

The University of Manchester
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1824

***Fighting discrimination: W. Arthur
Lewis and the dual economy of
Manchester in the 1950s***

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December 2012

BWPI Working Paper 179

Brooks World Poverty Institute
ISBN : 978-1-907247-78-1

Creating and sharing knowledge to help end poverty

www.manchester.ac.uk/bwpi

Abstract

We document, for the first time, the institution-building activities of the development economist W. Arthur Lewis (1919-1991) as founder of Community House and the South Hulme Evening Centre, two further education centres which sought to fight discrimination among the Afro-Caribbean communities of Manchester in the 1950s. We depict the struggle by Afro-Caribbeans to achieve a decent standard of living (and to escape from the 'subsistence economy' which provides the basis for Lewis' most famous model) as a game of snakes and ladders in which the two main potential ladders out of poverty are first, the ability to generate non-wage income through self-employment and second, 'vertical social capital', i.e. membership of social networks of a kind which gave the employee the ability to fight back against discrimination. The most imaginative aspect of Lewis's design for his further education centres is his incorporation of activities which build vertical social capital alongside conventional vocational training. Using a bargaining model to understand the ability of Afro-Caribbeans to resist discrimination, we find that Lewis' social centres had a significant positive impact on Afro-Caribbean income and poverty levels. Through a merger between Community House and the West Indian Sports and Social Club, Lewis helped to create an innovative institution which has endured through to the present.

Keywords: Sir Arthur Lewis, Manchester, racial discrimination, Afro-Caribbean, inner cities, urban poverty, social capital

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Acknowledgements:

We are immensely grateful to: David Govier, Tony Lees and Helen Ostell of Greater Manchester Archives; Andrew Meredith at Manchester City Library; Dorothy Skinner, secretary of the Hulme Local History Society; Ruth Tait of the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Research Centre and Bill Williams, Honorary Research Fellow, both at the University of Manchester; and most of all, Lorita Brandy, Elouise Edwards, Viola James, Victor Lawrence, Yvonne McCalla, Ravaleta McKay, Ina Spence, Erna Thompson, and Barrington Young, who allowed themselves to be interviewed as part of the research for this paper. All errors are the authors' responsibility.

1. Introduction

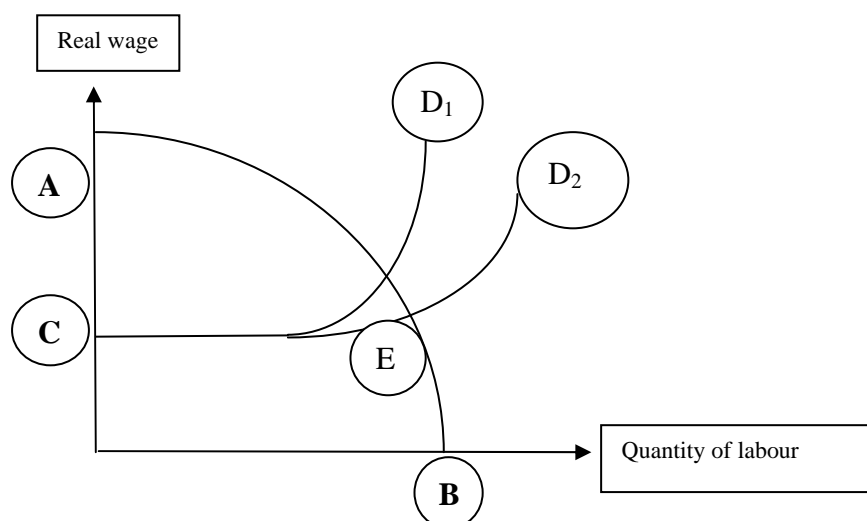
In 1948 the West Indian economist, W. Arthur Lewis, moved from LSE to occupy the Stanley Jevons chair of political economy at Manchester: the first time that a professorial post in Britain had gone to a black Afro-Caribbean. Lewis' early writings (Lewis 1949a, 1949b) were mainly in industrial economics, but from 1943 onward, whilst on secondment to the Colonial Office, he had been confronted with the problem of how to achieve economic development in low-income countries, most of them still under colonial rule. A central element in his response to this challenge, as exemplified in the two major works which he published while at Manchester, *Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour* and *The Theory of Economic Growth* (Lewis 1954, 1955), was to conceptualise the economies of developing countries as dual economies – economies bifurcated between a high-productivity 'modern sector' and a low-productivity 'subsistence sector', whose productivity directly determines the wage paid to the modern sector – and the ideas which found their full flowering in these publications have a claim to represent the beginning of development economics.

In the first of them, *Unlimited Supplies of Labour* [for which he was to be awarded the Nobel Prize in 1979] the entire development process is represented, as in Figure 1, by a simple supply and demand curve diagram for labour in the modern, capitalist, sector. The demand curve (AB in Figure 1), representing the marginal revenue product of labour, is completely conventional. But the supply curve (CD), instead of being conventionally upward-sloping, is flat, because the huge labour surpluses available in the subsistence sectors of many parts of the developing world enable employers in the modern sector to bid down the wage to the subsistence level, or more precisely the subsistence level plus the costs of transporting workers from the modern to the subsistence sector and settling them there. In Lewis' model, only capitalists in the modern sector save; therefore the gap between the supply and the demand curve for labour (ACE) representing the 'capitalist surplus', or the difference between the productivity of the modern sector and the wage paid to it, is the sole source of investment and growth. Maximising that surplus is therefore key to development. There are various ways of pursuing this objective, but one, of particular interest to Lewis both as a student of the British economy and as a fairly recent immigrant from the West Indies to Britain,¹ was for the modern sector to import low-cost labour from developing countries whenever there was a labour shortage and whenever, as a consequence, the right-hand section of the supply curve threatened to turn upwards. According to Lewis' argument, if this can be done in sufficient quantity, it will hold down the cost of labour, moving the supply curve from CD_1 CD_{11} to CD_2 , and thereby

¹ Lewis first arrived in Britain in 1933 from St Lucia as a first-year BCom student at the London School of Economics. He returned to the West Indies many times, including a period of service as vice-chancellor of the University of the West Indies from 1959 to 1963.

enlarging the 'capitalist surplus' (the area ACE on Figure 1), which provides the basis for investment and growth.

Figure 1. Lewis' 'unlimited supplies of labour' diagram, with labour imports



Lewis' writings of 1954 and 1955 have been a cornerstone of development economics for two generations now, and during the last sixty years several studies have confirmed the empirical accuracy of the 'flat labour supply curve' assumption for a number of developing countries (such as Eisner 1961 for Jamaica, Arrighi 1970 for Zimbabwe, and Huff and Caggiano (2007) for SE Asia). However, the relevance of the Lewis model to industrialised countries has been much less discussed; still less is it known that Lewis, in the midst of constructing his model, was at the same time campaigning to improve living standards and attack racial discrimination amongst the Afro-Caribbean community of the city of Manchester where he worked. Thereby he was seeking a practical way to offset, in the urban environment of industrialised countries, one of the potential and latent social problems which he saw in his own dual economy analysis. In this paper, we tell the story of how this process worked itself out in Manchester in the 1950s, and illustrate the relevance of the story to external policy interventions in labour markets more generally. In Manchester, as in many cities across the industrialised world, low-cost labour was being imported from developing countries from the late 1940s onward in order to ease labour shortages and reduce the cost of production. Especially if accompanied by racial discrimination, as it was in Manchester and many other places, the process of importing labour caused severe distress and deprivation for immigrant populations. In section 2, we describe the experience of racial discrimination in Manchester in the 1950s against the background of New Commonwealth immigration, race relations legislation and economic and social policy at the national level. We make the case for a part of the city, Moss Side, to be seen as a Lewis-type dual economy, in which discrimination could be used as a strategy for keeping the cost of labour

low and augmenting their profits; but we also show, at the same time, that an aspect of the dual economy not contained in the Lewis model is the subsistence sector's ability to defend itself against, or find escape-routes away from, oppression and discrimination by the modern sector. Section 3 describes Lewis' chosen instruments for fighting discrimination – the South Hulme Evening Centre and Community House -, and relates the innovative logic underlying his choice of instrument to the development theories which he was developing at the same time. Section 4 sketches out the causal process by which the centres were intended to work, and makes a statistical assessment of their impact over the period 1953-1964; section 5 concludes.

2. The economy, 'New Commonwealth' immigration and discrimination in 1950s Manchester

Manchester's Afro-Caribbean communities up to the 1950s

From the middle of the nineteenth century onward, Manchester's position as the spearhead of the global cotton textiles industry had been contested (Singleton 1986) and strategies had been put in place to diversify its economy. Integral amongst these was the construction of the Manchester Ship Canal in 1894, of the Salford Docks at the eastern end of the canal abutting on to the city centre, and in 1896 of the Trafford Park industrial estate, the first industrial estate in Britain, on the southern bank of the canal opposite the docks, where many of the city's new industries including food processing, chemicals and electricals were located (Nicholls, 1996).

It was in the Salford docks area that the first substantial populations of black immigrants to Manchester settled (Stanley 1998; Williams 2012), most of them African seamen who, now, had the opportunity to work in Trafford Park as well as in the docks. As their numbers grew they tended to move to the Greengate area, 'an area of extreme poverty and dire housing' (Williams 2012:chapter 5) further up the right bank of the river Irwell and opposite the old city centre, as depicted on figure 2 below, where more abundant rental housing was available at that time. An African population of about 250, with much smaller numbers of West Indians and black Americans, were estimated to live in Greengate in the late 1920s (Williams *ibid*); but in the 1930s this area was scheduled for slum-clearance and the black population's foothold was threatened. They dispersed in various directions, some northwest into Cheetham Hill, some eastward, but a majority southward into Moss Side, immediately south of the city centre. For a hundred years Moss Side had been a zone of Irish and later eastern European Jewish immigration, and in 1865 Engels had castigated the northern part of this area, then known as 'Little Ireland', as Manchester's 'most horrible spot' (Engels, 1892/1969 : 50). But in the last quarter of the nineteenth century many spacious three-storey houses had been built in the northern and eastern parts of Moss Side, as well as more modest two-up two-down terraced housing further to the

south and west. During the inter-war period, many middle-class inhabitants in the north-eastern sector had migrated south to Withington, Didsbury and the Cheshire suburbs, leaving Moss Side in the hands of landlords, some white and some now African, who then subdivided their houses. A majority of the West Indians, white and black, who moved into Moss Side in the 1930s and 1940s lived in these rented rooms, and the fact that more Africans than West Indians accumulated enough capital to be able to buy a house and rent it out was to be the cause of friction between the two ethnic groups.² The local authority sector, growing vigorously in other parts of the city, was virtually absent from Moss Side, and from south-central Manchester as a whole, at this stage. This pattern of concentration of black commonwealth immigrants into the rented part of an inner ring of suburbs deserted by their original middle-class inhabitants was to become a feature of many British industrial cities, including Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Bradford and Leicester (Rex and Moore 1967; Lomas and Monck 1975).

However, the black population of Manchester was evolving, and becoming both stratified and, up to a point, politically organised. Some Africans were able to buy property in Moss Side in the late 1930s, and used these for business as well as residential purposes. Notably, there emerged from this time onward a cluster of Afro-Caribbean night-clubs. Some of them were identified with particular ethnic groups, such as the Palm Beach, eventually the Reno, founded by the Nigerian entrepreneur, Philemon Magbotiwa; the Merchant Navy, also Nigerian; the Cotton Club, Ghanaian in origin; and the Kroo Club, which moved with the trend of the African population in 1938 from Cheetham Hill to Moss Side and whose roots were on the Sierra Leone/Liberian border. All of these clubs offered a welcome and a meeting-place to black people vulnerable to discrimination if they entered pubs and clubs in the city centre and other parts of the city. Some of these Afro-Caribbean owned enterprises had a specific community-building mission and could be described as social enterprises: Ras Tafari Makonnen, a Guyanese entrepreneur who adopted an Ethiopian name to symbolise his pan-Africanist credentials, established half-a-dozen clubs in south Manchester, but also a library of Afro-Caribbean literature, and a legal advice service to assist black people who were victims of abuse or discrimination. A West Indian doctor based in Longsight, Peter Milliard, established a Negro Association, and the register of members of this association, kept in the People's History Museum in Manchester, features a number of luminaries including Jomo Kenyatta, at that time resident in Britain, the future president of Kenya. The reputation of Milliard and Makonnen was sufficient for Manchester to be chosen as the venue for the 1945 Pan-African Congress (Williams, 2012). During the war years the black community of Manchester was swollen by a large number of West Indian servicemen, who were glad to discover in Moss Side a range of locales where they could unwind in a discrimination-free environment. For those who chose to stay in Manchester after the war, Moss Side was the natural place to settle, both in terms of employment and its social

² See testimony by Aston Gore, case study 34 in Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Centre (2000), p.20, who relates that between Africans and West Indians there was 'no relationship, but rather a barrier'. Not all respondents concurred with this view.

atmosphere: Trafford Park was a mere ten-minute ride away on the 53 bus, affectionately known as the 'African Queen'.

In January 1948, Lewis arrived in Manchester to take up his chair, and the first wave of post-war West Indian immigration arrived in Britain on the *Empire Windrush*. Many of the new arrivals chose to look for work in Manchester, many of them attracted by what they had heard about the relatively welcoming social atmosphere.³ By 1951 there were some 2500 Afro-Caribbeans in Moss Side, just under half of a population of 6,000 in the two Moss Side wards but still less than one per cent of the city's population. In his first publication, the Fabian Society pamphlet *Labour in the West Indies* (Lewis 1939), published when he was just beginning his graduate studies at LSE, Lewis had explained the reason underlying this movement, namely the chronic poverty of most West Indians, which made the offer of a European-level wage attractive and provided the rationale for the unlimited labour supply curve, as depicted in Figure 1, which he was to make famous. The average weekly earnings of most West Indians in 1948, averaging across the available data, were less than £2 a week,⁴ which made the average wage of £5. 98 (£5.19s. 8d) offered by the UK manufacturing industry in that year⁵ look attractive, not to mention the welfare benefits available in the UK and not in the West Indies, including unemployment benefit of around £1.50 a week and supplementary national assistance benefits of £1.25 to those who fell below an income of £3.74 (£3.15s.)/week.⁶ This calculus of course did not take into account the cost of housing – much higher in Britain than in the West Indies -, nor of course costs such as the impacts of discrimination and of ill-health due to the smog, cold, bad housing and unfamiliar diet; but many West Indians did not properly foresee these costs, and the push factors out of the West Indies, including the effects of demobilisation, overrode the doubts. It was therefore a 'rude awakening' – to quote the title of Elouise Edwards' first collection of case histories for the Roots Oral History Project – for many West Indian migrants newly arrived in Manchester, not only to encounter the disadvantages mentioned above, but also to discover that in many cases the

