

The Estate We're In

Lessons from the Front Line

By Gavin Knight

Edited by Charlotte McLeod



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About the Authors

Gavin Knight's non-fiction book on inner-city crime, *Hood Rat*, was published by Picador in July 2011, a month before the riots hit major UK cities. *Hood Rat* was shortlisted for the Orwell Prize, Britain's most prestigious prize for political writing and the CWA non-fiction award. It was serialised in the *Daily Telegraph*, BBC Radio Four's Book of the Week and is being developed into a TV series. He is currently writing his second non-fiction book which will be published by Chatto & Windus, part of Penguin Random House.

Gavin has written widely on inner-city crime for *Prospect*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Guardian*, *Times*, *Newsweek*, *Evening Standard*, *New Statesman* and many others. He has appeared on CNN, ITN, *BBC Breakfast*, *The One Show*, and the *Jeremy Vine Show* discussing these issues.

Over the two years prior to the publication of *Hood Rat*, Gavin was regularly embedded with frontline police units in London, Manchester and Glasgow as well as spending time with dozens of violent criminals involved in gun and gang crime. He accompanied detectives on a manhunt, firearms and drugs raids and was embedded with a CID unit over a lengthy drug surveillance operation. To source the powerful human stories at the centre of *Hood Rat*, he spent time with criminals, inmates, gang members, heroin addicts, social workers, youth workers, charities, trauma surgeons, victims of violent crime and their families. The Orwell Prize judges described *Hood Rat* as "a tremendous book, written with unobtrusive intelligence, vividness and clarity. It was the best writing we came across to illuminate some of the issues thrown up by the riots of summer 2011."

Charlotte McLeod is Crime and Justice Research Fellow at Policy Exchange and has authored two influential reports, *Future Courts: A*

new vision for summary justice (2014) and *Power Down: A plan for a cheaper, more effective justice system* (2013). Charlotte was called to the Bar by The Honourable Society of the Inner Temple in November 2012, following completion of the Bar Professional Training Course at City Law School and LLB at Cardiff University. Charlotte was previously Development Assistant at Policy Exchange and a former volunteer for the National Centre for Domestic Violence.

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Executive Summary

The state of many of Britain's social housing estates is nothing short of a national embarrassment. Too often, crime, unemployment, gangs and violence are rife. The human cost is heart-breaking; the cost to the public purse immense.

There is hope, however. Targeted interventions driven by dedicated individuals can make an enormous difference. In Taunton, the Halcon Estate was turned around by one dedicated police officer and his team. In South London, gang activity on the Stockwell Park Estate was curtailed by a job fair. On the Pengegon Estate in Cornwall, one Neighbourhood Manager revitalised the community. In Castlemilk, Glasgow, the work of one progressive nursery has saved lives. This report uses case studies to extract best practice, drawing out the key lessons for policymakers in how to turn around the worst housing estates.

“Targeted interventions driven by dedicated individuals can make an enormous difference”

1. Crime reporting is fundamental.

Getting people to report crime is the first step in reclaiming estates. Too often, residents are either too frightened or too disillusioned to do so. Yet without proper knowledge of the criminality occurring, police cannot begin to address it, and trust in the authorities cannot be regained. Interventions must make it easier to report crime and must ensure reported issues are dealt with swiftly.

2. Leaders should be local.

Our case studies show that the dedication and effort of one individual can catalyse the recovery of an estate. Most of these individu-

als have lived in and around the area themselves, and have genuine, in-depth knowledge of the problems faced by residents.

3. Interventions should be local.

Estate residents tend not to travel far from home and are often reluctant or unable to access services even a short distance away. All the interventions in this report were based at the very heart of the estates they served.

4. Local people should be part of the solution.

The interventions described in our case studies sought to make communities themselves into the agents of change.

5. Existing resources should be better deployed; new spending is not necessarily the answer.

None of the interventions in this report required large amounts of additional funding – indeed, many costs were met within existing budgets.

6. Interventions should be underpinned by good intelligence.

The interventions described in this report were effective because they targeted local need in a very precise way. This was only possible because of detailed intelligence, from police mapping, about the situation on the ground.

7. Agencies must work collaboratively.

A number of the individuals we interviewed for our case studies identified the 'silo' working processes of many agencies as a central obstacle to delivering change. Those who succeeded in breaking down silos and working collaboratively with other agencies achieved the best results.

8. Women must be supported.

Several of the case studies revealed the shocking ways in which women living on estates are often living in dangerous situations

with abusive and violent partners. Domestic violence is endemic on many deprived estates, and several of those we interviewed emphasised that young people who are exposed to violence in the home will often grow up to commit violence themselves. Our case studies also highlighted how gangs use sexual violence against vulnerable women and girls. There is a clear need for better availability of and support for male perpetrator programmes; for better sex and relationships education; and for interventions to empower women in deprived areas through education and work. In addition, absentee fathers are far too commonplace. Fathers who refuse to face up to their responsibilities as parents need to be challenged comprehensively, and those who simply do not know how to take on these responsibilities need access to support and guidance.

Recommendations

A recurring theme in many of our case studies is the importance of truly *local* approaches in delivering real change on the ground. But this does not mean there is no role for central government to play. The Government should:

- Recognise the scale of the problem and make a tangible commitment to addressing it; and
- Provide a framework for local action, drawn from existing best practice.

Recommendation 1: A pledge to turn around Britain's 'sink estates'

We urge the government to make the following pledge:

The Government will turn around the nation's 'sink' social housing estates within the next decade.

Over the next decade, the Government should dedicate itself to transforming our most deprived social housing estates, improving the lives and opportunities of the people who live there.

Recommendation 2: Introduction of a National Estate Recovery Board

The Department for Communities and Local Government should introduce a permanent 'Estate Recovery Board', comprising of ministers and officials from all relevant government departments, including DCLG, the Department for Work and Pensions, the Home Office and the Department for Education as a minimum, and take national responsibility to:

- Co-ordinate the commitments of different government departments and bring together efforts tackling the deep-rooted problems on estates across the country;
- Pool funding from across government departments for allocation to local areas, exploring financing options such as the introduction of an Estate Recovery Fund. This will enable Police and Crime Commissioners and their local Estate Recovery Teams to bid for the funding of local projects as part of their Estate Recovery Plans (see Recommendation 3);
- Work with Police and Crime Commissioners and local Estate Recovery Teams to identify local leaders who can take responsibility for driving progress forward;
- Share best practice about interventions and recovery programmes from across the country.

The Estate Recovery Board should work in a similar fashion to – and in collaboration with – the Troubled Families team (also based in DCLG).

Recommendation 3: Introduce local Estate Recovery Teams to devise and implement Recovery Plans for individual estates

Estate Recovery Teams should be introduced by Police and Crime Commissioners, using their position to bring together all local representatives from across the relevant agencies, including Chief Constables, the local authority, headteachers from local schools, NHS Trust representatives, drug and alcohol workers and other individuals from agencies or voluntary organisations who can work with the residents on each estate. On an estate-by-estate basis, Estate Recovery Teams will devise a Recovery Plan to prioritise and tackle the deep-rooted problems on individual estates. Successes and failures should be shared to inform best practice.

