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Monitoring and Evaluation of the work of the King's Cross Partnership

Final Report

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1. Summary

1.1 Introduction

In December 1995, the Government Office for London (GoL) approved funding of £37.5m over a period of seven years to regenerate the King's Cross area by: promoting small businesses, fighting crime, improving the physical environment, encouraging the creation of jobs, improving public sector housing, improving education and training, and generally enhancing the quality of life in the area. In the Summer of 1999, the research team at the Bartlett School of Planning, University College London, was commissioned by the King's Cross Partnership (KCP) to undertake a four-year programme evaluating and monitoring the process of urban regeneration in the area. Two major studies, one with 327 households and the other with 207 businesses, were conducted from May 2000 to June 2001 with the purpose of establishing a mid-term baseline of the area. The research plan embodied in the original contract envisaged a second round of surveys which would track down the same respondents after a two year period. This second round of surveys, however, was cancelled by the King's Cross Partnership.

This report is intended to put our findings from the 2000/1 studies into the wider policy context as well as to make comparisons between King's Cross and other areas. The report is arranged around some of the major themes such as Demography, Housing, Education, Crime and the Local Economy which were the focus of the two studies.

1.2 Demography and Housing

Fuelled by births and migration, the population of King's Cross is growing, with growth concentrated within the minority ethnic groups rather than among white households. While the regional trend is one of increasing small households, demographic changes in King's Cross have resulted in the growth of large households and of overcrowding. The Partnership's housing objectives have dovetailed with the local authority housing agenda and this has made it relatively easy to realise some projects. The Partnership however, has had the challenge of promoting regeneration in a way that upgrades housing conditions for existing households and provides for new ones without displacing existing residents. While, in the absence of the second survey, it has not been possible for us to establish how much displacement is taking place, there is evidence of growing housing market pressure. We have also ascertained that recent and medium-term residents in King's Cross are likely to be young, more qualified, in better jobs and that they are more likely to be council or housing association tenants. What we do not know, however, is the household characteristics of those being replaced. Given the likelihood of growing gentrification pressures, institutional mechanisms would be needed to manage this process in a way that will promote that level of gentrification commensurate with the needs of the local economy but also protect existing households – 'balanced or managed gentrification'. Social housing will continue to be an important housing sector in King's Cross for the many low- and middle-income and vulnerable households presently housed by this sector and for their successors.

1.3 Crime

King's Cross is generally perceived by both residents and employers as a high crime area and as unsafe compared to other surrounding areas. The Partnership's approach to crime initially lacked any strategic thinking and there has been a strong focus on the core area thus causing displacement into the surrounding residential areas. As with housing, the Partnership's approach to crime has been complementary to those of the two local authorities. There are well established links between different crime categories in King's Cross (e.g. drugs, prostitution, violent crime, robbery) and efforts to fight one category (mainly drugs) have been expected to yield benefits by producing reductions in the occurrence of other crimes. The scale of drug crime is clearly much bigger than would be tackled by targeting resources at a small core area for a

limited period. Cascading yet inter-linked geographical levels of intervention are needed to fight drug crime which is so prevalent in King's Cross including, no doubt, policy changes at national level. In spite of the numerous initiatives there is an open acknowledgement (within Camden Council) that the war on drugs is being lost. Statistical evidence on changes in crime levels is contradictory and inconclusive. Locally produced data from the Partnership and Camden council cast a favourable light on changes in crime levels unlike statistics from the Metropolitan Police. Similarly residents were less positive than employers about changes in crime levels.

1.4 Education

The Partnership's strategic thinking on education was not well elaborated until year 4 of the SRB programme. King's Cross households showed greater satisfaction with the standard of nursery and primary education and less with secondary education. The perceived high quality of teaching staff was a strong factor in the positive rating of lower-level education. The analysis of Key Stage 2 and GCSE results in comparison with similar areas suggests that the schools in the Partnership area have made limited progress towards improving education standards in the area, at least on this measure.

