

8.22 In the Inquiry's view, the people of Broadwater Farm have built up a particularly effective form of partnership with both the Local Authority and Central Government, and should not lightly cast it aside. That partnership, while allowing for a considerable amount of devolved participation in a sub-committee on which local people sit, retains as the responsible managing body of the Estate the Local Authority, a public accountable democratic body. Central Government through the Department of the Environment also plays a major role in providing advice and funding. In view of the attack made by the present Government on local authorities, and its attempts to force local authorities to sell off assets and privatise services, it is important to restate the fundamental values of municipal local authorities:-

- (i) They can be removed by the ballot box if their policies are unpopular.
- (ii) Their meetings are held in public, and their documents must be made available to the public, so that they are a most open form of government.
- (iii) They cover the interests of a wide area, balancing resources so that they can be directed where they are most needed.
- (iv) Their officers are accessible to be complained to, and if the complaint is ignored it can be taken up by councillors in public committee meetings.
- (v) There are stringent checks against maladministration provided by the offices of both the district auditor and the local government ombudsman.
- (vi) The councillors who take those decisions are local people who enter local government because on the whole they have a commitment to serve local people.

These features of local government may seem obvious, but they would be almost entirely absent from any alternative structure that has been proposed for the possible management of council housing. We would urge the London Borough of Haringey to speak out for the achievements and integrity of democratic local government, and to win support for its continued role as a provider of housing which is capable of responding flexibly to ordinary peoples' needs.

CHAPTER 9 EDUCATION

9.1 The Inquiry has singled out the policy and practice of education for a specific chapter to underline its importance for almost all of its overall recommendations. Above all a responsive education could provide an opportunity for the Black community to improve their position despite other experiences of institutional racism. The Black community have looked to the state education system in this country to serve this purpose but to a large extent the necessary changes in the general policy and practice of the education system have not been made.

9.2 The first report made a series of recommendations for changes in the delivery of Haringey's education service. The Inquiry analyses the response to these in three main ways:-

- (a) whether the councillors accepted the recommendations and formulated policies to carry them out;
- (b) whether the officers furthered the recommendations with sufficient support and central monitoring;
- (c) what was the response to these policies from teachers and the educational institutions.

It will also be necessary to analyse the effects of the cuts in local authority spending and the new Education Reform Act.

9.3 The Inquiry is indebted to Mr Randolph Prime, one of its members, for his thorough study of education in Haringey. His

detailed report will be submitted to the Chair of Education and the Chief Education Officer, and the Inquiry urges them and their colleagues to take careful note of his specific observations and recommendations.

9.4 The problems of policy formation in Haringey's Education Department have been characterised by considerable pressure from a variety of articulate pressure groups. Whilst the work of such groups forms an integral part of local democracy, unless there is a consistent educational policy for such groups to work with, their activities can lead to an experience of constant change and vacillation. Such change that comes from essentially sectional political pressure can be experienced by officers in charge of policy implementation as confused and inconsistent. The Report of the Institute of Government of the University of Birmingham on the Education Department in Haringey published in 1986, noted "In Haringey you keep asking somebody different or with more power, until you get a 'yes'". It is not possible to run a coherent education policy within that framework. Policies will be influenced by different political powers in the Council at different times, and it is likely that this could undermine the constitutional political hierarchy of power between Committees and senior officers. Unless this relationship correctly follows a structure it is not possible for the different functions between officers and members to be clearly communicated. Members and officers must agree these structures and must keep to them.

9.5 This confusion over structure is made worse by the fact that implementation of significant educational policy change in any major area takes a number of years. For example, Haringey has a policy of making the educational service more participative; to fully change such a policy will take considerably more than the lifetime of one Council. To take another example, to succeed in significantly improving the educational opportunities of all Black and minority ethnic groups in a borough will take considerably more than a decade. Such policies need commitment but they also need continuity and patience to see them through.

9.6 The problem of confusion in policy formation amongst members is also found within the hierarchy of officers. Certain officers who have been appointed to implement policy changes, some recommended by our own report, have found themselves

isolated in trying to implement that change. Senior officers above and institutions below these officers are un-cooperative in implementing what has been agreed as education policy and this has led several officers to write papers about the necessity of co-operation in carrying out agreed policy. This lack of co-operative policy leaves many educational institutions feeling that they are isolated and not part of a structured policy machine. The lack of regular and reliable communication is augmented by the ability of people and institutions at the grass roots to negotiate themselves out of certain policy changes, leaving the feeling that with certain local alliances you can decide not to follow certain policies. All of this has been compounded by a rapid change of personnel interspersed with long gaps between officers leaving and their replacements being appointed. Following these problems it is not surprising that there are very many complaints that officers fail to monitor the nature and effectiveness of policies.

