

"Even when I go for a job, and they say where do you live, and I say Broadwater Farm, they look at you totally different."

Many other witnesses spoke of similar experiences when they told people where they lived. The post box in Gloucester Road was sealed up after 6th October and remains so to the present date. It has become more difficult than ever to obtain credit. Mail order firms, TV hire companies, and companies trading on hire purchase are reluctant to deal with people on the estate and in many cases have refused outright. Deposits of £100 are demanded for the connection of electricity or gas. Pat Ford complained to the Consumer Protection Service after Visionhire refused to offer slot TV rentals after the disturbances. The answer given by the company to the Consumer Protection Officer was:-

"It was considered unreasonable to ask our teleclub meter collectors to make calls on the estate as this could well lead to possible injuries to our staff who were known to be carrying reasonable large sums of money."

6.58 The community spirit, so bouyant in summer 1985, was far more subdued as the summer of 1986 began. The numbers taking part in community activities had gone down - particularly those such as the Mothers' Project which drew in people from outside the estate. One woman said to us that the community feeling was gone - it used to be "alive and happy with the music, but now it's so quiet". Cliff Ford felt that the atmosphere was "just beginning to come somewhere around normal, where you can see children playing around again, but it's only recently that that started to happen." Panchita La Touche felt that people trusted each other much less than before. Several people involved with the Youth Association spoke of a sense of despair about the future. Even so, they were continuing the day-to-day work of maintaining and extending services to their community. The old people never stopped coming to the Youth Association for their meals. The projects created over the last five years still continue. As we explain more fully in our recommendations in Chapter 8, it is more important than ever to give support to the initiatives of the Broadwater Farm community.

Chapter 7

WHO LIVES ON BROADWATER FARM - - WHAT DO THEY THINK?

7.1 The Inquiry carried out a survey of the estate. We ensured that the stratified sample that we interviewed would be representative by drawing on a sample of 700 adults. In the 1981 Census there were 1063 households and some 1800 adults. Our sample was one adult from each of 700 households. This represents a sample size which is many times larger than necessary to ensure complete statistical representativeness. We took such a large sample for two reasons, firstly to ensure that we could fully defend the representative nature of the sample, secondly so that we could break down the responses by age, gender and ethnicity, and still ensure that there were sufficient people within each category to provide a fully representative sample. Given the whole nature of statistical sampling we can be sure that these statistics represent the true picture of the residents of Broadwater Farm Estate in April/May 1986.

7.2 We commissioned a group of social scientists from Middlesex Polytechnic to carry out this survey for us. They had recently been involved in the Islington Crime Survey which had received some considerable acclaim both in the academic and popular press. They had experience of carrying out research in an area with diverse minority ethnic groups and analysing that data quickly. We drew up a questionnaire in conjunction with this group and within a few weeks of the Inquiry starting we were able to begin the field work.

7.3 We achieved a very high response rate of 75.2%. This means that some 527 individuals co-operated with the interviewers in providing us with information. This very high response rate compares

most favourably with other surveys of London in recent years. We believe that this results from three major factors – firstly the sample was drawn from a full enumeration of inhabited flats and houses on the estates. Rather than rely on the electoral register (which itself was being constructed at the time of the disturbances and would therefore almost certainly undercount) the research team carried out their own enumeration of the estate. This ensured that the sample was drawn from the full and real membership on the estate. Secondly, as much as possible, the interviewers were matched in gender and race to be interviewed. Thirdly, each of the interviewers had an identity card issued by the Inquiry Panel which guaranteed both their bona fide status and ensured the confidentiality of the replies.

7.4 We did not ask about the residents' experience of the disturbances. We do not believe that the survey method could provide such information. The survey does however settle a number of questions about what people on the estate think. Both the police and community leaders have made claims to be representing the estate – doing what "the community" want. Whilst it is clear that, as with any other locality, we can never talk of a unanimous opinion about anything and it will always be possible for mischief-makers to find one or two people who will provide opinions that are those of only a small minority on any issue, we can say with some certainty and some accuracy what the majority of people think about a broad range of issues. That is why we can say in a way that no other organisations can, that these statistics represent, democratically, those who live on the Broadwater Farm Estate and what they think. In this Chapter of our report we cover only the most salient facts. We have asked Middlesex Polytechnic to provide a full report to Haringey Council later in 1986.

