stereotypes; but moreover introduces the possibility that racial motivation influences the decisions of offenders, as opposed to being essentially opportunistic in character. This does not eliminate any racial factor, or the perceptions of, but contextualises it as not primary. This created antagonism between sections of the African-Caribbean community and Asian communities, with the latter being accused of expediently using the 'race card'. This finding is very similar to the Board attempting to define similar crimes by African-Caribbean offenders as forms of 'anti-Semitism' as opposed to straightforward criminal activity.

Another set of policing issues, at the time of the fieldwork was emerging on the estate, was the spread of crack-cocaine and its association with gun-crime. These policing concerns served to reinforce the type of over-policing historically experienced by the African-Caribbean community of incidents and allegations which have become synonymous with

this relationship, in terms of harassment of young men and their family members. The unstable relationship with the police, clearly seen in the disturbance on the estate, which led to the creation of the Support Group.

The treatment of elder women by the police had particular resonance amongst male leaders who saw this as a violation of important cultural norms (Chapter 2). Cultural norms also play a significant role in shaping the behaviour of African-Caribbean males and the community, in their interactions with the police; as seen in the masculine warrior ethic and how this shapes the environment in which this interaction takes place.

Individuals leaving offending cultures to participate in the programmes and opportunities made available, was testimony of the Association's success. This was particularly important, given the effects of institutionalised discrimination on the cultural expectations of African-Caribbean men in frustrating their abilities to meet them and how black power ideology speaks to those needs. The unprecedented influence of the Association made it an important focal point for communication for the police and eventually a source of mutual cooperation. Much of this interaction took place outside the official police-community structures, where the Association's pragmatic leaders were best able to maximise their influence, but also proved useful to the police in many ways.

The Support Group was another example of effective leadership. They were successful in achieving most of their objectives, specifically in obtaining popular backing and the eventual release of its members. The common nature of the incident which led to the creation of the Support Group contributes to the way African-Caribbean leaders are portrayed (Chapter 2). But, even here, despite actively heading the Support Group, its leader sought to involve himself in other community activities designed to tackle some of the underlying social problems of the community; and whose activism was not restricted to essentially 'anti-police activity'.

One problem which beset the Association is that it became a victim of its own success, seen by its rapid growth in a short period. Its decision to forgo slow evolution, characteristic of the Jewish approach (Chapters 1, 2 and 3), led its leaders to take the pragmatic view to accept external funding for its Centre Project. The adverse effects of this decision is seen in goal displacement, in terms of the shift away from the initial definition of self-help and independent funding. Having to cater to groups outside of the African-Caribbean

community was another and could also be observed in the abandonment of traditional practice of community consultations. This dispute eventually led to a leadership challenge, and creation of the BAG headed by one of the Association's founders and influential personality. However, the difficulties of developing an effective strategy to meet a relatively complex set of social issues, became immediately apparent to the BAG who sought local authority funding to set up a youth club.

The government's behaviour helps to explain much of the African-Caribbean attitude towards white society and is seen by how the issue of public spending was used to cut programmes benefiting their communities (Chapters 1 and 2). The racist subtext of this action is reflected in the targeting of black leaders nationally, through the media, who were accused of abusing public monies through ill-conceived or mis-managed projects. Nowhere is this more clearer than how local authority sought to scapegoat the Association's leaders for the problems experienced with the Centre Project.

The Forum founder on the other hand, lost his position due to discrepancies surrounding the Council's conditions concerning use of resources, which hastened the election of 'respectable neighbourhood activists' who were more accommodationist in orientation. The evidence shows the new chair of the Forum was unable to command the authority of her predecessor and only able to come to office due to former's failings. This finding supports this writer's contention that personalities who represent important group values are more likely to obtain leadership in the African-Caribbean (Chapters 1 and 2). This is not surprising given the influence enjoyed by the Association and its leadership is normally beyond the reach of accommodationist leaders within the community itself; as opposed to stature gained via platforms provided to them by the dominant institutions (Chapter 2). This concurs with the problems experienced by the Board in exercising influence within the African-Caribbean community, having to actively create fora with no success, and to have issues of concern to them pursued.

The research found that the Forum's relationship with the police was one of antagonism when led by its founder, which continued with the new incumbent. With the introduction of new police leadership for the estate, as part of a change in strategy, the police adopted a more pro-active role in the community. They were also able to solicit the support of the Forum leader to participate in many of its schemes, something it had been unable to do with any other significant figures from the black community.

Despite the opportunities, potential funding provided, which was a big incentive for the Forum and its members. The realities of the funding regime raise serious concerns about such optimism. Firstly, the conditions surrounding funding bore little relation to the needs of the community in terms of the level of initial resources it needed to operate effectively. Secondly, the access to money helped to create problems within the Forum with factions organising privately to take advantage of funds at the expense of the collective.

The experience of the Forum mirrors many similarities with the Association about the way external funding acts as an important factor in the demise of African-Caribbean organisations. This raises serious questions about black dependency on white institutions, and goes to the heart of matters regarding black autonomy, which is most clearly articulated in the black power model (Chapters 2 and 4).

The policing priorities for the Hindu community were mainly related to under-policing, concerning mugging and similar offences (Chapter 1). This was complicated by a culture of under-reporting within the group, and the perceptions of police racism, indifference, and in the case of the Mission overt hostility to their presence in the community. These findings concur with the general patterns of policing priorities of Hindus already outlined (Chapter 3).

The HNA is a traditional social-welfare organisation, modelled on a more established organisation, with strong links with local authority and other statutory and voluntary bodies. The organisation ran a range of social-welfare type programmes, as well as those designed to promote important aspects of its cultural identity. The HNA was a conventional Asian voluntary association structured along standard management committee lines with elected officers.

The HNA's decision to hold annual elections of officers sought to facilitate continuity of work with checks on the authority of its Chair, given concerns about accountability. This practice evolved due to the HNA's experience of conflict brought about by funding. Like the experience of African-Caribbean organisations funding can have adverse affects on its recipients. However, one important difference between the African-Caribbean organisations and the HNA is its age. Moreover, the HNA's focus on a smaller range of social issues and strong base of voluntary support of various types, allowed it to survive a dispute with the local authority who withheld its funding.

The Mission was a typical religious sect-type organisation, headed by its spiritual leader whose goals are essentially sacred in character. However, like the HNA, the Mission placed a strong emphasis on the issue of cultural identity, which was reflected in some of its main activities and constitutes a shared set of priorities for Hindu leaders. This finding complements the general conservative ethos of both organisations; most clearly demonstrated in the Mission's strictures concerning membership and the type of behaviours frowned upon e.g. militancy or overt political affiliations (Chapters 1 and 3).

With regards to policing outcomes, the HNA were unsuccessful in achieving some of its goals, which went against police practice and had important resource implications. However, the organisation did experience an improvement in its relationship with the police, primarily through improved interpersonal communication and contact with the new Sector Inspector. The Mission on the other hand, was more satisfied with these developments. Some important factors shaping this outcome were, firstly, police recognition of the status of the Mission and the Hindu community generally in the borough. Secondly, a more cooperative approach, especially with the policing of religious events.

The police view of Hindu policing concerns were seen largely in terms of under-policing, perceptions of racism and under reporting, but mainly matters in their view caused by national resourcing issues. In this regard, the Hindu community's policing priorities are similar to that of the Jewish community and the general population (Chapter 1 and Partnership in Crime *ibid*). Another concern for the police, which raises issues about the desirability of cultural assimilation, is the impact of intergenerational cultural change amongst Hindu youth and how this contributes to social conflict in terms of delinquency and offending behaviour; a matter with future policing implications (Chapter 1). On this issue there was a clear consensus between the police and leaders of both organisations.

An important factor in the Mission's ability to get the support it requested, in the policing of religious events, is the status and growing influence of the Hindu community. This has led to the police adjusting their attitudes and behaviour to the new situation and demonstrates (as in the case of the Jewish community), that police behaviour is heavily influenced by political considerations. Moreover, a shared understanding of the 'rules of the game' shaped the relationship between the police and Hindus, where the latter was found to be very cognisant of how to exercise influence in pursuit of their interests (Chapters 2 and 3).

The research found clear evidence of latent racist attitudes from the police towards Hindus, and related to them as a non-white ethnic community 'encroaching' and extending its influence on what was previously an essentially white community, with whom the police closely identify with (Chapter 1). The police were able to use white communal fears to act as mediators and bring influence to bear, in the case of the Mission and its ambitions in the local area.

Notes for Chapter Four

1. Hebron bomb explosion.
2. Cohen (1994), illustrates how the Board was able to change the initial reluctance of the Crown Prosecution Services through direct action brought about by the efforts of Jewish politicians, led by MP Greville Janner QC, by introducing an Early Day Motion in the House of Commons which received cross party support from 114 MPs.
3. Minutes of Association of Chief Police Officers (Race and Community Relations Standing Sub-Committee 29 May 1992) evidence of discussion about trends in anti-Semitic activity, right-wing groups in Europe and agreement to meet twice year to examine data.
4. See Jakobovits (1986).
5. See booklet 'Improving Race Relations: A Jewish Contribution', Working Party on Race Relations and The Board of Deputies of British Jews, 1969. The antecedents of the Board's approach to other ethnic minority communities can be seen in this document, especially regarding its perceived role as 'elder statesmen.' Here again the issue of countering black anti-Semitism is mentioned but little evidence is given to support such claims or the context for its expression.
6. Even where the Board managed to develop relations with radical anti-racist associations, such as the ARA, this by no means suggests that they are able to exert the type of influence they seek. See Small (1994: 200) on relations of ARA with white dominated Anti-Nazi League.
7. Jewish Chronicle, 14 February 1992, 'Black Lawyers Join Board in Fighting Hostility Between Communities'.
8. The Jewish Chronicle, 4 November 1994, 'Explosive Atmosphere as College Bans Muslim Radicals'.
9. Maimonides Foundation ironically named after 12th Century Moses Maimonides, Jewish Scholar, racist and notorious proponent of African racial inferiority and an advocate of black slavery. See www.blacksandjews.com/quotes-andfacts.html#anchor166159 2 February 2005.
10. Greville Janner MP and former President of Board wrote for support on Farrakhan issue.
11. The sensitivity of the Farrakhan issue in the African-Caribbean community highlights the

strength of black power sentiments, and represents an extremely difficult issue for politicians, such as Boateng who seems to be a key channel of communication for the Board. Boateng, as seen in the research findings of the African-Caribbean community, sided with black power leaders on the estate in their various struggles with the local white power structure. Bernie Grant on the contrary consistently defended the Farrakhan visit; and made representations to the Board (see Board annual reports and The Voice, 10 November 1994). See The Jewish Chronicle, 31 January 1986; The Economist, 12 October 1985; The New Statesman, 13 December 1985.

12. See the Historical Records of The Board of Deputies (page 4) on Jewish community in British West Indies during colonialism and Jamaican Gleaner, 19 November 1997.
13. Wembley Observer, 21 April 1988: 'Asians are living in Fear on Estate'. See also Harrow and Wembley Recorder, 11 November 1987: '99 Per cent of Estate's Muggings Carried Out by Blacks' focusing on controversy stemming from comments of local Divisional Commander.
14. The role of Community Relations Officers in such instances can be seen largely as 'brokers'. See Gay and Young (1988: Chapter 4).
15. Term 'brother' denotes normative expectations concerning particular social relations.
16. An important element in the success of these types of community development strategy is the increased local pride and involvement they are able to generate, which has an immediate impact on crime in terms of communal vigilance (Skogan 1990).
17. Minutes Police Consultative Group, 16 July 1992.
18. The term 'big' in reference to age in Caribbean usage refers to a relatively significant age difference from the speaker in the first person, and implicitly suggests superior status.
19. Community Relations Conference on Policing, 12 February 1994. The issue of black under-representation in various police related schemes e.g. Lay Visitors, Magistrates was discussed.
20. The individuals cited demonstrate the complexity of racial and cultural identity and how particular values are seen, as demonstrated in these giants of their respective fields. Of the three only Ali is committed to a black power orientation, hence his unchallengeable superior status. However, all epitomise qualities seen to be intrinsic to the group as part of its ethnic resources (Anthias 2001).
21. See Henrik-Clarke (1973).
22. See The Observer, 12 February 1995 and US National Task Force on African-American Men and Boys 1996.
23. Founder and leader of the Association.
24. Sector Inspector.
25. Fanon's explanations suggest much of the interaction and fear associated around black men stemmed from feelings of inadequacy.
26. See The Guardian, 19 September 1993.

