

CHAPTER 7

— THE ESTATE —

PROGRESS OVERCOMING SETBACKS

Imaginative New Projects

7.1 In its first report the Inquiry wrote of the remarkable achievements of the Broadwater Farm residents and their organisations during the first 5 years of the 1980s. It described how an estate which was notorious for its vandalised communal areas and its high rate of crime had been turned around into a unique model of community self-help. The Inquiry reported on the particular projects which had been successfully launched in this period: the Youth Association with its programmes for young men and its meals service for pensioners; the Willan Road Day Nursery and Womens Centre; the play centre for young children; and the beginnings of co-operative enterprises in sewing, photography and hairdressing. The Inquiry emphasised the burning desire of Broadwater Farm people to be involved in the building and other works which affected their environment. It described the enlightened response of the Haringey Council, and the relationship which was growing between Council and its Estate — a relationship which, while never free from tensions and difficulties, had been made much more dynamic and constructive by the setting up of Estate based institutions such as the Neighbourhood Office, the local social services team, and the Broadwater Farm Panel. The report noted the tragic irony that the Estate, which was recognised for its achievements even to the extent of receiving a royal visit, continued to be regarded by many in the Metropolitan police as a “symbolic location”, the resort of agitators and criminals.

7.2 Returning to Broadwater Farm after nearly 2 years away, the Inquiry team was able to observe clear proofs that, in spite of the riots, in spite of the strains created by the Old Bailey trials,

and in spite of an acute crisis over Council spending cuts, the Broadwater Farm spirit of collective enterprise has not only endured but grown stronger. Before examining the concrete achievements of the past 3 years, it is worth putting on record a statement which encapsulates that spirit and the determination to maintain it. In his evidence to the reconvened Inquiry, Leonardo Leon, then co-ordinator of the Residents Association, put it in this way:-

"We have always said that in the week before October 6th (the 1985 riots) we were interviewing people to become a co-op development worker, and the week after the uprising we appointed the co-op development worker. So there has been an underlying process, of people gaining confidence in their own future, taking decisions on their own. That process in my view, that process of people marching forward, they tried to stop it in October 1985. All that harassment of the week before the disturbances, all that happened after, all the trials, all the dirty work they have done, has been really to break the bone of our community. Now they haven't achieved it. We have come through all these difficulties. We have come through. It has been an underlying process. Now there are no theories, there are no philosophies, it's just a question of thinking that ordinary, grass-roots organisations, ordinary people, have the same intelligence, have the same insight, have the same ambition to develop what in the past has been described as a disgusting place, a concrete jungle; an ambition that we together can fight together and can devolve that power, that confidence, to the people, and that we can achieve and build a better future. That has been the philosophy that was put forward in this area by the Youth Association, to which we have all subscribed, and we think that even though there will be difficulties, that philosophy and that commitment will not die. It will become stronger."

7.3 Some of the new projects are strikingly visible to the visitor to the Farm. As you come into the Estate down Willan Road, you will see the painted mural, 30ft square, showing the civil rights campaigner Dr Martin Luther King as a source of inspiration and strength, accompanied by Bob Marley, Mahatma Gandhi and John Lennon, whose heads are set in a glorious garden in which children of different countries are playing. It

was painted by Anthony Steele, a local Black youth whose work has decorated several community buildings in Tottenham.

7.4 Further along, beside the walkway passing along Tangmere, there used to be an ugly column of concrete, encasing the rubbish chutes which served the Tangmere block. Today, the whole column is faced by a mosaic mural, representing the symbols of harmony and unity between people from different corners of the world. The work was carried out by a Turkish local resident, and employed 4 people in all. It constitutes one of the largest mosaic murals in Europe.