WHO LIVES THERE?

7.5 We wanted to know how long people had lived on the estate specifically to try and understand the extent of turnover and change. We stress that this will not tell us the change over in tenancies, since some individuals may have moved from one flat to another. We do however obtain a picture of the amount of movement.

How long have you lived on the estate? (all figures are percentages)

under 1 year	1-5	OVER 5 years
17	40	43

There is some evidence of movement off the estate immediately after the disturbances so there may be some little over-exaggeration of new movement in these figures.

7.6 This means that over half the adults on the estate have moved since 1981. We chose that year because, as we explained in Chapter 3, it was in that year that the estate began to develop in a better direction. It is also important to note that 17% of the adult population has been there for less than a year – a fact that has important implications for the community workers and organisations on the estate. Creating and recreating a community with this amount of change is a much harder task – needing constant back-up and communication between new tenants and community organisations. Perhaps new residents need to be visited and introduced to the community organisations on a regular basis to ensure that they are in touch, not only with the council's services but also with the community as a whole.

7.7 We asked a series of questions about the general characteristics of our adult respondents. This is important since we have already reported that we know that over 50% of the adults on the estate have moved onto the estate since 1981. This must mean that all of the Census material from 1981 would be of little use in terms of representing the population in 1986.

The Inquiry has heard a wide variety of different figures describing the ethnic mix of the estate. At different times we have heard it described as three-quarters or two-thirds Black. The Middlesex Polytechnic team decided to ask their interviewers to categorise the race of the respondents. We reviewed the following figures that we believe are representative of the adult population of the estate.

White	49
Black (West Indian/African)	42
Indian sub-continent	3
Other (e.g. Cypriot)	6

We must remember that this represents a sample of the adult population and in no way counts the children on the estate. We can guess at this by looking at the ethnicity of different age groups and roughly extrapolating the children under 16 from those figures.

7.8 Given the age differential we can compute that more than half of the children on the estate are Black (West Indian/African) – raising the overall ratio of the population to about half Black (West Indian/African) and half White. These figures are important since there have been a broad range of different estimates put forward as fact to us about the different proportions of Black people and White people – on many occasions the number of Black people has been exaggerated.

7.9 We asked the age of our respondents and again given the sample size feel confident that this will reflect the age of the adults on the estate.

	16–24	25–44	45 plus
% of the adult population	33	47	20

This population is different from the ~~sample~~ ^{national} average in so far as there are fewer older people. Equally we found a fairly even distribution of the sexes.

	Women	Men
% of the adult population	52	48

7.10 HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

The following table represents the household composition of the estate.

	All Figures are %
Households with no children	56
Households with two children and parents	25
Households with children and one parent	19

Roughly 20% of the households on the estate are single parent families. These have an ethnic breakdown of: –

	% of single parent families
White	32
Black (West Indian/African)	64
Others	4

7.11 YEARLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME

We asked about the average household income on the estate. For us to compute people's incomes in detail we would have had to concentrate upon a very wide range of questions about their assets

and expenditure. Since we wanted to look at a much wider range of opinions and attitudes we only asked one question about income: What is your average income in this household? If the answers were at all near the average it would not have been possible to draw any important conclusions. However, this was not the case. From the following answers we can quite clearly say that the estate is poor.

YEARLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Under £3,000	35
£3,000 – £7,999	38
£8,000 – £11,000	7
£12,000 – £14,999	2
Over £15,000	2

No answer – 16

7.12 Comparisons around income are not easy to make. We must point out that given these overall income figures the economy of the estate is at a very low point indeed. This must affect the possibility of the estate generating its own economic salvation. As a consequence if this regeneration is to occur there must be some significant outside input of resources.

7.13 EMPLOYMENT

We asked whether the respondent was in employment; whether someone else in their household was and whether there were two or more people in employment in that household. The answers were as follows: –

In employment	31%
Someone else in their household in employment	15%
Two other people in employment	2%

If we turn these percentages into actual numbers in employment (given 1063 households on the estate we can multiply by 10.5) we can compute that there are 330 respondents in jobs, 160 live in households where someone else is in work, and there are about 30 other people in employment. This means that, taking the estate as a whole, there are some 500 – 530 people in full time employment. With an adult population of some 1800 this is a very low figure for economic activity.

