

witnesses to our Inquiry, a real value in introducing into the secondary education system (as an obligatory part of the curriculum) a course of education in legal rights and police powers. The course could be extended to include law and politics, so as to cover elections and political parties, central and local government, as well as legal rights and the powers of the police. These are topics which at present occur only incidentally (for instance in social studies courses) in the normal school curriculum. If they were compulsory, they would inform not only those who will have to deal with the police, but also future police officers, of their rights and duties under the law.

## Chapter Nine

### LOOKING FORWARD – BUILDING A SELF RELIANT COMMUNITY

9.1 In Chapter 2 we traced the decline and revival of Broadwater Farm. We described a community of people who succeeded, in co-operation with the council and other agencies, in improving their living environment against all the odds. In paragraph 3.53 we spoke of the optimism which showed through the headlines of the Youth Association magazine in June 1985. In the 12 months since then, the disturbances and their consequences have over-shadowed the success. But the council and other agencies which supported Broadwater Farm in the past have not changed their attitudes to the estate. On the contrary, they favour new projects to the extent that resources allow. And the people of Broadwater Farm, in evidence to us and in answer to our survey, have been stressing the problems and making proposals for dealing with them.

9.2 We believe that the achievements of Broadwater Farm in recent years must be extended and developed. The self-reliant spirit of the Youth Association and other organisations cannot be guaranteed to continue whatever the circumstances. It is vulnerable to a combination of factors – lack of resources, police action, the despair of community leaders, the apathy of residents. If it were crushed entirely the social consequences would be grave. We do not make a simplistic link between deprivation and rioting, for the cost of unemployment and poverty can be paid in many other ways. But there is a connection: as Ernie Large said:—

“If you take unemployment and poverty and top them up with oppression, you are likely to light a fuse, and that goes for any community anywhere in the world, if you add those ingredients together. And that is what is perceived to have been happening with the Black community in Tottenham.”



9.3 In concentrating on Broadwater Farm and its immediate neighbourhood we in no way intend to imply that it **should have special treatment over and above other neighbourhoods in Haringey** or elsewhere which have similar needs. There are ways in which Broadwater Farm is exceptional. Its organisations have proved themselves able to make maximum use of the resources which were available. Its organisations have been led principally by Black people and have earned the support of the vast majority of residents, Black and White. These are considerable achievements, but in directing our proposals to Broadwater Farm we do not wish to exclude other areas. On the contrary we believe that much of what we propose would also have beneficial effects if applied to other areas of high unemployment and poor facilities.

9.4 Apart from the need for co-operative policing, the needs which have been voiced to our Inquiry can be summarised under five headings:

1. Resources and support from central government.
2. Investment and support for projects which will generate employment.
3. Continued development of community facilities.
4. Better education for children and adults.
5. Fair reporting in the media and an end to the undesirable label put on the estate by other agencies.

9.5 We stress that in this chapter we do not provide a complete blueprint for action in these fields, but rather a number of sign posts to further discussion, in which we hope the people of Haringey generally, and of Broadwater Farm in particular, will be involved. Indeed the common thread of the topics covered in this chapter is that those who have power to make decisions affecting a community of people must consult with them, listen to them, learn from them, and modify their preconceptions accordingly. We ourselves have gone through this process. The experience of this Inquiry has confirmed for us that people addressing serious problems have experiences and ideas which those with any influence must treat with serious attention. Dolly Kiffin illustrated the point vividly for us with the aid of the carafe of water and plastic cup on the table beside her:—

“They must not come down to any community and just say, I am going to give you this bottle. Because the people might not want the bottle, they want this cup. They should be able to ask the people, what do they want? and then the people tell them that they want the cup.”

### THE ROLE OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

9.6 Different government departments have developed very different approaches to the Broadwater Farm Estate. We have noted earlier on the important work of the Priority Estates Project in not only helping to develop community organisations but also ensuring that those organisations have a voice in the Department of the Environment. We have also noted the personal interest which Sir George Young, Minister of State at the Department of the Environment, has shown in the successful innovations in housing management on the estate. On the other hand the Home Secretary seems to have taken very little interest in the estate as a community of residents when he visited police units around the estate in March 1986.

9.7 But the major impact of central government on housing and other local authority services has been caused **by government policies on public expenditure** — in particular, rate support grant penalties and rate capping. The amount of government contribution to Haringey's expenditure which has been cut back through the operation of these policies since 1979 has been massive. It has inevitably had an effect upon both the physical fabric of Broadwater Farm and the facilities available for the community. We have noted that the Department of the Environment in 1980 concluded that it would probably be necessary for the estate to be blown up. We believe along with Tricia Zipfel that the fact that it was not blown up is mainly a vindication of the community organisations on the estate. However the cut-backs reveal a striking inconsistency: the Department of the Environment's controls on spending were contributing to the very decline which the same Department's Priority Estates Programme was working to avoid. We believe, therefore, that there must be a considerable increase in the investment of public money in the areas of greatest deprivation and that this must be effected through the elected local authority



rather than through a number of unrepresentative bodies.

