

Crime Displacement in King's Cross

A Report for Camden Community Safety Partnership

Tara Young, Simon Hallsworth, Emma Jackson and Jim Lindsey

The Centre for Social and Evaluation Research
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The authors are solely responsible for the views expressed in this report, which may not reflect the views or opinions of Camden Community Safety Partnership.

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Executive summary

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

Camden Crime and Community Safety Partnership commissioned the Centre for Social and Evaluation Research at the London Metropolitan University to produce a report on crime displacement in the King's Cross area. The overall aim of the project was to provide a detailed analysis of crime and anti-social trends in King's Cross and identify which environmental factors had contributed to the fluctuation.

The research examined:

- Crime trends in King's Cross for the period 2000-2005.
- Whether the King's Cross ward had witnessed a net reduction in criminal activity and disorderly conduct, specifically in relation to established illegal markets in sex and illegal drugs, begging and street crime.
- What factors have contributed to changing trends in crime and disorderly conduct within the King's Cross area. The factors under consideration are anti-social behaviour orders, regeneration, business developments (e.g. CTRL) and policing initiatives.
- Whether changes in crime trends in the King Cross were due to an actual reduction in the overall level of crime or due to displacement.
- The nature of the displacement effects if these can be observed.
- The impact of recent initiatives and developments implemented by the Partnership to reduce crime and disorder within the area.

A triangulated methodology was adopted. Quantitative research methods were used to examine crime trends in the King's Cross area. Interviews were conducted to establish perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour in the ward. Fifty-four individuals took part in this study. These included community practitioners, police officers, council officials and members of the street population.

The research was conducted between November 2005 and August 2006.

CHAPTER 2 – PROFILING CRIME AND ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR IN KING'S CROSS

King's Cross was an area blighted by the trade of illegal goods and services. Prostitutes and pimps openly plied their trade alongside street level drug dealers. The area attracted the homeless a number of whom engaged in begging and street drinking.

A high proportion of sex worker and drug dealing activity took place within a small area. Key sites were King's Cross Road, Euston Road, and Argyle Square, Wharfdale Road, York Way, Battle Bridge Road, Caledonian Road, Balfe Street, Northdown

Street and Killick Street and Chads Place. King's Cross was also known as a street crime hotspot.

Vagrancy and street drinking were common features of King's Cross.

The level of criminal activity in the borough was having a negative impact on the local community and economy.

CHAPTER 3 - PROFILING CRIME AND COMMUNITY SAFETY EFFORT

Crime prevention in King's Cross has changed dramatically over the last decade. From 1998 onwards there was a movement towards a multi-agency partnership approach to tackle crime and anti-social behaviour.

A number of local initiatives were devised to tackle crime, the fear of crime and improve the quality of life in King's Cross. These included the formation of the King's Cross Partnership and policing operations such as Operation Welwyn and street warden schemes.

Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) were introduced as key features of the crime and anti-social behaviour control effort in the ward. At the time of publication, two hundred and eighteen (218) ASBOs were granted in Camden; greater than any other London borough.

As well as ASBOs, situational crime prevention measures were utilized to reduce levels of crime and anti-social behaviour. Gated communities and CCTV were introduced into the area.

The ward of King's Cross was earmarked for development and regeneration. The redevelopment of King's Cross cannot be disaggregated from the crime and community safety effort. Part of the regeneration process is to eliminate crime and illegal markets in goods and services from the area.

Behaviour such as begging and rough sleeping - activities that were once considered unpleasant, but not criminal - are now reclassified as 'anti-social' and subject to control in King's Cross.

The recent implementation of CDZ has had an impact on anti-social behaviour in the ward.

Regeneration and social control initiatives have altered the social landscape of King's Cross.

CHAPTER 4 - PERCEPTIONS OF THE CONTROL EFFORT

There was a general consensus amongst respondents that the regeneration and crime control effort had made a positive difference to King's Cross and all welcomed these changes.

The physical regeneration of the area was singled out as a major contributory factor for reducing crime and anti-social behaviour in King's Cross.

The multi-agency tasking and targeting approach adopted in King's Cross to tackle crime and anti-social behaviour was viewed as successful.

The introduction of the ABA and ASBO enabled law enforcement practitioners to effectively deal with anti-social behaviour in the ward.

There was clear agreement that initiatives such as ABA, ASBO, CDZ and high visibility policing had performed an important role in reducing crime and anti-social behaviour, but there was a profound difference of opinion between the enforcement professionals, care professionals and the street population on the positive and negative effects of each.

CHAPTER 5 - CRIME REDUCTION OR DISPLACEMENT?

The ward of King's Cross has witnessed a net decline of street level crime and anti-social behaviour. Sex work, visible drug dealing and drug use have been virtually removed as a consequence of the control effort.

During 2000-2005 drug crime was reduced by around three quarters. There has also been a noticeable reduction in the number of street robberies in the King's Cross area (a net decrease of 47% since 2000). The most significant decrease is from 2002 onwards. The reduction could be due to the Safer Streets Initiative, which ran over this period.

There was an overall reduction in the number of people sleeping rough and in street drinking in King's Cross. During the period 2002-2005 the population of these two groups fell by 86%.

A small section of the homeless population has adapted its behaviour in response to crime control initiatives. This adaptation could be considered as displacement. There appeared to be a movement away from policed area of the streets to smaller streets and parks.

Crime and anti-social behaviour in King's Cross has reduced significantly, but at the cost of displacement. The type and extent of displacement was contested by those interviewed for this project.

There was no evidence for total (or block) displacement of drug related crime, sex work, street drinking or vagrancy. The evidence presented in this report points to partial displacement of the sex and drug markets to other localities within the borough of Camden (e.g. Camden Town, Kentish Town) and across borough boundaries into Islington and Westminster and beyond. More research is needed to calculate the true extent of displacement from King's Cross.

ASBOs played an important role in the success of the control effort. The ASBO had halted the offending behaviour of a number of people, but a significant number of people were committing offences elsewhere; or went on to commit more serious offences.

The use of mobile phones and widespread carding suggest tactical displacement of the drugs and sex trade.

Other sanctions and initiatives were also successful in reducing crime and anti-social behavior. CCTV and CDZ performed a contributory role as did the building work associated with the regeneration of the area and the array of situational crime prevention measures.

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSION

Drug related crime and anti-social behaviour in the ward of King's Cross has reduced significantly.

The London Borough of Camden has mobilised an array of regenerative and crime control interventions to combat crime and anti-social behaviour. These range from inclusionary support services through to the application of a range of more punitive exclusory sanctions.

This report highlights the accomplishments of crime reduction strategies and the costs involved (in terms of displacement and marginalisation) of many vulnerable populations.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The ward of King's Cross, situated in the south of the borough of Camden, has long been associated with high levels of street-based crime and anti-social behaviour. Camden Community Safety Strategy (2001-2004) identified the ward of King's Cross as a 'hotspot' for criminal and anti-social activity such as drug dealing, prostitution and street robbery.

Camden Community Safety Partnership¹ has a clear remit to reduce crime and anti-social behaviour in the King's Cross area (Safer Camden Strategy 2005-2008). Working in conjunction with regeneration agencies, local businesses, law enforcement agencies and community service providers, the partnership has implemented numerous initiatives to disrupt and eliminate street-based crime in and around King's Cross. Strategies introduced into the King's Cross area have included visible policing initiatives such as street wardens, police community support officers, Safer Neighbourhood Teams (SNTs) as well as client-based street services delivered by Drug Action Teams (DATs), Street Service Teams (SSTs), Community Partnership Panels (Partnership weeks, Scrutiny panels and drug partnerships); and the application of new legal sanctions such as Acceptable Behaviour Agreements (ABAs) and Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs).

Regeneration of the area has involved significant investment in housing and local business ventures, environmental improvements, including the redevelopment of arterial routes such as Euston Road and King's Cross Road, the establishment of the British Library and the development of the Channel Tunnel Rail Link. Collectively, these regeneration efforts have significantly altered the geographic landscape and demographic profile of the King's Cross area.

Cumulatively, the impact of the regeneration effort and law enforcement campaign would appear to have led to significant and substantial decreases in recorded criminal and anti-social behaviour in the King's Cross area. Though the reduction of recorded and reported crime has been interpreted as a success story that can be directly attributed to the enforcement and regeneration agenda, questions have been raised as to whether a reduction has occurred or been achieved at the cost of the displacement. In other words, has crime and anti-social behaviour as a whole been reduced or has it been displaced to another area, to another time zone, or are the perpetrators of criminal and anti-social acts adapting to the changes by committing different forms of crime or the same offence in new ways?

Given the absence of a consensus on whether crime trends in the King's Cross area have been characterised by a net decline without displacement, or have changed but at the cost of displacement, the Partnership commissioned the Centre for Social Evaluation Research (CSER) to investigate these conjectures. As part of its research brief the CSER were instructed to conduct research with a view to identifying the factors which could best explain changes in crime patterns within the King's Cross area and to establish the relative impact and success of its law and order initiatives.

The research was conducted between November 2005 and August 2006. This report outlines the findings of the research and the report concludes by addressing the aims the CSER was commissioned to address.

¹ Hitherto referred to as the Partnership

1.2 Research Aims and outcomes

The aim of this project was to establish:

- Whether the King's Cross ward has witnessed a net reduction in criminal activity and disorderly conduct, specifically in relation to established illegal markets in sex and illegal drugs, begging and street crime.
- To identify what factors have contributed to changing trends in crime and disorderly conduct within the King's Cross area. The factors under consideration are anti-social behaviour orders, regeneration, business developments (e.g. CTRL) and policing initiatives.
- Whether changes in crime trends in the King Cross are due to an actual reduction in the overall level of crime or due to displacement.
- To identify the nature of the displacement effects if these can be observed.
- To identify the impact of recent initiatives and developments implemented by the Partnership to reduce crime and disorder within the area.

The outcome of this research is to provide the Partnership:

- With a detailed analysis of the nature, scale and changing trends of criminal activity within the King's Cross area.
- With an objective assessment of whether crime and anti-social behaviour trends have been marked by a net decline or been displaced.
- With an understanding of the factors that explain the change in the level of crime and anti-social behaviour.
- With strategic knowledge of the relative success of different intervention tactics and strategies deployed to reduce crime and disorder in the area.

It is intended that this study will enable the Partnership to review the content and quality of services/intervention strategies provided; and to ensure that these services are effective in meeting the safety, support and rehabilitative needs of the local community.

1.3 Methodology

To overcome the inherent limits of relying on one form of research, the study adopted a triangulated approach and utilised both quantitative and qualitative research tools.

1.3.1 Quantitative

To ascertain the changing nature of crime within the King's Cross area, the Partnership made all recorded crime figures for the London Borough of Camden (for

the period 2000 -2005) available to the CSER. This data was depersonalised, geo-coded and covered all reported offences for the following areas:

- Prostitution
- Begging and rough sleeping
- Drug crime (including illegal drug usage and distribution)
- Street crime and other recorded acts of disorder (including robbery)
- Violence Against the Person
- Sexual Offences
- Robbery
- Theft and Handling
- Fraud or Forgery
- Criminal Damage
- Drugs
- Other Notifiable Offences ²

This data was uploaded onto a Geographical Information System (GIS), which was used to profile crime trends in and around the King's Cross area.

To examine the specific impact of ASBOs (one of the key interventions deployed in Camden to disrupt and eliminate crime from the King's Cross area), a random sample of ASBO cases granted in the King's Cross area was selected from Camden's ASBO database. Details relating to each case (start date, terms and conditions, breach, and sanctions imposed for the breach) were recorded and examined to assess the impact of ASBOs on reducing criminal behaviour and displacement effect (See Appendix F).

1.3.2 Qualitative

Qualitative methods were incorporated into the study to provide contextual understanding of the impact of the law and order initiatives deployed to reduce drug crime and anti-social behaviour in the King's Cross area.

Fifty-four (54) interviews were conducted with three different groups of people with extensive knowledge of King's Cross. These were law enforcement practitioners, community-based project workers and the 'street active'. (See Appendix B for full methodology)

Law enforcement practitioners responsible for initiating the crime and regeneration programme in the King's Cross area were interviewed in order to: a) establish the rationale behind the campaign, b) to establish the nature of the intervention programme, c) to assess the impact and success of crime control initiatives and d) to

² See Appendix A for full list of crime classifications

gather views on displacement. This aspect of the research also involved an examination of recent and relevant documents produced by the Partnership and other statutory agencies.

Interviews with community-based workers (e.g. police officers, council officials, and project workers) were directed at examining their perceptions of the intervention strategies in King's Cross and at 'what works' in reducing crime and anti-social behaviour. Views on displacement were also canvassed.

Hostel residents and people who were 'street active' were also interviewed. This population included sex workers, (ex) drug users and drug dealers, street drinkers and rough sleepers. The interviews were initiated to assess:

- The impact of regeneration initiatives and criminal justice sanctions such as the ABA, ASBO, CDZ and FPN.
- Changes in behaviour caused by regeneration initiatives and criminal justice sanctions.
- The extent to which sanctions such as the ABA or ASBOs were breached and the reason for it.
- Displacement effects.

1.3.3 Fieldwork

Site visits to King's Cross were initiated to assess the impact of crime control measures on the area and to assess the extent to which illegal markets still operated. The fieldwork included visits to areas identified as 'hotspots' for drugs and vice and to those parts of the borough identified as possible sites for displacement.

Research for this project took place in the period between November 2005 and August 2006.

1.3.4 Social research and its limitations

No one research method is infallible and, as such, care must be exercised in relation to interpreting the data accumulated for this study. This section highlights some of the methodological limitations inherent in social research.

Statistical analysis has many advantages, but is not without its limitations. For example, statistical data incorporates as much the method of data collection as it does evidence for a particular phenomenon. For instance, police figures on sex work or drug dealing are reliant upon three factors; 1) the proficiency of police detection at borough level, 2) victim reporting³ and 3) policing directives to create an account of each phenomenon. The danger is that statistical data *may* not reflect the reality of crime within a given area but policing practice, recording methods and operational strategies.

Statistical data is often left 'to speak for itself' (Denscombe 2003:28). Consequentially, significant and meaningful factors of a phenomenon are often left unexplored. As Andell, Doran, and Nimmo (2002) point out in their report on Class A drug supply in

³ By victim we mean, for example, individuals who have experienced 'clipping'. Clipping is a form of street robbery engaged in by sex workers. In a clipping scenario a client is duped into thinking that they are participating in a sexual transaction but are robbed instead.

Islington, crime statistics code criminal acts under formal categories which act as disparate acts. What such statistics do not show is the inherent complexities and interrelations between particular crime types (Andell et al 2002).

Qualitative methodologies offset the limitations of statistics. However, there are limitations to this data as well. Though qualitative interviews provide the 'rich text' data that quantitative analysis cannot supply, interviewee testimonies do not always produce 'the reality' of a situation as defined. Memories are subjective and selective (especially over time) and, as this research uncovers, there can be many different interpretations of the same phenomena under investigation.

In order to minimize the problems inherent in using one methodology over another, this study employed a 'triangulated approach' (using both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods). Doing so ensured a robust, methodologically sound approach to addressing the research aims.

1.3.5 A note on terminology: on displacement and its measurement

For the purpose of this study the definition of displacement offered by the criminologist Ken Pease was adopted. Pease defined displacement as 'the unintentional distribution of crime elsewhere' (1997:978). Crime displacement is notoriously difficult to measure not least because of the myriad of 'displacement effects' that can occur (Cornish and Clarke 1986). According to Felson and Clarke (1998) crime can be displaced in five different ways:

- Crime can be moved from one location to another (spatial or geographical displacement);
- Crime can be moved from one time to another (temporal displacement);
- Crime can be directed away from one target to another (target displacement);
- One method of committing crime can be substituted for another (tactical displacement);
- One kind of crime can be substituted for another (crime type displacement).

An additional displacement effect could be added to this list; that is, the perpetration of the same offence, but in a different way. An example would be dealing drugs (or selling sex) in the same area, but inside a private dwelling rather than on the street. To enable us to include this form of displacement in the study we have reclassified Felson and Clarke's tactical displacement as 'functional crime type displacement' and used tactical displacement to define the above.

Felson and Clarke's typology creates a negative impression of displacement. Displacement need not be negative. The Home Office highlights two alternative ways of assessing displacement effects. These are

- Positive – a crime is displaced to a less serious type of crime or a crime with greater risk, with lower rewards or causing less serious damage. It represents a success since it produces a net gain.
- Neutral – a crime is displaced to one of the same seriousness, of the same risk, rewards and damage.⁴

⁴ http://www.crimereduction.gov.uk/learningzone/displacement_theory.htm

For the purpose of this project we consider both the negative and positive effects of displacement.

2. Profiling Crime and Anti Social Behaviour in King's Cross

2.1 Background

In order to establish the impact of the King's Cross intervention strategy we need to understand the problems it was designed to confront. This chapter provides an overview of crime and anti-social behaviour as it existed in the King's Cross area. The chapter begins by examining the crime economy in general before examining its distinct elements: sex trade, trade in illegal drugs, and street crime. We then consider the wider social costs of crime by examining community and stakeholder perceptions. The chapter concludes by examining the factors that allowed illegal markets to develop and flourish.

2.2 Crime in the King's Cross Area

If a visitor to London had undertaken an outing to King's Cross prior to 2000, they would have found themselves in an area blighted by the trade of illegal goods and services. Prostitutes and pimps openly plied their trade (in what was recognized as one of the oldest sex markets in London) alongside street level drug dealers. The area also attracted the homeless, a number of whom engaged in begging and street drinking.

Inner city areas tend to have higher than average rates of street crime (e.g. snatch robbery and pick pocketing) and such behaviour indeed formed part of the tapestry of street life in King's Cross. Drawing upon police data we profile the nature of these illegal markets in more detail.

2.3 Sex Work

Two hundred and ninety-nine (299) soliciting arrests were recorded by the Camden Borough Police Service for the period 01/09/02 to 05/02/03.⁵ The data was collected prior to attempts to disrupt the market and as such it provides an excellent overview of the sex trade as it existed in the King's Cross area.

Over 8 out of 10 offences (85.61% or 256 cases) occurred within the boundaries of Operation Welwyn, a designated area patrolled by a specialist drugs and vice police unit.⁶ This figure shows that King's Cross was not only a sex crime hot spot in the borough of Camden, but it was *the* primary location for prostitution.

A high proportion of sex worker arrests were located within a very small 'soliciting zone'. Key sites were Wharfdale Road, York Way, Battle Bridge Road, Caledonian Road, Balfe Street, Northdown Street and Killick Street. Seventy five percent (75%) of all soliciting arrests made in the period 1/09/02 to 5/2/03 were in these areas.

⁵ All references to the sex work in this section are derived (unless otherwise stated) from Kong, S (2001) King's Cross Displacement: A discussion. Unpublished.

⁶ Operation Welwyn boundary reaches south to the Strand, to Mansfield Road, West to Albany Street, Portland Street and Regent Street and east to Caledonian Road and King's Cross Road.

The peak time for soliciting (during 02/03) tended to be between 20:00 and 03:00 hours. The peak day for arrests was Tuesday with arrest rates tailing off towards the end of the week. Fewer arrests were recorded at the weekend. The decline in sex worker activity towards the weekend could have indicated an actual reduction in the number of prostitutes working at this time; however, it *may* best be explained in terms of police practice and strategy. As one officer observes:

A reason [for the observed variation] may reflect where resources are used to target soliciting. The tail towards the end of the week may mean that weekends are not worked as much, but also a tail off towards the weekend may be due to many arrests the first night of an operation.

In addition to time of day and time of arrest, the data revealed that a significant proportion of those arrested (49 of the 79 arrested or 62%) were repeat offenders.

2.3.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of sex workers

The police data did not include the socio-demographic characteristics of sex workers in King's Cross. A report entitled 'Selling Sex in the City' compiled by May et al (2001) did profile the socio-demographic characteristics of sex workers referred to as an Arrest Referral Scheme (ARS) in the area, and we can use this to examine the nature of the sex trade in King's Cross at this time.

The findings show that the average age of sex workers was 28 (with a range of 16 to 48). The majority described themselves as white (76%), eight percent as black and seven percent as mixed race or dual heritage. At the time of assessment three-quarters (or 75 people) were homeless (e.g. living in temporary housing or staying with friends or family); the remainder were living in rented accommodation. Few were in touch with housing services despite the need for suitable accommodation.

2.3.2 Prostitution and drug usage

May et al's (2001) research highlighted the relationship between prostitution and drug usage. Sex workers on the ARS were reported to be frequent and heavy users of illegal drugs.⁷ Of the 100 prostitutes assessed by May et al, 53 women were using heroin at the time of their first assessment; 38 were using every day. Seventy-three (73) were using crack at the time of their first assessment of which 45 were using every day. The average daily spend of the 45 crack users was £80, whilst it was half this for heroin users (£40). The average weekly expenditure on drugs for the sex workers sampled was estimated at £500.

2.3.3 Prostitution and criminal activity

Table 1 shows the type of offences for which sex workers in King's Cross were arrested and charged for the period April to August 2000. Unsurprisingly, soliciting, for

⁷ A report on street prostitution commissioned by the Home Office in 2004 echoed the findings of May et al, estimating that 95% of women engaged in street prostitution are problematic drug users. Home Office (2004) Paying the Price: A consultation paper on prostitution, p. 47.

the purpose of prostitution, was by far the greatest offence for which sex workers were arrested and charged.

