



Report on Rapid Appraisal, London

Arcola Research

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Report Summary

About this Report

This Report presents the results of a Rapid Appraisal carried out in London in May and June 2013, as part of the SME-City project. The objective of the Rapid Appraisal was to better understand the 'landscape' in which conflict situations develop in a range of contrasting inner city locations, with a particular focus on the 'night time economy'.

The Rapid Appraisal was carried out in six sub-areas in London:

- Dalston, London Borough of Hackney
- Hackney Central, London Borough of Hackney
- Shoreditch, London Borough of Hackney
- Holloway, London Borough of Islington
- West End Central, London Borough of Westminster
- Camden Town, London Borough of Camden

Approach

The methodology used in the Rapid Appraisal consisted of three activities:

- An 'Environmental audit' – an analysis of social, economic and demographic data and crime patterns, together with an assessment of the policies implemented to address urban crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder
- Observation of the incidence and pattern of urban crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder in the six locations – 36 observations in total were carried out.
- Street Interviews with a selected sample of people within the location visited – 47 street interviews were completed.
- Stakeholder interviews with bar managers, shop owners and managers, youth workers, senior police officers and police officers working on the street – 29 stakeholder interviews were completed.

Key findings

Main problems and issues identified

- All the areas covered presented instances of urban 'conflict'. These can be distinguished between specific types of crime (for example violent assault); incidents of anti-social behaviour (for example graffiti, rowdy behaviour) and more generalised incidents of 'disorder' (for example street drinking).
- The nature and pattern of these urban conflict can also be interpreted with reference to particular 'conflict scenarios' which cover: conflicts of space; gang-related conflict; conflict situations created by the absence or inadequacy of social services; traditional crime; anti-social behaviour-related crime.
- The actual recorded level of these incidents is less than the perceived level, and the level of 'fear' of crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder.
- Young people are more likely to be the perpetrators of crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder in inner urban locations, as well as more likely to be victims of these incidents.
- Actual and 'perceived' levels and patterns of crime are to some extent influenced by how 'offenders' and 'offending' is socially constructed. This in turn is linked to factors like age, culture and power.
- The highest levels of anti-social behaviour are found in night time economy locations.
- Other types of 'urban crime' appear to reflect particular 'micro-territories', with, in the case of our Rapid Appraisal areas, the 'centres' for drugs located in Shoreditch, Camden Town and Leicester Square/Soho; the centres for violence, gangs and theft in Hackney Central and Holloway and alcohol-related anti-social behaviour and violence in the West End.

- These micro-territories also show an ‘ecological pattern’, with particular types of offending behaviour developing and taking root over time and persisting over time, despite attempts to eradicate them.
- The presence of a large student population has no obvious effect on patterns of urban offending or of youth offending. Students are just one of a complex range of sub-groups who operate in inner city areas and in night time economies. They do not constitute a ‘special case’.

Causes of urban conflict

- Four main dynamics contribute to crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder in inner urban environments. These are: changes of use leading to conflicts of space; societal (structural) dynamics – like poverty, unemployment, poor housing – that contribute to creating ‘high risk’ conditions for offending; low family and community cohesion and resilience; perceptions of ‘difference’ and ‘otherness’ that lead to intolerance, labelling and demonization of particular groups and which in turn create tensions and conflict.
- These dynamics often work together to create a ‘multi-dimensional’ and ‘multiplier’ effect in inner urban environments.
- However, in some environments, one particular dynamic is stronger than the rest and will thus have the strongest effect in shaping the nature of conflict in that particular location. An example is the effect of changing usage and conflicts of space in the new and emerging night time economies of Shoreditch and Dalston. Another example is the use of ‘stop and search’ tactics by police in the housing estates of Central Hackney, leading to perceptions of victimisation by young black youths.

How conflict is addressed

- The prevention, management and resolution of urban conflict is primarily shaped by the current policies and legislation that are in place to address crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder and, in turn, by the legal instruments in place to enforce these policies and legislation.
- In recent years, changes in policy and legislation have led to a more robust and more punitive approach to crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder in cities. The local authorities in the locations covered by the Rapid Appraisal have not been backward in using the instruments at their disposal. In all the areas covered, we found extensive use of the powers available under the Crime and Disorder Act, Criminal Justice Act, Anti-Social Behaviour Act, and Violent Crime Reduction Act to enforce measures like Anti-Social Behaviour Orders; Dispersal Notices; Controlled Drinking Zones; Fixed Penalty Notices (FPNs) for public disorder offence to reduce crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder on city streets, particularly in the night time economy locations. These measures have also been accompanied by robust policing tactics, including high-visibility policing; ‘hot spot’ targeting of ‘high risk’ locations and targeting of ‘at risk’ and persistent offenders.
- These ‘hard’ measures have been deployed as part of a ‘hybrid’ approach that combines enforcement tactics with ‘softer’ measures aimed at reducing the ‘risk factors’ considered to lead to offending behaviour. These measures are aimed at improving the well-being of ‘at risk’ individuals, their families and their communities in order to support greater resilience. They typically include school-based awareness-raising programmes; parenting programmes and programmes tailored to the needs of individuals and delivered through agencies like Youth Inclusion and Support Panels.
- This hybrid approach has been accompanied by the increasing use in policing of ‘evidence-based’ analysis, including the use of research findings from the academic literature to support strategy design.
- The evidence from the street and stakeholder interviews suggests that these strategies are broadly in line with the perceptions of the public, business and other

stakeholder groups with regard to what needs to be done to address urban crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder. These interviews highlighted more robust policing and law enforcement together with indirect interventions to reduce risk factors as the strategies public and stakeholders want to see implemented.

- However, a number of concerns were voiced by the interviewees and the police themselves over the implementation of these current strategies. These include concerns that robust policing tactics are displacing problems to other locations rather than eradicating them; concerns that these punitive tactics are further labelling and demonising young people; concerns that the strategies and tactics are fuelling a 'culture of confrontation' on the streets; concerns that the 'hybrid' approach is balanced too heavily in favour of enforcement and that not enough is being done in prevention, particularly in 'early interventions'.

Implications for SME-City

The results of the Rapid Appraisal support a re-orientation of the original SME-City approach to allow for greater contextualisation and flexibility to address the complex dynamics and scenarios found in London, and to find further evidence to help answer questions that remain outstanding.

An Action Plan for the next phase of SME-City, to be implemented in London, is therefore proposed. It is based on an 'action learning cycle' which:

- builds on the results of the Rapid Appraisal to establish a more evidence-based understanding of the dynamics that shape crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder in night time economies;
- reviews these understandings by filtering them through the different 'points of view' of relevant stakeholders using 'action learning sets';
- supports the development of a coherent and collaborative position on possible actions to reduce crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder in night time economies through promoting 'sensemaking' between different stakeholders;
- implements and evaluates the most promising actions via 'action research experiments'.

1. Scope and Content of this Report

This Report presents the results of the Rapid Appraisal of a selection of inner city areas carried out in London in May and June 2013. The objective of the Rapid Appraisal was to better understand the 'landscape' in which conflict situations develop in a range of contrasting inner city locations, with a particular focus on the 'night time economy'. The Report is set out as follows:

- Following this Introduction, Section 2 presents the methodology applied in the Rapid Appraisal.
- Section 3 presents the results of the data collection and analysis.
- Section 4 presents the key findings.
- The final section, section 5, discusses the implications of these results and key findings for the next phase of the SME-City project, and presents an Action Plan for this next phase.

2. Approach

2.1 Overall approach and selection of RA areas

The methodology used in the Rapid Appraisal is set out in detail in the document 'SME City – Methodological Framework' – produced by Arcola Research in April 2013 and circulated to and approved by partners. The first phase of the methodological approach – the 'Scoping' activity – focused on identifying sub-locations within the city of London that could then serve as the locations for more detailed mapping. The scoping activity assessed the broad geographical areas of interest and developed an initial list of potential mapping locations. This involved desk research based on 'small area analysis' which used the data available from existing statistical databases that cover geographical and territorial areas at the level of 'Super Output Areas (SOAs)'.¹ SOAs provide key data – mainly derived from the national Census - for mapping and assessing potential sub-areas of 'tension'. These include:

- Data relating to economic activity, poverty and the provision of selected welfare benefits.
- Information on educational attainment, school absence, enrolment to higher education and numbers of students
- Housing demand and supply, tenure and condition
- Overall size and structure of the population
- Data on crime

The second task of the scoping activity applied a similar method of statistical analysis using data on criminal activity. In London, this is collected by the Metropolitan Police and is available at a much finer level of granularity, down to specific streets within the SOA's. The crime statistics are categorised by type. The categories used in the London scoping activity were those that are commonly used to measure 'youth crime', i.e.:

- Anti-social behaviour
- Criminal damage and arson
- Public disorder and weapons
- Drugs

On the basis of the results of the analysis of these data, six sub-areas were selected for more detailed mapping:

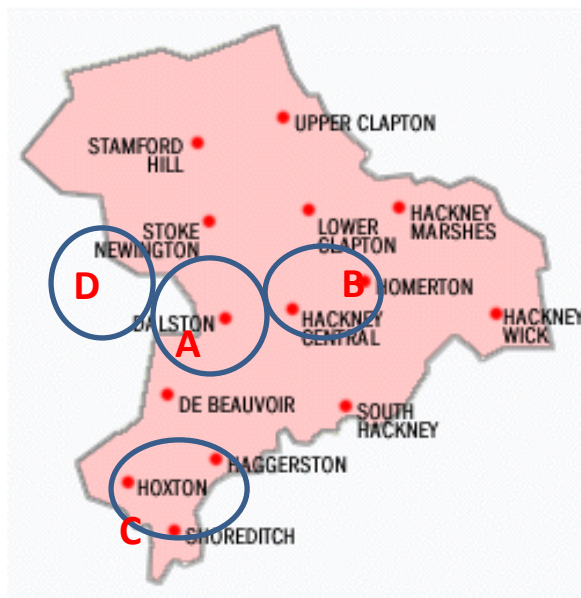
- Area A: Dalston, London Borough of Hackney
- Area B: Hackney Central, London Borough of Hackney
- Area C: Shoreditch, London Borough of Hackney
- Area D: Holloway, London Borough of Islington
- Area E: West End Central, London Borough of Westminster
- Area F: Camden Town, London Borough of Camden

These are shown on Maps 1 to 4 below.

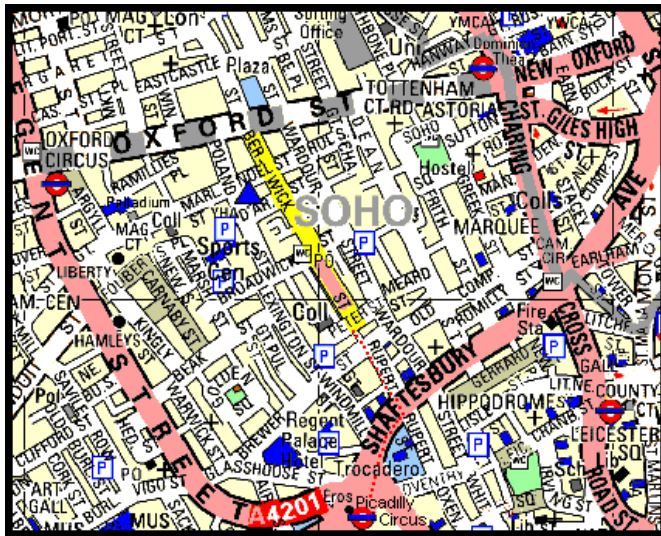
¹ Smith S (2003) Small-Area Analysis," pages 898-901 in Paul Demeny and Geoffrey McNicoll (eds.), Encyclopedia of Population. Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference, 2003



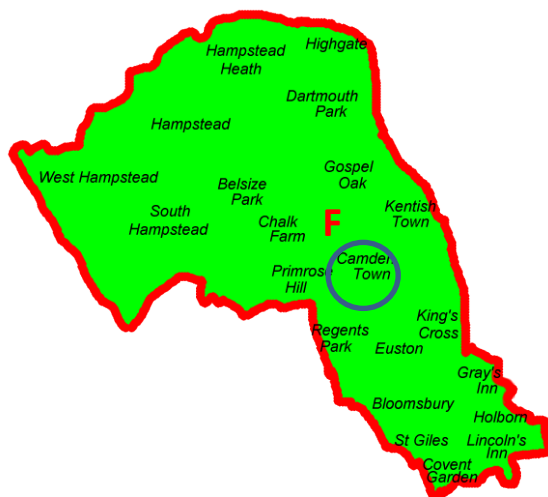
Map 1: The 6 Mapping Sub-areas in London



Map 2: Areas A, B, C, D – London Boroughs of Hackney and Islington



Map 3: Area E: Westminster Central



Map 4: Area F: Camden Town

2.2 Implementing the Rapid Appraisal in the selected areas

In essence, the aim of a Rapid Appraisal is to paint a picture of the 'landscape' of the selected study areas in a short timeframe. It consists of:

- An 'Environmental audit'
- Observation
- Interviews

Environmental Audit

The environmental audit provides a broad overview of the distinguishing characteristics of the different neighbourhoods and communities represented within the geographical boundaries of the urban areas covered. It consists of two exercises. In the first exercise,

additional analysis of social, economic and demographic data and crime patterns (described in Phase 1 above) was undertaken.

This was supplemented by direct observation of 'street life'. Observation also included the use of video and audio to record relevant social interactions, including 'oral histories' of young people's own experience and narratives of conflict.

Observation

The observational data was collected using a template (provided in full in the 'Methodological Framework' document). The template records the researcher's assessment of the mapping area according to five key descriptors:

- **Logistics** (date, time, location of observation activity)
- **Physical features**
 - Street topography-Type and mix of space and buildings(green space; retail; office; residential; bars etc.)
 - Environmental quality-Quality of urban space (pleasant; ordered; run-down); Level of vandalism to space and urban architecture; Level of graffiti; Level of noise; Level of litter; pollution
- **People**
 - Density-Level and density (high; moderate; low).
 - Estimate of the numbers in the period surveyed
 - Profile-Age range
 - Ethnicity
 - Gender
 - Socio-economic status
 - Distinguishing features-Is there a dominant profile? (e.g. mainly tourists)
 - Are there specific sub-groups of young people? (e.g. hipsters; students)
- **Interactions, tensions and conflicts**
 - Atmosphere and ambience-calm; lively; tense; dangerous
 - Conflict situations- disorder; anti-social behaviour; disputes; violence
 - Actors involved in conflict -who was involved in these situations and what role did they play
 - Factors in conflict situations- causes of these situations (e.g. alcohol; drugs; excitement etc.)
 - Consequences of conflict- outcomes of the conflict situations observed (e.g. 'naturally' died down; resolved between the actors; intervention by outsiders)
 - Management of conflict- specific conflict intervention strategies observed (e.g. intervention by friends; bar managers; authorities) - How did these work
- **Assessment of location for further mapping**
 - Suitability for further detailed mapping
 - Identification of specific locations for Phase 2
 - Identification of key informants

Interviews

Three sets of interviews were carried out;

- Street interviews – this entailed interviews with a selected sample of people within the location visited, as part of the observation work. They were carried out using an opportunistic approach – i.e. a 'quota' sample representing the range of people observable within the location mapped (e.g. young people; tourists; people working in the area; police; traffic wardens; shoppers). The interview schedule was short and focused on the interviewee's impressions of being in the location.
- Stakeholder interviews – this entailed a more structured interview with people with experience of working in conflict situations in the areas being appraised (e.g. residents associations; local businesses; community centres). The interview

schedule was longer than the street interview schedule and focused on a more extended assessment of factors relating to crime and young people.

- Police interviews – this entailed a variation on the stakeholder interviews with high-ranking police officers who were responsible for crime strategy in the areas covered, as well as interviews with police and community support officers on the ground. It focused more on the causes of urban crime and their management.