VOTING PATTERNS

7.14 We asked for the voting intentions of people on the estate. The months of April/May 1986 saw quite bitterly fought local election campaigns. Some Conservative councillors had called for the "blowing up" of the estate. As a consequence these statistics will reflect this political consciousness.

% voting for different parties as a percentage of those who declared a preference.

Labour	77
Conservative	9
Alliance	8
Other	6

These statistics represent a great deal of support for one particular party. If we also recognise that some 50% of registered voters voted in May 1986 then it is likely that the Labour Party received considerable votes from the estate.

7.15 "Monolithic" and "faceless" are two of the ways in which the estate has been described and these are words which carry with them pictures of isolation and fear. Consequently it was important for us to find out if residents knew other people on the estate.

How many of your neighbours do you know?

Most	A few	None
28	51	21

Social isolation is not great here. It is unfortunately the case in most of Britain's cities that a section of the population is isolated. If we were to ask the same question in any inner city area – council estate, terrace houses or semi-detached suburban, it is likely that the number would be the same or even greater. It is significant that over three-quarters of the population feel they know a few people, with a quarter who would claim "most". This shows that a large number of people have some social contact and nearly a quarter could be said to be fully integrated into the community. If these figures are at all abnormal they err on the side of integration and not isolation. Indeed, as will be seen later on (7.20), when we asked people about what they thought about problems on the estate, 53% thought unfriendliness was no problem at all.

COMMUNITY ORGANISATION

7.16 We not only wanted to understand the extent to which people on the estate knew each other – we thought it was important to gauge the success or failure of the community organisations on the estate. In Chapter 3 we demonstrate the way in which these community organisations, and the Youth Association in particular, played a role in the regeneration of the estate. We feel it did this through a great deal of imaginative hard work. It is important, though, to gauge the extent to which it has the overall support of the estate. Consequently we asked a series of questions about the community organisations. We wanted to know whether people had heard of the organisation, whether they had been to a meeting in the last two months, whether they were members and what they thought of the quality of the service.

We specifically asked about the six organisations that existed on the estate.

	Heard of	Been to meeting	Member	Quality of service (of those who had heard of)
% of All respondents	YES	YES	YES	GOOD/VERY GOOD
Broadwater Farm Youth Association	78	7	5	81
Mothers' Group	54	5	4	90
Under Fives	30	4	3	90
Tenants' Assoc.	66	8	8	73
BWFYA Co-op	41	3	1	91
Pensioners' Group	33	3	2	100

7.17 Looking at the figures for the Youth Association first, some important factors emerge. Firstly, over three-quarters of the estate had heard of the Youth Association – considerably more than any other group. Secondly, over four-fifths of those that had heard of the association thought it was either doing a good job or a very good job

of work. Given the way in which the press has attacked the association — this represents a very high degree of support indeed. Whatever else is said about community organisation on the estate we feel we can say that the association has the support of the great majority of residents. It is equally significant that the other groups have a high level of support. While fewer people have heard of them; those that have are pleased that they are working.

7.18 The question of active involvement is different for the Mothers' Group, the Under Fives' group and the Pensioners' Group — these exist to provide services for only a small part of the residents. Thus 5% of people had been to a meeting of the Mothers' Group in the last two months — a group of some 100 people. Since there are only some 450–500 mothers on the estate this represents a large proportion of this group. It is certain that there, 100 people would represent a much higher proportion of that specific group. Similarly both the Pensioners' and Under Fives' groups would not expect the active involvement of people who were not in that section of the community. The Co-op has been recently formed with very specific aims with regard to economic regeneration, and would not expect a mass involvement.

7.19 The active involvement of so few in the Tenants' Association and the Youth Association does need some further comment. Both organisations have spent much of the last four years bringing considerable resources to the whole estate. Many people have experienced the result of their campaigns through their significantly better housing and environmental conditions. We do not believe that a large proportion of the estate would have to be involved in these organisations for them to be able to claim representativeness. They obviously have the support of a large majority of residents and must not be judged by different criteria than we would judge other representative organisations. In 1986, British society is not one that has the active involvement of a very high proportion of its citizenry. We return in Chapter 9 to the need for more active involvement of people on the estate. People support organisations without attending their meetings.