Table 1: Profile of offences for sex workers in King's Cross

Offence	Cautioned	Charged
Loitering/ soliciting	69	165
Man soliciting women	87 letters	22 processed
Juvenile protection	3	
Possession class A (misuse of Drugs Act 1971)		25
Robbery		10
Stop and search	201 (s/s)	12 (arrests)

2.3.4 Prostitution and the local community

A number of important factors about sex workers in King's Cross during this period can be extrapolated from the findings presented above. They also help create a profile of the kind of environment to which King's Cross residents were exposed.

The sex market was concentrated in specific areas, indicating a popular 'beat' or 'patch' where sex workers plied their trade. Street prostitution did not take place in a social vacuum. Beats and 'patches' were located in or near residential areas. Sex workers used recess doors, stairwells and dustbin bays of council estates as places to take clients' (Beckford 2002). Debris left over from sexual transactions littered the floor which residents were exposed to. The presence of drug paraphernalia (syringes, crack pipes and foils) and the anti-social behaviour associated with sex work (such as an increase in noise or 'punters')⁸ was intimidating and distressing for local residents (The London Assembly 2005).

A final point to make in relation to the sex market in King's Cross concerns the relative personal safety of sex workers. Sex work was precarious at best and very dangerous at its worst. Many sex workers experienced violence as part of their working life. The reaction of the local population to prostitutes often involved verbal and physical abuse.⁹ Sex workers faced physical violence from clients (Home Office 2004:44). A comparative analysis of prostitution in three British Cities (May et al 2001) found that over two-thirds of women involved in sex work had experienced 'client violence',¹⁰ and during 1993 and 2003, 60 prostitutes had been violently murdered (Kinnell 2001).

Legislation introduced in 2001, which gave the police extended powers to arrest and obtain DNA samples from kerb crawlers, and the increased police presence as a result of the Crime and Disorder Act 2003, has been linked (anecdotally) to the increase of violence experienced in the sex market. Evidence presented later in this

⁸ Punter is a term used to describe men looking to procure sex from women

⁹ Prostitutes have been subject to all forms of violence and in recent years sustained forms of neighbourhood activism and vigilantism. See Hubbard, P (1998) Community Action and the Displacement of Street Prostitution: Evidence from British Cities Geo-Forum Vol.29 No.3, pp. 269-286.

¹⁰ Client violence involved being slapped, kicked or punched

report suggests that, as a consequence, women are taking more risks whilst working.¹¹

2.4 The Illegal Drug Trade

The King's Cross area constitutes one of three crime 'hotspots' in the borough (King's Cross, Camden Town and Bloomsbury) that had a higher than average number of drug dealers and users. What made King's Cross notorious (over and above other areas) was the presence of an *open* trade in illegal drugs and the presence of an active customer base buying, and on occasions, publicly using drugs.

During the period 2001-2002, King's Cross was the principal drug crime hotspot in the borough. Police data recorded 377 drug-related incidents from April 2001 to March 2002. Camden and Bloomsbury were also identified by the police as key hot spots.

2.4.1 Socio-demographic characteristic of drug users

Defining the precise composition of the drugs trade in the King's Cross area is difficult to extrapolate from police data; however, a consideration of a variety of sources on drug users in Camden allows us to gain some understanding of the drug market.

According to Camden Needs Assessment drug users in the borough share a particular set of characteristics. These are:

- A high proportion of drug users are homeless;
- The majority of users describe themselves as white British;
- They have an average age of 35 years;
- 72% are male;
- 70% live on benefits or pensions and
- Over 50% have lived in Camden for 1-4 years while one third (29%) have been in Camden for 4 years or over.

As we observed from the studies on prostitution a significant proportion of sex workers operating in King's Cross were persistent drug users, homeless and predominantly white. In other words, they shared similar characteristics to male drug users.

The Angel Drug Services, a Mobile Needle Exchange operating in the King's Cross area, collect data on drug users. This data is useful to profile the type of drug usage in King's Cross. The data indicates that, for their client base, the primary drug of choice was heroin, followed by crack-cocaine. A large proportion of users were also 'poly-drug' users using heroin and crack-cocaine in tandem.

¹¹ When punters are in short supply sex workers are taking more risks by getting into cars without adequately assessing the situation. Added to this is the risk that punters take by being in a particular area. Both parties may want to get out quickly in order to avoid detection. Sex workers may also take on clients they would otherwise turn away (i.e. the dodgy ones) or enter into sexual services they might otherwise refuse such as sex without a condom. There is also evidence (anecdotal) of a significant drop in the price of sex. According to members of an outreach team working with sex workers punters can now obtain sexual services in King's Cross for as little as £10.

Heroin and crack cocaine can be taken intravenously and data collected by Camden Drug Action Response Team (DART) highlights the scale at which these drugs were used in WC1 (of which King's Cross is part). During the period 2002-2003, 3227 needles were found in NW1 area. Over 1044 were found in Birkenhead Street, 335 in Field Street, 319 in Argyle Walk and 43 in Gray's Inn Road Indicating heavy usage and a thriving economy in the ward of King's Cross.¹²

2.5 Street Crime in King's Cross

In 2001 King's Cross was identified as a key street crime hotspot.¹³ Statistics on street crime compiled by the MPS show a significant increase in this offence category between January 2000 and June 2001 (see Table 2 below). To a large extent, the rise in street crime evidenced in King's Cross parallels a rise in street crime across England and Wales more generally. During the period April 2000 to March 2001 robbery of the person had increased by 28% (Smith 2003).

As research shows, street crime is disproportionately concentrated in particular areas (Smith 2003). In King's Cross street crime was concentrated in the Euston Road area of the ward (specifically around the Post Office) and crime in this area accounted for over half (57%) of all personal robberies in King's Cross.

Several reasons may account for this concentration, the first being location. The area around Euston Post office was a known hotspot for the distribution and usage of drugs. Street dealers and users would frequently congregate around the telephone boxes (located just outside the post office) and engage in drug transactions.

Secondly, two ATM machines were located in the vicinity, which meant people had access to money (and accessible victims) from these pay points. Thirdly, the entrance to King's Cross station is also situated in the area. Large numbers of people (and potential victims) walked through King's Cross on a daily basis.¹⁴

Table 2: Comparison of classified street crime offences Jan- June 2000 to Jan - June 2001.

	Jan - Jun 2000			Jan - Jun 2001			2000 v 2001 Increase / Reduction
	King's Cross	Borough total	King's Cross % of borough total	King's Cross	Borough total	King's Cross % of borough total	
Camden	106	1039	10.2%	146	1219	11.9%	40(37.7%)

Source MPS

2.5.1 Victim profile

Victims of street crime (reported) in King's Cross were principally male (and constituted 4 out of 5), which mirrors findings on personal robbery more generally (Smith 2003). Sixty-three percent were white and 68.5% were aged between 17 and 35 years. The victim population was not so homogeneous (see Table 3); it contained different populations, though students were slightly more over-represented.

¹² The research team were provided with data for this time period only.

¹³ We use the term street crime to denote crimes against the person, primarily street robbery, snatch theft and pickpocketing. It does not include violence against the person.

¹⁴ King's Cross is ranked as the 4th most used station in London. During the period 2002-2003 there were 23,989,317 entries and 25,148,376 exits from King's Cross station.
www.rail-reg.gov.uk/upload/xls/stat_usage.xls.

Table 3: Victim Profile

Occupation	No. Of Victims	Percentage (%)
White collar	21	16.7
Shop assistant and service industry	21	16.7
Student	27	21.4
Retired	8	6.3
Unemployed	20	15.9
Manual worker	19	15.1
Other	10	7.9
Total	126	100

Source MPS

2.5.2 Offender profile

Offenders were principally male (75%), but a significant minority (25%) of females did engage in street robbery. The average age of male offenders was 25 while it was slightly higher for females (29). According to research on robbery offences (Hallsworth 2005; Smith 2003) the age profile for offenders (and victims) is between 11-20 years old which is markedly lower than that for other crime types such as violence against the person or burglary (Smith 2003). The high proportion of street robbery by females could be related to 'clipping'.

The ethnic breakdown of the suspect population revealed that for the 127 cases (males only) 60% were classified as African Caribbean and 23% were white. In cases that involved female only suspects, 13 (out of 18 recorded cases) were perpetrated by African Caribbean women. Of the 65 suspects arrested between January 2000 and July 2001 the overwhelming majority lived in Camden (55) while the remainder lived in adjacent boroughs. Seventy-five percent (75%) of those arrested for street crime also had a drugs Police National Computer (PNC) warning marker. In other words, they had some previous connection with illegal drugs.

What national figures and research suggest is that street robbery is rarely committed by older people and women and is predominantly the domain of young men. (Hallsworth 2005; BCS 2003; OCJS 2003) However, the street robbers (and to some extent their victims) active in the King's Cross areas were older adults. One reason for this variation could be that robbery in the King's Cross area provided a way of obtaining money to purchase drugs. Whilst there is no conclusive evidence (in the police data or nationally) linking drug usage to street robbery, it is arguable that money is a significant motivational factor. Given that a sizable proportion of the street population in King's Cross had difficulties with drug and alcohol addiction, it is likely that these two factors correlate.

Where there is a demand for drugs, sellers congregate to supply the resident [street] population and opportunist purchasers drawn to the area by its long established reputation. Street dealers are targets for street robbers hoping to procure large sums of money, as profits associated with the illegal drug trade are significant.¹⁵

¹⁵ It is unlikely that the number of street crimes enacted against street dealers would show on police figures

2.6 Homelessness, rough sleeping and begging

The most visible and extreme form of homelessness is that of people sleeping rough in the streets (RSU 2006). King's Cross has traditionally been associated with rough sleeping and many people have 'bedded down' in the area. There is little information available on the level of rough sleeping in King's Cross, but there are some national statistics that provide evidence of rough sleeping in the borough of Camden as a whole.

According to estimates produced by the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG) the number of people sleeping rough regularly in Camden was 59 in 1998. This figure rose slightly the following year (1999) to 66 and then decreased year on year (54, 38, 28, 13, and 5) until 2005 when there was more than a two-fold increase (17) in numbers.¹⁶

There is a long established correlation between rough sleeping and begging, although not all rough sleepers are beggars and vice versa. Again there is little information (at borough level) on begging and vagrancy in King's Cross to gauge the level of this type of activity in the ward prior to 2000. The reason for this lack of information may be due to the fact that data on vagrancy and begging was only systematically collated after 2002. The data collection corresponded with new attempts to target rough sleepers and beggars under anti-social behaviour legislation.

From the spatial distribution of vagrancy and begging (see Section 5 below) we can see that between 2000 and 2001 there were only six recorded cases of vagrancy and begging in the borough. It is unlikely, however, that this figure is representative of the numbers of people engaged in begging and vagrancy in Camden during this time.

2.6.1 Homelessness, substance misuse and mental health

There is a long established correlation between homelessness and mental and physical ill health. The high level of mental illness, substance misuse and multiple problems experienced by this group has been extensively documented. There is little information on the number of rough sleepers experiencing ill health in King's Cross during 2000-2002, but three studies serve to outline the extent to which these issues affect the homeless population as a whole.

Randall and Brown's (1999) survey of rough sleepers in England found that over half of their sample had mental health problems. A similar study conducted in London in 2001 found that 11% of the rough sleeper population were assessed as having severe mental health needs with a further 33% experiencing psychological problems such as personality disorders (RSU 2002). A survey carried out by St Mungo's on the homeless in London reported high levels of drug and alcohol problems estimating that 1 in 5 (20%) rough sleepers had a serious problem with addiction. Put into context, it is estimated that 3.1% of the general population in inner London have similar issues (Hickman et al 1999).

This highly marginalised and socially excluded section of the community have traditionally slept on the streets of King's Cross and, arguably, performed a role in the production and maintenance of illegal markets there. As drug users they purchased from the illegal street market. Perhaps, as dealers and sex workers, they sold their products to the established rough sleeper/sex worker market and/or to opportunist purchasers.

¹⁶ Although the number of rough sleepers increased in 2005 the number of people bedding down in King's Cross does not equal that in 1998/1999.

2.7 Community Impact

Crime has a number of social and material costs. In recent years one social cost that has gained recognition is the cost of crime on the local community. To conclude this baseline assessment of crime in the King's Cross area we consider community perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour prior to the regeneration/intervention programme.

The King's Cross Household Survey (2000) found that half the sample population (as against 40% in 1994) reported positively about the safety of the area. Around two-thirds responded positively about the security of the estate where they lived and 80% felt safe in their homes.

Responses on crime in the ward were less positive. Fifty-three percent of businesses cited (without prompting) crime as a major problem. When asked to comment on the level of crime in the King's Cross area, 76% of residents rated crime in King Cross as a serious problem. The survey also found that just over a third (39%) of respondents did not go out alone at night; the most cited reason being feelings of insecurity.

The perception that crime in general and the drug trade in particular were serious issues for the local community was borne out in the testimonies of people living and working in the King Cross area - *including* those involved in the drug and sex trade.

When asked to describe King's Cross before the 'clean up campaign' respondents interviewed for this project offered the following descriptions:

You'd be sittin' in a pub after work and you'd always see sex workers around [...] and you used to go [home] via a back street rather than Pentonville Road. [...] and to get to the station [...] that was just awash with needles, needles everywhere.

It used to be chaos out here. We used to have dealers every day and night. It used to be chaos, absolute chaos. The best place to make money. It was 24/7.

Oh, it were bad, it were well bad. People getting ripped off, people getting cut... People were pulled around a corner, getting money taken off them. [...] Round the station it used to be particularly bad.

(Talking about Argyle Square) It was to all intents and purposes a no go area. The way it was laid out was a big dip in the middle that all the prostitutes would use and they would regularly drag a mattress in it. And there were always three or four mattresses they would use there for their clients.

These narratives give a retrospective view of the crime markets as they existed in King's Cross as well as a sense of how these markets impacted on the local community. They reveal a real fear of an area that was, as an interviewee put it, "raw" and in your face".

2.8 Explaining the persistence of illegal economy in King's Cross

In contrast to Westminster and other areas within Camden (such as Hampstead and Chalk Farm) King's Cross is a poor area and home to many multiply deprived communities. St Pancras & Somers Town ward, for example, are among the 10% most deprived in the country.¹⁷ The ward is characterized by high unemployment (over 10% of residents are unemployed compared to a borough average of under

¹⁷ www.ons.gov.uk

7%), a lower than average household income (around 60% households earn less than £20,000 income p.a.) and a high proportion of social housing (66%).

Within the employment market, residents of King's Cross are more likely to be employed in unskilled, semi-skilled and manual positions rather than professional or technical positions as is the case in other wards throughout the borough.¹⁸

Crime has had a long established link to poverty and social exclusion. Social theorists, such as Robert Merton (1957), have argued that crime occurs when legitimate means to acquiring goods, services and status are limited or blocked in some way. In response to blocked opportunities *some* people adapt by engaging in illegal activities (Merton 1957). In other words, if people are unable to earn money (legitimately through working) to buy the goods and services they want (or need), then they will find alternative means of acquiring them. A legacy of poverty in the King's Cross area can be considered as a precondition for the illegal economies in goods and services profiled here. Risk factors associated with poverty (such as social exclusion, chaotic family life, and substance misuse) are known social drivers that propel vulnerable men and women onto the streets.

The proximity of illegal markets to major transport links such as King's Cross is not accidental. There are four stations in the King's Cross area (King's Cross mainline, King's Cross underground, King's Cross Thames Link and St Pancras).¹⁹ These transport links have helped create the preconditions for the construction of illegal markets because they provide the means by which sellers and consumers (and offenders and victims) can be brought into contact with one another. That King's Cross acquired (over time) a reputation as a place where sex and drugs could be purchased and sold also helped to consolidate the markets. Over time, these conditions created a 'social ecology' where customers and suppliers became a mutually supportive (and mutually destructive) social network.

3. Profiling Crime and Community Safety Effort

In this chapter we profile the regeneration and social control initiatives that have been implemented to tackle crime and anti-social behaviour in King's Cross.

3.1 Crime control in King's Cross

Crime prevention in King's Cross has changed dramatically over the last decade. Prior to 1998 the issue of crime was principally considered to be a policing matter and the police generally assumed responsibility for addressing it. The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 brought changes to the way crime control was initiated and extended responsibility beyond the police. The devolution of crime control meant that local authorities were also responsible for the management and control of crime and disorder in the borough; they had a

¹⁸ www.ons.gov.uk

¹⁹ King's Cross mainline, known as the East Coast Main Line, is the main route into London for much of the East of England, Cambridge, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Tyne and Wear, Northumberland and Eastern Scotland. St Pancras Station, currently under construction, serves as a London terminus for the Midlands and from 2007 will become home of the new Channel Tunnel Rail Link. The tube station at King's Cross serves as a main interchange point for the whole tube network.

... statutory duty to ensure that the key agencies come together to work in partnership in a CDRP/CSP, and carry out an audit of local crime, disorder and misuse of drugs every three years. Using the information arising from this audit and based on consultation with local communities they then formulate a strategy for combating crime, disorder and the misuse of drugs including substance misuse (in Wales) in the local area. (Home Office Partnership Mini site) ²⁰

3.1.1 Local initiatives

A number of local initiatives were designed to reduce crime, the fear of crime and improve the quality of life for people living, working and passing through the King's Cross area.

The King's Cross Partnership (KXP), funded by the Government Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), was initiated in 1996 to develop and regenerate the area. ²¹ Member organisations, which included local community groups, the Metropolitan Police Service, local businesses, Camden and Islington Borough Councils, funded a number of projects designed to improve social cohesion and secure a better quality of life for residents, workers and visitors. ²²

Operation Welwyn, jointly funded by Camden Community Safety Team and the KXP, was one such initiative. As a specialist policing unit, Operation Welwyn was established with a remit to confront drug and vice crime within the King's Cross area. The work of Operation Welwyn was in turn supplemented by a range of other policing operations jointly funded by Camden Council, The King's Cross Partnership and the MPS. These included Operation Lilac (September 2000); Operation Strong box (October 2000); Operation Regis (October –December 2000); Partnership Week (14-18th May 2001); Operation Zarda (January 2001); Operation Flatbush (May 2001); and Operation Safer Streets (March 2002). The operations were varied, but all were designed to target specific criminal and anti-social activity and disorder in the ward. Street wardens and PCSOs extended police presence in the community.

To improve intelligence the KXP funded the 'Partnership Intelligence Unit'. This unit served to provide strategic information and research data to community safety providers, and this information was in turn used to monitor performance and help allocate resources (Kong 2001), ²³

The policing initiatives were augmented by other complimentary services including the formation of Safer Neighbourhood Team and street warden patrols. A number of council strategies were implemented to tackle these issues (Camden 2004) but two are particularly relevant to this study: the Camden Street Population Strategy (2002-2005) and the Drug and Alcohol Strategy (2002-2005).

The Street Population Strategy aimed to address the problem of street activity (rough sleeping, begging, street drinking, sex work & public drug usage). Taking a two-pronged approach to crime and anti-social behaviour control the strategy influenced

²⁰ <http://www.crimereduction.gov.uk/regions/regions00.htm>

²¹ As an area King's Cross has long been earmarked for change. In 1997 the objective of London and Continental Railways (LCR), the London Borough of Camden and the King's Cross Partnership (KXP) was to regenerate King's Cross into an 'exciting, vibrant and distinctive urban quarter' that brought local benefits to the community and which made a lasting contribution to London. See the Principles for a Human City (2001) www.argentkingcross.com for more details. The King's Cross Partnership continued until 2003 <http://www.islington.gov.uk/downloadabledocuments/environment/pdf/kxglossary.pdf>

²² http://www.met.police.uk/camden/part_inf.htm

²³ Operation Welwyn disbanded during the course of this research because of the reduction of sex work within the specified operational boundaries. In other words, sex work moved from the King's Cross along the Caledonian Road (Islington) towards Market Road.

the development of a dedicated outreach service, the Street Services Team (SST). The remit of the SST was to work with street workers with the aim of persuading them to leave the streets. The service also provided referral services to hostels, alcohol and drug rehabilitation programmes and access to specialist mental health services. The philosophy of the SST was to proactively encourage clients to leave the streets, but could (working in partnership with Camden Police and the newly formed Anti-Social Behaviour Action Group (ASBAG)) implement enforcement measures against the non-compliant.

The Drug and Alcohol Strategy was aimed at tackling the visible effects of street activity and associated behaviours. Dog patrols monitored the level of street activity within a given geographic area and mobile services, such as the DART van (sponsored by the Camden Drug Action Team) which initiated street cleaning exercises by collecting needles and other drug debris from hotspots.

Integral to the control effort was the application of new sanctions brought in through the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act (1998) and later through the Anti Social Behaviour Act 2003. Among the powers conceded to local partnerships were the Anti Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) and Acceptable Behaviour Agreements (ABAs).²⁴ As ASBOs have been a key sanction and one that has been deployed with a key aim of dismantling the sex and drugs markets in King's Cross we detail its use in more detail below.

3.1.2 Anti-Social Behaviour Orders

Camden Crime and Disorder Strategy set a target of 16 ASBOs per year for the period 2002-2005.²⁵ By 2002, Camden Council applied for 25% of all the ASBOs granted in London since the legislation was introduced in 1999, which made Camden the single largest ASBO giving borough in London (Camden New Journal 2002). Figures for the period 1999-2006 show that 218 ASBOs (approximately 31 per year) were granted in Camden; nearly double the set target.