“Estate Recovery Teams will devise a Recovery Plan to prioritise and tackle the deep-rooted problems on individual estates”

Recovery Plans for individual Estates should:

- Identify and target the estates in any police force area where there is a serious problem;
- Engage the community to identify their precise concerns and what changes they believe would make a difference;
- Develop 5-year Action Plans that address the most prominent problems, ranging from gang crime, alcohol problems and drug dealing to unemployment, poor money management and a lack of education.

Three tools should be used to ensure Recovery Plans are successful:

1. **Community Mapping.** Recovery Teams should use the police intelligence mapping system Anacapa for an estate to establish a detailed picture of the estate’s problems (see Case Study 1).
2. **The ‘One Team’ model.** Recovery Teams should follow the ‘One Team’ model of efficient, joined up partnership (see Case Study 1). They should convene regular meetings of frontline

workers and increase referrals to key services in order to solve problems before they escalate.

- 3. A Crime Reduction strategy.** Recovery Plans should centre around a crime reduction strategy based on intelligence mapping. Teams should evict, arrest, remove or successfully reintegrate residents causing the most trouble.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the case studies in this report is how effective a series of very small-scale, very simple, very inexpensive interventions proved to be. By being locally-minded, determined and creative, individuals were able to catalyse huge change. Leaking, crumbling, gang-ravaged estates are a powerful symbol of inequality in Britain. All political parties need to offer positive, innovative and cost-effective solutions to the multiple, complex problems residents face every day. It is time to go into these estates and help these communities to rebuild themselves.

Introduction

“Sure, we have role models. Nelson Mandela. Barack Obama. They just don’t live around here.” – A young council estate resident

Social housing policy began as a nineteenth century crusade to house the urban poor in clean and comfortable surroundings away from polluted inner city slums. The campaign was led by Victorian philanthropists and social reformers, some of whom were so worried about the conditions of their workers that they moved their factories into the countryside and built model villages around them. But the 20th century legacy of social housing is too often a far cry from the Cadbury family’s Bournville and Titus Salt’s Saltaire. Today, too many of the nation’s crime-ridden, crumbling concrete estates serve as a powerful symbol of inequality in Britain.

The London Riots of 2011

The riots of August 2011 were an eruption from the violent underbelly of our inner cities. They were a compelling sign that the social fabric of Britain was in urgent need of repair. Between 6th and 11th August 2011, over 5,000 offences were recorded by the police. 71% of the adult males facing prosecution had at least one previous conviction, compared to 28% of the general male adult population. 40% of adults appearing before the courts were claiming a DWP benefit when the riots took place, compared to 15% amongst the working age population of England.¹ 15,000 people rioted and young rioters were more likely to be from deprived areas. The damage cost £500 million.

Let us state the obvious: the riots did not start in a street of Georgian houses with spacious sash windows and manicured lawns. The riots started on a social housing estate – Broadwater Farm Estate in Tottenham,

1. G Berman, *The August 2011 riots: a statistical summary Research Paper 11/71*, <http://www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/SN06099.pdf>

to be exact. The estate was built in the 1960s out of precast concrete slabs, in blocks and towers, on a river plain. Dogged with problems of leaking roofs, pest infestation and electrical faults, the Department of the Environment called for its demolition six years after it was built.² The linking walkways between blocks were a gift to fleeing criminals. Despite brave attempts to revive the community spirit, it suffered the same fate as many other large housing estates in the UK: few if any social amenities, high unemployment, poor police relations, low educational attainment, and a feeling of hopelessness amongst its residents.

A Case Study Approach

On the third anniversary of the London riots, Policy Exchange turns its attention to the environment in which many of the young rioters had spent their lives: gritty, sprawling council estates. We look at a variety of interventions in council estates across the UK and identify the common characteristics that lead to success. Our case study approach allows us to take an in-depth look at areas where real change has been achieved and to draw out the key lessons for policymakers. Our work was primarily interview-based, and we hope this somewhat alternative approach will make this report an enlightening companion to other more quantitative research in this area.

Long-term recovery

Although Estate Recovery Plans will offer the opportunity to turn around social housing estates, we recognise that in some cases this may not be enough. In the long-term, where it is clear that an estate is beyond recovery, the government must commit to demolishing and replacing these estates. The replacement of high rise social housing must be the priority, given the strong evidence that tower blocks and multi-storey living leads to higher crime rates, weaker communities, and poorer health and education outcomes for residents.³

2. http://web.archive.org/web/20080228054558/http://www.regenerate-uk.org/downloads/7_london.pdf

3. N Boys Smith, A Morton *Create Streets* Policy Exchange (January 2013)

Case Study 1:

Halcon Estate, Taunton

“If you have 80 years of neglect where a community has done what it likes and is getting worse – as agencies you are constantly dealing with demand. It’s crisis management.” – Detective Constable Andy Murphy

Often, it takes just a small group of driven, committed individuals to instigate the transformation of an estate. In the case of the Halcon Estate, change was initiated by the actions of a single local policeman, Detective Constable Andy Murphy.

In January 2007, Murphy was appointed Neighbourhood Police Sergeant for Taunton East, which included the two most deprived areas of Somerset: Halcon and Lyngford. These areas had experienced decades of trouble with unemployment, substance abuse, domestic violence, rape, burglary, assault and criminal damage. Around 6,500 people live in the estate’s 4,000 houses. The crime rate was four times higher than local Taunton, which has an overall population of 63,000.

“The crime rate was four times higher than local Taunton”

Murphy had grown up in the area and spent much of his professional life in and around Taunton. Having arrested many local trouble-makers at one time or another, he noted the grim inevitability of suspect pursuits concluding on the Halcon Estate. Historically, most murders in the area either occurred within Halcon, or else the offender was from Halcon. The last murder was in 2005: a victim beaten to death near a railway. The perpetrator came from the Halcon Estate.

Drugs were a particularly acute problem. The estate had suffered from decades of youth unemployment on a mass scale. This situ-

ation created a void that organised crime groups from Manchester and Liverpool were only too happy to fill, making the easy trip down the M5 to infiltrate the estate and sell drugs. Drugs dealt included crack cocaine, heroin and amphetamine – pink amphetamine being particularly sought-after in the area.

Halcon had been taken over by extended families that were, in effect, the gangs. One family in particular ran most of the drugs, received stolen goods and intimidated residents. The family was ten households strong, all living in local authority housing. It represented three generations of criminal activity. One of the brothers used to drive transit vans to kill people who owed money to the family. Another brother's criminality was more cerebral: he had masterminded money laundering and the drug dealing operation that went back to the 1950s. Illegal activity was very much a family affair, and even young boys were sent out to commit crimes at the behest of older relatives or gang leaders. Of course, dealing drugs was a clear breach of their tenancy agreements, but the estate housing officers felt intimidated and powerless to intervene.

Much of the estate's population was transient, because those who were able to find a way out of the grim living situation tended to take advantage of it. Victims of domestic violence were frequently rehoused in Halcon, so many households consisted of just a vulnerable woman and her child. The young men involved in crime on the estate sought to target such households to obtain more money through drugs. Once hooked, the woman's property would be taken over and used as a base for drug dealing and other criminality. The result was a drug-addicted mother, with several (often abusive) partners, and a child growing up in appalling conditions.

