UCL Bartlett School of Planning

George Mews
PARTICIPATORY PLANNING PROJECT
MARCH 2019

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Figure 1.1 *Map of George Mews and surrounding area in context.*

INTRODUCTION

This report represents an in depth, participatory research project between masters students and staff at the Bartlett School of Planning, residents of George Mews and the Drummond Street area (see Figure 1.1 for overview of area), as well as government and community officials working in the neighbourhood. The broad aims of this project were articulated by residents, who have attempted to improve their Mews in the face of rough sleepers, drug-related activity, drug paraphernalia disposal, public defecation and urination, intimidation, pests and fly tipping, as well as a lack of public amenity, reduced green space and increased pollution from HS2 construction work.

Through this research, we have aimed to more clearly articulate the various modes of action and chart potential interventions available to residents. The research also focuses on compiling information and strategies for interventions residents express explicit interest in, and how they can best navigate council housing and planning systems to achieve their goals.

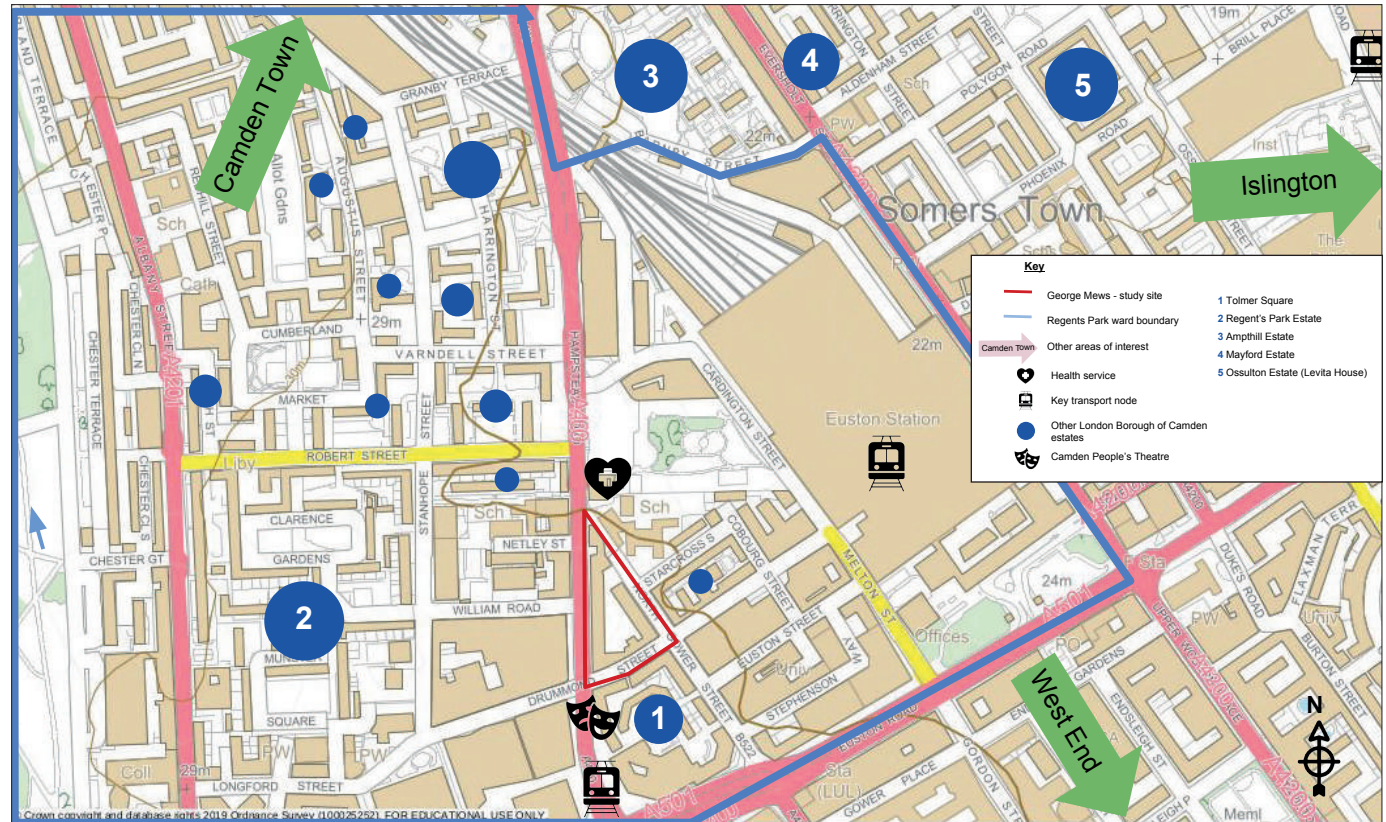We have attempted to address three research questions:

1. How can interventions, specifically the construction of two gates, be presented to Camden council in a way that supports the community's goals?
2. What alternative solutions could be implemented to address the problem of anti-social behaviour at various spatial scales?
3. In what ways has communication broken down between residents and Camden council, and how can this be remedied?

History

The estates directly to the west of Euston station have a long history of community and housing activism. In 1973 Tolmer Square's terraced housing and the small businesses of Drummond Street faced demolition to make space for new office buildings (Bartlett 100, 2019). Thankfully, two years of squatting 50 properties and direct activism by residents, business owners and local activists (including Bartlett students) resulted in the developers surrendering and selling the land to Camden council. The council then recognised the need for social housing and built the residential blocks as we know them today, thus preserving the identity of the area. Unfortunately, the expansion of Euston station in the late 20th century cut through its surrounding neighbourhoods (see Figures 1.4 & 1.5), dividing previously connect-
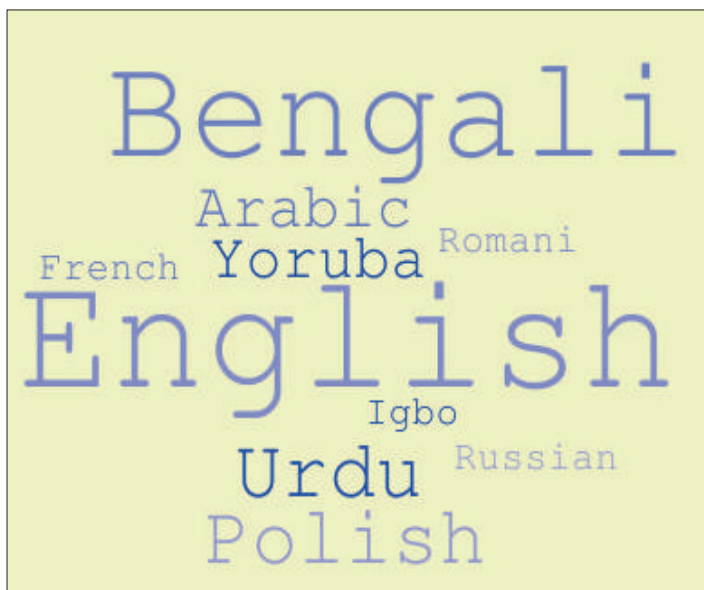
Figure 1.2 *Word cloud of languages spoken in George Mews, as told to us by residents.*

ed communities and giving George Mews' neighbourhood "liminal qualities, falling between Regent's Park, Camden Town and Euston where it floats, as though only semi-visible" (Bolton, 2017: 52). The High Speed 2 (HS2) project only exacerbates this problem as it cuts into community space and has earmarked numerous residential buildings for demolition (Bolton, 2017).