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27. The Wembley Recorder *ibid*.
 28. Document provided by Divisional Commander, 'United Nations General Assembly, 2 May 1990 International Action to Combat Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking'.
 29. Harrow and Wembley Recorder, 11 November 1987.
 30. Haley (1965).
 31. Pinkney (1976).
 32. Levidow (1987: 81) reveals the degree of skills of youth on Broadwater Farm in generating money in funding its youth association's numerous business ventures.
 33. Robins (1992: 76).
 34. New Society (*ibid*).
 35. Robins (1992: 82-83). The leader of the Association faced a bitter vote of confidence over the funding of the Centre Project. The subsequent victory by the incumbent led to a violent clash during the meeting, the outcome of which was the creation of the BAG.
 36. Keith (1993: 25).
 37. Training and Enterprise Council.
 38. Robins (1992: 100).
 39. The Black Panthers an African-American black power organisation set up in 1970s (Newton *ibid*). An illustration of the BAG's commitment to black power philosophy, can be seen by its leader's support of Farrakhan and his involvement in plans for his British tour (Robins 1992: 78).
 40. See Gilroy (1993, 88-94). It is interesting to note that Bruno and Jackson have white female partners (Sunday Times *ibid*), and in the case of the latter has undergone surgery to physically change his racial characteristics to more white/European type features. Despite individuals wanting to distance themselves from dominant ethnic group norms they are forced by group sanctions to demonstrate loyalty, which can be seen in symbolic acts of solidarity (Gans 1962, Gilroy 1993b: 187, Anthias 2001). A powerful example of this can be seen by Bruno's comments after being beaten by Mike Tyson in the world heavy weight championship. His immediate response after his defeat was to state to an unsuspecting audience in tears that he was 'not an Uncle Tom and loved his brothers'. Tyson enjoyed international black support, while Bruno was viewed as a defender of white British masculinity, non-threatening and lacking cultural/racial dignity. Blacks rejected Bruno for the very qualities that white embraced him.
 41. See The Evening Standard, 23 November 1987. 'Crime Den Police Can't Shut Down' and Wembley and Brent Chronicle 4, 1987. (Also see Robins 1992: 104-109).
 42. Runs bookshop.
 43. Robins (1992: 77).
 44. Paradise Luncheon Club, run by the Forum leader, one of only two of 30 African-Caribbean groups to survive major and disproportionate cuts in local authority grants. Council Minutes 31 January 1994.

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45. Government sponsored agency to promote business in disadvantaged areas.
 46. Searle's (1987) study of The Sun Newspaper's treatment of the borough reveals the extent it went to discredit local authorities, including deliberately making up stories.
 47. The remarks of the Association's founder is not without substance, given similar allegations were made against the BAG, who received a grant of £30,000 for its youth club (Robins 1992). But what is discernable amidst the accusations is the lack of accounting procedures governing the way local authority issues grants. This creates a significant degree of opportunism in making claims against black groups.
 48. The Black Panthers epitomise the warrior ethic and were seen as one of the most threatening of all black power organizations by the police .
 49. Robins in the conclusion of his study maintains that the ineffective response of the government to the issue of urban social disadvantage, along with what he calls the 'nihilistic attitudes' of many masculine sub-cultures, renders many of the issues experienced by such groups intractable. While agreeing with Robins' first point, this writer disagrees with his second contention. Evidence of alternatives to Robins' conclusions can be seen by the success of the Association in turning many away from the lifestyles described.
 50. The use of rationales of cultural disorder was used to eventually close down the abandoned Centre. See The Evening Standard, 9 August 1995 'Hijacked Black Project Seized In Dawn Raid'.
 51. Wembley and Brent Chronicle, 16 November 1994.
 52. The Guardian, 19 September 1993, 'Enter The Rajahmuffins', on changing attitudes and response of young Asians to racism and masculinity.
 53. Kalka 1991 (Chapter 3) illustrates how East African Gujaratis tactically utilise ethnic differentiation.
 54. Police Monitoring Group formed post Scarman, scrapped by local authority during backlash against equal opportunities (Lansley et al 1989).
 55. Caribbean term for flash/cocky, arrogant, or adjective describing something good, Wembley and Brent Times, 16 November 1984.
 56. This writer questions the Chairman's comments concerning its open membership policy, which is possibly a tactic in rebutting potential charges of ethnic exclusivism, particularly important in matters of funding (Kalka 1991).
 57. Business Sunday, 6 April 1997, 'Building the Stairways to Heaven'. Article features the immense nature of financial and technical undertaking of building religious institutions in Asian communities, focusing on the temple in case study. Several points worthy of mention are the demanding technical and cultural standards, and the high levels of cost consciousness of Hindu leaders. Equally illuminating, is the long and complicated planning cycle used in such projects often involving the commissioning of major pieces of work, while using different planning cycles for its financing. The consequence of this approach is that

once agreements have been made about the commissioning of projects, this is followed up by a massive communal mobilisation by group leaders through the intricate kinship and ethnic group network in order to meet commitments made.

58. Sector Inspector.

59. Navatri fund established special allocation of financial resources by the local authority for the organisation of the religious celebration.

60. Diwali is held in October/November and the most popular Hindu festival and often the only time group members attend religious functions. Nye (1993: 208) maintains the complexity of Hindu religious identity can be seen by the different and common religious festivals observed. Diwali and Navatri are held to celebrate the autumn goddess and is one of the few rituals that are shared across Hindu sects.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The Jewish community in Britain is inseparable from the basic fabric of British society. An important characteristic of this group is its performance positive norms in terms of shaping collective achievement, especially its attitude to self-help (Chapters 3-4).

The Jewish elite laid the foundation for a centralised leadership through philanthropy and active participation which structures Jewish communal representation. A key element in Jewish political and organisational strategy has been their dependence on elite leadership and highly centralised peak association (Chapter 3, see figure 1). This approach is correctly premised on the belief that group power is maximised by reducing points of communication with the dominant group (Werbner 1991, Feldman 1994).

The legitimacy enjoyed by the Board is based on its close association with the Jewish elite and its integration with religious institutions. However, the authority of the Board cannot be taken to be representative of all British Jews and clearly illustrated throughout its history, as in the case of more orthodox or radical Jews (Bourne 1987, Cesarani 1990).

While the Board is largely seen as a secular association, this relationship between secular and religious authority in many areas is inadequate in explaining its influence. A case in point being its legal role in regulating marriage ceremonies. The Board's inclusive structure reinforces its authority by the representation of all major Jewish associations. Furthermore, it enjoys a monopoly of representation which is legally recognised in terms of its quasi-legal/regulatory functions. This regulatory power is extremely important in the Board's ability to maintain its position, given its ability to de-legitimise the claims of dissenters.

The dominant political and social strategies, adopted by the Board, reflects the intrinsic nature of European and British anti-Semitism and how the Jewish community traditionally responded to exclusion (see figure 2). The value placed on self-governance in the Jewish community was also shaped by group norms regarding the status associated with economic independence. Consequently, the Board simply reflects the dominant cultural

and political logic of the Jewish response to ethnic segregation.

Legalised anti-Semitism, characteristic of the pre-emancipation period, was a central factor in shaping the Board's dependency on strategies of legal reform which has had considerable effect on its character (Ryan 1978, Billis 1993). This emphasis on legal reform has enabled the Board to enjoy a very close relationship with government and contributes to its status as an insider group.

The Board's fear of alienating the majority population led to Jews adopting assimilation as its cultural strategy. Such a view suggests a compartmentalised view of group identity; an approach utilised by many white ethnic communities, and is pivotal to their absorption into the dominant group (Modood 1993).

An important feature of the Board's ability to exercise influence is the parallel development of the socio-economic status of Jews and the growth of strong inter-personal and inter-organisational networks. This access to influential members provides the Board with vital resources and explains their reliance on low-key insider bureaucratic-type of influencing strategies (Brooks 1989, Kaye 1993). This approach has been effective in bringing about the desired outcome in most cases given that ethnicity is a relatively minor area of Jewish identity politics (Studler 1986).

While the Board has historically relied on the resources of the Jewish elite in exercising influence, it has also been able to draw on wide sections of the community to provide similar resources at the local level, and is seen by its dependency on the communal levy system for a significant proportion of its finances (Alderman 1989). The Board's ability to exercise influence is an outcome of its strong organisational capacity and reflects the importance of race, social class, culture and conformity as key variables of political power (Chapters 1 and 4). In this regard, the Jewish community's commitment to assimilation, or major sections of it, reflects key aspects of the dominant group's model of power and influence (Chapter 2).

A consequence of this strategy has led to fundamental changes in group identity, especially amongst the young and women (Stenson and Factor 1992). Many of the experiences which play an important role in the traditional maintenance of group identity has been diminished with the decline of overt anti-Semitism. These changes have significant consequences for the Board given its dependency on the group for resources.

Figure 1

Organisational Characteristics of Board

Membership	Via, synagogue or affiliated Jewish association
Size of organisation	Large over several hundred members
Age of organisation	Over 200 years old
Structure	Formal/bureaucratic, specialist division of labour Federated and inclusive, integrating range of organisations
Staffing	Paid professional staff and volunteers
Funding	Self-funding
Decision-making structure	Centralised top down

Figure 2

Leadership Characteristics of Jewish Community

Ideological Characteristics	Strategy	Relationship with Dominant Group
Assertion of group identity	Promotion and defence of group religious identity	Generally collaborative-supportive
Self-help and regulation	Autonomous communal institutions and monopoly of devolved legal authority	Collaboration/support
Assimilation and selective acculturation	Commitment to dominant institutions, and values and dependency on group member network within dominant institutions; insider initiative approach to influence	Accommodation
Identification with group members internationally	Provide support and solidarity	Collaboration/conflict

Board of Deputies And The Policing of Jewish Communities

The Board's concern regarding policing issues reflects its role in protecting the community from anti-Semitic attacks (Chapters 3-4). The traditional sources of anti-Semitic attacks have their roots in populist political agitation, especially in the case of organised right-wing activity, which became an important issue since WWII. Whilst fear of right-wing anti-Semitism is an ongoing concern for the Board, the increase of militant Islamic groups has created another source of anxiety.

The police's growing recognition of anti-Semitism, resulting in improved police intelligence

gathering, and the Board's greater access to key decision-makers demonstrates its influence. Further evidence of their influence can be seen by the Board's ability to force police action against suspected high-profiled anti-Semites. This resort to overt political pressure, represents a departure from the Board's traditional low-key approach and can be explained by a combination of the different outlooks of its new leadership and sensitivity to criticism within the community regarding the issue in question.

The Board, Ethnic Minority Relations and Policing

One dimension of the Board's approach to tackling particular policing concerns, i.e. anti-Semitism and general crime, has been the evolution of a strategy to work more closely with other ethnic minority communities. This new attitude constitutes a departure from earlier Board stance, given the way ethnicity is perceived by many Jews, contrary to Gilroy (1993, Chapter 1, Alderman 1989). While commitment to multi-ethnic unity is posited as a valued goal, it is interesting to note that this change in strategy has come about at the same time as concerns about the changing Jewish demography and its falling support base.

Jewish fears about crime are related to important features of its demographic characteristics and residential patterns, given that many Jewish communities reside in close proximity to disadvantaged communities (Chapter 4). The role of African-Caribbeans in street crime against members of the Jewish community, is complicated by the fact that victims can perceive their victimisation in anti-Semitic terms.

However, evidence (The Independent *ibid*) suggests a significant degree of racism towards African-Caribbeans amongst Jews, a view not too different from those held by Asians (Chapter 1). The attitudes of African-Caribbeans to Jews and the factors shaping them is an issue for future study. The evidence suggests this ethnic tension is more limited to areas such as Stamford Hill where orthodox Jews have been at the centre of controversies involving black people, as well as targets of black-related crime (Alderman 1989).

Claims of anti-Semitism by the Board serves its political interests in helping to counter sections of the Jewish community's historical and current role, as part of the dominant white group, in its racism towards black people. This does not suggest perceptions of anti-Semitism are not valid, in some instances, given the association of members of this group as being passive and a relatively easy target for certain types of crime.

In the case of the Hindu community, the Board has attempted to develop closer co-operation in tackling racism. The ability for the Board to interact successfully with this ethnic group is facilitated by the former's adoption of the Jewish model of development (Chapter 1). The approach adopted by the Board in bringing these communities closer is based on attempting to establish good inter-associational relations (Chapter 2). One way the Board has attempted to achieve its objectives is by using its superior resources to assist these communities. This can be clearly seen in the interaction with Hindu and Sikh organisations.

Adversely, this tactic threatens to reproduce a colonial type system of influence conducive primarily with Jewish interests (Modood 1993). This tension is illustrated in the built-in paradox of strategies of assimilation and the Jewish model, but also assumes that such a process is appropriate for communities with different social characteristics (Chapter 1). The short-term benefit of such alliances for the Hindu and other communities may well be outweighed by its medium and long-term interests (Kalka 1991).