Broken relationships with the police and other agencies

When Chief Superintendent John Snell made Andy Murphy Beat Manager for the area in 2003, part of the attraction was Murphy's local roots; Snell hoped Murphy's lifelong experience might help

crack the seemingly impossible problem. Murphy's success in this role led to his appointment as Neighbourhood Police Sergeant several years later. "I was one of the most hated cops in the town," Murphy says, "because I had arrested most of them and locked them up." But he knew that locking them up had not worked. He also knew that only a fraction of the estate's problems were being brought to his attention.

A local councillor had collected feedback from the community and found that residents felt disengaged from the police and other agencies. Ongoing problems on the estate left them disillusioned; they felt that nothing ever changed. Thus most crimes went unreported and witness statements were rarely forthcoming. Those few individuals willing to come forward often faced intimidation.

Using this information, Murphy began by simply sitting down to talk to the "nicer" people, the residents who were actually reporting crimes like burglary, theft and intimidation. He asked them what was wrong. Their feedback was clear: they felt no one cared about them – not the police, not the council, not social services. Whenever they rang, the police would turn up – but they seemed disinterested when they did arrive. They could never get through to speak to someone when they rang the council; the same applied to social services. Children's social services were renowned for doing the "silent knock": they would call in at the address, pretend to ring the doorbell but never enter the property. That address would then be ticked off their list. It was clear that Murphy would need to find a way to get the community to trust the authorities again; but it was also clear that the authorities would need to become worthy of the community's trust.

Making a change in Halcon

Murphy created a five-year plan to increase the reporting of crimes to police; encourage partnership working; and improve the opportunities and services available to residents.

Increasing the Reporting of Crime

The first challenge was to break the wall of silence and increase the reporting of crime. Murphy struck a deal with the local supermarket to put a police base in the heart of Halcon. The symbolism was deliberate: through creating a permanent, visible presence, Murphy was making a statement that the police were interested in the area and would be there for the long haul. In the supermarket's car park, they installed the 'Asda Policing Pod', a portacabin covered in police insignia, which was funded by Asda. Andy says. "An informant could say they were going off to Asda and then use that as an opportunity to give their statement." Residents could report matters and make statements without having to go to the main police station in Taunton. They avoided intimidation and threats by saying they were going to the supermarket. As a result, prosecution and detection numbers started to rise. Some criminals were arrested, raided, convicted then evicted. Only one criminal household now remains. Greater reporting also helped support early intervention and access to support services.

Murphy is convinced that we need to build on the success of neighbourhood policing and cannot afford to remove police officers from demand areas. Progress felt slow initially, but the visible, continual police presence helped catalyse change. "In the early years of the fight back, you take one day at a time," he says. "First, you try to form strong partnerships: create resident groups and local teams." The East Taunton Resident Trust was formed. Murphy set up more beat surgeries and gave them more outlets. He personally attended as many of these groups as possible.

Encouraging Partnership Working

The two most common complaints about agencies in Halcon are widely echoed elsewhere:

1. Different agencies work in silos. They do not share information and they do not collaborate.

2. Plans are too high-level, too strategic. The challenge is to develop plans that filter down to the operational level. To deal with frontline demand, any plan or policy recommendation needs to be effective on the front line.

Andy Murphy implemented two tools to address these issues:

1. The 'One Team' Approach: regular cross-agency meetings to share information and form partnerships.
2. Community Mapping: The use of intelligence, mapping and data to examine each household in the community and ensure that interventions were *specific, targeted and effective*.

'One Team' approach

Front line workers met regularly to exchange information, form lasting partnerships and avoid duplication.

A core team of front line workers met regularly. Around the table were police officers, housing officers, anti-social behaviour officers, the children's centre manager, the vicar, and a local councillor. They were called the 'One Team' to represent the unified, joined up approach they were committed to adopting. The team would have confidential discussions on a wide range of matters, including rent arrears, neighbour disputes, repeat offenders, domestic violence, debt and community events.

Meetings took place three days a week, for an hour each morning. Attendees would discuss everything that has happened over the weekend or in the last 24 hours. Agencies that worked in silos before, not sharing information, became far more efficient. They could make one visit to a household rather than several. Strong friendships were forged between members of the team.

Community mapping

By pooling information and sharing intelligence, the team built up a picture of the estate street by street. Each and every resident in each and every household was analysed. Information was stored in a regularly updated living document.

Murphy quickly discovered that whenever a resident's name was mentioned by one One Team attendee, others would quickly chip in with further information about the individual in question. An enormous amount of intelligence was available – it just had never been shared and analysed in a systematic way. So the One Team began the process of pooling information to assemble a full picture of the situation on the estate. They mapped out intelligence of the entire Halcon area using the police system of Anacapa. In the past, Anacapa has been used for serious or organised crime because of its ability to analyse large amounts of data over an area. This data can interlink organised crime groups, victims and offenders. The One Team pushed the boundaries of Anacapa's capabilities, using it as a community-wide mapping tool and incorporating a range of new types of data. Categories included: Impact Managed Offenders, Family Focus, Housing Management and Mental Health.

In the area of Housing, for example, they looked at problem tenants, rent arrears and even poor parenting. Some of this information turned out to be good proxy data for who was involved in drug supply and the use of drugs, thereby enabling the police to mount effective stop-and-search operations. In addition, it highlighted elderly residents who were being exploited for money or sex, and also highlighted a need for dementia training among frontline workers.

The team carefully analysed the data coming in. Patterns and connections began to emerge. Targeted interventions could be implemented.

Murphy says: "If two adults in one address are unemployed, we can then target their aspirations, what skills they are lacking.

We can then produce family plans around our most demanding families. The Troubled Families programme is involved, as part of the One Team, and our Family Focus are given Family Plans. They have an easier start in Halcon than elsewhere. Those families that don't hit the criteria for Family Focus don't then get shoved to one side. This is a living document, people move in and move out. To maintain it as a living document and service this map, we needed to forge the partnerships."

This intelligence mapping tool became a vital piece of outreach and prevention on the estate. Together with the regular One Team meetings, mapping helped identify many issues before they escalated. It acted as an early warning system where interventions could be instigated to prevent problems further down the line – and saving future, bigger costs to the public purse in the process.

Murphy says: "You can then build up a portrait of a drug dealer, where he lives, where they deal, what they deal, if they have kids, in debt, if one kid is hyperactive. The local cop can then turn them over and also talk about the debt or arrears which may have nudged them into dealing in the first place."

If a tenant was struggling to survive, the team identified who was the right person to talk to them. The team could then produce a personalised plan for them and ensure that the plan was delivered.

Success bred success: effective interventions gave residents more confidence in the authorities, making them more likely to come forward with information, which in turn allowed for better targeting of interventions. As Murphy puts it:

"The team is very effective at producing family plans because people are opening up more. We have so many residents who are now on programmes to help them. Members of the team whether they are housing officers or children's staff are trained to look out for the signs of domestic abuse, for safeguarding children. We are asking them to take a broader view."

This targeted approach led to greater efficiencies in government commissioning. The Halcon One Team were able to identify early on which areas centrally-commissioned services were being poorly-targeted on the front line. As Andy explained;

“We have to challenge the commissioning services. They might have been commissioned across the county, but it isn’t targeted effectively. For example, a certain course might be run out of Yeovil when the demand is high in Taunton. The One Team approach gives them the power to challenge that and therefore leads to greater efficiencies.”

