

Tenants, Unions and Councils in South Yorkshire 1945 to the 1990's

The historical context

South Yorkshire since the 19th century has been defined by its economy. In Barnsley, Doncaster, Rotherham and Sheffield, coalmining, steel, engineering and textiles dominated the economy and the society of the area. The majority of workers in these industries were tenants of their employers, of small private landlords, and in growing numbers to the 1970's of councils. This close relationship between work and housing and tenure meant that tenant organisations in their challenges to the power of their landlords were part of a wider working class challenge linking trade unions, mass working class movements, and political parties.

In the 19th century land and housing campaigns linked steel trades unions with the Owenites and Chartists. In 1848, this led to the Sheffield Edge Tool Grinders Union establishing a Land Colony at Wincobank, the Sheffield Britannia Metal Smiths established the Gleadless Common Side Colony, and the Sheffield File Hardeners Union also established a Land Colony near Sheffield (Armytage p.246).

From the 1880's in South Yorkshire the emerging labour movement of New Unionism, the ILP and later the Labour and Communist parties linked tenants, trade unions and working class politicians.

By 1945 throughout the 1930's as in other areas of urban Britain tenants in South Yorkshire had organised alongside trade unions and other political movements like the Unemployed Workers Movement in the battles on rent and evictions.

Miners Housing and council housing

Certainly in coal the Yorkshire Miners were in a real sense the 'tenants association' for those in company tied housing, which the NCB inherited in 1946. Classically many miners saw the 'tied' colliery house as part of the job. The Yorkshire miners summed up the contradiction inherent in tied housing at their conference in 1863:

'Miners houses in many instances were unfit to live in, and, that even where this was not so, there is ...an objection to living in a coal owners house no matter how excellent the accommodation... such an arrangement places every man's domestic arrangements in the hands of the employer.' (Machin, 1958, p.303)

In industrial disputes and strikes miners were routinely evicted from their cottages, sometimes though not always to accommodate strike breakers or 'strangers'. These experiences have built up a justifiable mythology around the 'tied cottage' similar to the experience of the agricultural worker in Britain. In fact colliery housing, except in particular areas, did not house the majority of miners. Miners were often lodgers in overcrowded housing or the tenants of private landlords.

In 1911 in the miners strikes in South Wales private landlords were attacked:

'It is significant that one of the main targets for rioters at Ebbw Vale...was said to be the house owners who were alleged to be charging inflated rents for their cottages.' (Benson, 1989, p.106)

By the mid 1920's coal owners in Britain were housing around one third of miners: 'These colliery houses erected close to the pit in blocks or long rows...Built cheaply to the minimum standards current at the date of their erection and rarely renovated...expected to be inhabited (and inhabitable) for just the few decades until the pit's coal was exhausted' (ibid. p.46). In 1925 the Ministry of Health described miners houses in Northumberland, Durham and Barnsley 'to be very bad' and 'not reasonably fit for human habitation.' (ibid p.49) There were one or two exceptions to this dismal record of Coal Company housing like the early (1906) Woodlands 'Garden City' estate at Brodsworth, near Doncaster.

In South Yorkshire, miners as Labour Party councillors built council housing estates in the small urban district councils under the West Riding County Council, where miners had been a political

constituency since the 1890's. These small mining urban and rural districts were housing authorities till the 1970's.

'It is hardly surprising that living in housing controlled by the coal company would lead pitmen, though not inevitably, to seize on council housing as the real symbol of their emancipation, and to see control of the local authority as their principal means of securing it.' (Williamson, 1982, p.163)

Miner councillors like Tom Williams on Bolton on Dearne council, exploited the widening suffrage, to build a political base and improved housing for miners.

'The miner councillors.... aimed to replace the old insanitary hovels characteristic of nineteenth century company provision with modern subsidised municipally owned houses.' (Carr, 2001, p.48)

Thus local government, the local state, became a major player in housing miners – and miners and their unions became major players in allocating housing to miners. This linkage between tenants, community, union and council is a dominant theme in 'placing' coalfield housing; it 'frames' debates around tenants and community activism up to the 1990's.

It is important to realise that, from the 1920's to New Labour of the 1990's, miners in the South Yorkshire coalfield were 'solid Labour.' Indeed, they *were* the Labour party – agents, candidates, councillors and MP's (see Grayson 1991). This political influence had produced the early council estates in coalfield villages, and in the urban areas of Barnsley and Doncaster.