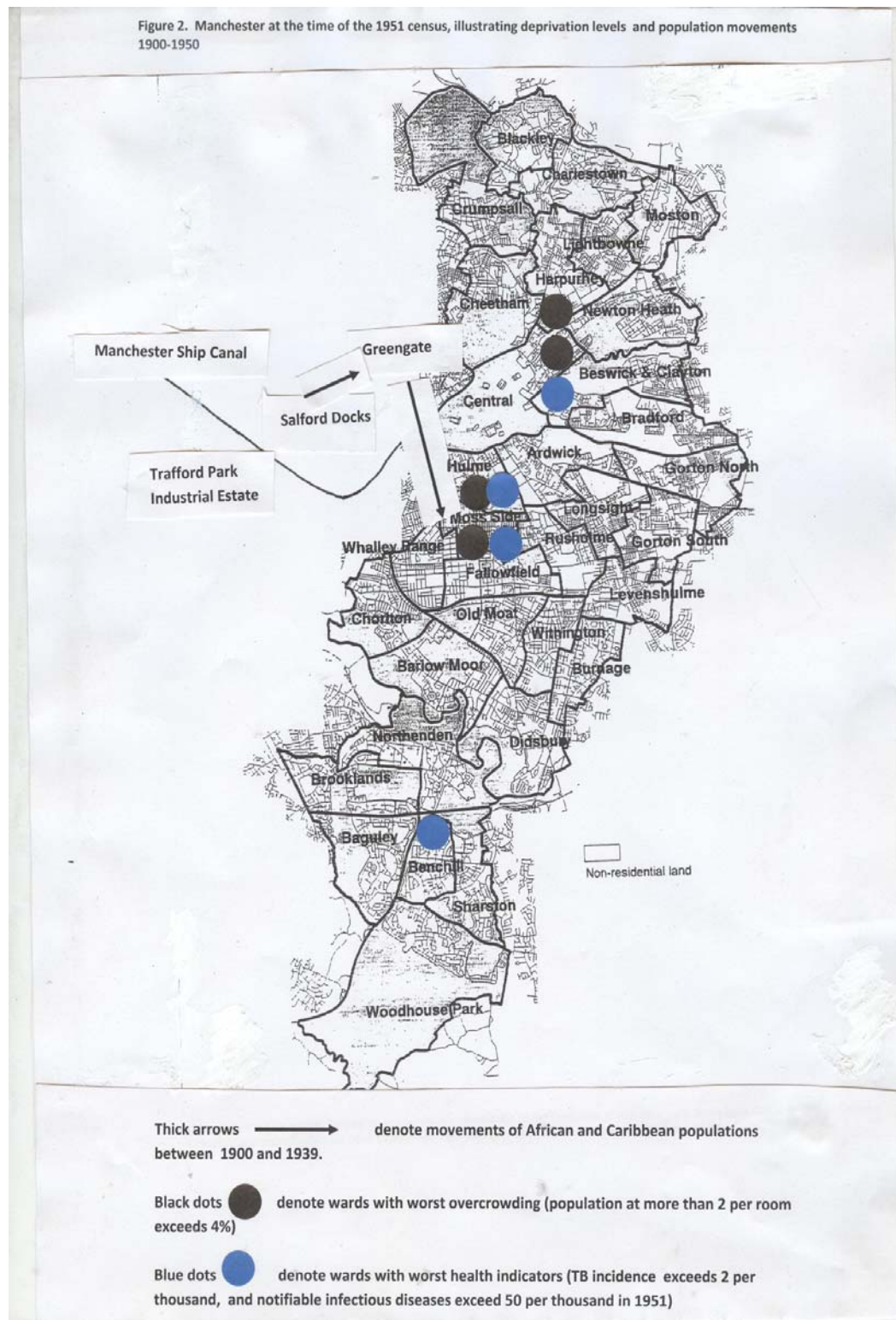
³ One of the early migrants who came over in the 1940s insisted that 'the reason why I came to Manchester was, I have an RAF friend [who] told me that people are prejudice but Manchester was the best and he could recommend that Manchester people were one of the best and so he would advise me to come to Manchester. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Research Centre (2000), testimony of Fitzherbert Brown, interviewee 30 in the Appendix below.

⁴ See Lewis(1939) and Phillips and Phillips(1998)

⁵ Source: *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, 1949. Wages in Manchester were a little below the national average, see table 1 below.

⁶ These data on benefits and on the poverty line (national assistance threshold) are from the study by Fiegehen, Lansley and Smith(1977),

Figure 2. Manchester at the time of the 1951 census. Illustrating deprivation levels and population movements (1900-50)



Sources for figure 2

Overcrowding: Census 1951, County Report: Lancashire, table 3, p.6 .

Health indicators (tuberculosis and other infectious diseases): Greater Manchester Archives: Council Minutes, Vol. II, Reports of the Public Health Department, 1952; tables on pp.26a and 86.

wage offered did not even exceed the wage which they had earned in the West Indies.⁷ However, it is crucial to note that not all of the migrants arriving in Manchester were earning subsistence wages when they left the West Indies, nor did they all lack capital, as is assumed to be the case in the 'subsistence sector' of the Lewis model. As one migrant who travelled to Britain on the *Windrush* noted,

the average Jamaican who came on the *SS Empire Windrush* on 24 May 1948 was not the destitute. The destitute man did not have £28.10s for the fare. In my case, it cost three cows. The average Jamaican did not have three cows.⁸

The cases of other West Indian migrants who were able to bring capital with them are summarised in the Appendix, and as we shall see many others, starting from a zero base, were able to develop the survival skills which enabled them to haul themselves out of Moss Side's subsistence sector into its modern sector.

For the Afro-Caribbeans of Moss Side, what did the modern sector, otherwise known as the demand side of the Lewis model, look like? It would be tempting to think of it as increasingly dominated by the structural shifts which had been going on in Manchester for over a hundred years, away from struggling traditional manufacturing industries such as textiles and towards thriving new sectors such as chemicals, electricals and specialised services. In fact, this was not the case. Ceri Peach, in his detailed study (Peach 1968) of British cities shows that West Indians, as a whole, were under-represented in fast-growing industries, and over-represented in industries, which were static or declining. In particular, they

seem to have been drawn in as replacements in industries and services which had difficulty in attracting labour. Notable among those decreasing industries which attracted large numbers were railways, road passenger services and the rubber industry; all services which were in a bad competitive position because of conditions of work or pay (Peach 1968: 74-75).

⁷ Barrington Young reported that in his first job in England in 1954, at a cotton mill in Royton north-east of the city, 'the wages [of £6.15s or £6.75 a week] was less than I was getting in Jamaica'. Similarly Aston Gore, interviewed about his experience of arriving in Manchester, was asked how much he was paid, and replied:

-When I came to this country my wages at the time was £8.00 when I left home [Jamaica]. In Manchester [when I started off in 1958] my wages was £5.17s.6d [£5.87].

- So you were getting less than what you got out here and you had to provide, say, winter clothing?

-Yeah, heating, pay rent.

-So financially you were worse off?

-A lot worse off... Then I wasn't well treated by an African person who owned the house. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Centre (2000), transcript of interviews of Barrington Young (interviewed 28.7.2000) and Aston Gore (interviewed by Maria Noble in 1983 and again in 2000). Summarised as case studies 24 (Barrington Young) and 34 (Aston Gore) in Appendix below. On the issue of relationships between African landlords and West Indian tenants, see also passage keyed by note 2 above.

⁸ Mike and Trevor Phillips (1998), page 59, record of interview with Sam King.

Thus, employers countrywide seem to have used West Indian and African labour in Manchester, as they had once done in the colonies, to protect their threatened competitive position; and in Manchester, all of the three 'decreasing industries' mentioned by Peach – British Railways, Manchester Corporation buses, and the Dunlop factory in Trafford Park – were very well-represented in our sample of West Indians (see Appendix), accounting for 12 cases out of 49, or something like a quarter of the sample. Where these struggling industries found it difficult to compete through the market, by improving their technical efficiency or lowering their prices, it was natural for them to try to retain their foothold through extra-market operations, including racial and other forms of discrimination. In the next section we shall examine the forms which such discrimination took, and the ways in which this discrimination in some cases was counteracted.

West Indians in the Manchester labour market: the structure of discrimination

Discrimination in the sense of refusal of jobs to qualified black people was not only illegal but economically irrational, as it was inconsistent with the principle of least-cost production which had caused large numbers of commonwealth immigrants to be recruited in the first place. This form of discrimination, therefore, was uncommon; but trade unions often did their utmost to impose discrimination on employers. As Lewis was to note in his *Theory of Economic Growth*, 'in every country where the wage level is relatively high, the trade unions are bitterly hostile to immigration, except of people in special categories, and take steps to have it restricted' (Lewis 1955:177)⁹ and it was not uncommon for black

⁹ One of Lewis' first political actions on appointment to his Manchester post was to expose the discrimination which unions inflicted on non-white members. Just after arriving in Manchester, Lewis forwarded to the Fabian Colonial Bureau the following letter which had appeared in the *Manchester Evening News*:

'Ex-Boxer Fights Pit Colour Bar'

Len Johnson, famous Manchester coloured boxer in the 1930s, is campaigning against what a National Coal Board spokesman in Manchester describes as 'a general principle not to employ coloured men in the mines where it can be avoided.

Johnson, who has formed a society in Manchester to resist all forms of colour bars, today quoted the case of Benjamin Lord, a 24-year-old native of British Honduras, who, he says, last week applied for a job in a Lancashire pit and was turned down. "Lord had already done a week's work in a pit and had proved satisfactory", said Johnson. "I myself went to the labour exchange and was read the typewritten instruction from the Coal Board". A National Coal Board official in Manchester said: "The objection came first from the National Union of Mineworkers, as some of their members disliked working with coloured men."

Lewis asked: "Can you get the Fabian Colonial Bureau to take up the enclosed at the highest quarters and pursue it relentlessly? What is there to say for socialism if this is to be the joint policy of a socialist Ministry of Labour, a socialised industry and a communistic trade union?"

I suspect that this is just the right occasion for a great deal of publicity, and a demand for legislation...'

Then, in a PS, he added:

'Will the Bureau take legal advice on this? It may be that Lord can sue for damages the Minister of Labour, the National Coal Board, and the NUM, who are a conspiracy to

employees, once appointed, then to be refused union cards, which at that time were a condition of continued employment.¹⁰

However, the commonest form of discrimination against black people was exercised not by refusing to appoint them, but rather by appointing them and then paying them unskilled wages for skilled work, or by promoting them to a position of responsibility and then failing to pay them the appropriate responsibility premium. If this behaviour was questioned by the successful employee, then the employee's supervisor would often invent an impromptu aptitude test¹¹ or other improvisation to justify the exploitation. One of these improvisations is described by the brewery worker James Jackson:

"[My supervisor said] 'We don't know much about you, but these credentials is very good. [In fact] we want to make you a foreman.' Me say, 'And how that money going?' Dey say, 'Look, let's talk about that.' Me say, 'No, we talk about the money first, because 'foreman' – how I understand the word 'foreman', got a lot of responsibility', me say. 'And for a man that got responsibility, got to get the money.' He say, 'Oh yes, yes, yes', he say, 'I pay six pence[6d] an hour more.' And I say, He [a white foreman on the same skill-level] getting six pence an hour more?' He say, 'Oh no, he ain't getting that.' Me say, 'How much he getting? He getting – what it was? Two and six [2s.6d.] an hour. Me say, 'Why give me six pence and give him two shilling more than me?' He say, 'Because he the general foreman. Me say, 'Well, he can do the work. I satisfy with what I get.' They go inside, whisper, whisper, whisper, and come back and say, 'I give you one and six [1s. 6d.]' I say, 'I'll think about it.' Anyway, I accept the one and six, but I only... was to do the bleeding work. Because the white man never want to take orders."¹²

The essence of this story is that the (white) employer tries to make discrimination stick by attempting to deprive the (black) promotee of required information, and/or then dares him to challenge the system if s/he wants redress; thus a combination of information and hard bargaining is needed to redress the discrimination. If the information required consists, as it often did, of an oral tradition of unwritten rules and procedures, then it may be hard to wrest out of a supervisor who is determined to discriminate. One of the main areas of recruitment of West Indians

deprive him of employment on grounds – racial discrimination – that are contrary to public policy. Many of us would gladly put up the money to take this into the courts....

Fabian Colonial Bureau Archives, Oxford: Rhodes House, Oxford: Fabian Colonial Bureau 5/6, folio 44: Lewis to Edith (surname illegible). The original article was published in the *Manchester Evening News* on 28 February 1948.

¹⁰ See the case of Beresford Edwards (case study 29 in the Appendix)

¹¹ This procedure also is described by Beresford Edwards (ibid)

¹² Ahmed Iqbal Research Centre (2000), Interview with James Jackson, page 25. Summarised as interview 36 in Data Appendix below.

was the railways, and Barrington Young, who became a shunter for British Railways, based at Trafford Park, in the early 1950s, describes the way in which he gathered the information he required to get promoted:

I found I was quite good at the job; but, especially if I was on night shift, I had to use my initiative a lot, because there was no book of rules, or more precisely, only a bare minimum book of rules, and nothing to say when the rules had to be bent or modified to keep the railway running. One of the things on which the rule book said nothing was which wagons had to go on which trains, which ones had to go to Blackpool, which ones had to go to Preston, and so on. But I would get orders on the trackside phone to 'make up the Blackpool train' and suchlike, and if I asked for help, I was told, 'You should know what to do.' They were trying to catch me out. So what I did, was to watch what the experienced shunters did, and from that to learn on the job what they were unwilling to teach me. Luckily, my Area Manager noticed how they were trying to catch me out and not succeeding, and even more luckily, he was sympathetic to my cause and got me promoted. From then on, it was plain sailing.¹³

The theme of asymmetric information, and asymmetric blame between black and white, 'they were trying to catch me out' recurs again and again in the transcripts; one way in which the point was put to us, by an experienced West Indian nurse working in the Christie Hospital, was, 'if a white nurse made a mistake it was never her fault; if one of us made a mistake it was always our fault.'¹⁴

Happily, in many cases, black people were not passive victims of discrimination; they worked out counter-strategies. Some of these counter-strategies involved the use of individual skills, such as, in Barrington Young's case, simply watching what the skilled shunters did and following that template. But other counter-strategies were more social in nature. For example, in the case of the dockworker Arthur Culpeper, who arrived in Manchester in 1954, personal contacts were crucial:

Interviewer: Was it easy for you to get the job on the docks?

-No, it was very difficult. That was, I saw it almost like a close-shop system, whereby you have to know an uncle or some extremely, some good friend who was in a very good position. It was like a clanny sort of set-up like... I got through that and eventually [after a year working at a wage below the supplementary benefit level] got a job as a 'stevedore'

¹³ Interview by author with Barrington Young (interviewee 24), West Indies Sports and Social Club, Westwood St.19 September 2012. For summary data see Data Appendix.

¹⁴ Interview by author with Ina Spence (interviewee 49), West Indies Sports and Social Club, Westwood St.,19 September 2012. For summary data see Data Appendix.

down the hold of a ship [at doubled wages] which I held on to for nearly eleven years¹⁵.

These personal contacts achieved leverage in different ways – sometimes in a political sense by providing access to a powerful gatekeeper, as in the case of Arthur Culpeper's 'uncle' or Barrington Young's Area Manager, and sometimes in a technical sense by providing access to professional services which could help overcome discrimination – in particular the law as in the case of the printer Beresford Edwards, who on being refused membership of the trade union appropriate to his job (the printers' union SOGAT) took the union to court and was fortunate enough to get the daughter of Hugh Gaitskell, at the time leader of the opposition, to lead his case. He won, and secured £8000 from his employer¹⁶. Advisory skills such as those provided by the Citizens' Advice Bureau could also be crucial in resisting discrimination, or finding the resources with which to do so. So finally could the churches; but this is a case where the evidence is more conflictive. Many Moss Side Afro-Caribbeans owed their access to jobs, housing and training to contacts made with individual clerics¹⁷, and this was a channel of influence of which Lewis, as we shall see in the next section, was to make very effective use. Yet it was not the case that Afro-Caribbeans were always made to feel welcome in church (the Anglican Christ Church, Moss Side, and the Catholic Holy Name Church were the institutions most often complained of in this way) and if admitted they were often required to sit at the back or otherwise segregated, even while individual members of these churches' staff were going out of their way to help them¹⁸.