The street interviews covered the following topics:

- Brief details about the interviewee – age, gender, employment status, location of residence, reason for being in the mapping location
- Impressions of the area (describe what it's like to be here; perceptions of incidence of particular problems in the area around things like anti-social behaviour)
- Experiences of conflict (frequency of experience of conflict situations; factors leading to the incident; outcomes of the incident; perceptions of how to address conflict)

The stakeholder and police interviews covered the following topics:

- Brief details about the interviewee (name; organisation; job title; role)
- Views on the scale and nature of the problem (main issues and problems encountered that relate to young people and problems in city centres; scale and level of these problems; locations in the area where these problems are particularly significant; particular groups that these problems involve)
- Causes and Effects (perceptions of main factors that contribute to these problems; perceptions of main outcomes and impacts of these problems, and for whom)
- Management Strategies (strategy applied in this area to address these problems; responsibility for implementing the strategy; effectiveness of the strategy; how the strategy could be improved)
- Further research and collaboration (suggestions for further contacts; suggestions for relevant documents and material; interest in being involved in further stages of SME-City)

2.3 Analysing the data

The data collected through field work (i.e. observational and interview data) were analysed using content analysis. (Stemler, 2001). As well as textual analysis of interviewee responses, the content analysis methodology was also applied to the audio and video material collected. The first stage of the methodology entailed constructing a coding frame that enables each data item collected to be systematically analysed using common constructs (Thorndike, 1971; Nuendorf, 2002). Each item of material was first scanned manually map the occurrence of particular items and 'emergent themes', and specify how these are presented in the text being analysed. The items and themes were then clustered to form an initial coding frame. In the second stage, this coding frame was then used to re-scan the material to firstly carry out a frequency count of the occurrences of the constructs and themes in the scanned material (and hence provide a picture of the key issues that should be addressed in the next phase of the research) and secondly to compare and review the descriptors and examples of themes represented in the material reviewed.

3. Results of the Rapid Appraisal

3.1 Results of the Environmental Audit

3.1.1 Socio-cultural profile

Three of the sub-areas selected for the Rapid Appraisal are located within the London Borough of Hackney. These are: Area A: Dalston, Area B: Hackney Central, Area C: Shoreditch. Hackney is one of 14 Inner London boroughs and is located in the north-east of the city. Its direct neighbours are the City, Islington, Haringey, Waltham Forest, Newham and Tower Hamlets. It has a population of around 200,000, comparable to a small English city. Of these, the number of young people in the 16 to 24 age group is around 20,000. It has a diverse socio-economic and cultural structure, with 40% of the population classified as Immigrant and Ethnic Minority (IEM). Hackney is an area with high social and economic disadvantage. The 2011 unemployment rate was 9.9% compared with a national rate of 8%; 21% of the population claim benefits compared with 15% nationally, and the crime rate (per 1,000) is 135 compared with a national rate of 115. In terms of social environment, the borough has a high level of people living in rented property ((70% compared with 30% for the UK) and a large number of neighbourhoods with poor housing conditions. However, within the Borough, there are pockets of 'high status' owner-occupied housing. Around 70 LSOAs in Hackney are ranked in the 10% most deprived in England, and Hackney was ranked the most deprived in England on three of the IMD measures for 2007.

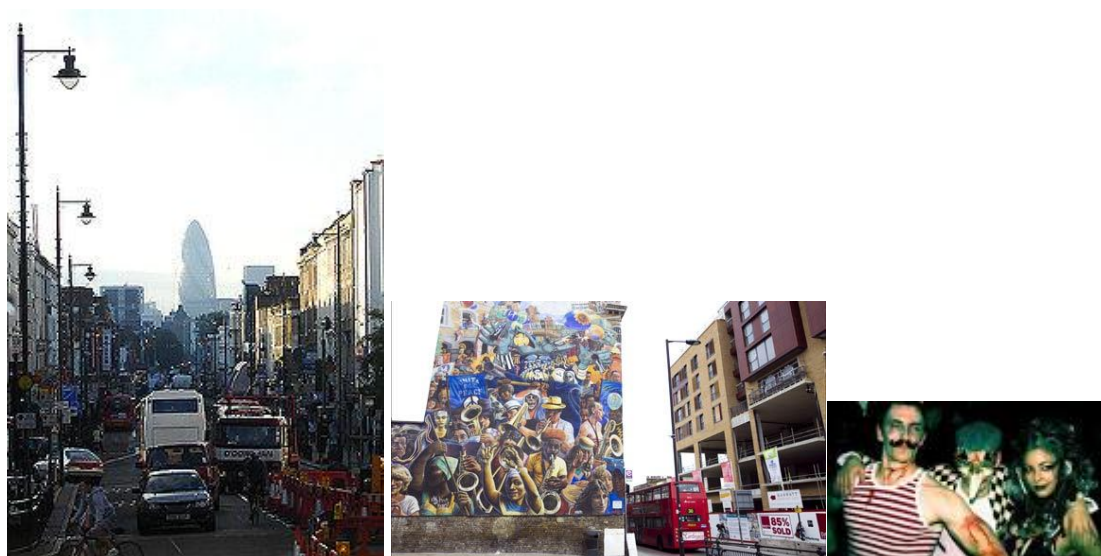
The administrative centre of Hackney is around Hackney Central (Area B), where the Town Hall and much of the Borough's local government agencies and services are concentrated, and which was the historical centre of the Borough. Hackney Town Hall Square has been funded to develop as a new 'creative quarter'. Surrounding the public square itself is a new four screen cinema complex , a new library, technology and learning centre, Hackney Museum and the refurbished Hackney Empire – an old 'music hall' that is now an iconic building that is 'protected' because of its architectural interest. A new town hall complex has been built behind the original building.

Shoreditch (Area C) and Dalston (Area A) are the main centres of the Borough's 'night time economy'. Shoreditch borders on the City of London and its recent history has been shaped by the expansion of the City's financial services industry, which created a class of affluent young people who work in the City's financial district and who party in the bars and clubs of Shoreditch and Hoxton after work. A second key dynamic has been the transformation of what was formerly a working class district into a 'creative industries' quarter. The gentrification of former industrial buildings and their conversion into offices and flats and appartments has also significantly fuelled demand from people who live and work in the quarter for services provided by the clubs, pubs, restaurants and art galleries which offer an alternative to the established entertainment district of London's West End.



Shoreditch

However, in the last five years, Dalston (Area A) has begun to replace Shoreditch as London's 'trendiest location', with a seemingly unstoppable migration of 'Shoreditch hipsters' the mile or so up the Kingsland Road to Dalston Junction. This movement reflects, on the one hand, changing cultural perceptions and trends but also recent gentrification of Dalston as a result of the completion of the new Overground rail extension, re-development of the areas around the new station and other developments associated with the London Olympics in 2012. Gentrification has been accompanied not only by an influx into the area of new residents – mainly young people who work in the media and creative industries – but also a significant increase in the number of night-time visitors to Dalston's bars, clubs and restaurants. A recent London Evening Standard article titled "Urinating, vomiting and too much noise": locals claim night life is out of control in Dalston" – reported that "Residents in Dalston are calling for a clampdown on new bars and clubs opening after a surge in anti-social behaviour. Locals report people urinating and vomiting in their front gardens and increased noise seven days a week since their east London neighbourhood became the "new Shoreditch". New Overground stations are bringing in large numbers of revellers to the bars, clubs, cafés and restaurants in the area."²



Dalston

² London Evening Standard, 28/01/13

Area D: Holloway is located in the London Borough of Islington, immediately bordering north west Hackney and very close to Dalston. Islington is smaller and more affluent than neighbouring Hackney, although its population – at 208,000 – is similar, and there are more young people in the 16-24 age group (16% or around 32,000). Like Hackney, Islington is ethnically diverse with 29% of the population classifying themselves as black and minority ethnic group. Islington is one of the five most deprived boroughs in London and amongst the 15 most deprived in England. However, the Borough has a number of areas where deprivation is low. These include areas of expensive Georgian terraced housing like Barnsbury and East Highbury – which forms part of the sub-area included in the Rapid Appraisal. In contrast, Holloway – which constitutes the remainder of the sub-area – has the highest proportion of people that live in the most deprived parts of Islington. Holloway is also the location where the highest concentration of students live and work, and is the site of the main campus of London Metropolitan University, housing just over 15,000 students.

Islington has an established night economy with a range of pubs, bars, clubs, restaurants, cinemas and theatres stretching along its main artery – Upper Street – through to Highbury and Islington stations and continuing along the A1 to where the University campus is located. The demand for the services provided by this economy is periodically swelled by the presence near the University of Arsenal Football Club, at the Emirates Stadium.



Holloway

Area E: West Central - is located in the London Borough of Westminster. Westminster is a national and global centre of employment and industry, containing more enterprises and employees – 600,000 in 2012 – than any other London borough. The borough's population is currently estimated at 219,000 which is a decrease from a population of 236,000 in 2007. Its population density is still double the London average, at 104 persons per hectare. Westminster's status as a tourist destination, as well as its large and thriving economy means that there are a significant number of short-term residents who are not counted in this statistic (including around 1 million visitors and commuters visiting the borough every day). Three-quarters of Westminster's population are of working age, which is noticeably higher than the London figure of 69% or England's 65%.

Westminster also has a uniquely diverse population, with just under half of its residents from White British backgrounds, compared to 58% for the rest of London, and only 56% of residents born in the UK, compared to a London average of 73%. Westminster also differs in terms of which ethnic groups are represented: there are significantly lower proportions of Asian and Black ethnic groups but the highest percentage of residents who are Chinese, mixed White and Asian, and 'other' of any Local Authority in England. It also has the second highest percentage of 'other mixed' and 'other white' residents in England. In general, Westminster's ethnicity data only partially shows its population's real diversity, which

includes 182 different nationalities and a higher number of nationalities found within each ethnic group than anywhere else in the UK. Westminster is the third most prosperous borough in the UK in terms of average resident based income, and some of the wealthiest people in Britain live there. However, although its overall unemployment rate is below the London average, youth unemployment is relatively high at 28%. The borough also has a high proportion of 'transient' population - many of whom are homeless and many of whom are young.

The west Central sub-area where the Rapid Appraisal was carried out is London's prime 'night economy' location, taking in the theatre district around Shaftsbury Avenue, the tourist magnets of Leicester Square and Piccadilly, the retail district around Oxford Street, and the pubs, bars, clubs and restaurants around Chinatown and Soho.



London: West End Central

Area F: Camden Town – is located in the London Borough of Camden. Camden is an inner London borough, lying just northwest of the centre and bordered by the City of Westminster and the City of London to the south, Brent to the west, Barnet and Haringey to the north and Islington to the east. After years of regeneration, Camden's experienced three decades of high population growth until 2007. However, the population has declined slightly in the past couple of years, and it now has around 220,000 residents. Camden is diverse in topography and demography with a range of environments and communities from business centres such as Holborn, Euston and Tottenham Court, to the affluent and high-status suburbs of Hampstead, Highgate, Hampstead Heath and Primrose Hill. Camden has a young population, - around 30,000 are in the 16-24 age group - with a high proportion of residents working in the "knowledge economy" and the highest proportion of full-time students in London, with many of the University of London buildings within the borough. Camden is ethnically diverse, with the non-white population numbering 53,124 people representing about 27% of the total population.

Average incomes in Camden are more than double the national average, and in the past few years Camden has gone from having eight of its "Lower Super Output Areas" in the 10% most deprived in England to only three. However, 44% of its LSOAs remain in the bottom 30% of the most deprived areas.

Camden Town – the sub-area selected for the Rapid Appraisal – is one of the main 'hubs' of the Borough and a key 'night time economy' location. It is well known for its market, situated along the Canal at Camden Lock, and now surrounded by five more markets: Buck Street market, Stables market, Camden Lock village, and an indoor market in the Electric Ballroom. The markets are a major tourist attraction at weekends, selling goods of all types including fashion, lifestyle, books, food, junk/antiques and specialising in 'Goth' gear; they and the

3.1.2 Crime and anti-social behaviour profile

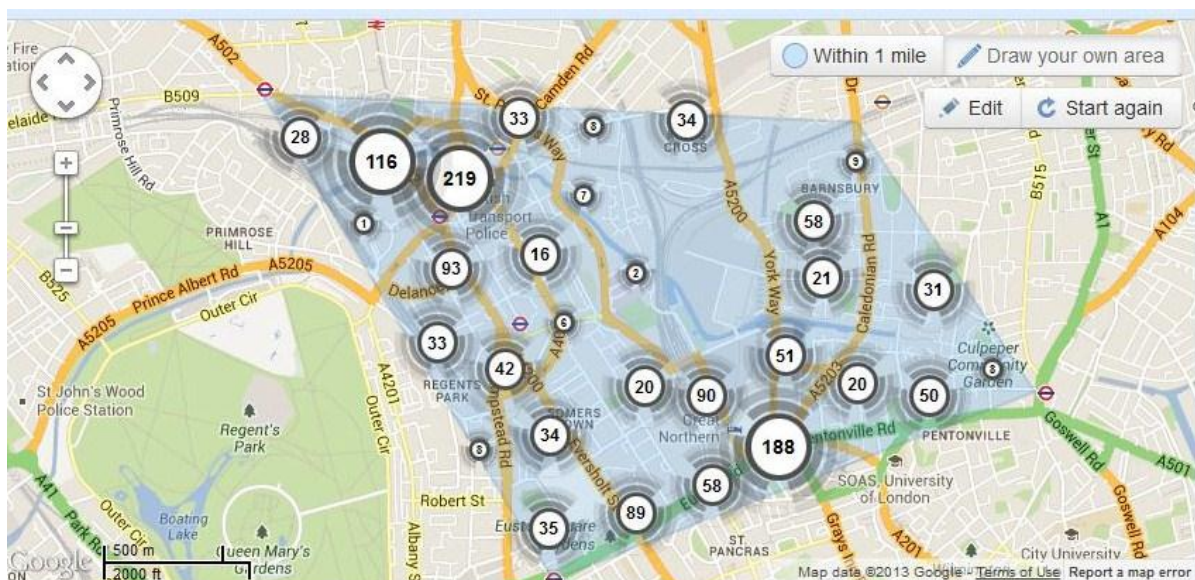
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Crime statistics map 2: Central West End (sub-area E)



Crime statistics map 3: Camden Town (sub-area F)

The analysis covered all crimes recorded in a monthly period (June 2013) for crime classified as anti-social behaviour, criminal damage, drugs and public order offences. These four categories are routinely used in the literature on youth offending as indicators associated with 'youth crime'. The analysis is summarised in Figure 1. Note that the statistics shown in Figure 1 show the proportion of crime incidents recorded for each sub-area location as a percentage of the total crime within the territory boundary shown in the maps.

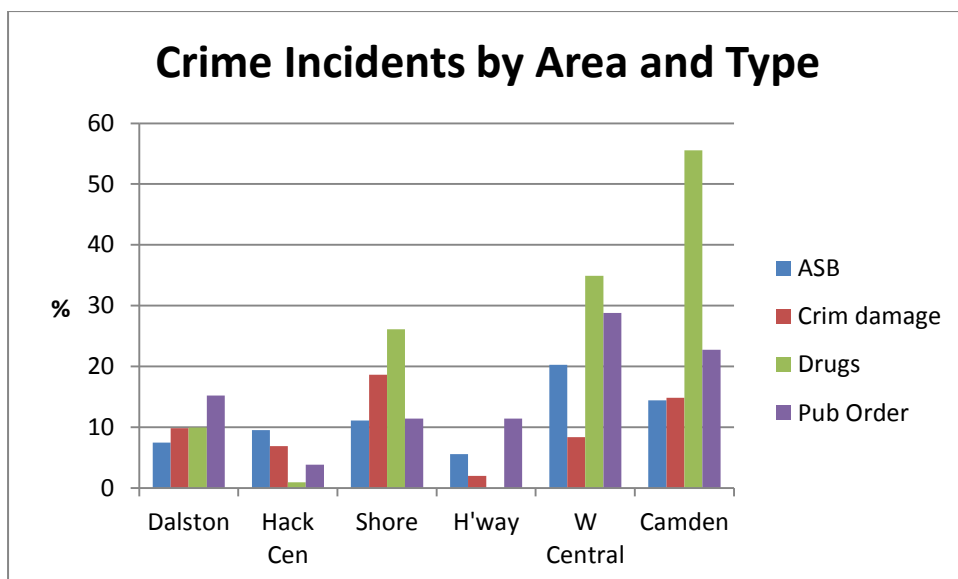


Figure 1: Summary analysis of youth crime incidents in the six RA sub-areas

Figure 1 shows a consistent pattern of distribution of criminal activity with regard to anti-social behaviour, but with some significant variation in the patterns of incidents recorded in the other three categories of 'youth crime'. Within the Hackney and Holloway territory, a total of 885 anti-social behaviour (ASB) incidents were recorded in the period. The highest concentrations within Hackney and the Holloway area were in the three Rapid Appraisal sub-areas, i.e. Shoreditch (11% of the total); Hackney Central (9%) and Dalston (7%). In the Westminster territory, a total of 568 anti-social behaviour (ASB) incidents were recorded in the period with the highest concentrations in Leicester Square and Soho (20% of the total). In the Camden territory, a total of 347 anti-social behaviour (ASB) incidents were recorded in the period with the highest concentration – 14% - in Camden Town. These patterns suggest a high correlation between anti-social behaviour incidence and the main locations of the night-time economy in the areas surveyed.