Camden's ASBO philosophy towards reducing anti-social behaviour is predicated on two forms of intervention. These combine elements of coercive care with the application of punitive sanctions. In terms of the care element then for those members of the population suspected of anti-social behavior (such as sex workers or drug takers), Camden undertakes to provide them with an array of support services designed to help reduce their involvement in crime. These are provided by groups such as the Street Services Team. For those refusing to engage in rehabilitative/support programmes (and who continue to behave anti-socially), enforcement measures in the form of ABAs or ASBOs are initiated against them (Home Office 2004).

An application for an ASBO is made when an individual is alleged to have acted in a manner that 'causes or is likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household as the person' (Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003: Section 36). While the ASBO was originally developed by New Labour in order to tackle violent offenders, what is interesting about the application of ASBOs granted in King's Cross is how the remit has been widened to encompass activities that were non violent; specifically sex work and drug use. By 2002 sanction was also being levied against beggars, street drinkers and curb crawlers.

²⁴ Other sanctions such as Fixed Penalty Notices (FPNs) and Controlled Drinking Zones (CDZ) were not utilised during 2001-2004, but have been implemented since 2005 to tackle anti-social behaviour in the ward .

²⁵ See Camden Crime and Disorder Strategy 2002-2005, p. 46. http://safety.camden.gov.uk/ccm/cms-service/stream/asset/?asset_id=297436

Of the 218 ASBOs awarded in Camden, 54 were given to people in the King's Cross area (see Appendix D for full analysis).²⁶ As Table 4 below shows, prostitution and public drug usage were the behaviours most likely to receive an ASBO.

Table 4: Behaviours targeted for ASBO in King's Cross

Type of Behaviour	Number
Public Drug Usage	12
Begging	4
Drug Dealing	6
Prostitution ²⁷	17
Robbery	4
Kerb Crawling	3
Carding	1
Touting	1
Street Drinking	1

3.1.3 Regeneration: property and target hardening

A concerted effort was made to clean up the physical space of King's Cross and an array of situational crime initiatives were implemented to design out crime. Troublesome housing states and open spaces, such as parks and gardens known to facilitate the drug and vice trade, were altered to deter criminal and anti-social behaviour.

To this end housing estates such as Cromer Street were 'gated' (via the installation of metal gates and security doors). Streets and enclaves known as hangouts for prostitutes, dealers and drug users (e.g. Chads Way) were floodlit and monitored by electronic surveillance cameras (CCTV). Parks and green spaces such as Argyle Square (a small park known as a notorious haven for drug users and sex workers) were redesigned, fenced, gated and lit.

Away from the estates shops and entire blocks in the area were hoarded up. A particularly visible example of this is the stretch along Thameslink and King's Cross Road; once notorious for drug dealing and sex work. A number of adult entertainment shops were closed and boarded up. Disused properties were (at the time of publication) rendered inaccessible by awnings

3.1.4 Client services

Needle exchange schemes such as the Angel Drug Services and Hungerford Drug Project provided other services to drug users on the streets. To help sex workers who

²⁶ A random sample of cases (25) was selected from the ASBO data sample for King's Cross. The case study sample represents 46% of the total number of ASBOs granted in the ward. A brief case history of each individual was given which was followed by a representative analysis of the Police Nation Computer (PNC) for evidence of further convictions and breach of the ASBO.

²⁷ Camden's Good Practice Guide to Anti-social Behaviour Orders stipulates that individuals are not granted ASBOs for prostitution but for anti-social behaviour that normally accompanies such activity; for example, drug abuse.

were arrested access services, the MPS also funded the Capital Care Project, an arrest referral scheme for drug using sex workers.

3.1.5 Transportation and business development

From the late 1990s the regeneration possibilities on developing the 130-acre brown land site (formally known as the 'railway lands') in the vicinity of King's Cross Station began to be discussed. By 2000, London and Continental Railways and Excel (the owners of the site) elected to allow Argent St. George to become the primary developers of this land. Development proposals for the area comprised a mix of office space, retail outlets and residential apartments. Other development projects of note include the construction of a new Channel Tunnel Rail Link (CTRL), the regeneration of St Pancras and King's Cross Stations, and a significant expansion of the transport infrastructure in the area.

The urban development of King's Cross cannot be fully disaggregated from the way crime and community safety effort is managed. Regeneration is *gentrification* and part of this process has involved policing what have been defined as undesirable elements away from the streets. The philosophy behind this derives from the 'broken windows' thesis of crime prevention (Kelling & Wilson 1982). According to this thesis crime occurs because windows that get broken are not replaced. Undesirable behaviour such as drug usage and prostitution are akin to broken windows. If it is not removed or dealt with, then crime will occur.

While wider research on urban renewal attests to the importance urban planners now place on locating crime control as a key principle of urban design (see Hancock, 2003; Coleman 2004; Coleman and Sim 2005) it is unlikely that this explains the decision to 'clean up' King's Cross, as this agenda was already under way anyway before the full symbiosis between urban renewal and crime prevention had been fully formed. As stated above, by the year 2000 situational crime prevention was already becoming directly bound up with the urban regeneration effort in the area. If the proposed new developments have a role to play it is not as a primary precondition for the crime control effort. That said, the funding for the considerable resources made available to clean up the area subsequently was no doubt also stimulated by the new imperatives of urban regeneration more generally, including that to come.

3.1.6 Controlled Drinking Zones

The Controlled Drinking Zones (CDZs) are used in Camden to control street drinking in the borough. Following a successful pilot project in Camden Town a borough wide Controlled Drinking Zone was initiated in June 2006. Although this sanction does not fall within the time frame under consideration in this study, its inclusion here is testimony to the significant effect it has had on the street population and anti-social behaviour in the area (see Section 4 & 5) since its inception.

An area controlled by a drinking zone means that it is an offence to drink alcohol in a public place. Within the zone a police officer has the right to:

- Ask a person to stop consuming alcohol;
- Confiscate alcohol from people, even if the drinking vessel is unopened;
- Dispose of any alcohol and containers in a person's possession; and

- Arrest an individual who fails to comply with an order and to whom a fine of £500 can be awarded.²⁸

What is noticeable about the new sanctions is that they are principally civil sanctions that attract a punitive response for those who fail to accept their terms. These sanctions have been directed at street crime in the King's Cross area. Equally interesting is that certain types of behaviour identified as those that 'cause or is likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress' are by no means criminal. In King's Cross begging can result in an ASBO.²⁹ Congregating together in areas of Camden now covered by a CDZ can result in people having their alcohol confiscated or poured away.

3.2 Conclusion

- 1) Crime prevention in King's Cross has changed dramatically over the last decade. From 1998 onwards there was a movement towards a multi-agency partnership approach to tackle crime and anti-social behaviour.
- 2) A number of local initiatives were devised to tackle crime, the fear of crime and improve the quality of life in King's Cross. These included the formation of the King's Cross Partnership and policing operations such as Operation Welwyn and street warden schemes.
- 3) Anti-Social Behaviour Orders were introduced as key features of the crime and anti-social behaviour control effort in the ward. At the time of publication, two hundred and eighteen (218) ASBOs were granted in Camden; greater than any other London borough.
- 4) As well as ASBOs, situational crime prevention measures were utilized to reduce levels of crime and anti-social behaviour. Gated communities and CCTV were introduced into the area.
- 5) The ward of King's Cross was earmarked for development and regeneration. The redevelopment of King's Cross cannot be disaggregated from the crime and community safety effort. Part of the regeneration process is to eliminate crime and illegal markets in goods and services from the area.
- 6) Behaviour such as begging and rough sleeping, activities that were once considered unpleasant but not criminal, are now reclassified as 'anti-social' and subject to control by new sanctions such as ASBOs.
- 7) The recent implementation of CDZ has had an impact on anti-social behaviour in the ward.
- 8) Regeneration and social control initiatives have altered the social landscape of King's Cross. From being an area notorious for sex, drugs and crime and the blighted dilapidation of its physical space, King's Cross has slowly begun to gentrify.

²⁸ <http://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/content/policing-and-public-safety/community-safety>

²⁹ Persistent and aggressive begging is considered anti-social and individuals engaging in such behaviour can result in being given an ABA or ASBO. See Appendix E.

4. Perceptions and experiences of the control effort in King's Cross

This chapter provides an overview of the general perceptions of crime control and regeneration initiatives. We then outline the impact each has had on the local community, crime and anti-social behaviour. The section explores the justification for implementing these initiatives and assesses the impact and social costs to the local and anti-social community.

4.1 General perceptions about crime and its reduction in the King's Cross area

When asked to comment on the implementation of regeneration strategies in the area and the impact of new policing initiatives (e.g. street warden schemes, PSCOs and CCTV) the general consensus among the interviewees was that they had improved conditions within the ward. Many respondents commented positively on the changes in King's Cross and referred to the significant 'eradication of homeless people, street drinkers, drug dealers and prostitutes from around the Town Hall and the Station'.

King's Cross was viewed as a 'safer' place', a 'cleaner' place with a marked reduction in the level of anti-social and criminal behaviour. As one respondent observed:

On a personal level King's Cross is a much safer place and there is less visible evidence of there being a street problem.

Members of the street active population shared this perception and reported feeling safer than before. They welcomed the increase in police presence and were enthusiastic about the regeneration of King's Cross which was widely regarded as 'putting King's Cross back on the map'. They identified with the area, saw themselves as part of it and, as such, supported its improvement.

According to respondents, the increased police presence and development of King's Cross had altered street market dynamics. The general perception was that King's Cross had 'become a hard environment for sex work and drug dealing to take place'. In other words, King's Cross, as an area in transition, was no longer conducive to work in. Respondents noted that the extensive rebuilding work had had a significant impact on the drugs and vice markets. As some observed, the construction of the Channel Tunnel Rail Link, and the redevelopment of King's Cross and St. Pancras station, had severely restricted access to the streets and garages previously used (e.g. Battle Bridge Road) by sex workers and drug dealers to ply their trade. In addition, the one way system introduced in the area also had impact on trade. Prospective clients were no longer able to stop along Euston and King's Cross Roads.

Respondents were asked to comment on the implementation and impact of sanctions, such as the ASBO, on criminal and anti-social behaviour. There were profound differences in the way these were received and perceived. Three distinctive perspectives emerged and were broadly dependent upon the professional position of the interviewee. The responses were classified into a three-fold typology: the perspectives of the 'enforcers' (professionals responsible for implementing and administering the new sanctions), the 'carers' (professionals who work directly with the

street population) and the 'street active' (people with knowledge of King's Cross street markets).³⁰

4.1.1 The Enforcement Perspective

i) Enforcement view of ASBOs

The role of the 'enforcers' sampled was to protect the community from people whose behaviour they deemed to cause 'distress, harassment or alarm'. From this perspective, individuals who engaged in illegal and anti-social activities (that were viewed as detrimental to the well-being of the local community) should be encouraged to stop their behaviour. Encouragement should come in the form of rehabilitative/support services. However, if individuals fail, or refuse, to engage with support agencies they should incur a penalty. According to several 'enforcers' (4), penalties, such as fines, did little to deter people from committing crime or anti-social behaviour.

Commenting on law enforcement prior to the ASBO, some enforcers (4) argued that the CJS had failed the wider community and victims because it was 'full of loopholes that could be exploited'. Persistent offenders in King's Cross were, according to the 'enforcers', 'street savvy' and able to manipulate the court system. Fines, short court sentences, rehabilitation orders and DTTOs were ineffective against the anti-social and offending behaviour of prostitutes and drug dealers who were 'using the system' to their own advantage. As two enforcers note:

Custody was having no deterrent effect. It was chance to see the doctor, lawyer, have bed for the night and get medication. [Some] clients knew this and persisted. People operated at a level where the chance of them getting a criminal prosecution was virtually nil!

It seemed like the Criminal Justice System was very pro-defendant. It failed communities and individual victims and there was a kind of hopelessness around. There was also a belief that all you had to do was offer services [to them] but no one would really engage with those services.

They argued that the introduction of the ASBO enabled law enforcement practitioners to effectively deal with anti-social behaviour in the ward (and protect the community) in a way that was not possible before the radical reconfiguration of the Criminal Justice System (CJS). For some enforcement practitioners (5), the ASBO presented an opportunity for them to target persistent and prolific offenders and by so doing confront 'deep-rooted' problems within the ward of King's Cross (see Appendix E).

As one respondent who regarded the ASBO as the single most important factor in bringing about the reduction of crime and anti-social behaviour in King's Cross notes:

We went hell for leather to identify individuals that meet the criteria to qualify as ASBO candidates. [...] In a relatively short period of time we churned out, conveyor-belt style, a load of these things purely concentrated on those [people] that frequented King's Cross with an anti-social behaviour propensity. So in a relatively short period of time the nucleus, the hardcore, well more than hardcore, were literally ASBOed out of existence!

³⁰ This typology must be considered as a heuristic. It does not imply that enforcers necessarily shared the same view or did not share some of the perceptions and concerns of care workers; and vice versa.

ii) Tasking and Targeting

Given the punitive and restrictive nature of sanctions such as the ASBO enforcement professionals were careful to stress good practice when granting them.

According to the 'enforcers' interviewed, persistent offenders engaging in anti-social behaviour are *always* given advice and offered services or assistance prior to receiving an ASBO.³¹ Furthermore, a full assessment of an individual is made prior to targeting them. The assessment exercise was undertaken in the Tasking & Targeting Team (T&T) meetings chaired by Camden Street Services Team.

This multi-agency T&T team (comprised of the MPS, British Transport Police, Camden Council, voluntary and community group representatives) regularly holds debates (on a fortnightly basis) on the anti-social behaviour and support needs of street active individuals in King's Cross and discusses possible actions to curb it before the implementation of the ABA/ASBO. As one member illustrates:

The police bring names of people who are causing problems on the streets that they are thinking about targeting for enforcement; that could potentially be an ASBO. They bring the names if they think the individual is vulnerable or rough sleeping. Then we are given a chance to meet with them, to offer them different services and, if they are still not taking up after that and if we have managed to house them, [name] would be off to work with them offering them an Anti-Social Behaviour Agreement.

The support component of the ASBO process was described by this group as a two-fold commitment to tackling anti-social behaviour with a 'carrot and stick' approach, which is, as a member of the SST team highlights, a 'partnership between enforcement and helping'.

Considered as a philosophy, what was being argued was a version of 'tough love' or what in Sweden would be termed 'coercive care' (tvångsvård). The street active populations were not taking the right steps to change their bad behaviour so, as a consequence, *they* had to be helped to do so whether or not they wanted the help being given to them. And if they did not accept this offer of help, then by their own actions they licensed the initiation of more coercive sanctions.

Sanctions such as the ASBO were also justified on the basis that they forced other agencies to take responsibility for the well-being and care of people that would otherwise slip through the net. As one member of the Anti-Social Behaviour Order Team in King's Cross pointed out:

I've seen it [the ASBO] be very successful when it's done with a lot of good practice. [...] It can help. They become an ASBO target and all the statutory agencies that used to be able to go "Oh, no, no they don't fit into our box" they all have to pull in for people that have been out on the street.

The multi-agency tasking and targeting approach adopted in King's Cross was viewed as successful by several members of the enforcement team. One interviewee credited the partnership for helping 'crack the core sex and drug market' within the area and for providing intelligent policing and support for street people.

³¹ Persistent offenders are those who have come to the attention of the police or services more than five times in the last 6 months.

You have to have good services, you could just do the enforcement but it's not the Camden way. The idea is a bit... You have to have good services and give people a really good option and some of these people are vulnerable and they do need help, but you see we can get people into a hostel for the night.

Others drew attention to the improvements in the lives of some street active people. One hostel manager talked of the 'big impact' the SST and T&T had had on many people in King's Cross. She talked of how the T&T helped people 'plug into services' otherwise unavailable to them and commented on how the team made it easier for substance mis-users to receive methadone scripts find accommodation and return home (if they so chose).

It should be observed that not all respondents viewed the work of the T&T positively and stated that whilst the partnership approach was beneficial to tackling crime and anti-social behaviour there was an element of 'anti-client' within the group.

Several respondents (3) commented on the exclusion of voluntary services from the T&T process and this view was linked to competing political perspectives. As one voluntary/community member of the T&T group highlights:

I do think that the council and the SST don't work enough with agencies like us. I think they see us as 'pain in the backside' rather than giving an input into what needs to happen.

There was some comment on the over-emphasis on enforcement within the group. Indeed, two interviewees expressed concern about the 'criminal justice approach' to anti-social behaviour adopted by the T&T and intimated that T&T was defunct as a social care partnership. Clearly sympathetic to the aims of the partnership, one stated that the partnership was 'overstretched' and 'under-resourced' with a 'massive brief to clean up Camden', which in his opinion was the cause of their overt punitiveness.

There was real concern amongst this group of individuals (who were primarily voluntary and community representatives) that targeted individuals who were being 'pathologised' by the T&T and they were uneasy about the lack of understanding (from some sections of the group) and about the disorganised and precarious lives of street active people. The statement below illustrates this point adequately.

I've said ~~time~~ and time after time at the T&T and I hear the SST say that they've made two appointments [for an individual] and they've never turned out; they've got to take responsibility! You don't make appointments for people who are street active you go looking for them. You don't say they need to take responsibility. If they took responsibility, well, we wouldn't have a job!

Another concern related to the one above was the issue of advocacy. Despite describing the ASBO as a 'useful tool', the same respondent (above) felt that the individuals who were granted an ASBO were those who had 'no one to fight for them'.

He felt this situation to be wrong and argued that this should be recognised by the T&T.

iii) Enforcement professionals assessment on the impact of ASBOs

In terms of assessing the impact of community safety effort in King's Cross there is little doubt that, for the enforcement professionals sampled, the ASBO was considered to be the single most effective way to disrupt crime and disorder in King's Cross. It worked in so far as it had a tangible and measurable impact on crime and anti-social behaviour; and it worked well because, as a civil sanction, it avoided the problems inherent in the Criminal Justice Service as enforcers identified them above.

Persistent offenders were not able to circumvent the system as they had done previously. A breach of ASBO conditions (such as entering a restricted area or engaging in the same behaviour) converted a civil sanction into a criminal offence and as such often resulted in a recall to court and [possibly] incarceration (for up to five years for a serious offence).

A sizeable proportion of those targeted in King's Cross were subject to ASBOs and many were subsequently sanctioned for breaching (See Appendix F). The impact was, according to a police officer and housing officer for Camden Council, a marked reduction in the number of offenders operating in the area. They note:

If you looked at the hardcore of those individuals that were there, the one big sea change was when we came in and ASBOed em. Whoof! In one fell swoop they are all banned from the area and literally overnight crime and everything went whoof! It fell. Literally off the face of the cliff as it were. [...] Immediately as their geographical boundary had been breached and whoof, they were lifted because they were banned.

As soon as the ASBO came in they [ASBO candidates] could not believe that something was in place that could literally knock them for six. Now here comes the big plus of the ASBO, the ASBO did what everything else never ever achieved. It made a lot of individuals realise that the ASBO was so restrictive that it would be easier to give up drugs [...] than try and breach the ASBO.

As to the ASBOs' effect on the physical environment and quality of life for residents more generally, these were considered positive.

There seems to be a cleaner environment on the streets [...] The streets are less busy and the streets feel a lot safer. I know I certainly feel a lot safer and I think people are more confident about walking around King's Cross and Camden.

While the 'enforcers' recognised that the ASBO was punitive and entailed restrictions on the liberties of the population they were targeting, this was considered an acceptable cost for the gains received by the community as a whole. As one enforcer observed:

What we want to say is “there’s your ASBO to protect the community not for protecting you, but protecting the community”. That’s what the ASBO is for. You breach it, you’re going to prison – sorry mate!

Utilising the ASBO to destabilise anti-social behaviour and protect the community appeared not to be simply a means of enforcing penalties upon this group.

Five out of 8 enforcement specialists stressed that ASBOs were not simply punitive. Through the ASBO process individuals were given opportunities to tackle their anti-social behaviour and desist from law breaking in public spaces. Vulnerable people were, as a consequence of the sanction, often referred to care services that could help them confront their problems.

What we’ve done with the ASBO, with good services, is we’ve levered them [rough sleepers, beggars] into hostels so they’ve gone from rough sleeping to living in a hostel, claiming benefits. They may still have a drug problem but might go on a methadone script. What I’m talking about is the pathway to improvement; it is an improvement.

According to this group the ASBO produced positive effects. One positive effect was to produce a ‘responsibilising function’. The following quotes reflect this view.

I think the ABA is very good because it’s almost like a negotiated contract between the client and the police [...] and it teaches them that they have some social responsibility and some control over their future.

In sense I think it’s ~~I think it’s~~ produced the space for a lot of people to move on with their lives and do something about their issues because, ultimately, they don’t want to be involved in it, they’re embarrassed about it and I think they see it as a tool to get away from people they’ve associated with in the past.

Displacement is not a totally bad thing. It can have a positive effect on the individual. The conditions and restrictions of the ASBO in tandem with service provision can help an individual to realise their current situation and take the first tentative steps towards change.

For ‘enforcers’ ASBOs *may* coerce people into refraining from engaging in a particular type of activity *in public* (and to find private spaces if they want to continue) but as a consequence of being served with an order, many street active individuals have found accommodation and been referred to services where they can be helped and their behaviour can be monitored and addressed in an appropriate way.

iv) Enforcement perspectives on ASBOs and displacement

When asked about the potential displacement effects of the ASBO, 'enforcers' either argued that the sanction had resulted in net reductions in crime and anti-social behaviour, without displacement, or accepted that displacement would occur as a matter of course. In reference to the latter, the gains made by the implementation of the ASBO (less anti-social behaviour in King's Cross and safer streets) outweighed the cost incurred by displacement.