The general argument, however, is that the existence or not of influential social contacts and institutions – or vertical social capital, as we shall call them¹⁹ – could

¹⁵ Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Centre (2000), Roots Oral History Project, Arthur Culpeper interviewed by Maria Noble, page 15. See interview 26 in Appendix below.

¹⁶ This was the landmark case of SOGAT v. Edwards (1960). Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Centre (2000), interview with Beresford Edwards, p.9. Case Study 29 summarised in Appendix below.

¹⁷ See interviews with Fitzherbert Brown (case study 30) and Mr Malabre (case study 37) in Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Centre (2000). Summarised in Data Appendix below.

¹⁸ Interviews with Lorita Brandy and Ina Spence, WISSC, 19 September 2012. A recent Joseph Rowntree Foundation paper by Furbey et al. (2006) asks in the same spirit as this paper whether the role of faith in social capital-building should be seen as 'connecting or dividing'.

¹⁹ The idea of social capital – the possibility of deriving economic gain from membership of social networks – was first widely popularised by Robert Putnam's book, *Making Democracy Work* (Putnam 1993) on governance traditions and economic development in Italy. Putnam argued that the gap between the rapid development of the north and the stagnation of the south was due not to north-south differences in investment (physical capital) or even knowledge (human capital) but rather to the difference between the open, participative political environment of the north, in which social networks were dense and ideas freely shared, and the restrictive, sometimes intimidatory environment of the south, in which social networks were thin and new and threatening ideas were suppressed. At the end of the 1990s, the World Bank, in search of a leitmotiv for its forthcoming *World Development Report* on poverty (World Bank, 2000), sought to generalise Putnam's ideas about social capital to developing countries. In the process an analytical distinction was

be very important in overriding both discrimination in the workplace and also in offsetting the effects of social discrimination outside it – unkindly meant racist remarks, exclusion from pubs and restaurants²⁰, ‘No Coloureds’ notices in estate agents and so on. It could be crucial, indeed, in determining whether a Moss Side West Indian household would manage to drag itself out of the subsistence sector and up the income ladder, or whether it would be vulnerable to falling down a snake (such as unrepayable debt, or being evicted from one’s rented room) into destitution. Whether or not one succumbed to discrimination depended on one’s access to information and one’s bargaining ability, and the right kind of social contacts were important in realising both.

Non-wage sources of income

The next step in the argument is to note that the battle against discrimination in the workplace did not have to be fought, and was not fought, entirely within the workplace. To achieve a decent living, it was not only necessary to overcome discrimination in the labour market, but also to escape from what Lewis himself, in *Labour in the West Indies* (Lewis 1939), had characterised as a low-savings, low-income trap,²¹ and to build up some capital, initially in the shape of a mortgage. And in the mortgage market of the 1950s, discrimination scarcely existed, because it was not needed. Rather, the size of the down payment required by banks and building societies (typically 25 percent of the sum required to borrow) excluded very many West Indian would-be applicants for home loans. Even if a mortgage were granted, 25 and even 20-year loans were typically not available: building societies, at that time, were working with actuarial tables which gave West Indians’ average life expectancy as 45, and therefore would only grant home loans for a maximum term of 15 years.²²

Needing an alternative source of capital, Manchester West Indians found it, as Manchester Africans had done, in the shape of the traditional institution of the *susu*, as they are known in West Africa, or a ‘*pardner* group’, the Jamaican term. *Pardner* groups are affinity-group savings and credit associations of a kind which have existed for centuries in many countries including the United Kingdom (Besley, Coate and Loury 1993). Their range of functions in Moss Side, and also

made between ‘horizontal’ or ‘bonding’ social ties, between individuals and other members of the community, and vertical or ‘bridging’ social ties (sometimes also called ‘linking’ social capital) between community members and institutions and individuals who had the ability to help them ascend the social ladder (see Woolcock, 1998). The ambiguity between bridging and linking social capital has caused confusion, and we shall use the term *vertical social capital* to denote relationships between an individual whose bargaining position is weak and an individual or agency who can help strengthen that bargaining position.

²⁰ Both these forms of racial discrimination are exhaustively cited in evidence to Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Centre (1983, 2000).

²¹ In Lewis’ account of the poverty trap, the main causal mechanism was from low income to ill-health to low productivity which then caused and aggravated existing low levels of income. See Lewis (1939:9).

²² Barrington Young, interview with author, Manchester, 19 September 2012.

their potential for conflict with a potential source of vertical social capital (the forces of law and order), was thus described by Beresford Edwards, a Guyanese printer who later became the warden of the West Indian Sports and Social Club Longsight branch:

- I used to throw what is called a '*pardner*' with some Grenadian people I knew who used to live in Talbot Street, name Henry. They used to work at the same factory with me, they assisted me by giving me what you would call an early hand you know, and I was able to send the passage home and pay for my wife and eldest son; [then on the next round] I bought a house which was only a couple of months after she came.

- *Interviewer* Did you use to have large house parties?

- Well this is what I'm coming to. So what a number of black people did was to get together and have what you would call a 'sub party'. The men will provide the drinks and the women cook food and the boys will bring a bottle and they will have a damn good time in their own homes and sometimes don't go till morning, I'm not saying no about that.

- *Interviewer* Was it like a rotating...

- I'm not sure it was rotating, but people just loved the warmth of each other, comfort and company. I met a lot of people from St Lucia, Grenada and all over... But of course, there were a few people who were called, I mean to be honest, shebeens they used to call them in those days, for the sake of just making money... But those were a minority of people. So what the police did, they used that as a means of harassing other black people, even weddings... And I never forget that thing, as soon as the leaflet came out, I was at work that day and the next day the police came to my house and raid my home, saying they looking for drugs.

- *Interviewer* So in those days the Police were not very friendly?

-No.

- *Interviewer* Because some people who were living here in the 50s said they used to have a 'Friendly Bobby'.

-I don't know about no 'friendly bobby', not in Manchester. Maybe if you live in the Lake District or somewhere like that, where there is no concentration of black people?²³

²³ Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Centre (2000), case study 29, transcript of interview with Beresford Edwards, pages 13-14.

The '*pardner*' group, as we observe here, was social capital of a different sort from that described above. It was not 'bridging' social capital, which bound individuals to individuals or institutions higher up in the hierarchy who were in a position to give them a helping hand, but 'bonding' social capital, which bound them to others from the same social status and typically from the same island. It did not link clients, therefore, with influential social contacts, but substituted for them. It could be used, as Beresford Edwards describes, to finance pure consumption expenditures, or air passages to and from the West Indies, or small-scale business activities of all descriptions. (The businesses thus financed included prostitution often enough for Manchester City Council to announce an inquiry in 1954 into immoral earnings in Moss Side, and to seek Parliamentary approval for a bill to compulsorily repossess any building demonstrably being used as a house of ill repute²⁴. Parliament did not give its support to this bill, and the whole issue blew over.) Among the organisations reported in 1954 as organising *pardner* groups was the West Indian Cricket and Sports Club (eventually the West Indies Sports and Social Club), with which one of the community centres sponsored by Lewis was eventually to be merged²⁵. The *modus operandi* of the different *pardner* groups varied from case to case: some made linkages with high-street savings institutions and others did not; some allocated the group's kitty by lottery, whereas others allocated it by auction to the member making the highest 'bid'; some were seen, at any rate by the police, as financing crime and acting as a political as well as economic solidarity group, and hence came under attack from the police, while others were able to operate much more freely.

A portrait of the Afro-Caribbeans of Moss Side in 1951 – the year in which Lewis began to scheme seriously on their behalf – would therefore resemble the following. The population, of about 2500, was mainly male, and mainly in wage employment; there was at this stage little unemployment. Even though many of them were quite highly skilled, discrimination was reflected in the fact that the majority of the Afro-Caribbean population only earned labourers' wages, and their average wage was well below that paid to white workers, only just above the national assistance level or poverty line (estimates of the differential are provided in Table 1 below). Two potential ladders out of that poverty were available. One ladder was to achieve a wage which overcame the effects of discrimination and provided a proper reward for responsibility and skill. What we have described as

²⁴ Manchester City Council. *Minutes of Council Meetings 1954/55*, Vol. II, p.129ff, General and Parliamentary Committee, Report of the Special Sub-Committee on Offences against Public Decency, *Complaints of the Prevalence of Offences against Public Decency in the Moss Side District*, reports 'that in the Moss Side district women and girls were openly accosting men in the streets for purposes of prostitution; that sexual intercourse took place in streets, passages and recreation grounds; and that there were many brothels. There had been no fewer than 171 prosecutions involving indecency and disorderly conduct in that district [Moss Side] during the last ten months'. It was resolved, as a consequence, to increase the size of the police force.

²⁵ Growing coloured community fends for itself: 'floating population' becomes stable', *Manchester Guardian*, 24 March 1953.

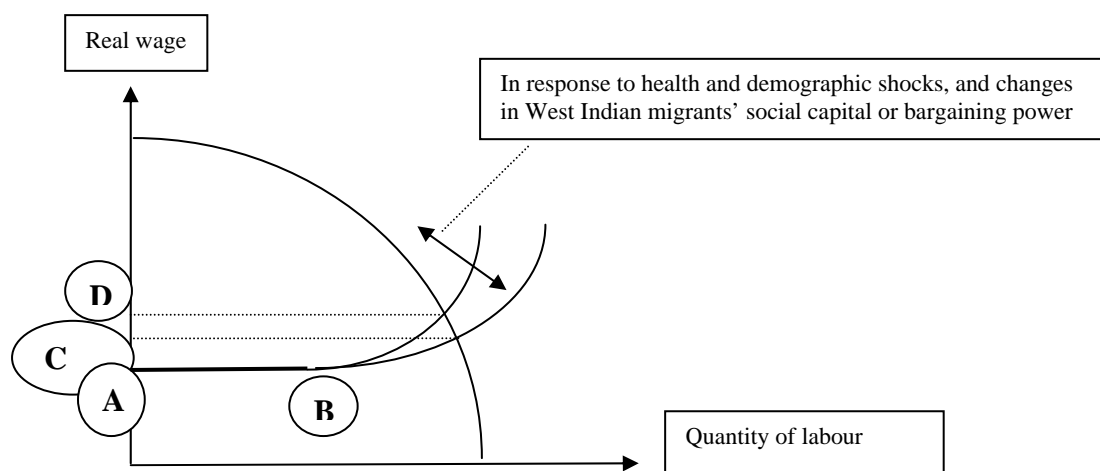
vertical social capital was very important in increasing the likelihood of this, as was any initial capital that had been brought over by migrants, tenacity and luck – the luck to stay well, find the right accommodation and make the right contacts. The other ladder was to earn income from self-employment, for example a shop, a club or even a ‘sub party’ – but this required premises in which to operate, which in turn required a mortgage, in acquiring which access to the *pardner* system was an invaluable social asset. Thus the possibility to escape from the subsistence sector was there and was taken by many; but if ladders out of poverty existed, so also did snakes which deepened that poverty. Illness and accidents which made it impossible to work represented one snake, as did getting into the debt trap; and when single women began to join the flood of migrants, another frequent and tragic case consisted of girls who got themselves pregnant with the intention of living on welfare benefits, only to find themselves assaulted by their children’s fathers and sometimes thrown out of their rented accommodation when their children were discovered to be living there.²⁶

Hence the West Indian population of Manchester, while it fitted Lewis’ characterisation of a ‘subsistence sector’ at the point of migration into the city, was often able to escape that ascription. Some people were able, as we saw above, to achieve promotion and to fight discrimination. Some were also able, in a number of cases, to accumulate capital, both in the form of housing and by starting small businesses. In Figure 3, we redraw the original Lewis model of the dual economy (figure 1) to incorporate the three main novelties introduced in this section - discrimination in the sense of non-payment of a skilled labour premium (the flat, heavy-type section AB of the Lewis labour supply curve); the possibility of combating this discrimination either by challenging exploitation or by earning additional non-wage income, which raises income, in the diagram, from point C to point D; and the influence of unexpected demographic, health and other shocks, which serve as snakes and ladders which unexpectedly raise or lower income.

²⁶ Raphael Phipps, a Manchester bus-conductor, interviewed as part of the Roots oral history project, drew attention to the case of ‘nice youngsters...you couldn’t believe the opportunities they had. You don’t believe it and they are just downright layabouts. They have four, six, seven, eight children around the place. Them get off the buses from child here... They’re up to last week a young girl she should have, she should have still been in school, she can’t get off the bus, two following behind one in her hand. She have a shopping bag, and she try to lift up the trolley of what she carry for the baby in her hand. She don’t want to know who the father is. And that same father go back and knock hell out of her...he know she have the money and him wanting to drink and sleep for nothing. Do you wonder why some of the black people are in Prestwich, and other institutions? Do you know [that]many people are in Prestwich, parents are in there because of this same situation we are talking about?’

Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Centre 2000: transcript of interview with Raphael Phipps, interviewed by Maria Noble on 14 August 1999. Prestwich was, and still is, the main psychiatric hospital in Manchester.

Figure 3. The Lewis Model, incorporating discrimination and responses to it



We now discuss how Lewis, between 1951 and 1957, chose to intervene in this landscape, and the consequences of this intervention.

3. Lewis' anti-discrimination weapons: the South Hulme Evening Centre, Community House, and inter-institutional competition

In Manchester, by contrast with London and most university cities, the conditions in which the most distressed people live are not well screened off from the well-heeled central area and university precinct. This is still true now, but was even more the case in 1951 when the welfare state was in its infancy, when thousands of vulnerable, sick and old people were killed off each winter by the smogs,²⁷ when the housing stock of the inner-cities (and, in particular, Manchester²⁸) was semi-ruinous and when anyone looking west or southwest from an upstairs window anywhere on the Manchester University central campus would find themselves looking not at comfortable middle-class housing but at Moss Side, the poorest suburb of Manchester.

Lewis, academically over-extended as he might be, was determined to do something practical about this predicament, which he felt as the predicament of

²⁷ A combination of fog and smoke from coal fires, which would descend on industrial cities each autumn and often, if there was no wind, get into people's lungs over periods of several weeks on end throughout the winter. See *Manchester Evening News*, Letters to the Editor, 20 October 1953, page 4.

²⁸ In an article headed '100,000 Manchester Houses are 'Unfit'', 'Dr Charles Metcalfe Brown, told a public inquiry this afternoon that in his opinion nearly half of the 200,000 houses in Manchester were unfit to live in'; many of them could be improved but 68,000 were beyond repair. *Manchester Evening News*, 10 September 1953, page 7.

his own people. Of the three thousand or so black people in Manchester, most were from the West Indies and a good few from his own island of St Lucia,²⁹ seeking to get away from the kind of conditions he had himself experienced and described in *Labour in the West Indies*. The late 1940s and early 1950s were the time when Lewis was most outspokenly angry about the disparity between rich and poor, and its strong overlap with the disparity between black and white. He had been contacted in early 1950 by the Rector of Moss Side, who had tried and failed to attract the interest of the Colonial Office.³⁰ In his work for the Colonial Office, Lewis had become so riveted on the idea of mass education – the phrase then fashionable in the Labour Party – as the key to development as to devote an entire report on national economic planning to this theme.³¹ It therefore seems natural that further education should become the focus of his efforts for Afro-Caribbeans in Manchester. By early the following year, Lewis had been in touch both with the Bishop of Manchester and Manchester City Council's education department and had discovered that a proposal that had never been acted upon already existed on file, to establish a community centre in Moss Side.³²

In spite of somewhat discouraging initial reactions from the City Council,³³ Lewis determined to revive the idea, and in particular to get the community centre established as a meeting-point and training centre for the Afro-Caribbeans who were the main minority group then living in Moss Side. Politically, his strategy was to enlist support from the business, academic and voluntary sectors – especially the churches³⁴ – and to use that support as a stick with which to convince a sceptical City Council that demand, and potentially co-finance, for an Afro-Caribbean centre existed. Within the business sector his main approach was to Sir Thomas Barlow, the chairman of the District Bank, who he successfully managed to involve not only as co-sponsor, with the Bishop of Manchester, of an appeal to raise £3000 for a new building, but also as a small business adviser, knowing that financial intermediation would be needed if the centre was to create self-employment among Afro-Caribbeans, in augmentation of what was already being raised by the *pardner* system and the *susus*.³⁵ Within the voluntary sector, Lewis got support from all church denominations, and also convened meetings, in

²⁹ Data from 'Growing Coloured Community fends for itself', *Manchester Guardian*, 24 March 1953, and 'Open door for coloured immigrants: demand for restriction resisted', *Manchester Guardian*, 20 November 1958.