Improving Opportunities and Services

“You don’t need to consult people to see kids running up and down the street and know they need a park, play area or more facilities. Local Authorities are good at consulting, but what was needed was an action plan.” – Detective Constable Andy Murphy

Murphy and the One Team used their local knowledge and intelligence garnered through the community mapping exercise to ensure that scarce resources were targeted at the facilities and services most needed on the ground.

Establishing a children’s centre

Two empty local authority houses on the Halcon Estate were turned into the Acorns Children Centre. Acorns is prominently located in the heart of the ward, allowing easy access for residents and providing a visible multi-agency presence in the community. The initial plan was for the centre to focus predominantly on early years support and school readiness; however staff quickly found a high demand for parenting courses and these now form part of Acorn’s core offer. The centre is also used as a partnership hub by police,

health visitors and various forms of third sector delivery, including sexual health and domestic violence clinics. Using vacant local authority housing for the children's centre was a cost-effective, place-based solution. The project cost £500,000, funded by the council.

Tackling unemployment, improving the local environment

Community Mapping identified unemployment as a significant problem, which often led to frustration and boredom, then to violence and damaging lifestyles. The One Team were convinced that volunteering and going out to work would improve behaviour.

A job club called the Link Power Team was set up by the One Team, helping to revive pride in the community. The Link Power Team aimed to get unemployed people back to work with training and back-to-work schemes. It encouraged residents to take pride in their area by providing unpaid work such as developing community gardens, litter picking and trolley removals. Through the programme, residents could be recruited into low skilled employment and apprenticeships.

One tenant commented: "There wasn't much going on at all, but now we have the job club going, activity days, the clean-up day, there's more a sense of pride in the community, they want to get together and do more things together."⁴

Another tenant said: "Since I've been coming to Link Power, I don't drink. I'm doing training, and go to college every week and I've been taking my CV around trading estates and shops."

The Link Power project worked in tandem with the crime reduction drive to make the area more liveable. The One Team has also organised community clear-ups, where fridges, beds and sofas – all the things that are hard to get rid of if one does not have a car – were removed, while gardens and other areas were tidied.

Debt and money management

Community mapping identified poor money management as a major issue significantly impacting the wellbeing of many resi-

4. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-somerset-17115184>

dents. They needed specialist advice. Those in debt had little formal education, were usually unemployed, and frequently dependent on drugs or alcohol. In short, they were ideal candidates to be preyed upon by predatory, high-interest loan sharks. Community mapping identified tenants in debt and referred them to the Citizens' Advice Bureau or Family Focus Teams. The One Team promoted Credit Union providers (in which Taunton Council have invested). They also organised Citizen Advice Bureau surgeries at the Acorns Children's Centre. Plans are in place to recruit a dedicated Money Management adviser with the aim of reducing evictions due to debt.

Murphy says: "I am astonished at the level of failure in most households – how impoverished they are in so many ways: illiteracy, confidence, psychology, emotional health, their dependency on drugs and alcohol as escapism. Their inability to feed their children or manage debt. They can't manage a home, pay a bill."

Youth activities

Diversionary activities for young people have a real impact in reducing anti-social behaviour. These included cricket, boxing, football, trips to the beach and a forest school. A newly formed Sea Cadet Force is currently seeking recruits. Crucially, most of these activities are now run by residents themselves. The One Team feel that involving local residents is key to both creating a sense of community and to making change sustainable.

Lessons from Halcon

Since the implementation of Murphy's plan, Halcon has seen a 28% reduction in recorded crime, a 46% reduction in the number of young people suspected of crime and a 53% cent reduction in the number of youth victims of crime. The estate is without doubt a better place to live. Murphy says:

“The Halcon Estate was unsafe. Kids were growing up thinking that they wanted a criminal record, now they are interested in joining the police. This is because we decided to take a stand, to go in, ring fence it and unpick it.”

Some key themes emerge from the Halcon story:

1. Interventions are cost-effective

The overall cost of the project is low: Murphy has a modest £25,000 budget. But the project is organised in a way that maximises return on investment.

- **Making use of existing assets.** The One Team constantly look for opportunities to make better use of existing resources, such as by redeveloping vacant housing into a children’s centre.
- **Targeting resources.** Detailed local knowledge garnered through community mapping allows resources to be very finely targeted and thus minimises waste. Coordinated cross-agency approaches organised through the tri-weekly One Team meeting prevented duplication of interventions and saved staff time.
- **Reducing bureaucracy.** Murphy can sign off up to £2,000 without having to take his decision to a management group for approval. For example, a local woman in her 40s had been in local authority housing for 12 months without a cooker. When Murphy learned of this, he authorised one. Under the Troubled Families programme, each Family Support Officer has a potential pot of £200 and can use it in a similar way. Empowering professionals in this way helps tackle issues before they become acute; fosters a culture of taking initiative amongst front line workers; and promotes confidence in the authorities amongst residents, who see their problems dealt with swiftly.

2. Interventions are locally-based

The One Team physically located its interventions at the heart of the community. Children's centres, advice services, and the Policing Pod were all prominent, visible and easily accessible. The team knew that many residents rarely left the immediate vicinity of their homes – a common theme on problem estates. There is also another dimension to this emphasis on 'local solutions': to be truly local, interventions must incorporate the local community. Murphy is adamant that the only way to achieve permanent, sustainable change is by securing community buy-in and making residents themselves part of the solution. This is evident in the fact that so many of the new services – particularly youth offerings and job clubs – are run by residents themselves.

3. Interventions are intelligence-led

Underpinning all the One Team's work is a solid intelligence base, ensuring that resources are targeted where they are most needed and that no one slips through the cracks.

Case Study 2:

Pengegon Estate, Camborne

“The single biggest difference was being here, having a neighbourhood office. [The estate’s residents] consider themselves the lowest of the low. They are not highly motivated people so they will not seek help. You have to go to them and work from the inside out. I might as well live here. The office is completely open territory... Every single time someone comes in, I don’t necessarily resolve their problem but they never leave without something.” – Claire Arymar, Neighbourhood Manager, Cornwall Council

The Pengegon Estate, in Camborne, Cornwall, is among the country’s top 5% of deprived areas. It has high levels of unemployment, drug and alcohol abuse, domestic violence, child poverty and low educational attainment. It is only a few miles from the coast, but many children have never been to the beach. Over half of under-16s live in poverty, the highest level for the whole of Cornwall, which is itself one of the poorest parts of England. A number of serious crimes have blighted the area. In 2008, a group of children fell victim to a paedophile ring that included two men from Camborne. A father of two, who lived on Pengegon Estate, was jailed for 16 years for abusing seven underage girls. His bungalow was later firebombed.

Visiting the area, one cannot ignore the palpable sense of isolation and alienation amongst residents of the estate’s ash-grey houses. Camborne was once one of the richest mining areas in the world. But, since the decline of the tin mining industry in the

“Visiting the area, one cannot ignore the palpable sense of isolation and alienation amongst residents of the estate’s ash-grey houses”

1950s, the spine towns of Cornwall – like Camborne and Redruth – have been blighted by poverty.

Much like in Halcon, the major catalyst for change on the Pengegon Estate was one committed individual. Claire Arymar, Cornwall Council's Neighbourhood Manager for Pengegon and the surrounding area, started working out of a house on the estate in 2008. This house quickly became a formal neighbourhood office: a physical presence on the estate. From her office, Arymar helps develop good relationships between residents and agencies such as the local health authorities, Devon and Cornwall Police, and Cornwall Council. In particular, she encourages agencies to operate drop-in sessions from the office. Arymar has also helped residents apply for funding to benefit the local area, set up resident associations and organised community events. She now tours the areas under her responsibility on a converted children's bus.