In the case of the African-Caribbean and Muslim communities, attempts by the Board to exercise influence are likely to be viewed in hostile terms; a case in point being the strong support for Farrakhan in the African-Caribbean community. The Board's efforts to delegitimise support for Farrakhan have been ineffective. Another major obstacle to the success of the Board's strategy is the weakness of the communal infrastructure of the African-Caribbean and Muslim community (Kaye 1993, Stenson and Factor 1992).

Faced with this difficulty, the Board developed a multi-pronged tactic utilising inter-alia the support of more accommodating high-profile African-Caribbean professionals (Chapter 1). In reality, the Board's approach is unlikely to bear significant dividends, given the unrepresentative nature of its prospective allies and the feelings towards them (Chapter 2). Attempts to gain support from the accommodationist church is even more problematic as it has long been deserted, disproportionately by younger blacks, who have sought approaches to religious leadership which reflects essential aspects of their cultural or political values, as seen in Rastafarianism and black Islam. An important area of research concerns explaining in greater detail why African-Caribbeans are increasingly attracted to Islam and its numerous implications, particularly in black/Jewish relationships (Udom-Essen 1962: Chapters 2-4).

Policing and Local Jewish Communities

In Chapter 4, we saw how decisions taken at the centre by the Board are communicated through its local structures. In matters concerning policing, centre decisions are communicated via Security Co-ordinators responsible for police-related activity and vital components of the Board's intelligence gathering machinery (Chapters 3-4). How Security Co-ordinators are able to meet these needs are contingent on the resources available to them, mainly in terms of personnel. Given the changes in the demographic profile of the communities under study, the resources at the disposal of Security Co-ordinators were minimal which made the emphasis on police resources all more important.

Problems with lack of resources helps to highlight the important roles of Security Co-ordinators and the range of tactics utilised to meet local policing needs. One of the ways Security Co-ordinators can attempt to handle this deficiency, is by trying to alleviate anxiety through reassurance and explanation. Other methods of achieving similar aims are by pragmatically utilising changes in policing strategies, as in the introduction of local sector policing to raise resource issues. In this regard, local Security Co-ordinators enjoy a significant degree of discretion.

While the Board at the centre seeks to increase the Jewish community's awareness in policing matters and involvement in policing bodies. However, in high priority matters such as terrorist threats, the authority of the centre is prevalent and consistent with militaristic type bureaucratic organisations (Ham and Hill 1984).

The role of the centre also structures one of the key functions of Security Co-ordinators, arranging police cover for religious events. Underlying this process is the Board's ability to obtain the necessary support from the police hierarchy who play a practical role in organising cover, by the circulation of dates from The Community Relations Division of Scotland Yard to local divisions.

This parallel line of authority between Security Co-ordinators and the Board, on the one hand, and local police and Scotland Yard on the other, is similar to that used for other issues of concern such as monitoring anti-Semitic attacks. The influence of the Board at the centre is reflected in the success of local Security Co-ordinators in receiving police co-operation on a consistent basis.

Having said this, Security Co-ordinators are able to increase resources available through the utilisation of existing relationships with key policing personnel (Kaye 1993). These findings indicate that while the Board's relationship with the police at the centre provides local Security Co-ordinators with basic minimum police cover, police discretion is important in the allocation of resources above the minimum. Despite the limited scope for local police influence, the requests for police cover created little conflict. This can be explained by the fact that demands made of the police complement the existing structure of police values and priorities, while simultaneously enhancing their status and support in the eyes of the Jewish community.

The status of the Jewish community was the major determinant in its relationship with the police, which in itself, is a reflection of the role of social class, culture and its relationship to power (Chapter 1). This perception was found to be clearly evident in the views of the police and Board members at the centre and locally.

Despite the Board's ability to exercise influence, in some instances, it was unable to bring about desired change. Its attempts to change legislation was frustrated due to perceived threats to fundamental values regarding free speech, which has historically acted as an obstacle to the Board's endeavours to address similar problems. The desire for more police officers was constrained by the fact that matters concerning increasing police resources are beyond the specific influence of the Jewish community and related to broader electoral considerations (Kaye 1993).

Similarly, differences in local police priorities and those of the Board did not serve to fundamentally alter the relationship between the two organisations. This was illustrated in the vexatious issue of parking, where the police were forced to seek other channels of influence within the Jewish community, in the form of residents associations.

THE AFRICAN-CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY

The African-Caribbean community in Britain has its origins in the old world of Africa, its violent transportation to the west and post-war immigration. These experiences of racism have given this group its unique socio-economic, cultural character and shapes relations between African-Caribbeans and whites, which has been largely one of conflict in a number of areas, with the former seeking to assert its autonomy and cultural identity (Chapters 1 and 4).

An important resource which has helped this community to respond to these challenges has been its enduring warrior traditions (Chapter 2). The ability of the African-Caribbean community to resist whites, and its unapologetic assertion of group identity, has become a great source of pride (Tambs-Lyche 1975). This characteristic distinguishes African-Caribbeans from other ethnic communities and informs behaviour in many ways linking its leadership elite and popular heroes to 'deviant sub-cultures' (Sewell 2000). This challenges and informs the perceptions and explanations of pathology of African-Caribbean male norms and illustrates the resources which they, not exclusively, can draw from. This provides confidence and feelings of superiority in particular types of interactions with other ethnic groupings. A related area of research is establishing how cultural norms and resources shape the self-perception of African-Caribbean women in terms of self-esteem and how this affects various interactions and assists problem-solving. A specific area of enquiry is how the qualities associated with the warrior ethic manifests in feminine culture given the role women played as fighters and leaders in African-Caribbean history (Devaux 1997: 22-23 and Clarke 1973).

The history of the Jewish and Hindu community shows each has generated fear amongst sections of the dominant group, given their cultural resources, as highlighted in Chapter 4. However, the fear generated by African-Caribbeans is unprecedented given its differences in cultural orientation and sources of this antagonism and the fact that the threats posed to whites is not only collective, or metaphorical, but potentially at a very personal and individual level (Fanon 1967). This is seen in the concept of the 'dangerous nigger' who not only threatened the plantation system, but the actual lives of those who maintained it (Chapter 2).

Consequently, how African-Caribbeans culturally and politically relate to whites is important for political legitimacy and access to leadership (Chapters 1, 2 and 4).

Leaders who represent black power type values are more likely to exercise influence

within this community than those who do not. This suggests, contrary to Gilroy (1993), that the prevalent cultural norms of important sections of this community, particularly as it relates to the literature or communities of the type studied, do not reflect the new inclusive forms of identities being suggested in understanding political action and motivations or the internal structures of interests within this ethnic group.

This was supported by the research which found leading individuals came from social backgrounds mirroring the day-to-day reality of significant sections of the male community. This is reflected in their cultural norms, particularly in how they perceive and relate to the world and can be seen by the prominence of the Association and BAG leader, both of whom exemplified the warrior ethic, much admired in this community. It was shown that the possession of these values enabled leaders to bring about unity amongst the various sections of the community in a way 'weaker' individuals are unable to do and illustrates its importance for communal governance, something absent in the literature.

Black Power Leadership, Associational Strategy and Policing

An essential element in the study of leadership and organisational strategy is its capacity to provide insight into the abilities of leaders in the problem-solving process and management of group resources. The policing problems of the African-Caribbean community were related to multiple social disadvantages (Chapter 1). Central to these concerns is the issue of tackling employment matters and reconcile community aspirations with these structural and cultural impediments.

Given the nature of these issues, and its relationship to broader structural factors, leaders are severely constrained in available options. The history of the African-Caribbean community illustrates its lack of economic self-sufficiency; even though there is evidence of gradual changes in this tendency (Small 1994). This weakness extends to the group's failure to develop indigenous financial institutions brought from the Caribbean (Chapter 3). Faced with these constraints the decisions taken in developing the Centre Project led to dependence on government and white agencies.

The Association's pragmatic approach came with considerable costs to its legitimacy, given the predominant paradigm of its community members and the perceptions of race relations which informs it (Chapter 2). Moreover, the desire to obtain external funding led to the Association adopting a more conciliatory attitude in its interactions with white institutions, which constituted a significant departure from the community's expectations, and led to internal conflict resulting in the formation of the BAG.

These findings seem to suggest, that how leaders seek to obtain particular types of resources are constrained by norms relating to the degree of accommodation and dependency on whites at one end of the normative spectrum. On the other, are the feelings against participating in morally questionable activity, such as crime, particularly given the repercussions for the community (Pryce 1986: Chapter 2).

Given these complex issues, leaders are required to play important roles in problem-solving, communication and education process of their communities, requiring a range of skills, while acknowledging that many issues may be irresolvable (Chapter 1). A major problem constraining disadvantaged communities' ability to develop effective organisations is found in two specific aspects of the human resources available to it: lack of qualified personnel and individuals motivated by essentially individual needs which frustrate collective action. In terms of staffing the Association had some professionals who played an invaluable role in the development of the organisation (Small 1994: 138). However, for the most part it lacked sufficient expertise.

Rather than the professional middle-class playing a major role in the life of the community and Association, as maintained by Gilroy (1987: 24). In reality they were relatively marginal to it because of their general accommodationist/assimilationist character and values attributed to this group; who together with many black 'celebrities' were viewed with disdain (Chapter 2). One aspect of this view is the unwillingness of those at the group's margins to contribute their resources to its development given important differences in interests (Chapter 3). Given the inadequacy of the Association's resources, its leaders were forced to depend on the advice of white professionals.

While white voluntary associations are able to operate with numerous failings (Billis 1993) they are less vulnerable to predatory behaviour from dominant institutions, than black associations, which are formed in a different context. Taking the objective social characteristics of the African-Caribbean community into consideration, the research found

evidence of a significant degree of management and leadership skill indicated in the Association's considerable achievements. For example, its establishment of a large information and technology training centre, helping many individuals start small businesses etc (Kay 1994, Heineman 1972).

This informs the hiatus in the literature on popular perceptions of African-Caribbean leaders and demonstrates, far from young males having few personal or collective resources, they possessed many that could be exploited in the appropriate environment (Chapter 2). One of the most important aspects of the Association's appeal to males, and indirectly the women in their lives, is the empowering capacity of its black power ideology and practice.

Other values with particular significance for African-Caribbean women with resonance for black power thinking include shared attitudes towards matters of mixed-race relationships, perceived to strike at the heart of the integrity of the black family, and influences how many black celebrities are perceived, which complements its outlook (Chapter 2). However, the general appeal of this ideology to black women, and more importantly given social changes (Chapters 2-3), as a unifying paradigm has yet to be researched. Despite being aware of many women involved in the Association and its activities their motivations and perceptions were not studied as a dimension of this research.

The response of government to civil disturbance was shaped essentially by political expediency. Changes in government priorities during the mid-1980s, contributed to a white backlash against distributive policies directed at disadvantaged groups. The micro context in which these broader changes and interests played themselves out, is in the conflict surrounding allegations about the competence and/or motivation of African-Caribbean leaders and their handling of public money (Chapter 4). The nature and impact of the Centre's overspend enabled the local authority to use the issue of its leadership abilities to impose control on the Centre through its powers as the major grant provider (Stewart and Whitting 1982).

Efforts to change the Association, as it was constituted, can be seen by the determined efforts to remove its leadership from the Centre's BOD. Given the values of the Association, acceptance of the local authority's recommendations was perceived as imposition of white superior leadership and constituted the most open challenge to it, and if accepted, the ultimate capitulation of its black power ideals and cultural notions of masculinity and community which informs it (Chapter 2).

The indirect consequences of the local authority's action, in conjunction with the media, was to severely damage the status of the Association and the way it was viewed. It also reinforced racist assumptions about the intrinsic capabilities of black people and their leaders, very much part of the process of racial domination (Allport 1987: 142-162, Frazier 1957: 112-146). The tension between perception and reality that structures the relationship between these racial groups explains the rejection of notions of white superiority from significant sections of black people (Chapter 2).

The emergence of the Association marginalised the stature of the accommodationist, soon to become Forum leader, resulting in her undermining her political rivals. This took the form of attempts to legitimise local authority claims, which even if taken at face value, would still suggest a major degree of culpability on the latter's behalf. Despite the general marginality of accommodationist leaders, they occupy important roles in situations of acute conflict by acting as alternative channels of communication for dominant group interests, thus weakening communal solidarity (Chapters 1 and 3). It is the experience of accommodationist leaders to actively participate in the subordination of 'their own', which explains the hostility towards them in black communities, where they provide support to the dominant group's agenda.

Black Power Associations and The Police

Chapters 3 and 4 show that fundamental to African-Caribbean policing problems is the complex relationship between racism and social disadvantage and its contribution to various types of youth sub-cultures, many of which involve degrees of criminal activity. However, the examination of the police's relationship with this group shows that actual objective evidence of offending behaviour is not central to how the African-Caribbeans experience policing.