7.20 PROBLEMS ON THE ESTATE

We wanted to know how people perceived the problems on the estate.

Are the following a big problem, a bit of a problem or not really a problem?:—

%	Not really	A bit of a problem	A big problem
Unemployment	2	4	94
Poor housing	40	18	42
The behaviour of the police	50	21	29
Poor street lighting	45	29	26
Poor schools	45	23	32
Poor public transport	41.5	25	33.5
Crime	21	22	57
Race relations	37.5	25	37.5
General unfriendliness	52	26	22
Not enough places for children to play	38	18	45
Not enough things for young people to do	24	19	57

First and foremost we must underline the answer about unemployment. The residents nearly all understand just how deeply this affects everyone. It is the nearest to a unanimous answer as exists in the whole survey. Secondly, all of the other issues have between three-quarters and a half of the estate feeling that they are a problem of some order. Crime and lack of youth facilities are seen as a big problem by some 57% of the estate. Residents clearly recognise the importance of lack of provision for youth as a part of its problems.

7.21 We will return extensively to the attitudes about crime. Here though, it is important for us to understand that people feel that there are *big* problems for people in living on the estate. Indeed in answer to the question — Do you like living on the estate? — 51% said yes and 49% said no. Given the labelling of the estate outlined in Chapter 2, and given the events of the last year, this is not surprising. It is an important element of people's lives, and one that *all* agencies must take into account. Many people in giving evidence to the Inquiry pleaded for a return to normal — it is essential that nothing stands in the way of this.

POLICE ACCOUNTABILITY

7.22 The issue of police accountability has become a matter of

central importance not just to the work of this Inquiry, but also within discussion about public attitudes to the police. We therefore asked a series of questions about who should decide policing in the locality.

Who should decide how a local area is policed?

	YES	NO
Scotland Yard	31	69
Local police station	68	32
Home Secretary	25	75
Local council	71	29
Local magistrates	21	79

7.23 It is undoubtedly the case, following the disturbances, that three of them played a role in deciding local policing of the area – Scotland Yard, the local police station and the Home Secretary. Two of these bodies are unwelcome to over two-thirds of the residents of the estate whilst the local police station is seen as acceptable. Constitutionally, local magistrates and the local council have no role to play in deciding local policing and whilst four-fifths of the estate were pleased with this state of affairs with regard to the magistrates, over two-thirds believe that the local council should play a role in policing decisions. This is higher than in any other survey about police accountability. This is obviously important for two different areas of our report. Firstly it does underline the fact that the London Borough of Haringey as an organisation is felt to be capable of deciding on social policy in a general sense. This is surprising because for many council estates one of the last organisations trusted by council tenants to be capable of running anything is their landlord. On Broadwater Farm this appears to be different. Secondly, and specifically with regard to policing matters, it is important to realise that people do feel that the local council should have a say – alongside of the local police station – in deciding policing policy. For a locality with such a troubled experience of policing, as well as one where the question of to whom the police should be accountable is an issue sharply contested by the police and local community groups, these aspirations are highly important.

7.24 If we compare this figure to the Islington Crime Survey – where only 8% of the population saw the council as having a role in the decisions about policing – we can appreciate this response about the London Borough of Haringey.

ASSISTING THE POLICE WITH THEIR ENQUIRIES

7.25 We wanted to know whether the residents of the estate would assist the police in a number of situations and we found that their response was very specific to different situations. “I would like to ask you how far you would be prepared to assist the police in certain situations. For each example would you tell me if you would be prepared to identify the people who did it, and whether you would be prepared to give evidence in court.”

% of those that answer that they would

	Help identify	Give evidence	Would do neither
Youths smashing up a bus shelter	43	32	53
Youths knock a man down and take his wallet	63	50	30
A traffic accident where someone was badly hurt	76	70	14
A conversation between two people planning a break in	36	26	60

7.26 There is no simplistic and total rejection of either the law or the police force contained within these answers. Rather it demonstrates the way in which residents are quite prepared to **help the police with their enquiries in certain areas**. In particular they are prepared to help in those areas of crime that they feel the police are capable of dealing with. Over 80% of residents were prepared to help the police in a traffic accident; over 70% would assist in terms of a mugging, but under half would do anything about vandalism or conspiracy to burgle. It is insufficient explanation for the police or anyone to label the residents of the estate as “unhelpful” to the police – or against law and order. The reality is more complex and must be seen as in part a measure of the community’s confidence in police efficiency.