The 'enforcers' argued that displacement brings about a net reduction in the amount of crime and anti-social behaviour committed in King's Cross. By this reckoning individuals who have been displaced do not perpetrate the same level of crime as they previously did because the ASBO disrupts their capacity to do so. For example, several enforcement (2) agents argued that the restrictions imposed by the ASBO (e.g. exclusion zones and good behaviour clauses) compel people either to seek out other areas to commit crime and anti-social behaviour or to desist altogether.

Drawing attention to the positive effects of displacement, enforcement agents argued that the disruptive effects of the ASBO made it difficult for some people to continue to offend in the same way. One example of positive displacement given concerned ASBOed drug dealers. A consensus amongst the enforcers (5) was that excluded dealers could not operate at the same level (in a new area) because trading would be made difficult by the existing criminal and/or anti-social fraternity who may not allow a new intruder to work there.

It must be pointed out that there was no conclusive evidence to support these claims as ASBOed, and displaced, individuals were not monitored and often 'went missing from the system'. However one successful ASBO story was highlighted over the course of the study and held up as an example of positive displacement. A prolific sex worker banned from entering King's Cross had, after being served with an ASBO, successfully engaged with treatment, reengaged with her family and desisted from engaging in sex work.

Recognising that displaced persons might engage in crime elsewhere and mindful of the fact that Camden's ASBO policy had been (anecdotally) criticized by other local authorities for displacing crime and anti-social behaviour, the enforcement agents drew attention to terms and conditions of the ASBOs granted in Camden and argued that these effectively reduced criminal opportunities.

As a routine measure ASBOs granted in Camden include a 'large exclusion zone clause' and a 'whole of England and Wales' clause prohibits individuals from continuing their anti-social behaviour elsewhere.³² The enforcers shared the opinion that by enacting these clauses Camden had created the preconditions for helping other boroughs / areas to crack down on any subsequent anti-social behaviour. Other boroughs however needed, they argued, to be pro-active in enforcing the ASBO within their jurisdiction.

v) Enforcement perspectives on regeneration

The respondents were asked to specify other factors that might have contributed to the reduction in crime and anti-social behaviour in the King's Cross area. There was widespread recognition amongst the enforcement professionals that the regeneration effort in King's Cross had had a significant impact on crime and anti-social behaviour - albeit to a lesser extent than the ASBO. As a result the streets of King's Cross were

³² The 'good behaviour clause' and 'whole of England and Wales' clause became routine in ASBOs granted in Camden after 2002.

perceived to be 'a lot nicer', 'a lot safer' and the level of street crime had been markedly reduced.

The single most important regenerative factor highlighted by respondents for reducing crime was the building works and the disruption it caused to street activity. Both care workers and enforcers expressed how areas once accessible to sex workers, drug dealers, rough sleepers and street drinkers (such as Goods Way, Battle bridge Road and the streets running behind the back of King's Cross and St Pancras stations) were no longer accessible, having been cordoned off or demolished. The result was an area that was no longer conducive to the market as the following statements suggest:

A lot of the back streets where women used to work don't exist anymore; they are being closed off or demolished.

[In the past] it was completely different with lots of little alleyways, lots of little streets, and little areas of cemetery. There were lots of hidden away spaces where people could go and use drugs or sell sex or just sit down and drink cans. [...] Now there's not so many places where you can get hidden away; they're rebuilding most of it back there.

4.1.2 Care workers' Perspectives

i) Care worker views on ASBOs

While care professionals were supportive of the aim of making King's Cross a safer place, they were critical of the means by which this outcome had been secured. The introduction of ASBOs was singled out for condemnation by this constituency. Indeed, the use of ASBOs in tackling anti-social behaviour was viewed as 'catastrophic' by most of the practitioners and outreach workers who had direct contact with street active people.

Practitioner views of ASBOs cannot be divorced from the philosophy of care. If the enforcement perspective can be described as being influenced by the 'criminal justice model' of crime control the practitioner view stems [primarily] from the principles of social justice and care for the vulnerable and marginalised.³³

There was almost unanimous agreement amongst care workers that ASBOs had a detrimental effect on the lives of recipients; especially those who had received 'wide exclusion zone' ASBOs that prohibited them from entering large areas of Camden and King's Cross. As one hostel worker, referring to a case involving a former client who had been granted such an ASBO, illustrated:

He couldn't go to the post office; he couldn't go to his doctor. He couldn't go to the Drug Treatment Unit. He couldn't go anywhere. He was like a caged animal!

³³ Social justice approach seeks to understand the links between social issues and private problems as well as being committed to challenging discrimination. It challenges the view that crime is largely a problem for the criminal justice agencies (to be dealt with through coercive means) and locates crime and anti-social behaviour within the wider social contexts.

It should be observed that this was not the expressed position of all care workers; some referred to the positive effects of the ASBO. Two project workers adopted a similar philosophy to that of the 'enforcers' referring to the positive effects of ASBOs. They argued that ASBO made 'people take responsibility for themselves, which was 'good' because they had to 'tow the line'.

While there was a shared perception that the ASBO was 'useful' (under certain circumstances and with the right kind of support) and it had worked to reduce the amount of *visible* criminal and anti-social activity in the ward, it was felt that the costs incurred to the individual outweighed any advantages conferred on the general population. Consequentially, the ASBO was criticised on a number of grounds. The following four points serve to illustrate care worker concerns about the ASBO:

- 1) The ASBO displaced vulnerable people into other areas exposing them to higher levels of risk and danger than was hitherto the case. As one project manager expressed:

A lot of women who've been displaced from King's Cross have been raped and sexually assaulted. They've been taken away from a safer customer base. Displacement creates an unsafe vacuum and the services to support women can't help them.

- 2) By evicting vulnerable people from the neighbourhood (and from the networks of support) the ASBO far from helping individuals confront their problems had further destabilised what were already messy, chaotic lives. The ensuing result was not [necessarily] a reduction in law-breaking and anti-social behaviour, but an increased level of victimisation and violence. This was particularly the case when practitioners referred to sex-workers, street drinkers and rough sleepers.
- 3) The restrictive nature of the ASBO often meant that people could not access services within Camden and would have to look elsewhere. In some cases it was not always possible to negotiate an adequate level of care for the displaced individual either because there were no partnership links with the receiving borough or the individual was no longer detectable. The vulnerability of an ASBO recipient is highlighted by a practitioner working with drug users.

[As someone granted an ASBO] you are not entitled to be relocated to another hostel or to any other services under the ASBO, so this could mean a 'double punishment' [for the client] and sleeping rough for 6 months.

Linked to this was the view that other boroughs may not have adequate resources to help evictees and so services would have to be 're-invented' elsewhere. This was deemed by two practitioners as a 'waste of resources'.

- 4) Some practitioners (3) were of the view that money spent on administering, monitoring and policing the ASBO could be better spent on improving existing services for vulnerable people within the borough.

ii) Care worker assessment on the impact of ASBOs

Respondents drew attention to the consequences for those who had breached the terms and conditions of the ASBO which for three community workers was an inevitability given the chaotic lifestyles led by some of their clients.

Some respondents (3) were unhappy at the punitive sanctions attached to breaching the ASBO, which they argued were, at times, disproportionate - a breach of an ABA could result in an 'upgrade' to an ASBO and a breach of an ASBO could result in a custodial sentence.

It was not only the costs incurred through a breach that was objected to. Of equal concern was that sanctions were not directed at the original anti-social act. As an example, care workers spoke of individuals who were punished not for anti-social behaviour, but for entering an exclusion zone. Punishment on these terms was often felt to be unreasonable.

The longer-term consequences of breaching an ASBO could be seriously negative and destructive for the person in question. As one worker pointed out, failure to follow the terms and conditions of an ASBO could have serious implications on an individual's social stability. The quote below highlights this point.

If people don't follow through what has been set out for them then the next thing is they end up [back] in prison and when you end up in prison you lose your accommodation.

A number of care workers (5) objected to the ASBO on the grounds that they were being used against people who were not guilty of a criminal act (such as street drinkers and prostitutes). A consensus amongst this group was this action was unjust, unfair and criminalising.

iii) Care workers' perceptions on the CDZ

The newly imposed CDZ sanction was also a contentious issue for some project workers who referred to its discriminatory nature. Those who objected to it (4) shared three common views:

- a) That the sanction was levelled only at vulnerable people and not public consumers;
- b) That the street drinkers were being targeted for sanction in the absence of sex workers and drug dealers that used to be prevalent in King's Cross; and
- c) That the police were ill-equipped and inadequately trained to deal with the street drinking population which (through the CDZ) had resulted in an inappropriate handling of street drinking alcoholics.

As one project worker summed up:

My worry is the police and the wardens aren't qualified around alcohol and they may take alcohol off somebody who needs it. They may not recognise the symptoms of people who are about to have a fit or endanger themselves because they've just taken [the alcohol] way.

He went on to say...

It's bad to take alcohol off somebody who's dependent and desperate for alcohol. They are [often] left with no alcohol and no money to buy it, and what are they going to do about that?

iv) Care workers' perception of service provision

The relative paucity of services was an extremely contentious issue for the care workers who spoke of a general lack of provision for street active people in the King's Cross area. There were calls for better provision for substance mis-users of both alcohol and drugs. One practitioner proposed a 'minor arrest referral scheme' for sex workers and a service that 'gave women positive incentives to attend projects' and another argued for an established needle-exchange service.

This last point was particularly interesting since the London Borough of Camden has a number of needle exchange services in the borough. According to Camden Drug Action Team, [at the time of reporting] 13 pharmacy-based needle exchange facilities were in operation in Camden, in addition to two mobile needle exchange vehicles (outside Centrepoint and King's Cross Station). The borough also supplies a treatment service response scheme for residents of one north Camden hostel. From here residents are able to access an in-house needle exchange service.

According to several care workers (3), street drinkers were the population that appeared to be least catered for. These care workers consistently stressed the need for adequate provision for this group arguing that if the people were prohibited from drinking in public then there needed to be an alternative strategy in place for them.

I think it's absolutely appalling that there is no service. [...] You need to provide a 'wet service' where people can go and drink safely. [Without it] you are exposing people to all sorts of risks.

At the time of reporting there was one wet service for street drinkers in Camden (The Spectrum Centre) and it was not, according to some care workers, accessible to King's Cross residents. Referring to the relative inadequacy of services for street drinkers, one respondent pointed to the limited time frame for users of the wet service. The wet service is open between 4-8 p.m., which this worker cynically argued corresponded, conveniently, with the evening rush hour leaving the impression that the area was free of street drinkers.

As with the needle exchange service provision there appeared to be a discrepancy in care worker understanding & knowledge about service provision in Camden. According to the Spectrum Centre, any resident of the London Borough of Camden can access the wet service provided they are referred by Camden Street Service Team. The issue about provision, at least with respect to the Spectrum centre, was one of referral rather than provision.

There are, however, at least 5 hostels in the King's Cross area housing 150 plus homeless, vulnerable people. Care workers interviewed have argued that given the

correlation between homelessness and alcohol misuse, a sizable majority of these residents are in need of a wet service. It is questionable whether one wet service is adequate to meet the potential demands of a large number of alcohol users. A needs assessment should be initiated to appraise the situation.

The discrepancy in knowledge about needle exchange and wet services in the borough highlights an overall lack of awareness about facilities for drug and alcohol users. Drug and alcohol service providers and referral agents should be encouraged to advertise more widely in order to raise the profile of service provision. It would be advantageous to care workers and service providers to generate, and widely distribute, a dictionary of Camden-based services.

v) Care workers' perception of the regeneration effort

There was widespread recognition amongst the care professionals that the regeneration effort in King's Cross had had a significant impact on crime and anti-social behaviour. The union between the business sector and the police was deemed to be a significant contributory factor in reducing crime and anti-social behaviour in the ward.

Several (3) respondents referred to the investment in crime control made by the business community and one felt that the 'clean up' campaign would not have been successful if the partnership had not occurred.³⁴ The business community was not the only investor in King's Cross and one respondent pointed to the large sum of money (£52 million) invested by the Single Regeneration Fund (SRF). According to this respondent the injection of capital by the SRF was spent, amongst other things, on providing much needed decent homes and securing vulnerable estates from abuse by non-residents.

Despite the significant improvements brought about by the regeneration effort, several respondents (7) were reticent about the positive benefits to the local community. Nearly all of the care workers expressed some concern over the re-development project. It was the opinion of these practitioners that regeneration was less about a meaningful attempt to resolve complex needs within the borough and far more about obscuring complex problems. The main thrust of their argument was that the regeneration effort was 'unequal' within the borough and produced a 'gated community' that provided a 'middle class haven from the dangerous streets and dangerous people'.

One care worker referred to the regeneration as the '*boulevard project*'; a project that rendered vulnerable members of the community invisible to more affluent ones. He argued that the problems posed by the street active population (as defined and experienced by the wider community) had not gone away but had manifested in other areas (or in private spaces) outside their field of vision.

4.1.3 A view from the street

The majority of hostel residents and drug project clients interviewed were, or had been, 'street active'; however a small minority of hostel residents (2) had never been involved in activities such as drug taking, street drinking or sex work. Attitudes towards the changes in King's Cross, therefore, were not always determined by a particular philosophy. For example, there were non-street active people who opposed ASBOs

³⁴ According to a police officer £54 million had been invested in crime control by the international business community and £2.8 million by local investors.

and street drinkers in favour of the CDZ. Outlined below are some of their thoughts on regeneration and the community safety initiatives currently effective in King's Cross.

i) High visibility policing

Respondents were asked about the type and level of policing in King's Cross and the effects this had on them and the wider community. Street wardens were described as having a more visible presence in King's Cross than the police. Although attitudes towards the wardens varied, many people thought that they were 'doing a good job'. Some interviewees liked the street wardens and would talk to them if approached.

Although there was widespread agreement that there had been an increase in police presence in King's Cross, the respondents noted how the police stayed mainly within the vicinity of the railway stations and were not patrolling the small side roads with the same degree of effort.

The increase in police presence had brought the homeless and street drinkers in more contact. Some of the people in the sample expressed the view that homeless people were unfairly targeted by the police for Police National Computer (PNC) checks.

ii) Sex markets

A decline in the [visible] sex market was noted by all of the respondents. Most of the women interviewed reported being asked, less frequently, for sex in King's Cross and welcomed the decrease in harassment from men looking for sex. Although it happened less frequently, men asking sex was still an issue for these women. One female resident commented that, whereas before she would get propositioned everyday, now it was about once a week.

iii) Controlled Drinking Zones

The Controlled Drinking Zone was the most controversial enforcement strategy to be discussed amongst the sample even though it was not part of the crime control effort during 2001-2004. It is likely that attention to the CDZ was due to the fact that it was, at the time of reporting, the latest piece of legislation to be introduced in the borough.

Like the project workers most street active respondents were opposed to the legislation on the grounds that it simply 'wasn't fair'. As one interviewee commented: 'It's not so much about taking the beer, as taking the piss.'

Street drinkers in the sample felt discriminated against because the police and wardens did not appear to impose street drinking sanctions upon 'leisure drinkers'.³⁵

They say you can get an £80 fine and an ASBO, [but] what about the tourists?

³⁵ Unbeknownst to this respondent the CDZ sanction was imposed on the Women's Institute's picnic in the park!

Many respondents reported having open and unopened cans taken away from them by street wardens and the police.

If someone's walking down the street and they're minding their own business, if they want to sit in the park, and have a quiet can, why don't they leave them alone? It's understandable if someone's causing trouble, but if I walk down the street with a can of drink in me hand I'll get pulled up, even if it's a sealed can, but if a yuppy walks down the street with a bottle of champagne, it's ok; the Old Bill are gonna leave him alone. The homeless are getting targeted a lot you know.

Although several street drinkers reported that street wardens had confiscated their alcohol, it should be noted that street wardens do not have the power to remove alcohol directly from a person as (Street Services Team 2006) Section 12 of the Criminal Justice Police Act 2001 grants the power of confiscation to the police only. An officer can, if a person is drinking within a designated CDZ (or intending to consume alcohol), ask the individual to cease to do so and surrender all alcoholic beverages. Once surrendered, an officer can dispose of it in any way that they see fit – which can include pouring away the contents of an open can or bottle. An officer cannot take into their possession sealed containers, but can remove any unclaimed items. Failure to comply with an officer's requests, without reasonable excuse, is an offence that can result in an arrest and a fine not exceeding £500 (The Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001).

Street drinkers reporting that street wardens engaged in this action is cause for concern, however; it is quite possible that they could have confused street wardens with police officers and misinterpreted the situation.

The powers accorded to the police under the CDZ were also a source of friction. Echoing the sentiments of care workers, some respondents argued that the CDZ aggravated relations between the police and, as a consequence, the street drinkers had become more wary of them.

Despite overall objection to the CDZ, a minority of respondents welcomed it as a method of 'cleaning up' the area. The quote below was typical of this minority opinion:

I think it's [CDZ] a good idea. I don't like to see people lying in the street they're a nuisance.

iv) Anti-Social Behaviour Orders

While this population accepted that the ASBO was an appropriate measure for young people, they did not feel that it ought to be applied to them as adults. The exclusion zone clause was also met with incredulity by many respondents. The punitive impact of the exclusion zone was repeatedly illustrated in [a much repeated] 'urban myth' among the street population. The myth recalls how a person who breaches their ASBO (by stepping over 'one paving stone' into the exclusion zone) immediately gets arrested.

Two women described how they defied the terms and conditions of their ASBO and took no notice of the exclusion zone. One was never caught or sanctioned for entering an excluded area, but the other was found in breach of her ASBO (seven times). She commented:

I was never caught with drugs or anything on me; I was never causing any criminal damage. I was just walking along the road and now it's against the law for me to walk along that road.

This respondent was sentenced to eight months in imprisonment for the last breach. Her refusal to accept the conditions of the ASBO seemed to be rooted in her personal links to the area (it was the place where she was 'born and bred') and to the fact she bitterly resented any attempts to be ostracised from it.

While this population accepted that some serious crimes and criminals should be targeted by the application of sanctions such as the ASBO, they were generally unhappy at the way the partnership were applying the sanction in King's Cross. There was specifically widespread discontent voiced over the use of the ASBO for targeting drug users, street drinkers and sex workers whose activities were not thought of as criminal. 'Why don't they ASBO the dealers?' was a commonly asked question.

The cycle of breaching the ASBO, going to prison, coming out and re-offending was remarked upon by other respondents. This was thought indicative of a sanction that was not working.

They're [friends] in and out of prison every two minutes and they're getting no rehabilitation and help ... So they get out of prison and back in the same spot where they know everybody and where their associates are and they go straight back and in a month they're in prison again for another 4-6 months. It's just a joke. It's not working at all this ASBO shit.

The sense of being a population whose freedoms of movement, assembly and liberty had been seriously eroded was a common theme in the interviews. A common complaint made by the street population was the lack of understanding, or empathy, shown towards them by sections of the 'crime control family' (in this case, the street wardens, police, council officials and the SST). From the perspective of this constituency there appeared to be little overt recognition of the difficulties they faced. Consider the following statements made by a young male in his 20s and a female hostel resident in her 40s.

[About the agencies] they've got to deal with men as human beings. 'What they've got to understand is, yeah, we might not talk great, we might not look great, smell great, dress great but we've all got our reasons. To live in this place, to keep yourself clean, to keep from going fucking insane is no mean feat.

We're stuck in here so sometimes we go and sit out by the shops to get some air. [...] The other week I was sat out by the shops to get some air because I've got a tiny little hutch room and then two blokes come over in ordinary clothes and say 'we're police officers undercover', wondering what I was doing I was sat out there. They said go back to the hostel. It happened to [name] as well. What do they expect us to do? Sit in our tiny little rooms all day?

The social costs attached to the sanctions deployed to 'clean up' King's Cross were noted. Of particular concern were the negative effects of ASBOs. Whilst it was acknowledged that ASBOs might work to curtail certain forms of anti-social behaviour they could also lead individuals to adopt more destructive forms of behaviour.

For example, one long-term heroin user described how after being fined and threatened with an ASBO he stopped begging (which resulted in him 'coming off heroin' as he could no longer afford to sustain his habit), but started using methadone and alcohol. In the absence of any help (he stated that throughout the process he did not receive any support), he has substituted highly addictive substance for two others.³⁶

4.2 Conclusion

1. There was a general consensus amongst respondents that the regeneration and crime control effort had made a positive difference to King's Cross and all welcomed these changes.
2. The physical regeneration of the area was singled out as a major contributory factor for reducing crime and anti-social behaviour in King's Cross.
3. The multi-agency tasking and targeting approach adopted in King's Cross to tackle crime and anti-social behaviour was viewed as successful.
4. The introduction of the ABA and ASBO enabled law enforcement practitioners to effectively deal with anti-social behaviour in the ward.
5. There was clear agreement that initiatives such as ABA, ASBO, CDZ and high visibility policing had performed an important role in reducing crime and anti-social behaviour, but there was a profound difference of opinion between the enforcement professionals, care professionals and the street population on the positive and negative effects of each.

³⁶ There is one example of a worrying trend of methadone being taken in conjunction with other drugs or drink. The extent to which people are substituting of alcohol for heroin is not well known. This research highlighted one case. Further research on this topic would be advantageous.

5. Reduction or Displacement?

One of the key questions that this project was asked to consider was whether the net reduction of crime in King's Cross was produced with or without displacement. To answer this question we continue to draw upon the testimonies of the practitioners and street population. We also draw upon GIS mapping to examine crime trends in King's Cross.