However, different patterns can be identified with regard to the three other categories of 'youth crime' analysed. In the case of criminal damage, a total of 102 incidents were recorded in the period within the Hackney and Holloway territory, with the highest concentration – 19% in Shoreditch. However, only 72 incidents of criminal damage were recorded in the period within the West End territory, and only 8% of these in Leicester Square and Soho. In Camden, even less incidents of criminal damage – 52 – were recorded of which only 8% were in Camden Town.

Drugs offences show another different pattern. In the Hackney and Holloway territory a total of 111 incidents were recorded over the period, with the highest concentrations in Shoreditch – 26% of the total – and Dalston (10%) – and only 1% in Hackney Central. In the West End 129 incidents were recorded over the period, with 25% of these in Leicester Square and Soho. In Camden, 109 incidents were recorded over the period with over half – 56% - in Camden Town.

In the case of public order offences, only 79 incidents were recorded over the period in the Hackney and Holloway territory, with the largest concentrations in Dalston – 15% - and Shoreditch – 11%. There were 44 offences recorded in Camden with 23% of these in Camden Town and 73 offences in the West End, with 29% of these in Leicester Square and Soho.

Across all categories of crime, the Holloway sub-area recorded the lowest levels of incidents in the entire mapping territory.

Setting the crime data analysis against the socio-cultural profiles of the territories mapped, what these results of the environmental audit suggest is:

- High levels of ASB are associated with key night time economy locations
- Other types of youth crime appear to reflect particular 'micro-territories' or ecologies, with, in the case of our Rapid Appraisal areas, the 'centres' for drugs located in Shoreditch, Camden Town and Leicester Square/Soho
- The presence of a large student population has no effect on patterns of youth crime. In this case, the lowest levels of crime were recorded in Holloway – the area which houses a major university campus
- It is likely that the territorial variations in youth crime patterns reflect factors such as the cultural history of particular micro-locations, the relative mix of residents and visitors present and the way crime management and policing policies operate in a particular area.

These tentative conclusions are further explored in section 3.2 below, which presents the results of the analysis of the field data collected in the Rapid Appraisal.

3.1.3 Crime and Anti-social behaviour strategies in the sub-areas

In the three sub-areas located within Hackney, crime and anti-social behaviour strategies are shaped by the 'Community Safety Partnership Plan 2011 – 2014'. This both analyses levels and patterns of crime in the Borough as well as setting out the strategy to address crime. Six priorities are highlighted in the Plan: Gangs and Youth Disorder; Alcohol Related Crime and Disorder; Domestic Violence, Rape and Sexual Assault; Nuisance Neighbours and Domestic Noise; Substance Misuse, Treatment and Drug Dealing; the 2012 Olympics. Two of these priorities are of particular relevance for the Rapid Appraisal.

The 'Gangs and Youth Disorder' priority concludes that knife and gun crime, as well as a broader set of issues around 'youth disorder', are seen as major problems by the community – although it points out that young people themselves are most often likely to be the victims of crime. It observes that in Hackney the majority of the identified gang members are black men aged between 17 and 21 years of age and concludes that this group, as well as the broader group of young people in Hackney generally, are particularly 'at risk' of offending as a result of their vulnerability to factors like poor education, poverty and unemployment. The Plan therefore recommends a number of actions aimed at reducing these risk factors, including: work with ex-gang members and supporting them into training and employment; work in Partnership with Schools and the Safer Schools Partnership to promote crime awareness, safety and support young people at risk of victimisation / youth victims of crime; challenging perceptions and youth engagement through improving delivery and communication around stop and search and other policing activities and improving the Councils external communication with young people.

The 'Alcohol Related Crime and Disorder' priority focuses in particular on crime and anti-social behaviour within Hackney's 'night time economies'. The Plan concludes that "Public perception of drunk or rowdy behaviour as a problem is lower than litter, "teenagers hanging around", drugs, "dangerous dogs" and vandalism, however 31% of people in Hackney still perceive it to be a very or fairly big problem." It suggests that "the evidence highlights a link between night time economies (NTEs) and high levels of crime and disorder; in Haggerston, Dalston and Stoke Newington, and high volume areas in Hackney Central, Chatham (along Mare Street) and Stoke Newington." It links the causes of these high levels of disorder to regeneration and improved transport connections. These it is suggested have fuelled a growth in night time economies, which in turn lead to a multiplier effect that will attract more visitors to Hackney, and with them the potential to create more crime and disorder opportunities. The Plan therefore recommends 'Targeted action to reduce levels of crime and disorder in and around night time economies'. These actions combine punitive sanctions – for example the enforcement of Drink Exclusion Zones, the targeting of high risk offenders – with preventative work based on collaboration with local retailers and licensees to promote responsible retailing, improve security and safety, and limit the opportunities for crime and violence. The instruments used to deliver these actions combine: High visibility patrols by

Police NTE teams and LBH Warden Service in priority NTE destinations of Shoreditch and Dalston; targeted multi agency action to tackle violent crime: target high risk locations and offenders; enforcement of Designated Public Place Order (DPPO) at specified locations that cause high levels of alcohol related ASB; impose penalties and restrictions on venues that contribute to problems of crime and ASB through the multi-agency Licensing Operational Enforcement Group (LOEG).

The Islington Community Safety Plan observes that violent crime, including knife and gun crime, as well as robbery and burglary have all declined in recent years. Set against this, it also observes that perceptions of 'disorder and anti-social behaviour' constitute a major problem in the Borough, including 'youth disorder, alcohol and substance misuse disorder, and disorder associated with the street population such as beggars, street drinkers and rough sleepers'. It links levels of disorder to the 'thriving night-time economy', observing that Islington is 'the fourth most densely populated borough in London for licensed premises. Alcohol-related crime and disorder is high in Islington, with 60% of suspects and victims involved in alcohol-related crime having an Islington address'. Against this background, the key themes in the Plan are: Priority Crimes - including personal robbery, serious violence, life threatening and gun crime and residential burglary; Young People - including serious youth violence, gangs and criminal damage; Substance Misuse - including reducing harm to children, support with treatment and tackling youth drug and alcohol misuse; Domestic Violence & Hate Crimes - including support to victims of violence, improving support and reporting opportunities and holding perpetrators to account; Community and Anti-Social Behaviour - including reducing environmental damage, reducing numbers within the street population and using evidence-based communication to reassure the community. The main actions aimed at addressing the problems highlighted with regard to the themes of 'Young People' and 'Community and Anti-Social Behaviour' are: reducing offending behaviour, curbing gang-related activity and providing support and diversionary activities for young people.

Within the broader overall strategy of the 'Camden Plan', Camden's Community Safety strategy focuses on three priorities: the management of offenders and perpetrators; services to those people who may be vulnerable to being victims of crime; the management of problematic locations. This includes an 'Antisocial behaviour action plan'. In common with other London Boroughs, the Plan firstly assesses the evidence on anti-social behaviour and observes that Camden has one of the highest rates of ASB in London, and that 'anti-social behaviour and the fear of crime are consistently among the top concerns of Camden's residents – both adults and young people'. It concludes that the main factors that fuel ASB are: high levels of deprivation, a vibrant night-time economy, huge number of visitors to the borough, Camden's position as a major transport interchange for London; the presence of significant drugs markets, which bring with them high levels of crime and anti-social behaviour. The strategy developed to address ABS in Camden focuses on five objectives: improving community perceptions of anti-social behaviour; making full use of the powers available under the Anti-Social behaviour Act 2003 and other legislation; improving the reporting and recording of incidents of anti-social behaviour, and communication with the complainant; maintaining partnership working; tackling estate based youth and drug related anti-social behaviour and noise nuisance.

Within this overall plan, Camden makes use of a number of enforcement instruments to address crime and anti-social behaviour. These include: Parenting Orders; Anti-Social Behaviour Orders; Dispersal Notices; Controlled Drinking Zones; Fixed Penalty Notices (FPNs) for public disorder offences; Drug Intervention Orders and Individual Support Orders; Closure Orders – applied to premises being used for the production, supply or use of Class A drugs; Acceptable Behaviour Agreements (ABAs) – used to 'produce a dialogue with young people at risk of committing more serious anti-social behaviour or crime'. It combines these with 'softer' strategies aimed at reducing the vulnerability of 'at risk' groups, and strengthening family and community resilience and cohesion. These measures include:

projects like ‘Families in Focus’ and the ‘Intensive Parenting Programme’ – which provide support to ‘at risk’ families; Youth Inclusion and Support Panels, which provide targeted support for individual young offenders and those ‘at risk’

The Westminster Crime and Reduction Strategy puts a major focus on problems associated with the night time economy and states: “One of the biggest crime and disorder challenges facing the borough is alcohol related violence and disorder, which is primarily focused in the West End.” It particularly singles out ‘violence against the person’ as the major issue in the West End, and links this specifically to the role of alcohol. It highlights the fact that the majority of both victims and perpetrators of crime in the night time economy areas are young people between 18 and 35 years but also stresses that youth and drink-related ‘disorder’ more generally is a major problem with ‘More calls made to the police about rowdy and inconsiderate behaviour, generally associated with the night time economy area or with youth disorder, than any other disorder’.

Against this background, the Westminster Crime and Reduction Strategy highlights four key objectives: reduce levels of violent crime associated with the night time economy including sexual assault and robbery; reduce levels of acquisitive crime associated with the night time economy; reduce levels of alcohol related disorder within the night time economy area; reduce the risk of terrorism within the night time economy area. The second major priority area in the Strategy focuses on Youth-Related Crime and Disorder. This priority area has two objectives: to reduce reoffending rates of young people in the criminal justice system and to reduce levels of serious violent crime committed by young people. In common with strategies in other areas, the approach adopted to achieve these objectives focuses on combining ‘robust’ legal sanctions with measures aimed at Identifying and addressing the risk factors that lead to offending and anti-social behaviour and providing support and interventions to change behaviour. The vehicle used to deliver on both these priority areas is the Safer Westminster Partnership (SWP), which brings together police services, the Council, probation services and health services to design and implement specific programmes in specific neighbourhoods.

3.2 Analysis of field data

3.2.1 Data collected

Figure 2 shows the total number of observations, street interviews and stakeholder interviews carried out in the Rapid Appraisal, broken down by type and sub-area.

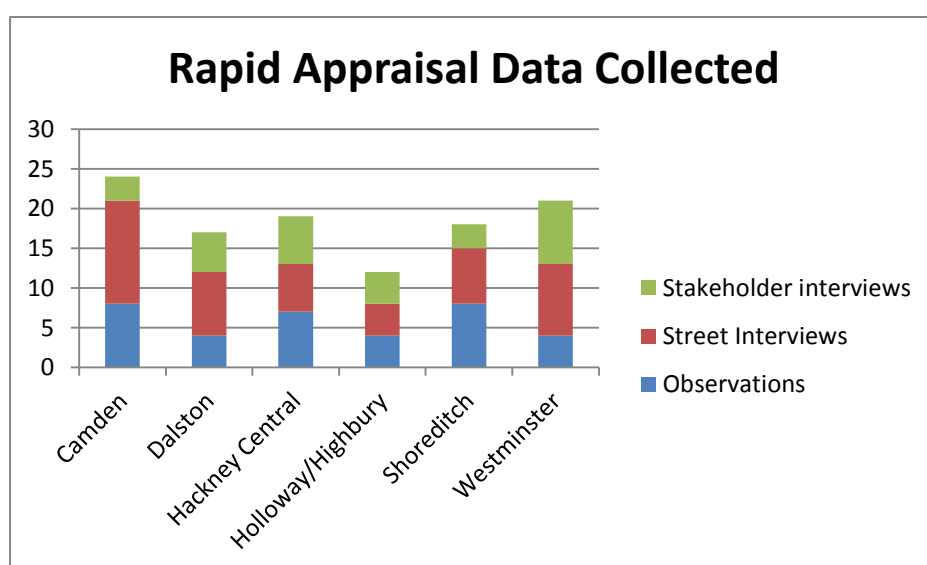


Figure 2: Data collected in Rapid Appraisal

Figure 2 shows:

- 35 observation templates in total were completed in the 6 areas. These were broadly spread across the 6 locations with the most observations carried out in Camden and Shoreditch (8 each) and the least in Holloway and Westminster (4 each)
- 47 street interviews in total were completed in the 6 areas. These were also broadly spread across the 6 locations with the most carried out in Camden (13) and the least in Holloway (4). The street interview sample covered a range of profiles, including local residents, tourists, people visiting the area to eat, drink etc., street workers.
- 29 stakeholder and police interviews in total were completed in the 6 areas. These were again broadly spread across the 6 locations with the most carried out in Westminster (8) and the least in Shoreditch and Camden (3 each). The stakeholder sample covered a wide range of profiles, including: 'beat' officers and community support officers (law enforcement officers working on the street); managers and workers in shops and similar businesses; managers and workers in bars and clubs; restaurant workers; community centre and youth centre workers; out-reach workers.

3.2.2 Results of the Observational Analysis

The main result of the observational data analysis is the low level of anti-social behaviour incidents recorded through the observation activities. As Figure 2 shows, only 9 occurrences of Physical anti-social behaviour were logged in the 35 observation activities carried out. Similarly, only 8 incidents of conflict were recorded in the 35 observation activities.

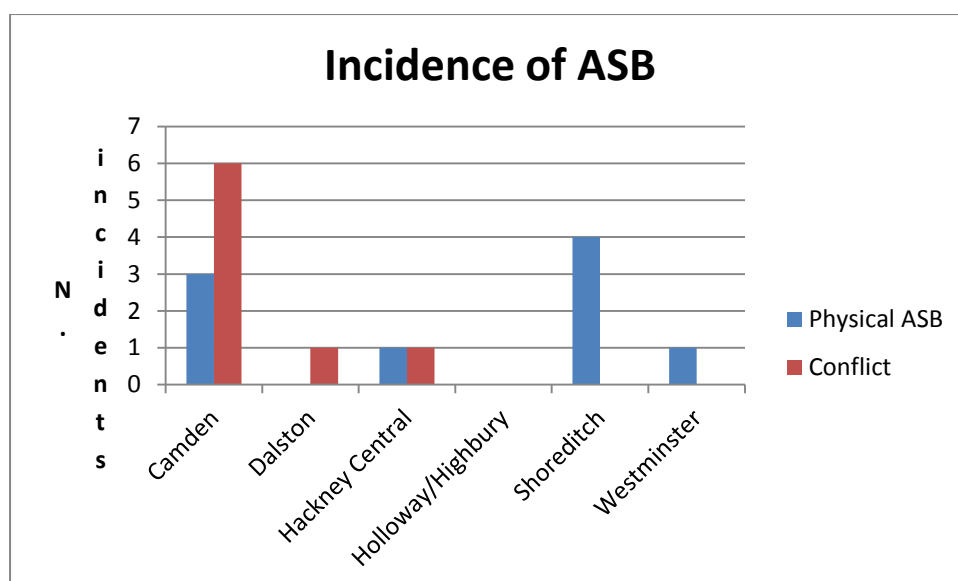


Figure 2: Frequency of ASB incidences recorded in the observation activity

Both physical and conflict anti-social behaviour incidences were concentrated in Camden Town. Shoreditch was the main location for incidences of physical ASB, with other isolated occurrences recorded in Westminster and Hackney Central. Camden Town was the main location for incidences of conflict, with other isolated occurrences recorded in Dalston and Hackney Central.