9.7 The educational institutions that serve the Broadwater Farm Estate fall into the normal educational age related categories:-

(i) The *nursery/infant school* teachers on the Estate were greatly concerned by rumours of closure. Whilst these were untrue, the fact that rumour plays such a significant role in providing information that may or may not be true is itself indicative of poor communication. The nursery has a written anti-racism policy but it has failed to secure some specific posts for work with black children under Section 11 finances, because of the failure of the department to properly apply for these posts. There are only two Black nursery nurses and no Black qualified nursery teachers - a problem that is admitted by all concerned. The staff are experienced as very helpful, particularly by women parents on the Estate, with very good contact between staff and people from the Estate.

(ii) Most of the children who attend the junior school on the Estate come from the local infant school. Most parents had good things to say about the school. The anti-racist policy is discussed on a regular basis with all new developments being discussed before full implementation. This process could be further incorporated into Education

Department policy through co-operation with the Multi-Cultural Curriculum Group. The school has good relationships with the community; in particular the choir plays a role throughout the borough. Every Wednesday, in order to further improve the childrens understanding of the community, the whole school has a session in one of the mother tongues of the Estate. The head has developed an initiative called COOPERATION which emphasises the nature of the society outside of the school and develops the children's attitudes towards playing a part in that wider community.

(iii) Children from the Estate attend a wide range of different *secondary schools*. In the County schools morale is almost universally low. (In the voluntary-aided schools, which the Inquiry did not have the chance to visit, staff morale may well be better). The staff time spent covering basic academic curriculum studies has cut any real time that can be committed to curriculum development with the Multi-Cultural Curriculum Group, although the long term industrial dispute had previously created problems with these developments. Some of the secondary schools have little contact with the communities that they serve. Given the difficulties caused by the new teacher contract the involvement of staff outside of school hours will always be problematic. In our report we made specific recommendations about training for legal and social rights. An officer has been appointed (known as the politics, economic and social literacy adviser) but many of the secondary schools that serve the Estate have implemented no part of these changes. If young people are to have any chance of knowing their rights this must be rectified.

(iv) *Further education* provides one of the only real possibilities for people from Broadwater Farm to develop careers beyond the unskilled level. Its importance was emphasised in the first Report, which in particular recommended that Tottenham College should open some classes on the Farm itself. Very little has happened in this area and the lack of educational opportunity has not been greatly improved. It is still experienced as an unhelpful institution by most people and groups on the Estate. Haringey College does attract more students from the

Farm, but not for the more advanced further education courses. The Adult Education Institution does not have any better reputation on the Estate.

9.8 Specific recommendations need to be made in the area of education, starting with the structure of the whole department. It is essential that all the pressure groups involved in education have a structure which will properly influence decisions and that once this is agreed it must be stuck to. The education committee and its sub-committees should be the only place where any policy can be developed or changed and the Chair of that committee and the Chief Education Officer have the responsibility of ensuring that this is fully adhered to, and that appropriate action is taken when agreed policies are obstructed. Given that the Inquiry has urged upon senior officers of the Metropolitan Police that co-operative policing policies must not only be made but implemented down the line, it is consistent for the Inquiry to urge the same to teachers and local government officers. Members and senior officers should ensure that their commitment to anti-racist policies is carried out at all times. Members should fully support all officers who are carrying out agreed policy and should respect the pace at which change can be properly organised. The senior management team needs to be strong enough to fully co-ordinate policy and ensure that all policies are fully and honestly monitored. It would be helpful for all new officers to have an induction or a training period which ensures that they fully understand the way in which their role fits in with the Council's structure. It is essential that a more corporate departmental approach to policy is formulated and fully communicated to all of the staff in every institution.

9.9 All educational institutions have to combine their particular independence with a series of much closer corporate links with the Education Department, its officers and councillors. Each institution should have a group specifically dedicated to create and maintain links with the wider community. Each set of educational institutions should ensure closer liaison with others. In particular further education colleges should run 'taster courses' for prospective students in secondary schools to encourage take up. We recommend again the full implementation of a curriculum policy of teaching legal rights; more support must be given to the officer appointed to carry this policy. The further education institutions should have more

outreach work, in Broadwater Farm and other communities where further education is so much needed.