Anti-social Behaviour (ASB) is a recurring phenomenon within Regent's Park ward. Established residents recall how the conflicts between gangs on the east and west sides of Hampstead Road plighted the neighbourhood with high levels of crime well into the 1980s, with many conflicts based on racial tensions between the white-working class and south Asian locals. However, this was not a phenomenon particular to Regent's Park ward, nor to Camden, but was reflective of nationwide socioeconomic stresses under Margaret Thatcher's government.

Figure 1.3 *Map of Camden wide indices of deprivation by LSOE showing Regent's Park ward has 6 LSOEs in the 30% most deprived in England. (Camden, 2015)*

Amidst the difficulties of living in densely-populated inner-city London, came the joys of a multi-cultural and vibrant community (see Figure 1.2 for example of languages spoken), which continues today, situating George Mews in an ethnically and socioeconomically diverse neighbourhood.

Demographics

George Mews falls into the Lower-layer Super Output Area (LSOA) E01000945, as defined by the Office of National Statistics. LSOAs are the smallest statistical units of geography with publicly available data.

Figure 1.3 demonstrates that LSOA E01000945 is part of the 10-20% most deprived areas in England. Regent's Park ward has the second lowest income of all Camden's wards, with 31% of all households earning less than £20,000 per annum (Camden Ward Profiles, 2017). Although this does not directly reflect the circumstances of George Mews residents, it demonstrates the context in which poverty has marginalised poorer communities in the area and is one of many factors and provides a backdrop to some of the ASB that George Mews residents have been experiencing, such as rough sleeping and the use and dealing of drugs.

Anti-Social Behaviour Reports

ASB reports from Camden council and the Safer Streets Team are subdivided into ward, but do not specify neighbourhood or block location. They also do not include classifications beyond the designation of 'ASB' and 'rough sleeping'. We received information on reported ASB from a Camden councillor via email, in the Euston area, which received 11 reports between November 2018 and January 2019. These numbers cannot be reconciled with reports from residents who describe calling or emailing council authorities and police forces more than once a week regarding drug dealing, noise, loitering and rough sleeping.

Green Space

For the purpose of this report we will define public green space as areas which have a substantial amount of vegetation and are open to the public for a substantial portion of the day.

Figures 1.6 & 1.7 show how much public green space has been lost around the George Mews area since construction of HS2 began in 2017, totalling 1.2 hectares. This loss of green space has displaced a group of drug-users and rough-sleepers who frequented St. James's Gardens. This displacement has had an impact on who now uses spaces like George Mews, Exmouth Mews and Tolmers Square.

There currently is no firm commitment for exactly how much green space will be replaced when works are complete or how accessible it will be. This means solutions to fixing the issues covered in this report are not presupposing any green space will be replaced in the area.

Figure 1.4 *Map of Drummond Street area in 1870s, showing previous connection across Euston Stn. (Edina Digimaps)*

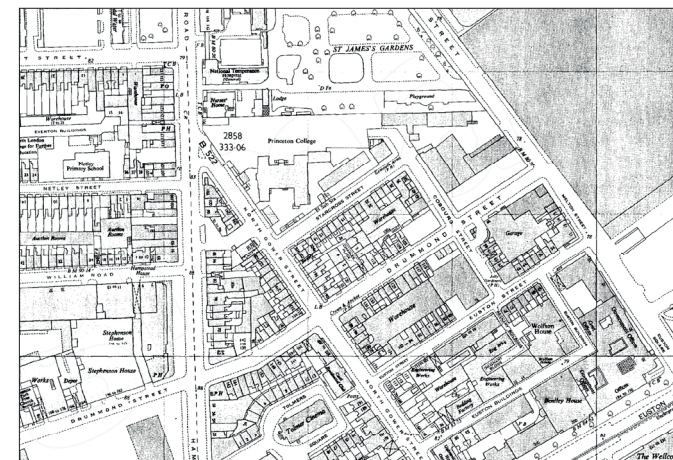**Figure 1.5** *Map of Drummond Street area in 1970s, post Euston Stn. expansion.(Edina Digimaps)*

Figure 1.6 *Map of green space around Euston in 2017. Green Space in green, George Mews in lilac and Euston Station in grey. St James's Gardens: SJG.*
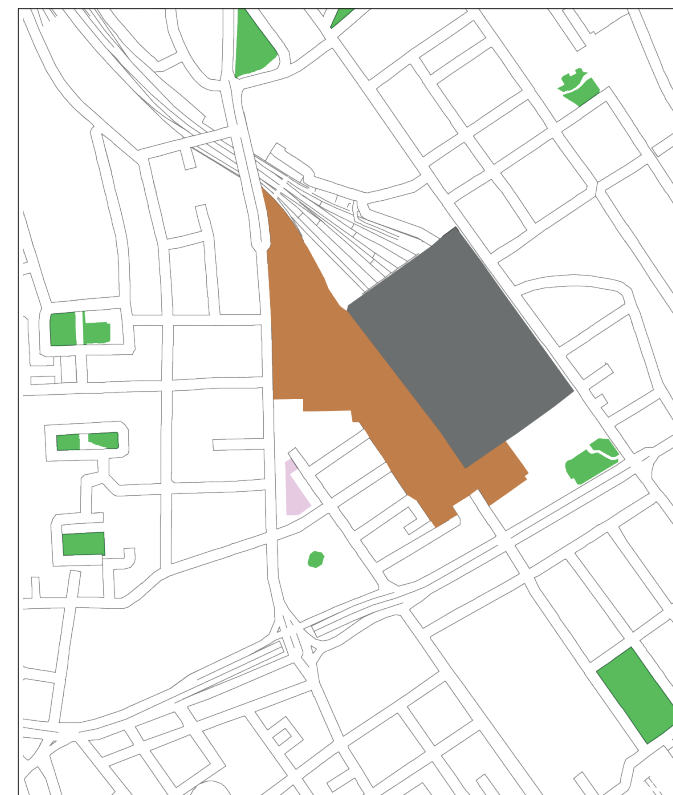

Figure 1.7 *Map of green space around Euston in 2019. Green Space in green, George Mews in lilac, Euston Station in grey and HS2 works in brown.*

LITERATURE REVIEW

Designing Out Crime

Academic literature on designing out crime often considers interventions from criminology and urban design perspectives, suggesting that careful urban design can reduce the incidence of crime. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) (Minnery & Lim, 2005) is a proactive approach to prevent crime. Designs that encourage natural surveillance, access control and activity support (Crowe, 2000; Ortt, 2017) are considered effective. Other principles such as defensible space or territoriality, legibility or permeability, community cohesion and support are also mentioned as ways to design out crime (see Figure 2.1). For instance, active use of open space and CCTV have been proven to reduce crime (Cozens, 2002). These interventions should also be supported by enforcement and management powers (Crawford & Flint, 2009).

Gating in Planning Practice

Although there is generally little support for gating communities in academic research and wider literature (Blandy et al., 2003), it is also accepted that there is a lack of empirical evidence and in-depth research especially on crime reduction (Rafiemanzelat, 2016) and retro-fitting gates on small social housing sites in the UK (Blandy, 2007).

The main motivations for gating are the fear of crime, to improve security, and in some more up-market developments, to increase property values (Grant, 2004). UK planning policies generally do not support this type of intervention, however, some local authorities may consider gating in exceptional circumstances (Markosky, 2008; see Figure 2.2). Where implemented, alley gating has been successful in reducing crime (College of Policing, 2016), however, "alley gates are related to, but distinct from, gated communities" (Sidebottom, A. 2015: 8) as they usually cover a limited space at the back of properties and do not impede access to the street or fronts of houses.