9.8 There has been one specific and important anomaly in government expenditure which has affected Haringey in a discriminatory way. This concerns the status of the borough within the Urban Programme. Different local authorities have a different status within this programme, which means that they can claim a greater or lesser amount of government grants. The most favoured status is Partnership status, accorded to three London Boroughs, and after that Programme status, accorded to four London Boroughs. Haringey, although the sixth most deprived borough according to the Department of the Environment's own indicators (colloquially known as the "misery league"), has not been accorded either Partnership or Programme status. The achievement of Programme status would bring something between four and five million pounds into the deprived areas of Haringey in urban programme grants. The council's finance officer said in evidence to us about the rejection of Haringey's representations:--

"It is very difficult to understand why, because we feel that a strong case has been made. On the DOE's own measures of deprivation Haringey is rather more deprived than a number of authorities which do have Programme status."

We urge the Government to recognise the needs of the people of Haringey; and to grant Programme status to Haringey without delay.

9.9 There have also been inconsistencies in the way in which finance is distributed from central government. Recently, in June 1986, an application made by Haringey to the Department of the Environment's Urban Housing Renewal Unit was granted. As part of this application around half a million pounds has been allocated for housing improvement on the Broadwater Farm Estate. We welcome this significant input of financial resources. But the half million pounds has to be spent within the current financial year. This means that the building design team, which is now based on the estate for the purpose of listening to the ideas of local people, do not have time to carry out effective consultations about how the money should be spent. The borough is faced with the choice of either failing to spend much needed resources, or spending them without proper consultation. John Murray, of the council's Building Design Service, explained the problem in terms with which we agree--

"We must have economic planning over about three years. Even

the District Auditor had said that it is impossible for councils to plan in this way. It is obviously impossible on Broadwater Farm for us to do it sensibly because decisions are rushed, and foolish decisions are made, but rather than lose the money people will attempt to spend it."

9.10 Another area of direct impact of government policy concerns the funds available for spending by local authorities on economic development schemes. The only effective legal power possessed by local authorities for investment in business or co-operative enterprises is that given by Section 137 of the Local Government Act 1972 to spend amounts up to the product of a 2p rate in the pound on any projects which are considered beneficial to the borough and which are not otherwise authorised. Valuable use of this power has already been made to fund co-operatives on Broadwater Farm. But there are too many calls on the limited funds allowed by law. Haringey along with many other authorities in London has called on the government to double the amount which the council could spend on economic development schemes under this power, and we agree. Given the crushing unemployment which we consider below, it must be sensible for local authorities to have the greatest possible discretion to prioritise employment-generating schemes.

9.11 We emphasise that our ability to consider detailed overall policies for central government towards urban priority areas has been limited both by time and by the locally based nature of our Inquiry. The ideas discussed in the preceding paragraphs are those which would have the most direct impact upon Broadwater Farm, but they are not comprehensive. The report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas (*Faith in the City*) has made a more thorough examination of policies for such areas, and we broadly agree with its conclusions and recommendations.

### THE CREATION OF JOBS

9.12 Being unemployed within British society is an experience of personal humiliation and social isolation. Even if many friends and relatives are also out of work, there are powerful social forces which underline the insecurity of being without a job. For the people of Broadwater Farm, household incomes are very low. 69% of the adults in our survey were without full time employment. Whilst for young White men aged 16-24, only 47% were unemployed, some 83% of



young Black men were. 94% of the adults see unemployment as a big problem. Many residents both young and old talked of the appalling effect of being without a job on the young people of the estate. We do not have to prove that unemployment has a disastrous effect on people's lives, nor that there is a growing lack of employment opportunities in the Broadwater Farm area. But while few people on Broadwater Farm have jobs, many would readily respond to a worthwhile job. Adeyemi Hinds, development worker with the Broadwater Farm Youth Association Co-operative, described the position:—

“The situation here is that there is a lot of bored people about, but at the same time there is a tremendous enthusiasm for getting things done, or to actually do something.”

9.13 The people of the estate have demonstrated their ability to work hard at community regeneration. We are sure that they want to work hard also at the provision of employment opportunities. But just as we have seen the necessity of external intervention and assistance in other areas, the same is true of economic regeneration. As we show in paragraph 7.12 the residents of the estate possess minimal resources, hardly sufficient to enable them to purchase bare essentials, let alone provide the base for new initiatives and jobs. The estate needs external resources linked to internal initiatives and labour, to enable economic regeneration to take place. Leonardo Leon, treasurer of the Residents' Association, described how the potential was there to be tapped:—

“This place is a very effective work place. You have many problems here, but what struck me when I came is you also see people with a will to change things. What ever we do here could be a test case, a showpiece for the country and for our communities.”