Steel workers and their housing from 1900

Some of the steel companies had a reputation for paternalist attitudes and the Samuel Fox company built the Stocksbridge Garden Village, near Sheffield around 1900. In contrast most of the workers in the Sheffield steel industry were housed in very poor quality and highly polluted 'rows' in the Don Valley.

Early council housing was built in the 1920's and 1930's up on the valley sides at Wincobank and the Manor estate specifically to house workers in steel and engineering. No evidence survives of direct union actions for tenants, but the shop stewards movement of the First World War, and the emergence of the Communist Party as influential in housing campaigns and policies through the Sheffield Trades Council and influenced the establishment of early tenants' organisations.

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This paper reflects work in progress; it is also based on my experience of working with and inside the tenants' movement of South Yorkshire since the early 1980's as an adult educator and researcher.

Tenants and the New Jerusalem 1945 – 1960

Housing was the major issue in the 1945 General Election. Labour won a landslide victory and was committed to building council houses, but the housing crisis for returning service men and women, and refugees was overwhelming. In Barnsley a tent city was established at Cannon Hall to accommodate Polish and Ukrainian miners, refugees from Nazism and Stalinism. By 1946 there was a squatting movement nationally involving 46000 tenants. POW and services camps were squatted. In the North the movement started in the steel town of Scunthorpe, spread to Doncaster, and there is evidence of Sheffield city council taking measures to evict squatters from camps on the outskirts.

There are few clues to the activities of tenant organisation during the War and in the development of the council estates of the 1940's. It is highly likely that after the rent strikes in Leeds and in 1939 in Birmingham, and a national rally in 1939, the War effort took over. The government had frozen rents at the beginning of the War to avoid the confrontations of 1915.

In fact the 'New Jerusalem' politics after 1945 seems to have politicised working class communities. Turnout in local elections was historic in Yorkshire. In Morley near Leeds turnout in local elections reached 85%. In Barnsley ...one ward recorded an 82.6% poll' (Grayson 1991 p.21)

Welfare State council housing

The South Yorkshire councils embarked on a rapid building programme. Bevan visited Rotherham in 1947 and praised the council for building 600 houses since the War. Tenants and South Yorkshire people in general seemed to have embraced the Welfare State values where housing was seen as a right. In Rotherham, by 1962 the Council had built 10,000 houses an average of 300 a year. In 1962 the 'Advertiser' said that 'Locally the view was that housing was a social service.'

Tenants' national organisation continued to develop after the war and the National Association of Tenants and Residents was founded in 1948. In South Yorkshire direct action seemed to be limited to squatting. Tenants were hardly likely to be mobilised around rent issues. In Rotherham there were no council house rent increases from 1945 until 1953. In coal areas tenants seemed to see the NUM as their 'tenants association'. There is also evidence that the union agents did represent private tenants at rent hearings and the union sponsored tenants associations.

At the national level, between 1953 and 1957 the Conservatives passed a series of Housing and Rent Acts cutting council subsidies, encouraging the sale of council houses and, in the 1957 Rent Act, decontrolling rents in the private sector and increasing rents in the council sector. Tenant activity responded to this and, as in the coalfields, in the steel areas of South Yorkshire this action was still linked to the unions, the trades' councils and the Communist Party. In 1953 BISA KTA the largest steel union sent a petition against rent increases to Rotherham council. The local Communist Party also was involved. Petitions seemed to be the form of organisation favoured by Rotherham council tenant organisations in this period.

The tenants' movement continued to be linked to some degree with its pre-war communist predecessor and this link meant that tenants' networks were caught up in the anti-Communist 'witch -hunts' of the 1950s. In 1953 the Annual Report of the Yorkshire Regional Council of the Labour Party reported that the Leeds Federation of Municipal Tenants' and Householders'

Associations had been 'exposed' as being 'Communist controlled'. The report also noted with satisfaction that the idea for an All Yorkshire Committee of Tenants' Associations had been defeated (see Grayson 1991).