The analysis also showed that anti-social behaviour tends to be clustered to some extent in particular 'micro-locations' – so where there is graffiti, there is also vandalism and littering and, in some locations mapped, is accompanied by conflict.

As Figure 3 shows, vandalism and conflict constitute the biggest proportions of the occurrences of ASB logged.

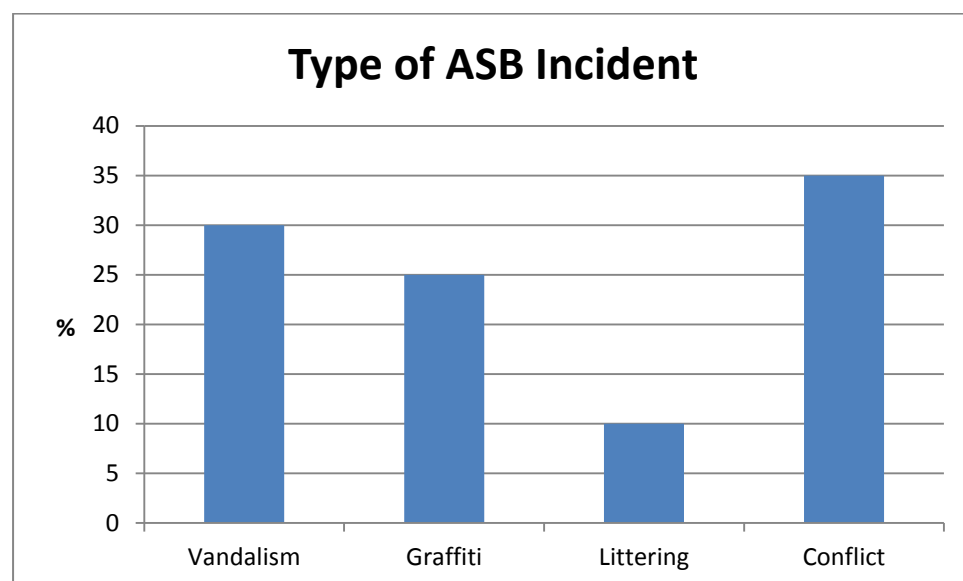


Figure 3: Distribution of ASB by type

3.2.3 Results of the Street Interviews

Perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour

Figure 4 shows the perceptions of those interviewed in the street surveys on the type of problems they felt are associated with city centres. These responses reflect to some extent 'fear of crime'.

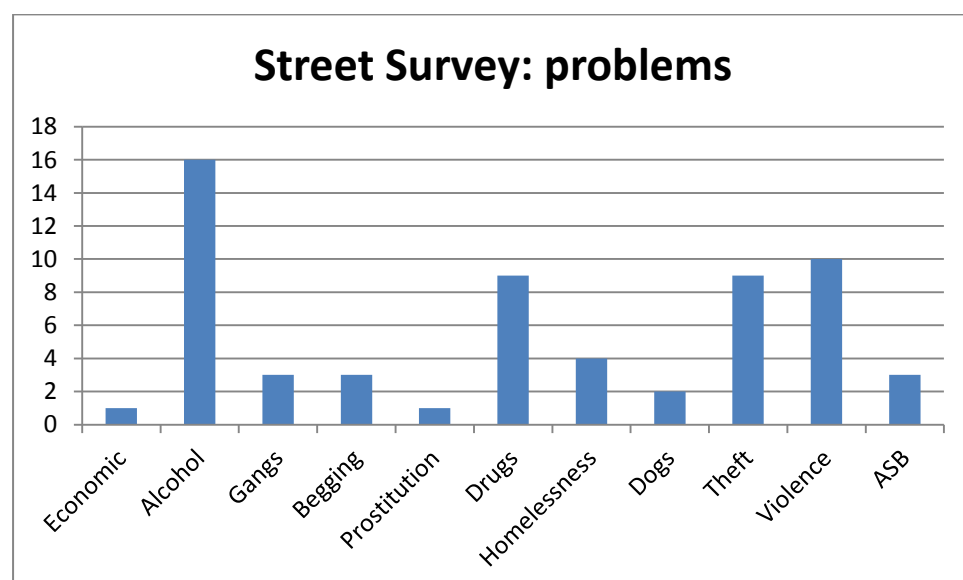


Figure 4: Level and type of problems identified by street interviewees

A total of 61 responses on problems were recorded. Four main categories of problem were identified by the respondents: alcohol (cited 16 times); violence (cited 10 times); drugs (cited 9 times) and theft (cited 9 times).

Perceptions of the nature of these problems vary according to the location. In Hackney Central, and in Holloway, the main preoccupations with crime focus on violence, gangs and theft. In Dalston and Shoreditch, the main preoccupations focus on drunkenness and

fighting. In the West End, a number of respondents said they didn't perceive any problems. In Camden, the preoccupation focused on gangs and knife crime. There were also 'micro-location' differences observed within the sub-areas. In Camden, for example, one respondent observed:

"I like it...nice location, good for shops, services, transport and night life.....But there are problems, especially at night and especially housing estate based problems."

Perceptions of the nature of these problems also vary according to the socio-cultural characteristics of the respondents – particularly in relation to age, ethnicity and residential status. For example, an older Dalston resident in the 36-50 age group attributed crime issues in the area to economic changes and their effect on community solidarity:

"Prices going up... becoming too trendy ... and the old community forced out"

A young black student in Camden observed:

"Nowhere for us to do our own thing .. when we do we're problematized"

In Soho, in London's central West End, a homeless young person described what it was like to be living there as 'cold, hard, discriminated against and victimised' and cited key problems as 'abused by normal workers, kicked whilst sleeping, poked, moved on by police, verbal abuse, discriminated against especially by local businesses'.

Causes of crime and anti-social behaviour

Figure 5 shows how the respondents in the street interviews perceive the causes of the problems they identified.

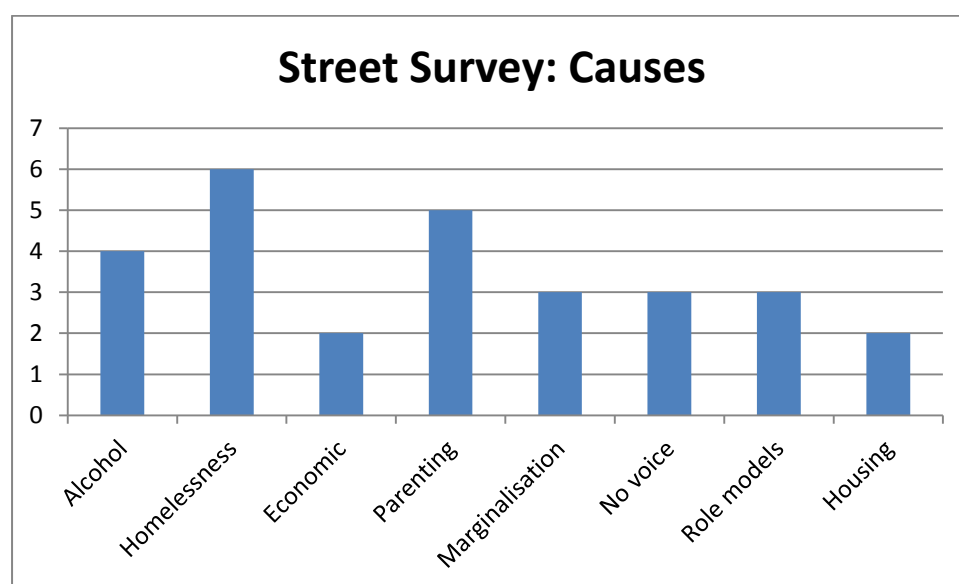


Figure 5: Causes of city centre problems identified by street interviews

As Figure 5 shows, there are a range of contributing factors to city centre crime and anti-social behaviour identified by the respondents. The three main contributing factors identified are homelessness, parenting issues and alcohol-related issues. Many respondents took a direct 'reductionist' position on causality, attributing the causes of crime to 'functional' factors. Examples cited include: 'drink and drugs', 'money', 'lack of jobs' 'bad parenting' 'lack of investment' 'gang culture'. These attributions are again broadly correlated with location – alcohol and drugs tend to be mentioned more in the 'night economy' locations of Dalston, Shoreditch and the West End; gangs in Hackney Central and Holloway – and with factors like age, for example 'bad parenting' and 'lack of role models' tended to be cited by older respondents.

But behind the statistics are complex ‘social constructions’ of the causes of youth crime and anti-social behaviour. Some of these constructions show ‘intrinsic attribution’, i.e. crime is linked to narratives that describe young people’s self-perception of their lack of value and identity in their current lifeworld. As one respondent put it:

“Young people have no voice in any decisions that affect us. We end up drinking and taking drugs to ease the pain. We feel hopeless sometimes”

However, other young people interviewed took an ‘extrinsic attribution’ perspective. This is associated with perceptions that the relationships between young people and the agencies of authority are unequal and that the actions of authority are themselves powerful factors in the creation of conflict. For example, one young interviewee attributed city centre crime and anti-social behaviour to:

‘Misconceptions, lack of understanding ... poor communication, and a lack of voice for young people ... draconian rules and an antagonistic view of youth and colour by the powers that be’

An important type of social construction identified through the analysis of street interview data was the concept of ‘otherness’. This figured as a common discourse in a number of interviews, although it was phrased in different ways. One young interviewee highlighted ‘difference’ as the key determinant of conflict across a range of different types of conflict scenario, observing that differences between young and older people fuels suspicion and mistrust; different post-codes breed turf wars and gang conflict; social and economic differences lead to differences in life style and tensions between lifestyles, and so on. Another interviewee’s conception of ‘otherness’ was more direct, observing that the main cause of crime in the local community was ‘Eastern Europeans coming into the area specifically to steal’.

Experience of crime and anti-social behaviour

Figure 6 shows the actual incidence of conflict reported by the respondents interviewed in the street surveys.

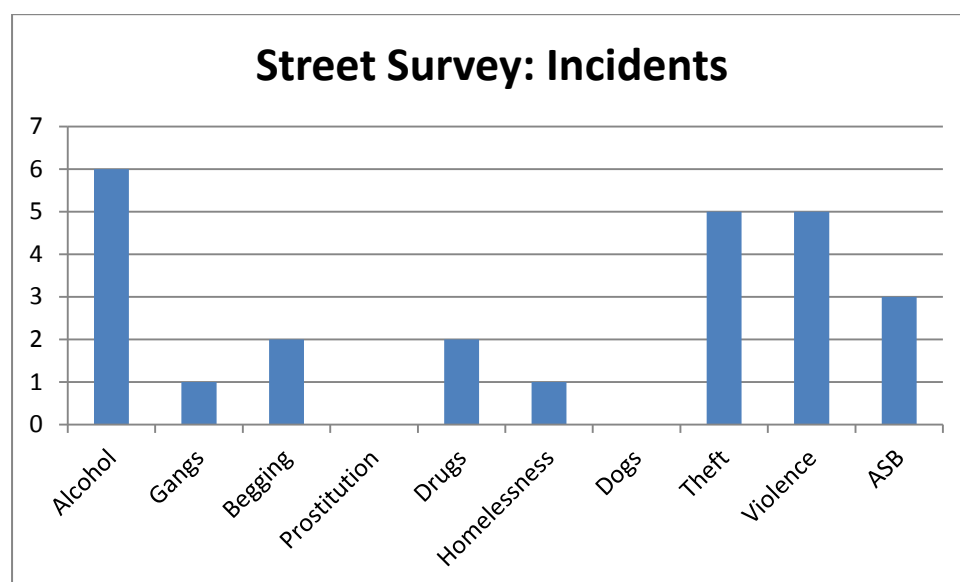


Figure 6: Incidence of crime and anti-social behaviour reported, street surveys

In keeping with the key trends observed in the literature on crime, the data summarised in Figure 6 confirm the discrepancy between fear of crime and actual experience of crime. Whereas as Figure 4 above shows a total of 61 problems identified by respondents, only 25 actual incidents of crime were experienced by respondents – although it should also be noted that, given the small sample, this itself constitutes a relatively high level. Three main

categories of incident were identified: alcohol-related crime; theft and incidents of violence. In line with the pattern of perceptions of crime reported above, the actual incidence of crime varies according to location. In Dalston, Shoreditch and Camden, most of the incidents experienced involved alcohol-related anti-social behaviour and fighting. In Hackney Central, more serious violent crime – including knife crime – was reported. The central West End area showed the lowest level of incidents reported of all of the areas surveyed, and these incidents were mainly around alcohol-related anti-social behaviour.

Perceptions of solutions to resolve conflict

Figure 7 shows respondents suggestions on how to reduce conflict, crime and anti-social behaviour.

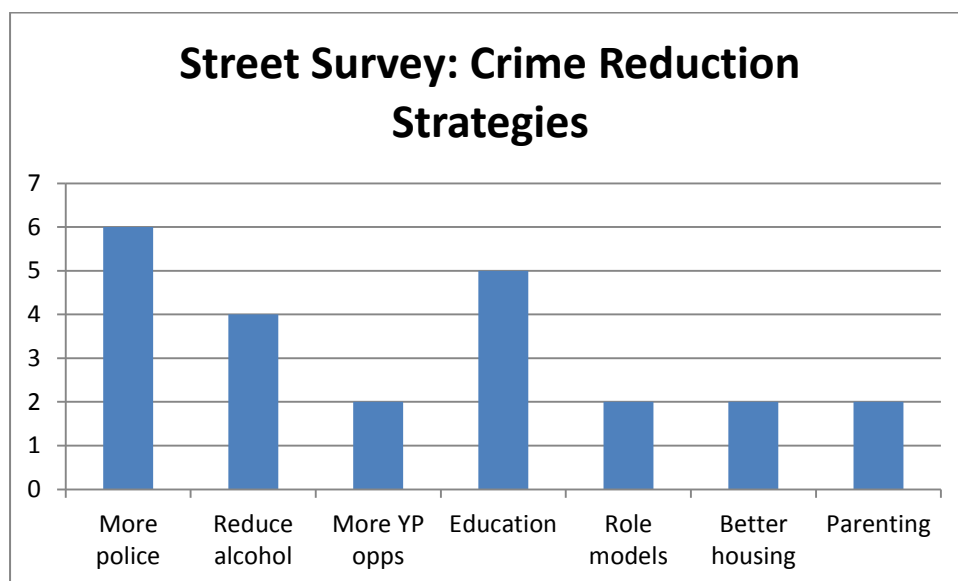


Figure 7: Proposed crime reduction strategies, street survey

As Figure 7 shows, the two main strategies proposed recommend direct intervention – more policing and measures to reduce the sale and consumption of alcohol. The other types of intervention proposed suggest indirect interventions aimed at addressing structural and ‘risk’ factors that are perceived to underlie patterns of crime and anti-social behaviour. Education – or the lack of it – was seen as an important strategy to reduce crime. This was linked to strategies to improve parenting skills and provide better role models for young people to look up to. The responses also showed a recognition that crime and its causes are multi-dimensional and therefore strategies to address crime need to be multi-dimensional too:

“People need to have time for one another... to build equality and community cohesion”.

It was also recognised that multi-dimensional crime prevention strategies require significant resources and that this is an obstacle to delivering effective strategies:

“Young people need places to gather and constructive things to do. But that takes too much outreach for the funding that’s available”.

3.2.4 Results of the stakeholder interviews

Stakeholder perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour

Figure 8 shows the perceptions of those interviewed in the stakeholder surveys on the type of problems they have experienced or have become aware of.