9.14 The major loss of jobs in recent years has come from the reduction in the size of the manufacturing sector. Given the nature of employment in Haringey (some 44% of employed Haringey residents are employed outside the borough) it is necessary to look at the London economy as a whole. Some 534,000 manufacturing jobs were lost in London between 1971 and 1981. Within Haringey we know that the decline in industry is twice that of Brent, and unemployment was the highest in any borough in outer London in January 1986. In 1981 the Department of Employment's Labour Force Survey found that Black workers were in general concentrated in manufacturing

industries as opposed to other sectors: 27% of West Indian men compare to only 12% of White men worked in that sector. Consequently the contraction of the manufacturing sector has hit Haringey harder than other boroughs, and Black people harder than White.

9.15 It would be useless for this Inquiry to recommend that private enterprise should re-invest in the Haringey area in defiance of the logic of profits. National and international competition has undermined the economy base of London. However, local government can have an effect upon local private sector employment. Local authorities contract for a great many goods and services, and are in a position to insist that companies with whom they contract employ local labour. This would represent an extension of the practice of contract compliance; that is to insert conditions in contracts to require contracting companies to adopt policies for equal opportunities and good race relations. Positive action imposed by the power of the public purse could encourage private corporations to take a more responsible attitude to both local and ethnic employment. To be fully effective this proposal would need changes in the legislation which requires competitive tendering, but even within the existing law there are ways of persuading private companies to employ local labour, as Leonardo Leon told us:—

“We have been working on the idea of building workshops under some of the blocks. Now we got some building companies coming to us, and I remember in one meeting they put plans to us, and a youth there said ‘all right, how many people are you prepared to employ from the estate on the project?’ And they said, because they wanted to get the tender, ‘we are prepared to employ anyone.’ And he said “But how many will be working as assistants to the architects, not just bricklayers and painters? How many people are you prepared to train for two or three weeks, so they can learn a proper job, be more professional?’ and they were surprised and they said ‘we will consider it’.”

This example shows the power of dialogue with local people. If the idea is being discussed at that meeting were implemented, it would be to the benefit both of the private employer and of people of the estate.

9.16 The largest employers of labour in Haringey and in London generally are in the public sector. It is impossible to construct any



plan for employment without taking that sector into account. The London Borough of Haringey has continued to increase employment opportunities throughout the past six years: but we question the extent to which these opportunities have been available to ethnic minority applicants.

9.17 As they have been keeping and maintaining ethnic records of their workforce for some time, we would expect that they would be taking the necessary positive actions that would ensure a more equitable distribution of employment opportunities.

9.18 We turn next to the field of small businesses and co-operatives, which as a form of employment regeneration has considerable support from the residents of Broadwater Farm. People see running their own business or playing a part in a co-operative as not only providing a job but giving some element of control over their work. Over the past few years there have been a number of co-operative enterprises started on Broadwater Farm with support from the council's Economic Development Unit. Grants have been made to the Launderette (£44,187 plus £2,500 loan); the Photographic project (£39,000); and the Youth Association for the development of the co-operative (£25,880 plus £3000 loan). Such grants were of great significance in enabling projects to be launched. But limited as they were by the constraints of Section 137 (see paragraph 9.10) they can only be a small part of the solution to the estate's investment needs. We have received criticisms of the Economic Development Unit to the effect that they are unnecessarily bureaucratic in their operation. We learned also from the evidence of the Economic Development Unit's officers that they have in 1985/86 fully achieved their target of allocating 40% of available funds to enterprises run by Black and minority ethnic people. We urge the council to continue this priority, and to continue to fund enterprises on the estate to the limit.

9.19 However, the role of a local authority is necessarily limited. The problem in this field is the provision of finance capital to provide a base for economic development. Traditional sources of finance have failed to provide such a base. Banks and other private financial institutions claim that the business enterprises put forward are not ones which can guarantee a return for their depositors. Accordingly the initiatives have been left to public agencies and the results so far achieved have been minimal in comparison to the scale of the problem.

9.20 Because of the overwhelming importance of economic regeneration, we decided to commission a study from the consultancy firm Equinox into the possibilities for the development of small businesses and co-operatives on the estate. Their report merits detailed study by all involved in the consideration of this question. They identified the principal elements which are necessary for enterprise development as being:—

1. The availability of willing entrepreneurs; the report traces the pattern of discrimination against Black entrepreneurs, and describes the various structural forms which a business can adopt.
2. The need for profitability and a sufficient market.
3. The need for adequate capital and credit; the report identifies the various schemes operated by central and local government to provide loans or guarantees for businesses which would find difficulties in raising capital on the private market.
4. The need for management and technical expertise: the report criticises the lack of hard business know-how in the economic development units of local authorities which try to give advice in this field.

The report also identifies a certain possible business project which we discuss below.