Paradoxically, while seeking to impose essentially white male institutional authority on African-Caribbean males, the police fear of confrontation and the potential for large-scale disorder, against a background where they have consistently met violent resistance, given the cultural proclivities of the group and the history which has shaped them. This is illustrated by the events leading to the formation of the Support Group.

One of the preconditions for the police to carry out their functions in communities is

through political relationship with leaders (Chapters 1 and 2). The police's problem is that those who are most likely to attract popular support come from social backgrounds, and have ideological orientations, which are antagonistic to them as argued (Chapter 2).

An illustration of how the social problems related to crime serve to shape the relationship between black power leaders and the police is seen in the views of the BAG and its leaders' attitude to youth offending. While the views and subsequent actions of BAG leaders led to its subsequent demise, the attitude of other black power leaders on the estate were relatively sympathetic.

The national disturbances put the Association in a more favourable light and challenged the dominant image of African-Caribbean leaders (Chapter 2). This created opportunities for the local authority and the police to forge relations with the new organisation. The significance of the Association leaders' example can be seen by its strongly held views about the undesirability of public disorder, also shared by the Support Group founder, which contributed to the ideological convergence around the matter amongst leaders on the estate.

From the outset, the Association clearly identified the relationship between policing and other social problems experienced by the group and sought to improve police/community relations as part of its strategy. A key element of the Association's approach was gaining support from the police for its development programme, particularly in the area of grant-aid funding. The importance of policing, and its relationship to other key areas of social policy, is clearly evident by the fact that responsibility for policing matters was the domain of its Chairman and most high-profile member.

A significant police resource that provides potential influence, is its ability to use discretion in a wide range of areas regulating communal life. A major form of police influence is its status as one of the most important local statutory institutions (Blagg and Pearson et al 1988, Morgan 1987). The problems experienced by the Association with the local authority served to fundamentally change its relationship with other institutions.

Because of the local authority's power, it was able to ensure its interpretation of events became the official definition (Blagg and Pearson 1988: 205). This depiction was quickly picked up by the local and national press, which given its own institutional bias discredited the Association.

The police priority for operations against drug-related activity required the political support

of respected leaders. However, the nature of the Association's conflict with the local authority considerably reduced its leader's capacity and willingness to adopt such a role. In the police view, the leader of the Association had been transformed from a local hero to someone whose competence and integrity, if only by association, was perceived as being very questionable. With this racist binary imagery in mind (Chapters 1-3) the decision to deny the Association a license extension could easily be justified to hide the political nature of the decision, by references to the questionable character of the leader and his connection to cultural disorder and crime (Chapter 1). A similar action was taken by the police in the handling of the BAG.

The retaliatory action taken by the Association's founder clearly illustrates the potential influence of radical leaders and the anxiety they create for the police (Brown 1982). Despite the decline in his standing, the Association leader still possessed sufficient authority to constitute a serious obstacle in police efforts to obtain political support, in the specific context of sensitive police operations. Given the importance of drug and gun-related crime (Chapter 3) the strategies developed both by African-Caribbean leaders and the police and their effectiveness is an important area of further research.

Support Groups, Campaigning Strategies and Black Power Leadership

The most common strategy used by African-Caribbean leaders in their attempts to influence policing, is the use of protest and forms of single-issue support/campaign groups. The purpose of this type of strategy is to highlight broad issues through the specific experiences of the group to influence the decision-making process (Hesse 1989, Bowling 1993). The popularity of this approach is related to three principal aspects of its character. First, is its relatively informal nature consisting of, in the first instance, largely primary group members (Billis 1993); secondly, the very specific nature of support/campaign group goals, and third its emotional portent which serves to maximise support (Sheriff 1958, Heineman 1972).

In resource terms, support/campaign groups often require relatively minimal resources given their finite character. Given the high-profiled nature of these kinds of actions, groups are able to draw considerably on community members; particularly through greater access to other communal networks, such as lawyers, journalists etc, usually beyond immediate access (Carthcart 1999). Another dimension of this access to resources is that campaigns of this nature often provide important opportunities for the development, or emergence of leaders; or adversely act as vehicles for those seeking to exploit the situation for self-serving motives.

The Support Group consisted of predominantly young males directly involved in a specific incident of police harassment, along with other family members. Despite the lack of many resources required to maximise political influence, this group demonstrated its ability to effectively use the resources available to it with a significant degree of tactical sophistication. It utilised the professional administrative skills of a female African-Caribbean detached local authority community worker (Small 1994), who provided basic support, while maintaining informal links with the Association for political support.

The basic goal of the Support Group was gaining necessary backing in having charges against community members dropped, which it successfully achieved. The role of the press illustrated how particular problems experienced by the African-Caribbean community, can in some instances, be reflected in popular representation. Given the ambiguity of the incident, the violent consequence and the many people involved, the press coverage was supportive of the local community and critical of the police. This response by the press is not in conflict with the dominant modes of representation. The image of black victimisation by the police has gradually become an accepted form of representation contributing to the 'few bad apples' view of police racism

A significant dimension of effective organisational leadership is the question of experience in the role of tackling particular types of issues (Heinemann 1972, Stewart and Whitting 1982). Despite the limited experience of the Support Group leadership, it demonstrated a high degree of political astuteness in their awareness of the methods used by the police and the press to discredit black leaders, derived mainly from the demise of others. Clear examples of this can be seen by the decision to limit public relations with the Association, despite clear evidence of informal collaboration.

The political sensitivity of public disorder and race can be seen by the response of The Home Office to the demands of the relatively small and inexperienced group of African-Caribbean youth. Even though the government's response can be viewed in symbolic terms (La Veen 1980, Solomos 1988), evidence suggests that their actions were successful in providing a temporary lull in hostilities between the youth and the police on the estate. While the success of the Support Group in having police charges dismissed, was not directly brought about by campaigning, it provided invaluable impetus for galvanising local support during the legal proceedings and also further legitimised its claims of police racism.

Despite the success of the Support Group, it was unable to achieve its more medium and long-term goals of establishing more permanent structures given the character of such informal groups. The limited nature of the single-issue strategy, was acknowledged by the leader of the group; especially as it relates to socio-economic matters underlying policing difficulties, hence his involvement in other forms of community activity designed to meet these needs. This finding challenges the depiction of African-Caribbean leaders in the literature, as in the case of the Forum's founder, by illustrating the type of work, skills and abilities possessed by this section of the community and how they obtain status within the group.

Accommodationist Leaders and Policing

The fundamental differences between accommodationist and black power leaders and their roles in black society are illustrated in microcosm. During the Association's difficulties with the local authority the leader of the Forum, the only other African-Caribbean representative on the Centre BOD, consistently supported the local authority's interpretation of events, which was characterised in very personal terms. This finding is even more interesting given contradictory evidence of white voluntary sector professionals, whose views support explanations provided by the Association's leaders or at least help provide more qualified interpretations of events.

The views of the Forum leader are best explained by the position of accommodationist leaders in black communities (Chapter 1). Black power and accommodationist leaders may show solidarity on particular issues in specific instances, however they are essentially hostile to each other due to basic differences in orientation (see figures 3 and 4).

Figure 3

Leadership and Associational Type 1: The Black Power Model

Ideological Characteristics	Strategy	Nature of Interaction With Whites
Centrality of group identity historically/culturally rooted.	Assertion of group identity.	Antagonistic/hostile vertical linkages/seek to weaken.
Autonomy and self-help.	Maximise group autonomy and self-help/group empowerment.	Weaken dependency.
Differentiation of group members by relationship to core/periphery and outsiders.	High value placed on core group members/stigmatisation of marginal/polarisation of ethnic groups.	Suspicion/unstable.
Strong identification and solidarity with group members internationally.	Provide practical support, drawing on ethnic resources, practically and symbolically.	Variable and highly contingent ranging from overt conflict-accommodation eg seeking Government support, sanctions etc.

Figure 4

Leadership and Associational Type 2: The Accommodation Model

Ideological Characteristics	Strategy	Relationship with Dominant Groups
Inclusion and acceptance within dominant cultural mainstream.	Assert identity within inclusive framework.	Seek and maintain support/strengthen vertical linkages.
Autonomy and self-help.	Autonomy and self-help with dominant group support and participation.	Minor conflict/collaborative and stable.
Emphasis on equality and fairness.	Equality and fairness through inclusion and emphasis on legal framework.	Minor conflict-collaboration.

Given the susceptibility of important sections of the African-Caribbean community to black power sentiments, accommodationist leaders occupy a relatively marginal position in communal life (Gilroy 1993b, Smith and Gray 1983).

This marginality contributes to the attempts of accommodationists to challenge the influence of the black power perspective. Given the inability of accommodationist leaders to legitimately challenge their rivals, in many instances, an important element in this strata's influencing strategy is based on discrediting or exploiting the real, or perceived, deficiencies of their political opponents. A significant aspect of this behaviour is the hostility created by the threats to accommodationist's identity and status, created by popular leaders (Allport 1987, Frazier 1957). These tensions can also be seen in the mutual abuse and name calling which characterise these differences and can be found in most ethnic communities (Allport *ibid*). These dynamics are also evident in terms of cultural change and issues involving power and interests implicit in that process (Chapter 2).

In Chapters 1, 3 and 4, we saw how during periods of high levels of mobilisation black power leaders tend to predominate community representation. However, in periods of low mobilisation, dominant institutions possess greater scope to develop relations with community representatives on their own terms. The demise of the Association led to the emergence of a plethora of small groups operating as part of the network of local authority and related statutory agencies on the estate (Taub, Sturgeon et al 1977, Skogan 1990). One notable feature of the Association is that it served to integrate many of the most influential leaders of the African-Caribbean community on the estate, and played an important role in creating a sense of community (Chapter 3).

The different bases of leadership legitimacy within the African-Caribbean community is seen clearly when comparing the leaders of the Association, with that of the Forum, since the demise of its popular founder. While clearly enjoying some status in the community, the evidence seems to suggest that the basis of the Forum leader's legitimacy is relatively narrow, and not including many young men and women on the estate who made up the base of the Association's support base, staff and service providers. This is reinforced by the nature of the client group of the Forum leader, in her alternate capacity of running a luncheon club for pensioners, and the questionable representative nature of local tenants association and their informal character (Williams 1985).

The ideology of the Forum's leader is reflected by its relatively non-racialised content, and the insignificance of the group's cultural identity in her comments which given the outlook of many black people weakens her appeal (Chapter 2). The emergence of the present leader of the Forum came about due to the demise of its founder. Once again, there is little evidence to suggest that the incumbent enjoyed the type of legitimacy associated with the

founder, for whom matters of cultural identity was important.

The rise of the replacement Forum leader provided the police with the opportunity to establish relations conducive to their goals (Weatheritt 1993, Blagg and Pearson et al. 1988). While there is little evidence to suggest that these policing strategies alter the basic structure and type of policing received by this community, it did have a marked impact on the perception of the Forum leader. Despite this, there was no evidence to suggest that it led to greater access, or influence of the Forum leader on key policing issues of concern.

The role of the police in community development initiatives, and how this enables them to exercise influence in the African-Caribbean community, was shown to be an important dimension of police strategies of influence. The specific nature of community development initiatives is an important factor in shaping the type of influence the police can exercise. While the police were able to influence in some instances indirectly, in others, this was more direct as in the City Challenge programme.

Despite evidence that the Forum leader had drawn important lessons from previous experience, it is debatable how much influence micro-level actors have on such centrally driven programmes, and whether the lessons taken are the correct ones. There was little evidence of her having any understanding of the racial politics of funding, which could be drawn from the Association's experience. Moreover, a basic question is whether community development initiatives where the police are key actors can ever gain the commitment of the African-Caribbean community?

THE HINDU COMMUNITY

The history of the Hindu community in Britain is related to its role in British colonialism, which provided the context for the expression of the group's cultural characteristics (Mintz 1978), and its steady upward mobility (Chapters 1 and 3). The most prominent section of the Hindu community are the East African Asians, who exemplify many of the general attributes associated with this group.

The social characteristics of the Hindu community, its kinship structure, communal norms contribute to the creation of a social infrastructure which facilitates the integration of new members, but also laid the basis of its elite leadership structures (Chapters 3 and 4). Voluntary associations were important institutions in the development of the Hindu communal infrastructure and consists of cultural, religious and social-welfare type associations. The HNA and the Mission illustrate the role these organisations play in this community and the pivotal role of East African Asians in this process.

Important features of the ideology of Hindu leaders are the maintenance of group culture and identity within a multi-cultural pluralist framework, and commitment to equal opportunities, which by the 1980s had become a standard feature of the group's demands (Werbner 1991). In the case of both organisations the commitment to these values was seen and reflected in their commitment to British society.