1.5 Employment and the Local Economy

Our business survey revealed the importance of Small and Medium scale Enterprises in contributing to employment and economic activity in King's Cross, which is very different in this respect from the rest of Central London. We also found that local people accounted for the principal market of most businesses. Using measures of changes in turnover and labour force, we found a high level of positive economic change with businesses reporting increases in turnover and growth in labour force. Recently established small establishments in retail/wholesale and public services were more likely to be associated with growth. There was also evidence of stress in a significant proportion of businesses. Hotel and catering firms were just as likely to exhibit growth as stress, stress being most evident among manufacturing firms. On the other hand, there was evidence that potential growth in the 'other services' sector failed to materialise due to recruitment difficulties. We estimate that the Partnership's contribution to reducing unemployment levels has been limited in scope, size and duration.

2. Demographic trends

King's Cross Household Survey 2000 - Key demographic findings

Ethnicity

- Of the total sample of 796, forty-six percent were white people, making up 62% of households;
- Of the remainder, 44% were from ethnic minority groups making up 38% of households;
- The largest single ethnic minority group was the Bangladeshi who made up 17% of the sample or 9% of households; and
- In 10% of cases we had no information on ethnicity.

Age

- Seventy-five percent of the people in our sample were less than 50 years old and 21% were aged 50 and over.

Gender

- Forty-five percent of the people in our sample were male, 51% female and we had no information in 3% of cases.

Length of residence

- 27% recent arrivals (up to 2 years);
- 31% medium-term (3 to 9 years); and
- 42% long-term (more than 10 years)

Household structure

- The total number of sampled households was 327; and
- The most prevalent form of household was the one-person household which made up thirty-eight percent of the total .

2.1 Introduction

The population of King's Cross has been growing over the last 10 years, reflecting a similar trend in Camden and Islington and indeed across the whole London region. The King's Cross resident population has tended to become younger and there is evidence of a strong proportionate increase of the ethnic minority population. This kind of growth presents challenges in the provision of housing, health care, education, jobs etc.

2.2 Population

If the trend of the past decade continues, Camden and Islington, like the rest of Inner London, are likely to experience continuing growth in population (Table 2.1). Overall, Camden's population grew from 182,000 in 1991 to 203,000 in 2000, a 12% increase. On the other hand, Islington's population grew by 3% from 174,000 in 1991 to 178,000 in 2000 (ONS, 2002). Camden in particular has shown rapid growth in the past decade compared to Islington whose growth has been slower. Within this context, the population of four wards within which the King's Cross SRB falls grew by 9% from 1991 to 1998 according to the same ONS estimates.

Table 2.1 : Population changes

	1991	2000	Percentage change
King's Cross wards ¹	37,577	40,900 ²	+9
Camden	181,700	202,800	+12
Islington	173,500	178,200	+3
Inner London	2,408,000	2,627,800	+9

Sources : Office for National Statistics

Notes:

1. These are population estimates of 5 wards (King's Cross, Somers Town, Camden, Barnsbury and Thornhill) within which the SRB falls and does not coincide with the SRB boundary.
2. This is a mid 1998 estimate.

2.3 Age Structure

Consistent with the population trend of inner London in the past decade, there was a lower and decreasing concentration of older people (aged 60 years and above) in Camden and Islington as a whole compared to children and young people (aged 19 years and below). Detailed examination (Table 2.2) indicates variations between the age-structure of the population in King's Cross and that of the two boroughs. For example, in the year 2000, thirty percent of the population in King's Cross were below 20 years of age compared to 21% for the whole of Camden and 23% for the whole of Islington.

Table 2.2 : Population age-structure (percent)

	1991								2000							
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
King's Cross ¹	--	--	--	--	--	--	--		18	12	18	17	10	8	6	7
Camden	11	9	23	16	12	9	8	10	11	10	22	18	13	10	7	8
Islington	13	10	23	16	11	9	8	9	12	11	18	21	13	9	7	8
Inner London	13	10	24	16	11	9	8	9	13	11	19	21	13	9	6	8

Sources : Office for National Statistics and King's Cross Household Survey, 2000.

Notes:

1. Four percent of respondents did not specify their age in our household survey 2000

2.4 Ethnicity

At a Borough level, ethnic minorities have grown as a proportion of the population: from 18% to 26% in Camden and from 19% to 27% in Islington (1991-2000, ONS estimates), but the proportion in both boroughs remains lower than for the rest of Inner London. Compared to the general situation in the two boroughs, King's Cross showed a higher and growing representation of the ethnic minority population - growing two-fold from 27% of the King's Cross population in 1991 to about half in 2000.