9.21 The agency which has recently been set up on Broadwater Farm to promote economic development is the Broadwater Farm Youth Association Co-op Limited. The ways in which the co-operative will participate in particular economic projects is still under discussion, and the Equinox report offers a number of possible structures. It seems to us that two initiatives — one already under way, the other only in the planning stage — are central to the capacity of the co-operative to promote significant economic regeneration. First the co-operative is in the course of carrying out a skills survey on the estate. This will give two important sets of information. First, the skills which people living on the estate possess will be known. In economic terms we will know the full extent that labour power on the estate can be used to create wealth. Secondly, the survey will reveal the numbers of people on the estate who not only want to develop their skills working for other people, but who also want to act as entrepreneurs themselves. Both sets of information, which are not yet gathered in a form that we can take account of, will be of great assistance in making economic plans for the estate.



9.22 The other necessary foundation for development would be the establishment of **a financial holding company** as a part of the co-operative. The co-operative has a wealth of possible ventures for the community, but it lacks finance and technical back-up. The lack of capital is the most pressing problem. To obtain that capital the co-operative will need an organisational base, together with a high level of financial skills. In the United States there are examples of responsible finance capital and other organisations assisting inner city groups to develop by providing their skills without charge. We believe that the same could be true in Britain, given a similar commitment to social responsibility by financial institutions.

9.23 There is space on the estate for the physical location of small businesses. The council has put forward a plan for building a number of workshops under the walkways along Willan Road. Because of the construction of the estate, there is space for such workshops without interfering with the residential amenities. The Department of the Environment is presently determining whether to support this plan: we would commend it strongly as a most appropriate use of space and as an essential prerequisite to the generation of employment.

9.24 A further element in the back-up needed would be a specially designed training programme. Since the estate will have a full analysis of available and potential skills, together with several possible marketable ideas, the necessary training programme for managerial and craft skills should be easy to construct. Many of these programmes should be carried out on the estate itself. The workshops could also provide a base for training. We would hope that the two further education colleges run by **Haringey** and the two local **polytechnics in Middlesex and North London** would be able to provide staff time in this venture. All four institutions have a specific brief for the involvement of the community in further and higher education. Broadwater Farm, where the community has a clear view of what it needs, would provide a perfect opportunity to demonstrate that commitment.

9.25 Lastly, but most significantly, there are already a number of specific ideas for co-operative developments on the estate. Three co-operatives have been formed: the launderette, the fruit and vegetable shop, and the hairdressing salon have all managed to establish themselves at a time when many small businesses were

struggling to survive. There are three further organisations in existence which are in the process of becoming co-operative ventures. First, the photographic project has provided a useful service to the estate, and could be the basis of further training. Secondly, the sewing and dressmaking project has established itself over several years as a part of the life of the estate, and is now in a position to develop an organisation of home workers for the machinists that live on the estate. Finally, the restaurant in the Youth Association already provides meals for residents, and could develop a catering service for events within the borough.

9.26 For the future, there are no less than six other possible ideas that have emerged in discussion between the people of the estate and the consultancy firm Equinox:-

(1). **A radio station and music studio.** People are not only interested in listening to music or radio, but they are also very capable of making it. In other areas of high unemployment, notably Sheffield, Consett and Sunderland, recording studios have been built; the studio in Sheffield is of the highest international standard. A well run studio is likely to attract artists from outside the estate and the borough to come in and use the facilities, using musicians on the estate as session artists. Radio is an area where Black people are under-represented although they form a sizeable target audience. The Home Office is at this moment monitoring a scheme to provide very local radio licenses, and we believe that a radio station would be a project that will be well received by the residents of the estate. A sound proofed studio would have to be built which could be used for both these ventures.

(2). **A radio controlled mini-cab service.** A number of people on the estate own cars which could be used for the provision of a mini-cab service, which could be particularly viable if it obtained contracts from public organisations.

(3). **A motor repair and servicing garage.** Again this service could make use of skills already existing on the estate. Potential customers could be drawn from large public organisations which own fleets of cars, such as the council. It could be expanded to include a used car supermarket.

(4). **A construction company.** Construction remains one of the real possibilities for the estate to develop a labour-intensive industry. The area surrounding the estate has a constant demand for housing improvement. The estate itself has also continued to



need reconstruction. All the money spent on the estate may well assist in improving the environment, but it does not provide local jobs. There was particular ill feeling expressed to us about a recent contract for painting the concrete pillars under the blocks which did not involve any local people. A local construction company would change this. The company could act as a contractor for work by the council, although members of the co-operative are aware that discussion would have to be held with the council's direct labour organisation in order to secure amicable agreement about the distribution of council work.

(5). **Light assembly and repair facilities in high technology.** There is considerable interest in using one of the workshops for the assembly and repair of computers. A major computer company could be encouraged to become involved as partners in the development of this idea, helping to train young people on the estate for careers in computer repair, which is now becoming a growth area.