As observed in the introduction, displacement can take a number of forms. It can be spatial – shifting to another place, or temporal – shifting to another time. Displacement can also be tactical in so far as perpetrators change the way in which they perpetrate the same crime, or change the nature of their offending as a consequence of the control effort. It is noteworthy that displacement is often considered in negative terms and viewed as a problem. This section considers both the negative and positive effects of displacement.

As highlighted elsewhere in the report there was a general consensus that crime and anti social behaviour had reduced, markedly, in the King's Cross area; however the research found that this reduction had occurred, in part, at the cost of displacement. Whether the displacement effect was viewed positively or negatively differed according to the professional status of the respondents.

Some respondents, typically the 'enforcers' (8) believed displacement to be an inevitable part of any crime control initiative and argued that to expect 'total non-displacement of crime and anti-social behaviour was an unrealistic outcome as anti-social behaviour is inevitably displaced as a consequence of change'. What was at issue to them was not so much that displacement had occurred; it was the *level* and *type* of displacement that was of significance. Care professionals and members of the street population tended to see displacement as inevitable too, but viewed it negatively and as being socially destructive.

5.1 Spatial Profiling of Crime in King's Cross

In this section we used Geographical Information System (GIS) to consider changes in crime patterns in the King's Cross area during 2000-2005. The data utilised for this exercise was the depersonalised, geo-coded, crime data collated by Camden Police Service. Separate databases on sex crime (principally soliciting but also curb crawling), drug crime (e.g. possession of illegal substances with attempt to supply, possession, and public drug usage), begging and vagrancy were constructed from this data source. These crime events were then mapped onto a map of Camden in order to profile changes on a year-by-year basis.

GIS was used to measure crime trend in three key areas in King's Cross. These were changes within a 0.5km radius of King's Cross Station, changes within a 0.5km radius from the junction of York Way and Brewery Road, and changes within a 0.5 km radius of Tottenham Court Road. The locations were selected because they were repeatedly identified as areas with high levels of street activity. In what follows we provide a profile for each crime category.

Prior to interrogating what GIS has to show us, it is important to recognise the strengths and limits of using this approach. To begin with, GIS can only profile formal crime events as reported to and recorded by the police. Therefore this data does not map *all* crime events.

In what follows, we consider evidence of crime reduction and displacement in the King's Cross area looking respectively at sex crime, vagrancy and begging, drug offences, robbery and violence.

5.1.1 Sex Crime

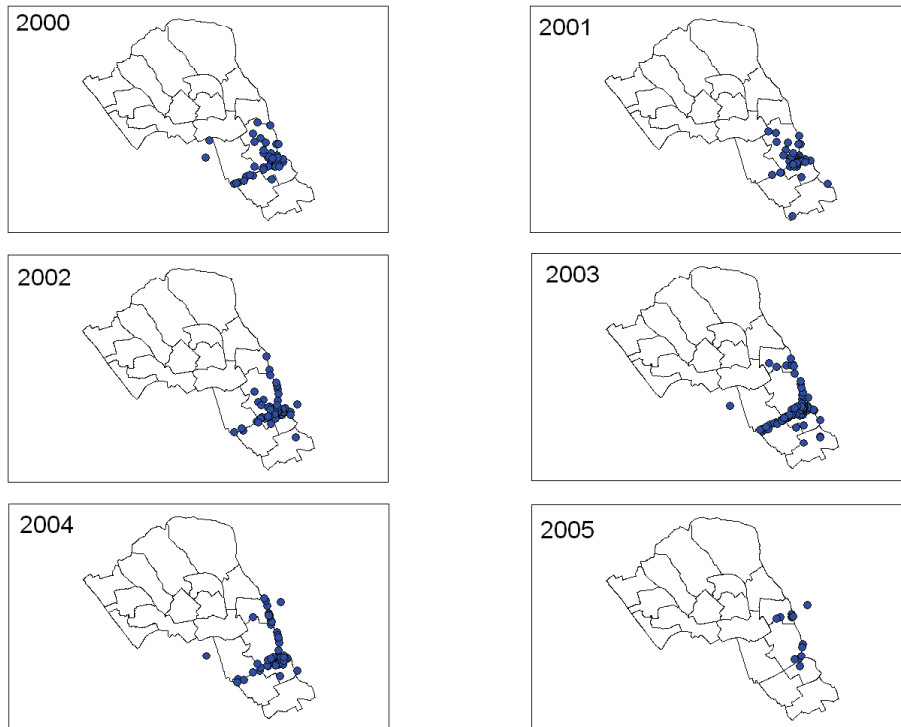
What the data appears to show are high concentrations of sex work clustered in the King's Cross area, along the Euston Road and Northward along the Caledonian Road (see Figure 1 below). In the vicinity of King's Cross the rate of decline moves from 334 offences recorded in 2000 to a low of 37 in 2005.

Table 4: Changes in Sex Crime in selected locations 2000-2005

Year	Total	0.5km KX	%	0.5km YB	%	0.5km TCR	%	Cumul %
All	1146	845	73.73	68	5.93	31	2.71	82.37
2000	334	238	71.26	6	1.80	8	2.40	75.45
2001	157	131	83.44	0	0.00	1	0.64	84.08
2002	237	203	85.65	4	1.69	4	1.69	89.03
2003	230	172	74.78	8	3.48	14	6.09	84.35
2004	150	86	57.33	25	16.67	4	2.67	76.67
2005	37	8	21.62	25	67.57	0	0.00	89.19

KX = King's Cross, YB = Junction of York Way and Brewery Rd, TCR = top of Tottenham Ct Rd

Figure 1: Sex Crime in Camden 2000-2005



This rate of decline can be read as a significant indication of the effectiveness of the crime control effort. As the fastest rate of decline occurred during the 2004-5 period it could be surmised that the ASBO had a deterrent effect on the open sex trade.

5.1.2 Begging and Vagrancy

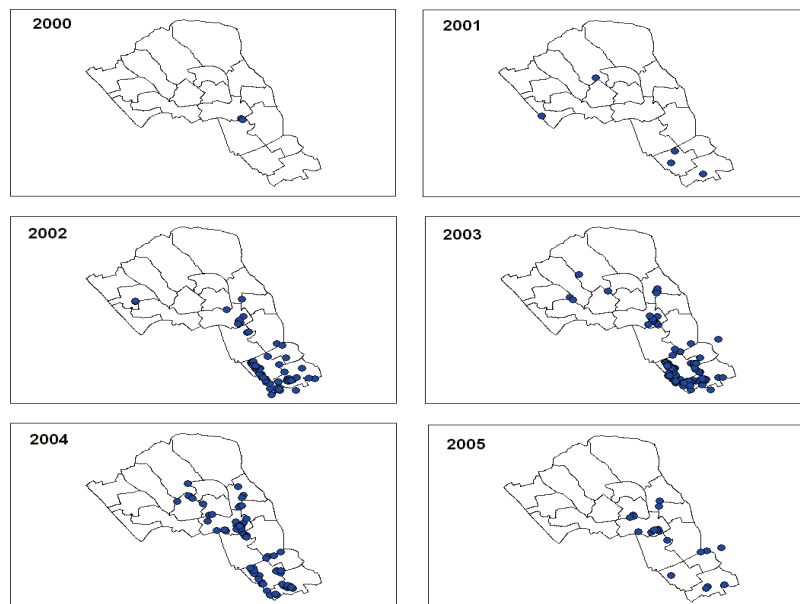
There appears to be a distinct lack of begging and vagrancy in the borough of Camden during 2000-2001 (See Figure 2). As seen previously, begging and vagrancy were not absent from Camden. The lack of vagrancy and begging illustrated here could simply be a matter of recording. Note that the DCLG figures indicated 54 people sleeping rough in Camden in 2000, yet on the GIS mapping evidences only one case. What these discrepancies show is that the profiling of rough sleeping and begging behaviour is complex.

From 2002-2004 onwards we find a sudden upsurge in recorded cases of vagrancy and begging. The increase in cases can perhaps be explained by the fact that there was a policy directive to target this type of behaviour from 2002.

In 2002-2005 Camden Crime and Community Safety Strategy outlined new measures designed to tackle begging and vagrancy. The Street Population Strategy pledged to reduce the numbers of people begging in Camden by 66% by April 2005.³⁷ Thus we find a sudden upsurge in cases as the Partnership take action against rough sleeping and begging.

Another explanation for the absence cases during 2000-2001 could be the invisible nature of rough sleeping. As noted in the ASB Scrutiny Panel Report (2004) rough sleeping counts and police data do not always capture the numbers of people sleeping rough on housing estates, in garages, in underground car parking lots or other secluded places.

Figure 2: Begging and Vagrancy in Camden 2000-2005



³⁷ This figure was revised to 99%.

There are some significant changes in this type of behaviour over time; not least in the King's Cross ward.

From 2002, there appears to be a concentration of activity south of the borough around the Euston Road, Bloomsbury, Eversholt Street, which intensifies in 2003 and is accompanied by a shift northwards towards Camden Town. Beggars who no longer beg cannot be discerned from this data alone and further research in this area would need to be done in order to highlight specific factors.

Table 5: Changes in begging and vagrancy from selected locations

Year	Total	0.5km KX	%	0.5km YB	%	0.5km TCR	%	Cumul %
All	437	9	2.06	0	0.00	79	18.08	20.14
2000	2	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00
2001	5	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	20.00	20.00
2002	103	2	1.94	0	0.00	24	23.30	25.24
2003	189	3	1.59	0	0.00	45	23.81	25.40
2004	112	2	1.79	0	0.00	9	8.04	9.82
2005	26	2	7.69	0	0.00	1	3.85	11.54

KX = King's Cross, YB = Junction of York Way and Brewery Rd, TCR = top of Tottenham Ct Rd

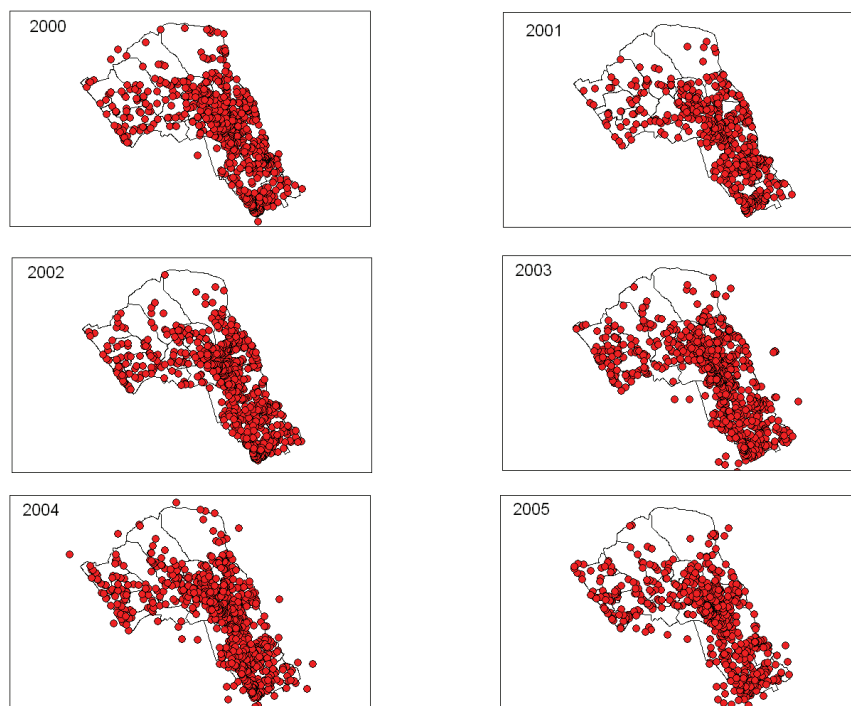
The changing pattern could be due to intensifying policing effort in areas such as King's Cross and an effort by Westminster to curb rough sleeping and begging. In 2003-2004 Westminster Council target hardened the areas around Tottenham Court Road and Soho imposing a Diversion Zone to dissuade people from rough sleeping.

This activity could have displaced people northwards into High Holborn and up through Bloomsbury into King's Cross and out towards Camden Town, Kentish Town and Hampstead. From 2005 there is a marked reduction in this activity. Whether this is because police action is not as concentrated, or because these behaviours have been displaced to other boroughs, or because rough sleepers have moved to hostels cannot be discerned from this data alone and further research in this area would need to be carried out in order to highlight specific factors.

The general pattern is a net reduction in rough sleeping and begging from 2002 to 2005, with an overall decrease of 86% in this type of anti-social activity during the period 2003-2005 (189 cases in 2003 to 26 cases in 2005).

5.1.3 Drug Crime

Given the sheer volume of drug offences recorded by the police, using the maps to understand spatial change remains problematic, and further work is currently being done to examine these patterns and represent them more appropriately (see Figure 3 below). If we consider changes in the immediate vicinity of King's Cross there does



appear to be sharp reduction in activity; and between the period of 2000 and 2005 drug crime had reduced by around three quarters according to the figures recorded in the table below.

Table 6: Changes in drug offences in selected locations

Year	Total	0.5km KX	%	0.5km YB	%	0.5km TCR	%	Cumul %
All	8547	799	9.35	182	2.13	350	4.10	15.57
2000	1416	257	18.15	41	2.90	50	3.53	24.58
2001	957	145	15.15	36	3.76	47	4.91	23.82
2002	1535	143	9.32	43	2.80	49	3.19	15.31
2003	1781	118	6.63	24	1.35	82	4.60	12.58
2004	1597	86	5.39	20	1.25	84	5.26	11.90
2005	1261	61	4.84	13	1.03	30	2.38	8.25

KX = King's Cross, YB = Junction of York Way and Brewery Rd, TCR = Top of Tottenham Ct Rd

5.1.4 Robbery

Again it remains difficult to interpret the spatial representation given the volume of cases. Table 7 (below) suggests a sharp and noticeable reduction in robberies from the King's cross area; a pattern also repeated in Tottenham Court Road and the

Junction of York Way and Brewery Road. What is noticeable is the decrease from 2002 onwards; a pattern that could probably best be explained by the impact of the Safer Streets Initiative, which ran over this period.

Figure 4: Robbery in Camden 2000-2005

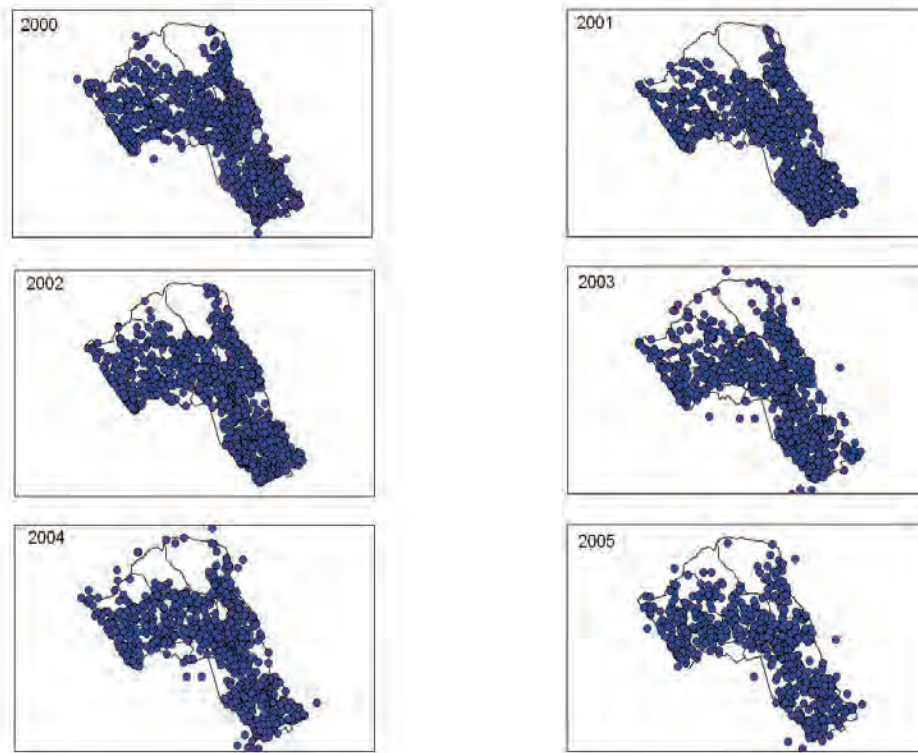


Table 7: Changes in robbery in selected locations

Year	Total	0.5km KX	%	0.5km YB	%	0.5km TCR	%	Cumul %
All	8686	709	8.16	156	1.80	380	4.37	14.33
2000	1745	200	11.46	19	1.09	65	3.72	16.28
2001	1699	187	11.01	42	2.47	76	4.47	17.95
2002	1803	143	7.93	36	2.00	91	5.05	14.98
2003	1347	97	7.20	29	2.15	63	4.68	14.03
2004	1175	44	3.74	12	1.02	54	4.60	9.36
2005	917	42	4.58	13	1.42	33	3.60	9.60

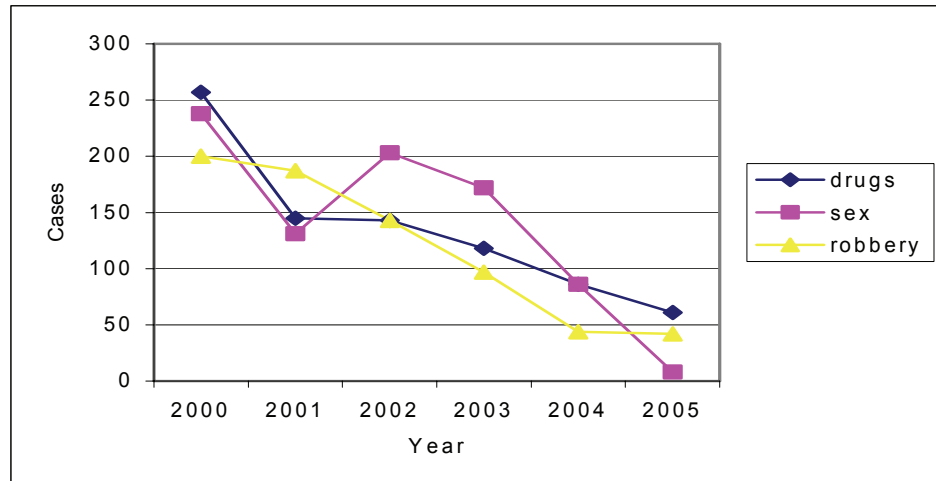
KX = King's Cross, YB = Junction of York Way and Brewery Rd, TCR = Top of Tottenham Ct Rd

Unlike drug crime wider reductions in robbery in and around the King's Cross area also appeared to be paralleled by net declines in Camden; more generally where the total number of robberies fell from 1747 cases in 2000 to 917 by 2005, there was a net decrease of almost 50%.

5.1.5 Summary

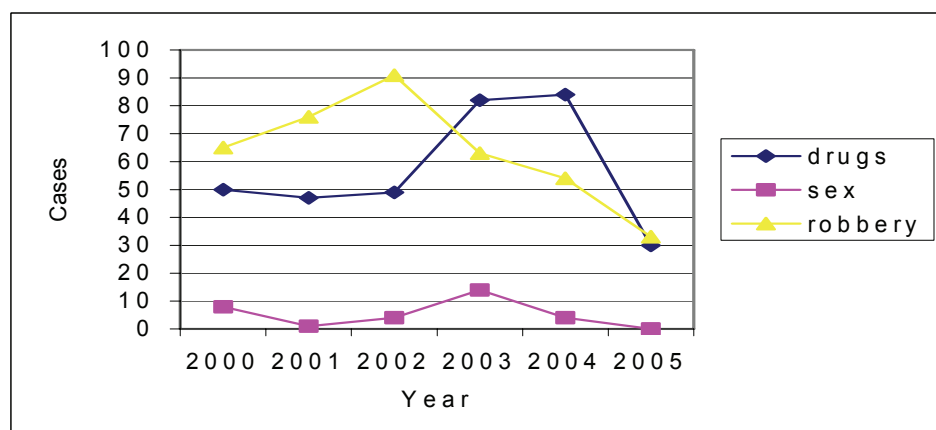
If we take the immediate vicinity around King's Cross as our point of reference then what this exercise demonstrates is a clear and consistent decline in each crime category considered above. This is borne out clearly if we consider the net changes in sex crime, drugs and robbery from 2000-2005 within a 0.5 KM radius of King's Cross station.³⁸

Figure 5: Changes in crime rates for selected crime categories in the King's Cross area



In the case of the Tottenham Court Road area the general pattern parallels that of King's Cross itself, and net decline appears to characterise the general pattern (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Changes in crime rates for selected crime categories in the Tottenham Court Road area

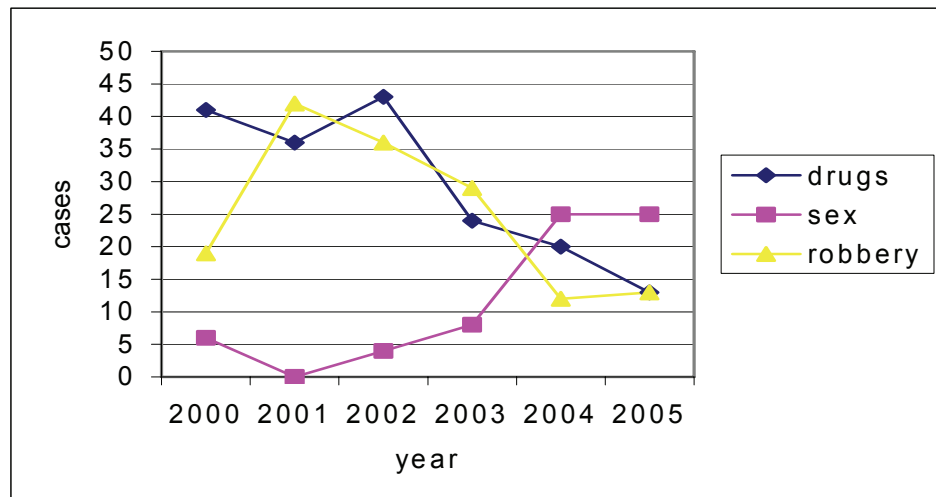


In the case of York Way, however, while drug related crime and robbery appear to have declined, sex work appears to rise though numbers involved are not significant.