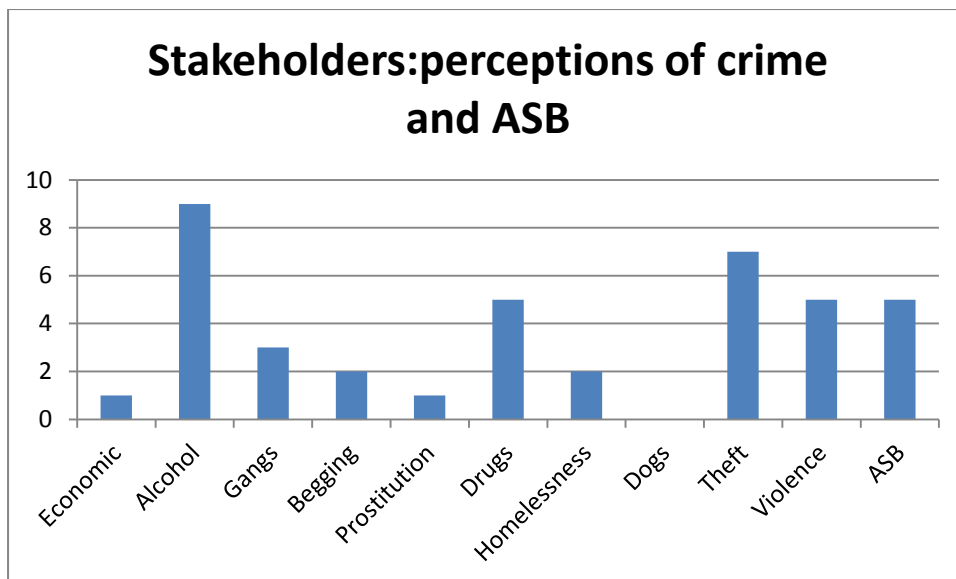


Figure 8: Stakeholder perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour

Stakeholder perceptions of crime were identical to those cited by respondents in the street interviews. Four main categories of problem were identified by the respondents: alcohol (cited 9 times); violence (cited 7 times); drugs (cited 5 times) and theft (cited 7 times). In line with the street interviews, perceptions of the nature of these problems vary according to the location, but to a lesser extent. In Hackney Central, and in Holloway, the main preoccupations with crime focus on violence, gangs and theft, in line with the street interviews. Similarly, there is more a sense in the West End that anti-social behaviour is part of the normal routine of life in a major entertainments area. However, in Dalston, Shoreditch and Camden respondents reported a range of problems rather than a concentration on particular categories of problem.

Another difference between the street and stakeholder perspective on crime was that, in the case of the stakeholders, 'micro-location' was a defined more narrowly. What this means is that the architecture of particular venues and 'gathering points' seems to have an effect on the problems observed. For example, one of the stakeholders - a bar worker interviewed in Camden - observed that the main issue is 'alcohol fuelled violence'. However, this was viewed as 'background noise' with occasional serious flare ups into serious assaults. According to this respondent, this type of anti-social behaviour is routine and he viewed estates and backstreets outside Camden centre as 'more dangerous'. Another respondent identified the estates in Camden, and the towpath along the canal, as particular conflict 'pressure points' associated with drug related problems, including dealer turf wars, as well as, in the case of the canal tow path, the location for anti-social behaviour emanating from 'punks and homeless alcoholics'.

A variation on this theme is illustrated by the observations of a London Underground worker whose experience of conflict is shaped by issues around 'crowd control, aggression, abuse and violent attacks on staff; fare dodging, drunkenness, graffiti and busking'. He attributed these problems to the unsuitability of the existing station to deal with numbers of people passing through it.

This link between urban architecture and its 'purposes' and patterns of crime and anti-social behaviour is particularly relevant in the case of bars and clubs. As a security operative at a Dalston club observed, the whole raison d'être of a club is to encourage young people to drink. It is inevitable that from time to time the 'boundaries' of this purpose get stretched, at which point the situation becomes not one of anti-social behaviour per se but of 'management of the purpose' of the club:

“The main issue in my job is drinking. There are three types of drinking figures: social drinkers, problematic drinkers and positive drinkers. Young people are mainly the problematic type”.

Stakeholder perceptions of the causes of crime and anti-social behaviour

Figure 9 shows stakeholder perceptions of the causes of crime and anti-social behaviour.

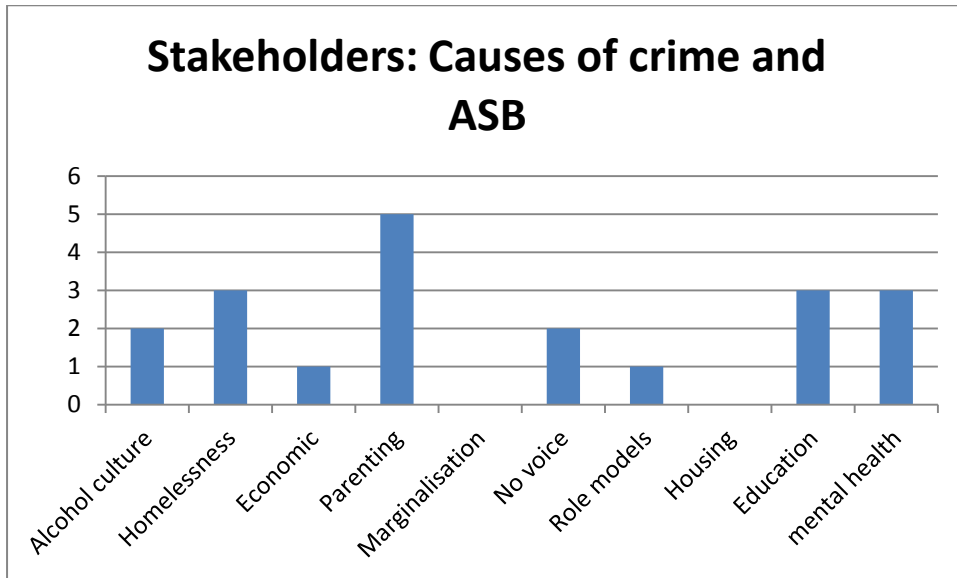


Figure 9: Stakeholder perceptions of the causes of crime and anti-social behaviour

The stakeholders' views on the causes of crime and anti-social behaviour mirrored to some extent those of the street interviews, with parenting factors, homelessness and education cited as key factors, as well as 'mental health issues'. Unlike the street interviews, less respondents took a direct 'reductionist' position on causality, attributing the causes of crime to 'functional' factors like alcohol and drugs. As with the street interviews, there was a perception that the causes of crime are multi-dimensional. A major factor cited was the perception that young people have no cause for hope and have no investment in their future:

*“Many young people don't see any hope for a bright future, so they end up in gangs”
(Director, Youth Club)*

Stakeholders' perceptions of strategies to deal with crime and anti-social behaviour

Figure 10 shows stakeholders perceptions of the strategies used to deal with crime and anti-social behaviour in their areas.



Figure 10: Management strategies for crime and anti-social behaviour

As Figure 10 shows, the main strategy used to deal with urban crime, according to the experience of the stakeholders interviewed, are interventions implemented by the police. In some cases, the police interventions are direct and highly visible. For example, one security officer working in a bar in Dalston reported how police had erected a 'watch tower' on the main street so that they could better the crowds, but also so that they could be better seen by people on the street to be viewing the crowd. Other instances were reported where the police approach was more low profile, and involved working in partnership with other stakeholders.

Another key player in crime and anti-social behaviour prevention in the areas surveyed was the local authority. In Holloway, a Community Safety Officer reported that Islington Council was leading an initiative, working with representatives of the community and business, to support vulnerable people and thereby try to reduce crime in urban centres. The local authority is also the main driver in projects aimed at reducing youth offending. The projects reported on included an initiative working with ex-gang members in Holloway and awareness-raising initiatives in schools and community-based youth projects in Hackney.

The other two prevention strategies cited by stakeholders involved non-statutory agencies. Some business reported employing private security to address problems around crime and anti-social behaviour and two stakeholders reported that they collaborated with other businesses to implement 'self-help' approaches.

Stakeholder perceptions of how crime prevention could be improved

Figure 11 shows how stakeholders see crime prevention and management strategies being improved.

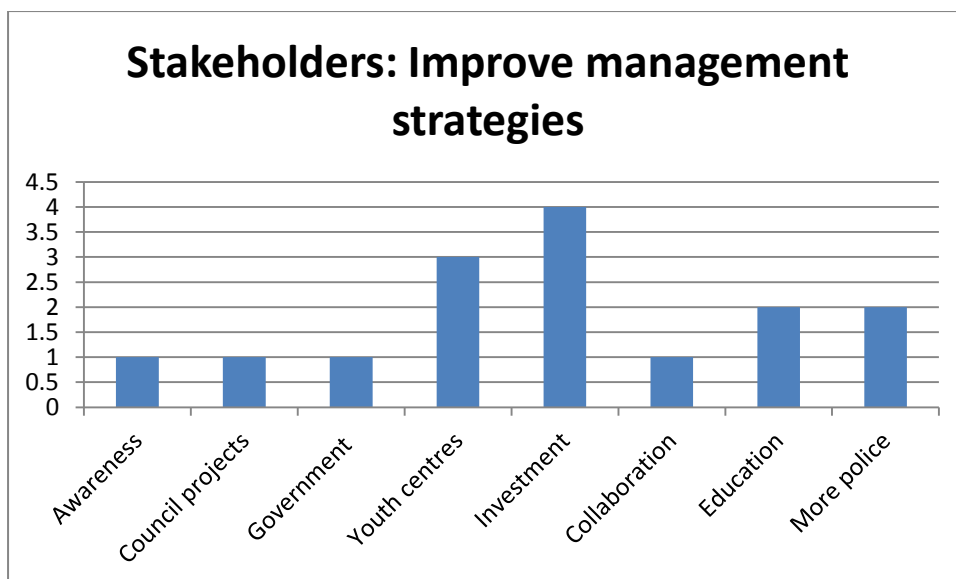


Figure 11: Stakeholder perceptions of how crime prevention could be improved

Perhaps surprisingly, more stakeholders called for greater investment than did those who called for more robust policing interventions to reduce crime. Investment was defined in two main ways by stakeholders. Direct investment covers specific resources allocated to crime prevention, for example initiatives aimed at improving parenting skills, and employing ‘mentors’ on the streets. Indirect investment covers resources aimed at reducing the ‘risk factors’ associated with youth crime and anti-social behaviour, focusing on promoting new businesses in the area, and broader investment in regeneration schemes. Some stakeholders called for more investment in youth clubs and youth centres, and some emphasises the need for educational initiatives in schools to raise awareness of youth crime. Direct, more robust intervention strategies focused on putting more police and community officers on the street and raising the age limit for entry into licenced premises.

3.2.5 Managing crime and anti-social behaviour: the police perspective

As noted above, a sub-set of the stakeholder interviews entailed interviews with senior Metropolitan Police officers involved with inner city policing strategy in the areas covered, as well as interviews with police and community support officers on the ground. They focused more on the causes of urban crime and their management.

Police perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour

Four particular features of the police perspective on urban crime and anti-social behaviour stand out. The first is that it is seen as a multi-dimensional problem, the dynamics and implications of which spread far wider than the specific topic of policing city centres. On the one hand, the problem can be defined as a set of crime and ‘crime risk’ categories or boundaries which cover: property crime, phone theft, shoplifting, graffiti and vandalism, street crime, violence, public drunkenness, rough sleeping, motor vehicle crime, political demonstrations and public events, drugs, sex work, neighbour nuisance, domestic and business issues, and the broader issues of managing and policing very large numbers of people. However, these categories and boundaries are fluid and impinge on broader societal issues and challenges. The officers interviewed suggested that anti-social behaviour could be viewed as a broad focus of concern that linked five broad clusters of policing preoccupations and practices within particular urban spatial contexts, as illustrated in Figure 12.



Figure 12: Anti-social behaviour in the urban context

What Figure 12 suggests is that anti-social behaviour is viewed from a policing point of view as a dynamic phenomenon and challenge which, though subject to specific legal instruments, is managed flexibly and adaptively according to circumstance. 'Routine' anti-social behaviour – the core of Figure 12 – is typically managed through persuasion and negotiation. There are five broad contextual scenarios shown in Figure 12, which require a different approach from this routine strategy. The first scenario is ASB that crosses the criminal threshold. This covers alcohol-related criminal behaviour, for example drink-related violence; drug dealing; aggressive begging, and noise pollution which is construed as extremely excessive. A second scenario covers 'conflict of space' ASB. In this scenario, behaviour gets treated as antisocial "because of what it is mixed with". For example, changes in the culture of Shoreditch and Dalston over the last five to six years have created what is seen by police as a 'new West End' – a new night economy involving night clubs, parties, and a mixed demographic in the middle of residential areas not designed for this purpose. This creates tensions that lead to conflict. A third scenario involves 'mopping up', i.e. 'picking up the pieces' left because of gaps in other contracting services like the NHS, the Ambulance Service, Mental Health Services. These gaps have widened in recent years because of economic recession and cuts in welfare budgets. A fourth scenario involves wider traditional crime issues and problems that gravitate to night time economies – for example prostitution, illegal gambling, protection rackets and fencing of stolen goods. The fifth scenario involves gangs as a response to the lack of social cohesion found in some urban locations – particularly housing estates – that are characterised by a culture of anti-social behaviour. For young people in these situations, gangs fill the gaps created by the lack of strong family structures, authority figures and role models.

A second key feature of the police perspective on urban crime and anti-social behaviour is that it is seen as socially constructed. One of the major challenges cited by the officers interviewed was to try to reconcile frequently opposing interpretations of what constitutes crime and anti-social behaviour. One senior officer observed that the 'normal' behaviour of young people is frequently construed by older people – and also by agencies of authority

and government - as anti-social. More importantly, this difference in perception itself fuels the tensions that lead to anti-social behaviour:

“(a problem is) societal intolerance to noisy kids – kids being kids – that is classed as antisocial”

The key contribution of intolerance, labelling and demonization to conflict was a perception also shared by officers on the street. One community support officer suggested that 'street dwellers', for example, are problematic and problematised by policy. They are targeted by policies such as 'Controlled Drinking Zones' (CDZ's) which require law enforcement officers to confront those drinking in public places in the CDZ and dispose of their drink. This frequently leads to low level confrontation and the building of 'relationships through confrontation'.

A third feature of the police perspective on urban crime and anti-social behaviour is that its incidence and location is viewed in terms of 'micro-environments'. There are specific types of crime ASB in different areas. For example, in Westminster, Paddington is associated with prostitution, Soho with drugs, the Central West End and Chinatown show concentrations of drink-related ASB. In Victoria, the main problem is 'rough sleepers'. In Oxford Street, Marble Arch and Marylebone the predominant issue is associated with Eastern European and Romanian rough sleepers, street gambling and begging.

This is linked to a fourth feature of the police perspective – the idea that urban crime and anti-social behaviour is ecological (a similar perspective to that suggested by the 'Chicago School' of criminology which originated in the USA in the 1920's). The nature of specific ASB 'micro-environments', it is suggested, is shaped by factors like the nature of territorial space and characteristics of urban architecture; demographic patterns and dynamics and social and cultural profiles. They evolve over time and as a result become relatively stabilised and persistent so that particular environments are associated with particular cultures of crime and ASB, which then continue over time to attract that particular problem – rather like migration flows attract particular immigrant groups to established migrant areas. This means that policing strategies like crack-downs, 'hot-spot' targeting and sweeps may eliminate a problem in a particular micro-location in the short term, but the problem will later return.