Making a change in Pengegon

Increasing the Reporting of Crime

Similar to the model on the Halcon Estate, the first issue was to increase the level of crime being reported and to target the worst offenders. Arymar quickly learned that residents longed for a more visible police presence. She says:

“From 2004 to 2006 people were crying in public meetings saying ‘I hate this place, it's horrible.’ Police came in twos and only to respond to a crime. There was a lot of crime, particularly burglaries and arson. Most of it went unreported. The ***** Brothers were a two man crime wave. But now, the PCSO Andy Richards is here the whole time, and he plays football on Wednesdays with the residents. The kids will come and see Andy before a crime happens.”

Improving the visible presence of other authorities also had an impact:

“We got rid of arson by engaging the local fire brigade, Blackwatch. They will come and play football and are on first name terms with the local lads. The boys don’t set fires anymore because they are scared that Blackwatch will clip them round the ear or will stop playing football with them.”

Unfortunately, there are limits to Claire’s work, because unlike the One Team in Halcon, she is only working alongside one PCSO. She says there are large numbers of households she has never been into.

Improving Access to Services

Like Halcon, many Pengegon residents needed someone to help direct them to the appropriate services.

“We don’t have massive drug addiction problem,” Claire Arymar says. “We do see a lot of home drinking, poverty, weed smoking. Mainly poverty. Local groups are trying to get 2 year old funding to target the people here. They do qualify for 15 hours funding, but take up has been really low. Take up is always low. Parents don’t use children centres. They think they are lowest of the pile. They think that statutory services will take their kids away.”

Arymar also instituted a bi-monthly local newsletter, hand delivered to every letterbox. This was particularly important in an area where many people are suspicious of responding to knocks on the door and internet access is not prevalent. However, Arymar is quick to point out that low take-up is not entirely the fault of residents:

“The statutory agencies have been shocking. They don’t want to move out of their little silos because people are chaotic, swears, and don’t turn up. The workers at the agencies are the problem. They sit in meetings and say they want to work with the hard-to-reach, but they don’t want to get stuck in because it is messy. I haven’t seen a teenage pregnancy adviser, employment, non-smoking adviser in 5 years. They must be aware we have a drop-in surgery. Everything is so target-driven.”

While the One Team on the Halcon Estate meets three times a week, Arymar finds her partnership meetings are far less frequent. She has not been able to achieve the same level of agency buy-in as the One Team.

“I have a partnership meeting once a year, the church, MP. It was initially very successful, now fewer people turn up (as they’ve lost their jobs). I sit on the anti-social behaviour board monthly and the community safety partnership. With issues of child neglect, if I know the parent concerned, I would go and see them and say I’m going to report this. It’s all about relationships.”

Without a One Team-style network, Arymar herself acts as a champion for local residents, a bridge between them and the services they need. Her approach is both proactive and no-nonsense:

“If I don’t know the answer, I send an email. I am able to do something. Three quarters of the time people want someone to do something. Though we are really, really honest... If someone wants to build four dog kennels in their garden, we will tell them it is ridiculous. Always be honest.”

Improving Opportunities

“I keep on offering activities that they haven’t done before, go to the Eden project, I make sure that you do fruit kebabs because kids don’t know what a peach is,” Arymar says. “We have a fishing club which the EA funds and we have a fishing tackle library. There is a group of men who would normally fish illegally, now I take them in a minibus. They are taught how to fish properly. They are taught not to swear. Two local coaches are paid for by the EA. The outreach worker from Addaction has engaged. All this has been done through building relationships.”

Arymar also organises voluntary clean ups of the area in exchange for a free lunch.

Creating a sense of ownership

Evidence suggests that when communities are involved in designing their estates they have a greater stake in the area. Arymar worked with residents to design their own community centre in an initiative involving The Design Council, Cornwall Council and University College Falmouth. SEA Communications, one partner, worked with the people who lived on the Pengegon estate. Through text-message questionnaires, films, social media and by talking to people at events like the community Christmas party, the SEA team was able to involve the people of Pengegon in compiling a list of services they needed as a community. This included sports clubs, child care facilities and over-50s social groups. They held a design day where children made a model of the community centre out of cake. All these community activities informed the architects' brief.

Lessons from Pengegon

Some key themes emerge from Arymar's experience:

1. One committed individual can make a tremendous difference

Claire Arymar has been the catalyst for change in the area. Her commitment and dedication have enthused and engaged others, making Pengegon a better place to live. Local resident Brett Murphy says: "You've got to give Claire a lot of credit. She's the glue. She's made people realise they're not just neighbours, they don't just share a space but they have common interests. Everything seems more secure and happy."⁵ Yet while one individual is capable of creating great change, they need to be trusted by their superiors and given enough autonomy to act. Arymar says: "Cornwall council have not tried to rein me in – if my boss could hear me at times, he would squirm in his seat!"

5. <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2010/oct/27/spending-cuts-end-big-society-schemes>

2. Interventions must be locally-based and involve local people

Arymar is adamant that any neighbourhood hub must be physically located at the heart of the community; she insists residents will not travel, and that having a visible presence lets them know they have not been forgotten: “[You] could use an empty flat on the estate or a community room. The most important element is to be in the middle of the community you are serving.” The involvement of the local community is vital: the medium term objective should be for residents to take over the running of residents’ associations, clubs and activities themselves. Arymar feels this is the best way to ensure change is sustainable.

3. Interventions can be low cost

Arymar’s overall project costs are around £38k. In Camborne, the Neighbourhood Office run out of a small house provided free of charge by the housing association. A range of meetings are held there including the credit union drop-ins, councillor surgeries and apprenticeship courses. Arymar believes in creating sustainable continuity: once a Neighbourhood Manager (costing around £27k per annum) has established themselves in the community, they can select and train a local candidate to replace them. Employing this resident may even cost less. Arymar believes one full-time Neighbourhood Manager in Cornwall could run two deprived areas like Pengegon, which has 770 households.

Case Study 3:

A Job Fair At Stockwell Park Estate, London

“Nothing stops a bullet like a job.” – Motto of Homeboy Industries, an American gang intervention programme

This next case study takes a closer look at one specific intervention on a trouble-ridden estate: a job fair set up by a local police officer to give young men an alternative to gang crime. Like the other models in this report, it was also down to the initiative of one local individual.

Sergeant Jack Rowlands had been a police officer for over a decade. He policed the Stockwell Park Estate in Lambeth, which was notorious for gang crime, guns and drugs. The estate was most closely associated with The All ‘Bout Money (ABM) gang, who have been responsible for many violent crimes over the years. In 2011, Stockwell Park Estate gained further notoriety when five-year-old Thusha Kamaleswaran was shot and paralysed as she visited her uncle’s convenience store. She had been dancing in the aisles before being caught in the crossfire of a shoot-out between ABM and rival gang OC. Stockwell Park Estate is one of the bigger estates in Lambeth. It has around 1,700 homes and is run by Community Trust Housing, part of Network Housing Group.