³⁸ The figures for begging and vagrancy were too low to permit inclusion.

Whether this indicates displacement of this market is difficult to identify given that these figures may also reflect changing policing priorities.

Figure 7: Changes in crime rates for selected crime categories at the junction of York Way and Brewery Road



5.2 Practitioner perspectives on displacement

In this section we interrogate how practitioners defined the forms of displacement they observed in the King's Cross area. We then consider the views of street population.

5.2.1 Displacement of Sex Markets

i) Spatial displacement

According to the interviewees crime control initiatives in King's Cross had a significant effect on the sex market. There was, however, some contention as to whether the market had been eradicated or displaced.

The most common form of displacement cited by the respondents was spatial; that is, people moving from one place to another. Two outreach workers had seen clients (once active in King's Cross) working in Camden Town and two more mentioned the Kentish Town area as a burgeoning sex market. Several practitioners (2) highlighted the movement of sex workers from the main arterial roads (e.g. King's Cross and Pentonville Road) onto the 'back streets of Camden' and several estates that were not 'gated' in the Camden Town area. The rationale for this movement put forward by practitioners was that these places were accessible and relatively safe from interruption by wardens and the police who did not patrol there.

The neighbouring boroughs of Westminster, Finsbury Park in Islington and Brixton in Lambeth were also mentioned as likely places for displacement, but the area most associated with the movement of sex workers was Market Road, Islington. There was a general opinion that the majority of displaced sex workers from King's Cross had moved to this area - an area already known as a 'hotspot' for sex work. It is noteworthy

however that some respondents (mainly the 'enforcers') suggested that the sex workers trading in other areas were not [necessarily] those from King's Cross, but individuals deterred from trading in King's Cross market for fear of receiving an ASBO.

I think the other thing is you've got Finsbury Park where some people on the periphery who disappeared to [...] If they've got an ASBO they can get arrested [under the conditions of the England and Wales Clause] but some of them think "shit, it's coming, they're gonna ASBO me" and they'll move on.

Whilst most respondents were certain of some movement towards Market Road they were less certain about the proportion or size of the market that had moved there. A case for 'partial displacement' from King Cross to Market Road could be argued, but it was unlikely, as expressed by an ex-Operation Welwyn Officer, that the vice market had displaced 'wholesale' onto the Market Road. The Market Road area does not have the same historical legacy for sex work as King's Cross, nor does it have the same transportation links to sustain it to the same extent.

There was nowhere like it [King's Cross] in the UK. King's Cross had a reputation; transport link and its legacy sustained the market.

ii) Temporal displacement

Few respondents directly mentioned temporal displacement (changing times at which crimes and anti-social behaviour are committed), though the issue was raised in relation to sex workers. According to one respondent, sex workers had adapted their behaviour by monitoring the timing of street patrols and then varying their behaviour accordingly.

They [The sex workers] have created a new lifestyle for themselves. They have adapted to policing initiatives. They know when the police aren't around and then they work.

iii) Tactical displacement

In addition to spatial and temporal displacement, tactical displacement was evident in interviewee testimony. Tactical displacement occurs when the same offence is committed but in a different way.

A number of people (5) mentioned that policing initiatives and urban regeneration had driven criminal activity 'underground'. Sex and drugs, once sold on the street, had not disappeared but continued in hostels, 'crack houses', and in private premises.

Off street activity was known to the Partnership and efforts were made to tackle the tactical displacement of the street sex and drugs markets. Data produced by Camden Council Housing Department highlighted the existence of 30 'drugs addresses' within the borough, five of which (at the time of reporting) had been closed down. Despite the successful closure of these addresses a number remain operable and it is arguable that - given the hidden nature of crime - a significant number remain invisible.

5.2.2 Displacement of Drug Markets

There was universal acknowledgement of a reduction in the number of street-level drug dealers in King's Cross area and it was clear from our field research that drug dealers were no longer [visibly] operating along the King's Cross Road.

i) Spatial displacement

King's Cross Thameslink station and the Scala music venue, which had long been the 'frontline' in King's Cross, were clear of street dealers and sex workers during our site visits. Similarly, markets operating on Brunswick St, the lower end of the Caledonian Road and York Way, Cubitt and Cromer Street were [visibly] non-existent. The absence of activity was registered as remarkable by one officer who told us that 'King's Cross was home to Europe's biggest drugs market worth between 10-20 million per year'.

Camden Town was consistently hailed as the prime location for drug crime displacement rendering it the number one 'hotspot' for drugs in the borough.

There is a bigger drug market in Camden Town than in King's Cross now.

Care workers and police officers (5) cited an increase in the number of drug dealers along Park Road, Camden Road and up toward the Camden Lock area. This view was supported by the testimony of one interviewee (resident) who had witnessed changes in his area. He had seen dealers from King's Cross on estates and the residential back streets of Camden Town.

In Kentish Town where I live, it [drug market] went to the back streets off the High Street. In St Bartholomew Road and on all the side roads you see dealers.

In addition to Camden Town other areas, such as Kentish Town, were quoted as probable areas for displacement. One respondent, who works with drug user/dealers, had learned from his clients that dealers from King's Cross were 'moving across borough boundaries into Westminster, up the Caledonian Road towards Finsbury Park, south to Victoria and to Brixton which had been designated as (sic) the 'new frontline'.

Whilst a large proportion of the sample believed Camden Town to be *the* place where the drugs market had decamped others were more sceptical. As one respondent, with two decades worth of experience in the borough stressed, 'it's a myth about everyone going up to Camden Town'.

Camden has [always] had a major Class 'A' market much worse than KX. [...] At one point, it was so bad and we completely lost it so in Camden Town you had the drugs market and open dealing and use from Camden Town all the way up Gospel Oak and down to Primrose Hill all the way down to the Euston Road; it was bloody massive.

According to this respondent Camden Town had historically sustained a sizeable drugs market of its own *in tandem with* that of King's Cross and Bloomsbury. He felt critics of the King's Cross initiative were incredulous about the success of the operation so declared that the market had moved to Camden Town.

In a similar vein, two respondents who work with the homeless and ex-drug users warned of the dangers of 'jumping on the displacement bandwagon' and offered alternative reasons for the growth in the drugs market there. Drawing upon the geographic location of Camden Town, and its transient population, these respondents suggested that the increase in drug dealers *might* not be specifically down to displacement from King's Cross, but to opportunity in newly emerging populations and markets. As one noted:

The anonymity of the area, the transient custom and the volume of people make Camden Town conducive for dealing

There's different [drug] gangs now. There's now Somali gangs taking over lower Kentish Town and lower Camden whereas before it was Europeans.

Nevertheless, these respondents were more sensitive to the presence of drug dealers. A local priest described visible drug dealing in the area as having 'intensified over the last few months' resulting in an 'overwhelming experience' for residents living in the area. Similarly, a council worker stressed the uncontrolled nature of Camden drugs market along Bayham Street and Camden Road.

5.2.3 Displacement of street drinkers and rough sleepers

i) Spatial displacement

Street drinkers and rough sleepers were not, on the whole, being displaced across borough borders (or further a field) like sex workers and drug dealers. This finding *may* be due, as several (4) respondents noted, to the fact that a significant number of street drinkers are Camden residents and don't (according to the SST) receive large exclusion zone ASBOs.³⁹

The vast majority of movement of rough sleepers and street drinkers appeared to be contained within the King's Cross area. These groups seemed to have been displaced from the main arterial routes of King's Cross, Euston, Pentonville and Gray's Inn Road, St Pancras Station and King's Cross Thameslink concourse onto back streets and green spaces such as parks and churchyards.

It appears, from interview testimonies, that this movement is linked to the situation street drinkers and rough sleepers find themselves in as a consequence of a) having no-fixed abode, b) being prohibited from begging by the ABA and ASBO, c) being moved on by street patrols and d) the CDZ.

³⁹ One exception to this rule were street drinkers who had learnt to exploit the borough boundary between Camden and Islington by crossing from one street to another to consume their alcohol (Islington does not yet enforce a CDZ.)

In this context they find themselves left with no option but to gravitate to places where they think they will not be harassed. In keeping with long standing tradition they gravitate towards the Church, as it is the one space where they may find 'sanctuary'; a point ruefully noted by an 'enforcer' who also observed:

[...] The Church is giving them sanctuary so we are not allowed to touch them now because they are on that side of the railings

Like the sex workers and dealers, the street drinkers and rough sleepers display resilience in the face of adversity adapting their behaviour to environmental changes and policing initiatives by moving from openly visible spaces to closed, less noticeable spaces to consume alcohol, socialise and sleep. As one practitioner explained, most street drinkers are alcoholics with a physiological need to drink that compels them to adapt to meet the needs of their addiction.

[...] They'll just find somewhere else to sit down [...] and constantly being told to get up or having your drink poured away, people are going to shift eventually aren't they? They just wanna be left alone. I think the majority just wanna be left alone and get on with whatever they are doing

One street activity often associated with the homeless and drug users is begging. According to respondents this activity appears to have disappeared from King's Cross under the impact of ASBOs or the threat of getting one. Begging has all but disappeared from outside Camden Town Hall - described as a 'notorious' place for this kind of street activity (especially at the HSBC/Barclays bank ATM opposite) as it has from Russell Square, Camden Town Tube Station and Bloomsbury.

As with public drug use, and street drinking, begging is one of the street activities heavily targeted by the Camden Crime and Community Safety Partnership; it is not tolerated within the borough and is viewed as a highly anti-social activity. As one 'enforcer' neatly summarised, 'We just say no begging'.

5.3 Street active population views on displacement

In this section we move away from a consideration of displacement, as perceived by practitioners, to consider the views of the street population.

5.3.1 Displacement of street-based sex markets

i) Spatial displacement

As with practitioners this population agreed with the view that there were fewer street-based sex workers in King's Cross than in the past. This change was attributed,

however, to CCTV cameras, increased police presence and environmental factors rather than to ASBOs.

It's [CCTV] made people more wary, but it just pushes them into the little dark spots and places where the cameras and the police are not going to be blatantly on you. And if they're not blatantly seeing you do it then they feel it's not going on. But of course it is going on.

One ex-sex worker explained that the move away from King's Cross station was being caused by nearby hotels becoming 'more fussy'. Consequentially, sex work had moved from the station concourse at King's Cross station to Caledonian Road, Pentonville Road and York Way. Again, the area around Market Road/Caledonian Road was most frequently referred to as the place where the King's Cross sex market had been displaced to. One interviewee commented on how the Market Road 'beat' had become more competitive. This view tallies with the testimonies of the practitioners who mentioned seeing clients from the King's Cross area working in Market Road.

There has also been some [partial] displacement and simultaneous dispersal to other areas. Soho, Whitechapel, Paddington, Camden, Finsbury Park and Euston were all being mentioned as areas where the sex market has gone.

Not all respondents were in agreement about the displacement of sex work and there was scepticism about whether sex workers had been displaced (to another area) at all. As one ex-sex worker notes what could be mistaken for spatial displacement could actually be something else. Her position is that the sex market has not disappeared but regressed to indoor work.

There's still prostitutes around but you don't see them as visibly as you saw them before. [They're] not quite as visible as they used to be. If you walk down Caledonian Road, past Tesco's, you can still see them but they're not quite as ... you can't see it now, but if you look for the prostitutes you can find them. They're still around. They haven't gone away.

ii) Tactical displacement

The ASBO/ABA process has impacted on the lives of sex workers but it hasn't necessarily stopped them from working. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the few who argue that there has been no change in the street based sex market in King's Cross are those who are themselves involved in some way. One woman who has never worked as a prostitute, but is engaged in the sex market, by facilitating transactions and posing as a prostitute in order to rob customers ('clipping'), describes the existing street-based sex market in King's Cross:

Some geezers get a girl and they'll rob 'em after, take the money back off them ... There's a geezer out there, he's got his girl on the game... He puts her on the game gets the money off the punter, makes out he's booked into the hotel and robs him and the poor girl don't get nothing. I mean she's on crack and brown, crying her heart out because he don't give her nothing and she's doing all the dirty work and all the while he's got all the money in his sock... but it ain't changed. Cos what, they done it all up and that? That's not going to make a difference is it? More foreigners coming over here, more fucking prostitutes!

According to this respondent a street sex market still persists in King's Cross.

There is evidence to suggest a movement from a street-based sex market to an indoor sex market. As one ex-sex worker stressed the mobile phone reduced the necessity to stand outside and work the streets as clients could ring when they required a service.⁴⁰ The carding of telephone boxes also signified an alternative way for sex workers to contact clients as well as create opportunities for 'carders' to earn money.⁴¹

What is not clear, from this research, is the extent to which carding has increased in King's Cross and whether this was the tool used by street based sex workers to move from the street to indoors. More research would be needed to examine this transition. Suffice to say that a number of phone boxes in the King's Cross area supported cards advertising sexual experiences (as evidenced from field visits), which pointed to a thriving market. Two male respondents said they had worked as 'carders'; both had been to court for this activity.

If you wanted to find a prostitute you would have to go to a phone box and get a card.

I got caught three times putting up the prostitute cards in telephone boxes. There's a lot of houses round there [King's Cross] that I was working for ... What the problem with that is, is the Albanians ... cos they took 'em off the streets and put them into rented houses, it's safer obviously but they take money out of how much they earn. They have to pay so much, a percentage ... They take half and half, cos they're protected.'

In the changing structure of King's Cross active sex workers had to conduct themselves discreetly when touting for business. In sum, they adapted to their surroundings by altering their behaviour (and dress code) in response to new sanctions and dangers (CCTV and policing).

You won't see as many with short skirts and that, they just do it other ways. Just stand about and wait 'til guys approach them, or whatever. Yeah, there's still plenty of working girls.'

[The] prostitution's still rife and it's still around in the King's Cross area; believe me! Yeah, but it's just different now. Instead of hanging around on street corners people just walk up and ask.

This finding echoes that of the practitioners who reported on the resilience of some people to market forces.

5.3.2 Displacement of drug markets

i) Spatial displacement

According to the interviewees there has been a marked reduction in visible drug dealing in King's Cross. Again, CCTV and policing were credited for bringing about this change. However, there is evidence to suggest that it is still possible to buy Class

⁴⁰ Further research would be needed to explore whether this was a response to local policing and community safety initiatives or just an example of a wider trend.

⁴¹ Saunders (2005: 21) suggests carders can get paid up to £100 a day.

A drugs in King's Cross, but that it was more difficult because the remaining drugs market was less visible and more 'closed'. Drug dealers do not openly trade or approach people in the street (for fear of being captured on CCTV) as they did in the past. As one respondent notes:

If you know someone you can go out and score on the main street [in King's Cross] but then you'll move to a side road or somewhere out of the sight of the cameras, which is difficult.

The view from the street was not conclusive in its assessment about whether the drug market had moved from King's Cross to Camden Town, but the area around Camden Town Underground station was frequently referred to as a 'centre for buying crack' as was Bloomsbury, Islington and Tottenham Court Road. It was also noted that the Camden Town Class A drug market was more open than the remaining King's Cross market and that this openness attracted people to it – more so than King's Cross. Consider this statement made by an ex-drug user:

When I get approached by people looking for drugs in King's Cross I tell them I don't know anyone. I tell them go to Camden.

ii) Tactical displacement

It is not difficult for known drug users to buy drugs on the streets of Camden Town. The likelihood of being approached by a Class A drug dealer in Camden Town depends largely on an individual's appearance and whether they are a known drug user as this quote from a crack/heroin using male and female illustrates:⁴²

I could get drugs there; up in Camden tube station, in 2 minutes! ... They're not daft. They [dealers] need to know you, or they'll say "What are you on about?" and they'll give you nothing. You've been up there for a few years getting them off them, they know you. As soon as I walk along there's six or seven doing that [waving] with their hands ... Make sure the cameras aren't looking then "Over here!"

I can just get from anybody basically, cos I'm proper, I'm well known.

It was suggested that people were now more likely to use 'crack houses' in King's Cross rather than the streets to purchase and use drugs, which could be an adaptation to the current sanctions. Data provided by Camden Housing Services acknowledged this transition, but challenge the prevalence of drugs addresses in King's Cross stating that most had been being closed down in 2003. There was anecdotal evidence to suggest, however, that drug dealers and users are still using houses as means to procure and sell drugs.

⁴² Specifically Class A drug dealers, not the cannabis dealers who target tourists and the Camden party goers.

One difficulty in pinpointing the exact displacement effect of the drug markets is the increased flexibility brought about by the mobile phone. The impact of new technologies on street-based drug crime has been extensively researched.⁴³

Changing technologies and enforcement strategies mean that drug transactions in and around the Camden/King's Cross areas are more complex to detect than the old King's Cross 'frontline'. Although there are still hubs of drug dealing activity interviewees described a situation where drug dealers, like sex workers, no longer need to wait on the street for potential customers (and vice versa) and they too are adapting their behaviour to current sanctions. The following statements made by two ex-drug users on the changing nature of drug transactions illustrate this point succinctly.

Before the mobile phone, you had to see someone; you had to know where they were. So they was waiting on a block or on a little place. Everyone moves individually now, you wanna meet with someone you talk to them and them only.... No one knows where no one is now! So in order to get in contact with someone you just gotta phone their phone.'

When I lived in Camden before, occasionally you'd go to score and there'd be 20, 30 people there waiting for the man or men to turn up ... Now you're lucky if 10 turn up.

5.3.3 Displacement of rough sleeping

i) Spatial displacement

As highlighted above there has been a radical reduction in the number of people sleeping on the streets in King's Cross. This change in street dynamic had been picked up by the street population who commented on the disappearance of rough sleepers from places such as outside Camden Town Hall, King's Cross Station concourse (and small roads such as Goods Way and Camley Street), Birkenhead Street and Argyle Square. Statements such as the one below were commonplace.

There's hardly any [rough sleepers] now! There used to be a lot more when I first came down to London

However, some street active people insist that rough sleeping is still active in the ward, albeit to a lesser extent. In tandem with the other respondents (practitioners) they suggest that the remaining sleepers have moved to less visible places (such as to parks and gardens) to sleep, ensure protection and avoid detection.⁴⁴ Site visits to King's Cross and surrounding areas revealed that a number of rough sleepers (9) were bedding down outside St Pancras Church.

⁴³ See Natarjan et al. (1995) 'Telephones as Facilitators of Drug Dealing' *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* Vol.3, No. 3., September pp.137-153;

Aitken et al (2002) 'The Impact of a Police Crackdown on a Street Drug Scene: Evidence from the street' *International Journal of Drug Policy* 13 pp.193-202.

⁴⁴ It is beyond the remit of this report to further discuss the victimisation of rough sleepers and the homeless but it is necessary to highlight that homeless people are more likely to be victims of crime than to commit it.

There's still people rough sleeping, but they seem to sleep in groups where as before they used to sleep in a doorway. Nowadays, they sleep in parks and there's a couple of people I know sleeping in the same parks and stuff but not half as much as there used to be. There's not as many homeless people now. People are getting picked on by a big gang of kids where there's too many for one person to dream of fighting.

I know people who sleep in car parks. I know people who sleep in doorways ... they're hiding and you don't know where they're sleeping half the time.

5.3.4 Displacement of begging

The interviews produced little evidence on begging activity in the King's Cross area, however the sample included active and ex-beggars. Their testimonies showed that increased street warden and police presence had made it difficult for them to beg in the area. Most reported being cautioned, fined or threatened with an ASBO if they continued.

While there appeared to be some displacement to other areas - the case study data shows movement from King's Cross to the City of London and Westminster - the enforcement strategies seem to have significantly reduced begging activity without transferring the problem elsewhere.

5.3.5 Displacement of street drinking

i) Spatial displacement

The early signs indicate that the Controlled Drinking Zone has led to spatial displacement of street drinkers.⁴⁵ The data suggests that there has been a move from 'street drinking' to 'park drinking'. The names of certain parks reoccurred throughout the interviews, St. James gardens being the most widely cited and two respondents declared how the police had told them to go and drink in the park instead of on the street. Other drinkers have responded to the legislation by drinking inside their hostel.

ii) Tactical displacement

From the interviews three adaptations to street drinking were highlighted following the introduction of the Street Wardens and the CDZ:

- Drinking in large groups in the parks.
- Disguising alcohol.
- Drinking in the hostel.

⁴⁵ It should be noted that the interviews were conducted over the first weeks after the CDZ was introduced.

a) Drinking in large groups in the parks

Congregating in large groups is not simply for socialisation - although this is a large part of why street drinkers get together. Large groups provide protection from the police and wardens. Through experience, street drinkers have learnt that the police are not able to arrest or fine everyone so the chances of evading prosecution is greater than being alone. Amassing in large groups, however, is not without consequence for the street drinkers. They reported violent clashes in parks where the street drinkers congregated and several interviewees reported the violent stabbing of a man in St. James Gardens.

b) Disguising alcohol

In response to street warden activity and the CDZ, street drinkers have swapped their lager/beer cans and spirit bottles for soft drinks containers pouring their alcoholic drinks into Lucozade bottles (its opaque packaging makes it ideal for this purpose) and the like.

c) Drinking in the hostel

Some street drinkers opt to drink in the hostel where they are not subject to the restrictions of the CDZ. However, respondents pointed out that this was not an option for rough sleepers and expressed some sympathy for them. One respondent commented:

It doesn't bother me cos I've got a room but if you're drinking and you're on the street, it's hard work. I guess if you need a drink and you can't have one, you've got to go to the pub and you can't afford it.