How these values manifest themselves took different forms, contingent on the context. For the HNA its demands for equal opportunities are closely related in its desire for local authority funding in meeting the specific needs of its community. In other instances, the demand for equality was utilised in terms of the type of policing received.

Figure 5

Leadership Characteristics of Hindu Community

Ideological Characteristics	Strategy	Relations With Dominant Group
Assertion and maintenance of group identity.	Promotion of religious-cultural identity, within multi-cultural pluralist framework.	Generally complementary.
Self-help and regulation.	Autonomy and development of organisations to meet specific group needs.	Generally complementary.
Selective assimilation and acculturation.	Commitment to dominant group institutions and values except where impinge on core aspects of ethnic/religious identity. Strong disapproval of political militancy.	Generally complementary / minor conflict.

The general approach of these associations was accommodating, insofar as they reported good relations with most dominant agencies, and in the case of the HNA, these were well-established. The value of this approach can be seen in the emphasis placed on building good relations with members of the dominant group by Mission leaders. Despite severe conflict experienced by the HNA, during its early years with the local authority, the only evidence of difficulties currently experienced by these associations was with the police.

While external conflict was not a major aspect of the ideology, or experience, of these associations; fear and experience of internal conflict and how this could compromise external relations, played a major role in aspects of organisational behaviour, especially regarding membership. Organisational instability was an important concern which is consistent with the traditionally conservative Hindu religious ethos (Fieldhouse 1982, Parekh 1994, Chapters 3 and 4).

Closely linked is the matter of association and leadership legitimacy. Both organisations are institutions of long-standing and are represented within the BIA, as well as members of the formal and informal Hindu ethnic network in the borough. The legitimacy of the HNA leadership is also seen in its experience during the late 1970s leading to the creation of a rival association. The ability of the HNA to overcome this episode strengthened its position as the representative of Hindus in that part of the borough; a position unchallenged given the absence of other similar associations. The Mission has a monopoly on religious leadership, given that it represents the dominant affiliation of East African Asians (Lyons 1972, Barot 1987). The sheer organisational and physical presence of the sect, in terms of

numbers of committed devotees and participants in its various activities, which are brought together in the establishment of its impressive temple indicates the type of support this organisation enjoys.

Organisational Characteristics of Dominant Communal Associations in the Hindu Community

The organisational characteristics of the HNA are those of a conventional Asian social-welfare type association (Chapter 1), whose goals focus on three key main areas:

1. meeting the cultural needs of group members by the provision of services;
2. mediating between the community and statutory bodies; and
3. acting as an interest group for the Hindu community.

The HNA seeks to meet the cultural needs of its community in various ways (see figure 5). The average age cited in the research of those who participated or received services from the HNA was approximately 45, which is important in determining its values. While local authority provide grants to cover the most rudimentary of inputs, the bulk of the work of the HNA is supported through voluntary participation and various forms of contributions by the community.

In the case of the Mission, it sought to achieve its religious and cultural goals by providing a place for religious worship, supplemented by a range of social and educational activities (figure 6). Amongst these activities is the running of its own school catering for several hundred children. The emphasis placed on this aspect of the Mission's work highlights the cultural conservatism of the organisation and the desire to maintain key aspects of the group's identity.

However, the goals of the Mission are not simply to maintain the group's cultural identity, but to assert it in a manner consistent with its perceived status as an established part of British society. This can be seen symbolically in the creation of its new temple, which has attracted national attention; particularly how this has symbolically been represented (Nye 1993, Vertove 1993).

The resources available to the Mission, in both financial and human terms, are considerable due to its dominance by the elite Patel caste (Chapters 3 and 4) and in the success of Mission leaders in mobilising the community in building the multi-million pound temple. An essential part of this process was the ability of leaders to utilise kinship relations nationally and internationally, and call on members of the Hindu community when necessary. The significance of the temple project to the Hindu community in this instance served to generate support beyond the group's immediate network (Sherriff 1958).

Organisational Problems

The problems experienced by the HNA were mainly related to finance to meet its ever growing needs in an environment where voluntary associations are struggling for resources (Lansley et al 1989). Intrinsically related, and similar to the Jewish experience, are the effects of assimilation on British-born Hindus and its direct impact on group identity and its resource implications.

Despite the various programmes run by the HNA designed to reinforce key aspects of Hindu cultural identity, it has yet to be seen how successful these initiatives are in instilling the required values given the changes taking place (Gans 1962). What is clear is that the survival of the HNA, and similar types of Hindu associations, will be seriously tested by cultural changes amongst the second generation group members. This opens up important areas of research in terms of the nature of contemporary ethnic affiliation and identity amongst the young from this community and its various implications for such associations.

Policing and Local Hindu Communities

In Chapters 3 and 4, it was shown how the Asian community since its settlement has consistently experienced racist attacks and a disproportionate exposure to theft-related crimes, particularly against vulnerable group members. A feature of this is the involvement of sections of the African-Caribbean community, who it is believed target this community, in part through envy or hostility given the history of relations between these communities. Alternatively as was found in the research the choice of Asians as targets is open to other explanations, similar to the victimisation of Jews.

Both the HNA and the Mission cited mugging as a particular issue of concern. In the case of the Mission, racial violence caused by sections of the white community and perceived police indifference was a point of contention. While police inaction constitutes a focal part of the Asian experience (Hesse and Bennet 1990, Bowling 1993), claims of police harassment against members of the Mission is another.

One observation is the respondent's omission of any ethnic description of perpetrators of muggings. This is particularly odd, given the comments of police officers, newspaper articles, and initial interviews held with the BIA seem to indicate that African-Caribbeans are over-represented in these crimes. This omission is similar to that of local Jewish respondents, and indicates sensitivity around the issue, for a number of reasons, the ethnicity of the writer withstanding (see Chapter 1). However, why this should be less so for leaders representing peak associations is open to several explanations or simple coincidence. One such explanation is that leaders of peak associations are more removed from the immediate local environment and as a consequence feel less restrained in their comments.

The tendency for Hindus to seek influence predominantly within the framework of dominant institutions, as outlined in Chapter 3, is supported by the research findings. In the case of the HNA, it was found to use a range of conventional methods in pressing its concerns. In the case of the Mission, it sought to register its feelings through letters of complaint and gaining support through the now defunct local authority's Police Monitoring Unit, and in turn the local authority.

These approaches were unsuccessful in making any impression on police practice and priorities. The introduction of local sector policing in the early 1990s led to changes in police attitudes and behaviour. In the case of the HNA, this had less observable effects, even though the evidence suggests an improvement in attitude of its leader toward the police. Whether this strategy can alter the structure of police resources in a manner that addresses the concerns of the HNA, is another issue all together and beyond the scope of this research and requires further examination.

The type of demands made on the police is one of the principal reasons for the different levels of success of the two associations. In the case of the Mission, the demands made were similar to those of the Jewish community and largely periodic in character requiring little changes in police priorities or practices. The resource implications of providing police

assistance for religious festivals were offset by the resources of the Mission and its community, and at worst caused temporary inconvenience to the police.

The growing political influence of the Hindu community in the borough, epitomised by the institutionalising of a Navartri fund, is clearly evident in the Mission's organisational capacity, and an important factor in how it is perceived by the police. The police's perception of the highly instrumental nature of Hindu leadership's attitude towards influence, enabled them to operate in a complementary manner.

An illustration of this is the police's ability to establish a Neighbourhood Watch programme with the Mission's assistance (Brown 1982). This finding suggests that the interaction between the Mission leaders and the police is mediated by a set of informal rules regarding 'the nature of the game' and 'system of racial etiquette' which both parties understood and complied with (Chapter 1). Underlying the relationship between the Police and the Mission's leaders was a latent stereotypical view regarding the motivation of Hindus as a group, and their real agenda, regarding power and influence (Smith and Gray 1983, Allport 1987).

Moreover, the ethnic and racial interests, implicit and explicit in the police view, in terms of its attempts to represent the white community's interests in light of Hindu expansion was consistent with the racist outlook which produced the policing difficulties experienced by the Mission in the first instance. A case in point being the police references to 'little India' to symbolically represent this alien presence (Cashmore 1983: 183, Reiner 1991, Keith 1993).

These comments illustrates well the racism underpinning such views, and the slippery terrain of 'non-threatening' notions of 'multi-culturalism', insofar as it is premised on ambiguous notions of white psychological comfort and an obstacle to ethnic minority progress (Chapter 2). This raises many important research questions concerning the response of white communities to the steady progress of East African Asians and the strategies employed by the latter in a potentially changing environment.

One area of ongoing concern is the issue of cultural change but specifically its impact on deviancy and crime. The HNA's role as a social-welfare association directly involved it in many of these issues which made it more sensitive to this. The police who are called to deal with incidents resulting from these cultural changes were more specific about the types of problems experienced, which are in line with those highlighted (Chapters 3 and 4). This is

an area of future research in identifying changes in popular perception of this ethnic group and the types of problems which are found particularly on the basis of gender.

Concluding Remarks

From the outset of this study its primary objective was to compare the approaches or models of organisation and leadership of the respective ethnic minority communities and evaluate their effectiveness in addressing key issues of concern about policing. Part of this process involved identifying the constraints at work in limiting leadership effectiveness; given the existence of countervailing interests, which may reduce their capacities to achieve stated objectives in any number of areas. Indeed, it was found that both the Jewish and Hindu communities experienced problems essentially around under-policing and matters of policing resources; particularly in the matter of increasing police presence in their local communities which was largely constrained by national political considerations beyond the influence of ethnic minority communities no matter how well resourced.

One of the primary reasons for choosing the Jewish, African-Caribbean and Hindu communities for comparison is that, albeit different in many fundamental ways, all have shared experiences of discrimination, particularly in the forms of violence and harassment. In addition, each community has been central to popular debates regarding immigration and crime or the perception of them having a strong proclivity for offending behaviour; albeit less of a case for the generic Hindu community who have instead been more closely linked to issues regarding illegal entry and an unwanted foreign and cultural presence (Gordon and Newham 1985). Moreover, the constant comparison of various British ethnic minority communities has long been a preoccupation of the media and by ethnic communities themselves with the Jewish community long being cited as the exemplar for others; as recently seen in the comments of Chief Rabbi Sir Jonathan Sacks (The Daily Mail, 8 October 2005) in a long line of similar statements by previous Jewish leaders advising other ethnic communities to learn from their experience (Chapter 1).

The research found the existence of particular models of organisation, leadership and approaches to influence which underlines Modood's (1993) emphasis on the importance of colour, class and culture in understanding the position and constraints at work in British society with regards to ethnic minority communities. With this in mind, it is not surprising that the Jewish community who has the longest residency in Britain, are white and mainly middle-class, have had the most success in a range of areas in consolidating their

presence and exercising influence. The influence exercised in policing matters, in the area of anti-Semitic activities and the policing of religious holidays, simply reflects Jews' established position in British society.

Jewish ethnicity pivots largely around matters concerning religious faith and practice, which are essentially private and voluntary in character. This creates a range of advantageous scenarios for Jews in British society, as in options not to observe the Jewish faith and become fully assimilated or Anglicised or to revert back to religious observance later in life, or in essentially symbolic ways (Gans 1962). An example of this can be seen in Hollywood film producer Steven Spielberg who spent most of his life as a non-observing assimilated Jew, to later embrace his Jewish ethnicity and its religious practices. Consequently, Jewish identity and cultural differences constitutes a relatively minor area of the broader politics and interests of this ethnic group, as distinct from the dominant white majority group, creating less areas of potential conflict and critical in understanding this community's success and influence in comparison to other visible ethnic minority communities.

The East African Hindu community, unlike the Jewish community, have experience of discrimination and racism on the basis of colour and cultural differences, which is illustrated in the research findings and is still ongoing in varying degrees. However, important characteristics and experiences of this section of the British Hindu community is central in explaining how this ethnic group within a relatively short time has managed to consolidate and continue to extend its influence within British life. Critically important in this group's ascendancy has been its historical experiences and the norms which shaped its position within colonial Africa, where Hindus thrived mainly through education and commerce. They were able to refine their power, influencing strategies, and experience of leadership in a range of areas, such as religious, civic and political organisation (Nye 1993). Moreover, this leadership and ability to utilise ethnic resources is epitomised by the reliance on clan and caste organisation in the context of inter group/caste competition (Desai 1963, Barot 1982).