Table 2.3 : Ethnic composition 1991-2000

	1991								2000							
	White	Black-Caribbean	Black-African	Black-other	Indian	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Others	White	Black-Caribbean	Black-African	Black-other	Indian	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Other
King's Cross ¹	73 ²	3	5	2	1	9	2	4	46	4	8	2	0	17	3	10
Camden	82	2	3	1	2	4	--	7	74	2	5	1	2	6	2	9
Islington	81	5	4	2	1	2	--	5	73	5	7	2	2	2	1	6
Inner London	74	7	4	2	3	3	--	6	67	7	7	3	3	4	1	8

Sources: Office for National Statistics; King's Cross Household Survey, 2000.

Notes to table 2.3:

1. King's Cross population estimates for 2000 are based on our sample survey of 327 households. We had no ethnicity information on 10% of our King's Cross Survey 2000 respondents and hence these do not appear in the table.
2. Includes 6% Irish

The 2000 ethnic minority population in King's Cross included a higher proportion of young adults (15-29 years) and middle aged (30-59 years) and a lower proportion of older people (60 years and over) than the white population. For example, thirty-five percent of the ethnic minority population were aged between 15-29 years compared with 31% of the white population, 55% were aged 30-59 years compared with 44% of the white population and only 10% were 60 years or over compared with 25% for the white population. The growth in the ethnic minority population in King's Cross in the last decade is therefore partly explained by this younger and more fertile age structure .

2.5 Household size

While the average household sizes across inner London, Camden and Islington have been on the decline in the past decade, those within King's Cross have defied the general trend and have been stable or on the rise (Table 2.4). The average household size in King's Cross was larger than the average of Camden and Islington and had risen slightly from 2.37 in 1991 to 2.43 in 2001.

Table 2.4 : Comparative changes in size of household by average number of people.

	1991	1999/2000 ¹
	Average household size	Average household size
King's Cross	2.37	2.43
Camden	2.08	2.09
Islington	2.22	2.14
London ²	2.39	2.17

Sources: DoE, 1995. Projections of Households in England to 2016; King's Cross Factsheet.

Notes:

1. King's Cross estimate based on our survey of 327 households done in 2000. All others are 1999 estimates from Regional Trends, 2001.
2. 1991 estimate is for Greater London and that for 1999 is inner London

The change in average household size in King's Cross is largely attributable to the fall in the proportion of small households (one or two persons) and an increase in the proportion of large households (five or more persons). For instance, Table 2.5 shows that the proportion of households with one person fell by 3% between 1991 and 2001 while those with two persons fell by 2% during the same period. On the other hand, there was a corresponding increase in the proportion of large households with 5-person households increasing by 3% and those with more than 5 persons increasing by 2%. This said, small households still predominate in the total number of households in King's Cross as they do in Camden, Islington and inner London. If national trends come to prevail, we might well begin to see a rise in the number of small households reflecting an ageing population, a trend towards later marriage and high divorce levels.

Table 2.5 : Percentage of households by number of persons

	1991						1999/2000 ¹					
	1	2	3	4	5	>5	1	2	3	4	5	>5
King's Cross	41	27	13	9	4	3	38	25	14	10	7	5
Camden	45	29	12	8	3	2	44	--	--	--	--	--
Islington	39	30	14	10	4	2	39	--	--	--	--	--
Inner London	38	30	14	10	4	3	39	--	--	--	--	--

Sources: OPCS 1991 Census, Local Base Statistics, table 57; King's Cross Facts; King's Cross Household Survey, 2000; Regional Trends, 2001.

Notes:

1. Camden, Islington and inner London figures are 1999 estimates from Regional Trends, 2001.

2.6 Conclusionss

This analysis of socio-demographic change identifies the demographic influences in the regeneration of King's Cross. The current population trend indicates continued population growth in King's Cross. One of the components responsible for this growth is the concentration of a young and highly fertile population group. This suggests an increasing concentration of young children especially among ethnic minority groups who make up a higher proportion of the young population than the white population. While the general social trend in household structure is of increasing single person households, King's cross shows a decreasing tendency in the proportion of small households and an increasing trend in large households.