5.4 Profiling Displacement using the ASBO database

At the time of the report, 218 ASBOs had been granted in the borough of Camden, 54 in the ward of King's Cross. This database contained information on the socio-demographic and anti-social behaviour of individuals granted ASBO in the borough. Also observable were the terms and conditions of the ASBO as stipulated by the courts. One of the conditions imposed by Camden is the 'whole of England and Wales Clause (which prohibits those with ASBOs from engaging in crime and antisocial behaviour anywhere in this part of the country) and it was important to assess the extent to which this part of the order was being breached given that Camden Crime and Community Safety Team used this measure to protect other London boroughs and areas from displacement.

A sub-sample of 25 cases were selected from the 54 cases (equally 46%) granted in King's Cross and analysed to discover what proportion of the ASBOs had been breached and whether displacement had occurred.⁴⁶ In order to assess the level of displacement we utilised the expertise of a senior officer involved in issuing ASBOs

⁴⁶ Due to limitations with the project (time and funding constraints) the sample was limited to 25 of the 54 cases because analysing displacement from King's Cross was the primary objective. It would be fruitful to consider further research of this dataset to include all 54 cases in the King's Cross area (or the whole ASBO dataset) as this would provide a richer and more robust analysis of the displacement effects of ASBOs.

and all cases were worked through the Police National Computer (PNC) to examine levels of offending and anti-social behaviour post ASBO. The PNC was also used to record previous offences.⁴⁷

Of the 25 individuals granted ASBOs in King's Cross, 19 had breached the terms and conditions of their order in areas and cities outside of Camden; this constitutes a figure of 76 % or three-quarters of the total sample. Three individuals had breached their order more than 7 times.

Though one individual had perpetrated their post ASBO offence in a different city (Bristol) the rest had committed their offences in other London boroughs (e.g. Lambeth, Hackney, Islington, Westminster and Lewisham). (See Appendix E) Where data on residency was available (i.e. last known abode) it was evident that some individuals (3) had returned to that borough to continue their behaviour. It must be stressed here that a large number of individuals had declared themselves of 'no fixed abode' so it is not possible to tell if this pattern was more common.

There was a pattern to the breaches with individuals breaking the terms of their ASBO many times (some people breached their ASBO 6 times or more; see Appendix 4) shortly after it being granted and then stopping. This behaviour could be explained as an individual 'testing out' the validity of the sanction. Since all of those who breached their ASBO were subsequently incarcerated, the lesson they learned from this was that they would be punished if they transgressed its terms and punished severely. At this point they would desist from breaching.

The case studies highlighted that it was not uncommon for individuals to be given as much as 9-12 months imprisonment for a breach such as entering an exclusion zone breaking the 'good behaviour clause' by soliciting.

It was often the case that the breach offence was similar to the original offence for which the ASBO was granted or for entering the exclusion zone. In four cases, however, the offence-committed post ASBO was different and more serious than previous convictions.⁴⁸ For example, one drug using sex worker, prohibited from entering particular areas, from publicly consuming controlled drugs, and soliciting or performing any sex act in public 'until further order of the court', was arrested and convicted for soliciting in the exclusion zone, and in Bristol for shoplifting, and then for street robbery. It could be argued that this was the functional displacement of an individual. In this case she was propelled into performing alternative, more serious crimes to get money to sustain her drug habit; money that she would have otherwise earned from prostitution. In this case the ASBO had displaced an individual and increased rather than decreased the seriousness of their offences.

In 6 cases the ASBO was not breached; these ASBOs were granted to 3 kerb crawlers, 2 drug using sex workers and one suspected gang member. It must be highlighted here that one of the sex workers had been arrested, charged and convicted for prostitution in another area but this offence was not registered as a breach of ASBO on the PNC. That said, the ASBO had appeared to deter these 5 individuals from committing any more offences that have come to the attention of the police. Taking all of the above into consideration, it could be argued that the ASBO may be an appropriate sanction for certain types of criminal and/or anti-social activities, but not for others. The case study data appears to concur with the argument put forward by some practitioners who deemed the ASBO to be an inappropriate and punitive way of dealing with vulnerable people displaying complex and/or addictive behaviours.

⁴⁷ It was recognised that all individual offending and anti-social behaviour may not show up on computer and that this was a pitfall in relying on police statistics to detect criminal/anti-social activity.

⁴⁸ Though 4 of the cases show the movement towards a more serious offence, this data cannot be taken as categorical evidence of functional displacement.

Compared with the number of breaches of ASBOS in Camden (either by attempting to re-enter an exclusion zone or attempting to commit a banned activity within it) the level of breaches outside of the borough was considerably smaller and where a breach occurred the individual was charged and sanctioned. This finding adds weight to the argument put forward by the 'enforcers' who stated that the 'whole of England and Wales' clause was having an impact on the subsequent criminal behaviour, in this case by reducing it...

5.5 Conclusion

From the evidence collated in this chapter there is compelling evidence to suggest that:

1. There has been a significant reduction in the level of sex work in the King's Cross area. The decline in sex work is linked to crime control initiatives instigated in the borough. The ASBO appears to have had a significant impact as the greatest reduction in sex work occurred during 2004-2005.
2. There has been a net reduction in the recorded numbers of rough sleepers and beggars from 2002-2005 with an overall decrease of 86%. Whether this reduction is due to policing activity, displacement or the movement of rough sleepers/beggars into hostels could not be fully discerned from the quantitative data, but interviewee testimonies suggest that this activity has declined under the impact of the ASBO. Further research is required to identify main contributory factors.
3. Street level drug activity has declined. During 2000-2005 drug crime reduced by around three quarters. There has also been a noticeable reduction in the number of street robberies in the King's Cross area (a net decrease of 47% since 2000). The most significant decrease was from 2002 onwards. The reduction could be due to the Safer Streets Initiative, which ran over this period.
4. Some forms of crime and anti-social behaviour have been displaced from King's Cross as a direct consequence of the intervention strategy in the area. Constraints on resources meant that the actual level of displacement could not be ascertained over the course of this research. To gain a thorough understanding of the level of displacement of anti-social and criminal behaviour from Camden would require an analysis of Camden's ASBO database as well as neighboring and other London boroughs.
5. There is evidence of spatial, functional and tactical displacement of the sex and drugs market. Much of the evidence points towards spatial displacement to other wards in the London Borough of Camden (i.e. Camden Town & Kentish Town) and neighboring boroughs (Islington & Westminster). There is evidence of some shift towards a greater off-street sex and drug market but evidence for this was not conclusive.
6. Rough sleepers and street drinkers have moved from main arterial roads onto the smaller side streets and into parks and gardens. These changes in behaviour are a direct reaction to police and street warden patrols of King's Cross.
7. The ASBO was cited by practitioners as being the most successful crime and anti-social control initiative in the ward. Visible forms of control such as the street wardens, CCTV and CDZ appear to have had more impact on the behaviour of the street population sampled.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of this project was to establish whether there has been a significant reduction in crime and anti-social behaviour in the King's Cross ward and if so what factors contributed to this change. The study also examined whether the net reduction in activity was accompanied by displacement to other wards within Camden or to other London boroughs.

This final chapter summarises our main findings and considers the impact that interventions (such as the CCTV, ASBO, CDZ) and urban regeneration have had on King's Cross and the local population that live, work and pass through its borders. It concludes by examining the implications of our research for the Partnership and policy makers.

This report considered three questions:

- Has the King's Cross area witnessed a net decline in crime and anti-social behaviour?
- Has there been a reduction without displacement or is displacement, in its various forms, a direct consequence of the intervention effort?
- What interventions can be credited with reducing crime and anti-social behaviour?

6.1 Has crime and antisocial behaviour in King's Cross been reduced?

The King's Cross area has historically been associated with an open sex market and drugs market. These markets are composed of sellers and users. The King's Cross area was also a street crime hotspot more generally. Furthermore, the area is historically established as a place where homeless people would gather to drink, socialise and sleep. By the 1990s the presence of these markets had made King's Cross itself both notorious for and synonymous to criminal economies. A net result of this was a high fear of crime and concerns about personal safety from people living, working and passing through the area.

6.1.1 Prostitution

While street activity is still an issue in the area it is evident that the *visible* sex industry that once characterised the area has been effectively dismantled by the intervention effort. This is confirmed by statistical analyses of crime data, by the testimonies of the practitioners and street users. If we take the immediate vicinity around King's Cross as our point of reference, then from the GIS mapping exercise we can see a clear and consistent decline in sex work over the period 2000-2005.

The success is evident not only by quantifiable measures but by qualitative ones too. Our site visits confirmed that the King's Cross of today is not the same King's Cross of a decade ago. Prostitution is not visible on the street (to the same extent) as it once was; nor are drug dealers, street drinkers or beggars. The 'raw' edge and tension

mentioned in the interviews appears to have disappeared and the area has a more orderly and safer feel to it.

While these findings affirm those of the Partnerships that highlight a reduction in prostitution and related anti-social behaviour, it must be emphasised that the disruption of *visible* [illegal] markets does not necessarily mean that it has disappeared completely.

The site visits established that sex is still available in the King's Cross area, though the manner in which clients engage with sex workers appears to have changed with [perhaps] a higher premium on advertising sex (by carding) in telephone boxes. These in effect act as portals that bring clients to sex workers residing in the area. The continued presence of massage parlours in the vicinity of King's Cross (e.g. along the King's Cross Road) also represents another portal into the world of illicit sex.

6.1.2 Drug crime

While evidence attests to a general diminishment in the visible presence of drug dealers in the area some form of trade is still present; though, like sex work, the method by which it continues appears to have changed in response to the control effort directed against it.

From being a visual and constantly 'open' market the drug trade in King's Cross has become 'closed'. Drug dealers, on the whole, do not appear to be trading along the main arterial roads (King's Cross Road, Euston Road, York Way (lower), Caledonian Road (lower), Grays' Inn Road) although there is some evidence to suggest that some activity is present on the smaller side roads.

Drug dealing has, as highlighted here, advanced and become more closeted. New technologies, such as the mobile phone, as well as sanctions such as the ASBO makes standing on Cubitt Street or Brunswick Square an unnecessary and unwelcome activity; clients can ring for their services and, in some instances, have their goods delivered. All in all, drug dealing in King's Cross has significantly reduced in scale and has become virtually invisible and closed.

6.1.3 Vagrancy and begging

Rough sleepers continue to bed down in the King's Cross area, but to a much lesser degree. Our site visits identified a number of people sleeping rough outside the local church and the interviews provided evidence of people sleeping out on the small side roads leading off from the main King's Cross concourse. The number of people begging in the area has also been dramatically reduced.

6.2 Has this general decrease in crime occurred but at the cost of displacement?

It is important to bear in mind that there will always be a residual amount of crime and disorder; to expect a total reduction is unrealistic. As this report suggests the Partnership have created a situation in King's Cross where unacceptably high levels of crime and anti-social behaviour have reduced to one that is more appropriate, given the socio-economic conditions and deprivation that surrounds it.

Displacement can take many forms. This report highlights the variety of forms displacement can take; it can be spatial (move from one place to another), it can be temporal (move from one time frame to another) and it can be functional in the sense that perpetrators either commit different crimes or commit the same crime in different ways.

6.2.1 Sex Markets

The research shows no evidence of 'block spatial displacement' or total displacement from King's Cross. What is meant by this is the wholesale exportation of the drug and vice market, and the resultant anti-social behaviour, to another ward or adjacent area. However, our research did find evidence of displacement in spatial and functional forms.

Several service providers argued that sex workers from King's Cross had been displaced to other areas, particularly Camden Town, Market Road and Finsbury Park in Islington and Tottenham Court Road on the border of Camden and Westminster. The park keepers argued that in response to the crackdown on prostitution, sex workers were making more use of local parks and moving 'underground' into private premises (using cards to advertise) and/or 'crack houses'. Whether the sex workers who now work in private premises and/or crack houses are those that previously populated the streets is not clear from the research. One reason for this is that the quantitative data used for this study did not provide conclusive evidence. Further research in this area is needed in order to explore this relationship.

One reason why this *might* not have happened can be extracted from research on prostitution. Many street-based sex workers live chaotic lives; they are often heavy drug users and homeless, therefore it is by no means the case that the control effort in King Cross has contributed to their move to the hidden sex trade of the brothel or massage parlour. It could be that the chaotic nature of their lives and heavy drug usage does not allow them access to work indoors or in massage parlours, which impose standards that are different to those of the street. However, it could also be that street sex workers, banned from working in King's Cross, are 'attracted' to other venues (such as dangerous 'crack-houses') as they are left with little option.

6.2.2 Drug markets

Similarly, drug trade and crime in King's Cross appears to have diminished and the findings suggest spatial displacement to Camden Town Ward. However some clarification around this point needs to be made. Camden Town, like King's Cross, already sustained a dynamic drug market of its own which, as illustrated in some of the interviews, appears to differ dramatically from that of King's Cross.

The Camden Town drug scene was portrayed as providing 'party' drugs to 'passing trade' whilst King's Cross was defined as being Class A market for a more stable clientele. As practitioners observed, the two markets served different populations. However, there is evidence to suggest that crack cocaine and heroin are now being sold in Camden Town while they were previously being sold in King's Cross. The extent to which this market has increased as a consequence of a diminishing trade in King's Cross requires further investigation.

Whilst the statistics and testimonies show an increase in the level of drug crime in Camden, it could be argued that if a significant number of dealers from King's Cross had decamped to Camden Town, then we would have expected there to be some friction between the resident dealers in Camden Town and the transient dealers from

King's Cross. Two recent studies on drug crime in the UK (Lupton et al 2002; Hobbs & Pearson 2001) illustrate the territorial nature of drug markets and the resultant violence that arises when people encroach on the patch of others. Competition between dealers is often met with extreme violence, often involving firearms.⁴⁹ There have been three drug-related murders in Camden, but we gained little information to suggest that they were due to displacement of drug dealers from King's Cross. Further research on the transient nature of drug dealers and diversification on markets would help to create a more holistic picture of drug markets in Camden Town.

As highlighted elsewhere in the report, the increase of drug crime in Camden *may* be due to other factors. Firstly, the awareness of the clampdown in King's Cross could have led to a heightened sensitivity towards drug dealing in Camden Town by residents and workers. In this scenario, it could be that the existing market has been re-classified as a significant problem. Secondly, the successful decapitation of the visible drug market in King's Cross has resulted in the redirection of police enforcement procedures to Camden Town; and thirdly, new sellers (with no prior affinity to King's Cross) aware of the clampdown in King's Cross may decide to trade in Camden Town instead. An important question, related to the last point, is how far this constitutes displacement.

6.2.3 Rough sleeping, street drinking and begging

Our research suggests that sanctions such as the CDZ, ABA and ASBO, in tandem with urban regeneration and CCTV, have had a significant effect on the street activity and behaviour of rough sleepers, street drinkers, beggars and visible drug users. Our fieldwork highlighted a near absolute absence of rough sleepers in the King's Cross area (with the exception of the steps of St Pancras church) and drinkers from areas such as outside of Camden Town Hall and King's Cross station concourse, which were regularly used by them.

However, this population, like the sex workers and drug dealers, have adapted to the prohibitions and changing face of King's Cross by moving onto other areas less likely to be policed or prohibited to them. They have been displaced (spatially) over into Islington and appear to have taken refuge in local parks to drink, sleep and use drugs. It must be noted, however, that in the process of obtaining an ASBO a number of homeless people have found hostel places, which has had a positive effect on the street population and, in most cases, on the individuals themselves.

The movement of people from areas where they are 'seen' to those where they are 'unseen' could be viewed, to some extent, as a rational response to a restrictive situation. With little provision for drinkers in the borough (the lack of 'wet services') people who are dependent on alcohol and who wish to drink socially will innovate and find ways to obtain what they have been denied. Similarly, if begging is the means by which individuals fund their drug habit and this is then removed, the response *may* be not to stop taking drugs or engage with services provided to help them but innovate by changing the means by which they get money.

In sum, where displacement has occurred it has been partial; in other words some drug dealers, sex workers, rough sleepers, and street drinkers have moved to other areas within the borough (particularly Camden Town) and across borough boundaries into Islington, Westminster, and Lambeth.

This can be considered a real success for Camden Community Safety Partnership as the sex and drug markets were, as expressed in the report, heavily interdependent,

⁴⁹ See Lupton, R., Wilson, A., May, T., Warburton, H., & Turnbull, P.J. (2002) A rock and a hard place: Drug markets in deprived neighbourhoods. Home Office Research Study 240.
Pearson, G & Hobbs, D (2001) Middle Market Drug Distribution. Home Office Research Study 227.

mutually self-reinforcing and firmly entrenched into the social fabric of the ward. What the control effort (in the form of high-visibility policing, ABAs, ASBOs, CDZ and CCTV) in King's Cross appears to have achieved is to destroy this set of internal relationships.

6.3 What interventions can be credited with reducing crime and anti-social behaviour in King's Cross?

As we saw the control effort in King's Cross was composed of a number of interlocking components each of which has performed a role in reducing visible crime in King's Cross. These include policing initiatives and operations, the development of a wider policing family, situational crime prevention initiatives, urban regeneration projects, and the application of new sanctions not least of which was the use of ASBOs. Changes to the way in which crime control itself is now practised, specifically the movement towards multi-agency partnership working, is itself also important. Attempting to decipher what part of this control jigsaw can best explain the reduction in crime in the King's Cross area is by no means easy, not least given the constitutive role of the various elements together.

6.3.1 ASBO

It is clear that the ASBO has had a most significant impact on reducing crime in the King's Cross area. The use of exclusion zones in ASBOs (including the 'whole of England & Wales clause') appears to have successfully rid King's Cross of its visible population of street level dealers and sex workers. It appears to have disrupted a firmly entrenched drugs and sex market from the area, stopped persistent street drinking and begging.

That said, the success of the ASBO has come at the cost of some displacement to other wards in Camden (and to other boroughs) and has forced a proportion of the sex and drugs market off the streets and 'underground'.

The ASBO has also worked in so far as it has led to a change in behavioural patterns for some people who have stopped the behaviour for which they were ASBOed. In a number of cases the ABA/ASBO has enabled individuals to have access to services that can help them 'move on'; this is especially true for those who have moved from the streets into hostels and have not received large exclusion zone ASBOs. However, as we have indicated throughout the report, a larger number of people are adapting to the punitive conditions of the ASBO and are finding other ways to engage in a range of behaviors deemed anti-social.

As the case studies illustrate, a significant proportion of ASBO recipients are breaching the terms and conditions of the order and continue to engage in the behaviour for which they were sanctioned. There appears, however, to be a pattern to the breaches with most individuals breaching the ASBO within the first few weeks of being granted it. The case studies also illustrate an increase, rather than decrease, in the type of and level (in terms of seriousness) of offending for some people in breach of their ASBO; this appears to be particularly the case for sex workers and drug users. As we have shown, the ASBO, ABA (or threat of it) can also contribute to the victimisation of street people and further expose their vulnerabilities.

6.3.2 Surveillance – CCTV, Street Wardens & high visibility policing

The ‘view from the street’ highlights the impact CCTV and policing activity has on *visible* street behaviour. The fear of being caught on camera has contributed to a change in behaviour by the street active, but the presence of CCTV appears not to have resulted in a cessation of criminal behaviour for many people. As the above data illustrates the street active population, aware of the CCTV cameras, adapt their behaviour in order to avoid detection. Small enclaves and ‘blindspots’ not accessible to CCTV are exploited by the street population who continue to engage in behaviour deemed as anti-social by law enforcement agencies. The value of CCTV as a crime control initiative does not lie in its deterrent effect on the street population, but more in its ability to provide evidence for criminal justice agencies and the application of ASBOs.

The evidence presented in this report demonstrates the limited deterrent effect of police and street warden patrols; the patrol method suffers the same setbacks as CCTV. As illustrated above, people involved in street transactions (drugs or sex), street drinking, rough sleeping and begging are reacting to patrols by adapting their time frame for trading or by moving to other areas less likely to be patrolled by beat officers and street wardens.

6.3.3 Partnership working

The multi-agency tasking and targeting approach adopted in King’s Cross has contributed to the successful reduction in crime and anti-social behaviour, to reducing the core sex and drugs markets, for providing intelligent policing within the ward and for providing support for street active people. This report highlights partnership working between the Street Services Team and voluntary agencies that have helped some people to make positive changes to their behaviour and improve their lives. The report also references cases where intervention has produced more negative results for the recipient. In a few cases individuals have been removed from the streets in King’s Cross (and into hostels or other boroughs) and into situations they find oppressive and difficult to cope with.

6.3.4 Regeneration

The single most important regenerative factor highlighted by respondents for reducing crime was the extensive building work in the area and the disruption it caused to street activity. The overriding impression from respondents was that the restricted access to areas once used by sex workers, drug dealers, rough sleepers and street drinkers had contributed significantly to the reduction in criminal and anti-social *street* activity within the ward, so much so that the area was no longer conducive to trade in, sleep or socialise.