Impacts of Large Infrastructure Projects on Local Communities

The social impacts of transportation infrastructure development are under-researched and poorly articulated in "transport research, policy and practice" (Jones and Lucas, 2012b:4). Social impacts, despite their unclear distinction from ecological and economic impacts, are characterised by Geurs et al (2009:71) as "changes in transport sources that (might) positively or negatively influence the preferences, well-being or perception of individuals, groups, social categories and society in general (in the future)". Social impact assessments tend to be subordinated against the environment and economy and are complicated by their differing influence during planning, construction, use and uneven distribution across society (Manaugh et al, 2015; De Boer, 1986; Jones and Lucas, 2012ab).

Figure 2.1 *Designing out crime example.*

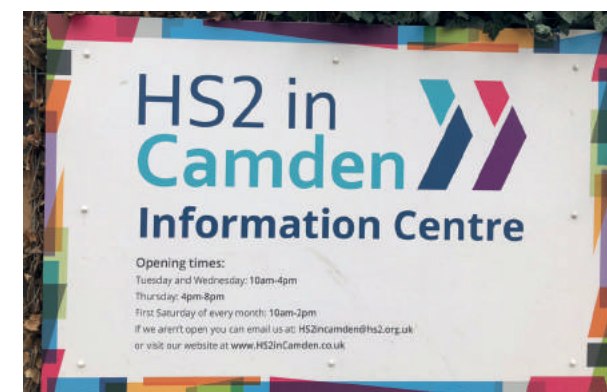
Figure 2.2 *Gating example.*

Figure 2.3 *HS2 Information near George Mews is there to explain the impacts of the project in the local community.*

The social impacts from high speed rail take place over the short and long term (Chen et al., 2019; May and Tyler, 2016; Preston and Wall, 2008; see Figure 2.3). Immediate physical social impacts include disruptions to visual quality, accessibility, traffic and parked vehicles (Markovich and Lucas, 2011; De Boer, 1986; Jones and Lucas, 2012ab). Impacts on communities include relocation of residents and businesses, lack of safety, community 'severance', fear of crime, and noise and air pollution, which can be detrimental to health (Geurs et al, 2009; Berry, 2008; James et al., 2005).

Anti-Social Behaviour

Academic literature regarding ASB in the UK is generally approached through three perspectives: law and criminology, public policy, and urban studies. The most common of these perspectives is criminological, in which the transition from civil to criminal law within ASB prosecution is examined, as is the concept of community as collective victim and the associated prosecutorial challenges. Generally, theoretical conceptions of ASB are socially constructivist (Brown, 2013; Cornford, 2012; Cromby et al., 2010; Edwards, 2013; Ward, 2011). When discussed within public policy frameworks, the difficulties associated with reporting and classifying various forms of ASB are highlighted (Bullock, 2011; Heap, 2016; Hopkins-Burke & Hodgson, 2015; Prior, 2009; see Figure 2.4).

For the purpose of this report, the most important academic perspective on ASB is from urban studies. Research have examined the criminalization of urban policy through consideration of ASB prevention interventions (Brown, D.M. 2013), the aesthetic subjectivity of ASB within urban space (Millie,

2008), and the importance of contextual knowledge of land use when evaluating occurrences of neighbourhood-based ASB (Peel, 2005; Taylor et al., 2015; Smit et al 2015).

Public Participation in Planning

Public participation in planning is generally considered positively, for democratic involvement and to access local knowledge which planners otherwise wouldn't be able to access (Rydin & Pennington, 2000; see Figure 2.5). However, the manner in which public participation is achieved is important as participation can be detrimental to outcomes (Drazkiewicz et al., 2015). Also, poor attempts at participation can lead to disillusionment with the participatory process, for example Phillips (2017) describes how the public consultation for HS2 was wholly inadequate despite being the main vehicle for public participation in that project.

Despite best efforts, attempts at participation seldom manage to include those with fewest resources (Andersen & Atkins, 2003) and can be hijacked by unrepresentative groups and those with greater social capital (Rydin & Pennington, 2000).

Figure 2.4 *Camden Safer Streets Team deal with ASB.*

Figure 2.5 *Example of public participation in planning.*

METHODOLOGY

Interviews

Given the participatory nature of this project, it was important to conduct interviews with local residents and others who use and know the area surround Drummond Street, as well as those in positions of power and influence over potential interventions. Interviewing, along with the community event, was the primary means of understanding the desires of residents, as well as learning the colloquial history of the area.

Interviews used for research are often defined as conversations with structure and purpose (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015:5). The aim for the interview process, as Cloke et al. (2004) describe, was "a qualitative exercise aimed at teasing out the deeper well-springs of meaning with which attributes, attitudes and behavior are endowed."

We formally interviewed 17 people. 5 of whom live on George Mews, 4 of whom live in the local areas (Drummond Street or Exmouth Mews) and 2 were business owners on Drummond Street. The others were Camden councillors (cabinet members and local ward councillors), local authority planners, representatives of the local business improvement district, head of a local community organisation and the police.

Interviewees were asked open-ended questions regarding their opinions of the problems facing George Mews and the wider Drummond Street area, as well as their thoughts on what could be done to improve the situation. It was important these questions were open ended to avoid narrowing the scope of learning from the interviews. All interviewees chose the location of their individual interviews to minimise any impact our presence might have on their routines and to help us, as researchers, understand the area, in line with ideas laid out by Ellwood & Martin (2000).

We used the responses from the interviews to guide our preparation for the community event and as a starting point to explore the viability of possible solutions to the area's issues. It was also worthwhile getting to know the interviewees and their relationship to one another in order to understand their differing interpretations and experiences of the area, which needed to be considered when undertaking our research.

We also attended the Community Conversation for the Regents Park Ward hosted by Camden council on 30 January 2019, to listen and learn more about the problems facing the wider area and the relationship between residents and the council. Residents' feedback to the council at this event guided our research in the same way the individual interviews did.

"Go-Along" Method

In conjunction with the interviews, we conducted two 'go-along' methods, one with a resident on 21 January 2019 and a second on 5 February 2019 with residents and two Camden council planners, to gain an understanding of the issues in George Mews (Brown and Durrheim, 2009). The routes taken on each "Go-Along Method" are shown in Figure 3.1.

The 'go-along' method was selected to enable us to empower residents and understand their personal experiences and opinions of George Mews in 'place' (Jones et al, 2008; Sin, 2003). The participants were able to point out specific sites, smells and noises along the way, such as areas where drug deals usually occurred or where rough sleepers had been found (Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003). Alternatively, the planners were able to point out particular constrictions in relation to the built environment and planning policies. Whilst the 'go-along' enabled participants to 'walk us through' George Mews, in an informal, conversational manner, they may have felt reluctant to fully express their true thoughts and opinions through fear of being 'overhead' (Buscher and Urry, 2009).

Pedestrian Foot Count

In order to explore the usage of the path through George Mews, we conducted a pedestrian foot count observation at both the north and south entrances at two particular times, 5-7 pm in the evening on 1 March and 8-10 am in the morning on 4 March. The results of these observations are shown on Figure 3.2.