³⁰ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 9/4: Michael Meredith, Rector of Moss Side, to Lewis, 12 January 1950.

³¹ Lewis' report on mass education (Lewis 1948) is an internal Colonial Office document. The key populariser of the mass education theme in the Colonial Office was Arthur Creech Jones, Colonial Secretary in the Attlee government, who in 1943 had sponsored the publication of a Colonial Office policy document with this title (United Kingdom 1943).

³² Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, N. G. Fisher, Chief Education Officer, Manchester City Council, to Lewis, 12 July 1951.

³³ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, N. G. Fisher, Chief Education Officer, Manchester City Council, to Lewis, 12 July 1951.

³⁴ The Bishop of Manchester, as well as Sir Thomas Barlow, was persuaded by Lewis to be on the organising committee. Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, leaflet on *Colonial People in Manchester*, September 1953.

³⁵ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, Lewis to Sir Thomas Barlow, 26 March 1952,

his office, of the leaders of black secular associations across the city, including the Negro Association, the Coloured Seamen and Industrial League, the Ibo Union, the Gold Coast Brotherhood, the Kroo Friendly Society, the West Indian Friendly Society and the African Students' Union.³⁶ Within the university, Lewis' main ally was Max Gluckman, the recently appointed Professor of Social Anthropology. The arrival of Gluckman, a radical socialist, from South Africa in 1949 was well timed to coincide with Lewis' movement at that time towards a more radical political agenda. Lewis, a Fabian, had, as we saw above, been disgusted by evidence of the collusion of the English trade unions in discrimination against black miners in Lancashire (note [10] above), and he was to be even more disgusted when, in early 1950, Patrick Gordon Walker, a Colonial Office minister of state in the Attlee government, decided to exclude Seretse Khama, a Bechuana chief and future president of Botswana, from the Bamangwato territory of Bechuanaland in order to please the South African apartheid regime. Gluckman and Lewis both published letters in the *Manchester Guardian* deploring the decision,³⁷ which helped to seal their friendship.

At the same time as Lewis was searching for a more radical politics, Lewis was also searching for an explanation of development which went beyond conventional economics and embraced the other social sciences also. Here too Gluckman was a willing ally. When, in the traditional sector of the dual economy in *Unlimited Supplies of Labour*, Lewis daringly broke with the traditional economic assumption that the price of all factors of production is equated to their marginal cost,³⁸ and instead posited that all factors of production were paid their average cost (in other words that there is an equal share-out of the product in traditional societies, carrying the equitable implication that weaker members of those societies receive a sustenance even if they are not contributing to the community's production) he first ran the idea past Gluckman, asking him if it corresponded with his own understanding of the way the traditional societies of southern Africa operated.³⁹ When Lewis asked Gluckman for help in finding a researcher to help him understand the social relations of Moss Side, with a view to designing a community centre effective in fighting discrimination, he introduced him to a Sierra Leonean anthropologist from Edinburgh University, Eyo Bassey Ndem, who was carrying out research in Moss Side. Gluckman's wife, Mary, agreed to be on the eventual organising committee of seven members, which was balanced between private, government, and voluntary sectors, but with Ndem as the only academic representative apart from Lewis. Given Lewis' lack of experience in field research and in the voluntary sector, it is remarkable to

³⁶ Lewis Archives, Princeton; Box 29, Lewis to Councillor W.A. Downward, 6 March 1952.

³⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, 12 and 15 March 1950. Lewis, in his letter, resigned his membership of the Colonial Office's Colonial Economic and Development Council. Gluckman, in his, wrote 'If it is an attempt to appease the Negrophobes in South Africa, it is bound to fail, and it will discourage the liberal Europeans who do exist in these territories'.

³⁸ Lewis, *Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour* (Lewis 1954), page 128.

³⁹ Ingham and Mosley (2012), chapter 4.

observe the trouble he took to make sure that all parties 'owned' the proposal and to pre-empt the inevitable charges of airy-fairy social experimentation. The council gave approval in principle for the new centre in December 1952.⁴⁰

In late 1952, before settling on a curriculum for the new centre, Lewis circulated alternative models for community centres in other cities with a high proportion of ethnic minorities, including Birmingham and Liverpool.⁴¹ However, the eventual design which he hit on was not simply a social centre and youth club with training added – the model piloted in Birmingham and Liverpool and subsequently applied in many other places – but something much more ambitious than this.

As we saw, Lewis believed passionately in 'mass education', and he naturally saw the educational exclusion of many Manchester immigrants as a test case of the factors which caused underachievement everywhere. However, he knew that if the centre was to be able to make a difference within the labour market, it needed not only to provide formal education and training, but also to tackle the problem highlighted in the previous section, namely that those who did have qualifications were not being recompensed for them due to discrimination. This brought into play issues of legal rights, sources what we have earlier called 'vertical social capital' and the black community's awareness of these. Ndem's inquiry into the labour market in Moss Side, entitled simply 'Memorandum', commissioned by Lewis in 1952 and circulated to members of the organising committee, gave a graphic picture of this discrimination. He reported that:

-black people universally experienced difficulties in being promoted to positions of responsibility;⁴²

- the Manchester Corporation transport department 'has decided on a fixed quota of Coloured drivers and conductors to be employed even though there are shortages of men in these categories';⁴³

⁴⁰ Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes: Meetings of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 1763, 15 December 1952.

⁴¹ In Liverpool the model which Lewis examined was the Stanley House Centre for Coloured People, established in 1942, and in Birmingham the Clifton Institute for Coloured Peoples, established in 1951. Stanley House was essentially a social club with sports and recreational facilities, but in the Clifton Institute the focus was much more educational, with a basic course in English being compulsory, after which the student 'expands his studies to take geography, history, mathematics, and technical shop work.'. Article on 'Escaping from the prison of illiteracy: help for coloured immigrants', *Manchester Guardian*, May 19 1952.

⁴² White workers will not object to working alongside a Coloured man, but they resent taking orders from him, even though he may be a lot more skilled in the trade than the Whites' Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, E. B. Ndem, 'Memorandum' to members of the Organisational Sub-Committee for the South Hulme Evening Centre, p. 2.

⁴³ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, E. B. Ndem, 'Memorandum' to members of the Organisational Sub-Committee for the South Hulme Evening Centre, p. 2

-many of the gains made during wartime in integrating Afro-Caribbeans into the forces were being undone. In the particular case of the Merchant and Royal Navy, 'Whites have ousted Coloured with the connivance of and, at times, open encouragement by the National Union of Seamen (of which practically all Coloured Seamen are members)';⁴⁴

-five named public houses (all of them on the south side of the city and two of them in Moss Side) refused to accept black people. Restaurants would normally accept black customers but not always, and typically 'not without discourtesy';⁴⁵

-there were a number of complaints of brutality (as in Beresford Edwards' evidence quoted earlier) by white police against black suspects. Investigation of these cases yielded some bizarre excuses such as 'you black men are very strong so [the police] have to use force ' As Ndem commented, 'the result is that coloured people have also developed stereotypes about the administration of justice in this country. And in consequence they have grown to distrust the Police. Viewed from a wider social context it means that justice is determined by skin colour. This tends to exacerbate Coloured feeling of frustration and exile';⁴⁶

-often a gender barrier was superimposed on a racial one, with some dance halls (including the Astoria in Plymouth Grove, very near the Department of Economics in Dover Street) being closed to black men but not to black women. As Ndem commented, 'there is an intense sex jealousy. Most white people resent the idea of Coloured male workers fraternising with White girls. This is a very common excuse among employers who refuse employment to coloured.'⁴⁷

In the conclusion of his report Ndem, like his contractual employer Max Gluckman, tried to argue Lewis over to a more radical view of what needed to be done to achieve social justice in Moss Side. He wrote:

I do appreciate the views of Professor Lewis that the less publicity given to anti-Negro practices in our society the more will be the possibilities of harmonious relationships between white and coloured. But contemporary events have shown

⁴⁴ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, E. B. Ndem, 'Memorandum' to members of the Organisational Sub-Committee for the South Hulme Evening Centre, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, E. B. Ndem, 'Memorandum' to members of the Organisational Sub-Committee for the South Hulme Evening Centre, p. 4. Ndem noted that 'The Olympia Restaurant and Snack Bar in Oxford Road is barred to Coloured. This was ostensibly demonstrated in the presence of an American anthropologist whom I invited to lunch with me' (*ibid*).

⁴⁶ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, E. B. Ndem, 'Memorandum' to members of the Organisational Sub-Committee for the South Hulme Evening Centre, p. 4. On relations between Afro-Caribbeans and the police, see also the paper by Stanley (1998).

⁴⁷ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, E. B. Ndem, 'Memorandum' to members of the Organisational Sub-Committee for the South Hulme Evening Centre, p.8.

that we cannot altogether depend on the 'good nature' of those with whom Coloured have to argue for a more civilised treatment. Publicity, in the main, is to reveal the obscured fact – the illusion under which most White live – that all is well with Coloured British citizens. Secondly, it is to invite the attention of those liberal-minded British who are in a position to bring pressure to bear, directly or indirectly, on the present unhealthy relationship of White and Coloured. Thirdly, it is to help educate the public (for there are many Whites who are no less ignorant of the constitutional position of Coloured in Britain than their opposite number in the remotest parts of West or East Africa) about their moral responsibilities.⁴⁸

His argument won Lewis over. His analysis encouraged Lewis to identify the fundamental problem of Afro-Caribbeans in Moss Side as being not just a lack of skill (human capital) and a lack of social facilities specific to the community ('bonding social capital') such as was provided by other inner-city social centres such as Stanley House and the Clifton Institute – and indeed by the *pardner* groups. Rather, with the help of Ndem's research, he saw the core problems as Afro-Caribbeans' inability, because of discrimination, to link to the social networks which would enable them to climb the ladder to higher grades in the labour market, compounded by lack of the required specialised legal and technical advice which could enable them to get redress from government and the courts. Lewis therefore resolved that the new centre needed to provide these linking services – 'vertical social capital' as we have called it - and where necessary to conduct its own research, as Ndem had done, to increase public awareness of the problems which the community was confronting. In his letter to Sir Thomas Barlow, Lewis specified that apart from a meeting-place and a college, the proposed centre would need to be

a place where social service agencies could be brought into contact with the African population. The Citizens Advice Bureau would like to send someone there regularly. W.E.A. and extra-mural classes could be arranged. The various organisations working among children would welcome an opportunity to the population in their own place. The churches have expressed interest in holding religious services there from time to time...⁴⁹

In early February, under the impetus of this barrage of advocacy and fund-raising efforts, permission to open the institute was finally granted by Manchester City Council, as a centre open to all, which would cater principally for the needs of ethnic minorities⁵⁰. The City Council agreed to allocate a wing of Bangor Street Boys' School for use as a community centre, to be known as the South Hulme Evening Centre, insisting that these were the best premises which it could make

⁴⁸ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, E. B. Ndem, 'Memorandum' to members of the Organisational Sub-Committee for the South Hulme Evening Centre, p.8

⁴⁹ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, Lewis to Sir Thomas Barlow, 26 March 1952, p.2.

⁵⁰ Princeton University, Lewis Archive, Box 4: Norman Fisher, Chief Education Officer for Manchester, to Lewis, 5 February 1953.

available. They had one important disadvantage. They were not in Moss Side, but in Hulme, a mile and a half to the northwest (Figure 4) – at the time an almost entirely white working-class area.

Once permission to open the centre was granted by the City Council, Lewis lobbied hard to establish the institute as a full-time operation, insisting that that was the only way in which the various companies and voluntary organisations which had an interest in the centre could be persuaded to establish a presence.⁵¹ Initially, he was forced to settle for running it as a night school, open two evenings a week and offering school-certificate level training (of a standard which met the requirements for admission to a further education college) in English language, arithmetic, music, art, handicrafts, needlecraft, physical training, folk dancing and ballroom dancing⁵². Apologising for this restriction, Norman Fisher, the Director of Education, by now converted to the idea, wrote:

I am guided in putting the proposal in this form by the failure of our previous attempts at a more ambitious scheme. My idea is that is that the biggest and hardest step is the first one. Once we can get the Evening Institute established then it will not, I think, be particularly difficult to let it grow. Two nights a week is intended only as a start. I am hoping that once we have established a demand and made a start with the work of the Institute, then we can greatly expand its scope.⁵³

A local headmaster, Eric Blackburn, principal of Lily Lane Boys' School in Harpurhey, was recruited in July to be the part-time principal of the new centre.⁵⁴ By that time, permission had been given to open the centre on three evenings a week.