Rent Strikes and tenant candidates

Conservative cutbacks in subsidies at the end of the 1950s had started to push council rents towards market levels. Government advice to councils was to reduce rate subsidies (compulsory under the Labour government of 1945-51) and to bring in rent rebate schemes. In some Labour authorities this was seen as the reintroduction of a 'means test' for housing. In 1960, Roy Hattersley, then Deputy Chair of Sheffield's Housing Committee, argued that rent differentials would impose 'inexcusable indignities on the tenants'. However, the Labour government of 1964 continued to issue the same advice on rebates. Rent rises in Sheffield resulted in problems in lettings which led Alderman Dyson to introduce a review of housing finance in the city in February 1966. A questionnaire was sent to tenants and a rebate scheme proposed for July 1967. The Trades and Labour Council only narrowly accepted this policy.

In January 1967, the Arbourthorne Tenants' Association was founded, rapidly recruiting 500 members and an influx of trade union and left-wing Labour support. During the May elections of 1967 a mass meeting of tenants at Sheffield City Hall attracted 1000 people and the Sheffield Federation of tenants was launched. The Conservatives, as a result of the furore, had come within one seat of controlling the city in the elections and Communist candidates, active in the tenants' movement, had seen their votes increase substantially. After the elections the Trades and Labour Council swung against the local authority while tenants' organizations mushroomed – Shiregreen had 1500 members on 15th May and 2000 members by 21st May. Many tenants' leaders and association members came to the tenants' committees from previous activity in the Trades and Labour Council in Sheffield and from well organised engineering factories like Ambrose Shardlow's. Tenant discontent with the Council's policy forced the Labour

group to make concessions, which included a modified rebate scheme proposal and Alderman Dyson resigning the Chair of Housing.

Negotiations were held with tenants to discuss the modified rebate scheme. By January 1968 the tenants' federation in the city was divided into two factions following the breakaway of the Democratic Federation. The Democratic Federation was opposed to the Communist influence in the tenants' federation and planned to put up its own tenant candidates against Labour if negotiations with Ron Ironmonger, the Labour leader, broke down. Negotiations did break down and five tenant candidates and eleven Communists stood in the 1968 local elections. One tenant candidate received over 600 votes. The Conservatives won 19 of the 27 seats and Labour was out of power in Sheffield for the first time since 1932. Although these results need to be set within the context of a massive national swing against Labour, the election result in Sheffield stunned the Party. In 1969 a rent freeze was promised and constructive work began with the co-ordination committee of a unified tenants' federation. Labour returned to power in 1969 and organized joint action on the Conservative Housing Finance Bill 1972 .By 1974 the co-ordination committee had disbanded and, although individual tenants' associations continued, a Sheffield Federation of Tenants was not revived until 1978.

In Rotherham, by 1972 in Kimberworth Park a tenant organisation was being formed to oppose the Housing Finance Act. This period was a major one in terms of tenant activities; there were already associations in Canklow and East Dene. A meeting of 100 tenants in September in Kimberworth planned to refuse to pay rent increases. Steelworker Jim Wright got 100 signatures for non payment in Oakhill. The Rockingham and Wingfield estates established a tenants' organisation. It seems that around 270 tenants of the 5000 on the Kimberworth and Rockingham / Wingfield estates withheld rent. Rotherham Trades Council was in the forefront of the actions. They called for 'tenants defence committees' and organised a march through the town with

the M.P.'s. In October 1972 Brian O'Malley M.P. was quoted as saying at a special Labour Party GMC (General Management Committee)

'The vast majority of members of tenants associations were Labour voters. One of the reasons why they were springing up all over the country was that the Labour Party's ward structure had not been operating properly. He urged delegates to support the demonstration against the Act, organised by several organisations and the Trades Council in the town.'

Canklow tenants nominated their own candidates for the 1973 elections. There were obvious tensions between the Labour party wards and tenant associations.

Percy Riley a well known local NUM activist spoke as secretary on behalf of the 'NUM Joint Tenant Association'. Riley was a veteran Communist campaigner and his role suggests links between the party, and the NUM tenants.

Some of the smaller mining housing authorities in South Yorkshire were ironically much less sympathetic to withholders and Kiveton, Knottingley and Hoyland all threatened eviction action immediately. In Barnsley, a joint NUM and Tenants' Co-ordinating Committee was set up in November 1972, to organize the campaign in branches and through the South Yorkshire Tenants' Association. At Wombwell, where the NUM was organizing to fight evictions, all 15 councillors were NUM members. In fact, the 500 Wombwell tenants only withheld increases for about a month so confrontation was avoided.