“Get me a job, Sarge”

One resident gang member was a 19-year-old boy called Snipes. He hung out with other gang members and, when not involved in

criminality, made budget rap videos to post on YouTube. Sergeant Rowlands had frequently chased Snipes through the estate: Snipes would see Jack and sprint away, chucking drugs or weapons as he ran. Yet away from the streets, Snipes and Rowlands developed a different relationship.

“Every time I went to the community centre, Snipes and I could have a discussion because it was neutral ground,” Rowlands says. “Snipes was intelligent. When he talked about having to hustle, it was just a masquerade.”

Rowlands challenged Snipes about his life choices, and eventually the gang member said: “Get me a job, Sarge.” Other gang members Rowlands knew had also commented that they would not be involved in crime if they had jobs. “The money they were making from drug dealing was minimal. Most of them had only one set of clothes. They were not even registered with DWP or taking benefits.”

So Rowlands decided to organise a job fair. He had become interested in diversion after looking into the CIRV (Community Initiative to Reduce Violence) model in Scotland and doing research into the Wave Trust and Early Intervention. He was lucky to find an enthusiastic ally in Dean Weston, who worked at the Stockwell job centre. Jack liaised with Lambeth Council and other voluntary organisations. Women Like Us, a South London charity, deal with the higher-end employment opportunities for mothers. Citizens UK run the CitySafe havens, promote civic duty and provide training for how to become a community organiser. Also represented were businesses with a track record of employing people with criminal records, like Timpsons.

Gang members were identified and sent invitations to the first job fair, which took place in December 2012. It was held at the community centre in the heart of the estate. It attracted 180 young people – both gang members and unemployed youth from across the estate (though Rowlands had to personally visit Snipes’ flat and

tell him to get out of bed on the day of the event). Twenty-one recognised gang members turned up to the first job fair: 18 of them got jobs and have stayed in employment ever since. Snipes got a job at Westfield Shopping Centre. Now he is a manager. He talks differently. His whole outlook is different. “It makes me far prouder than if I had arrested him and put in him prison,” Rowlands says. “He is now embarrassed about his past.”

Four events have been held, each one bigger and better than the last. The next three Job Fairs were in February, May and October 2013. Gangs came from other parts of the borough as word of mouth spread. Attendance figures rose to 300. As a result of the job fairs, many young people – including 48 gang members – have found employment in catering, retail, and construction. Many are working on the Nine Elms development, a large regeneration project on the South Bank. Other ex-offenders found work as part of the regeneration of Lambeth, clearing sites, carrying hod, excavating lots.

“Four events have been held, each one bigger and better than the last.”

Sargent Rowlands formed a partnership with the Department for Work & Pensions. They have held another eight job fairs across London and there are plans to expand further. Rowlands offers support to other sergeants and inspectors that want to set up job fairs.

“The masquerade of a gang member is just a massive front,” Rowlands says. “The gang members were given the opportunity to take a job and 60% of them took it up. The others did not have any life skills, or could not embrace the idea of being a professional. We referred them to Spear, in Wandsworth, a training course for young people to develop their life skills, to get them into the mind-set of being employable.”

“Stop harassing them with opportunity”

There are of course still many challenges facing the estate. Two teenagers were charged with the murder of a 54-year old man, who

was attacked while using the computers in the community centre in December 2013. But the young residents who found work through the job fairs are not coming on the police radar now. Most remarkable of all, on gang maps for Lambeth, the Stockwell Park Estate is no longer noted as being an All 'Bout Money territory.

Rowlands knows how essential outreach work is, and that many young people still are not engaged. Some households, he admits, are very hard to reach. In one case, when he knocked on the door of one mother whose sons he was trying to help, she told him to “stop harassing them with opportunity.” He believes the police are still the best tool to use because of their in-depth local knowledge and their existing relationships with members of the community – a position supported by the One Team’s experience in Halcon. But Rowlands appreciates that gaining the trust of local people can take time:

“We faze them with the job fair. They can’t believe it. They think that it’s a conspiracy, that it is a trap.”

A proven model

The idea of using gainful employment as a gang crime prevention strategy is not novel. The model has met with significant success in the USA and is slowly spreading to other parts of the world.

Father Greg Boyle, a Jesuit priest, runs Homeboy Industries, the largest gang intervention project in America. The Los Angeles-based organisation’s motto is: ‘Nothing stops a bullet like a job.’ Homeboy Industries works with high-risk men and women. It provides these ex-gang members with a continuum of free services, including job readiness programmes; education; tattoo removal; mental health services; and domestic violence prevention schemes. The organisation operates seven social enterprises that serve as job-training sites.

Homeboy Industries employs hundreds of ex-inmates and former gang members, and offers courses and counselling to thousands more. They have spent time in Glasgow with the Violence Reduction Unit to set up a similar scheme in Scotland called Braveheart. Homeboy Industries argue that theirs is an invest-to-save approach: by keeping gang members out of jail and employing them the long-term savings are substantial.

Lessons from Stockwell Park Job Fair

When examining Stockwell Park Estate job fair, many of the themes that emerge bear a striking resemblance to the previous case studies.

1. The intervention was intelligence-led

Because the police had such good intelligence about – and relationships with – individual gang members, they were able to identify a clear problem and target their intervention accordingly, ensuring that it was taken up by those who needed it most (even, in Sargent Rowlands’ case, by turning up at the door of individual gang members and encouraging them to attend the fair). This was only possible because the police had build up a detailed intelligence on the area’s gang members and had committed to forging personal relationships with the troubled young men. However Rowlands highlights the need for more formalised, in-depth intelligence mapping of the area, like the Anacapa model used in the Halcon Estate:

“If every sergeant had that sort of intelligence map, which was a multi-agency document, that would be brilliant. What happens is people and agencies retain information. I’m not even allowed to know which sex offenders are living on my ward. It would be brilliant if they were all connected. It is useful to know if a child is subject of neglect. The trouble is once again one of silo-working, where agencies or even units do not share data. People need to let go of their empires, need to give it to ground level police sergeants.”

2. The intervention was cost-effective

Running the job fairs required very little expenditure. They were hosted in existing community facilities and made use of existing private sector, central government, local authority and third sector programmes. The key was pulling the various disparate strands of activity and presenting them in an accessible way to the local youth.

3. The intervention was locally-based

Many people on estates are loath to leave their immediate area. In the case of Stockwell Park's youngsters, this was not just because of 'postcode wars' and the fear of being stabbed. It was also because residents had no idea about the opportunities available beyond the estate and "lacked the social, emotional, life skills to be able to exploit them. It's unbelievable," Rowlands says. "I stopped an 18-year-old gang member once and told him that he lived two miles from the river Thames and the Houses of Parliament. He said he'd never seen the river Thames or the Houses of Parliament. I was so annoyed that I put him in my police car and drove him there and showed him the Houses of Parliament. He asked is that where the Prime Minister lives?"

The job fair was deliberately held at the very heart of the estate. Rowlands wanted to do something local, and residents were already familiar with the community centre.

"It takes away the intimidation of going into a DWP office, takes it to an area that they are familiar with. Even if you have a Job Centre Plus within 5 minutes, they don't go. It's cheap – I never had any funding for it. Met presence is very low key. I don't flood the area with cops as it looks like a trap."