7.5 When the Broadwater Farm Estate was built, its blocks were surrounded by tracts of open ground. The original designers did not think to do more than cover the open ground with grass. It presumably did not occur to the designers of the Estate that its inhabitants, most of whom would have no gardens of their own, might value some decent communal gardens. However over the past 2 years this aspect of the Estate has been transformed by the laying out of two areas of landscaped gardens. The open space to the east of the Estate, crossed by Willan Road, has become the Nations Square, made up of two gardens each side of Willan Road, both containing paved areas with children's play facilities, flag poles displaying the flags of each nationality represented by people living on the Estate, and surroundings of plants, bushes and fir trees.

7.6 To the south of the Estate, the larger grassed area between Tangmere and the Avenue has become the Remembrance Garden, created in memory of Keith Blakelock and Cynthia Jarrett. It covers the spot at which Keith Blakelock was killed. It was a major project, carried out by professional contractors and by 12 local residents. There were problems with underground cables, an unforeseen layer of hardcore which had to be removed, and problems with drainage. But within 12 months from the start of the work on site, the Garden was ready for its official opening: a splendid occasion attended by a Government minister, councillors, clergy, police, MPs and many others.

7.7 The funding for these projects came from an allocation by the Urban Housing Renewal Unit of the Department of the Environment. The Council had put in a bid for funds in February 1986, but the Department's response was not made known

until June 1986, announcing an allocation of £505,000 for Broadwater Farm projects to be started in the financial year 1986/87. At a meeting held at the end of June 1986, Broadwater Farm representatives were told by Council officers that the Council did not have the resources to carry out any of the proposed projects in the short time scale available. Energetic argument from the community side ensured that the money would be used, on projects which the community would itself approve. A set of proposals was put together in partnership between the Broadwater Farm Youth Association Co-op and the Council's Housing Department. In the final package, it was agreed that the BFYA Co-op would have direct responsibility for the building of the gardens and also the painting of the walkways and under-deck areas.

7.8 The UHRU allocation was a golden opportunity which the Broadwater Farm community was quick to seize. In addition to the murals and gardens, the funding paid for improvements to the lighting of the Estate in the under-deck areas, walkways, staircases, landings and lift entrances — all being areas in which poor lighting increased the risk of crime. There were improvements to floor coverings; anti-graffiti coatings; the installation of 100 alarms for elderly residents; and security improvements to the houses on Willan Road, including the provision of porches. In the under-deck painting project managed by the BFYA Co-op, 19 workers were employed in the project which took 12 months to complete. The project involved the painting over, in different colours for each block of the stilts which support the housing blocks. These stilts had before been conspicuously depressing to any visitor entering the Estate by road.

Architects On The Spot

7.9 In 1986 the Council installed a building design team, consisting of 23 staff including architects, surveyors and engineers, in offices on the Estate. As has become customary, community representatives were involved in the selection of the team, to ensure that its members would be interested in the welfare of local residents as well as in the technical aspects of their work. After delays caused by the need to readvertise, a team including 40% Black and ethnic minority staff was appointed. The creation of this estate-based office has been very effective in

bringing architects and other experts closer to the people affected by their work. The on-site team can get to know the people more closely; consult more easily with local organisations; have plans and drawings easily available for inspection; and can be on the spot to supervise the works in progress and deal with complaints. The Building Design Service has already been responsible for a number of new projects, nearly all involving the employment of local people.

7.10 The Inquiry had discussions with some of the local people working on the fire-stopping project. The original design of the high-rise blocks on the Estate allowed easy penetration of toxic fumes and smoke from one flat to another if there was a fire. The project involved the insertion of fire-resistant material in the gaps between the inner and outer walls of the flats which were the cause of the danger. 23 residents of the Estate were employed on the project. There was a social as well as a technical aspect to their work. It was necessary to approach the tenants in advance, explain the nature of the safety risks, ask for their co-operation during the 2 days of disruption, and ensure that everything was cleaned up and put back in its place. The fire-stopping workers told the Inquiry that they had successfully risen to this challenge; 196 out of the 204 tenants involved had let the workers have access without any difficulty.