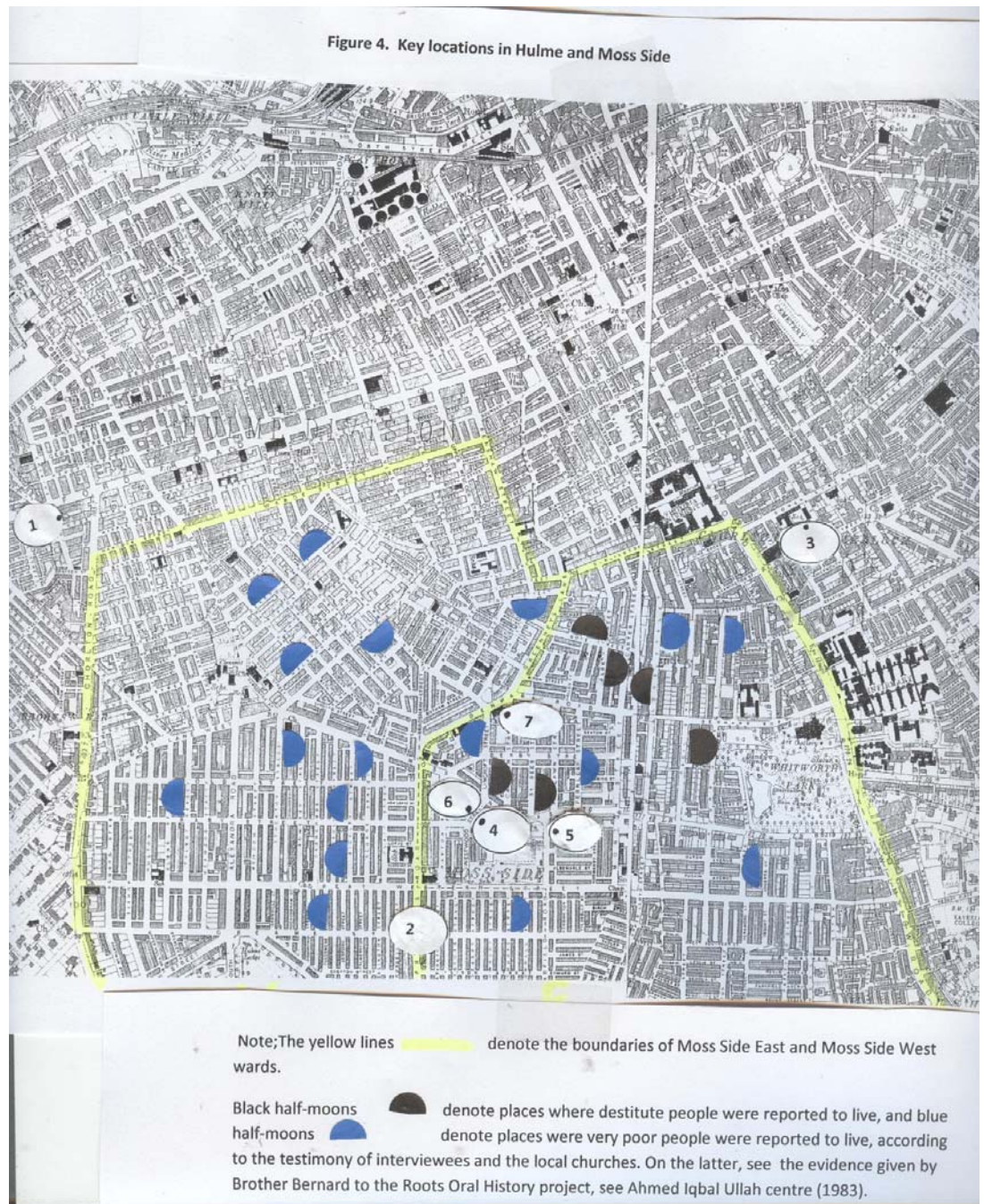
⁵¹ What we really need is a place which can be a centre for various activities – not only evening classes, but adult classes, visitors from the Citizen's Advice Bureau, Poor Man's Lawyer, religious bodies and so on. Of course this is beyond the scope of the Corporation's finances, but the question is, if we put such a building at the Corporation's disposal, can we have the Institute there? As I suggested in an earlier letter, several of us could put up the rent, in advance, for a building, if you would agree'. Lewis Papers, Princeton, Box 29/5, Lewis to Sir Thomas Barlow, 26 March 1952. There was constant market research to ascertain who might be interested in the Centre, and the idea of it operating in the city's prisons seems to have been considered and discarded at this stage. Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes: Meetings of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 2868, 20 April 1953.

⁵² *Evening centre for coloured people: proposed arrangements*, memorandum dated 3 February 1953, Lewis Papers, Princeton, Box 29. On the single typed page detailing the curriculum a hand that is clearly Lewis's has pencilled the words 'Driving and maintenance'. By this point the council was very committed to the centre, and it cancelled 50 classes in order to free the resources for the centre to be set up. Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes: Meetings of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 1763, 15 Dec. 1952.

⁵³ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, Norman G. Fisher, Chief Education Officer, to Lewis, 17 February 1953.

⁵⁴ Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes: Meetings of the Staff Sub-Committee, folio 896, 4 April 1953.

Figure 4. Key locations in Hulme and Moss Side



Key to locations:

1. South Hulme Evening Centre, Bangor St. (formerly the Evening Centre for Coloured People) (see also figure 6 below).
2. Moss Side: main residential concentration of Afro-Caribbeans in Manchester.
3. Lewis' office in the Department of Economics, Dover St.
4. Community House Social Centre, Moss Lane East.
5. Christ Church Moss Side, Monton St./Moss Lane East.
6. West Indian Sports and Social Club (formerly Cricket and Sports Club), Darcy St., then Westwood St. (merged with Community House in 1961).
7. St Gerard's Overseas Club, Denmark Rd.

Meanwhile, other proposals for Afro-Caribbean social and educational centres were emerging. In this same summer of 1953, 'under a tree in Platt Fields' (immediately south of Whitworth Park in Figure 4). Aston Gore, a Jamaican railway shunter who had been in the air force in Manchester during the war conceived the idea of bringing together the affinity groups of the different West Indian islands:

- I felt all associations in the area should come together. I remember calling the Jamaica Society for a meeting and the Barbados Society... we are all predominantly Jamaican (but) we had two Barbados people and two Trinidadians... but we have our nationality here and they must be protected. At the time there was a federation movement going on in the West Indies, Trinidadians, Jamaicans, so one said let us find our own thing and we put in a little house.

- *Interviewer* Where was that?

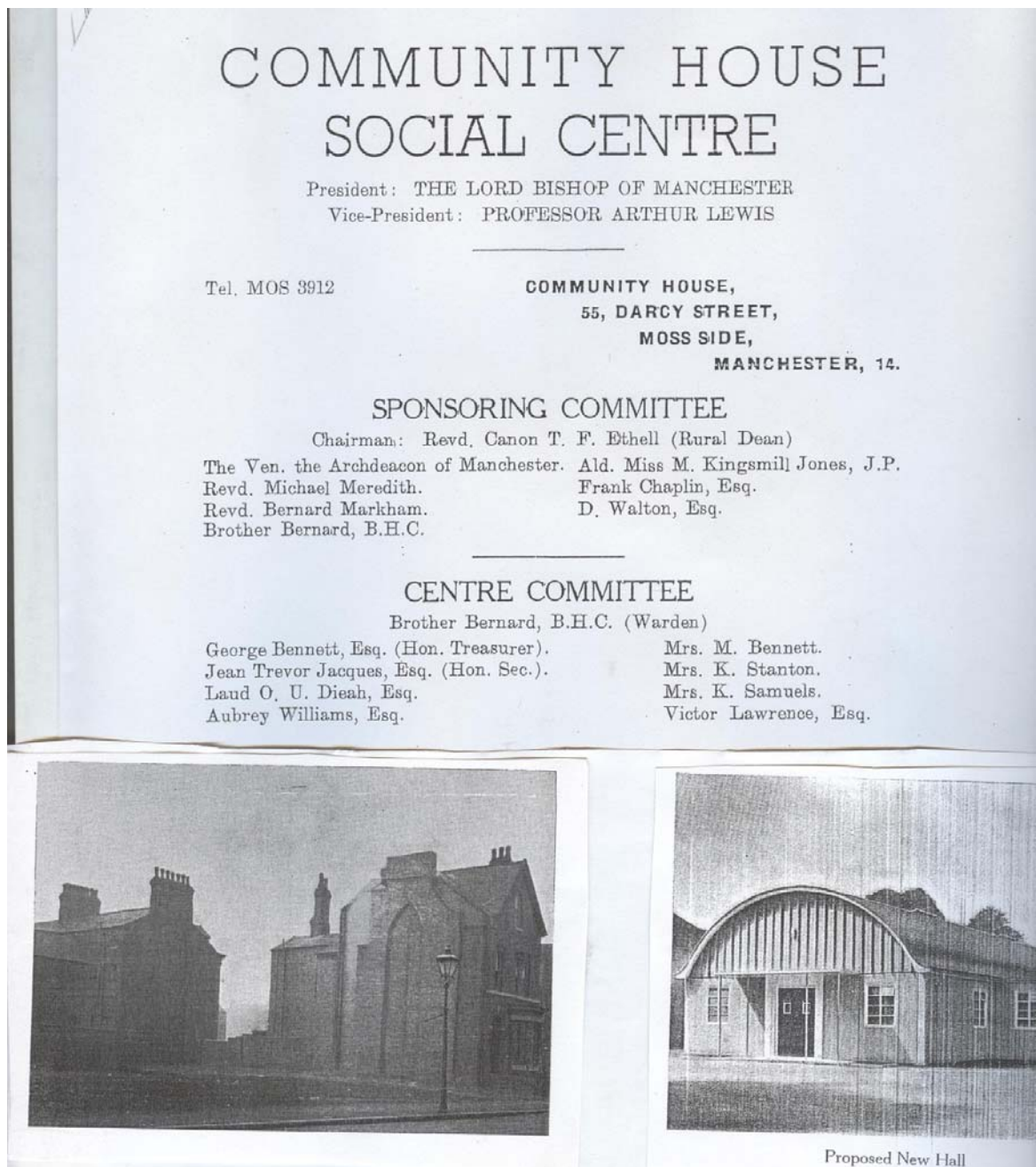
- Darcy Street, and that is how Jamaica Society come. Then we change for the times now, from Colonial to Social Club.⁵⁵

At this stage the membership of the West Indies Cricket and Sports Club, as it was initially known, was mainly male and its activities heavily focused on sport and specifically on cricket, in which the West Indies side, and the West Indian members of the Lancashire League, were at that time experiencing remarkable success. It was not yet running evening classes of the kind planned by Lewis; but, as we have seen, it was already operating a *partner* association. Also, it was positioned, as Aston Gore mentions, not in Hulme, but in Darcy Street ((6) in figure 4), right in the heart of Moss Side.

In addition, Father Bernard, a Catholic missionary recently returned from Africa, agreed during this same summer of 1953 to establish a non-denominational social centre, to be known as Community House, almost opposite the premises of the Anglican Christ Church, in Moss Lane East, also right in the heart of Moss Side (at (4) in Figure 4). This centre from the first announced its intention to run vocational evening classes and to establish an advice service, on the model pioneered by Lewis; indeed, Lewis agreed to join the board as vice-president. Not only this, but the appeal for a new building which Lewis had made in 1952 to Sir Thomas Barlow and others on behalf of a putative South Hulme Centre had by now been transferred to the new Community House, which now published the designs for the new centre as a proud and shining contrast to the gloomy and indeed rather correctional atmosphere which then, as figure 5 shows, prevailed in Moss Lane East.

⁵⁵ Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Centre (2000), transcript of interview with Aston Gore, page 33. Summarised as Case Study 34 in Appendix below.

Figure 5. Community House Social Centre prospectus, 1954



The atmosphere was now bubbling with excitement: in August 1953 there were three Afro-Caribbean welfare societies operating or about to operate in Manchester, as opposed to only two (in Birmingham and Liverpool) in the entire remainder of the U.K. outside London. Lewis's name was on the masthead of two of these, South Hulme and Community House - but in August and September he put most of his energies into South Hulme. Sometimes on his own, sometimes with the help of Mary Gluckman and her advisory committee, he publicised the centre, not just through leafleting and the newspapers, but by walking around Moss Side together with members of the organising committee to explain to

sometimes puzzled and sceptical residents what the centre was about. A memorandum submitted by Lewis to a meeting of the Manchester Council on African Affairs on 20 August, 1953 explains his *modus operandi*. This began by noting that the 'student [black] population need claim less of the Council's attention than the working class population' (as it was catered for by the university, the British Council and the International Club). It continued:

The problems of the working class population can be subdivided under recreation, employment and housing.

Recreation. Two new ventures are being started, a social club by Christ Church...on a non-religious basis, and an Evening Institute and Social Centre by the Corporation of Manchester in Bangor Street. I think the best thing we can do at present is to support these two ventures in every way that we can. Brother Bernard will be able to tell us what further support he would like from the Council for the social club. As for the Evening centre it requires practical support in two ways. (a) Sometime in the week beginning September 14th the Corporation will wish to distribute about 1500 leaflets in the Moss Side and Cheetham Hill areas, giving details of the Centre. The best way to do this is for a number of people each to take two or three streets, and to walk down the street at about 7.30pm, giving a copy to each coloured person seen in the road. I have undertaken to organise this distribution for the Corporation, and need about a dozen volunteers. (b) If the centre is not to be for coloured people only, sympathetic white people must be urged to join, and especially to take part in the social activities (table tennis and other games), discussion groups, and group visits. For this purpose the existence of the Centre should be made known to people who are likely to be sympathetic and interested in these activities. Suggestions for doing this will be welcome.

One or two Manchester restaurants and I think public houses and dance halls do not accept coloured customers. A volunteer is needed to collect information (Mr Ndem probably already has it).

Employment. I understand that there was virtually no unemployment two years ago, but that the ratio is now quite high. The best way to proceed is to establish friendly relations with employers, to the extent of having a panel of employers known to be sympathetic, to whom unemployed people can be sent. The nucleus of this panel would be those who already offer such employment, and it would be helpful if some volunteer could be found to prepare such a list. This will tell us the sort of firms and jobs involved, and facilitate approaching others in similar trades. The approach will have to be done individually and tactfully, and much of it will fall upon Brother Bernard and the Warden of the Evening Centre, who are the two persons who will receive the greatest number of requests for help in finding jobs. It should probably be left to them to organize these contacts,

but suggestions for getting in touch with possible employers will be welcome.

At some point the Corporation should be approached to widen the scope of the employment it offers. But first we must know what it already offers and refuses, and thus should come out of the survey suggested in [the paragraph above]...

Housing. The best way to help here also is to make a list of persons outside the Moss Side area who would be prepared to take coloured lodgers, and to give this list to Brother Bernard and the Warden of the Centre...A volunteer to organize this would also be necessary.⁵⁶

Thus Lewis was proposing, and playing a large part in the implementation of, an integrated programme of action in the fields of social cohesion (styled as 'recreation'), employment and housing, with the aim of using the information intended to be provided under employment and housing to support the work of the two social centres. All this was done in the intervals of first-drafting *Unlimited Supplies of Labour* and *Theory of Economic Growth*, administering the Manchester University economics department, teaching students at all levels including, for the first time, PhD students,⁵⁷ advisory work for the Labour Party, the Commonwealth Development Corporation and the United Nations, an already voluminous correspondence with all parts of the world on a large range of subjects including not only economics but education, the politics of the West Indies and the UK, and the BBC's musical policies,⁵⁸ caring (with unusual devotion to duty according to one contemporary account) for two very small children⁵⁹. In the process his attention was drawn to the existence of West

⁵⁶ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, Memorandum by Professor Lewis to Race Relations Sub-Committee of Manchester Council for African Affairs, 20 August 1953.

⁵⁷ These included Gisela Eisner within the Department of Economics after 1952, together with various students co-supervised by Lewis and Gluckman, including Scarlett Epstein. (See letter from Gluckman to Lewis 1958).

⁵⁸ Lewis was an enthusiastic amateur musician. To the industrial magnate and university benefactor Lord Simon of Wythenshawe, he had written in November 1952:

'I do not consider the (BBC) Third Programme to be valuable in its present form [at present it only reaches 7 per cent of listeners]. The classical music should be the sort of music that one hears in the concert hall, instead of setting out to be the sort of music one does not hear in the concert hall... (By the way, one of my biggest grudges against the BBC is that it broadcasts so little classical organ music).'

Lewis Archive, Princeton: Box 12/4: Lewis to Lord Simon of Wythenshawe, 21 November 1952.

⁵⁹ 'Once a senior politician soon to be Prime Minister remarked in amazement and awe to Gladys. [Lewis] "Why isn't he marvellous: he even plays with his children!" ' R. Lalljie, *Sir Arthur Lewis: Nobel Laureate* (privately published by R. Ferdinand-Lalljie, Castries, St Lucia, 1997), page 58. The future Prime Minister in this quotation is Sir Harold Wilson, whose Huyton parliamentary constituency was only some thirty miles from Didsbury (interview, Robert Lalljie, 18 June 2012).

Indians who had fallen down the snakes on the snakes-and-ladders board, or even ended up 'in Prestwich' or similar institutions, and he became, willy-nilly, a kind of agony uncle for the Manchester Afro-Caribbean community. In October 1953, a couple of weeks after the launch of the Evening Centre, he received a letter from the matron of a nursing home in Chorlton, asking him to find a home for the child of 'a single girl, well educated, age 21, English and RC religion, she has a baby girl aged one week of whom the father is a native of the Gold Coast who went off, his friends say to his home, when she was three months pregnant' who had been unable to find anyone to adopt the child.⁶⁰ Lewis' answer (he was invited to reply by telephone) is not recorded.