The spatially-grounded and evolutionary nature of crime and ASB means that, according to the police perspective, both the level of crime and the main perpetrators vary significantly. In the West End, crime levels, though high in absolute terms, are seen as relatively moderate given the huge numbers of people in the environment. In places like Dalston and Shoreditch – the emerging 'new' night economies - conflict of space issues associated with significant changes in usage have led to increased levels of crime and ASB in recent years, though the strategies implemented to address the increase are seen as effective in limiting the escalation of the level. In terms of type of offender, as noted above, there are particular sub-groups associated with particular types of problem in particular micro-environments. In broad terms, the main target groups for police anti-crime and ASB strategies are "young people in general, young black males, clubbers and party-goers, vulnerable people (like the homeless and rough sleepers), traditional criminal gangs and youth gangs, especially on housing estates'.

The police perspective on the causes of crime and anti-social behaviour

In keeping with the police perspective on the nature of urban crime and ASB, their perspective on its causes reflects the key themes of urban ecology, multidimensional societal factors and social constructions of crime. As noted above, conflicts of space associated with changing usages of territory and buildings is seen as a major factor in creating conflict. This is seen as part of a broader set of dynamics around poor urban planning. London is seen as particularly 'child and youth unfriendly' not least because its urban architecture is resistant to flexible adaptation. As one officer on the ground put it:

“Cities are not designed for children and young people”

Structural factors associated with poverty, unemployment, poor housing and similar dynamics that shape social exclusion are also highlighted as contributing to ‘risk factors’ that increase the likelihood of offending. This is in turn linked to a focus on the role the family and the community plays in either accentuating risk factors or promoting resilience for young people. Poor parental guidance, the lack of role models and the absence of community support are seen as key factors in creating the conditions for youth offending and anti-social behaviour. As one senior officer observed:

“Many of the problems are societal; all agencies need to go in much earlier, at a younger age if they are to make any difference”.

Police Strategies for managing youth crime and anti-social behaviour

There are a number of key policy directives and legislation that shape the formal background for policing strategies. These can be grouped into two main categories: ‘hard’ policies and ‘soft’ policies. The ‘hard’ policies are those which shape the direct sanctions that can be applied to criminality. In recent years, these policies have become more punitive, although the punitive element has been accompanied by measures aimed at changing offending behaviour through developing young people’s ‘well-being’. The key legislation encompasses the Crime and Disorder Act, the Criminal Justice Act, the Anti-Social Behaviour Act and the Violent Crime Reduction Act, all of which have been applied specifically within an anti-social behaviour context to enforce Alcohol Exclusion Zones, public space exclusion orders and Directions to leave a locality.

Essentially, what these policy and legislative changes have done is to bring youth justice more in line with adult justice. The Crime and Disorder Act has lowered the age at which a child is deemed responsible for its actions from 14 years to 10 years. The Act also created new preventive interventions for young children - the Child Safety Order, Child Curfews, and the Parenting Order - which impose compulsory compliance. In the case of Parenting Orders, parents may be fined if they do not attend a Parent Training course. Similarly, the discretionary powers of the police and juvenile courts have been significantly reduced. The Police cautioning practice in the case of non-serious offenses has been replaced by Final Warnings, which has led to a large increase in the number of prosecutions of young people. Juvenile courts can no longer use the option of conditional dismissal. Children aged 10 to 16 can be placed in preventive detention and a new Detention and Training Order can be imposed on all young offenders aged 15-17, as well as on ‘persistent offenders’ aged 10 and 11. These legal instruments have been coupled with early intervention measures intended to reduce the risk of offending.

In England and Wales, the Government’s anti-social behaviour (ASB) policy agenda, which is shaped by the Crime and Disorder Act, is implemented largely through the operation of the Youth Justice Board (YJB). The YJB’s youth crime prevention strategy packages together a set of targeted youth crime and anti-social behaviour prevention models that are based on the early identification of those at high risk of offending and their effective engagement in what are termed ‘assessment-based interventions’. A key intervention is the Youth Inclusion Programme – which delivers an ‘intervention plan’ over a fixed time scale (usually six months) and involves a programme of activities tailored to the specific needs of an individual young person, usually combining one to one key sessions, group based issue workshops and more traditional youth activities such as theatre visits and ice-skating. This is supported by Youth Inclusion and Support Panels - made up of people like local youth or social workers – who work with 8 to 13 year-olds with the aim of making sure they get access to local services that will help them stay out of trouble. The prevention strategy also includes Parenting Programmes, focusing on improving parenting skills; Safer School Partnerships, involving ‘risk reduction’ interventions in schools, and The Assisting Children Early project, an early prevention voluntary programme for children aged 8-13 years, who are assessed as ‘high risk’ of becoming involved in crime or committing anti-social behaviour.

This early intervention effort forms the first part of the twin-track approach of the YJB strategy, which couples early intervention with intensive intervention with persistent young offenders who are identified as committing a disproportionate amount of youth crime. This second part of the strategy relies heavily on the involvement of Youth Offending Teams - multi-agency teams from the police, social services and other agencies - who target detected offenders and work with them to reduce the risk of their re-offending through, for example, steering them into learning or employment. It also relies heavily on the implementation of the Crime and Disorder Act, the Criminal Justice Act, the Anti-Social Behaviour Act and the Violent Crime Reduction Act which have given legal teeth to the adoption of measures like anti-social behaviour orders (ASBO's); Neighbourhood Policing Programmes; Alcohol Exclusion Zones; Safer Neighbourhood Zones, public space exclusion orders and Directions to leave a locality – all measures aimed at reinforcing preventative interventions with punitive sanctions.

The 'softer' policies aim to address the 'risk factors' that are associated with greater propensity to offend. A key instrument here is the 'Every Child Matters' initiative for England and Wales, which was launched in 2003. This was followed in 2004 by *The Children Act 2004* which provided the legislation for the reforms of children's services. This provides a framework aimed at five key outcomes for children, aimed at supporting a 'whole-child approach' to education: Be healthy; Stay safe; Enjoy and achieve; Make a positive contribution; Achieve economic well-being. The replacement of the five key outcomes of ECM by the current Coalition government with an over-arching (and watered-down) objective to 'help children achieve more' has been accompanied by the recent introduction of the 'Children and Families' Bill, which takes forward the Coalition Government's commitments to improve services for vulnerable children and support strong families. It underpins wider reforms to ensure that all children and young people can succeed, no matter what their background. The Bill will reform the systems for adoption, looked after children, family justice and special educational needs.

Another key 'soft instrument' that shapes current policing strategy is the Pilkington Report, a report published by the Independent Police Complaints Commission on the deaths of Fiona Pilkington and her disabled 18-year-old daughter Francecca Hardwick, who died when Ms Pilkington set fire to their car, unable to cope any longer with the effects of over 10 years of harassment by local youths. The IPCC found that there was nothing in place to ensure the Pilkington family were considered by police as vulnerable or repeat victims. The case led to a review of the way police forces deal with targeted anti-social behaviour and the introduction of measures including better logging of complaints and a 'Community Trigger' to ensure that victims can compel police and other local agencies to take action against troublemakers. The senior officers interviewed in the Rapid Appraisal exercise frequently referred to this report suggesting that it has significantly influenced the way current ASB policing operates. As one officer remarked:

"With Pilkingtonthat's our focus, those people that are hounded by Anti Social Behaviour, whether it's youths ...or rough sleepers persistently in their doorway .. (the focus of ASB is) that which blights people's lives".

This emphasis on addressing the problems that 'blight peoples lives' has led to the embedding of a fluid and flexible approach within policing. Although in principle there are clear definitions, rules and procedures contained within the provisions of the Crime and Disorder Act, the Criminal Justice Act, the Anti-Social Behaviour Act and the Violent Crime Reduction Act for dealing with specific offences, in practice policing strategies and practices operate as acts of improvisation and negotiation. One senior officer suggested that policing involves:

"a quality judgement that has to be made according to data led strategic prioritising of incidents that have the greatest impact, or affect the greater number of people".

A number of other criteria also affect strategic decision making, including the type and role of neighbourhood panels, local authority and business impact reporting, as well as resource management factors.

In turn, the recognition that the factors that cause urban crime and ASB are multi-dimensional in nature and scope has led to a multi-agency strategy that entails collaboration with other key stakeholders, including improved cross agency communication, consultation and conflict and problem resolution work, or as one officer put it 'joining up the dots'. This includes working with neighbourhood panels, the local authority, NGOs and outreach teams. There has also been significant investment – particularly in London's West End – in this collaboration from businesses. Another feature of policing strategy that has gained more prominence in recent years has been the use of 'evidence based analysis' and 'risk assessment' as a means of making decisions on which resources to use in what locations. This has been accompanied by applying evidence of 'what works', drawn from the academic literature, in designing and applying policing strategy.

As noted above, the adoption of these kinds of measures, including the use of early interventions as a preventative strategy, has been accompanied by more robust policing strategies including anti-social behaviour orders (ASBO's); Alcohol Exclusion Zones; Safer Neighbourhood Zones, public space exclusion orders, directions to leave a locality, 'high visibility' policing and targeting of repeat offenders.

Impacts of policing strategies

The officers interviewed had mixed feelings about the impacts of these strategies. On the one hand, there was a sense that the 'joined up strategy' adopted following the Pilkington Report had led to greater efficiency and effectiveness in addressing anti-social behaviour. There was also a common perception that levels of urban crime and anti-social behaviour had been reasonably well-contained in the areas covered by the Rapid Appraisal.

However, a number of concerns were voiced. One concern is that actions like high visibility policing, hot-spot targeting and sweeps simply move the problem on from one location to another:

"We don't eradicate the problem...we're just forcing the issue out...we're just passing the problem to another borough".

There was a broader concern expressed that urban crime and anti-social behaviour are embedded in societal dynamics that are too complex to fix with direct action policing alone:

"Conflict resolution doesn't do any good...with individuals...they just don't care".

This perception has led to a call for more focus on prevention strategies and particularly on early interventions:

"Early interventions are ultimately cost effective".

The senior officers interviewed also expressed the view that effective management of urban crime and anti-social behaviour required more input and collaboration from a wider group of stakeholders – particularly businesses.

This call for a more balanced combination of direct policing and preventative strategies was echoed by the 'beat' officers interviewed. One officer who works on the street was clear in his perception that the role of the police should focus on prevention rather than punishment. However, he also felt that his is a minority position and asserted that not only is his view not shared by most of his fellow officers but also that his view goes against the position of the current policing strategy and the policy environment that shapes it. The impression gained from interviews with officers on the ground is that current policing strategies targeting urban crime and anti-social behaviour are putting pressure on officers to aggressively enforce legal instruments like Controlled Drinking Zones in order to meet arrest targets. This fuels a culture of 'relationships through confrontation' between police and people on the streets and

can be viewed against a broader background of 'robust policing policy', set by senior police commanders and, above them, policy-makers. This policy and strategy, it is suggested, is being driven in turn by a 'data driven analysis' approach to policing.

4. Key Findings from the Rapid Appraisal

4.1 Integrating the evidence

Table 1 summarises the key conclusions derived from each data collection activity carried out in the Rapid Appraisal and compares these results against each other, to provide a 'triangulated' view of the overall conclusions.

Table 1: Triangulation of the results of the Rapid Appraisal

Source of evidence	Level and pattern of problems	Causes of problems	How problems addressed
Environmental Audit	High levels of ASB in key night time economy locations Other types of crime in particular 'micro-territories' or ecologies Student population has no effect on patterns of crime	Regeneration, leading to expanding night time economies and greater opportunity for crime and disorder. Societal problems – poor education, unemployment – that make young people vulnerable Low family and community cohesion and resilience	'Hybrid' approach combining robust enforcement instruments (DPPO's; ASB's; DEZ's) with 'softer' measures to improve well-being of those at risk; reduce the vulnerability of 'at risk' groups, and strengthen family and community resilience and cohesion Evidence-based risk assessment and targeting 'Joined up' partnership working
Observation	Low level of crime and ASB in general Conflict and ASB clustered in particular 'micro-territories' Vandalism and conflict main categories of problem	None identified	None identified
Street Interviews	Alcohol, violence; drugs and theft are main problems Problems vary according to location 'Micro-location' differences within locations Problems vary according to socio-cultural profile	Structural factors - homelessness, parenting issues and alcohol-related issues. Crime and ASB are 'socially constructed' – both 'intrinsically' (e.g. young people offend because they are powerless) and 'extrinsically' (e.g. young people are labelled by authority as problematic) Perceptions of 'difference' and 'otherness' create tensions that lead to conflict	More robust policing and law enforcement Indirect interventions to reduce risk factors
Stakeholder interviews	Alcohol, violence; drugs and theft are main problems Problems vary according to location 'Micro-location' differences within locations – but more narrowly defined as 'purposes of use'	Parenting factors, homelessness and education; 'mental health' issues Multi-dimensional analysis of causes of crime and ASB Young people have no hope	High-visibility police interventions Partnership working between stakeholders Improvements required: more robust policing interventions More investment in prevention initiatives,

			education and regeneration
Police interviews	Multi-dimensional problem ASB linked to conflicts of space; gang issues; filling gaps left by social services; traditional crime; ASB-related crime ASB linked to intolerance, labelling and demonization Levels and patterns shaped by 'micro-environments' Crime and ASB ecological and persistent over time	Conflicts of space associated with changing usages of territory and buildings Structural factors - poverty, unemployment, poor housing Low family and community cohesion and resilience	Specific policies and legislation: Crime and Disorder Act, Criminal Justice Act, Anti-Social Behaviour Act, Violent Crime Reduction Act. Specific enforcement instruments: DPPO's; ASBO's; DEZ's etc. Instruments are adapted to suit circumstances in different scenarios and locations Robust policing combined with 'softer' approaches based on addressing 'risk factors' Improvements required: Better balance between aggressive policing and 'softer' strategies More investment in early interventions Concerns that 'targeting' and 'performance' culture is fuelling more confrontation between police and street

What is apparent from this triangulation of evidence is that there is a high degree of consistency in the results obtained through each activity with regard to the main problems and issues identified; the causes of these problems and issues; what is being done to address the problems and issues, and how this can be made more effective. The overall key findings of the Rapid Appraisal can therefore be summarised as follows:

Main problems and issues identified

- All the areas covered presented instances of urban 'conflict'. These can be distinguished between specific types of crime (for example violent assault); incidents of anti-social behaviour (for example graffiti, rowdy behaviour) and more generalised incidents of 'disorder' (for example street drinking).
- The nature and pattern of these urban conflict can also be interpreted with reference to particular 'conflict scenarios' which cover: conflicts of space; gang-related conflict; conflict situations created by the absence or inadequacy of social services; traditional crime; anti-social behaviour-related crime.
- The actual recorded level of these incidents is less than the perceived level, and the level of 'fear' of crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder.
- Young people are more likely to be the perpetrators of crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder in inner urban locations, as well as more likely to be victims of these incidents.
- Actual and 'perceived' levels and patterns of crime are to some extent influenced by how 'offenders' and 'offending' is socially constructed. This in turn is linked to factors like age, culture and power.
- The highest levels of anti-social behaviour are found in night time economy locations.

- Other types of 'urban crime' appear to reflect particular 'micro-territories', with, in the case of our Rapid Appraisal areas, the 'centres' for drugs located in Shoreditch, Camden Town and Leicester Square/Soho; the centres for violence, gangs and theft in Hackney Central and Holloway and alcohol-related anti-social behaviour and violence in the West End.
- These micro-territories also show an 'ecological pattern', with particular types of offending behaviour developing and taking root over time and persisting over time, despite attempts to eradicate them.
- The presence of a large student population has no obvious effect on patterns of urban offending or of youth offending. Students are just one of a complex range of sub-groups who operate in inner city areas and in night time economies. They do not constitute a 'special case'.

Causes of urban conflict

- Four main dynamics contribute to crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder in inner urban environments. These are: changes of use leading to conflicts of space; societal (structural) dynamics – like poverty, unemployment, poor housing – that contribute to creating 'high risk' conditions for offending; low family and community cohesion and resilience; perceptions of 'difference' and 'otherness' that lead to intolerance, labelling and demonization of particular groups and which in turn create tensions and conflict.
- These dynamics often work together to create a 'multi-dimensional' and 'multiplier' effect in inner urban environments.
- However, in some environments, one particular dynamic is stronger than the rest and will thus have the strongest effect in shaping the nature of conflict in that particular location. An example is the effect of changing usage and conflicts of space in the new and emerging night time economies of Shoreditch and Dalston. Another example is the use of 'stop and search' tactics by police in the housing estates of Central Hackney, leading to perceptions of victimisation by young black youths.