7.11 By contrast, a contract to install replacement windows to the Kenley block was a chapter of disaster. The contract was given to a private contractor. The first report of the Building Design Service to the Broadwater Farm Sub-Committee after the signing of the contract stated:-

“The contractor is experiencing delays due to difficulty obtaining access to flats. Problems of work standards have been encountered but due to close supervision from the architect and clerk of works the quality of work has improved. Anticipated completion: July/August 1987 subject to gaining access to flats.”

In November 1987 the service was reporting that “considerable difficulties have been encountered with this contractor's performance. The contractor has not been allowed to continue working other flats until such time current work is completed to the required standard. However, this has been hampered by

difficulties in gaining further access." In January 1988 the contractor removed windows and scaffolding from the site and the Council terminated the contract. In the summer of 1988 the work was still being completed by the Council's own public works service. The community points to this saga as an object lesson in what happens if "cowboy" contractors, who do not understand the meaning of consultation, are used because of their apparently low tender.

7.12 Other projects met with greater success. A scheme to deal with water penetration in the Tangmere flats was carried out by contractors who employed a number of Broadwater Farm residents. It involved the installation of fans in the flats, the replacement of patio windows, and the asphaltting and re-routing of drainage. There was a substantial programme of refurbishment to the houses on Willan Road, with the main contractor taking on 6 local residents including 2 trainees.

Using Local Labour

7.13 The Inquiry strongly supports the policy supported by both the Council and the community of having as many local people as possible working on Estate projects. The benefits are:-

- (i) Workers who are living on the Estate will take a greater pride in a job well done.
- (ii) Relations between locally resident workers and the tenants in whose flats they have to work are likely to be much smoother.
- (iii) The policy contributes to solving the acute needs of young people on Broadwater Farm for employment and training.

As Leonardo Leon told the Inquiry:-

"It made common sense financially and economically because if our own people are working on the projects we are ready to open our doors for them to come into our flats and work, but any architect can tell you how much the Council would lose every year because contracts are delayed time and time again because their workers have no access to flats".

7.14 To facilitate the employment of local people, the Broadwater Farm Youth Association Co-op has established a register, and jobs are advertised in 'Farm News'. In a report presented in November 1987 it was stated that 487 local people had registered with the co-op. Of these 75 were then being employed, 12 were being trained, and 400 were unemployed. In February 1988 the reported figure for employees and trainees was 90, and it is significant that only 7 of the 90 were women. While recognising that the majority of applicants for building contractor jobs will be men, the Inquiry expresses serious concern at the low number of women employed. Another problem is that many of the jobs are temporary, though in the case of local people taken on by the Council's direct labour organisation, there are some who have been retained on the regular payroll.

7.15 Using local labour has been brought about in three ways. First, before 1988 the Council made it a requirement for all building contracts to include a clause requiring contractors to employ local labour. For Haringey as a whole, the stipulation was for one worker in six, but for Broadwater Farm the figure was 30%. Many contractors were reluctant to have this constraint imposed upon them, but discussions with community representatives have persuaded them of the value of the policy. Clasford Sterling, the worker employed by the BWFYA Co-op, has been centrally involved in this process. He told the Inquiry:-

"It hasn't just happened. We've had to keep on pressurising contractors to really accept our local labour crews. If any contractors get any contracts on the Estate they have to give priority to the tenants on the Estate. Because we believe that if someone comes in to paint your house he might not get a good response. But if you paint it yourself you're going to make sure it's done the right way, because you're the one who's going to be living there. We have to express this to them. Some contractors have put up a fight but in the end everyone has agreed."

7.16 Such local labour clauses have now become illegal under the Local Government Act 1988. The new legislation was said to be necessary to comply with EEC regulations. But legal opinion was divided on the issue. The Inquiry deplores this provision in the Local Government Act and calls for its repeal. The community representatives are not daunted by the passing of the Act,

and intend to ensure that local people are employed by persuading contractors that it is in their interests to do so. The Inquiry recommends that the Council, in considering tenders for contracts, should take into account the readiness and ability of contractors to co-operate with the local community. While it will be illegal to insert an express clause, it is obvious commercial good sense to employ contractors who will be likely to have a co-operative relationship with local residents.