By observing the number and the profile of people going in or out of one entrance, as well as the time, we examined who was using the Mews as a pedestrian through-route, as a part of their commute, and who was using it to get into their home or

Key
— Planners
— Residents

Figure 3.1 *Map of residents' and planners' 'Go-Along' routes.*

North Gower Street
In: 28
Out: 12
In & Out: 9

Passers-by: 541
(N Gower St only)

Through: 4

Drummond Street
In: 31
Out: 24
In & Out: 16

North Gower Street
In: 2
Out: 7
In & Out: 6

Through to
Drummond St: 3
N Gower St: 6

Drummond Street
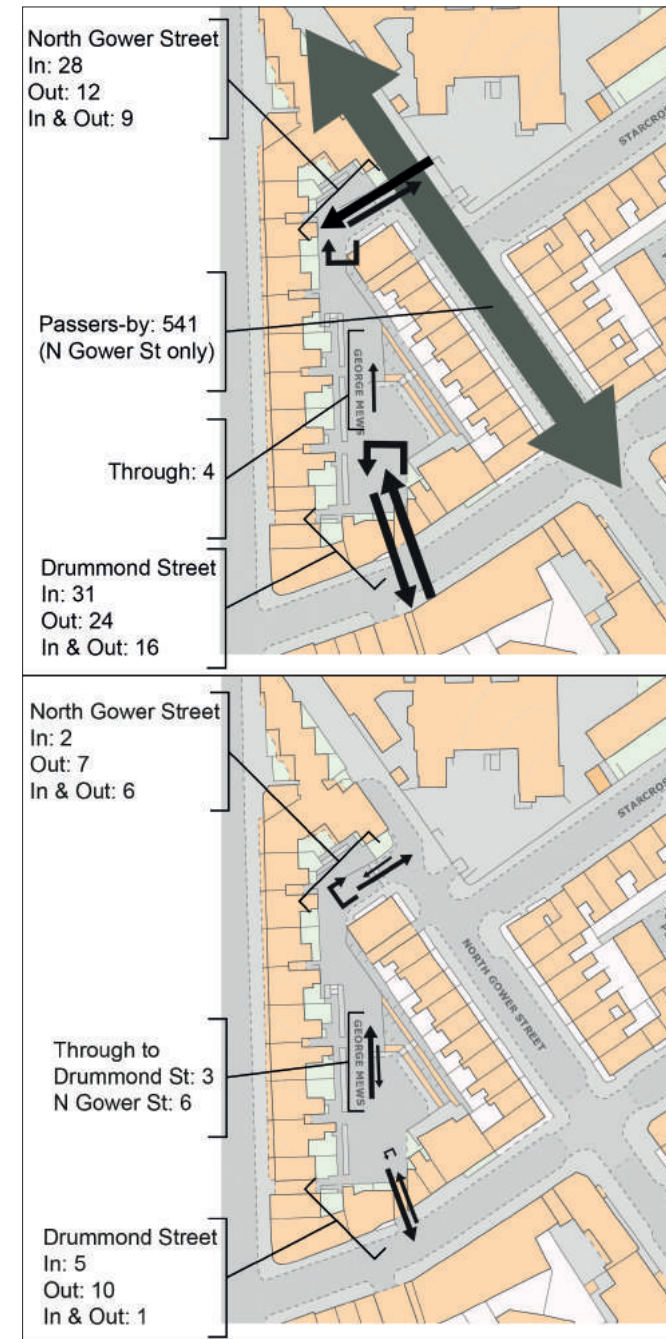In: 5
Out: 10
In & Out: 1

Figure 3.2 *Maps of pedestrian flow measured by pedestrian footcounts. PM on 1 March is above, AM on 4 MArch is below.*

as a space to congregate. This reflects how many people regard the open space in George Mews as a pedestrian route and provides further consideration for gating George Mews as a private or semi-private space.

Community Event

A Community Consultation event was held at the Camden People's Theatre to enable the local community to come and participate in a 'planning' event (Forester, 1989; Arnstein, 1969). As "care must be taken to consult as widely as possible" (Ballintyne et al., 2000: 183), a Saturday from 10.30 am -1.30 pm was chosen in order to attract families and children, residents in regular employment hours, local businesses and the elderly.

In marketing the event, care was taken to avoid "prioritising ethnicity" (Beebeejaun, 2006) or any particular group, and a blanket approach was taken to try to attract as wide a section of the community as possible. Leaflets were distributed to residential properties in George Mews, Tolmers Square and Exmouth Mews prior to the event and on the day, and a range of local businesses, and organisations, some representing harder-to-reach and minority groups. Posters were displayed around the neighbourhood. Residents in George Mews and Tolmers Square were also canvassed door-to-door on the day to try to involve those unable to attend the event. Feedback was received from two residents with mobility issues and this was fed into the consultation.

The venue chosen was deliberately local and already known as a centre for neighbourhood activities attracting a diverse audience. There was a lift for those who are disabled or have limited mobility.

As part of our participatory strategy, we encouraged participants to engage in a number of interactive exercises, such as using black and green stickers to evaluate pictures of urban realm, security, and other possible interventions. This enabled people of all ages, and those with language barriers, to participate. It was also a very quick and simple activity for those with limited time. There was also the opportunity to indicate on a map the areas of most concern and to draw possible changes on tracing paper over photograhs of the Mews, as demonstrated in figures in Chapter 4. This suited those who wanted to put forward their own ideas or give more detailed feedback about an issue most relevant to their needs. An 'ideas tree,' with an image of a tree pinned on a wall, gave residents complete freedom to stick on to the branches drawings or written ideas of changes that could be made, or anything they would like to see, in their local area.

Students were on hand to explain and assist with the activities if needed, however as "knowledge is culturally situated; it emanates from the knower's life experiences" (Henning et al., 2000: 420). Care was taken to avoid guiding residents to an outcome or expressing personal opinions.

Twelve residents attended the event and two gave feedback on the doorstep canvassing on the day. We invited as wide and diverse a section of the community as possible including local councillors, the MP, business owners and local community groups. Selected images of the event in progress are on the page opposite (Figures 3.3 & 3.4).

Document Analysis

To better understand the nature of planning processes, local context and how potential solutions

Figure 3.3 *Photo of the 'Ideas Tree' from the Community Event.*

Figure 3.4 *Photo showing decorations and activities at the Community Event.*

fit in planning guidance, documents including local, regional and national plans were analyzed (Bracken, 1981; Lees, 2004). Official planning documents such as the Euston Area Plan, Camden Local Plan, Camden Planning Guidance, and the National Planning Policy Framework were examined for the specific planning context in the area around George Mews, as well as the wider context of national planning policies. Within each policy document, details on how different design interventions can be accommodated, the position of the council and the flexibility they offered were investigated (Tewdwr-Jones, 1999).

The emails between residents and other stakeholders, such as the community safety team, the police and Camden councillors allowed us to understand the specificity of the situation, as well as the tensions between different interest groups despite continuous communication (Wallin and Horelli, 2010). The sensitivity of stakeholders and the project itself is therefore carefully dealt with. Figure 3.5 shows the key events that led to a deterioration in trust between residents and the local council, planning authorities and HS2 as extrapolated from the documents listed above.

Ethics

Ethics formed an essential part of the research process. We implemented a feminist research methodology, which acknowledged that our positionality and reflexivity (Rose, 1997; England, 1994), as privileged, educated 'anti-oppressive researchers' (Potts and Brown, 2005), to mitigate any researcher/participant power imbalances and insider/outsider binaries (Ryan et al, 2011). We therefore used 'participatory research methods', which allowed participants to have a voice (Agyeman, 2008). More sensitive questions regarding this 'emotional' topic were

avoided, unless respondents guided us into these areas of discussion (Dickinson-Swift et al., 2007; Hubbard et al., 2001).

Confidentiality and anonymity of participants was provided by using pseudonyms, providing consent forms, safe storage of transcripts and fieldnotes, discarding all data at the end of the project and ensuring all respondents the right to withdraw without question at any point (Dowling, 2016; Bell, 1999). Furthermore, as part of our 'reciprocal relationship' with participants, we decided to locally source food for the community event and provide business owners and residents with a copy of our final report. Due to time and resource constraints, we were unable translate the questionnaire and therefore engage with non-English speaking George Mew's residents and other vulnerable parts of the community, including the homeless.