How conflict is addressed

- The prevention, management and resolution of urban conflict is primarily shaped by the current policies and legislation that are in place to address crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder and, in turn, by the legal instruments in place to enforce these policies and legislation.
- In recent years, changes in policy and legislation have led to a more robust and more punitive approach to crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder in cities. The local authorities in the locations covered by the Rapid Appraisal have not been backward in using the instruments at their disposal. In all the areas covered, we found extensive use of the powers available under the Crime and Disorder Act, Criminal Justice Act, Anti-Social Behaviour Act, and Violent Crime Reduction Act to enforce measures like Anti-Social Behaviour Orders; Dispersal Notices; Controlled Drinking Zones; Fixed Penalty Notices (FPNs) for public disorder offence to reduce crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder on city streets, particularly in the night time economy locations. These measures have also been accompanied by robust policing tactics, including high-visibility policing; 'hot spot' targeting of 'high risk' locations and targeting of 'at risk' and persistent offenders.
- These 'hard' measures have been deployed as part of a 'hybrid' approach that combines enforcement tactics with 'softer' measures aimed at reducing the 'risk factors' considered to lead to offending behaviour. These measures are aimed at improving the well-being of 'at risk' individuals, their families and their communities in order to support greater resilience. They typically include school-based awareness-raising programmes; parenting programmes and programmes tailored to the needs of individuals and delivered through agencies like Youth Inclusion and Support Panels.

- This hybrid approach has been accompanied by the increasing use in policing of 'evidence-based' analysis, including the use of research findings from the academic literature to support strategy design.
- The evidence from the street and stakeholder interviews suggests that these strategies are broadly in line with the perceptions of the public, business and other stakeholder groups with regard to what needs to be done to address urban crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder. These interviews highlighted more robust policing and law enforcement together with indirect interventions to reduce risk factors as the strategies public and stakeholders want to see implemented.
- However, a number of concerns were voiced by the interviewees and the police themselves over the implementation of these current strategies. These include concerns that robust policing tactics are displacing problems to other locations rather than eradicating them; concerns that these punitive tactics are further labelling and demonising young people; concerns that the strategies and tactics are fuelling a 'culture of confrontation' on the streets; concerns that the 'hybrid' approach is balanced too heavily in favour of enforcement and that not enough is being done in prevention, particularly in 'early interventions'.

4.2 How the results of the Rapid Appraisal compare with current state of the art

To provide further triangulation of the results, the key findings outlined above were compared with the results of a literature review on urban and youth crime, its management and its prevention. The review covered: an analysis of the available statistics on offending levels and patterns (Eurostat, 2009; Junger-Tas et al. 2010; European Crime Prevention Monitor 2012; Tavares et al, 2012); an assessment of the major policies at European level and in England and Wales; a review of current practices in management and prevention, including an assessment of the evidence on 'what works' (Wortley et al, 2008; Stevens et al, 2006; Görden et al, 2013). The main conclusions of this review are as follows.

Levels and patterns of urban and youth crime

With regard to levels and patterns of crime and youth-related crime, the research suggests that most crimes are committed by adults (over 24 years old). As an indicator, of the approximately 630,000 prisoners serving sentences in EU prisons in 2010, around 145,000 were young people under 24 (Eurostat, 2010) - although it should be stressed that conviction rates compared to crimes committed vary enormously, and that young people are less likely to receive a custodial sentence than adults. Secondly, youth crime is predominately 'minor' in scope and scale, with very few young people committing serious or large scale crimes. Thirdly, the rates of re-offending are high, with levels around 70% in some countries. Fourthly, the rate and type of youth crime shows significant variation across different locations – between countries, within countries and within regions and cities. Figures from the UK British Crime Survey show that 76% of all detected crime was committed by people over 18 years of age, and offenders over the age of 21 were responsible for 60% of all convictions for crime. The data also show that the rate of youth crime has been falling over the last two decades, albeit slowly, and with some variation over the period (Home Office, 2012). This UK pattern seems to be repeated across most EU countries (Stevens et al, 2006; Junger-Tas et al. 2010). Data suggest that in the UK, as in majority of EU countries there has been no significant movement in juvenile crime from the year 2000. However, the number of violent crimes and drug related offences has increased in many countries over the last fifteen years. The data also suggest that young people themselves constitute the largest group of victims of crime, with 28% of recorded crime during 2010 perpetrated on young people in the 18-24 age group, according to the British Crime Survey. Yet statistical analysis of data collected through the British Crime Survey and other studies shows that fear of crime – and particularly 'youth crime' - consistently runs at levels far higher than actual reported crime. For example, the British Crime Survey showed that 69% of those sampled thought

that knife crime has increased a lot; 51% thought that gun crime had increased a lot and 35% thought that rates of vandalism had increased a lot, although the actual levels of recorded incidents in these categories are relatively low. These patterns suggest that, firstly, young people are at risk not only of offending but of being offended against and, secondly, that fear of crime is a significant problem— particularly for young people.

All these results are consistent with findings of the Rapid Appraisal.

Policies and practices to address urban and youth crime

The review of policies and practices showed that that, although youth crime – including anti-social behaviour - is relatively low in volume, and is falling in most countries in Europe, including the UK, European youth policy has been marked in recent years by what has been termed a ‘punitive turn’ – the imposition of increasingly more harsh and retributive sanctions to punish young offenders and those at risk (Cavadino and Dignan, 2008; Muncie and Goldson, 2006). This shift has been most pronounced in the USA and in north-west Europe (Junger-Tas and Decker, 2008), particularly in England and Wales, and reflects the grip that neo-liberalist economics and politics have exerted in many western countries in recent years (Armstrong, 2004; Muncie, 2006). The ‘new penology’ is marked, on the one hand, by a retreat from ‘welfarism’, but combines this with a developmental perspective that seeks to improve the well-being of offenders, thereby transforming their wasted talents into personal and social goods (Ward and Stewart, 2003; Ecclestone, 2012). At the heart of the strategy that is being applied to engineer this transformation is the use of ‘evidence-based risk assessment’ (Farrington, 1996; Bottoms, 2006). This applies ‘scientific’ methods based on statistical analysis and probability theory to identify the young people who are deemed most likely to offend as well as those most likely to repeat offend. These ‘risk factors’ have been documented consistently in a range of studies and cover five main groups: pre-natal and peri-natal factors (early child-bearing; low income, poor housing, absent fathers and poor child-rearing methods); personality factors (impulsivity, hyperactivity, restlessness); intelligence and attainment (low intelligence, poor school performance); parental supervision (harsh or erratic parental discipline; rejecting parental attitudes and behaviour; parental conflict); socio-economic factors (low family income; poor housing); peer situation (delinquent friends; school influences and community influences) (Farrington, 1994; Rutter et al, 1998; Wikström and Loeber, 2000; Hawkins et al., 2000).

The results of this evidence-based risk assessment are then used to design and implement prevention and rehabilitation initiatives that focus on ‘early interventions’ and which typically target ‘failed individuals, failed families and failed communities’. These initiatives usually involve child skills training programmes, behavioural parent training (BPT), multisystemic therapy (MST), family functional therapy (FFT), classroom or instruction management interventions, mentoring and targeted policing of high risk youths and high risk areas. A distinguishing feature of these interventions is the adoption of behaviour change programmes that draw on positive psychology and ‘nudge theory’ and which place a strong emphasis on ‘character-building’ and on improving the resilience of ‘vulnerable people’ (Thayer and Sunstein, 2008; Bailey, 2010; Lexmond and Grist, 2011). Again, the results of the Rapid Appraisal show that these developments are currently being implemented on the ground in the locations in which the appraisal was carried out.

What works in addressing urban and youth crime

A number of reviews have suggested that these kinds of interventions have proved successful in reducing urban crime, youth offending and repeat offending (Stevens et al, 2006; Ashford, 2007; Ross et al, 2011). Most studies suggest that diversionary, deterrence and aggressive policing strategies like ‘zero tolerance’ and high-visibility policing can have a short-term effect in reducing crimes like disorder, but they have negative long-term repercussions in areas like race relations (Sherman and Eck, 2002), although the evidence on ‘hot spot policing’ is more positive with a number of studies recording reduction of crime of up to 50% in areas that received extra police patrols (Sherman and Eck, 2002).

In contrast, a large number of studies have demonstrated that preschool and school-based programmes can significantly reduce anti-social behaviour, adolescent offending and adult crime (Farrington and Welsh, 2003); that family and community-based programmes that involve Multi-Systemic Therapy (MST), Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care and Functional Family Therapy significantly reduce problematic and anti-social behaviours (Aos et al., 2001; Curtis et al., 2004; Lipsey and Cullen, 2007) and that for community-based programmes, effective interventions are those which focus on mentoring and after school recreation programmes (Ross et al, 2011).

However, there are a number of counter-arguments to this prevailing view. Firstly, it is clear that research in the field has been dominated by American studies and that virtually all of the evidence provided to justify the success of 'risk-based' assessment, early interventions, parenting programmes and community-based interventions comes from Canada and the USA (Muncie, 2006). Secondly, there is some evidence that, despite the conclusions of a range of evidence reviews, these kinds of programmes don't necessarily work very well (Phoenix and Kelly, 2009; McCara and McVie, 2010). Thirdly, there is evidence that both 'punitive' enforcement tactics and 'developmental' tactics conspire to increase the labelling and demonisation of young people as well as increasing the likelihood of further offending (Vaughn, 2009; Cox, 2009).

More fundamentally, critics of the prevailing 'new penology' argue that its defining features are shaped by 'techniques of governmentality' that have emerged as a result of neo-liberalism's rise to pre-eminence (Garland, 2001; Muncie, 2006). In essence, governmentality has made it possible for individuals themselves to become 'auto-regulating' (Cotoi, 2011). In the youth justice domain, auto-regulation is exerted through techniques of the self and techniques of the market which, together, have moulded youth crime prevention and rehabilitation policies and practices so that they inculcate norms, values and behaviours that prize things like self-control and responsibility. Yet, it is argued, the ideology of normalisation that underpins these interventions is fundamentally at odds with the everyday life-worlds with which young people engage (Armstrong, 2004; Cox, 2009; Vaughn, 2009). In turn, it is argued, the success attributed to the 'hybrid model' currently in use in London and in many other EU cities reflects the self-justifying position of the policy-makers, researchers and law enforcement agencies who have championed its implementation. The techniques of governmentality, it is claimed, have also worked to shape the knowledge and evidence base on 'what works' in youth crime management and prevention so that it gives credibility to these current policies and practices (Parr, 2009).

5. Moving forward: the next stage of SME-City

5.1 Implications of the Rapid Appraisal results for SME-City

The results of the Rapid Appraisal support a re-orientation of the original SME-City approach. The main focus of this approach, as set out in the project proposal, is 'the implementation of awareness raising and preventive actions identified with the active involvement of key actors in a participatory approach'. To achieve this objective, the scheduled main activities of the project are:

- targeting 20 bars in each of the three cities involved in the project – Perugia, Valladolid and London – to develop an 'Aware Bar' network
- training bar tenders and employees in each bar in juvenile and urban crime prevention
- implementing a focus group in each bar to explore and identify possible actions to reduce urban and juvenile crime
- selecting the most promising actions
- implementing and evaluating these actions.

The results of the Rapid Appraisal suggest that these objectives and activities will be difficult to achieve in London because of the following factors:

- Unlike Perugia – a medieval city with a tightly defined and bounded central core - London has a spatially complex urban structure with many urban focal points and a range of 'night time economies'
- Unlike Perugia, which has a relatively homogenous youth profile and a high concentration of students, London presents a set of diverse and complex social, demographic and cultural profiles within its inner city areas and within its night time economies. Students form one of many sub-groups within these populations and are not spatially concentrated in any particular location
- The Rapid Appraisal shows that the level, pattern and nature of urban and youth-related crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder in London is complex and reflects particular 'micro-environments' and ecological dynamics. In this context, it is unlikely that a 'single issue' awareness-raising action – based on developing an 'Aware-Bars' network, and training bars staff in 'prevention techniques' - will be effective. The literature also suggests that awareness-raising actions in isolation are not effective as a preventative approach.
- The Rapid Appraisal also shows that crime prevention initiatives – particularly those aimed at addressing urban and youth-related crime – inevitably operate within a broader context of policy and policing strategies. The policies, strategies and tactics adopted in London to address urban and youth-related crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder are significantly different from those applied in Perugia and would need to be taken into account in any intervention implemented.

Essentially, the current SME-City approach imposes conceptual and methodological boundaries that have to some extent been shaped by the situation in Perugia, but which may not be as relevant or valid in London or Valladolid. Although there are a number of factors highlighted by this Rapid Appraisal – the contribution of changing urban uses and contested spaces to creating tensions and conflicts; the role that social constructions of 'difference' and 'otherness' plays in creating conflict, for example – that need to be commonly addressed, there are also differences between the three cities. This means we need an approach which allows for contextualisation and flexibility.

Another implication of the results of the Rapid Appraisal for SME-City going forward is that, to some extent, the results pose as many questions as they provide answers. We don't know enough about: how, if at all, conflicts around contested space are negotiated and resolved; to what extent the constructions of anti-social behaviour and disorder 'cause' anti-social

behaviour and disorder; whether and in what ways anti-social behaviour and disorder create the 'oxygen' on which other criminal activities feed in night time economies; whether the 'hybrid' model of robust policing and 'developmental' interventions works or whether it amplifies conflict; whether early interventions can be effective.

In response to these issues, an Action Plan for the next phase of SME-City, to be implemented in London, is set out below. It is based on an 'action learning cycle' which: builds on the results of the Rapid Appraisal to establish a more evidence-based understanding of the dynamics that shape crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder in night time economies; reviews these understandings by filtering them through the different 'points of view' of relevant stakeholders using 'action learning sets'; supports the development of a coherent and collaborative position on possible actions to reduce crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder in night time economies through promoting 'sensemaking' between different stakeholders; implements and evaluates the most promising actions via 'action research experiments'.

5.2 Action Plan for next phase

"If you want truly to understand something, try to change it." Kurt Lewin

5.2.1 Overall approach

The Action Plan begins with a statement of the problem to be addressed. In all the cities, the problem can be stated as a problem of 'contestation', as illustrated in Figure 13.

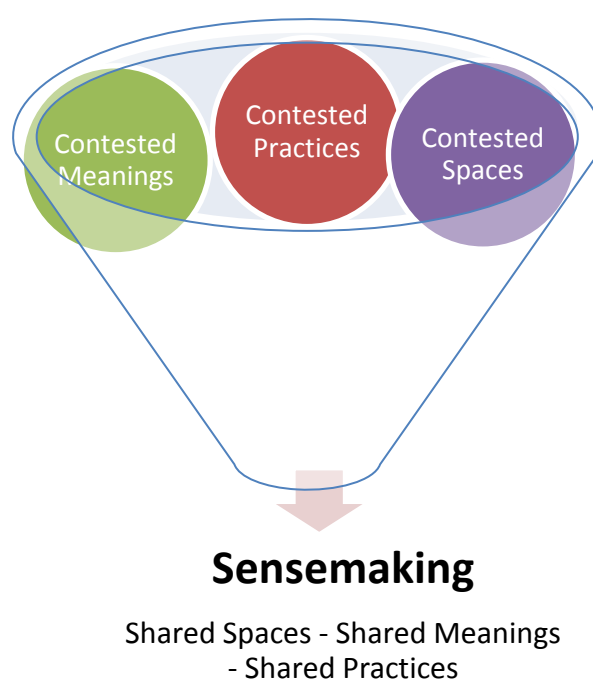


Figure 13: The problem of contestation

As Figure 13 illustrates, the Rapid Appraisal in London showed that in each of the territories analysed tensions were being generated as a result of competition between space, and the usage of space, in each territory. This in turn reflects different interpretations of the social, cultural and symbolic meanings of the spaces. In the London locations, space was invested for some young people at some specific point in time simply as a place to have a good time. For other young people, for example rough sleepers, the meaning invested in these spaces was associated with alienation, with victimisation and with despair. For some residents, the meaning was expressed in terms of social dislocation and fear. For some business owners, the meaning was predominantly expressed in terms of profit and financial opportunity. For

others, it was focused on feelings of anxiety and disorder. This leads in turn to a dynamic of contested practices in the territories. For example, the practices of law enforcement officers and other agents of government frequently find themselves in opposition to the practices of young people out to have a good time, or in opposition to the practices of young black males who perceive themselves to be demonised by the system.