HOW WELL DO THE POLICE PERFORM?

7.27 We felt that residents’ opinions about police success would be an important part of their overall attitudes to the police. As a consequence we asked them how successful the police are at dealing with particular sorts of crime?

	Successful			
	Very	Fairly	Not very	Not at all
Racist attacks	5	21	38	36
Burglary in houses	6	30	43	21
Fights in the streets	9	53	29	9
Vandalism	6	27	41	27
Sexual assaults on women	9	28	36	28
Control of heroin dealing	10	25	34	31
Mugging and street robbery	8	28	40	23
Drunken driving	24	51	18	6
Violent domestic disputes	8	34	27	31

7.28 These of course are NOT actual success rates by the police but represent the estate residents' perception of police successes. As such they don't tell us anything about what police actually achieve, just what Broadwater Farm residents THINK they achieve, in a number of areas. Whilst nearly two-thirds of the estate feel that the police have some success in dealing with fighting in the streets and drunken driving, around two-thirds feel that they have little success in dealing with burglaries, vandalism, sexual assaults, the control of heroin dealing, street robbery and domestic disputes.

WHAT SHOULD THE POLICE CONCENTRATE ON?

7.29 In connection with this, it is important to understand the way in which the residents of the estate view those police tasks that they think are important. It is interesting then to compare this with the way in which the London Borough of Islington survey and the Policy Studies Institute survey for the whole Metropolitan area see policing issues.

% Prioritising these crimes for the police to deal with	BWF	ICS Islington	PSI Metropolitan area
Sexual assaults on women	84	70	79
Heroin control	69	59	40
Mugging	66	71	73
Domestic burglary	66	58	68
Racial assaults	59	39	
Bag snatching	30	25	
Drunken driving	27	44	
Cannabis	14	13	

Fraud	13	6
Theft from car	12	9
Football rowdyism	12	22
Vandalism	11	26
Prostitution	10	8
Office burglary	8	8
Street rowdyism	7	10
Shop lifting	2	3

7.30 Thus, over two-thirds of the people on the estate want the police to prioritise burglary, mugging, the control of heroin dealing and four-fifths the sexual assaults on women. Yet as we saw above, it is these same areas of concern that more than two-thirds of the estate feel that the police are not very successful in dealing with.

7.31 But if we compare this to the London Borough of Islington and the whole Metropolitan area we find a similar spread. People in London think the police should prioritise the safety of women from sexual assault; the problem of personal safety on the street and robbery in the street and at home. The one important and marked difference is to be found in the level of concern about the dealing in heroin from the people of Broadwater Farm. The deep anxiety about the problem of heroin dealing once more demonstrates a sharp sense of the necessity for its own self-defence against the deep dangers of hard drugs. It is inconceivable that a group of heroin dealers could survive within such a large community if they acted at all openly.

7.32 Equally the residents on the estate agree with the residents of Islington about those activities that the police spend too much time on. That is the issues of prostitution, cannabis and shoplifting. Importantly, the estate is in line with these wider areas in making the sharp distinction between different sorts of crimes. There is no overall and simplistic rejection of law and order: there is no simplistic rejection of the police, rather there is a consistent attempt to protect themselves from crimes that they think are important alongside the belief that it is these areas that the police do not deal with. This must be of great importance to us since there is an attitude that we have outlined above which sees the residents of the estate as criminals. Our evidence is to the contrary.

7.33 HOW DO RESIDENTS VIEW POLICE ACTIVITY

One of the ways of measuring the way in which the residents of the estate view the police is to ask them views they may have about police conduct in arresting people, obtaining evidence and obtaining a conviction.

Consequently we asked: When they are questioning people do you think that police officers ever....