7.17 The second means of using local labour is through the making of contracts directly between the Council and the BFYA Co-op. This was done in the contracts for the under-deck painting, the mosaic and painted murals, and the planting of the community gardens. It is clear that there are tensions between the Council and the Co-op over the level of project which the Co-op is capable of undertaking. For example, a memorandum from the Borough solicitor of February 1988 about Broadwater Farm construction projects, the Borough solicitor expressed reservations on the Co-op being employed as main contractor "since that firm is not an established firm of building contractors". For its part, the Co-op while recognising the need for management expertise, believes that too little confidence is placed on its unique ability to motivate its workers and thereby do an efficient and economical job.

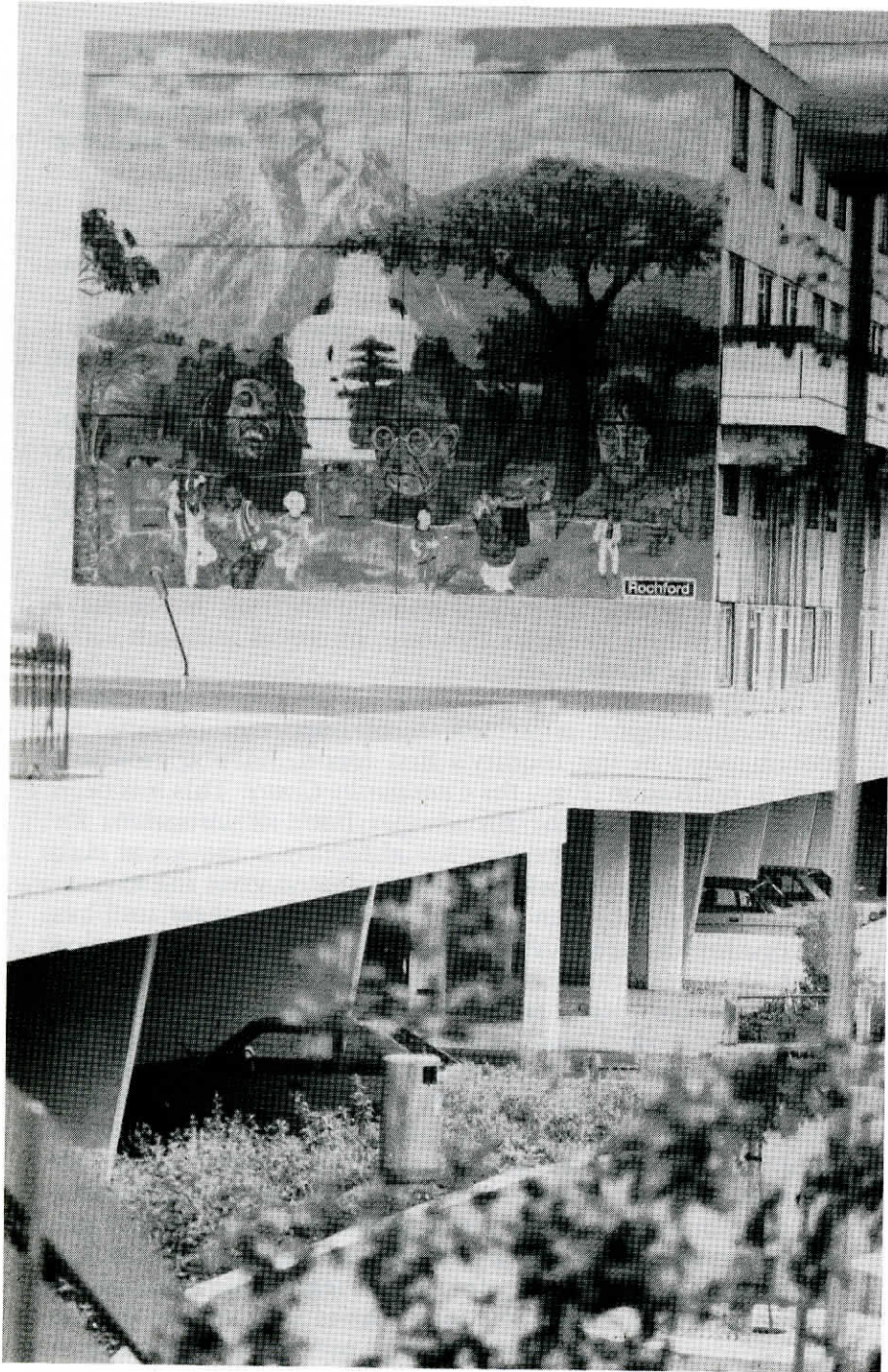
7.18 When the BFYA Co-op was first started, its objective was to act as a promoter of different Co-operative enterprises. It had some initial success with the sewing, hairdressing and photographic Co-operatives, but has been unable to make further progress towards that objective. The Council through its Economic Development Service has not had the funds available to invest in co-operative enterprises, and therefore the support from that service has been limited to the giving of occasional advice. The Co-op has found it much more productive to act as contractor to the Council. The Inquiry believes that both forms of activity are necessary. The Inquiry regrets that Government constraints make it difficult for local authorities to fund co-operative enterprises. Ways must be found, through a combination of public and private finance particularly when the proposed Enterprise Workshops are in being. But the move towards the Co-op acting as contractor has been an important innovation. The Inquiry has no doubt that there is scope for strengthening the BFYA Co-op, assisting it to