Consequently, unlike African-Caribbean immigrants, East African Asians came to Britain as a highly resourced, well-educated, middle-class community and within a relatively short period of time able to make its presence felt within established Hindu and Asian communities exercising leadership over them in a number of critical areas, such as industrial relations, commercial activity and politics. The strong ethnic values around achievement, economic and otherwise, is demonstrated by the superior educational performance of East African Asians in British schools (Modood and Berthould et al. 1997:

64-65). Given the importance of education for class mobility in British society, as witnessed in the Jewish experience (The Daily Mail, 8 October 2005), and a shared emphasis on cultural assimilation amongst the British born, combined with the economic success of East African Asians, their rise and growing influence seems bound to continue as observed by their relationship with major political parties both at the local and national level (The Mail on Sunday, 11 December 2005).

An important strategy adopted by the East African Asian community during the late 1970s and 1980s with significant import for its success was ethnic realignment in seeking to identify and utilise the ethnic category 'black' associating itself primarily with African-Caribbeans, not being a white ethnic group and experiencing colour discrimination, and use of the opportunities provided by reform to obtain resources and access to influence. This has been assisted by political strategies which seek to make a favourable impression on whites in key areas related to power and influence (Cohen 1974, Kalka 1991).

These issues were highlighted in the case study which shows how the East African Asian community were able to build influence at the local level in terms of political and economic institutions, such as the Council, Chamber of Commerce and eventually the police; intrinsically linked to the building of the new temple which is a physical and symbolic manifestation of its presence, also seen in the institutionalisation of important Hindu religious holidays.

An important set of commonalities between the approach utilised by Jews and East African Asians is the limited nature of the demands made on British institutions or culture sharing an essentially accommodationist and conservative ethos, reducing conflict; along with a preparedness to accept the status quo and work within established constraints and ways of operating, similar to the latter's colonial strategy (Fieldhouse 1982). At the same time, a crucial dimension of the East African Asian strategy is building and expanding its own ethnic infrastructures in order to maintain and reproduce important aspects of its cultural and religious practices, while building its ethnic capital and resources which can be used politically in any number of ways.

In this regard the East African Asian community's organisational, political and leadership strategies closely resembles that of the Jewish community's model; even though its organisational features differ and is explained by the unique historical circumstances which has shaped self-regulation within the Jewish community and the evolution of a large

bureaucratic machinery. In many respects the adoption of similar organisational forms by other ethnic groups may well be counter-productive, particularly if similar outcomes can be achieved by different means, given the deep-seated racism within British society. While such types of approaches may not have had significant adverse effects on the Jewish community in the public mind, given its longevity, this may not be the case for ethnic minority communities characterised by colour and important cultural differences, particularly if the success of the East African Asian community continues (Modood 1993).

One of the unknown variables at the time of writing is how the issue of discrimination or racism will impede or shape the progress of the East African Asian community and the impact this may have in forming some of the finer details and nuances of the strategies utilised by leaders of this ethnic group, which may lead to further divergences from the Jewish model.

The preferred model or approach of the African-Caribbean community was the black power model, which reflects a culmination of historical and a unique set of processes experienced by Africans from the diaspora (Gilroy 1993) whose roots are in slavery and beyond. There are two important features which help explain the saliency of the black power project and its meaning to African-Caribbean and African-Americans. The first is the depth of racism which is historically associated with things black (African) or black skin (Fryer 1984). While as Rattansi (1994: 44-46) and Said cited in Keita (2000) have shown the concepts of the 'other' and its negative association or construction has long applied to Asians or the Oriental, to use Said's term. But by comparison the west, also British, fear of and hostility to things black (along with desire and attraction) is much deeper at all levels conscious and unconscious and has been a powerful factor in how significant numbers of white society view and relate to African-Caribbeans and the racisms experienced by them (Fanon 1967, Schutz 1973).

One dimension of these dynamics is seen in the well entrenched images and beliefs around black and African savagery or blacks being 'wildmen' (Rattansi 1994). This imagery is rooted in colonial history and has to be placed against the facts of greater African resistance to whites, predominantly of a military and violent kind, distinguishing this group from both Jews and East African or other groups of Asians (Chapter 2, Rattansi 1994: 44, Sparks 2005) which continued with African-Caribbean immigration in terms of their response to racist policing, racial violence, and later association with crime.

Consequently many of the social routes used by Jews and East African Asians are not so readily open to African-Caribbeans. The second important feature as Sewell (2000), and others, have pointed out there is a greater reluctance to shedding highly valued aspects of ethnic group culture amongst African-Caribbeans in order to render them safe enough, in sufficiently large enough numbers, to make assimilation/accommodation of this type a viable strategy; given the strong feelings within this group about 'acting' or 'becoming white' and the costs of this process (Pryce 1986, Alexander 1996). Sewell (2000: 9) highlights the intense social policing and pressures African-Caribbean males undergo compared to any other ethnic group where even having fashionable hair cuts among elite students or how they walk is punished in a way not applicable to any other group of students. Thus demonstrating how African-Caribbeans are expected to over-conform in an oppressive manner to make them less dangerous (Essed 1991: 159-160). This process was evident in the Stephen Lawrence case, where a misleading image was constructed of him to separate him from his peers and downplay his cultural affiliations and norms which were similar to that of other African-Caribbean youths (Cathcart 1999: 112, Brooks 2003).

Moreover, in many cases these choices may not even present themselves in cases where African-Caribbean men (and many women) given their possession of many natural attributes which are intrinsic to their racial group, or a significant and disproportionate number, such as size, physical presence and confidence which derive from this, and contributes to their prowess in other areas, create discomfort or anxiety amongst whites within institutions or elsewhere. Sewell (2000: 9-10) notes even legitimate concerns expressed by boys, who were clearly committed to education, was viewed with suspicion and defensiveness from white teachers, which Essed (1991: 49-53) identifies as a common experience in the workplace and intrinsic to the problematisation of black people.

Unlike other ethnic communities examined African-Caribbeans have experienced deliberate attempts to destroy their social infrastructure, leadership and culture to weaken and make them more compliant for dominance and exploitation. Against this background the popularity and fear associated with the black power model can be understood, including attitudes towards assimilation and accommodation, as well as underscoring the types of leaders who are more likely to enjoy widespread support within this ethnic community.

Central to the black power model is a project of building, and in many cases, repairing fundamental institutions and structures of African-Caribbean people, be they familial, educational, economic or other forms of secondary association (Hiro 1973); which has been

damaged in multiple ways and in so doing bring this community on par with most other ethnic communities, at a bare minimum, as a precondition to engaging in more sophisticated ethnic political strategies to secure resources and opportunities (Small 1994: 202-204). Another critical aspect of the black power model is that it seeks to institutionalise and promote important aspects of ethnicity in terms of history, culture, heritage and values in an affirming and empowering manner against a broader background and environment which denies black people basic humanity; in celebrating and taking pride in its achievements or ways of viewing the world as social beings.

One of the difficulties experienced in analysing and theorising about the black power model (especially in the area of political organisation) whether in the US or Britain is the limited longevity of most of these formations. The hostility they evoke from whites and their institutions, particularly the police, and who in the case of the former has a far more violent political culture and has responded with efforts to undermine as well as destroy these formations and their leaders (Bunyan 1977, T'shaka 1990, Evanzz 1992).

For example, the official definition of and hostility towards Louis Farrakhan disguises the fact that his organisation is one of the few of size and stature to have been able to frustrate and survive many attempts to destabilise the Nation of Islam. Despite it being fundamentally flawed in many areas, its emphasis on religious type charismatic and autocratic leadership and structures; its promotion of Islam (along with its various implications eg attitudes towards women and international affiliations etc), and cultish character inter alia, to serve as a broader vehicle for mass black empowerment or a model in that direction. In spite of this, Farrakhan enjoys significant black support on key social and political issues, being a relatively lone voice of stature who speaks outside the system of racial etiquette (Myrdal 1944, Fanon 1967).

Another set of problems which beset the African-Caribbean community and black power leadership, which again has its origins in history, relates to the internal management of this small ethnic group in efforts to maximise its resources in strategic ways. Although having a middle-class which preceded the onset of mass migration, a significant number of this group are accommodationist/assimilationist and over-conformist in character and according to Patterson (1967, Pryce 1986, Meeks 2000: 60) characterised as being pro-white in bias and latently or overtly anti-black who do not share identification with the social condition of the majority. As a consequence of colonial design and nurturing (in the first instance) the African-Caribbean community, like African-Americans, have an in-built opposition which is different in kind to that found within sections of the early Anglo-Jewish community and not shaped largely by outsiders (Myrdal 1944, Frazier 1957, 1973). Hence any strategy which relies heavily on this section of the African-Caribbean middle-class for resources or leadership, which is a feature of the Jewish and Hindu approach, seems doomed from the outset.

An important factor in shaping ethnic affiliation, loyalties and expectations amongst Jews and Hindus with consequence for the behaviour of its middle-class is their religious/cultural values which are very closely intertwined and can be seen by the centrality of their religious organisations within the social/political infrastructure of these communities, particularly in providing integration of ethnic group members. As noted earlier, while a significant number of African-Caribbeans are Christians it has to be remembered that this religion is comparatively new in the lives of this group and also closely associated with white dominance and lacks the unifying potential that Hinduism does for East African Indians or Judaism has for Jews being ancient religions which have been practiced by these communities for much longer than African-Caribbeans have been observing Christianity (Chapter 2). The decline in Christian influence is illustrated by the desertion of significant numbers of African-Caribbeans, particularly males, from Christianity seen in their involvement in Rastafarianism or more recently Islam, which place a stronger emphasis on white racism, black resistance and ethnic pride etc (Abdul Malik 1967, Cashmore 1983, Robins 1992).

The collective action problem which class relations within the African-Caribbean community presents is exacerbated by individuals who can come from any stratum of African-Caribbean society, and driven by any number of factors, or seduced to act against the collective interest of the ethnic group with probably greater frequency than other ethnic communities (Chong 1993). One consequence of white attempts to destroy key unifying

aspects of African culture in the Caribbean has led to higher degrees of individualism or weak means of group regulation, normative and otherwise, due to what Wallman (1986) describes as its greater cultural transparency (Goode 1961, Stinchcombe 1965).

These issues in themselves are not insurmountable as seen consistently throughout history. In the case of accommodationist leaders providing alternative channels of communication or supporting dominant group interests have found themselves relatively soft targets for radical leaders. This is reinforced by the fact that this stratum have usually been called on to legitimise the views and interests of the status quo, or delegitimise more popular discourses, mainly on white platforms such as the media which is used to exclude the opinions of the former. Accommodationists generally are unable however, to enjoy such support or credibility on black-dominated platforms, or within African-Caribbean communities (Marable 1983, Keith 1988). Moreover, while serving to frustrate the aspirations of the African Caribbean, or black majority, this is of a temporary nature and in contexts where these communities are disorganised or lack credible leaders in given time and space. For example, Garvey's intellectual demolition of assimilationist intellectuals and leaders in the US won him more supporters and converts, even from within their own ranks (Henrik-Clarke 1973). Equally in Malcolm X's famous jocular, but incisive, interrogation of this class which was critical in facilitating the intellectual environment from civil rights activism to black power hegemony (Hayley 1965, Pinkney 1976).

Another way these issues may manifest, and found to be a major problem in the research findings, is how external funding may exacerbate or create collective action problems. But here also, black power thinkers have long addressed the issue of black programmes and institutions needing to be independently resourced at their basic operational level, which is reinforced by the approaches of both the Jewish and Hindu communities (Pinkney 1976, Madhubuti 1979).

An exemplary example is the HNA, a modest size community organisation providing a range of services, despite experiencing funding problems was able to continue its operations. Another lesson that can be taken from the HNA experience is that unless other ethnic communities adopt the Jewish community's strategy which has resulted in the Board having almost an executive veto over any form of government funding available to Jews (which is problematic on numerous levels) they are unable to prevent ethnic group members from obtaining funds to compete in providing services etc. The politics of racial and ethnic funding notwithstanding, competition in any area can only help to improve the

quality and range of services being provided to ethnic communities. Failure by new formations to meet such expectations can serve to reinforce the legitimacy and leadership of existing ethnic organisations, and therefore, not something to be feared.

Other collective action problems are attempts to internally undermine black power leaders or efforts to destabilise organisations or communities by fair or foul means involving individuals or groups so predisposed (Essed 1991: 114). History provides many lessons in this regard and indicates that regardless the amount of blacks engaged as spies or manipulated inter alia by whites and institutions to undermine slave rebellions, to take one example, or the struggle against Apartheid (Mandela 1995), or fight to establish black trade unions (Williams 1970); these strategies were unable to prevent the numerous efforts to undermine systems of domination, given the African's capacity to learn from experience and having greater knowledge of their own ethnic community than outsiders and able to pre-empt or limit such harm (Chapter 2). As French historian Ribbe who describes Napoleon's frustration in his inability to devise strategies to control Africans in the Caribbean, which led to his reliance on genocide as a 'final solution' in completely eliminating entire populations and replacing them (Sparks 2005).