Case Studies

Case studies for this report were selected from comparable contexts to allow for as much qualitative consistency as possible (Elman et al, 2016; Gerring & Cojocaru 2016; Widestrom 2015). Case studies focused on gating policy were limited to the London Borough of Camden and focus on council estates and housing developments that include semi-public spaces and some form of gating. The three main examples we examine are the Ampthill Estate (Figure 3.6), Levita House (Figure 3.7) and the Mayford Estate (Figure 3.8). These three cases are valuable because they exemplify variations and past manifestations of Camden council's policy regarding gating.

Case studies focused on alternative interventions to preventing and discouraging ASB or criminal

- **Mid 2017**
Removal of St James Garden
St James Garden removed as a result of HS2 construction.

- **Sep 2017**
Community Conversation
Residents and Camden council were involved.

- **Late 2018**
Increase in ASB reports
HS2 construction started, displacements from St James Garden. 11 crime and ASB reports recorded by the community safety team (Nov 2018 - Jan 2019).
- **Early Jan 2019**
Signed petition for gating
Petition from George Mews residents.

- **Jan 2019**
Safe Streets Team support and Community Safety Officers patrols
Support offered by the authority.

- **Jan-Feb 2019**
Community Conversations
Residents and Camden council were involved.

- **Feb 2019**
Community walk about
Camden planning department visited George Mews and its surrounding areas.

- **Mar 2019**
Regents Park Community Conversation Action Plan released
Progress update: gating options being reviewed by the planning department, increase in patrols and enforcement actions suggested.

Figure 3.5 *Events leading to the breakdown in trust between residents and the council.*

activity were limited to the London Borough of Islington, specifically Bemerton Estate (Figure 3.9), Half Moon Crescent (Figure 3.10), and Delhi-Outram Estate (Figure 3.11). These cases are valuable because they exemplify a wide range of strategies utilized by council staff when confronting ASB.

Figure 3.6 *Ampthill Estate: Example of Camden's past gating policy, in which the semi-public space was created from a public square, and ultimately gated and locked (Ampthill Estate, 2012).*

Figure 3.7 *Levita House: Well-used throughway between Ossulston Street and Chalton Street, which is gated, but not locked. The Chalton Street entrance has a small guard house to open and close the section of the gate meant for large vehicular deliveries, which acts as a security measure to monitor the interior courtyard.*

Figure 3.8 *Mayford Estate: Recently received planning approval to gate a section of its property south of Camden Street, not formally recognized as a through-route, and frequented by individuals using drugs and rough sleeping (2018/6027/P, 2019).*

Figure 3.9 *Bemerton Estate: Alternative gating, such as kissing gates, have been successful in detering drug dealers using communal areas of the estate for business, as people doing drug drops on mopeds or bicycles are unable to enter and leave the area quickly. The estate remains a through-way for pedestrians.*

Figure 3.10 *Half Moon Crescent: A large reduction in drug-related ASB since lighting was installed, which remains on throughout the night. Sensored lights have also been installed under stairwells to deter drug-users.*

Figure 3.11 *Delhi-Outram Estate: Caretakers have been invaluable for dealing with ASB. They keep communal areas clean and act as 'eyes and ears' between residents and the council (see Chapter 4). They have also engaged with rough sleepers, helping the council identify and house them.*

ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

Interventions

Physical Changes

Gates

Gating is a possible intervention repeatedly raised by residents during the consultation process. Gates could be placed to the north end of George Mews but would need to be a bespoke design due to the layout of built environment. Aesthetically this could mirror the 'historical' style gating already in place to the south. The gating at the southern end may also need adapting to allow for an intercom system. Bespoke gating with intercom systems have a significant cost implication and may need to be implemented in nearby mews and squares in order to prevent displacement of crime and other issues.

There are several types of gating options such as: a simple lock and key system; an intercom system (verbal and/or visual); an intercom system with on-site concierge support. Considering installation, on-going staffing and maintenance costs, functionality, and the fact that George Mews is a residential area with two main entrance areas in constant use, a verbal intercom system similar to other mixed developments in Camden may be a practical option. Other options include gating the entrances to resident's flats only, as has already been implemented on one section to the south end, however, this may not address concerns around ASB in the wider mews.

Other options include 'partial' gating that is locked at night between designated hours, allowing public pedestrian and cycle access during the day. This may enable residents to apply for funding that would not be available if the Mews is completely closed off and considered as a 'private space'. The impact of 'partial' gating on crime and ASB during the daytime hours is unknown. Some investigation could be undertaken as to how effective this system is on similar schemes with regard to crime and ASB, and the availability of funding for semi-private space. See figures 4.1 to 4.3 for residents' illustrations of potential gates at the north end of the Mews.

The application process for gating the north and south end of the Mews must begin with Camden's property management department investigating the cost, implementation and application process. Residents have done sustained awareness-raising work with various government officials, and this momentum can be utilized to encourage council action. The property managers must put forward the planning application for gating, and this should include the approved stopping order from Highways, unless the space is partially gated and open to pedestrian activity during parts of the day. The pedestrian study conducted for this report is the first step to demonstrating that George Mews is not a commonly used through-route. The planners within the development management team will then evaluate the application and determine if, and how, the project should be approved. There is space for the housing manage-

Figure 4.1 *Overlay by residents showing potential gating designs.*

Figure 4.2 *Overlay by residents showing potential gating designs.*

Figure 4.3 *Overlay by residents showing potential gating designs.*

ment department to facilitate consultation and knowledge-sharing between residents, property management and development management.

Lighting & CCTV

Improved lighting can be installed in George Mews and under the archway to Drummond Street in order to improve visibility and a sense of security. CCTV can be installed at various locations across the Mews to act as a deterrent and to record any crime and illicit activity.

We identified these as possible interventions from comments residents of George Mews made in interviews regarding dark corners, previous CCTV and lighting installations in the space. Community Safety Officers and caretakers from Islington council identified that bright lighting in communal areas discouraged drug users in large groups. CCTV was also vital for identifying repeat perpetrators of ASB.

These interventions are comparatively cheap (to gating) but might not offer the same sense of security as they only work as deterrents and need maintenance and monitoring to remain effective long term. Lighting will be provided by the property management department of Camden council and CCTV by the council's security team. Residents drew examples of how they would like lighting to be improved (see Figures 4.4.& 4.5)

Bins

Residents identified the bin storage at the north end of George Mews (Figure 4.6) as unsanitary and inadequate, especially in comparison to newer, more secure bin storage installed at the south end of George Mews. This encourages rats, pigeons and foxes, which then spread litter around the bins. On a walkabout of George Mews, we witnessed a man searching these bins.

This intervention requires funding and implementation from the property management and waste departments at Camden council, which will need to be pushed along either by the Tennents and Residents Association (TRA) or individuals at the end of George Mews nearest these bins.

Benches, Gardens, Communal Space & Pathways

Place making and urban design are helpful ways to improve the physical environment and potential behaviours within a space, by offering new configurations of the existing built environment. To shape community space and respond to concerns regarding quality of life and neighbourhood character, urban design interventions should be bottom-up and led by community members.