(6). **A supermarket or mini-market.** The shopping precinct on Tangmere has never been fully developed as an economic unit, and many of its shops are at present empty. A comprehensive shopping centre would be of great value to residents on the estate, but it would be unlikely to be profitable if it only sold to people on the estate. People would have to be attracted from outside. In terms of car parking this is quite feasible; the problem is to challenge the reputation of Broadwater Farm as an undesirable place to visit.

9.27 These six ideas are further discussed in the Equinox report. Clearly a great deal of further work is necessary before any of them could be put forward as a feasible project. The exact structure of such businesses needs careful thought and consultation, and we would wish to ensure that in the selection and development of enterprises on the estate there was not a dominance of participation by men to the exclusion of women. The ideas are imaginative, and they indicate the determination of residents to construct employment opportunities. But their ideas and commitment are not enough to bring about the reality. Private and public enterprise, both nationally and locally, need to take these hopes and projects seriously. They need help with finance, expert advice, and markets. People on the estate have moved this far through their own efforts; it is vital that their efforts should not be ignored by those in the outside world who have the power to help.

## THE ESTATE AND ITS ENVIRONMENT

9.28 Building a large council estate represents an enormous organisational task. It calls upon a wide range of professional and craft skills. A thousand-dwelling estate like Broadwater Farm could only be successfully completed in a few years, if all of these skills were deployed to the highest standard. In fact, as we have noted, there were physical problems resulting from design errors in the construction of the estate which have had, and continued to have, an impact on the lives of the residents. However, the council in building the estate built no facilities which were adequate to enable a community of residents to develop. We have seen at Broadwater Farm how new residents were arriving all the time, adjusting to a new environment, nearly all of them living on an estate for the first time, needing assistance and services which were not there.

9.29 We have seen that four factors coincided to save Broadwater Farm from total decline. First, there were members of the local community who were prepared to start from nothing and retain their hope against all the odds. Secondly, there were a number of trusted local community leaders who at crucial points were catalysts in the organisation of change. Thirdly, the local authority was willing to change its structures and to admit great errors in its previous action. Fourthly, there was skilful support from outside from the Priority Estates Project of the Department of the Environment.

9.30 What of the future? We have seen that the majority of residents are still concerned about the lack of facilities on the estate. There remains nowhere for people to go who do not fit into the activities of the Youth Association or the Mothers' Project. **A proper community centre is an essential next step.** Funds have been allocated, and discussions about its location and design will take place with the design team of the council's Building Design Service. Sheila Ramdin, chair of the Residents' Association, explained her ideas for the new centre:—

"Activities for the young, old, and middle-aged. We used to have a bingo session downstairs for the old age pensioners in the social club. When we build this new place we want to have a place where people can come with their kids and relax and have a drink. There should be a place where the kids can go and play. Probably there would be keep-fit, dance classes, bingo sessions again, and if people wanted to hire the place for private dos, they could."



Leonardo Leon made the point that a new community centre should be for the whole area, not only for the estate:—

"If it is ever built, I don't think we will mind if it is placed on the fringes of the estate. We would like ourselves to be in charge and to administer it. But we are working not only for the estate but for the whole area."

In this connection we were pleased to hear the evidence of Anne Musselwhite, who represented the Mount Pleasant Residents' Association, and who said that she and her association would be pleased to be involved as a user of a community centre situated in an accessible place.

9.31 We have received other proposals for specific amenities on and around the estate. There is a proposal which has already been broadly approved for an arts workshop in one of the Tangmere shops. Some people have expressed the need for a doctor's surgery, which was originally part of the design of the estate. There is a need also which many people have spoken of, for a bus service to go through the centre of the estate. If as we believe an adequate case in terms of demand is made out, we can see no reason why London Regional Transport should not meet this need. Where a community of three thousand people have access roads running through, and the level of car ownership is low, it would seem logical for a bus service to go down those roads and serve that community. If LRT does not respond, then a private mini bus enterprise could well be valuable on the estate, travelling at regular intervals to the High Road and to Wood Green.

9.32 We spoke in Chapter 2 of the grave under-use of the Lordship Recreation Ground, which had been brought to our notice particularly by the Haringey Sports Council. This is an amenity which many housing estates would much desire to have on their doorstep. We understand from the Community Affairs Department that they have over some years proposed a major leisure and environmental package for the Recreation Ground but nothing has been done, partly through lack of resources, and partly perhaps because the Recreation Ground has not been high on the priorities of the community. But we feel that with imagination and pressure from the community there could be much more benefit to be derived by the people of the estate from this important open space.