Understanding the nature of these demographic trends is important for the success of regeneration programmes. The nature of inner city problems and issues with which regeneration has to deal are often inter-linked with demographic factors. For example, as well as change in size of and rates of household formation for the existing King's Cross population, future demand for social services will also be affected by migration.

3. Housing

King's Cross Household Survey 2000 - Key housing findings

Dwelling types and tenure

- The predominant dwelling is the purpose built flat accounting for 70% of all housing units in King's Cross;
- 46% of all housing units were council rented while 27% were rented from housing associations and 8% from private landlords; and
- 14% of housing units were owner-occupied

Right-to-buy

- Of the owner-occupiers, 63% were in the process of buying or had bought their units from the council under the right-to-buy compared to only 2% through housing associations; and
- a further 28% had bought or were buying privately, i.e. on the open market

Crowding

- The average number of persons per room was 0.7
- 46% of Bangladeshi households had an occupancy ratio of more than 1.49 persons per room compared to 14% for Black and 2% for white households.

Multiple occupancy

- 8% of households shared either a bath, shower or toilet with another household.

Intentions to move or stay

- 30% of households had plans to move;
- Of those planning to move, 47% wanted to move to rented units while 44% wanted to buy their own;
- 56% of those with intentions to move preferred to move within King's Cross compared to 44% who wanted to go elsewhere; and
- the most common reason given by those wanting to move out of King's Cross was the poor environmental conditions.

Perceived change in housing conditions 1996-2000

- 32% reported these had got better
- 16% reported these had got worse
- 41% claimed these had remained the same

3.1 Introduction

The King's Cross Partnership has no formal powers or responsibilities as a housing authority – those powers remain with the councils of Camden and Islington, as do planning powers.

Although lacking formal housing powers, improving housing conditions has been an important objective for the Partnership whose original funding allocation at 17.5% of SRB funds was only surpassed by the funding for economic regeneration activities.

The Partnership's strategic thinking has been to strengthen local communities so as to enable them access the benefits and opportunities created by the anticipated economic regeneration. Improvements in housing stock and diversification of tenure were identified as being crucial to securing regeneration benefits within the area.

3.2 Housing outcomes

The Partnership's objective relating to housing states:

Improve housing and housing conditions for local people through physical improvement, better maintenance, improved management and greater choice and diversity (King's Cross Partnership, Strategic Objective 4).

The Partnership has supported a number of housing projects e.g. the successful transfer of council housing to registered social landlords thus allowing for redevelopment/improvement, security improvements and environmental enhancements. The Partnership's housing programmes have largely been complementary to the main programme of improvements funded through the Estates Renewal Challenge Fund (ERCF).

Widening tenure

As a result of stock transfers and the creation of a number of Tenant Management Organisations, the aim of widening tenure and tenant participation in housing management have been achieved. These changes, however, have essentially been Local Authority initiatives implementing the policy of successive national governments. Faced with huge repair bills, local authorities have been very keen to transfer their housing stock to housing associations because the latter can borrow on the open market to fund repairs, using projected rental income as collateral while the local Housing Authorities have not been permitted to do so..

A notable change in tenure in King's Cross between 1991 and 2000 is the significant drop in the level of council rented units from 61% in 1991 to 46% in 2000 (Table 3.1). This can be explained by the transfer in 2000 of 11 housing estates to the Peabody and Newlon Housing Trusts and that of Naish Court to The Guinness Trust by Islington council thus boosting the level of housing association units from 14% in 1991 to 27% in 2000. To the extent that this stock transfer has helped to keep the housing units in the social sector it is a welcome move although it still falls short of compensating for the loss of council housing through the right-to-buy. There is always the danger however that, as housing associations move to market rents and the rent subsidy is allowed to erode, their housing will be less affordable to those on low incomes.

The comparative situation (Table 3.1) demonstrates considerable differences in tenure between King's Cross and the overall situation in the rest of the two boroughs. King's Cross has lower than average levels of owner occupation and privately rented units, and higher levels in the social sector (council and housing association) than the average across each of the two boroughs. The lower levels of private housing in King's Cross compared to social housing reflect the nature of the housing stock as well as the effect of income levels on right-to-buy take up.