Case Study 4: Jeely Piece Club Nursery, Castlemilk

“The Jeely Piece Club has been there 20 years. If we have got these things that work, why are we going back and researching it again? ... Knowing what I know about violence and criminality, places like the Jeely Piece Club will have saved lives.” – John Carnochan, Director of Glasgow’s Violence Reduction Unit

Like the Stockwell Park job fair, the following case study examines one specific intervention – in this case, the Jeely Piece Club Nursery in Castlemilk (an area in Glasgow rated as being in the top 15% of the most deprived communities in Scotland). At its heart, the Jeely (as it is known) is children’s centre catering to preschoolers. However, the nursery also provides an extensive offering to parents, ranging from addiction rehabilitation programmes to adult education, and has a variety of programmes for primary school children as well. It has served its local area for over two decades; its contribution to the community is sustainable and long-term, not least through the network of older children who attend the nursery. Known as “Jeely Weans”, the children grow up to become mentors and role models within the community.

The Jeely is an example of how ‘assets’ within a community can revive the area. It was founded by a small group of mothers

“The nursery also provides an extensive offering to parents, ranging from addiction rehabilitation programmes to adult education”

who applied for a grant to create a nursery. Maureen Douglas, one of the mothers, is one of the driving forces behind it. Karyn McCluskey, the Director of the Scottish Violence Reduction Unit said:

“What difference do assets make? Maureen is an asset. She is wonderful. I can’t tell you how much I like her. They had loads of gang fights. She looked at the problem. These women at that nursery deal with thousands of kids who come from the worst of backgrounds. They go out and challenge the gang members – don’t you be fighting here. They absolutely changed it. They call them the Jeely Weans now. They are 17 and 18. She is really measured, incredibly thoughtful. The difference that they have made in Castlemilk, which used to be a really tough area, is an absolute testament. She’ll make you smile. She loves kids. She believes in the dandelion children, who make it despite growing up in hostile environments. Despite the worst background they make you think that if you invest in them it will make a difference.”

There is compelling evidence that early child neglect, before the age of two, is the most powerful factor determining the risk of later development of aggression and violence.⁶ A poor start in life often leads to a disruptive time at primary school; to truancy and delinquency at secondary school; and a higher likelihood of a criminal record. When these neglected children have children of their own, the cycle repeats itself. The 2013 Policy Exchange report *Centres of Excellence?* highlights the importance of early intervention and shows how effective investment in children’s centres can be in preventing myriad problems down the line.⁷

The Jeely provides a high standard of early years education. It received top marks from Scotland’s Care Inspectorate and is recognised as a centre of excellence throughout the country. But the Jeely Piece Club goes far further than a typical Sure Start Centre.

6. Dr Philip Wilson talking at the Scottish Attachment in Action conference in Falkirk, (September 2010)

7. H Waldegrave *Centres of Excellence? The role of Children’s Centres in early intervention* Policy Exchange (September 2013), <http://www.policyexchange.org.uk/publications/category/item/centres-of-excellence-the-role-of-children-s-centres-in-early-intervention>

Supporting Children

Special Play Time

Special Play Time is aimed at children at risk, particularly those who suffer from attachment disorder. Special Play Time is an individual playtime during which a child receives the undivided attention of a staff member specially trained in play therapy techniques. These help the child to become more confident and build resilience.

A Key Worker for each child

Every child is assigned their own Key Worker, who is responsible for monitoring the child's progress and being the 'link person' for the child's parents. This creates a system of accountability and ensures no child slips through the cracks.

Play Rangers

The Jeely seeks to reclaim the outdoors for children, making it easier and safer for them to play in the natural environment. The Play Zone is located beside Castlemilk Park. Over the years the park had fallen into disrepair and become a no-go area due to litter, vandalism and underage drinking. The Jeely's Play Rangers provide supervised free play, often in areas parents would not previously have considered. The outdoor play project allows children to experience the outdoor play in a safe, supervised way. Children are encouraged to take risks, such as climbing trees and playing in the water, and sessions are held no matter what the weather – with waterproofs and wellies provided by the Jeely.

Supporting Parents

The Jeely takes a holistic approach that encompasses the whole family. Every parent has their own Development Plan put together by their child's Key Worker. It could be as simple as building confidence by attending a Parent's Group or learning to make play dough for their child, to more intensive support like the Positive Parenting Programme.

Triple P

The Positive Parenting Programme (or Triple P, as it is known) aims to give parents simple, practical strategies for managing children's behavior, preventing problems and building strong, healthy relationships. Sessions last two hours over a four week period. They consist of brief presentations, video clips and a handbook to support each parent at home. After week four, support is given by phone or in one-to-one meeting. Ongoing peer support is offered. Certificates recognise the parent's achievements on finishing the course.

Triple P aims to prevent and treat behavioural and emotional problems in children and teenagers. It is used in 25 countries and has been shown to work across cultures, socio-economic groups and in all kinds of family structures. No other parenting program in the world has an evidence base as extensive as that of Triple P. It is number one on the United Nations' ranking of parenting programs. The body of evidence comprises more than 250 published papers and includes eight meta-analyses, 68 randomised clinical trials, 51 effectiveness and service-based evaluations, and 13 single-case studies. Research findings show that in communities where Triple P is widely available children have fewer behavioural and emotional problems.⁸ Findings also show that Triple P increases parents' wellbeing and parenting skills while reducing their stress and use of harsh discipline.⁹

8. Sanders, M.R., Ralph, A., Sofronoff, K., Gardiner, P., Thompson, R., Dwyer, S., & Bidwell, K., 'Every Family: A population approach to reducing behavioral and emotional problems in children making the transition to school' *Journal of Primary Prevention*, 29, 197-222 (2008)

9. Nowak, C. & Heinrichs, N., 'A comprehensive meta-analysis of Triple P - Positive Parenting Program using hierarchical linear modeling: Effectiveness and moderating variables' *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, 11, 114-144 (2008)

Lessons from Jeely Piece Club Nursery

Lessons from the Jeely Piece Club Nursery echo some of the themes from the previous case studies examined in this report.

1. The nursery is situated at the heart of the community it serves

Like many of the interventions highlighted earlier in this document, the Jeely is physically based at the centre of the community it serves,

providing an easily accessible and visible service for residents. This also makes it easier and more cost-effective for outreach workers to visit parents in their own homes.

2. The nursery sprung up from within the community itself

The Jeely was set up by local mothers who aspired for something better for their community.

3. The nursery involves the whole community

The nursery's reach extends beyond its target group – preschoolers – and involves the community more broadly. Its alumni return to support the Jeely, creating a sustainable, community-driven virtuous circle.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This section examines the common themes that emerge from our case studies and puts forward proposals for how we can begin to transform Britain's blighted estates into safer, more livable communities.

8 Key Lessons

1. Crime reporting is fundamental.

Both in Halcon and in Pengogon, estate residents were reluctant to report crime – either because of fear of retaliation or disillusionment with the authorities. For both Detective Sargent Murphy and Claire Arymar, addressing this issue was their first priority. Both ensured a more visible, accessible police presence. Crucially, this was followed up with swift responses to reported incidents to give people confidence in the authorities and encourage further reporting. Murphy and Arymar argue that getting people to report crime is the first step in reclaiming estates.

“Getting people to report crime is the first step in reclaiming estates”

2. Leaders should be local.

Our case studies show that the dedication and effort of one individual can catalyse the recovery of an estate. Most of these individuals have lived in and around the area themselves, and have genuine, in-depth knowledge of the problems faced by residents. Whether it is a policeman or an inspirational Neighbourhood Manager, a local

leader who builds relationships with residents and promotes collaboration between agencies can be the recipe for success.