develop necessary management skills, and entrusting it with more substantial contracts. For its part, the Co-op must ensure that it can handle its contracts efficiently, bringing in the necessary skills through commissioning consultants and employing staff.

7.19 Thirdly, the Council itself has been employing local residents in its direct labour organisation. Its most striking treatment was in the fire-stopping project, in which 23 local people were employed. The capacity of the Council's direct labour organisation is restricted by Central Government, and is presently prohibited from carrying out new works of construction as a result of a direction issued by the Secretary of State for the Environment on 5th March 1986, under the powers given to him by the Local Government Planning and Land Act 1980. But it remains an important resource for local people to be employed in maintenance work, and more jobs will come from Phase Two of the first-stopping and from the Kenley window replacement contract.

Projects for the Future

7.20 As this report is written, three important projects, all recommended in the Inquiry's first report, have approached closer to realisation. First, the *Community Centre*. This has been a central demand of the Broadwater Farm organisations for many years. The only existing social facility is the social club under the Stapleford block. It is badly situated, gives rise to complaints about noise whenever there is a function there, and has no scope for long-term development. During most of the period of the Inquiry's return visit, the building of this Community Centre was completely in doubt. Up to September 1987, the Council had agreed an allocation of £5 million from its Programme. Then, because of the swingeing cuts which the Council had to make in its Programme, the allocation was reduced to £1 million. Then the whole project was put in doubt because of a warning by the District Auditor that all non-committed expenditure may be illegal. Finally, in February 1988 it was found that a sum of £3 million could be made available for a single project. There then developed a competition between projects in different areas, which the Inquiry finds most regrettable and dangerous for good community relations. The *Community Centre*, together with the development of the Lordship Lane recreation



ground, was chosen. The Community Centre will now be built, and Leonardo Leon, who had been the development worker for the Residents Association, has been taken on as the Council's co-ordinator with the local community for the combined project.