9.33 In relation to all these specific ideas it is not our business to speak for the community, for they are well capable of speaking for themselves. The essence of the message to be learned from the last few years on Broadwater Farm is that participation of residents in all aspects of the development of an estate is essential if acceptable and successful decisions are to be taken. It is no good at all to have council estates with well organised community groups unless they can play a full part in the management of the affairs of the estate. It is towards this goal that a policy of full decentralisation must be aimed. The Neighbourhood Office and the Broadwater Farm Panel have made considerable progress to this end. People are beginning to feel that they have a say. They are beginning to feel that their Neighbourhood Office will represent them against the faceless council bureaucrats. They have plans to develop their own expertise on the estate, and as we have seen, to provide their own employment organisations. We would urge the council to develop this policy of decentralisation of power as fully as possible. In particular the powers of the Broadwater Farm Panel over the disbursement of finances on the estate should be extended. One of central government's main arguments against increasing local government expenditure is that money is in some way lost and does not get spent on the sort of activities that it is meant to be spent on. We believe that the more local communities, in conjunction with their local authority representatives, can play a role in the expenditure of resources, then the more likely it is that they will be targeted most accurately to the greatest areas of need.

9.34 So far as the financing of community organisations themselves is concerned, we applaud the allocation of grants which have been made in the past to the Youth Association and other bodies. As we have described in Chapter 2, the funds granted have been well used. We note however that some of the community groups have complained that they were given insufficient grants, in addition to their basic expenditure needs, to employ the necessary accountants to assist them in carrying out their tasks. We would urge all grant giving authorities to make sure that as well as providing the money for service expenditure they also provide sufficient top-up to allow community groups to obtain the professional back-up for the organising of their accounts.

9.35 Finally we should make some comment on the housing allocation policy of the council. Between 1976 and 1981 there were



some six separate reports put before the housing committee which proposed different kinds of modification to the policies for allocating tenancies on Broadwater Farm. There were a number of problems common to all these reports. First, they have all been unable to deal with the issue of racism in housing allocation because the statistics based upon ethnic monitoring of housing allocation did not exist. We know from reports from other London boroughs that racism is one of the important components of some housing allocation policies, and it seems quite possible that it is so within the London Borough of Haringey. But we do not know, because the important commitment to ethnic monitoring of this system has not been carried out. Until this happens with all housing statistics, it is going to be impossible for the council adequately to implement an anti racist housing policy. We are aware that housing officers were recommending ethnic record-keeping since at least the mid 1970s, and we are surprised that nothing effective has yet been done. We urge the council to take this in hand without delay.

9.36 The second common feature of allocation policy on Broadwater Farm is that the council in attempting to engage (as one of their reports stated) in social engineering, caused considerable restriction of choice, and which in the event failed to achieve the desired balance. For once the initial estate population has come together through the first allocation, people's choices to move onto and out of the estate are taken on the basis of a number of factors which the council can not directly control. For example once the estate gained the reputation of being an unpleasant place to live, many people refused to move onto the estate because of that reputation. And therefore the estate became tenanted, particularly, by homeless people who were given no choice. To change the mix of people on the estate would have required changing that reputation, which in turn would mean dealing with the conditions which had brought the estate a bad name. Since this was never taken on board, the many changes in housing allocation over the late 1970s and early 1980s were simply affecting people at the very margin who had little choice in any case. For the overall pattern was that, in their anxiety to fill the voids (the empty flats on the estate) the council was pushing people in who had no choice but to accept the offer made to them.

9.37 These changes in allocation policy, particularly the decision to give homeless people a second choice, have had some marginal effect

upon the estate. However the real changes in the nature of the estate have come about through a much more comprehensive housing policy relationship between the people on the estate and the housing management office. Quite simply, people will want to be allocated a tenancy in an estate which is well run, well maintained, and has good community facilities. Housing allocation policy has to be part of a much wider housing framework. We note that housing allocation policy in Haringey is being comprehensively reviewed at this moment, with a discussion document being considered by tenants' associations and other relevant bodies. We would urge full member involvement, and also full consultation with organisations on the estate, in the allocation of housing on Broadwater Farm.

### PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION

9.38 The inquiry has received reports and held interviews with senior staff of the Haringey College, the Tottenham Technical College, The Adult Education Institute, and a number of primary and secondary schools including all the schools on the estate, as well as receiving written and oral evidence from the council's Education Service. The material which we have received suggests that many school leavers and older youth on the Broadwater Farm estate are resentful of formal education and schooling, because of their past school experiences. The education system has failed young Black people in particular. Teachers with whom we spoke considered that while Black pupils were as intelligent and creative as White pupils, many left school with poor literacy in written English, and with little understanding of the formal techniques and application of scientific knowledge. The potential which many people possessed was not developed by the schools that they attended nor by further education where there is a lower than average take-up compared with other areas.

9.39 There was a report published in 1984 by HM Inspectors on *Educational provision and response in some Haringey schools*, which presented a "rather depressing picture". They noted a higher than average incidence of non-attendance; disruptive and unacceptable behaviour; and undemanding work. They found that careers education was generally underdeveloped, and the transfer rate to further education was lower than in other authorities. Examination results in GCE 'O' Level and CSE were disappointing. Their overall conclusion was that "with a few notable exceptions, the quality of the



education being received by older junior and secondary pupils ranged from mediocre to poor". The picture was particularly gloomy for Black pupils. A local Black Pressure Group on Education was formed in 1975 because, in the words of the group, "a lot of us saw that the education system in Haringey was not catering for the Black children that are born here".