Not only did the councillors with a union background refuse to back the campaigns against the Housing Finance Act in South Yorkshire in marked contrast to the Clay Cross councillors in the Derbyshire coalfield, but tenants in the coalfield areas were soon to have to confront councils and miner councillors mired in scandal and corruption.

Tenants and the 'closed system' of local councils

Aneurin Bevan, himself a former miners' leader, had observed in 1956: 'The Council Chamber is being reduced to a farce; the caucus is getting more powerful than the electorate.' (Quoted in Grayson 1991 p.101)

The union politicians were determined to improve housing, and break with the private landlord, but they did this within a Labourist 'Social Democratic Centralism'.

Geoff Lofthouse, M.P. for Pontefract in the 1980's, maintained that in the late 1950's most mining towns had a dominant politician who ruled virtually unopposed as if his community was a baronial fief. It is worth noting that John Arden, born and educated in Barnsley, wrote his play *The Workhouse Donkey – a Vulgar Melodrama* about council leadership in 1964. The action of the play takes place in a Yorkshire industrial town somewhere between Sheffield and Leeds. Furthermore, the traditions survived. The barons included legends like Sir Jack Layden in Rotherham. Friend Cooper in Rotherham chaired the Housing Committees in his fiefdom for over 25 years, well into the 1990's.

This closed and at times authoritarian view of local government influenced attitudes to tenant organisation. In the coalfield areas of South Yorkshire tenants could be represented by the union in Coal Board Housing, and by the Labour Party in the estate wards. Tenants associations were seen as useful in channelling 'complaints' and requests for housing, but otherwise they were simply steered towards their social functions – almost an extension of the local Miners Welfare social clubs.

Within this system one of the themes which one confronts in recent coalfields political histories and, in particular, in planning and housing policies is that of personal venality and corruption. This may well be the downside of closed, single party regimes. When John Poulson, a Pontefract architect, recruited a bevy of 'public relations advisers' in Labour authorities (notably T. Dan Smith, Leader of Newcastle City Council) to 'assist' him in 'acquiring' contracts, Yorkshire coalfield politicians were on his list. The then leader of Doncaster Council, Bob Bowes, was approached and the whole of the town's Housing

Committee were entertained by OSB (Poulson's firm). As it turned out, this ploy was unsuccessful.

Not so in nearby Mexborough where 'a 'strong man with a decided weakness for money was Mexborough's Tommy Roebuck. Starting in the pits at fourteen, he had risen to be branch delegate at Manvers Main Colliery, and had also become council leader and a county councillor.' (Fitzwalter and Taylor, 1981, p.155)

Roebuck was paid a retainer of £750 per year and 25 shillings for every house Poulson built in the coalfields. Roebuck and Poulson targeted the 'strong men' who were leading councillors in a string of South and West Yorkshire towns and villages. The leader of Wombwell was offered the 25s fee for work on Hoyland councillors. The Wombwell housing chairman was feted in Paris to look at Poulson's French housing.

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'These offences concerned the systematic and calculated corruption of politicians and public servants in the course of Poulson's uninhibited search for contracts to feed the largest architectural practice in Europe and one of the largest egos ever to come out of Pontefract.'(Doig, 1984, p.124)

In February 1975 Roebuck was sentenced to twelve months in prison.

Tenant organisation in the council estates also reflects these closed regimes in the period. Tenants' representatives saw themselves as shop stewards dealing with the Council. Tenants associations were a channel for complaints and were important local social organisations in Barnsley and Doncaster. In Rotherham, with a more distinctive authoritarian regime, tenants associations only rarely survived. As one councillor in South Yorkshire put it 'If people on the estates want to join a community organisation they should join the Labour Party'.

As we have seen, in Sheffield, only a few miles away, the city had witnessed tenant candidates bringing down a Labour Council and a strong independently funded Tenants Federation. Sheffield also pioneered radical local employment policies, cheap transport, and equal opportunities policies. It was Sheffield which was the origin of the 'Socialist Republic of South Yorkshire' In contrast in Doncaster and Barnsley there was little political excitement, at least on the estates. The coalfields tenants' organisations drifted into a very close if not stifling relationship with their councillor landlords. In Doncaster a whole generation of tenant activists were co-opted through the Labour Party as councillors. They were co-opted to a council again soon to be tarnished with corruption.