	Never	Hardly ever	Sometimes	Often	Very often
Use threats to get the answer they want	29	7	35	20	10
Falsify statements made to them	29	10	36	15	9
Use unnecessary force when making arrests	28	7	35	18	12
Use violence in police stations	26	12	34	20	10
Plant evidence on people	34	12	34	13	7
Accept money as a bribe	43	20	28	5	4

7.34 This table must be of profound concern to everyone. Whilst it does demonstrate that a consistent level of 30% of residents believe that the police NEVER engage in malpractices, it also demonstrates that a majority of people on the estate believe that the police sometimes (or more often) use threats to get answers, falsify statements, use force and violence and plant evidence on people. These are very high figures indeed if we compare them to the PSI survey of London:-

% who believe that the police ...

	BWF	London
	Sometimes	Often/Very Often
Use threats to get the answer that they want	65	Not Available
Falsify statements made to them	60	34
Use unnecessary force when making arrests	65	38
Use violence at police stations	64	38
Plant evidence on people	54	Not Available
Take bribes	37	56

These differences are very striking indeed. They mean that the people on the estate - with the exception of bribes - are considerably more likely than the rest of London to believe that the police engage in malpractice.

7.35 How does the estate have such a bad view of the police? The survey asked whether the respondent or a close friend had actually had direct experience of these malpractices. They were also asked whether they or a close friend had witnessed the malpractice. Compared with the PSI London Survey the results are most startling.

	BWF	London
Has the malpractice happened to you or to someone you know	60	12
Has it been witnessed by you or by someone you know	61	14

7.36 This means that some three-fifths of the estate's adults - that is about 750 people - have either experienced or witnessed or their close friends have experienced or witnessed police malpractices - compared to between 12 and 14% in London. This underlines the fact that their perception is based upon specific experiences.

7.37 Therefore a large proportion of the residents of the estate, whilst they have clear priorities about the nature of crime that has to be tackled, also feels that the police engage in malpractices. If two-thirds of the estate believe that the police engage in malpractices and two-thirds believe that they are ineffectual in dealing with those areas of criminality that are important for their safety, it's not surprising that half of the estate will not assist the police with their enquiries into certain crimes.

7.38 FAIRNESS AND THE POLICE

We also wanted to find out whether people saw the police's understanding of the issues on the estate as good and whether the police treated all sorts of people fairly

Therefore the survey asked: Would you say that the police operating on the estate...

	Yes	No
Had a good understanding of the problems on the estate?	49	51
Treat people of all sorts fairly and equally?	49	51

7.39 We also asked people whether the police stopped and searched people without good reason. 43% said yes. Of these they believed that the categories of people that the police were likely to stop and search without good reason were:—

Black	95
Young	93
Men	67
White	51
Women	28
Old	10

This means that 40% of the estate believe that the police stop and search young Black people without good reason.

7.40 POLICING BY CONSENT?

What does this range of answers mean for police community relations? Firstly, it further underlines the fact that one-half of the people on the estate would have little confidence in the way in which the estate is policed. This must undermine the effectiveness of policing since, as we have seen from other questions, people are unlikely to assist a police force that they think is unfair, lacks understanding of their problems, uses unnecessary force and falsifies evidence. Under these circumstances policing by consent is not possible since for those people, consent has been withdrawn.

7.41 Secondly, we must underline the fact that one half of the estate believes that the police do understand and are fair and for one-third of the estate they consistently believe that the police never engage in malpractices. It may be argued that having the support and confidence of one-half of the community is a good record. Yet in comparison to the survey carried out across the London Borough of Islington (ICS 1985), these figures are low. Some two-thirds of the people of Islington believe that the police never engage in malpractices. Even with figures such as these, there is a consistent minority who would have very little confidence. On the Broadwater Farm, from these figures it appears that between one-half and two-thirds of the estate have these worries.

7.42 In the *Caribbean Times* of 13th June 1986, the Home Secretary made the following important points:—

“The police force in Britain is an instrument for protecting not coercing citizens. Policing in this country is based on the concept of the citizens in uniform. The police go about their duties in the vast majority of occasions unarmed. Such a philosophy of policing can only be successful if the police can draw strength and support from the community that they serve.”

We also believe that this philosophy can only succeed if the police draw strength and support from the community and therefore view with alarm the fact that so many people on the estate have such bad experiences of policing that they find they cannot give it.