9.40 We have not been able to study the education system in Haringey in such depth as to be able to offer a comprehensive programme for tackling the serious problems that exist. However, we have no doubt that for Haringey's Education Service there is an urgent need for actions which will make a reality of the council's firm anti-racist position. These actions should include: a thorough scrutiny of the curriculum to eradicate racist bias from school studies and promote an anti racist and a multi-cultural approach (making full use of the resources of the Multi-Curriculum Resource Unit); in-service training of teachers in countering racism; and a commitment to positive action to recruit Black people as teachers and other staff at all levels.

9.41 It was accepted by the education service in their evidence to us that there were few Black teachers in Haringey schools in proportion to the numbers of Black people in Haringey. The exact position is impossible to state because of the failure of the Education Service to carry through a policy of ethnic monitoring of teachers. In the context of Broadwater Farm, this under-representation was plainly apparent to us. In the junior and infant schools adjacent to the estate there were no Black teaching staff before October 1985. Councillor Martha Osamor, who became chair of the schools sub-committee in May 1986, spoke strongly on this issue:-

"The need for us to have in schools, teachers that represent the community of that particular school becomes very, very crucial. Because if we don't, our young people will grow up and come out with nothing. Not coming out with a proper education, but also coming out confused. So what I personally hope to see within the school is for us to see a radical change within the structure, being from the nursery upwards."

9.42 We also believe that the education service must take planned initiatives to go out to community organisations and involve people in consultation and discussion about the service which is being provided.

We doubt whether the existing parent teacher structures are adequate for this purpose. People on Broadwater Farm have felt that the arrangements for consultation and public participation, which have been so successfully adopted in the Housing Management field, have not been attempted in the field of education. For example, at the local level, personnel involved in education services which are relevant to the estate should be represented at inter-agency meetings and at the Broadwater Farm Panel meeting. There they could discuss the problems with many community representatives who include not only parents but others, such as ex-students, who would have a valuable input. At a borough level, there are many minority ethnic organisations who ought to be involved in a dialogue about the effectiveness of the education service for the children of their communities.

9.43 So far as the various stages of education are concerned, we are clear that the provision of facilities for the under five's is still inadequate and needs to be extended. The Willan Road Day Nursery has made a remarkable contribution, but much more is needed. So far as primary and secondary schooling are concerned we are not in a position to make particular recommendations over and above the important comments which we make about anti-racist policies and about consultation.

9.44 Given the shortcomings of the education service in the past the role of further and adult education is crucial. It is here that we feel there is a particular need for dialogue between community organisations on the estate and educational personnel. There will soon be available the results of the skills survey carried out by the Youth Association Co-operative. Once skills have been identified, there will be a need to consider how they can be extended and made marketable. Specific programmes tailored to residents on the estate can be elaborated. We are aware that there are courses available at the Tottenham Technical College and the Haringey College which could be of immense value to Broadwater Farm residents. In the event, not many men attend; whilst a lot of women enrol, and there is a high drop out rate. The causes for this must be discussed and dealt with. As in all other fields, the more that those responsible for the provision of the education service can come into Broadwater Farm and discuss problems face to face, the more that there will be a constructive take-up of the important courses which they provide.



## MEDIA REPORTING

9.45 Finally, the people of Broadwater Farm ask for fair recognition in the outside world of who they are, what they have done, and what they hope still to achieve. Several people saw this Inquiry as the means of redressing a gross distortion for which they held the mass media responsible. H. Gordon of the defence campaign said this:—

“What I would like to see from the Inquiry is truth come out. I would like to see all that has been achieved brought out, the fact that we had Princess Diana come down here, or the programmes that were set up on the estate, how well it was progressing because the community had actually worked. I would like to see all that printed up and stated. It would go a long way to easing some of what’s being said, and would take out from me a lot of real anger at some of the things that have been said about Broadwater Farm. Because I do feel angry.”

9.46 In our view the anger was justified. We have examined the coverage a total of 25 newspapers for the period from October 1985 to May 1986; 15 were national papers, four were local, three provincial, one London-wide and four ethnic minority. In Chapter 6 we summarised the reporting of the disturbances and the estate itself. We noted how a series of racially slanted reports described the estate as the place where Whites and Asians lived in fear and vilified Councillor Grant as a figure to be hated and ridiculed. We noted that in contrast to the prominence given to PC Blakelock – his life and his family, Mrs Cythnia Jarrett was virtually ignored. There were no reports of the comments of her family and friends about the sort of person she was and why she came to this country. This coverage left the reader no opportunity for empathy and understanding.