It is important to note that this closed system and political 'paternalism' was not necessarily an indicator of poor services. In fact when the cost of the 1984 / 5 strike was calculated it was interesting to see that it was the most 'paternalist, Labourist' authorities which had been willing to dramatically increase spending and to negotiate debts and rent arrears to support mining communities. Paternalism also meant, on the whole, good quality council housing in contrast to some of the Coal Board housing

The Great Strike and its aftermath

Twenty five years on from the Miners Strike of 1984/5 the memories amongst working class people in the coalfields areas of South Yorkshire are still raw and bitter. In 1993 there were bleak reports

'When we talk of the devastation of mining communities, there is only slight exaggeration. Some do manage to adjust to radically changed circumstances. Others just get by Some are driven to despair. These are as history shows, a resourceful people. Given an economic base to their lives, they will create their own self-sustaining communities. The removal, by outside forces, of the props to their established way of life makes any meaningful sense of community almost impossible to retain...The abstraction of market forces works its devastating way through the lives of ordinary people, now in every sense redundant from the system they helped to create.(Crichton, Dicks, and Waddington et al 1993 p.17)

This is not the place to document the virtual destruction of a whole way of life in the mining villages. The aftermath in terms of its effects on housing and tenant campaigns has still to be documented in any real detail.

Before the strike in 1976 the National Coal Board (NCB) had taken the decision to sell its houses. Tenants were encouraged to buy and some were offered to local authorities. Doncaster, for example, bought 4,500. By 1985 there were only 27,500 left and after the 1984/5 strike the NCB set a deadline of 1988 for the completion of sales. Then, late in 1986, a novel way of privatising housing was embarked upon – public auctions.

The auctions in London hotels marked a rather degrading end to the chequered history of miners' housing. It spurred on a group of tenants in Thurnscoe near Barnsley to buy their 361 homes and to organise themselves into the then biggest housing cooperative in Britain.

The auctions also introduced modern mining families to the absentee private landlord for the first time. A Shelter Report investigated:

'Why miners, ex-miners and their families find their houses and estates in an alarming spiral of decline. Why tenants scattered throughout the coalfield housing estates of this country are facing a new form of Rachmanism. Not the Rachmanism of serious physical intimidation but one of slow, relentless exploitation. Exploitation in particular of the old, the infirm and the poor... Within days a consistent pattern emerged – of disrepair, dereliction and demoralisation. We found this new breed of landlord using a whole range of tactics and an impressive armoury of psychological pressures.' (Shelter, 1987, p.1)

The Coalfields Task Force Report ten years later, echoing reports on miners' housing from the past, graphically describes this return of the private landlord:

'Absentee landlords who have often neglected the stock.... Where these landlords are prominent, estates are now in very poor condition. Many houses owned by private landlords have become void and are boarded up. These properties have become a focus for vandalism and drug taking. Estates can deteriorate very rapidly in this way.... Other privately owned properties are in very poor condition and are generally occupied by a transitory population referred from social services.... We were shocked by the dreadful conditions we witnessed on estates.' (Coalfields Task Force, 1998 p.26)

The shock was shared by Royce Turner, himself a Barnsley resident and an academic at Sheffield Hallam University, when visiting Maltby:

'A local councillor took me to the former NCB houses. It was one of the worst states of disrepair that I have ever seen in any housing.... Many of the houses were boarded up and dropping to pieces...the houses are in rack and ruin, gardens like jungles without the eerie charms of a jungle.... There are no miners left here, and no ex-miners.... The only people here now are those on benefit.' (Turner, 2001, pp.34-35)

The NUM defeated and to a large extent demoralised still led the fight in some areas. The union in the North East set up the Durham Mineworkers Housing Association specifically to take over British Coal houses. The first 531 of a proposed 2,500 were taken over in March 1987. Tenants started their own organisations to resist. Near the Cortonwood pit in the Dearne Valley, where the 1984 strike began, Brampton Bierlow tenants association emerged to demand repairs and rights from absentee landlords in their estate of 250 houses. In Dinnington, Rotherham tenants began 'withholding' rents to demand repairs. In Upton near Wakefield the tenants association organised a survey of the auctioned houses. They discovered 63 ex-miners with 1,982 years service to the Coal Board between them. Twenty per cent. of tenants were over 75, 75 per cent. of the households included a pensioner, 70 per cent. of households depended on benefits and 58 per cent. of households had people who suffered ill health often from mining causes (e.g. industrial accidents, coal dust) (see Shelter, 1987).