The South Hulme Evening Centre opened for business, in an atmosphere of great elation, on 28 September 1953. Lewis naturally insisted on taking personal charge of the musical arrangements for the launch, and a singer and pianist of his acquaintance were, on his insistence, hired from London at substantial expense⁶¹, and performed at the launch event that evening. He was also successful in getting white people from Moss Side to join the celebrations in numbers, and indeed, as he had explicitly suggested, to take on the black members at table-tennis (Figure 6).

Initially, the centre did well. On the opening night 37 people enrolled, and by 15 October this figure had risen to 60, of whom 38 were of West African descent, 19 were Afro-Caribbeans, and the remaining three white British. Some students from outside the neighbourhood had decided to attend the centre, and were commuting from places as far afield as Wythenshawe (six miles to the south) and Cheetham Hill (four miles to the north), 'and there appears to be a steady increase weekly'.⁶² Eric Blackburn, the principal, proudly noted that 'there are no disciplinary problems whatsoever in the Centre and the tone is one of deep respect and intense interest in all that goes on'.⁶³ Political opposition to the

⁶⁰ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29: Mary Walsh, matron of Doriscourt Nursing Home, to Lewis, 8 October 1953.

⁶¹ As Blackburn later reported, 'Professor Lewis did an astonishing amount of work in preparation for this centre and was mainly responsible for the musical side of the programme'. Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1953-54: report by E.W. Blackburn to meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 1791, 21 December 1953.

⁶² Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1953-54: report by E.W. Blackburn to meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 1793, 31 December 1953.

⁶³ Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes: Meetings of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio.

Figure 6. Table tennis at the South Hulme Evening Centre shortly after opening, autumn 1954



centre emerged, including a faction on the city council hostile to the prioritisation of the Moss Side centre, and Lewis and the other members of the organising committee were forced to issue a statement denying that the centre was responsible for the encouragement of prostitution in Moss Side⁶⁴ – at that time, as we have seen, an issue which was obsessing the council. They were also forced to deny any sinister connotations arising from the fact that the only other organisation sharing the South Hulme Boys' School was the Hulme Communist

⁶⁴ 'City's Coloured Community: Allegations Denied', *Manchester Guardian*, 9 November 1953.

Party.⁶⁵ Blackburn noted other practical difficulties, including the tendency of students who were working evening shifts to arrive late and/or leave early and decided to try and deal with this problem by opening and closing the centre later, from 7.30 to 9.30 p.m. He also believed that the centre's catchment was limited by lack of publicity, and the organising committee, on which Lewis continued to sit, agreed to help him by publicising the centre through local employment exchanges. Blackburn concluded his first quarterly report proudly, 'The interest shown is proof positive of the necessity for such an establishment and its future seems assured'⁶⁶. By the end of the year Blackburn's optimism seemed justified, and there were 97 paid-up students, fourteen of them female.⁶⁷

In various ways, however, the way the centre was evolving diverged from the blueprint designed by Lewis, Ndem and their colleagues. In the first place, there was a great deal of drop-out from the nominal roll – only twenty-nine of the sixty students who had enrolled by mid-October 1953 were actually present at the start of the class, or a drop-out rate of 53 percent, and by the end of April 1954 the drop-out rate was getting on for two-thirds.⁶⁸ Secondly, enrolment during this period was mainly in craft subjects (such as woodwork and dressmaking), music and English, whereas only nine students attended classes in the technical subjects such as engineering, metalworking and car repairs which had been expected to provide the spearhead of the centre's drive to place Afro-Caribbean people in skilled jobs, and thereby combat racial discrimination.⁶⁹ Thirdly and perhaps crucially, the hoped-for multiplier deriving from the invitation to social organisations to set up on the premises of the evening centre on teaching nights did not materialise as planned. Representatives from the City Council's social services department and the Citizens' Advice Bureau sent a representative, but the Poor Man's Lawyer Association attended for a few weeks and then dropped out, as did the African welfare organizations which had helped to set the centre up, and the Workers' Educational Association, having promised to participate, never came.

⁶⁵ Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1953-54: Meetings of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 1792, 31 December 1953.

⁶⁶ Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1952-53: Meetings of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 2868, 20 April 1953.

⁶⁷ Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1954-55: report by E.W. Blackburn to meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 667, 19 July 1954.

⁶⁸ 37 out of 97 students were present in the final class of the spring term in early April 1954. Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1952-53: report by E.W. Blackburn to meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 2868, 20 April 1953.

⁶⁹ 31 of the 37 enrolled students attended classes in English, carpentry and dressmaking, whereas nine attended classes in 'technical subjects' – engineering, metalwork, and car repairs.. (The total adds up to more than 37 because some students were attending classes in both areas of study.) Data from Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1952-53: report by E.W. Blackburn to meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 2868, 20 April 1953.

Having drawn attention to all these problems, Blackburn urgently sought help, both advisory 'especially in relation to Housing and Employment... I find it difficult', he added, 'to obtain casual labour for my students while their financial standing does not allow the Housing problem to be easily overcome'.⁷⁰ Thus there was a problem of financial exclusion – not an issue with which the centre was ever able to come to terms. Blackburn also worried constantly about the fact that the centre was located away from Moss Side, and mused how nice it would be 'if only we could move the Evening Centre a mile south' to Moss Side where the main concentration of Afro-Caribbeans was' (Figure 5, point (2)). But he acknowledged that 'the facilities available at the centre more than offset this handicap'.⁷¹ There is evidence during this period of constant adaptation and creativity by Blackburn and his staff, in the form of field visits by Evening Centre groups to the theatre (rather puzzlingly *Macbeth* at the Library Theatre⁷²) and the Halle Orchestra, invitations to visiting lecturers, and the creation of a new scheme for social membership in which groups as well as individuals could enrol as members of the centre. It was proposed that 'heads or representatives of societies and associations most interested in the welfare of Manchester's coloured people should meet the Principal (of The South Hulme Boys' School) regularly for discussion; Professor Lewis undertook to supply the names of appropriate people'.⁷³ The principal, indeed, was a big supporter of the centre, and Blackburn recorded that 'the hour given by the Principal and various staff members from 6.30 to 7.30 for games, friendly discussion, chats in the canteen and piano-playing instruction is still very popular, and the tone of the centre was developed into one of which I am extremely proud'.⁷⁴

None of these initiatives, however, were able to stem a collapse of involvement, and momentum, over the summer and early autumn of 1954. By the end of the year enrolments had dropped to 77, and actual attendance was only a quarter of this, around 20.⁷⁵ The Further Education Committee now began for the first time to have serious doubts about the viability of the centre, and minuted that

⁷⁰ Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1953-54: report by E.W. Blackburn to meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 1791, 31 December 1953.

⁷¹ Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1954-55: report by E.W. Blackburn to meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 667, 19 July 1954..

⁷² Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1954-55: report by E.W. Blackburn to meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 667, 19 July 1954.

⁷³ Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1954-55: report by E.W. Blackburn to meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 667, 19 July 1954.

⁷⁴ Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1954-55: report by E.W. Blackburn to meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 663, 19 July 1954.

⁷⁵ Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1954-55: report by E.W. Blackburn to meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 667, 19 July 1954.

'arrangements at the centre be kept under review'.⁷⁶ To Blackburn it was clear that one of the causes of what was wrong was competition, from the fourth Afro-Caribbean social centre to open in Manchester, namely:

'The opening of St Gerard's Overseas Club in Denmark Road [which] has in my opinion been one of the causes of our small roll. This club *is purely social in character* and as it is right in the centre of the area where the majority of the coloured people live it certainly has first call on their affections.'⁷⁷

Worse than this, of course, and not mentioned by Blackburn, there was also competition from the West Indian Sports Club, and also from Community House, which unlike St Gerard's was not 'purely social in character': indeed, with Lewis' encouragement it had modelled itself very closely on the South Hulme Community Centre. Like the South Hulme Centre, it offered classes in 'English, arithmetic, housecraft, music, and so on'; posted on its notice-board a list of employers willing to hire Afro-Caribbeans, and landlords willing to take them in; and found 'several solicitors (willing) to give legal advice at the centre'⁷⁸. And, crucially, it was located a mile south-east of the South Hulme Centre (at point 4 on Figure 4), much closer to where the critical mass of Manchester Afro-Caribbeans lived and worked. Lewis was now dividing this time between South Hulme and Community House, and frequently came over, with his wife, to social events at Community House, where he was frequently seen on the dance floor.⁷⁹ The combined impact of these centres, all better located than South Hulme, appears to have had a disastrous effect on the viability of the pioneering operation, and a decision to close the South Hulme centre in its original form as

⁷⁶ Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1954-55: minute of meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 1960, 20 December 1954.

⁷⁷ Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1954-55: minute of meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 1960, 20 December 1954.

⁷⁸ Miss Horsburgh to Open New Centre for Coloured People: Missionary Society Work in Manchester', *Manchester Guardian*, 13 October 1954. Getting Miss Florence Horsburgh, the Minister of Education, whose parliamentary constituency covered Moss Side, to open the centre was a big coup for St Gerard's. (NB: St Gerard's was still operating in 1962, see Stanley (1998) p48.)

⁷⁹ Interview, Victor Lawrence (member of committee of Community House 1954-1981), Moss Side, 10 October 2012.

Figure 7. Social gathering at Community House, 1954



Brother Bernard is third from left in the front row and the Bishop of Manchester fourth from left in the back row. Gladys Lewis is standing at the end, with Arthur Lewis, half out of shot, behind her. Victor Lawrence is second from right in the back row next to Lewis.

an educational centre was made at the end of March 1954. On 7 April 1955, the new Chief Education Officer wrote to Lewis, in a sympathetic tone, confirming this:

'I expect you will already have heard that the Education Committee have felt obliged to discontinue the new Evening Centre at South Hulme on account of the very low attendances in during the past few months... As you know, the Committee went on with the Centre for a second year in the hope that numbers would increase, but I am afraid they have declined still further and the Committee, even with the best will in the world, did not feel that the Centre could continue after Easter'.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, J.K. Elliott, Chief Education Officer, Manchester Education Committee, to Lewis, 7 April 1955.

Lewis replied:

I am sorry that the Committee had to close the Evening Centre at South Hulme, but this was inevitable in view of the attendances...We are all grateful to the Committee for agreeing to make the experiment.⁸¹

However, the Corporation did offer for Afro-Caribbean students who wished to continue their studies to move to other social centres (including St Gerard's and Community House) or further education colleges elsewhere in South Manchester, and offered to provide specialist teachers for them.⁸² It also allowed the South Hulme Evening Centre to continue as a play centre open on one evening a week, which it was continuing to do at the end of 1957 when Lewis left Manchester⁸³ – indeed, in this capacity, it had much the highest attendance (237) of any of the seven play centres supported by the education committee across the entire Manchester conurbation. The mantle of providing evening classes and advice now passed, in the first instance, to Community House, of which Lewis was still the vice-president. After 1957, the West Indian Sports and Social Centre, as the Cricket and Sports Club had now been renamed, began to emulate Community House in providing training specifically in technical innovation, and also became involved in political action of a kind which, one suspects, may have horrified Lewis. As the warden, Aston Gore, later related:

Interviewer Did you have Saturday schools?

-Lecture? We didn't have a school to teach the young ones, no, because at the time we didn't have young people, young kids, mostly adults. But there were women coming into the machine industry, because that's all they can get. We had actually started classes in that by buying a power machine and get you to lean on it, because they used a pedal machine at home; they don't use the electric one; and this is how they can't get a job. They can use a machine but they can't use a power one. So we get a power machine to teach them. We were the first to teach, I remember we use to get qualified people and ...we get an English person because we were not afraid to use anybody. We get an English person and a Black person to go for the job to prove a point. I remember one particular case. We had a television, a radio mechanic who teach a Scotch fella the job and we send the two of them and the Scotch fella got the job. We even boycott the bank. Barclays Bank out here, it was our bank in those days and we say we won't put we money here unless you employ, put a Black

⁸¹ Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 5/4, Lewis to J. K. Elliott, 18 April 1955.

⁸² Lewis Archives, Princeton: Box 29, J. K. Elliott, Chief Education Officer, Manchester Education Committee, to Lewis, 7 April 1955; also Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes: minute of meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 2880, 21 March 1955.

⁸³ Greater Manchester County Record Office: Manchester City Council Education Committee minutes 1958-59: minute of meeting of the Further Education Sub-Committee, folio 2805, 16 March 1959. Emphasis added.

face. I remember once we had a cinema [and secured an agreement] with employers that they must employ Black faces in stores and things like that. Some weeks after they are writing back and saying we have employed a Black. The point is taken.⁸⁴

Eventually, tensions emerged between the politically activist approach being pursued by Gore (and later by Beresford Edwards in the Carmoor Road branch of the Sports and Social Centre) and the quietist, politically neutral approach being pursued by Brother Bernard as warden of Community House. Matters were aggravated by the fact that both Gore and Edwards shared Marx's view that religion was the opium of the people, and when, in 1961, Brother Bernard was moved to another diocese, Gore took the opportunity to propose a merger of the two institutions (interviews, Victor Lawrence and Yvonne McCalla, 10/10/12).⁸⁵ The merged centre, on the expiry of the lease at Moss Lane East, then split into two branches: a western one at Westwood Street in new premises, which it still occupies, immediately opposite the original Moss Lane East premises of Community House and an eastern one at Carmoor Road, Longsight, run from 1963 to 1990 by Beresford Edwards (Figure 8). Both centres continue, fifty years on, to pursue the functions of social support, training and liaison with the City Council and other authorities which Lewis encouraged them to combine.

Thus an upward shift in the supply curve, and an increase in the real earnings, of Afro-Caribbean skilled labour through applied education mixed with vertical social capital – the strategy that Lewis wanted, and the strategy that had enabled Lewis himself to break through the colour bar – was eventually achieved in Manchester by the voluntary rather than the state sector, as has also occurred in many of the poorest parts of the developing world. Analytically, Lewis' innovation builds on his realisation that Moss Side, like many another inner-city ghetto, was itself part

⁸⁴ Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Research Centre (2000), interview with Aston Gore (interviewee 34), page 35. (See data appendix for summary details). In this interview, Aston Gore was asked:

-How did you raise the money?

-You see it's a fallacy, a myth going about that Black people mistrust one another. It's something deep-rooted, in various elements. We found the money among the members, seventy odd thousand pounds. ...some gave half a crown, some gave seven and six, some gave twenty, some gave more. How many Black people [ever] raised seventy thousand pounds in four years? It was raised. (*Ibid.*)

⁸⁵ Beresford Edwards, in his interview (Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Centre (2000), case study 29, page 18) Edwards describes black churches as 'another opium... an escape from facing up to the realities of black people here'. Victor Lawrence is also interviewee 21 in the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah (1983) series (see Data Appendix for summary details).

Figure 8. West Indian Sports and Social Centre, 2012



(a) What became of Community House's 'new hall' (compare Figure 5 above). (b) WISSC's current premises, opened 1983.

of a dual economy, separated by many invisible barriers from Manchester's 'modern sector'. It also develops a model of how to build social cohesion through 'adult education plus' beyond the point which it has reached in many if not all UK inner cities even today, sixty years after Lewis.⁸⁶ But even more fascinatingly, it also shows Lewis not just as a scholar and writer but as a man of action – which he often denied even attempting to be – trying to shift with his own hands the institutional barriers which prevented the city's Afro-Caribbeans from getting a fair deal. As a man of action, however, he was to encounter many more reverses than as a scholar. After the high point of end-1953, we can observe Lewis putting progressively more weight on the scholarly than on the practitioner role; accepting fewer consultancies, writing less to the newspapers, and certainly never again canvassing on doorsteps as he did in Moss Side. By the early 1960s, Lewis had given up trying to 'make a difference' at the level of practical action, and had reverted to being a full-time intellectual (Ingham and Mosley, 2013: especially chapter 6).