6.4 Emerging issues and concerns - Implications for policy makers

Camden is currently committed to reviewing its anti-social behaviour policy. In this section we conclude by using the results of our research to reflect critically upon some aspects of the current policy that caused us concern. We raise these issues as issues for discussion.

As our report has demonstrated, practitioners in Camden have achieved their stated aim of dismantling successfully the long-standing visible sex and drug economies in the area. New initiatives to target street drinking, begging and rough sleeping also appear to have been successful. The question we have to ask, however, is whether the social gains are undermined by the social costs attached to them or not. We will attempt to unpick some of these below.

We start with the contentious issue of the ASBOs. It is evident from our findings that they have had a dramatic impact in reducing the trade in illegal goods and sexual services in the King's Cross area but at the same time many legitimate grievances have been raised about their application. ASBOs are, by their nature, punitive sanctions and the clauses attached to them have, without doubt, serious implications for those against whom they are directed. As we have seen, the sanctions applied to those who breach the conditions of their ASBO can also be highly punitive and can involve imprisonment.

As the enforcers claimed, the ASBO is an effective sanction in that it does what it is expected to do. They also pointed to the fact that the sanction is not given until other alternatives have been exhausted; and even when it is used support services are also provided. The social costs, however, bear consideration.

First, it could be observed that those who have been targeted for such sanctions derive from populations which until recently were considered vulnerable. When the ASBO was first introduced its original mandate was justified in the name of targeting violent offenders. In the case of Camden the order is not directed at violent offences, but principally at sex workers and chaotic drug users. The question policy makers need to address is whether the success of the ASBO outweighs social costs or whether the social costs attached to it should prompt a rethink.

The focus of the crime control effort in King's Cross during the period 2000-2005 was directed at disrupting entrenched illegal markets in drugs and vice. More recently, as part of its 'clean up' campaign, and as part of the regeneration effort more generally, crime control began to target the homeless population and behaviour often associated with it such as rough sleeping, street drinking and begging.

In line with the New Labour crime agenda this population and its behaviours have been re-classified as anti-social (in the case of begging this is now a recordable criminal offence) and are now subject to punitive sanctions. In line with New Labour philosophy these behaviours are not to be tolerated on the basis that they cause 'harm or distress' to others and are subject to control in the name of 'defending the community'.

Having conducted this research, concerns can be raised about this shift towards control and the legitimisation used to justify it. First of all if the acts of the street population occasionally cause 'disquiet' to members of the public, does this itself justify its removal from public sight? If the response to this question is: 'what we do not like has no business existing' then this attitude betrays a somewhat callous response to a population which can be counted as being among what Fanon (1963) would term 'most wretched of the earth'. Second, should acts like rough sleeping, which do not [on the whole] involve physical harm to the community, result in a coercive sanction or removal? The homeless and the beggars are also members of the King's Cross community even if, as current policy indicates, there is no space allowed for this population in the regenerated future.

We were also concerned that the justifications used to legitimate the targeting of public drinkers and the homeless were, too often, based upon the unacceptable behaviour of a small section of this community whose behaviour was used to pathologise the entire population. While it is certainly the case that some drug users may inject in public, some beggars may become aggressive, and a few drinkers may urinate in the street (and as such ought to be targeted for their behaviour), the vast majority do not. Using

the exception as a rule and a measure for targeting and criminalizing members of these populations is damaging to an already fragile community.

It could be observed that Camden does invest significantly in providing support services for this population and it would be wholly unfair to suggest the partnership deploys only punitive sanctions. It could also be observed that attempts to evict unsightly populations from regenerated areas are now part and parcel of regeneration effort more generally and Camden is not exceptional in this respect.

Striking the correct balance between care and coercion, however, is a difficult task; ensuring that these tactics operate in tandem, and not in contradiction to each other, is even more difficult. Our concern is that in the context of a law and order-led society the coercive element at times appears to be dominant. We are also concerned that, as such, punitive sanctions can themselves alienate and exclude further already excluded populations. This can, in turn, mitigate against more benevolent attempts to socially include the excluded.

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APPENDIX A - Crime Categories

- Prostitution
- Begging and rough sleeping
- Drug crime (including illegal drug usage and distribution)
- Street crime and other recorded acts of disorder (including robbery)
- Violence Against the Person - Murder
- Violence Against the Person - GBH
- Violence Against the Person - ABH
- Violence Against the Person - Common Assault
- Violence Against the Person - Offensive Weapon
- Violence Against the Person - Harassment
- Violence Against the Person - Other violence
- Sexual Offence - Rape
- Sexual Offences - Other Sexual
- Robbery - Personal Property
- Robbery - Business Property
- Robbery - Other Robbery (Street robbery)
- Burglary - Burglary in a Dwelling
- Burglary - Burglary in Other Buildings
- Theft and Handling - Theft/Taking of M/V
- Theft and Handling - Theft From M/V
- Theft and Handling - M/V Interference & Tampering
- Theft and Handling - Theft From Shops
- Theft and Handling - Snatches
- Theft and Handling - Picking Pockets, etc
- Theft and Handling - 56 Theft/Taking of Pedal Cycles
- Theft and Handling - Other Theft
- Theft and Handling - Handling Stolen Goods

- Theft and Handling - Other Theft Person
- Fraud or Forgery - Counted per Victim
- Fraud or Forgery - Other Fraud & Forgery
- Criminal Damage - Criminal Damage To a Dwelling
- Criminal Damage - Criminal Damage To Other Bldg
- Criminal Damage - Criminal Damage To M/V
- Criminal Damage - Other Criminal Damage
- Drugs - Drug Trafficking
- Drugs - Possession Of Drugs (all classifications)
- Drugs - Other Drug Offences
- Other Notifiable Offences - Going Equipped
- Other Notifiable Offences - Other Notifiable

APPENDIX B - Methodology

Sample frame

Practitioners

Twenty practitioners were interviewed as part of this study. The sample frame included service providers, police officers and council officials. The sample was intended to include respondents from a wide range of services and agencies in Camden and secure an even split between statutory agents and voluntary/community projects.

Given the timescale of the project, our remit and resources available, we were unable to secure interviews with all agencies in the borough. Therefore, we chose to concentrate on those providing specialist services (advisory and advocacy support, housing, drug and alcohol treatment support and counselling) to vulnerable groups (sex workers, drug user/dealers, street drinkers and street beggars), the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), and council officials responsible for looking after the interests of the wider community. The table below presents a list of the organisations that participated.

Of the 20 people interviewed, four were involved in enforcing and monitoring sanctions such as the ABA/ ASBOs, three were outreach workers, two were drugs service coordinators; two were police officers, one a priest. The interviews covered a number of topics: professional profile; the changing nature of King's Cross; drugs and vice market activity; urban regeneration; ASBOs and other crime control measures, and displacement.

Table 5 – Organisations that participated in the research

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| ▪ Camden Street Services Team | ▪ Single Homeless Project |
| ▪ Camden Borough Police Service | ▪ New Horizon Project |
| ▪ Camden Drug Action Team | ▪ Angel Drug Project |
| ▪ Camden Parks and Green Department | ▪ Odyssey Trust |
| ▪ Camden Housing Department | ▪ The Simon Project |
| ▪ Camden Anti-Social Behaviour Action Group | ▪ North Islington Drugs Project |
| ▪ Camden Crime and Community Safety Partnership | ▪ St Martin's Church |
| ▪ Birkenhead Women's Hostel | |
| ▪ Ensleigh Gardens Hostel | |

Interviews with practitioners were carried out at the respondents' place of work. A topic guide was used to inform the interview and, using open questions and supplementary prompts to encourage full conversation, was designed to elicit detailed accounts of the participants' experiences (see Appendix C).

Interviews typically lasted about 1 to 1½ hours and were, with permission, tape recorded. All interviews were translated verbatim and analysed using a method

known as 'Framework', which is especially designed for analysing qualitative data (Ritchie and Lewis 2003).⁵⁰ The analysis draws upon questions informed by the original research brief, emergent issues raised by the interviewees themselves and upon recurrent patterns of views and experiences.

Street active respondents

It was our intention to interview as many hostel residents and 'active' individuals as possible in order to build a comprehensive view of King's Cross at 'street-level'. To this end, we employed the services of four community agencies based in the King's Cross area (Single Homeless Project, St Mungo's – Birkenhead Street Women's Hostel, St Mungo's – Endsleigh Gardens, Odyssey Trust). Each organisation was asked to identify and refer anyone with extensive knowledge of the King's Cross drug and vice markets and who was (or had been) involved in street drinking or other street activity. We also asked agencies to refer anyone who had been granted an ASBO or ABA.

Thirty-four individuals took part in the study. Sixteen were female and 18 male. The age range of interviewees was 25-60. Five of the 16 females interviewed were current or ex-sex workers.⁵¹ Two male interviewees worked in the sex industry as 'carders' and distributed sex worker cards throughout King's Cross and the West End.

Twenty-two interviewees had experience of using Class A substances. Seven were receiving treatment for heroin addiction and were being prescribed methadone. Of these, four admitted combining methadone with alcohol, cocaine and or heroin.

Nine interviewees said they had begged for money and seven said they had 'slept rough'. Of the 34 people interviewed, three had been granted ASBOs and a further three were on ABAs.

Like the practitioners, the principal method of data capture was through semi-structured interviews. The interviews covered a variety of topics; for example, personal profile, the changing nature of King's Cross, drugs and vice market activity, ASBOs and other crime control measures and displacement. A topic guide was used to inform the interview (see Appendix D). The interviews took place in private usually in the respondents' hostel.

Prospective interviewees were offered an incentive (in the form of a £10 supermarket voucher).⁵²

The interviews typically lasted between 20 and 45 minutes and were conducted in an informal manner. Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. One interviewee did not want to be tape-recorded. In this situation extensive notes were taken in place of tape recordings.

⁵⁰ This method involves systematically shifting, sorting, coding data and charting key issues and themes that emerge from the interviews

⁵¹ The stigma associated with sex work must be considered here. It is possible that the actual number of women involved in the sex market in the sample is higher than this. The details provided by other women about services they were engaged with suggest at least two other women may be sex workers. One respondent did not openly admit to being involved in sex work but has been charged with soliciting. An additional respondent had posed as sex worker and then robbed customers (clipping).

⁵² Project workers were of the opinion that we would maximise the amount of people coming forward for interview if we offered an incentive. This turned out to be the case as many more people wanted to be interviewed than first expected and the project would allow. There needs to be a cautionary note here. It could be that people came forward simply for the money but the number of people who volunteered suggests otherwise. Several people explained that they volunteered not specifically for the voucher but because they wanted to talk. Several people said they would like to be interviewed again and would do so for free. What this suggests is that this group of people rarely have their voices heard.

As with the practitioners, the interviews were translated using the 'Framework' method.

APPENDIX C - Practitioner Topic Guide

King's Cross Displacement Project: Community practitioners/stakeholder Topic Guide

Introduction

Explain the purpose of the interview. Assure confidentiality. Tell the respondent that they can stop the interview at anytime or refuse to answer any questions. Ask permission to use a tape recorder, set up and test. Start interview.

Warm-up

Tell me a little bit about your organisation..

- Years of service.
- Specialist service area.

Probe

Can you tell me a little bit about King's Cross?

- How would you describe King's Cross?
- Safe/unsafe?
- King's Cross Changed? (Why?)
- Centre for drugs and vice (prostitution)?

Probe

Have you noticed any environmental changes in King's Cross?

- Channel Tunnel Rail link.
- St Pancras renovation.
- Business developments.
- Regeneration improvements.

Prompt

There have been a number of crime and community safety initiatives operating in King's Cross area. What do you think these are?

- CCTV.
- Policing of community (Street Wardens/PCSOs).

Prompt

- Outreach work for vulnerable groups.
- ASBOs.

What impact, if any, has any of the above had on...?

a) The King's Cross area.

- Noticeable reduction in crime?
- Safer place to work?

Probe

b) Your client-base

- Changes in behaviour (importantly reduction in drug use, sex work, rough sleeping or net reduction in criminal/anti-social activity).
- Displacement to other area/service (Client base located elsewhere; in another ward/borough)

c) Your working practice

- Increase/decrease in service users? (Effect on service?)
- Reduction in provisions (e.g. funding)

Probe

Ending Interview

Ask respondent if they have any further questions or comments. Thank them for participating and reiterate confidentiality.

APPENDIX D - Client Topic Guide

King's Cross Displacement Project Client Topic Guide

Introduction

Explain the purpose of the interview. Assure confidentiality. Tell the respondent that they can stop the interview at anytime or refuse to answer any questions. Ask permission to use a tape recorder, set up and test. Start interview.

Warm-up

- Tell me a little bit about yourself.
- How long have you been in the King's Cross area?

About King's Cross

How would you describe King's Cross?

- Safe/unsafe?
- Drugs (possible to buy drugs in KX?)
- Prostitution (possible to buy sex in KX?)
- Street drinking?
- Rough sleeping?

Probe

How has it changed over time?

Noticed environmental changes?

- Channel Tunnel Rail link?
- St Pancras renovation?
- Business developments?
- Regeneration improvements?

Prompt

There have been a number of crime and community safety initiatives operating in King's Cross area. What do you think these are?

- CCTV?
- Increased Policing of community (Street Wardens/PCSOs)?
- Outreach workers?
- ASBOs?

Prompt

What impact, if any, has any of the above had on...?

- You?
- Your friends?

Probe

Have you had contact with service providers/street wardens/police?

Probe

If been granted an ASBO/ABA then ask about...

- The process.
- Support offered/access to services.
- Prohibitions.
- Displacement (to other area/service).
- Overall effect of ASBO/ABA .

Probe

Ending Interview

Ask respondent if they have any further questions or comments. Thank them for participating and reiterate confidentiality.

APPENDIX E - Characteristics of ASBO recipients

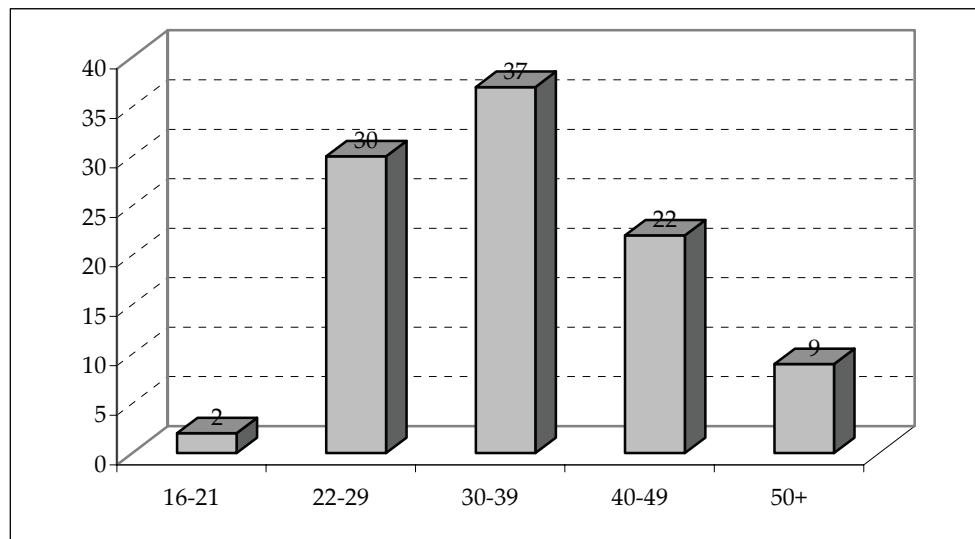
Detailed characteristics of ASBO recipients and type of ASBO granted in the King's Cross area.

Sex & Age

Of the 54 ASBOs granted just over half (59%) were given to males and 41% to females. One of the few reports on ASB highlighting the characteristics of ASBO recipients indicates that 84% of ASBO were granted to men and only 16% to women (Campbell 2002:8). The higher proportion of adult females receiving an ASBO in King's Cross most likely relates to strategies implemented in the borough to clamp down on, and tackle problems associated with, prostitution and drug usage.

Home Office figures also show that 43% of ASBOs issued were to juveniles highlighting the disproportionate use of ASBOs in combating ASB by young people. In stark contrast to national figures the number of ASBOs granted to young people (under 18) in the ward of King's Cross is 1% (See Figure 1) suggesting that the borough of Camden does not use ASBOs when dealing with issues concerning youthful ASB preferring, perhaps, to address these problems by other means. That said, the ASBOs are being levied at young people with nearly one third (30%) of all ASBOs granted in King's Cross being awarded to young adults between the ages of 22 and 30. However, as Figure 1 illustrates, the majority of ASBOs (68%) were granted to adults aged 30 and above with nearly one in 10 being awarded to people aged 50 years plus.

Figure 1: Percentage of ASBOs given by age



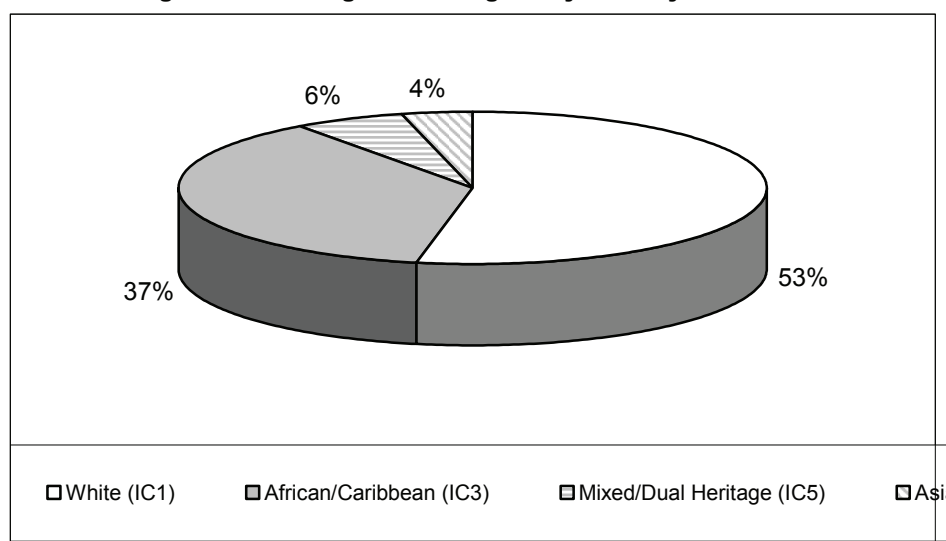
N=54

Ethnicity

The Office of National Statistics provides a statistical breakdown for each neighbourhood in London. Figures available for the borough of Camden indicate that 198,020 people were residents in Camden (2001 census). Of those 73% were classified as White, 8% Black/African-Caribbean, 10% Asian, 4% Dual or Mixed Heritage and 4% Chinese or other ethnic group.⁵³

As Figure 2 illustrates 37% of ASBOs issued in KX were given to African-Caribbean males. Yet the African-Caribbean community makes up just 8% of the population of Camden as a whole.

Figure 2: Percentage of ASBOs given by ethnicity



This finding could suggest that African-Caribbean males are disproportionately receiving ASBOs for anti-social behaviour or it could be linked to a type of criminal activity. Camden Crime and Disorder Strategy included a concerted effort to address the issue of drug crime and its attendant anti-social behaviour. Drug crime is the term given to all forms of criminal or anti-social behaviour associated with drugs including prostitution, begging and street robbery. It refers to the behaviour of those who openly seek to sell, procure or use drugs in public spaces including the carriage of drug paraphernalia. King's Cross was one of the 'hotspots' singled out for particular attention.⁵⁴

The dataset for King's Cross ward shows that nearly 9 out of 10 (87%) of ASBO recipients involved in drug crime as either dealers or users were African-Caribbean [males].

This finding does not suggest that all drug dealers are African Caribbean, but it *could* be the case that, in the King's Cross area, a large proportion of the street dealers and users are from this ethnic group (and thus subject to the ASBO). Or it could be, as Hale and Fitzgerald (2006) note that the anti-social behaviour agenda falls mostly on marginalized people who disproportionately inhabit public spaces; those with limited or

⁵³ <http://neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/>

⁵⁴ Camden Crime and Disorder Strategy 2002-2005

no access to private spaces.⁵⁵ It was not within the scope of this report to look at the ethnic composition of the street in King's Cross. Further research is needed to examine the relationship between the street active population and ethnicity.

This finding *may* point to the ethnically segregated nature of the drug market and highlight the different strategies taken by different ethnic groups to sell drugs. Again further research is needed to confirm or refute this point.

Nature of offending

The dataset analysed revealed numerous acts of misconduct. The following list indicates the range of behaviours for which an ASBO was issued in King's Cross and the number of recipients receiving it.

- Public drug usage (12)
- Begging (4)
- Drug dealing (6)
- Prostitution (17)
- Robbery (4)
- Kerb crawling (3)
- Carding (1)
- Touting (1)
- Street drinking (1)

The most common kinds of ASB for which an ASBO was granted are prostitution (including kerb crawling) and public drug usage. This reflects the efforts of CCRDP to tackle its drug crime and prostitution problems, which were perceived by people in the area to have increased in intensity since mid 80s-early 90s.

Type of ASBO granted

- Of 54 ASBOs granted in King's Cross 39 (72%) were full stand alone ASBOs and 15 (28%) post conviction ASBOs.
- Of 39 full stand alone ASBOs, 25 (64%) were for the duration 'until further order of the court'. The duration of the remaining 14 (36%) was between 2 and 10 years.
- Of the post conviction ASBOs, 4 were for the duration 'until further order of the court', 1 for five years and 10 (67%) for two years.

⁵⁵ Hale, C & Fitzgerald, M (2006) Social Exclusion and Crime