Residents expressed their thoughts on potential changes to open space through interviews and the community event, and their various ideas revealed possible options for improvement, which included benches with lighting, community gardens in communal space and pathways identifying private and semi-public spaces (see Figures 4.7 to 4.9). In terms of place making, greening the open space is an urgent goal, which residents emphasised several times during interviews and the community engagement event. This can be achieved by simply reallocating the idle south west corner into vegetable or plant gardens and constructing seats with lighting. Delineated pathways help illustrate main pedestrian flows and clearly show the edge of public areas, keeping the private area protected. This must be designed in as age-friendly and barrier-free to properly serve all residents.

Figure 4.4 *Overlay by residents showing potential new lighting.*
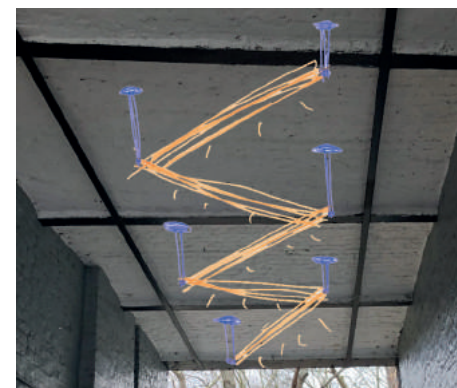

Figure 4.5 *Overlay by residents showing potential new lighting in archway to Drummond Street.*

Figure 4.6 *Photo of bins at north end of Geroge Mews that experience large amounts of pest activity and fly tipping.*

Figure 4.7 *Overlay by residents showing potential communal space improvements*

Figure 4.8 *Overlay by residents showing potential communal space improvements.*

Figure 4.9 *Overlay by residents showing potential communal space improvements.*

A history and practice of close communication between residents may allow a positively managed design and place-making workshop (a Charette), in which residents and planners can elaborate their future plans for the space and outline the implementation process. However, this process would require extensive resources, in regards to finances and personnel, which are both currently limited.

Staffing

Security

Camden has a Responsive Security Patrol system for George Mews and the surrounding area, to monitor and respond to ASB issues like drug dealing, rough sleeping and drug use in areas on and surrounding the estate (Camden Council, 2019). However, residents and local business owners expressed that this is a largely ineffective intervention for the high level of ASB that George Mews experiences. Some community members expressed that Patrol Officers' powers are limited; they can ask people, like rough sleepers, to move on, but they are not allowed to physically displace them. Considering these Officers have limited authority, they are also reluctant to interact with drug dealing and other criminal activities. Nevertheless, there is a sentiment that residents would appreciate dedicated personnel who could act on ASB around George Mews.

We suggest allocating dedicated Metropolitan Police officers to patrol the area regularly: Camden has gained joint-funding from HS2 for a Safer Streets Team that could implement this. Moreover, as a long-term solution alongside the current need for increased security, there should be a move towards community cohesion and trust, aided by a stronger presence of caretakers on the Mews.

Estate Caretakers

At present, Camden uses a mix of in-house caretakers for estate buildings and contracted staff for external communal areas. Islington council, who has all of their caretakers in-house, has adopted an 'eyes and ears' approach whereby caretakers are treated as trusted points of contact between estate residents and the council in helping report ASB. They also help tackle drug-related ASB by removing any hidden drugs or weapons from communal areas, which not only takes these out of circulation and can help identify perpetrators, but is also a deterrent for people trying to use the communal areas of estates to conceal or use drugs. Some caretakers also live on site, putting them in the unique position of being a resident and employee of the council. In these cases there is usually a stronger relationship between the caretaker and other residents, building a collective sense of community and responsibility for the well-being of the estate.

Governance

Coordination between governance structures within Camden

Complex governance systems exist within Camden council, and while it is important for residents to advocate for governmental change, these interventions are primarily directed at bureaucratic officials to incite structural change. The actors involved within this intervention include MPs, Councillors, council cabinet committees, Camden council employees, the Metropolitan Police, related enforcement bodies, and community associations.
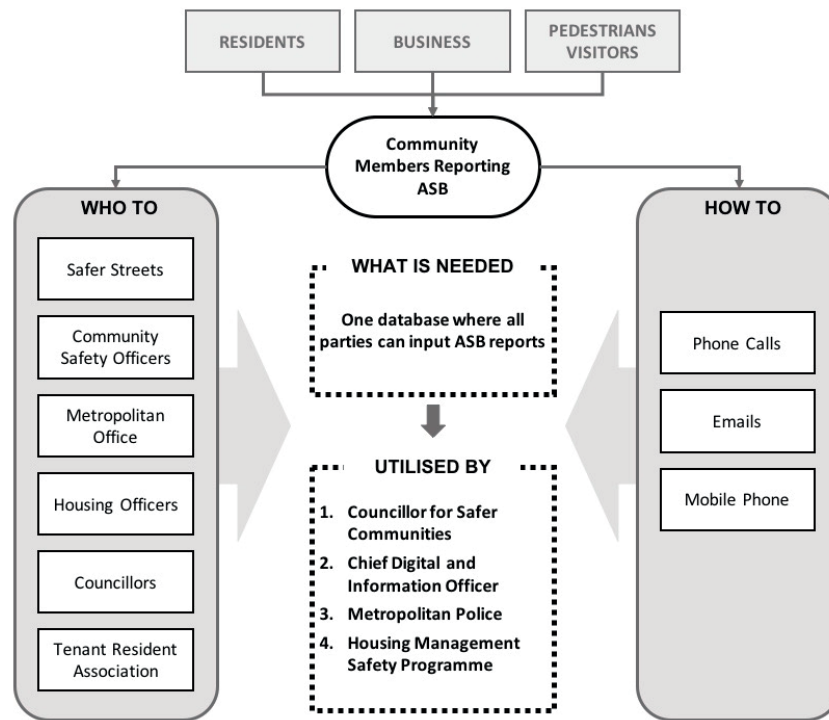
Figure 4.10 *Flow chart showing existing separation of ASB reporting mechanisms and the proposed database involving all previous actors.*

Figure 4.11 *Potential actions taken by various stakeholders to address ASB-related problems once a coherent data set is generated.*

This kind of intervention was explored through extensive interviews and conversations with various officials and community groups, document analyses of Camden council structures, and academic research on data collection within multi-level governance.

Firstly, multiple interviews highlighted various degrees of disconnection between reports of ASB, administrative processes for applying to HS2 funding initiatives and planning applications for gating. Interviews with council cabinet members, councillors, community safety officers and residents highlighted a significant disparity between reported and recorded accounts of ASB. Numbers from official governmental sources were small and varied between agency, and numbers from the police were difficult to deter-

mine. Multiple residents reported incidents of ASB several times a week, to various agencies depending on how the event was classified, but no one data source demonstrated the magnitude of complaints.

Conversations with community organization leaders and council employees highlighted the discrepancies in application processes related to HS2 community funding. Complicated processes caused misfiles and lost funding opportunities, while limited institutional knowledge sharing failed to build capacity for acquiring future funding. Finally, interviews with residents and Camden planners highlighted the extreme lack of knowledge-sharing regarding planning processes for gating. While residents were told applications were submitted by housing and council officials, planners received no such information, and

the full extent of the administrative process associated with this form of planning application was never coherently explained to residents.

Secondly, a document analysis of Camden council and the police force's processes for reporting ASB, getting in touch with councillors and understanding administrative processes revealed a high degree of obfuscation and confusion. Multiple websites and links on the Camden website do not work, even links associated with getting in touch with council offices. ASB reporting information lacks clarity on key who, what, when and why questions, specifically, which organization to call, for what kind of behaviour and at which time of day.