⁸⁶ For a discussion of what has been achieved, with a focus on Birmingham, see P. Lenton and P. Mosley (2011), *Financial Exclusion and the Poverty Trap*, London: Routledge 2011, chapter 5; or in more detail J. Hussain and P. Mosley, 'Achieving financial inclusion among ethnic minority communities: a case study of Birmingham', unpublished paper, Birmingham City University and University of Sheffield.

4. South Hulme and Community House Social Centres: analysis of impact

We now seek to assess the impact which Lewis's evening centres (South Hulme and Community House) were able to make on the well-being of Afro-Caribbeans in South Manchester in the 1950s. We begin (Table 1) by comparing trends in black earnings with those for the country as a whole over the years 1951-59. The period was one of (certainly by the standards of the previous four decades) respectable growth for the national economy as a whole, during which fiscal and monetary policy were used to try and achieve full employment and control inflation at the same time. But on two occasions, in 1954-55 and 1958, demand had to be restrained in the cause of controlling inflation and the balance of payments, causing a rise in unemployment. Lewis, as we have seen, commented on the first of these episodes (page [26] above), and during the more serious second episode, when one report suggested that unemployment amongst black people in Moss Side might have risen to 50 percent, there were race riots in Nottingham and in Notting Hill, London; many in Manchester congratulated themselves that a more tolerant policy or social climate appeared to have prevented similar disturbances from happening there.⁸⁷

Real earnings, as may be seen, rose by 16 percent over the decade for the country as a whole, but in Manchester the rate of increase was less than this for the public sector at any rate (we do not have estimates of private-sector wages for the city). When we look at our sample of black wage earners in Manchester, however, we observe a bifurcation. Across the group as a whole, the increase over the decade is nearly 25 percent, or higher than that for all wage earners nationally: many Manchester Afro-Caribbeans had managed to ascend the ladder out of the subsistence sector. But for members of the Manchester black sample who had no capital assets, the increase over the decade is insignificantly different from zero; they have remained trapped at near-subsistence income levels on the flat part of Lewis' 'unlimited' labour supply curve. From their inception in 1953-54, membership of the West Indian social centres which offered night-school education, i.e. the South Hulme centre, Community House and the West Indies Sports and Social Club (we exclude St Gerard's as it did not offer training) is linked to higher earnings and a higher level of household income, significant at the 5 percent level, than is achieved in the Afro-Caribbean sample as a whole.

⁸⁷ See for example interchanges in the *Manchester Guardian* on 'The Nottingham race riot: economic factors', 29 August 1958 and on 'The roots of racial conflict: ignorance and prejudice', 4 September 1958, also Barry Cockcroft, 'Strangers in our midst; a dream ends in squalor', *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 2 June 1958.

Table 1. Trends in real earnings, 1951-59: various Manchester groups in relation to UK average

Year Category of income earners	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	Growth rate 1951- 59 (% p.a.)
Great Britain, all employees: Average money earnings(current prices; £/week) Average real earnings (index 1951=100)	7.01 100	7.34 97.1	7.87 99.2	8.33 102.2	9.34 112	9.98 112.5	10.25 111.7	10.49 111.8	11.11 116.4	1.6
Manchester, public sector: Average money earnings(current prices; £/week) Average real earnings (index 1951=100)	6.50 100	6.77 97.1	7.23 98.7	7.45 99.2	7.65 99.8	8.80 108.1	8.82 104.6	10.09 114.5	9.99 111.7	1.1
Manchester, sample of black (Afro-Caribbean) wage earners: Average money earnings(current prices; £/week) Average real earnings (index 1951=100)	3.87 100	3.90 95.6	4.06 93.7	4.78 107.9	5.36 118.2	5.36 110.9	5.98 117.8	6.09 117.3	6.51 124.7	2.5
Manchester, sample of black (Afro-Caribbean) wage earners, those with no capital assets only: Average money earnings(current prices; £/week)	3.90 100	3.75 88.3	3.49 91.4	4.20 95.7	4.52 100.4	4.86 101.9	5.15 104.1	5.30 103.3	5.31 101	0.0

Average real earnings (index 1951=100)										
Manchester, sample of black (Afro-Caribbean) wage earners, members of Community House, South Hulme Evening Centre and West Indian Sports and Social Centre only: Average money earnings(current prices; £/week) Average real earnings (index 1951=100)	na 100	na na	na na	7.21 118.9	8.00 132.8	8.30 127.7	8.33 127.6	8.78 131.5	8.79 131.6	
Manchester, sample of black (Afro-Caribbean) wage earners: Average total household income, equivalised (current prices; £/week) Real total household income, equivalised (index 1951=100)	3.98 100	4.27 100.2	4.46 100.4	5.01 111.8	6.41 137.4	7.08 143.5	8.03 155.6	8.73 163.1	9.83 180.9	8.1

Sources: Earnings and retail price index, Great Britain: United Kingdom, Ministry of Labour, *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, various issues between 1951 and 1960.

Public sector earnings, Manchester: Greater Manchester Archives: Minutes of meetings of Manchester City Council, various between 1951 and 1960, in particular reports of the Investigation Sub-Committee and the Transport Sub-Committee. The following categories of public sector wages were included in the calculation; Town Hall works; building labourers; general labourers; bus drivers and conductors.

Earnings of Afro-Caribbean wage earners, Manchester: from interview transcripts collected either by Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Centre (1983, 2000) or by author; summary details in Appendix. In final row of table, 'equivalised income' is derived from total household income by applying the following coefficients to each household member:

First adult	0.67
Spouse, other second adult, third and subsequent adults	0.33
Child aged 14 and over	0.33
Child aged under 14	0.20

This method, known as the *OECD equivalence scale*, aims to adjust incomes according to need on the basis of household size and composition to express all incomes as the amount that a childless couple would require to enjoy the same standard of living (see, for example, Brewer et al. (2009), and for discussion of equivalence scales more generally, Fiegehen et al. (1977), especially chapter 7.

To supplement the trends revealed by Table 1, it would be desirable to have a picture of how the West Indian social centres worked, as well as simply whether they were associated with increased levels of wellbeing. For this purpose some sort of causal model is needed. The one we propose follows directly from the preceding argument and specifically from the ‘augmented’ Lewis model of Figure 3.

In Lewis’s original supply-and-demand model of the labour market (Lewis 1954), the demand curve is orthodox, and determined by marginal product, which, may assume, shifts at a rate determined by the growth of the economy:

$$L_d = f(w, \Delta Y) \quad (1)$$

where L_d = labour supply, w = modern-sector (i.e. Manchester, or more precisely Moss Side Afro-Caribbean) wage rate and ΔY = change in income.

Lewis’ famous ‘unlimited labour’ supply curve posits that there will be a flat labour supply curve at a rate determined by the asking price in the subsistence economy – which for the purposes of this argument is the wage rate in the West Indian islands in the 1950s. (We shall assume that this also applies to the case of the African population of Moss Side, which as discussed was by 1951 far lower than the West Indian population.)

$$L_s = f(w, w_s) \quad (2)$$

where w_s is the supply price of labour in the countries or regions of origin of the labour supply.

Our first innovation is to note that immigrants may be subject to many sorts of discrimination, of which the key one, from the point of view of determining their earnings, is that they may not be paid the premium to which their skills or on-the-job experience entitle them. In figure 3, we expressed this as an average cost curve (incorporating the earnings of skilled labour) which, for at least part of its length, does not sit above the average cost curve for unskilled labour. Let the premium paid to skilled or experienced labour be α ; as the level of discrimination applied to nonwhite labour increases, so α goes to zero:

$$w = a_1 w_s + a_2 w_u; \quad a_1 + a_2 = 1 \quad (3a)$$

$$w_s/w_u = \alpha \quad (3b)$$

But discrimination, by the argument of this paper, is not an autonomous variable. As discussed above, black people subjected to discrimination became involved in a bargaining process with the trade unions concerned. We may represent the outcome of this bargaining process, as in Harsanyi (1977) as determined by the

risk limits of the two parties; that is, the highest risk, or subjective probability of a conflict, which one party (say a West Indian employee faced with discrimination) is willing to tolerate in order to obtain an agreement on his own terms rather than on his opponent's (i.e. the trade union's) terms.⁸⁸ Each party's risk limit, we can plausibly argue, increases as the resources available to that party increase, enabling them to invest resources in a court battle, or to seek information about what has been paid to other colleagues. As their awareness of strategies which they can deploy against their opponents grows, increasing a reasonable hope to win the game; and as they acquire 'vertical social capital', or capacity to make advantageous social connections with the authorities, they gain in subjective self-confidence and the range of arguments they can deploy in negotiation. Thus, amongst the Moss Side West Indians whom we have been discussing, those who managed to resist discrimination and get paid a proper premium for their skills were those who were able to learn the necessary tacit knowledge on the job (see the cases of Barrington Young, page [10] above and James Jackson, pages [9-10] above), those who had powerful people in a position to help them (Arthur Culpeper, p.[9] above) and those who discovered powerful institutions in a position to help them, and were willing to take employers who practiced discrimination to court (Beresford Edwards p.[11]); and these tended to be those who had a little capital of their own to protect them. By contrast, the losers in the bargaining process tended to be those who were most vulnerable, least knowledgeable and motivated to seek out information, and had the least ability to take advantage of social networks.

Thus the level of discrimination suffered by a particular employee, α_i , depends on the position of his risk limit in relation to that of the union with which he is bargaining:

$$\alpha_i = f(h_i, VSC_i, A_i) \quad (4)$$

where h_i = 'on-the-job knowledge' available to employee, VSC_i = vertical social capital available to employee, A_i = employee's asset holdings.

As argued above, Moss Side West Indians could also earn non-wage income by establishing businesses, and this also could be used as a weapon with which to fight discrimination in the wage-labour market.

But self-employment requires capital, which is absent from the subsistence sector in the Lewis model. Capital may be hard to accumulate because of imperfections

⁸⁸ Formally, the risk limits of the two parties i and j in a negotiation (Harsanyi 1977: 151) are set by the formula

$$r_i = \frac{U_j(A_j) - U_i(A_j)}{U_i(A_i) - U_i(C)}$$

where $U_i(A_j)$ is the utility attached by player i to an offer made by player j , and $U_i(C)$ is the utility attached to 'conflict', in other words being forced to settle on your opponent's terms.

in the capital market; but as we discovered these too can be got round by means of informal institutions such as the *pardner/susu* system:

$$Y = w + s (A_i, r) \quad (5)$$

where w^* is the equilibrium real wage, s is income from self-employment, and r is membership of informal rotating savings and credit associations such as the *pardner* system.

Substituting for discrimination, α , from (4) into (3b), substituting (3a) and (3b) into (2) and finally substituting for wage income (w) and non-wage income (S) from (1) and (2) into (5) yields the following composite equation for income:

$$Y_i = f (A_i, h_i, VSC_i, w_s) \quad (6)$$

We wish to understand the distinctive contribution of Arthur Lewis' South Hulme and Community House centres, which, we have suggested, involved a distinctive combination of applied knowledge (h) and vertical social capital (VSC). Therefore, we identify this institution, keyed by the acronym under which it still operates, WISSC (West Indian Sports and Social Centre), as a separate independent variable within (6). We also incorporate in the income equation, as control variables, level of formal education, and also demographic and health shocks, as well-attested influences on individual income dynamics (see Kemp et al., 2004):

$$Y_i = f (A_i, e_i, VSC_i, WISSC_i, H, D, w_s) \quad (7)$$

It is not suitable to estimate (7) as a single equation by ordinary least squares because assets, A_i , are endogenous to income. Further, membership of WISSC, the key policy variable for whose influence we wish to test, is likely subject to 'sample selection bias'; the likelihood of individuals joining it is not determined at random, hard though Lewis and his successors tried to widen the net, and those who join are, rather, likely to be the more enterprising ones (Khandker and Pitt, 1995; Khandker, 2005). Hence we need an instrument for this. We nominate (intragroup) *ethnicity*, which has, certainly on verbal testimony, an influence on initial capital and thence on income (see passage keyed by note [3] above), but is completely exogenous; and also initial income received before leaving the Caribbean, to which the same considerations apply.

Incorporating these considerations gives us a three-equation system. The income equation is (7); assets are modelled as:

$$A_i = f (Y_i, r) \quad (8)$$

where r , as above, is a dummy variable denoting membership of a rotating savings and credit association; and membership of WISSC is endogenous to pre-arrival level of income, w_s , and ethnicity.

$$\text{WISSC} = f(w_s, E) \quad (9)$$

Equations (7) (8) and (9) are estimated as a simultaneous system by three-stage least squares against the Manchester dataset summarized in the Appendix. The results, treating total earnings (Y_i) as the dependent variable, are presented in Table 2. Membership of the WISSC family of organizations, the South Hulme centre, the Community House centre and the West Indian Sports and Social Club, is significantly associated with total earnings, holding constant assets and other vertical social capital, which are also significant influences on total earnings. The *partner* system significantly influences households' ability to accumulate capital, and ethnicity, as well as initial income, influences the likelihood of membership of WISSC. The Hansen-Sargan test statistic suggests that the system of equations is well-identified.

Encouraging as these results are it is desirable to test them for robustness in relation to alternative specifications; we also wish to examine whether our hypothesis on the drivers of Afro-Caribbean income (Y) holds up in relation to a broader definition of well-being, and in particular to see whether the story presented here can speak to the problem of the 'poverty trap' which Lewis initially confronted in the West Indies before seeking to do so in Manchester.

We now therefore, as the dependent variable in (7), use the 'poverty gap', or the amount by which (equivalised) household income fell below the national assistance scale 'poverty standard' of £3.84 per week for a married couple in 1953/4, rising to £5.07 per week in 1963 (Fiegehen et al., 1977:27). This varies not only according to the influences reported in Table 2, but also in response to a health dummy variable which takes the value 0 if and only if there is a spell of ill-health causing inability to work for most of the year. In Lewis' first publication, *Labour in the West Indies* (1939) sketches out a model of the vicious circle of poverty, emphasizing the two-way interaction between poverty and the quality of labour, operating through poor nutrition and housing, low expenditure on public services, ill-health, and low productivity. In the spirit of this formulation, we now let ill-health be itself endogenous to income and age (equation (7a)). Demographic and age dummies and data on educational level are added to the right-hand side of (7) as additional controls. The predictive equations for assets and membership of the West Indian Social Centre ((8) and (9)) are unaltered from Table 2.

Table 2. Black income and assets regressions
Estimation method: 3SLS

Dependent variable and equation no.	(7)Total household income(Y_i)	(8)Total household assets(A_i)	(9)Membership of WISSC (wissc)
Regression coefficients on independent variables:			
Constant	6.42*** (9.19)	-232.14** (2.27)	-0.43*** (5.27)
Membership of WISSC(wissc)	3.23** (2.18)		
'Other bridging social capital'(VSC _i)	2.22*** (3.23)		
Total household assets(A_i)	0.011*** (4.78)		
Total household income(Y_i)		46.44** (2.52)	
Membership of 'partner system'(r)		101.24* (1.68)	
Initial (i.e. pre-arrival in UK) income level(w_s)			0.20*** (11.77)
Ethnicity dummy(E)			-0.05* (1.83)
Number of observations	460	460	460
'R²'	0.0822	0.2776	0.2517
Chi-square statistic (and t-value) for Sargan-Hansen overidentification test	0.0015 (0.96)	0.2604 (0.61)	0.1970 (0.65)

Source: from interviews conducted on 49 Afro-Caribbean households in and near Moss Side by Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Research Centre (1983, 2000) and by present author (2012). Data cover the years 1951 to 1964, are summarized in the Appendix and the full data set is at www.poverty.group.shef.ac.uk Numbers in brackets below coefficients are Student's t-statistics; ***, ** and * denote significance at the one percent, five percent and ten percent level, respectively.