7.43 This issue was so important that we have categorised a range of answers by gender, age, and race. The following figures are categorised therefore by age across the top and gender and race down the side. Breaking down the answers to whether the police are fair or not:—

	16–24	25–44	45 plus	All
% Who believe that The police are unfair				
White men	67	56	10	48
Black men	75	48	55	59
White women	51	36	12	34
Black women	78	73	33	72

For the whole estate there was a feeling from 51% that the police were unfair. Here we can see the way in which age and ethnicity effect people's beliefs about the police. Young people believe they are unfair more than their relevant older categories — but so do Black people.

7.44 Looking at the question of malpractice by the police we can see this pattern re-emerge.

Do you believe that the police sometimes/often/very often threaten when questioning?

	16-24	25-44	45 plus	All
White men	60	76	45	67
Black men	75	78	65	72
White women	62	49	26	46
Black women	85	76	50	77

Three-quarters of young Black men and over four-fifths of young Black women believe that the police use threats. These numbers stay that high for the group up to the age of 44.

7.45 It is important to also gauge where these opinions came from. Do they come from direct experience or from direct witnessing?

It was asked whether this malpractice had happened to them or to a friend of theirs?

% YES	16-24	25-44	45 plus	All
White men	60	67	35	58
Black men	85	76	42	73
White women	65	35	35	46
Black women	81	60	50	69

It was also asked whether they or a friend of theirs had seen this happen?

% YES	16-24	25-44	45 plus	All
White men	71	61	33	58
Black men	88	78	33	73
White women	62	52	35	51
Black women	83	66	Not statistically significant	75

Again Black people had experienced or witnessed this malpractice consistently higher than the White group. This must represent in a different form the discriminatory policing discussed in our Chapter 3. Given the high proportion of people who have witnessed and experienced malpractice it is very likely that this group will experience the police as attacking them as a group. In this case the group is Black, under the age of 45, both men and women. The principal characteristic of this group is their colour.

7.46 We asked if people would be prepared to help the police if they overheard a burglary being planned. This is the percentage that said neither.

	16-24	25-44	45 plus	All
White men	71	69	41	62
Black men	68	50	62	58
White women	61	54	43	53
Black women	73	63	68	67

7.47 Over three-quarters of young Black people have had either direct experience of police malpractice or their friends have. A similar proportion have witnessed such malpractice - or their friends have. Under these circumstances it is very likely that these groups will be wary of assisting the police. If the police do want the support of such groups then they must stop policing in such ways as to cause Black people feel that they are the ones being targeted.

7.48 THE COMMUNITY VIEW OF CRIME

We have noted earlier on in our report that some senior police officers always believed that the estate seemed to represent a criminal entity. Does our evidence support this view? If over half the estate believe that police sometimes or more often act wrongly does this back up the view that the estate is outside the law?

We have already outlined the way in which people on the estate seek to involve the police in a different prioritisation in dealing with sexual assaults, mugging, burglary and heroin dealing. Not a list of activities that a criminal community would necessarily arrive at. But perhaps one section of the community is different from another. Again this is simply not the case. If we compare the police priorities of young Black people with those of the estate we can see they have similar fears and worries.

Police priorities	Young Black people of BWF	BWF as a whole %
Sexual assaults	89	84
Heroin dealing	74	69
Robbery	54	66
Burglary	64	66
Racial attacks	72	59

7.49 We wanted to see if there was a difference between sections of the estate in their overall worry about crime. Here we break the statistics down by race, age and gender.

Is crime perceived as a problem/a big problem?

% saying yes	16-24	25-44	45 plus	All
White men	76	83	77	77
Black men	71	79	85	77
White women	93	75	82	82
Black women	81	75	Not statistically significant	77

Women tend to worry about crime more than men, but all sections of the estate worry about it. These figures contain no evidence that criminality can be a characteristic of the estate.

7.50 It is interesting to note the extent to which crime has been experienced on the estate. There has been an important new approach to this area of research – the study of “victims” carried out both by the Home Office and by independent researchers. They all uncover various amounts of unrecorded crime. Therefore, whilst no one has disagreed with the falling crime figures that the police produced and that we cite in Chapter 3, there is inevitably going to be some crime unrecorded. Consequently we asked the following set of questions. Has the following happened to you or to someone living in your household in the last 12 months? We compare this with Sussex Ward in Islington – one of the wards containing council estates and surveyed in the I.C.S.