7.21 The Inquiry welcomes the decision to go ahead with the Community Centre, although as is considered below, the whole way in which the Council handled the spending cuts crisis has caused great alarm and demoralization. Given the history of Broadwater Farm, the Inquiry is confident that the Community Centre will be built and managed in a way which reflects the needs of the people particularly in the fields of culture, sport, social gathering, and education. Special attention needs to be given to the needs of women, both younger girls (since the Youth Association is overwhelmingly used by younger men), and mothers who would be unable to use the Centre's facilities unless provision is made for looking after babies and younger children.

7.22 Furthermore, the new Community Centre must be developed so as to serve the surrounding neighbourhood as well as the Estate. The Estate must not be seen as a separate entity whose facilities serve only its own residents. There already exists a wall of mistrust between the Estate and the streets around it, which would be broken down if the Estate's amenities were attractive to all local people. The economic progress of the Estate also requires this reaching out into the surrounding area. The shops and businesses which exist or are planned would have much greater viability if they could attract a wider market. This reaching out will require a major effort from residents' representatives.

7.23 The Inquiry also welcomes the linked project to improve the *Lordship Recreation Ground*. This has already been the subject of public consultation, through a project launched by the Residents Association in a special newsletter, "The Lordship Times". In the first stage of this consultation those who already used the park were interviewed, resulting in a number of criticisms and suggestions. In the second stage, 500 households in the park's catchment area, both on the Estate and in the surrounding streets, were interviewed. These interviewing exercises were commissioned by the Council through the Broadwater

Farm Youth Association Co-op. The information from the interviews was then used to make a draft design for the improved Park which has been widely exhibited. Even before the major works have gone ahead, there have already been some changes, with the planting of trees, the creation of 21 allotments, and the drainage of the football field. The proposed works include a bicycle track, a refurbished paddling pool, sandpit, and equipment for under 7's, the refurbishment of the open-air theatre, and the building of an all-weather sports surface. This is a good example of the Inquiry's work giving impetus to plans which will create a real amenity.

The Generation of Business and Employment

7.24 The third major new project is for the *Enterprise Workshops*. The Inquiry's first report stated that there were many people with skills and initiative on the Estate, and that there were convenient locations under the Estate's walkways, for a series of enterprises to be set up which would provide permanent employment and useful services. The Inquiry's conclusion was reinforced by the outcome of the Skills Survey, which itself was another remarkable exercise in community self-help. The Survey was carried out by the BFYA Co-op with funding from the Council's Economic Development Unit. It had a two-fold aim, to establish the skills and human resources which were available on the Estate, and to consult about the work aspirations of youths and other residents with regard to their employment and training needs. There were also questions on environmental and housing conditions. The concluding paragraphs of the Skills Survey report emphasised that this was not merely a statistical exercise:-

"The objective was much more serious. We saw this exercise as a first step in the long term plan of regeneration of our inner city Estate. We understand the regeneration of our Estate as a global process of economic and social development, of cultural and spiritual growth. Suffocated by lack of prospects, ridden by unemployment, strangled by financial difficulties and overloaded with social problems, the way out for Broadwater Farm is to provide financial and technical support to create a better future for our children. This solution cannot be provided by the Government or the Local Authority alone without first listening to the

voice of the local people. Our contribution has been to make that voice heard."

7.25 Twenty local tenants were employed and trained to carry out the interviewing. There was a pilot survey of 106 interviews, followed by the main survey of 725 interviews — about half of the population of the Estate over the age of 16. The Survey found that the total population of Broadwater Farm was 2,200 people, of whom 28% were under 16 years old, and 48% under 26 years old. The unemployment rate for the Estate was found to be 45.7% — 4 times the national average. Nearly 70% of the unemployed were between the ages of 16-35. At least 80% of the unemployed had been unemployed for over a year.