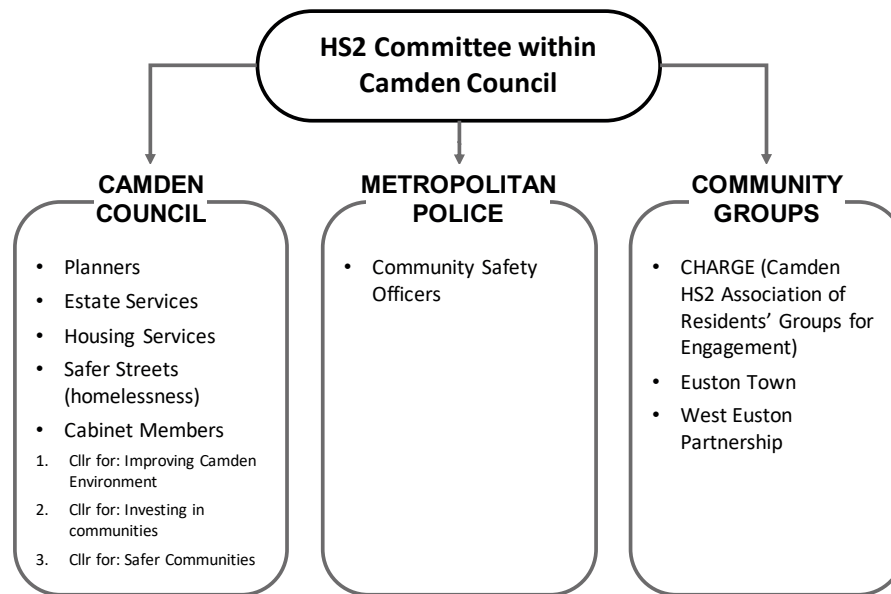Finally, academic literature on the nature of

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         ┌─────────────────────────────┐
         │    HS2 Committee within     │
         │       Camden Council        │
         └─────────────────────────────┘
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CAMDEN COUNCIL	METROPOLITAN POLICE	COMMUNITY GROUPS
• Planners • Estate Services • Housing Services • Safer Streets (homelessness) • Cabinet Members 1. Cllr for: Improving Camden Environment 2. Cllr for: Investing in communities 3. Cllr for: Safer Communities	• Community Safety Officers	• CHARGE (Camden HS2 Association of Residents' Groups for Engagement) • Euston Town • West Euston Partnership

Figure 4.12 *Suggested structure for a permanent HS2 action committee.*

ASB research highlights that reported numbers are often smaller than actual incidences, and that institutional capacity for recording incidents is severely limited within the context of austerity (see Chapter 2, ASB).

Primarily, new software for data collection and amalgamation must be developed to address the lack of coordination between governance structures. One multi-access data source, where various Camden agencies can input reports of ASB, would be incredibly useful in ensuring recorded ASB is accurate and representative of the problem's scope. This project could be initiated by the Cabinet Member for Safer Communities, the Chief Digital and Information Officer, the Director of Communications and Camden Met Police Services (see Figures 4.10 & 4.11). Regarding systems and software updates, Camden's website must be streamlined and decluttered, as it still houses a large number of dead links, even some which should lead to contact details for councillors and safer streets programs. This would allow easier resident access to council resources.

Camden council may consider a larger HS2 action committee, involving Cabinet Members, council staff and community organizations. There seems to be a gap in knowledge and coordination when applying to HS2 funding opportunities, and a more cohesive approach, which allows interagency cooperation and access to financial resources, may create more sustainable HS2 mitigation programs (see Figure 4.12).

Finally, regarding the issue of gating, the regeneration and planning team must do a sustained investigation into their policies related to gates, and develop a framework that addresses the safety and security concerns held by residents. Then, the circumstances that generate a need for gates, and their eventual effects can be more easily monitored and evaluated. This framework must be developed in consultation with the departments for property man-

agement and housing management, so that a system for planning applications that involve gating can be determined and clearly explained to residents.

CAMDEN POLICY

In terms of safety and security, Camden council has a clear position to make places safer by working with the Camden Community Safety Partnership, encouraging safety measures and providing pedestrian friendly spaces. ASB is highlighted as one of the current priorities of the Camden Community Safety Partnership, constituted by the Council, Metropolitan Police, Transport Police, the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) and the Camden Safer Neighbourhood Board. In terms of urban design, both the Camden Local Plan and the Camden Planning Guidance on Safety assure the role of planning in providing safe, accessible and attractive places to deter crime and ASB, including all applications of physical alterations to the built environment. On the other hand, the Camden Planning Guidance on Public Open Space suggests that financial resources will be assigned to the improvement of existing open spaces wherever new on-site open space is infeasible.

However, there is a limited coverage on gating specifically in the Camden Local Plan, which is only mentioned in two sections: pedestrian use and natural surveillance, and secure design and crime prevention through urban design. Permeability of spaces is considered as natural surveillance deterring crime. The plan also states that gated communities as a solution to ASB will be resisted unless in exceptional cases. The Camden Planning Guidance on Safety reiterates the importance of ease of movement in the National Planning Policy Guidance. Applicants have to show the rationale and evidence of ASB, and the alternatives that have been made

to justify restricted access. The council will decide whether to accept such exceptions according to a few factors, including the potential impact on accessibility, natural surveillance, community cohesion and the prevention of ASB.

These planning policies lack clear guidance in ensuring the provision of safer spaces. General principles and guidelines are incapable to enhance secured spaces, for example how specifically the council decides whether a case is exceptional according to the factors the guidance suggested. In terms of physical design and people interventions, inadequate details limit its effectiveness to ensure safer communities, given the uniqueness of each of the different cases we observed in the borough. We suggest that planning policies need to be more flexible to accommodate different options within the local level, to allow different stakeholders to consider their particular position and how interventions can be supported by planning policies. A supplementary planning document on gating should also be considered to provide an overview of gating practices, while the evaluation of such planning applications should also be made available.

On 15 March 2019, new planning guidance on design was published by Camden council, with a chapter on gating, specifically policies 7.23 to 7.30 on Movement and Gating (Camden Planning Guidance, Design, 2019). Policies 7.29 and 7.30 are particularly useful, as they provide specific guidance on how to frame applications for gating, and how the context of George Mews could apply as an exemption from anti-gating policies. We recommend residents put together a document based on these policies, to prove to Camden council that gating would not negatively impact the Drummond Street community at large and would reduce criminal activity.

TABLE 1: USEFUL CONTACTS

WHO	FOR WHAT?	PHONE	WEBSITE OR EMAIL
POLICE	URGENT	**999** **101** (NON-URGENT) IF YOU HAVE A HEARING AND SPEECH IMPAIRMENT: **18000** (EMERGENCIES) **18000 101** (NON-EMERGENCIES)	www.met.police.uk
REGENT'S PARK WARD POLICE	REPORT A CRIME	0786784368	RegentsPark.SNT@met.police.uk
COMMUNITY SAFETY (COMMUNITY WARDENS, COMMUNITY INTERVENTIONS AND COMMUNITY AUDIT)	REPORT ISSUES ON ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR (PATROL 4PM TO 4AM)	020 7974 4444 (24 HR.)	
SAFER STREETS TEAM	REPORT ROUGH SLEEPING, BEGGING OR STREET DRINKING	020 7074 2526 0808 800 0005 (OR 020 78337970)	www.camdensst.com (DOWNLOAD APP)

CONTACTS & REPORTING INCIDENTS

One of the issues highlighted to us by the residents was confusion regarding reporting methods. The current reporting system is incoherent and complex, and we have suggested to councillors that it needs simplifying. In Tables 1 to 3 we have detailed all of the contact information for reporting different issues and help-lines.