Table 3. Black income and assets regressions, incorporating the ‘vicious circle of poverty’ (Estimation method: 3SLS)

Dependent variable and equation no.	(7)Poverty gap (alternative measure of Y_i)	(7a) Health shock dummy(H)	(8)Total household assets(A_i)	(9)Membership of WISSC(wissc)
Regression coefficients on independent variables:				
Constant	3.13*** (4.39)	0.14* (1.64)	-109.9*** (4.99)	-0.23 (1.26)
Membership of WISSC(wissc)	4.02*** (3.46)			
‘Other bridging social capital’(VSC _i)	0.20 (0.52)			
Total household assets(A_i)	0.0059* (1.87)			
Total household income(Y_i)		0.004 (0.95)	23.1*** (9.21)	
Membership of ‘ <i>pardner</i> system’(r)			175.3*** (6.13)	
Initial (i.e. pre-arrival in UK) income level(w_s)				0.16*** (6.12)
Ethnicity dummy(E)				0.30 (0.30)
Health shock(H)	-3.69*** (3.00)			
Demographic shock(D)	0.22 (0.41)			
Educational level	0.065 (0.30)			
Age		0.02*** (5.63)		
Number of observations	194	194	194	194
‘R ² ’	0.36	0.23	0.65	0.19
Chi-square statistic (and t-value) for Sargan-Hansen overidentification test	2.60(0.1066)	3.38(0.0656)	3.55(0.0593)	2.52(0.0926)

Source: from interviews conducted on 49 Afro-Caribbean households in and near Moss Side by Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Research Centre (1983, 2000) and by present author (2012). Data cover the years 1951 to 1964, are summarized in the Appendix and the full data set is at www.poverty.group.shef.ac.uk Numbers in brackets below coefficients are Student’s t-statistics; ***, ** and * denote significance at the one percent, five percent and ten percent level, respectively.

Membership of WISSC continues to be a significant positive influence on poverty, as it was on income; but the health dummy, treated as endogenous as in Lewis’ vicious circle model, is also a significant influence. Once again, none of the equations is over-identified. The idea that WISSC has made a difference receives more robust support from this formulation.

5. Conclusions

The model of the 'vicious circle of poverty' which Lewis sketched out in *Labour in the West Indies*, although a depiction of cumulative descent into poverty, is not deterministic in tone: it warns, rather, against the dangers of determinism. Lewis' exposition of the vicious circle ends with the words 'But there is no vicious circle for men of determination' (Lewis 1939: 9). The South Hulme and Community House centres represent one of Lewis' main attempts as a 'man of determination', and his only attempt in the context of an industrialized country, to put his ideas about how to achieve escape from poverty into practice.

We have found that the West Indian population of Moss Side in the 1950s, low though their incomes were in relation to the general population and severe though the discrimination which they suffered, can in no sense be represented wholly, or even mainly, as a subsistence sector in Lewis' dual economy or, in the phrase much used in Britain and America in the 1970s and 80s, as an 'underclass' (Murray, 1990). However, a part of the West Indian population can: namely those who did not manage to accumulate capital. This group (table 1 above) exhibits on average the static real wages of the Lewis model, as in many labour-surplus developing countries; and there were, as we have seen, cases of descent below this level into destitution.

A majority of Moss Side West Indians, certainly within our sample, escaped from this predicament, in this sense of being able to accumulate capital. On our analysis (Tables 2 and 3), Lewis' institutional innovations, the South Hulme and Community House Evening centres, made a positive contribution to this process, and did so by intuitively realizing the importance of a factor of production which at that time had yet to be formally identified – and which we have labelled 'vertical social capital'. They realized that, in the discriminatory environment which many Moss Side West Indians faced, it was the combination of conventional further education with this factor, and not education alone, which was going to make the difference.

The importance of vertical or, as it has sometimes been called, 'bridging' social capital, extends beyond mere economics into social order, a problem with which Lewis did not have to contend. Moss Side was peaceful in his time, but it was not during the recession of 1981, by which time unemployment in Manchester and elsewhere had more than trebled from its 1950s level. In the wake of the riots in Moss Side in 1981,⁸⁹ in Lozells (Birmingham) in 2001 and now in Tottenham, as

⁸⁹ These riots, and the social rifts which they caused, have caused many to look back on the Moss Side of the 1950s as a lost paradise. In words which recall Lewis's assumption in *Unlimited Supplies of Labour* of an equal shareout of the product in the subsistence sector, Elouise Edwards said: 'I loved Moss Side. It was a real community, in which everyone looked out for one another. It was a community in which everyone could leave their front door open and invite them to take whatever they needed, knowing that the favour would be reciprocated. One morning I found that some money I had left on the

well as Birmingham and Manchester, in 2011, cries have gone up for research into the determinants of community cohesion. Nearly sixty years after Lewis' pioneering initiative, a Rowntree Foundation study of social cohesion, some of whose field research was done in Moss Side, used the new social capital language to make precisely the same diagnosis as Lewis:

Policy-makers often speak of the need to develop 'social capital' in communities, on the assumption that community ties are weak. But many communities do have these bonding ties already. What they lack is the 'bridging' social capital ties across social groups/communities, both within a neighbourhood and between neighbourhoods.⁹⁰

'Bridging' (or vertical) social capital' is precisely what Lewis' evening centre, with its emphasis on advice and building key contacts complementary with its educational and social bonding functions, was seeking to provide in 1953. It is Lewis' awareness of the importance of this factor which, alongside his awareness of the centrality of training and experimentation,⁹¹ constitutes the distinctive element in his approach.

kitchen table had gone; when I came back in the afternoon, there was the money returned with a note explaining that it had been used to meet an urgent obligation and thanking me for my trust. That Moss Side no longer exists.' (Interview with author, 19 September 2012.)

⁹⁰ See Taylor et al, 2007. Available online at <http://www.jrf.org.uk>

⁹¹ When asked this question (or more precisely the question 'How do you feel the Sports and Social are standing in the community?'), Aston Gore, the warden of the West Indian Sports and Social Centre, put the same emphasis as Lewis on experimentation. When asked the same question as we have tried to answer (what difference did the Evening Centres make?) he replied:

Say we make a lot of mistakes. We do things contrary to public opinion but as long as somebody going to [derive] some benefit from it... At the moment, I think this year we managed to get 80 youngsters into colleges, full time college that wouldn't [otherwise do so], I would say fifty per cent of them didn't have an idea that they could do something. But we take them to one side, we sit down, we chat to them (Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Centre (2000), transcript of interview with Aston Gore. Case Study 34 in Appendix).

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(1983) *Rude Awakening*. Summaries of transcripts of 23 interviews with members of the West Indian, African and white communities of Moss Side. Collated by Elouise Edwards (interviewee 18 in Appendix). Summarised as interviews 1-23 in Appendix below.

(2000) *Roots Family History Project*. Summaries of transcripts of 20 interviews with members of the West Indian and African communities of Moss Side. Collated by Maria Noble. Summarised as interviews 24-42 in Appendix below.

Greater Manchester County Record Office. This archive contains the papers of the Manchester City Council Education Department, in particular minutes of the meetings of the city council's education committee.

John Rylands University Library, Manchester. This archive contains the papers of Max Gluckman, also Lewis's staff record whilst a professor at Manchester. The archives of the *Manchester Guardian* and *Manchester Evening News* are also held both here and, in more complete form, in the Manchester Central Library.

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Data appendix

This appendix gives details of the dataset related to the welfare and living conditions of Afro-Caribbeans in Manchester used above. The dataset, which consists of 49 interviews with Afro-Caribbeans all living in South Manchester, has been assembled from three sources:

- (1) Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre(1983) *Rude Awakening*. Summaries of transcripts of 23 interviews with members of the West Indian, African and white communities of Moss Side. Collated by Elouise Edwards (interviewee 18 in this Appendix). Summarised as interviews 1-23 in Appendix table below.
- (2) Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre (2000) *Roots Family History Project*. Summaries of transcripts of 20 interviews with members of the West Indian and African communities of Moss Side. Collated by Maria Noble. Summarised as interviews 24-42 in Appendix table below.

All of these interviews were collected with the purpose of providing a resource base for understanding the history of the different ethnic communities of Manchester and of the relations between them, primarily for use in schools. The sample was selected so as to be representative of the experience of the black population of Manchester, containing good and bad experiences, cases of both progression and regression; but 'we selected people who we thought would be capable of doing interviews' (Elouise Edwards, (case no. 18 below), interview with author, 19 September 2012), and this may have given a rose-coloured bias to the interviewee trajectories recorded here (see pages 41-43 above for how this paper attempts to counteract the bias in assessing the effect of the Evening Centres). Interviews were free-format, without a formal template, but in nearly all cases covered the respondent's experience and standard of living in the West Indies or other country of origin; their reasons for coming to Britain; why and how they came to Manchester; their employment history whilst in Manchester; their experience of discrimination and of the social environment; their strategies for earning a living; their family and home environment, including their housing conditions, whilst in Manchester; and their political involvement and attitudes. Transcripts of these interviews are archived in the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Research Centre, Sackville Building, University of Manchester.

- (3) Original interviews conducted by the author with respondents. Three of these had been interviewed previously by the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Research Centre: Victor Lawrence (respondent 21), Elouise Edwards (respondent 18) and Barrington Young (respondent 24). The others (respondents 43-49) were interviewed for the first time by the author on 19 September or, in the case of Victor Lawrence, 10 October 2012.

The following table gives summary details of the interviews conducted.

Respondent no.	Respondent name	Date of interview	Name of interviewer	Country of origin	Gender	Date of first arrival in Manchester	Job performed on first arrival in Manchester	Job performed at end of recording period (Dec 1963)	Other remarks
Set 1: Interviews carried out by Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Centre in 1983									
1	Anonymised	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Jamaica	M	1957	Chip shop	Road builder	
2	Ruby Inniss	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	St Vincent	F	1960	Housewife	Housewife	
3	Anonymised	1982	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Jamaica?	M	1955	Dock labourer	Dock labourer	
4	Anonymised	1982	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Jamaica	M	mid 1960s	Cabinet maker	Self-employed furniture maker	
5	Anonymised	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Jamaica	M	1952	Carpenter	Carpenter	
6	Anonymised	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Trinidad	M	1956	Bartender	Bartender	
7	Anonymised	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Guyana	M	1958	Printer	Teacher	Became warden of Carmoor Road evening

									centre, 1961 (from the context, almost certainly the same person as interviewee 29)
8	Anonymised	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Guyana	M	1949	Seaman	unemployed	
9	Pip Gore	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Jamaica	M	1951	Railway shunter	Teacher	
10	Anonymised	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Africa, unspecified	M	1938	Seaman	entertainer	
11	Anonymised	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Jamaica	F	1961	Assembler- electrical factory	self-employed	
12	Anonymised	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Grenada	M	1955?	Police trainee	unspecified	
13	Anonymised	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Jamaica	F	1951	Trainee nurse	Ward sister	
14	Anonymised	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Jamaica	M	1951?	Cotton mill operative	Music teacher	
15	Anonymised	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Jamaica	F	1953?	Bed factory worker	unemployed	
16	Anonymised	1983	Elouise	West	M	1938	Launderette	unemployed	

			Edwards or colleague	Africa					
17	Anonymised	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	West Africa	F	1938	Drycleaner	entertainer	
18	Elouise Edwards MBE	1983	unspecified	Guyana	F	1958	Student	Teacher and organizer	Convenor of Roots Oral History group. Reinterviewed by author 19/9/2012
19	Anonymised	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Nigeria	M	1939	Electrician	Electrician	
20	Anonymised	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Nigeria	M	1937	Sailor	carpark attendant	
21	Victor Lawrence	1983	Elouise Edwards or colleague	UK	M	1933	Student	Teacher	On organizing committee of Community House. Reinterviewed by author 10/10/2012
22	Anonymised	1982	Elouise Edwards or colleague	West Indies, unspecified	F	1951	Unemployed	unemployed	
23	Anonymised	1982	Elouise Edwards or colleague	Jamaica	F	1951	Unemployed	unemployed	
Set 2: Interviews carried out by Ahmed Iqbal Ullah centre in 1999 and 2000									
24	Barrington Young	28.6.2000	unspecified	Jamaica	M	1955	Cotton mill operative	Railway inspector	Reinterviewed by author 19/9/ 2012.

25	Mrs Wilson	1999	unspecified	Jamaica?	F	1958	Canning factory worker	Cotton mill worker	
26	Arthur Culpeper	14.2.2000	Maria Noble	Trinidad	M	1954	Washer-up in hotel	dockworker	
27	Euton Christian	18.8.99	unspecified	Jamaica	M	1944	Storekeeper	Circulation manager, Post Office	Magistrate since mid-1970s
28	Sonia Beckford	2000	unspecified	Jamaica	F	Mid 1960s	Secretarial trainee	University administrator	
29	Beresford Edwards	2000	Sarah Porter	Guyana	M	1958	Printer	Warden, WISSC	Warden, West Indies Social Centre (Carmoor Rd) (1965-1993)
30	Fitzherbert Brown	1999	unspecified	Jamaica	M	1951	Carpenter	Carpenter	
31	Mr Burke	1999	unspecified	Jamaica	M	1953	Cotton mill operative	cotton mill operative	
32	Stan Campbell	1999	unspecified	Jamaica	M	1960	Timber factory worker	Kelloggs factory, Trafford Park	
33	Mr Hobson	1999	unspecified	Nevis	M	1955	Dockworker	Dockworker	
34	Aston Gore	1983, reinterviewed 2000	Maria Noble	Jamaica	M	1951	Railway shunter	Warden, WISSc	Warden, West Indies Social Centre (Westwood St.) 1961-1991
35	Raphael Phipps	14.8.99	Maria Noble	Jamaica	M	1955	Bus conductor	bus conductor	
36	James Jackson	26.1.83, reinterviewed 1999	unspecified	Jamaica?	M	1953	Joiner	Brewery worker	

37	Mr Malabre	1999	unspecified	Jamaica	M	1958	Cabinet-maker	Cabinet-maker	
38	Oko Johnson	1999	unspecified	West Africa	M				
39	? Emanuel Doregos								
40	Daisy Shortman	1999	unspecified	Jamaica	f	1954	Housewife	Housewife	
41	E.B. Ndem	1983	unspecified	Sierra Leone	m	1939	Student	Academic anthropologist	
42	Ivan Woods	6.1.83, reinterviewed 1999	Louise Hooker	Trinidad	m	1950	Carpenter	self-employed	
43	Jessica Smith	9.10.99	Maria Noble	Jamaica?	f	1960	Canning factory, Glossop	Unemployed	
Set 3: interviews carried out by author in 2012									
45	Lorita Brandy	19.9.12	Paul Mosley	Nevis	f	1956	Dishwasher in hotel	Textile factory operative	
46	Erna Thompson	19.9.12	Paul Mosley		f	1962	Laundry worker		
47	Viola James	19.9.12	Paul Mosley	Nevis	f	1959	Canning factory worker, Glossop	Housewife	
48	Ravaleta McKay	19.9.12	Paul Mosley	Jamaica	f	1957	Clothing worker	Part-time employee, United Biscuits	
49	Ina Spence	19.9.12	Paul Mosley	Jamaica	f	1963	Trainee nurse	Ward sister	

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