7.26 Only 116 of those who answered considered that they were qualified for particular jobs, and many of those were comparatively unskilled jobs. However 133 people (55 women and 78 men) were interested in setting up a business or co-operative. These figures from the survey indicate that considerable training will be needed to realise people's ambitions. The types of business most frequently mentioned, in descending order of frequency, were music recording, dress making, electrical repairs, car repairs, co-op supermarket, restaurant, mini-cab, consultancy, photography, and tools hire. When the whole sample was asked what co-operative employment initiatives they would like to see developed on Broadwater Farm, there was strong support for a mini-cab business which topped the list, followed by workshops, a painting and decorating co-operative, a butchers shop, other commercial outlets, electrical repairs, and a community radio.

7.27 The Skills Survey was part of the data submitted to the Department of the Environment in November 1987 by the Council in their proposals for the establishment of the Enterprise Workshops. A design for the workshop buildings was put forward, with a proposal that the building contract should be managed by the BFYA Co-op. The design provided for 14 workshop units, a recording studio, together with a canteen, meeting room and administrative centre. A programme of vocational training would be attached to the workshops to provide training in trade skills, management skills and enterprise training. The overall responsibility for managing the workshop would be given to the BFYA Co-op.

7.28 At the end of April 1988 the Department of the Environment replied, accepting the principle of workshop provision on Broadwater Farm, but disagreeing with the Council's proposal, which was criticised on the grounds that it did not provide good value for money, and that "particular aspects of the detailed proposal for managing workshop construction and subsequent lettings would appear to detract from the scheme's viability for urban programme funding". The Department asked the Council to put in revised proposals, and at the time of preparing this report negotiations were still continuing.

7.29 The Inquiry's view is that an effective Enterprise Workshops proposals for new social facilities and environmental improvements on the Estate will not produce a sense of fulfillment unless they are matched by proposals which concretely enable the Estate's inhabitants to earn a decent living. There must be greater trust placed by the authorities in the capacity of local people to manage projects such as this effectively — indeed more effectively than an outside body because of their local knowledge and credibility. On the other hand, the businesses must be economically viable. The worst prospect would be for workshops to be built and launched and then closed up through lack of customers. This means being able to reach a market in and outside the Estate, and having enough people trained to manage the businesses and touse appropriate technology.

Looking Forward

7.30 It would be a mistake to assume from the above account that all is rosy on Broadwater Farm. Setting out what has been achieved and what is planned should not obscure the scale of needs to be met:-

(i) *The unemployment* figures as shown by the Skills Survey, are truly shocking. The reasons are known from the experience of Black people in particular throughout the inner cities. They are a combination of substandard education, inadequate training and racial discrimination in the provision of jobs and finance. Investment in employment initiatives, on Broadwater Farm and in other areas, is a necessity to deal with this terrible and dangerous waste of human talent.

(ii) The position of *women* is particularly acute. Women are particularly penalised by the absence of adequate communal facilities, shops and transport. The nursery places available are far too few to meet womens needs. If nursery provision continues to be so low, women suffer because they are prevented from full time work and fall into the social security trap, with all the complex difficulties of the social security regulations. Children suffer too through being held back in their social and education development.

(iii) As long term unemployment becomes a regular feature of inner city life, the problems facing *teenagers* are very serious for society as a whole. If young people see little prospect of obtaining employment, and have in addition little else provided to occupy their time, it saps their confidence and weakens their sense of identity. The problem is serious on Broadwater Farm as there are virtually no facilities for school leavers. The Youth Association is a centre for young men rather than for teenage boys or girls.

(iv) The supermarket and the newsagent, two of the essential *shops* which used to serve the Estate, remain closed, and other shops seen by local people as important, such as a chemist, a butchers, and a fish and chip shop, remain mere dreams. Without such shops, the Tangmere shopping precinct remains a depressed area, instead of the active shopping centre which it could become. Some progress has been made in making available the newsagents shop to be managed as a co-operative enterprise. But the large supermarket, which already contains fitted out shelving units and equipment and equipment, is going to waste. Negotiations between the Council and the owner of the lease seem to have stagnated. The Inquiry would urge the Council to reconsider the price which would have to be paid for taking over the supermarket and its fittings, since its potential value to the Broadwater Farm community is enormous.