3. Interventions should be local.

Estate residents tend not to travel far and are often reluctant or unable to access services even a short distance away. All the interventions in this report were based at the very heart of the estates they served.

4. Local people should be part of the solution.

The interventions described in our case studies sought to make communities themselves into the agents of change. Leaders took residents' views as a starting point for creating appropriate interventions; they involved them in the delivery of those interventions; and they often sought to ultimately hand back as much of the running of the intervention as possible in order to embed the change and make it sustainable. The majority of an estate's residents are law-abiding people with aspirations for their future. Intimidation from a minority holds them back. The positive "assets" on the estate need to be mobilised.

5. Existing resources should be better deployed; new spending is not necessarily the answer.

None of the interventions in this report required large amounts of additional funding – indeed, many costs were met within existing budgets.

6. Interventions should be underpinned by good intelligence.

The interventions described in this report were effective because they targeted local need in a very precise way. This was only possible because of detailed intelligence about the situation on the ground. Where this intelligence was pooled, coordinated and maintained in a formal way, like in Halcon, the effects were even more impressive.

7. Agencies must work collaboratively.

A number of the individuals we interviewed for our case studies identified the 'silo' working processes of many agencies as a central obstacle to delivering change. Those who succeeded in breaking down silos and working collaboratively with other agencies achieved the best results.

8. Women must be supported.

Several of the case studies revealed the shocking ways in which women living on estates are often living in dangerous situations with abusive and violent partners. Domestic violence is endemic on many deprived estates, and several of those we interviewed emphasised that young people who are exposed to violence in the home will often grow up to commit violence themselves. Our case studies also highlighted how gangs use sexual violence against vulnerable women and girls. There is a clear need for better availability of and support for male perpetrator programmes; for better sex and relationships education; and for interventions to empower women in deprived areas through education and work. In addition, absentee fathers are far too commonplace. Fathers who refuse to face up to their responsibilities as parents need to be challenged comprehensively, and those who simply do not know how to take on these responsibilities need access to support and guidance.

Recommendations

A recurring theme in many of the interventions described in this report is 'local': local buy-in, local leaders, locally-based facilities, local intelligence, local action. It is clear that truly local approaches are delivering true change on the ground. But this does not mean there is no role for central government to play. The Government should:

- Recognise the scale of the problem and make a tangible commitment to addressing it; and

- Provide a framework for local action, drawn from existing best practice.

Recommendation 1: A pledge to turn around Britain's 'sink estates'

Transformation can be turbocharged by a direct, unequivocal commitment from the very top. We urge the government to make the following pledge:

The Government will turn around the nation's 'sink' social housing estates within the next decade.

Over the next decade, the Government should dedicate itself to transforming our most deprived social housing estates, improving the lives and opportunities of the people who live there. No child should grow up in a run-down, crime ridden council estate. It is time to clear up the most deprived estates in the country, and to meet this commitment we recommend that every 'sink' estate must be transformed through the introduction and empowerment of local Estate Recovery Teams.

Recommendation 2: Introduction of a National Estate Recovery Board

The Department for Communities and Local Government should introduce a permanent 'Estate Recovery Board', comprising of ministers and officials from all relevant government departments, including DCLG, the Department for Work and Pensions, the Home Office and the Department for Education as a minimum, and take national responsibility to:

- Co-ordinate the commitments of different government departments and bring together efforts tackling the deep-rooted problems on estates across the country;

- Pool funding from across government departments for allocation to local areas, exploring options such as the introduction of an Estate Recovery Fund. This will enable Police and Crime Commissioners and their local 'Estate Recovery Teams' to bid for the funding of local projects as part of their Estate Recovery Plans (see Recommendation 3);
- Work with Police and Crime Commissioners and local Estate Recovery Teams to identify local leaders who can take responsibility for driving progress forward;
- Share best practice about intervention and recovery programmes from across the country.
- The Estate Recovery Board should work in a similar fashion to – and in collaboration with – the Troubled Families team (also based in DCLG).

Recommendation 3: Introduce local Estate Recovery Teams to devise and implement Recovery Plans for individual estates

Estate Recovery Teams should be introduced by Police and Crime Commissioners, using their position to bring together all local representatives from across the relevant agencies, including Chief Constables, the local authority, headteachers from local schools, NHS Trust representatives, drug and alcohol workers and other individuals from agencies or voluntary organisations who can work with the residents on each estate. On an estate-by-estate basis, Estate Recovery Teams will devise a Recovery Plan to prioritise and tackle the deep-rooted problems on individual estates. Successes and failures should be shared to inform best practice.

Throughout the case studies in this report, a key issue has been the lack of multi-agencies working at the local level to improve estates. Estate Recovery Teams will bring together all local agencies to collaborate and work together, ensuring Recovery Plans are deliverable and delivered. By having dedicated local teams, this will also enable any approach to be place-based.

Police and Crime Commissioners are well placed to take responsibility for the introduction of Estate Recovery Teams, given their remit within the criminal justice system and wider community safety. Policy Exchange has previously proposed for PCCs to be given more power to set joined-up criminal justice and wider strategies, and this should be fully explored in relation to their work in the recovery of estates.¹⁰

Recovery Plans for individual Estates should:

- Identify and target the estates in any police force area where there is a serious problem;
- Engage the community to identify their precise concerns and what changes they believe would make a difference;
- Develop 5-year Action Plans that address the most prominent problems, ranging from gang crime, alcohol problems and drug dealing to unemployment, poor money management and a lack of education.

Three tools should be used to ensure Recovery Plans are successful:

1. **Community Mapping.** Recovery Teams should use the police intelligence mapping system Anacapa for an estate to establish a detailed picture of the estate's problems. This involves collecting intelligence, assessing its validity, challenging assumptions, integrating the data, and ultimately creating a dynamic, living document based on guidelines already established for combating organised crime. The mapping of an estate can safeguard against crime, domestic violence and children at risk. It can also operate as an indicator of performance against 5-year plan.
2. **The 'One Team' model.** Recovery Teams should follow the 'One Team' model of efficient, joined up partnership. They should convene regular meetings of frontline workers and increase referrals to key services in order to solve problems before they escalate.

10. M Chambers, R Davies and C McLeod *Power Down* Policy Exchange (2013)

- 3. A Crime Reduction strategy.** Recovery Plans should centre around a crime reduction strategy based on intelligence mapping. Teams should evict, arrest, remove or successfully reintegrate residents causing the most trouble.

Long-term recovery

Although Estate Recovery Plans will offer the opportunity to turn around social housing estates, we recognise that in some cases this may not be enough. In the long-term, where it is clear that an estate is beyond recovery, the government must commit to demolishing and replacing these estates. The replacement of high rise social housing must be the priority, given the strong evidence that tower blocks and multi-storey living leads to higher crime rates, weaker communities, and poorer health and education outcomes for residents.¹¹

Conclusion

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the case studies in this report is how effective a series of very small-scale, very simple, very inexpensive interventions proved to be. By being locally-minded, determined and creative, individuals were able to catalyse huge change. The authors hope these case studies will serve as examples to others of what can be achieved, and will encourage central government to prioritise communities that have been ignored for far too long.

11. N Boys Smith, A Morton
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