NATIONAL POLICY

This form of intervention is the most aspirational, as it involves increased funding and intervention from MPs and the national government. For one of the following interventions to occur, action is demanded at a spatial and governmental scale larger than the borough of Camden. They would involve changed legislation for drug-related harm reduction

TABLE 2: CAMDEN COUNCIL CONTACTS

WHAT	PHONE	WEBSITE
NOISE	**020 7974 4444**	www.camden.gov.uk/noise
FLY TIPPING	(MON- FRI 8AM-6PM)	environmentservices.camden.gov.uk/street
GRAFFITI		
DOG FOULING		

TABLE 3: OTHER LOCAL OR RELEVANT ORGANISATIONS

WHO	PHONE	WEBSITE
CAMDEN LGBT FORUM	**020 7388 5720**	camdenlgbtforum.org.uk
CAMDEN PEOPLE FIRST	**020 7388 2007**	www.camdenpeoplefirst.org.uk
PROTECTING OUR JEWISH COMMUNITY: COMMUNITY SECURITY TRUST	**0800 032 3263**	cst.org.uk
HOPSCOTCH ASIAN WOMEN'S CENTRE	**020 7388 8198**	www.hopscotchawc.org.uk
MEASURING ANTI-MUSLIM ATTACKS: TELL MAMA	**0800 456 1226** SMS: **0115 707 00 07** WHATSAPP: **0734 184 6086**	tellmamauk.org
REPORTING RACISM: THE MONITORING GROUP	**020 7582 7438**	www.tmg-uk.org
VICTIM SUPPORT	**08 08 16 89 293**	www.victimsupport.org.uk

programmes, increased resources for gang crime prevention programs and a new approach to evaluating the impacts and engagement strategy for HS2.

The need for this kind of intervention became apparent through interviews with residents and council employees, and research on the extent of the issues the residents of George Mews describe, in the context of other neighbourhoods throughout Camden and London.

In general, interviews described a feeling of hopelessness and abandonment when faced with the scale of problems like rough sleeping and drug use, especially within the context of council budget cuts. The real and debilitating conflicts residents of George Mews fight daily are also the conflicts of other residents within Camden council, which can be seen through the minutes produced from the Camden-wide community conversations on safety (Community conversations, 2019).

One critical intervention is the legalisation of safe injection sites within the United Kingdom. The efficacy and success of safe injection sites has been proven to aid in harm reduction internationally (Supervising consumption services, 2018; Rhodes and Hedrich, 2010), specifically decreasing overdose-related deaths, HIV/AIDS diagnoses, public drug use and drug-related litter, increasing enrollment in rehabilitation facilities, and longer life expectancy of drug users. Various initiatives within the UK are already advocating for this kind of intervention (Cowburn, 2018).

The HS2 engagement team must also reevaluate its community participation methods and its criteria for impact assessments. The displacement of homeless and drug-using populations from St James Park was not predicted by official sources, though it

was obvious to residents. Therefore, these forms of informal impacts must become a part of how national-level infrastructure projects evaluate potential outcomes. HS2 community engagement strategies have also been short-sighted, and must now act quickly to develop sustained, methodological engagement initiatives that adequately evaluate community needs and financially support neighbourhood HS2-mitigation programs.

Finally, national government must increase the budgets of local councils and related programing. George Mews has become a microcosm for the marginalisation housing estates and their residents across the country, and only so much can be done with the diminished resources of Camden council.

TABLE 4: PHASING OF INTERVENTIONS

SHORT TERM	MEDIUM TERM	LONG TERM
MORE SECURITY	GATES	NEW (OR RESTORED) ACCESSIBLE GREEN SPACES
BETTER LIGHTING	NEIGHBOURHOOD PLAN	POST HS2 DEVELOPMENT & CIL MONEY
CCTV	HS2 CONTRUCTION ENDS	
BETTER BIN STORAGE	CHANGE IN DRUGS POLICIES AND FACILITIES	
LANDSCAPING & REMOVING DARK CORNERS	LOCAL GANG PREVENTION PROGRAMMES	
BETTER COMMUNICATION BETWEEN COUNCIL AND RESIDENTS		

CONCLUSION

Phasing of Interventions

Not all of the interventions mentioned in Chapter 4 are achievable overnight and some could take years to implement and for their impacts to be fully felt. Because of this we have made Table 4, a rough guide to when each implementation seems feasible to be achieved. Short term being things that could be done in the next 6 to 12 months, medium term being up to 5 years and long term being beyond 5 years.

This project has not been involved in the Drummond Street Neighbourhood Forum, but the future of the Forum could lead to positive spatial changes, and some Community Infrastructure Levy money, across the area.

Community Organisations

West Euston Partnership, Euston Town and Hopscotch are three organisations that work with the community in the area on a variety of issues and opportunities.

WEST EUSTON PARTNERSHIP

What they do? A charity who works in collaboration with local people, businesses and organisations to alleviate inequality in health and employment opportunities.

Opportunities: Free access to computers, health-based activities, volunteering and careers advice

Contact details: 020 7388 7932; One Stop Shop, 29-31 Hampstead Road, London, NW1 3JA; info@westeuston.org; www.westeustonpartnership.org

Figure 5.1 *West Euston Partnership logo.*

Euston Town

What they do? A business partnership, Euston Town, was set up to ensure that HS2 has a positive impact on the local area, with a focus on transport, air quality, identity.

Opportunities: Projects such as Making Space, Eustontowner, Sustainable Cookery, Invisible Dust, HS2 Forums, Camden Inspire, Meanwhile Art Space, In Conversation With..., Air Quality, Euston Green Link, Saving You Money.

Contact details: 020 7380 8260; Euston Town, Collective Auction Rooms, NW1 8NJ; info@eustontown.com; https://eustontown.com

Figure 5.2 *Hopscotch logo.*

Figure 5.3 *Euston Town logo.*

Hopscotch Asian Women's Centre

What they do? To ensure the mental and physical well-being of Asian women in the community.

Opportunities: Women at the Centre (BBO), Advice, Information and Advocacy, Homecare Service, Older Women's Group, Domestic Violence Support, Learning Disability Advocacy.

Contact details: 020 7388 8198; 50-52 Hampstead Road, London, NW1 2PY; www.hopscotchawc.org.uk

Further Research

During the consultation period, it became evident that the local community could benefit from further collaboration with University College London to investigate issues and opportunities in the area. UCL Engineering Exchange is studying how to mitigate the significant impact of HS2 railway construction work on the neighbourhood, for example considering how to improve air quality. Continued work with the Bartlett School of Planning around participation in planning and how to improve the urban realm are further possibilities.

Concluding Thoughts

We have found this project a great learning experience and are incredibly grateful to all the residents and participants who so generously gave us their time and knowledge. Due to resource and time constraints and our position as masters students, we were unable to investigate all aspects of the project. The language diversity within the Mews limited the reach of our participatory processes, as as we inadvertently excluded some residents from George Mews whose languages we do not speak. We will also not be able to study the impacts of whatever interventions residents are able to achieve. We are extremely interested in keeping in touch with residents, presenting our findings at a TRA meeting, and helping with further community events or initiatives to improve the Mews.

Ultimately, there is no one solution that can fix the complex issues that the communities of George Mews and its surrounding area face, as there is a surfeit of interacting local and national factors creating the current situation. What the area certainly needs is more attention from those in positions of authority, and it is encouraging to hear that residents have noticed greater interest in their situation from the council and other figures with power over the course of conducting this project. This interest must be maintained, and residents and businesses in the area will need to continue pressuring those in power. Having got to know the residents, we are confident they will be able to maneuver their way through the bureaucracy to get what they need.

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