% of respondents who are victims	BWF	Sussex Ward
Has your home been burgled	12	23
Tried to break into your home	13	Not available
Had your house vandalised	6	42
Had car/van motor bike broken into or stolen	6	7
Had car/van motor bike vandalised	6	52
Been mugged or robbed on the street	7	15
Been physically attacked	7	22
Been threatened with violence	9	Not available
Women been sexually attacked	2	10
Women been sexually pestered	7	Not available

7.51 On Broadwater Farm, as elsewhere, there is a quantity of unrecorded crime, especially in the field of burglary and vandalism. However, the figures for Broadwater Farm are in every case less than the Sussex Ward in Islington. What does this comparison mean? At the very least, it means that we cannot classify the estate as a high crime area. There are whole wards in Islington where there are much much higher incidents of crime. Once more the survey cannot support the view that the estate is a criminal community.

7.52 We asked people whether they thought crime had gone down compared to five years ago.

Would you say that the following crimes are more common, less common, or about the same as they were five years ago?

	More common	The same	Less common
People being robbed and mugged in the street	35	10	55
People's houses being burgled	33	10	57
Vandalism and deliberate damage to property	36	13	51
Sexual assaults on women	39	11	50

Over one-half of the whole estate believe that every single crime mentioned has gone down in the last five years and of course it is important and significant that over one-third feel that it has gone up. However, if we compare these with Islington, the difference is most striking.

	More common	The same	Less common
Robbery/Mugging	61	28	12
Burglary	67	23	10
Vandalism	54	30	16
Sexual assaults	48	32	20

7.53 These differences in perception are very striking. Whilst one-half of the estate think that crime is less common it varies between

one and two-tenths in Islington. Once more we must ask whether these perceptions can be about a criminal community?

7.54 However, we return to the important fact that 57% of the estate think crime is a big problem irrespective of whether it is actually lower than elsewhere or irrespective of whether they think crime has gone down over the last five years. We also asked people whether they believed crime was carried out by people on the estate or outside of it. 81% of the estate believed that crime was carried out by people from off the estate. Therefore, even for those people who believe that crime is a problem, a large proportion must see the criminals as coming from outside. Again hard evidence from people on the estate suggests to us that it cannot be seen as a community of criminals.

7.55 To further check we also asked a series of questions about those police tasks that were perceived as of major importance and received the following replies.

List in order of majority saying they were of importance...

Immediate response to 999 calls	93
Detection of criminals	80
Deterring criminals	68
Crime prevention advice	57
Contain rowdy behaviour	50
Controlling crowds	49
Check the security of shops and offices	41
Lost property	39
Road traffic control	38
Maintaining contacts with schools	36
Youth work	30

Once more it is difficult to imagine that these responses could ever come from a community of criminals. Would they be in favour of quicker responses to 999 calls, the detection of criminals and the deterrence of crime?

7.56 Yet in a simple sense the opponents of community policing may feel that they gain some support from these statistics, as they appear to reflect a demand for traditional policing. The estate wants crime

responded to, deterred and detected; all traditional views of the policing role. They are not interested in police doing youth work, school work or the “softer view”. Yet it is necessary to view these responses from the estate in the light of all of the others. The majority of people want crime to be dealt with quickly; they want the police to deal with certain crimes as a much higher priority than others, yet, they believe that these are the crimes that the police are not very successful in dealing with and two-thirds of them believe that the police engage in malpractices. Therefore whilst they recognise the importance of the “fight against crime” for their own security – two-thirds of them have little confidence in the police capacity to engage in that fight. Until police have gained that confidence it is unlikely that the residents will feel enthusiastic about the force’s ability to increase Broadwater Farm’s security.

7.57 D.A.C. Richards had said on *Diverse Reports* in October 1986:–

“It is the ill-doer, it is the person who is offending the law who objects to the presence of the police in the estate.”

It may well be that this statement is meant to disarm all criticism of police activity on the estate lest the critic be labelled a criminal. Our survey demonstrates not only that there is considerably concern about the police activity but that this estate is also concerned about crime. It is evident that people other than criminals can be critical of the police.