9.10 The Multi-cultural Curriculum Support Group has been a good initiative of the Education Department, and it has done effective work in all schools. Under the Education Reform Act 1988 the way in which it performs its role may have to be changed. The new Act provides that the development of the curriculum, outside the requirements of the National Curriculum, should be the responsibility of the governors of the school. But the specialist services of the local authority will still have an advisory role. The group will have to be imaginative in its approach, working with persuasion and co-operation with the governors and staff of those schools where the curriculum shows too much of a Eurocentric bias.

9.11 The issue of the recruitment of Black teachers is not resolved, and there are too few Black teachers at all educational levels. The Inquiry emphasises again the importance of both recruiting and promoting teachers who reflect the ethnic composition of the community whose children they teach. Children look to teachers as role models, and it acts as a stimulus for black pupils to see Black teachers in the classroom and in supervisory positions. The Inquiry is aware that attention is being paid to this by the Education Department, but believes that the Department should not be satisfied with its record so far.

9.12 Cuts in education, as in other fields, have been forced upon the Council by the Government's legislation on local authority expenditure. Their method of implementation however has been connected to changes and developments within the majority Party in Haringey. Coming to terms with these cuts so late in the financial year when they had to be carried out changed the way in which these cuts could be made. The speed of implementation forced upon them by their own failure to make these cuts earlier has led to a lack of consultation and also a greater extent of cuts in the months that were left in that year. The effects this had on morale has been in many ways worse than the material effect upon the nature of services. As was said in the previous chapter, this underlines the need for competent and responsible management which consistently keeps its workforce and the public informed and involved about such important changes. Education as with other local govern-

ment services is too important for the people of Broadwater Farm to be made the subject of empty posturing. It is hoped that Haringey will not have to carry out any further round of educational cuts in 1989/90. If they do the planning and consultation for this should be well under way by now. Morale in the schools and colleges that serve the Estate demands this approach.

9.13 The Inquiry is concerned that the cuts in expenditure have had particularly serious effects upon further educational institutes such as Haringey College and the Adult Education Institute. Because these services are not part of the statutory education provision, it is tempting for education authorities to treat them more harshly at times of financial difficulty. However it must be recognised that such cuts have clear discriminatory consequences for Black people and for women. These institutions offer "second chance" education, and they are particularly needed by those who because of race or gender discrimination in the past, have missed their chance to get a full education at school. The Inquiry urges that these institutions should have at least equal priority with other educational provisions.

9.14 The Education Reform Act is going to make considerable changes in the nature of the education service. The full extent of these changes will remain unclear until the National Curriculum Commission and the Agency put in charge of testing demonstrate how they will approach certain issues. Most significantly the National Curriculum in all of its different subjects must demonstrate its ability to truly represent the 'nation' as it exists in 1988. The History curriculum must include the history of all of the peoples that now live here; the English subject must represent all of the literature published in that subject; and 'A modern Language' must include all of the modern languages that are spoken in modern Britain. The testing that will demonstrate a 'successful' school's approach to the National Curriculum must not be ethnically specific if it is to truly represent the 'nation'. Any restrictions in these areas to a Eurocentric approach will serve to further inhibit the extent to which Black Britons are able to use the education system to improve their life chances.

9.15 Another major change introduced by the Education Reform Act concerns the greatly increased powers of school

governors. This aspect of the new law gives to parents the opportunity to play a much more dominant role in the management of their children's schools. The experience of Broadwater Farm people in participating in the institutions which regulate their lives should enable them to make the most of this opportunity. The Inquiry is particularly concerned that there should be a strong component of Black and ethnic minority governors in the schools which teach Black and ethnic minority children. Both the Council and organisations in the community have a role to play in encouraging all participation by Black parents on boards of governors, so that the curriculum, facilities and management of the schools can truly reflect the needs of all children who attend them.

CHAPTER 10

THE CORNERSTONES OF POLICY

10.1 For nearly three years the Inquiry team has followed the fortunes of Broadwater Farm. We have come to respect its people, to understand the causes of their grievances, and to recognise the spirit of determination and self help in which they are trying to overcome their problems. Their determination must be matched with policies by the different branches of central and local government, which effectively tackle the grievances. In late 1987 the Government produced a glossy document entitled "Action for Cities". The document was more impressive for its packaging than for its policy content. It scarcely touched on the themes which the Inquiry in its two stages has identified as being central if conditions of life in inner city estates like Broadwater Farm are to be improved, and if the alienation, bitterness and desperation which are the fuel of riot situations are to be ended. The four themes which the Inquiry has identified as the cornerstones of policy are:-

- justice from the law.
- equal treatment for all, especially those who have suffered historic discrimination.
- investment in people, through education, jobs and facilities.
- democratic participation by people in the decisions which affect their lives.