9.47 Towards the end of October some of the national press began to direct its attention to Dolly Kiffin under various headlines: “Dolly and her Dynasty”, “The rise and rise of Dolly Kiffin”, “Dolly’s club cash under the spotlight”, “Police probe a riot estate’s godmother”. A systematic campaign of defamation of Dolly Kiffin was orchestrated and still continues. It appears to be intended to discredit her and remove her from her position of trust in the Broadwater Farm Youth Association. It may also be an attempt to destroy the Youth Association itself. One such report led directly to a Fraud Squad investigation of the accounts of the Youth Association and other organisations on the estate. We cannot comment on this investigation

in any detail as it still continues, except that we record that the integrity of the officers of these organisations has been praised by many witnesses who have been directly concerned with them.

9.48 The impression gained through all the reports since 6th October has been that there was no positive relationship between Black and White people on the estate at all. There was no mention of the excellent meal service for the mainly White elderly, and other activities which White people attended at the Youth Association building and in other places around the estate. There was nothing said of how the campaign to improve the estate, which was spearheaded by the Tenants’ Association and Youth Association, had created a great deal of work which had benefitted White people as well as Black. It has meant more White cleaners, caretakers, repair workers and staff at the housing office. The press did not mention that a great many of the people who are working on the estate, many of whom also live there, are White and Asian people who have spoken warmly and positively about their relationships with Black people. Nothing was said about the fact that many of the families on the estate are inter-racial, or are living in multi-racial households. The press set out to emphasise contrast and divisions.

9.49 Black organisations, who over the past few years have been able to receive for the first time, grant aid from central and local government, are now being held up as irresponsible and untrustworthy. There is talk of “unscrupulous local leaders” receiving grants and stirring up racial hatred and riot. Individuals have been defamed, and the public, having no other source of information but the press, tend to accept the information given by the press about particular people. In one article, Dolly Kiffin was described as “just an ordinary West Indian mother with her own talents but without the intellectual capacity to run a high profile political campaign”. They say “she has been manipulated by the far left”. So we are faced with another stereotype, and that is of the Black person who is not really as clever and as able as he or she seems to be. If a Black person shows the immense ability, commitment and toughness that Dolly Kiffin has done, it is implied that there must be someone manipulating her, because according to the stereotype Black people do not possess such qualities.

9.50 Our report has shown in detail much of what has in fact



happened during and since the disturbances. The information which we obtained could have been gathered by the press if it had made the effort to do so. When the press chooses to campaign on social issues and carry out major investigations into areas of social concern, it has a first class ability to ferret out information and to bring about change. We remain confident that the press can play an active, positive and critical role in improving race relations and community relations and we believe it has the right to express itself about areas of concern. We believe however it should do so with responsibility and with regard to the major influence it has for change for better or for worse.

9.51 In 1975 the National Union of Journalists laid down its first set of guidelines for journalists. Two of these were to: only mention someone's race and nationality if strictly relevant; and resist the temptation to sensationalise issues which would harm race relations. These were added to in 1977 when a joint agreement between the National Union of Journalists and the National Graphical Association stated that:—

"Freedom must be conditioned by responsibility and acknowledgement by all media workers, of the need not to allow press freedom to be abused, to slander a section of the community or to promote the evil of racism."

We would urge that the N.U.J guidelines and the N.U.J/N.G.A agreement be rigorously enforced and to become a disciplinary matter in those unions. The Press Council should adopt similar principles and implement them against proprietors who breach them. Furthermore the unions and the Press Council should be monitoring press coverage of sensitive issues and major public disturbances.

9.52 We are concerned not only with the adults of today but with the adults, Black and White, of tomorrow. There has been major research done, which was summarised by Sara Goodman Zimet in her book *Print and Prejudice*, in these terms:—

"When characters belonging to minority groups are presented in a favourable light the attitudes of readers moved in a positive direction. However when characters belonging to minority groups were presented in an unfavourable light attitudes of readers moved in a negative direction...The research shows that the more attractive and desirable the models, the greater the likelihood that the reader will be able to identify with them personally and therefore feel positively towards those characters"

We fear for the children who are being presented with negative images of Black people through the press — images which teach a Black child to feel undervalued and to be ashamed, and which teach a White child the so-called superior values of Whiteness. We believe that the ordinary White British person would be more ready to accept the ideas of racial justice and of equal opportunities if these were properly explained and not negatively sensationalised.

## CONCLUSION

9.53 We have enjoyed complete independence in the conduct of this Inquiry. We now present our Report to the Council of the London Borough of Haringey, and at the same time to the people of Broadwater Farm Estate and to the wider population of Haringey. We regret the reasons which led to the Inquiry being set up, but we have been privileged to have been part of it. We have each gained in knowledge and understanding from what we have heard and read. We have seen how the human spirit can face real and desperate problems and overcome them. We conclude our work believing that although Broadwater Farm last October passed through the most tragic days of its history, there are people enough on the estate, in the surrounding area, in council offices, in the police service, and elsewhere, who have the courage and ability to help build a united and successful community for the future.