Community development workers were employed by the local councils. In Wakefield a British Coal Tenants Federation was organised by council workers and local Shelter activists. Northern College and its coalfields project workers provided training support. The Federation produced a report which showed that there were 850 houses still to be sold. Under pressure from the tenants the council had done a survey on the houses. It estimated that £3.75m was needed to repair the houses.

'Many of the estates have suffered general environmental neglect and deterioration. They have inadequate amenities, and empty properties and vandalism are on the increase...many...suffer defective roofing and wiring, rotten windows, and inadequate amenities, plumbing and heating systems, and are in desperate need of modernisation.' (Shelter and Wakefield Ex British Coal Tenants Federation, 1987, p.6)

The council and housing associations were lobbied and efforts made, often successfully, to wrest the houses from the absentee landlords. Links were made with the Nottinghamshire Federation of British Coal Tenants, which represented 16 estates.

The auctions produced the demand for a housing cooperative in Thurnscoe near Barnsley. At the time Barnsley Council had funded a centre against unemployment in a 'one stop shop' enterprise centre in Goldthorpe, a nearby colliery village. Development workers with a role in the community and the centre were appointed, including two cooperative development workers. These workers supported the tenants in Thurnscoe as facilitators and lobbyists particularly with their employers, the Council, to fund the transfer of housing directly to tenants and their cooperative. The workers also mobilised training resources for supporting the campaign of the tenants.

As far as the existing council - as distinct from Coal Board - housing in the coalfields was concerned, tenants still saw its relevance and were often too insecure or poor in the 1980's, weathering redundancy and the Great Strike, to join the 'property owning democracy.' In 1979, with the Conservative victory, the Right to Buy, vigorously opposed by Labour councils in the coalfields, therefore had limited impact. Between 1981 and 1991 Barnsley's council housing was reduced by only 13 per cent. and this included demolition and stock 'disposal' as well as sales.

The 1980's and into the 90's

Federations, unemployment and tenants actions

Sheffield's Labour council owned 45 percent of the local housing stock in 1981. Sheffield council assisted in the establishment of one of the most effective of the Tenants' Federations of the 1980's. It was based on a tenants' levy which enabled it to have an independence from the Council. This

became important as the collapse of the Steel industry after the six months Steel Strike of 1980, and the destruction of the industry in the early 1980's by the Thatcher government.

Much of Sheffield's council housing suffered a massive blow as investment even for necessary repairs dried up and unemployment took its toll.

Tenants organisations within the Fed geared up to expose the poor quality of much of the multi- storey developments of the 1970's, and were part of national campaigns on Dampness, Asbestos, and Fuel Poverty. At an estate level a number of womens groups campaigned through tenants associations and established child care and domestic violence organisations.

The council and the Fed entered into a veritable maze of joint committees and development groups which was to entangle tenant representatives in a web of 'consultation'. One of the most effective workers employed by the Fed went on to become chair of the city housing committee.

Sheffield was also the scene for a whole number of anti-Poll tax groups in 1989 and 1990, based very often on local tenant activists. This was similarly the case in the rest of south Yorkshire. In Doncaster the old alliances resurfaced with the NUM at Armthorpe colliery organising buses for the tenants to go to the March 1990 Trafalgar Square demonstration, where there were 2000 miners on the demonstration.

In Doncaster a large tenants' federation emerged with a mixture of 'social' groups and campaigning tenants groups. Activists from Doncaster began a long association with campaigning organisations including helping to form the National Tenants and Residents Federation in Wakefield in 1989.

In Barnsley the Federation remained close to the council and councillors. As late as 2000 a University of London (Goldsmiths) research report on regeneration 'partnerships' in Barnsley interestingly concluded

'More than other areas the legitimacy of the local authority is subject to far less cynicism than in any other case study areas.' And quoted one respondent as claiming that 'In Barnsley people always used to say that the council do it

for you and the Coal Board do it **to you**. To a large extent that mentality still prevails.' (Anastacio et al)

The Period of 'Regeneration'

South Yorkshire and tenants history from the early 1990's becomes seriously overtaken by the 'managed decline' programmes of councils and governments – a history to be written.

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