Against this background, the challenge for SME-City is to work with these dynamics of contestation and to explore ways in which contested spaces, meanings and practices can move towards 'sensemaking', i.e. shared spaces, shared meanings and shared practices.

An action learning, and action research approach is seen as potentially the most promising way of achieving this objective. Action research offers a dual approach to both 'understanding' and also 'promoting change' (Rapoport, 1970). It is a merger of academic social science with practice that considers 'both the practical concerns of people in immediate problematic situations and the goals of social science by joint collaboration'. The proposed approach follows Kurt Lewin's classic 'learning cycle' of planning, acting, observing and reflecting (Lewin, 1946), as illustrated in Figure 14. Two things are prioritised in this cycle of action learning: improvement of the presenting problem, and the involvement of all relevant actors in the process of improvement (Carr and Kemmis, 1986). Essentially what action research seeks to achieve is improvement three areas: improved understanding of a situation; improved understanding of the practices of that situation, and revision of those practices through applying understanding. Collaboration between researchers and practitioners is seen as central to the action research process, and the participation of users and local communities is highly embedded:

'Action research is a participatory democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview which we believe is emerging at this historical moment. It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities.' (Reason & Bradbury, 2001:1).

The participatory nature of action research is seen as a method of empowering participants, by facilitating their 'access to research proposals, programmes and findings', and ensuring that the research process seriously considers their needs (Heller, 1986).³ Correspondingly a central purpose of action research is to produce practical knowledge that is useful to people in their everyday lives, and therefore it has 'emancipatory' intentions (Reason and Bradbury, 2001): 'action research is about working towards practical outcomes and also about creating new forms of understanding, since action without reflection is blind, just as theory without action is meaningless'.

³ Heller M.D., Sorcher M, Beer M and Moses J. L. 1982. Making it happen: designing research with implementation in mind. Newbury Park and London: Sage.

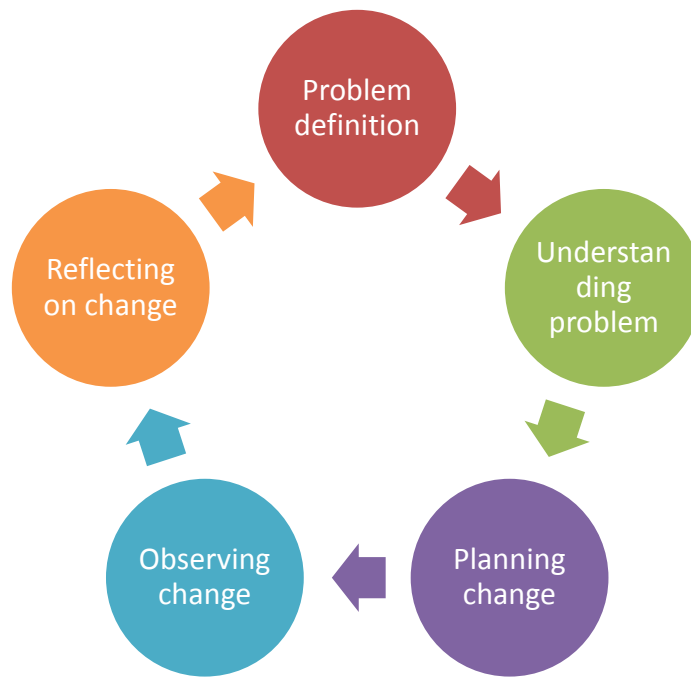


Figure 14: The Action Learning Cycle

5.2.2 Putting the approach into practice

How this approach is applied in practice is shown in Figure 15. As Figure 15 shows, the Action Plan entails five phases of activities, corresponding to the 'learning cycle' phases shown in Figure 14. These are as follows:

Phase 1: Engagement.

The objectives of this initial phase are:

- To raise awareness of project through re-visiting the stakeholders identified and worked with in the Rapid Appraisal; identify potential new participants through 'snowballing'; develop and launch the project website, including using social media tools; implementing a publicity and dissemination campaign (including distributing flyers, leaflets to key locations)
- to identify sites and venues for subsequent action research activities within the selected territories of operation
- to manage the logistics of the plan (booking venues; recruiting and briefing participants)



Figure 15: Implementing the Action Research approach in London

Phase 2: Consultation Syndicates

Consultation Syndicates correspond to the 'focus groups' envisaged in the original SME-City approach and workplan. However, there are three important differences between Consultation Syndicates and focus groups. First, they don't (necessarily) take place in bars. Second, they broaden the target groups envisaged in the original workplan to encompass a much wider spread of collaborators than young people. Third, they apply a more dynamic data collection method based on 'action learning sets'. The Syndicates are the first step in the process of moving forward from the 'contested' to the 'sensemaking' scenario shows in Figure 13. The main objectives of the Syndicates are:

- to provide an opportunity and a space for the project team to present its vision and objectives, and so to promote 'buy-in' to the project from stakeholders
- to provide a safe space – a 'holding environment' - for stakeholders to explore issues around conflict and contestation in their environment
- to identify initial ideas for change and actions to promote change in this environment.

The Syndicates model three dimensions or 'planes' in the urban environment, i.e.: the spatial (territorial) plane; the thematic (contestation) plane and the practice (stakeholder) plane.

The spatial plane focuses on the areas in Hackney where night time economies are expanding, i.e. Shoreditch and Dalston.

The thematic plane covers four main themes, which can be thought of as 'challenges' that have been identified through the results of the Rapid Appraisal. These are:

- Theme 1: 'Contested Spaces'. This explores how changes of usage lead to competition for space within urban territories and whether and in what ways this creates conflict. It also explores the larger background of the spatial economy – cuts in welfare budgets; pressure on services; the gentrification process; the role of big business and consumerism in shaping usages of space.
- Theme 2: 'Us and the Other'. This explores how identities are constructed in urban spaces and in particular how this impacts on perceptions of 'difference' and the

'other'. In particular, it will explore how these constructions of difference and otherness are played out in the ways in which different protagonists in contested spaces view each other – for example affluent young people compared with 'poor' young people; agents of authority compared with alienated young people – and how these perceptions are invested symbolically in contested spaces and the practices within them.

- Theme 3: 'Changing behaviours'. This explores whether and in what ways it is possible to support people in changing their constructions, behaviours and practices in order to reduce the negative effects of contested spaces, meanings and practices in urban environments. It will review in particular approaches to conflict prevention, including early interventions and whether acquiring 'emotional intelligence' skills would have a positive effect on reducing conflict. This will be explored within the specific context of the 'Aware-Bars' concept, including whether providing training for
- Theme 4: 'Changing Communities'. This expands the horizons of the 'changing behaviours' theme to explore ways in which the different stakeholder groups could collaborate more effectively in managing the dynamics that lead to tensions in urban environments. It will focus in particular on how current anti-social behaviour and disorder management and prevention policies work and how they could be improved. It will also test the 'Aware-Bars' concept.

The 'practice' plane specifies the groups involved in the Syndicates. These are as follows:

- Group 1: Institutional actors – this includes local authority representatives, law enforcement representatives, representatives of other agencies (e.g. health services; probation services; YOTs)
- Group 2: Commercial actors – this focuses particularly on key players in the night time economies (bars, clubs, off licences, restaurants) but also includes other local businesses.
- Group 3: Community actors – this focuses on two main sub-groups: residents associations and schools, but also includes other stakeholders like youth organisations.
- Group 4: Young people – this covers young people broadly but will reflect particular 'youth scenarios' (clubbers, students, young people from estates, 'vulnerable' young people).

The logistics of the Consultation Syndicates are as follows:

- Four Consultation Syndicates will be carried out in Hackney, one with each of the four Groups specified above.
- The Syndicates will take the form of an 'action learning set' of around 3 hours duration. Each action learning set will involve the following:
 - a presentation of the SME-City project and a presentation of the objectives and procedures of the Consultation Syndicate.
 - a presentation on the four themes (challenges) to be explored in the action learning set, illustrated with text and multi-media (e.g. video and audio narratives)
 - exploration of each theme by each group, including a 'role-playing' exercise where the group 'steps into the shoes' of the other (non-present) groups to explore the theme from the perspective of the 'Other'
 - a group report on each theme
 - a plenary discussion on possible ideas for action

- The research team will identify suitable venues for each Syndicate (e.g. a school; a club; a bar; a youth centre) and make arrangements for running the Syndicates
- The research team will publicise the syndicates and recruit participants.

Phase 3: Open Space Event

The Open Space event corresponds to a 'large group' action learning set in classical action research. Its objectives are:

- to bring together the four 'syndicate groups' in a collaborative working environment
- to use the space to reflect on outcomes of Consultation Syndicates and review these outcomes
- to collaborates together to build a 'theory of change' for SME City and detailed proposals for action research experiments

As with the Consultation Syndicates, the methodology used in the Open Space event is based on an action learning set. This will involve the following:

- a presentation of the objectives and procedures of the Open Space Event.
- a presentation on the results of each Consultation Syndicate, with a particular focus on the 'ideas for action' proposed by the Syndicates
- exploration of each idea for action by the whole group, including a 'role-playing' exercise where the four sub-groups 'steps into the shoes' of each other to explore the ideas the from the perspectives of each other
- a group report on each idea
- a plenary discussion on taking forward the ideas into action research experiments including building a 'theory of change' for SME-City
- the theory of change will specify: the common vision of the action research; how this vision will be implemented (through objectives and activities); what are the expected results; how these can be measured

The research team will identify a suitable venue for the Open Space Event and make arrangements for running it.

The research team will publicise the Event and recruit participants.

Phase 4: Action research implementation and evaluation

This phase will implement and evaluate the actions proposed in the Open Space Event. Its objectives are:

- Implementation of selected proposals in action research experiments
- Evaluation of experiments
- Collation of results

The action research experiments will systematically tests the 'theory of change' developed in the Open Space Event by implementing it in pilot initiatives, involving key stakeholders. The focus of the piloting process is to apply rigorous evaluation methods to assess the changes in the 'presenting problem' that can be attributed to the introduction of the intervention, i.e. whether the ideas tested in the action research experiments have a demonstrable effect on conflict in the areas in which they are carried out. The action research approach to implementing and evaluating these ideas also means that:

- changes to the scope and objectives of the experiments are introduced if the evaluation suggests that it isn't working or needs to be improved

- subsequent evaluation assesses the effects of these introduced changes
- the end point of the action research process is to achieve 'praxis' – a restatement of the 'theory of change' underlying the experiments as reflected in the results of the practical implementation of the theory

It is not possible here to specify how many or what kind of experiments will be carried out or evaluated. This will depend on the results of Phases 2 and 3. It could be that 3-4 small scale experiments will be run in tandem. Illustrations of possible experiments are:

- a training programme aimed at bar managers/employees in identifying and managing conflict situations, based on 'emotional intelligence' competences
- an early intervention in local schools based on teaching emotional intelligence competences
- a 'conflict mapping' experiment using geo-tagging and social media to collect and analyse experiences of conflict situations through the 'narratives' of those involved
- establishment of an 'Aware-Bar' network

Alternatively, it could be the case that one larger experiment will be implemented. This could entail a 'community-based' version of the 'Aware-Bar' network, for example.

Phase 5: Community Change Event

The final stage in the action learning cycle focuses on embedding the learning derived from the results of the action research into a sustainable community-change initiative. The objectives are:

- to disseminate the results of the action research to participants and other stakeholders
- to review the results
- to apply the results to develop the basis of a Community Action Plan aimed at promoting sustainable change in the urban environment to reduce conflict in the future and manage it more effectively when it arises

As with the Open Space Event in Phase 3, the methodology used in the Open Space event is based on an action learning set. This will involve the following:

- a presentation of the objectives and procedures of the Community Change Event.
- a presentation on the results of the action research experiments
- a plenary discussion on the results
- a group exercise where the task is to create a Community Action Plan, based on the action research results. This will include a 'role-playing' exercise where the four sub-groups 'steps into the shoes' of each other to review the Plan from the perspectives of each other
- a group report on the task
- a plenary discussion on taking forward the Plan

The research team will identify a suitable venue for the Community Change Event and make arrangements for running it.

The research team will publicise the Event and recruit participants.

5.2.3 Workplan

The workplan for the Action Plan, including objectives, outcomes and timescales, is set out in Table 1.

Table 1: Action Plan workplan

Phase 1: Engagement			
Objectives	Activities	Outputs/Outcomes	Timing
Raise awareness of project	Set up website	Website. 1,000 young people reached through site 20 bars/businesses/schools/ residents groups reached. 20 municipal/law enforcement agencies reached	Sep-Oct 2013
Identify potential project participants	Set up Facebook page and twitter account	Facebook page and twitter account. 1,000 young people reached through these tools	
Develop and launch the project web presence	Identify geo-tagging options and implement	Geo-tagging tools	
Implement a publicity and dissemination campaign	Produce project leaflet/flyer and circulate	Project leaflet/flyer. 1,000 young people reached. 20 bars/businesses/schools/ residents groups reached. 20 municipal/law enforcement representatives reached	
identify and secure sites and venues for subsequent action research activities	Assemble presentation material for Consultation Syndicates	4 sets of presentation materials produced	
	Produce Action Learning Set pack	Action Learning Set pack produced	
	Identify and contact participants	At least 60 managers/employees in 20 businesses recruited. At least 20 municipal/law enforcement representatives recruited. At least 20 young people recruited. At least 20 community representatives recruited.	
	Identify and book venues for Consultation Syndicates	4 venues booked	
Phase 2: Consultation Syndicates			
Objectives	Activities	Outputs/Outcomes	Timing
Present project vision and objectives	Run 4 consultation syndicates in Hackney	4 Consultation Syndicates	Early November 2012
Provide holding environment for stakeholders to explore issues	Record discussions and outcomes of syndicates	Audio and visual recording and content analysis	Early November 2012

around conflict and contestation			
Identify initial ideas for change and actions to promote change	Analyse results and feed into Stage 3 of project	Report on Consultation Syndicates	Mid November 2013
Phase 3: Open Space Event			
Objectives	Activities	Outputs/Outcomes	Timing
Bring together the four 'syndicate groups' in a collaborative working environment	Develop presentation materials for Open Space Event	Open Space event Pack	End November 2013
Reflect on and review outcomes of Consultation Syndicates	Identify and book venue	1 Open Space Event	Early December 2013
Build a theory of change for SME-City, including ideas for action research	Run Open Space event	Event Report, including theory of change and list of proposals for action research	End December 2013
Phase 4: Action research implementation and evaluation			
Objectives	Activities	Outputs/Outcomes	Timing
Implementation of selected proposals in action research experiments	Design and produce implementation plan for experiments	Implementation Plan	End December 2013
Evaluation of experiments	Produce evaluation plan	Evaluation plan	End December 2013
Collation of results	Carry out experiments and collect evaluation data	Action Research experiments	January – May 2014
	Analyse evaluation data	Data synthesis	End June 2014
	Assess evaluation results	Evaluation report	End June 2014
Phase 5: Community Change Event			
Objectives	Activities	Outputs/Outcomes	Timing
Disseminate the results of the action research	Develop presentation materials for Community Change Event	Community Change event Pack	Early July 2014
Review the results of the action research	Identify and book venue	1 Community Change Event	Mid July 2014
Develop a sustainable Community Action Plan	Run Community Change event	Event Report, including Community Action Plan	End July 2014
	Report on results		

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