One important cultural resource diasporan Africans share is historical experience of some of the most extreme forms of political control as well as a collective know how and disposition to be able to operate and respond under such circumstances, which Napoleon found to his cost (James 1963), and can also be seen in the history of British policing. In fact, if there is one credit which is to be given to Farrakhan and his organisation is their ability to learn from bitter experience and taking appropriate steps by the application of expertise, hard won, to eliminate and nullify potential major internal collective action problems. Moreover, given the collective experience and knowledge available to black people (and its leadership strata and intellectual class) they have the resources to frustrate externally led strategies to create and exploit divisions within this ethnic group. This is illustrated by the white dominant group and conservative Jews in the US, and in Britain, desperately in search for black opinion formers to condemn Farrakhan with very little success. His perceived contribution to the development of black people, has been viewed as outweighing his deficiencies, particularly against the racially inspired agendas at work (Madhubuti 1994).

Another important and countervailing factor to the potential interests working against the black power model and its strategic efficacy is the fact according to Small (1994: 205, Pryce 1986, Sewell 2000), that a significant number of the African-Caribbean and black middle-class, which is growing albeit slowly, both secular and religious, are what they term Afro-centric and pro-black in orientation and share strong points of affiliation with the working-class, the excluded, and radical in their persuasion. For Small the future of black people and the strategies which they evolve are closely tied to the nurturing and development of this section of the black community and their use in very important ways.

The critical nature of this observation, as it relates to the black power model, which Small agrees is a very important ethnic response, is found in several crucial areas addressing deficiencies which can be drawn from the research findings. The first area is increasing expertise and human capacity, including financial, in developing organisations and programmes to address a range of social problems identified. A second area involves developing strategies to engage public opinion formers and decision-makers in articulating a radical agenda based on best available information and expertise (Bowling and Phillips 2003). A final area is the forming of external political strategies in forging alliances with radicals or progressive elements from any number of communities contingent on the issues in question etc. These critical areas may well require different types of tactical approaches and the study of the methods used by other ethnic communities can provide invaluable insights, if only to be rejected as inappropriate. In this regard one of the conclusions of the research is that in terms of potential alliances between the African-Caribbean, mainstream Hindu and Jewish communities on matters requiring a radical approach and outcome is unlikely to bear fruit

Small's observations are very timely insofar as the emphasis of black power leaders, given the infancy of their formations, in Britain in particular, has been on internal community development and anti-racist activity. However, the structural and institutional nature of many key social issues affecting disadvantaged communities and the nature of western capitalist economies, which is well illustrated by Julius Wilson (1999) in the area of employment and the international loss of work and its consequences for social policy, policing in particular; no ethnic minority community on its own can hope to bring about fundamental reform in this sphere.

These different tasks and challenges are consistent with notions of black power in empowering and promoting the various interests of the African-Caribbean community, albeit

requiring multiple approaches and types of personalities, skills and expertise. For example Wilson's radical policy recommendations, while not couched in language readily associated with black power thinking, but in terms of its suggested outcomes and specific intent has a potentially significant impact on the lives of economically excluded black people and males in particular. Bernie Grant MP is another example of the way black power thinking and agendas can be articulated which emphasises the importance of the affiliation of grassroots organisational leaders, such as the Association or Broadwater Farm Youth Association, in shaping the values and priorities of the political class, along with the importance of shared cultural norms and political interests in that process.

Grant's stature amongst British black politicians at the popular level is unsurpassed and based on his commitment and consistency in pursuing a radical agenda in meeting the needs of the black dispossessed and other poor and excluded communities. Any doubts to Grant's transition to black power ideology can be seen in his highly symbolic appearance after being elected to Parliament in traditional African attire, to the humour of the white popular media, but expressing his affiliation to his heritage, also seen in his championing and leadership of the British African Reparation Movement (Small 1994: 19, Myrie 2004); again issues fundamental to black power thinking in gaining recognition of the treatment of Africans in European enrichment, at the expense of hundreds of millions of lives (Clarke 1992, Martin 1993, Stanislas 2006b), and critical in understanding the type of structural damage suffered by this group in what many African-American historians have called the African holocaust.

Another important example of black power or pan African practice can be seen in the way Grant used the British political system and its resources to aid Caribbean and African countries, as in his response to the Montserrat volcano disaster jointly with other Caribbean governments, and the recognition gained from black leaders internationally (Black Perspectives Magazine June/July 1995). A development of a radical black political agenda in Britain based on black power principles will require more than one Bernie Grant, but his example is instructive in developing a model of leadership in this area of activity.

One criticism of the black power model is that it is contrary to dominant notions of cultural assimilation and can be viewed as a form of separatism (Udom-Essien 1962, Pinkney 1976). This proposition is fundamentally flawed given that African-Caribbeans by their very presence in British life have had to acculturate in particular ways in order to operate effectively, as well as being an important influence on aspects of popular culture (Gilroy

1987, 1993, Sewell 2000). Additionally, there is more than slight evidence to suggest that sections of this ethnic group have a tendency to over-assimilate and seen in terms of the disproportionate numbers married to whites compared to all other ethnic groups, particularly whites (Brown 1984, Modood and Berthould et al 1997: 31). This is more pronounced amongst members of the middle-class, who are less likely to live in areas with numbers of their ethnic group or actively identify with their social condition, which explains the critical attitudes towards members of this group generally.

Racism and structures of disadvantage contributes to a form of assimilation contrary to the interest of the African-Caribbean community, and its potential strength and resources, while excluding them from critical areas of society. Black power philosophy on the contrary serves to counter this reliance on dominant definition of assimilation, seen in its emphasis on pride in the ethnic group and its positive emphasis on its attributes, heritage and identity while empowering and including those who are structurally excluded by dominant society. However, this in all likelihood will have little impact on the day-to-day interactions African-Caribbeans have in white society in terms of work and education, or other spheres of social interaction. Moreover, this has to be placed within a context that outside these areas most whites have little meaningful interaction with non-whites and are the least integrated or multi-cultural sections of British society (Gilroy 1987, Modood and Berthould 1997: 34-35, Anthias 2001: 629-630, Solomos 2003).

Another contemporary consideration, of much importance, which may challenge the efficacy of the black power model revolves around its perceived insensitivity to female concerns given its perceived preoccupation with matters masculine. This criticism has been more prominent in the American literature (see Hooks 1991), albeit reflected elsewhere (Carby 1982, Bryant and Dadzie 1985). In the British context the involvement of African-Caribbean and black women with feminism has been fleeting in terms of mobilisation or initiatives targeted at black women, and in fact the height of black female political involvement at all levels correspond with the peak of communal mobilisation seen from the late 1970s to the decline in the mid to late 1980s, where black power influence was at its highest (Bryant and Dadzie 1985). This would suggest that the involvement of black women in such activities is intrinsically related to the participation rate of their men and the type of leaders they support. There is little evidence to suggest that any body of substantive issues appealing to black women alone has managed to galvanise them in independent or opposing directions.

Moreover, very few women's organisations or leaders of any prominence have emerged to tackle the issue of black female poverty (Small 1994: 140) or a whole range of social issues which are compounded by the impact of marginalisation of African-Caribbean males on women or the family, or specifically to the numerous implications which can be deduced from criminal justice data in shaping the quality of black women's lives (Bowling and Phillips 2003). It is this silence or invisibility which has led Hare (1989: 167) in the US context to claim that black feminists are largely irrelevant to social policy matters regarding the contemporary black family in the real world. Hare and Hare's (1989) examination of matters regarding the black family give more than an indication that the majority of black women are conservative in key areas and supportive of black power values. This is graphically illustrated by the mass cross gender support for the Farrakhan inspired and led Million Man March in Washington, involving African-American males from across the class spectrum and religious divide, united around the fundamental principle of the need to defend traditional notions of black family and the leadership role of men within that institution and in society at large (Wilson 1999, Dudley and Stone 2000).

In the British context these shared sensibilities can be seen, it is suggested, in the absence of public criticism from black women to the Farrakhan visit (Chapter 4) and where perceptions of the black family being under attack it is arguably even more strongly held, and comes from two directions. In the first instance, the undermining of the black family comes from the impact of slavery, institutionalised and other racisms at multiple levels, which also weakens its capacity to effectively adapt to change. Secondly, as a consequence of assimilationism and the high number of African-Caribbean males married to whites. These processes affect African-Caribbean women of all classes at a very basic level (Hare and Hare 1989: 25-34, Berthoud and Modood et al 1997: 25). Given that the only two organised sections of this ethnic community where the preservation and defence of the traditional family are core to their concerns are the church and black power advocates. It can be assumed that African-Caribbean and black women on the whole will support leaders or strategies which seek to empower males which indirectly enhances them and their opportunities and resources etc (Essed 1991: 112).

In taking the analysis forward to inform a conclusion on the efficacy of the black power model for current debate on black people and policing, one consideration has to be what has the black power approach achieved to date for the African-Caribbean and black community? First, this view of organisational and leadership behaviour has been critical in providing an important ideological framework for understanding race relations and policing within a historical, social and cultural context. It has been of particular significance in locating the role of white masculinities in this process and the specific interests of this group and its gender ramifications. Secondly, the black power model has been critical in shaping concepts of ethnic identity for important sections of the African-Caribbean and black community and how their interests are defined. Thirdly, more than any other section of the African-Caribbean community, black power advocates have been the most outspoken on all key aspect of social life and their implications for the whole group, having closer relations with the masses and the norms which shape that interaction. Unlike the most high-profiled assimilationist and accommodationist leaders, who either through lack of exposure or self-censorship, generally only respond to issues deemed safe by the dominant society, or in a piecemeal and isolated manner. The calls for the end of 'race dogmas' from particular quarters seems to apply to its authors, who would appear the most lacking in free speech or thought on matters of race (Doughty 2004).

For example, despite the issue of inter-racial relationships being a burning priority for significant sections of the African-Caribbean community (as seen by the researcher's experience in Chapter 1) the deafening silence on the matter amongst those who enjoy high-media profile is instructive of the general behaviour in question. Understandably so, given this group are the primary culprits in this regard. Black power leaders are the most frank in expressing how black people really view the white dominant society and their treatment. This is apparent in the context of gun crime and the limited nature of the concerns of the majority of black media commentators, such as Trevor Phillips, compared to that of lesser-known people like Walters (Walters 2003). Consequently, it is not difficult to see why the latter's analysis is far more likely to enjoy more widespread support across gender, age and class, as well as religious disposition.

Fourthly, the black power model has provided a framework for political mobilisation and leadership in exposing and opposing racial injustice in the criminal justice system. This has had a defining impact on the character of the African-Caribbean and black community and how it relates to the police both past and present (Chapters 3 and 4). It has also been central to many important victories in this community's history of campaigning against the

police and is highlighted in the success of the Support Group. This is not to suggest that the black power model has been exhausted as a strategic approach, as implied by the likes of Gilroy (1993) and Sewell (2000), and if anything, is indicative of the limited capacity of leaders to fully develop and exploit it. The period in which this approach to policing was shaped, from the mid sixties through to the eighties, due to the extreme forms of racism experienced by black people, particularly in terms of police violence and other outrageous miscarriages of justice, constituted an important response. The ability to mobilise the African-Caribbean community in oppositional terms has been crucial in galvanising communal resources and making explicit the issues in contention. However, the ability to mobilize this community has always been one dimension of such campaigns; the role of legal and other professionals being another. The growth of black professionals potentially increases the expert resources in various important areas of the criminal justice system. This provides the possibility of collaboration between campaign leaders and bureaucratic insiders, increasing their capabilities and effectiveness, than earlier periods, contingent on important conditions being met.

Interestingly, despite the attempts to portray the Lawrence campaign as an important divergence from previous traditions (Lloyd 2002: 65), black power type organisations and oppositional sentiments were fundamental to the success of the campaign from its inception to conclusion. The fear of white authorities around Stephen's and other deaths was not premised on the potential backlash from the assimilationist Lawrence Family, or their middle-class and other counterparts most concerned with white validation, but the wider community and the political forces that speak to them (Chapter 2, Cathcart 1999: 159). Moreover, it is the historical struggles of the African-Caribbean community and its majority community, along with their cultural characteristics, which provided the resources and context which made the MacPherson inquiry so important, and the canvass relied upon by the Lawrence family and their representatives.