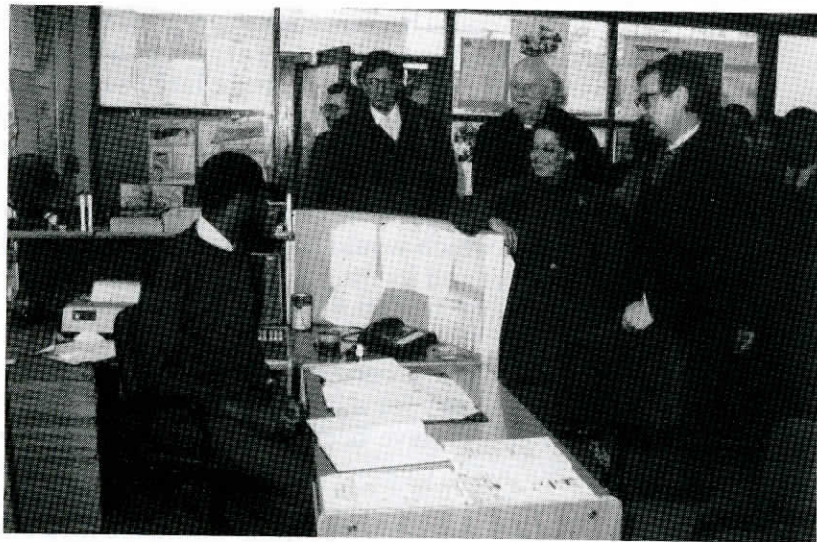
(v) There has been no progress whatever in the recommendation of the Inquiry for a *public transport facility* serving the Estate. Reports have been prepared from time-to-time by the Borough Engineer and Surveyor about a Broadwater Farm bus service, the most recent being dated 23rd November 1987; but while recommending the idea of a

bus service in principle, the relevant committee have yet to decide on a firm plan.

7.31 In a concluding submission on behalf of the Youth Association, Nigel Norie took up the theme of how much was still to be achieved:-

"The fact is that we do not have our two community workers, and the community have to do this work themselves. We don't have an economic development service officer to help us in any way that is constructive. Again, work that we have to do ourselves. They have at times promised help with training, but nothing concrete has come forward. We don't have an effective, certificated new technology course with help from adult education. We have to pay at present, our own tutors from our own funds. We don't have any transport for old age pensioners and single parents, or disabled people etc. Plenty of promises and sympathy but actually no action. We still don't have a supermarket, we still don't have a community centre. We don't have improved facilities on Lordship Recreation Ground, we don't have an estate based social work team, we don't have an art studio."

In the next chapter the Inquiry will study the reasons for some of the failures, and the ways forward to achieving lasting successes.



CHAPTER 8

— THE ESTATE — FINANCE AND MANAGEMENT

The Estate and the Council

8.1 There are elements of both co-operation and conflict in the relations between Broadwater Farm and the Council which owns and manages it. On the positive side, several new forms of decentralised management have been pioneered on the Estate. The Neighbourhood Office, in the heart of the Estate, was described by Leonardo Leon in these words:-

"The Neighbourhood Office is not just a place where you go to pay the rent or where you go and complain about a window leaking. For many people on Broadwater Farm it is a lifeline. They go there to get advice on jobs, they go there to get advice on welfare rights, they go there to talk to someone."

Other effective on-the-spot Council services are the repairs team and the Building Design Service.

8.2 The social services provision on the Estate has had a much more chequered history. While the Inquiry was preparing its first report, there were two social services community workers based on the Estate. They moved to other jobs in the Autumn of 1986 and were never replaced. In November 1986 a proposal for a large permanent social services team based on the Estate was approved, the team to consist of a team leader, 5 community social workers, 1 day care officer, 2 community workers, 1 administrative assistant, and 2 clerical workers. This scheme was never put into operation. A temporary team attended at a temporary base on the Estate for 2 years, but by November 1987, because of