While careful to distance Stephen's image from his friends and close associates, the Lawrence family campaign team were quite happy for those seen as the black other to act in ways which reinforced their negative image in white eyes. The expression of communal anger was instrumentally crucial in pressuring the authorities, thereby strengthening the Lawrence family's negotiating position. Their silence after the violent scuffles outside the MacPherson hearings being one example of many of the very expedient attitude of the Lawrences toward the black community (BBC 29 June 1998, see Brooks 2003, Stanislas 2006a). This in the writer's view is not evidence of an appropriate strategy with any

meaningful or long-term benefit for the black community. This example illustrates the Lawrence's need for the wider community and their resources, but having little other affinity or shared interests given their general antipathy towards black people (Cathcart 1999: 210, Brooks 2003, Stanislas 2006a).

The Lawrence campaign and recent issues regarding black on black crime, including gun crime, which had only emerged at the commencement of the writer's fieldwork, raises important issues around models of organisation and leadership and black communal strategy around contemporary policing matters. One of the misconceptions surrounding the black power model is the perception that it posits two extreme forms of social relations or responses to white society. As already outlined, one of the important aspects of this approach is clearly identifying and outlining the preconditions needed for more sophisticated and effective responses.

Central to this process is the development of strong social infrastructure that provides accountability for black or other people who operate within the criminal justice or other systems. Nowhere is this more eloquently explained than in the speeches of Malcolm X, who asserted that black power was both the building of structures which empower black people, but also ensuring that black interests are pursued and defended in crucial mainstream political and social institutions. The ballot being a more preferable course of black power than the bullet in his estimations (Malcolm X 1970: 71-77). Black power outside the system being the primary pre-requisite for advancing black power within the system.

The problem with this formulation is regardless of its theoretical, logical and empirical correctness; the disorganisation of poor black communities and the specific challenges of new policing problems create an almost circular dilemma. The inability to organisationally respond effectively to issues is one difficulty; the other is how this weakness can be used by particular sectional interests in the misrepresentation of communal concerns. In the Lawrence case, it allowed the black community to be treated in an expedient manner, deliberately excluding grassroots leaders from the process. This explains the failure of the campaign's other primary objective of launching a civil rights movement to ensure the implementation of all key MacPherson recommendations (BBC, 29 March 1999, Cathcart 1999, p. 137). The lessons to be drawn from this experience, for black activists and grassroots leaders, are many; particularly the strategies which are being evolved by those of a fundamentally pro white orientation in the area of policing (Stanislas 2006a). Despite

the congratulatory atmosphere in which MacPherson's findings were received in many quarters, as it presently stands, the jury is still out regarding its real impact on minority communities (Murji and McLaughlin 1999, Bowling and Phillips 2003). For example the CRE's condemnation of widespread police racism in the light of its investigations, following the BBC documentary 'The Secret Policeman' (Syal 2004) does not complement the high expectations that MacPherson has engendered. Neither does news stories, such as those describing the manner in which an injured black war hero was allowed to die in a police station, after a violent assault, while white police officers stood around joking, seven years after MacPherson (Gill and Slack 2006); nor is the alarming numbers of black men dying in police custody (Gabriel 2005).

The issues concerning African-Caribbean representation are at the heart of the controversies surrounding gun crime and policy responses. This can be seen in the criticisms of individuals such as Trevor Phillips and Lee Jasper inter alia in their support of the police around specific initiatives, such as Operation Trident (Walters 2003), which gained some backing from parts of this community, such as frightened mothers (The Job 15 August 2003, Anderson 1999: 42-45). It must be said, that much of this support seems to stem from desperation or lack of perceived viable alternatives, given the abandonment of inner city black and other disadvantaged communities by the black and white political class (Applegate and White 2004), and therefore not necessarily positive commitment towards the police or anything which can be taken as significant development or celebrated. Ironically, the same people who are supportive of the police in one instance, as in mothers, may find their children subject to police racism in another, such as the racist use of the powers of stop and search, responsible for bringing black males into the criminal justice system in disproportionate numbers (see Bowling and Phillips 2003).

In fact, forcing black people into to extreme alternatives, due to institutional racism and policy neglect is a feature of government behaviour, a view expressed by the leader of the Support Group in the findings. This can also be seen by local government complicity in the demise of the Association, which allowed the police to enter as social agents of change helping to develop programmes, which were also hailed as a positive development in community relations. Particularly as the research findings illustrate the police concerns about guns is a much shaped by their own fears for their safety, than about the welfare of black people. Something being better than nothing is not sufficient ground to premise any serious policing strategy neither is it a framework the African-Caribbean community should accept (Sweet FM Radio Talk Show, April 2006). A point made by the writer in a radio

debate with aspiring North London African-Caribbean politician, Neville Watson, and supported by those who phoned the show. Neither is the charge of black people having to be 'practical' or 'realistic' as a means to avoid more systemic and radical reform (Solomos 2003, pp. 241-243), in order to gain support for piecemeal action based on the official definition of issues. In this regard, the African-Caribbean and black community and black power advocates have history on their side.

Another, but often forgotten, piece of realpolitik, is the fact that the system and its institutions need black people for legitimisation and black strategies designed to remove or make the life of those who seek to participate in token actions or initiatives extremely difficult, can have serious repercussions in strategies of white governance. Black people's history illustrates how they are tactically extremely resourceful when well led in finding ways to creatively expand the policy agenda and force the white hand. White racism, fear and ignorance, along with their predictability has always been one of the greatest weapons in the hands of sophisticated leadership.

This writer takes the view, that it may well be in the medium and long-term interest of the African-Caribbean and black community leaders to not respond to many of the contemporary pressing policing issues by hastily supporting police and government initiatives; but to use this environment to educate and organise its community in order to create the necessary infrastructure to engage in policing in a serious and meaningful way. In fact, this appears to be the course being taken as described below. However, this does not preclude informal low-key collaboration on pressing matters. Despite many of the distressing policing problems being experienced by the African-Caribbean and black community, the consequences of failure to develop an appropriate approach to these issues, it is argued, will increase these problems.

Within this context, the criticisms of many high-profile black individuals within the system or what Fernandez (2000) terms 'system managers', is well-founded in the fact that for the most part they are not elected or accountable in any real way to the black community. Equally, this group more often than not lack the core values and priorities of the black majority regardless of the means used to select them. This is demonstrated in the absence of any proposals for more comprehensive policies for change in matters which have criminal justice ramifications, which would have meaningful outcomes for the quality of black life and command broad support. For example, in the debate concerning gun crime, the concept of economic justice seems to have vanished from the prevailing political

vocabulary of system and media discourses preferring more softer side issues such as absent fathers (Walters 2003).

Another example of the narrow concerns of many opinion formers is the problems experienced by individuals such as Lee Jasper, Race and Policing Advisor for the Mayor of London, and the perceived narrowness of their concerns in supporting police anti-gun crime initiatives, while being silent on how the police abuse the environment around this matter to continue their racism. A graphic case in point being the silence regarding the death of unarmed Derek Bennet, who was shot multiple times in the back by police in South London. The Bennet Family have not enjoyed the embrace of black system managers, the black establishment or the mainstream media, but have drawn support from traditional quarters (Black Unity Voice, July/August 2005). In this context, individuals such as Jasper can be charged with generating and supporting the political environment which allows the police to adopt a carte blanche approach in the sacred name of fighting gun crime. This mars the important observations made by Jasper on the economic consequences of gun crime and its role in the further impoverishment of black people, along with the critical role of police racism in that process (Dex 2003).

Critical to these matters, and closely related to the issue of communal infrastructures, is considerations around legitimacy and accountability which is central matters within the black power model and in common with the Jewish and Hindu community. This is very clear in the case of the Jewish community and who is allowed to talk on their behalf and there is no reason why similar concerns should not shape black priorities. Moreover, African-Caribbean support for involvement in criminal policing initiatives is primarily shaped by the legitimacy of the individuals in question, as much as the specific policies, as seen in the case of the Association's leaders who developed a useful working relationship with the police with community backing. While at the same time its leadership stayed clear from discredited initiatives or forums seen as ineffective, illustrating wise and sound political judgement and a keen understanding of their community.

Credibility within the African-Caribbean community is not gained via the institutional platforms of white society or on a single-issue basis, but based on local knowledge of individuals and respect gained within their community and its various networks. Moreover, the consistency, or lack of consistency, of individuals requiring support on issues of primary importance to black people, is critical in how they are perceived. For example, Jasper's inept handling of the highly regarded African-American historian Professor Tony Martin, in

order to placate Jewish racists, destroyed his credibility with important sections of the black community (see Stanislas 2006b). Jasper's actions were viewed as tantamount to treachery, turning many erstwhile activist colleagues against him. The importance of local knowledge is vital in matters of trust and how the wider ethnic group, or important sections within it, reads between the lines of media generated comments. Clear examples can be seen by the treatment of many black religious leaders, who have expressed support for various policing initiatives in the context of gun crime, and the relative lack of criticisms towards them from critical sections of the African-Caribbean and black community (Moore 2003).

In many cases, these churches have long track records of committed work in tackling social problems in local communities and enjoy support from important sections of the ethnic group, if not grudging respect from radicals illustrated in the respectful silence surrounding them (MacAhram 2006). Many radical leaders have close relationships with religious leaders, whether through family members or in very practical ways such as using church halls for communal activities. This is no doubt assisted by the strong pro black orientation of many inner city churches (Chapter 2, Johnson 1991, Robins 1992, MacAhram 2006). This can also be seen in the rise of Dr Robert Beckford, radical theologian, and diasporan scholar from University of Birmingham, someone highly respected in the national black community across social groups, particularly amongst community activists.

This may not necessarily be the case for individuals such as John Satamu, Britain's first black Archbishop, who is a high-profile media figure, as seen in his comments regarding colonialism, similar to those of Trevor Phillips' (Doughty 2004). Satamu's remarked that whites had no reason to feel uncomfortable by this period of history (Brooks and Doughty 2005). As Fortier (2005) notes this is indicative of the type of blacks who are called on and granted the right to speak in Britain's name. It is highly unlikely any Jewish leader or high-profile figure based on the research findings (and recent experience of Mayor Ken Livingstone) would make such comments regarding the holocaust (Stanislas 2006b). It is therefore not surprising that the calls of such individuals, like Satamu, to support police initiatives can resonate negatively within important sections of the black community. The casual violations of matters almost sacred to large numbers of black people is clear indication of fundamental disregard for important sensibilities and by extension an act of disloyalty, so common of members of this social group. Under this scenario black people hardly have a chance to warm to high profile black figures, before they are expected to demonstrate their loyalty to whites (Fortier 2005). Given this historical dynamic, it is not

surprising black people have a natural suspicion of most high profile blacks and they would be stupid not to.

The centrality of accountability in the black power model applies to whatever section of the African-Caribbean or black community in question or their cultural and political orientation and how they construct their identities. This condition is also of import for those working within the system who genuinely shares the black community's concerns. The absence of communal black power in terms of organised and institutional machinery (as in the Jewish community) not only deprives these individuals' much needed support, in their struggles with the bureaucracy and its political masters, but also reduces their protection from opportunistic charges from both within and outside the system. Unwarranted charges of 'Uncle Tomism' and 'selling out' can be extremely harmful to the black communal interests in multiple ways, as is the seriousness of such accusations given their historical root and the emotions they generate.

This said, it is the duty of black people engaged in important areas of policing and criminal justice matters, to do far more than they have done to assist in creating the appropriate structures to assist themselves as well as the black community. In the same way, black power or policing campaigners require a good operational understanding of the police as an institution, the same level of knowledge is needed by those who seek to bring about change within these institutions about the workings of the African-Caribbean and black community, their core sensibilities, dynamics and inner workings. This would include amongst other things formal training and strategies to lay the foundations for a shared communal infrastructures of accountability and on terms of the widest sections of the community.

It is suggested these recommendations are best implemented ideally before engagement in policing initiatives, and also serves as an indication of commitment to the interests of black people. What has to be appreciated, is the one area where the African-Caribbean community, in particular, has a great deal of experience, is in matters regarding policing. Therefore, this community is extremely astute at identifying matters which can affect the type of support they give to those requiring it. The challenge presented, is in the sophistication and quality of the leadership of those wanting the African-Caribbean or black community's support, to demonstrate their difference from too many who have preceded them or presently in situ.

An interesting development, which has pragmatic import for the black power model and the criminal justice system, can be seen by the actions of the Black Police Association and efforts at developing an outreach strategy to create roots in local communities. A case in point is its involvement with organisations such as 100 Black Men of London¹, which provides educational and other support for young black boys. The latter being well regarded in the activist and radical black community and present at their events. While it is too early to come to any hard conclusions on how this relationship will develop, the mutual benefits are very apparent. However, one observation which must be reassuring for black power interests is the base of support for organisations such as 100 Black Men is wide given the nature of the issues they tackle which weakens the ability of any white institution, or in this case the BPA's, to apply adverse influence on them at the expense of broader communal interests. Moreover, these types of local organisations run programmes which are largely resourced by themselves, thus meeting the crucial black power requirement of autonomy of basic operations.

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