Table 3.1 : Percentage of households, 1991 and 2000/01

	1991				2000/01			
	King's Cross	Camden	Islington	Inner London	King's Cross ¹	Camden	Islington	Greater London
Owner occupied	16	34	27	39	14	27	36	56
Council rented	61	34	48	34	46	29	37	17
Housing association rented	14	9	11	9	27	10	13	9
Private rented	10	24	14	18	8	33	14	18
Others	--	--	--		5	1	1	0
Total %	101	101	100	98	100	100	101	100

Sources : OPCS 1991 Census, Local Base Statistics, table 23; King's Cross Household Survey, 2000; GLA estimates

Notes:

1. This column is based on our survey of households, 2000.

Housing Conditions

Evidence from our household survey revealed a stable proportion of under-occupied units (occupancy ratio < 0.5) within which occupancy ratios had not changed between 1991 and 2000. This was largely among the long-term-resident white households. On the other hand, there was growing overcrowding especially among medium-term and the more recent arrivals among the ethnic minority groups. Within this group, households with occupancy ratios of more than 1 person per room had risen from 9% in 1991 to 27% in 2000. The problem of crowding was more acute within the housing association sector, followed by the council rented units. Further evidence of housing stress came from the level of multi-occupancy. Eight percent of mostly recent arrivals shared a bath, shower or toilet with another household.

Perceptions of change in housing conditions between 1996-2000 closely mirrored the housing experience of households. Overall, a higher proportion said that conditions had improved compared to those that thought they had got worse. But, the highest proportion was those that said that conditions had remained the same.

Households experiencing housing stress were invariably more negative in their views. There was a great variation in perception within the private rental sector - which had the highest proportion reporting improvements but also the highest reporting worsening conditions. This reflects the existence of poorly maintained private property alongside similar property in a prime state of repair.

On the whole, unless the whole regeneration process is well managed, we envisage an increasing polarisation in the housing conditions between affluent owners occupiers and private renters in well maintained units and poor owner occupiers, private and social renters in poorly maintained units.

3.3 Housing challenges

If the aim were simply to enlarge and improve the housing stock, the challenge would be a simple one since market forces alone would probably bring this about. The challenge is a demanding one because of the need to upgrade conditions for existing people, provide capacity for new people without displacing low- and middle-income residents. The aim should be to ensure a successful mix of development (private and social housing under various management structures

and tenure mixed with commercial sites) so that the benefits of regeneration are not lost due to people being priced out of the area. Widening tenure, establishment of tenant-led management structures and upgrading conditions for existing people and providing capacity for new entrants have huge resource implications and also raise issues about the cost and quality of local services.

The housing challenges in King's Cross can be linked to two processes. Through the process of residualisation¹, social housing units are likely to be occupied by poor and vulnerable people who have limited or no access to other forms of tenure. The other process, of gentrification², is both seen as a blessing and a curse for deprived areas. A blessing - because of the resources it can bring into a deprived area. A curse - because of the social polarisation or displacement it can cause. We now proceed to examine the evidence as to whether or not any of these processes are at work in King's Cross.

3.3.1 Residualisation

Age and housing tenure

Table 3.2 shows that while older people (60 years and above) were more likely to be council tenants (as opposed to any other tenure), they constituted only 24% of the entire council tenant population. The middle aged (30-59 years) dominated the following tenures: owners (57%), council (50%) and housing association (58%). Private renting was dominated by young adults (15-29 years) who made up 74% of the private tenant population.

Table 3.2: Age structure and housing tenure (percentage of adult population)

	Owners	Council	Housing Assn.	Private Rent
Young adults (15-29 years)	25	26	25	74
Middle aged (30-59 years)	57	50	58	20
Older (60 years and above)	18	24	18	6
Total	100	100	101	100

Sources: King's Cross Household Survey, 2000

Children and housing tenure

Table 3.3 shows the distribution of children in each tenure group. Council housing provided homes to the highest number of children (53%) followed by housing associations at 37%. Relatively few children lived in the owner occupied sector and none in private renting.

Table 3.3 : Percentage of children aged 16 years and under by tenure group

Owners	Council	Housing Assn.	Private Rent	Others
6	53	37	0	4

Sources: King's Cross Household Survey, 2000

Further evidence from our household survey 2000 suggests the following:

¹The process whereby the social rented sector houses only the most severely deprived groups in the population.

² Comes from the word 'gentry' meaning persons of high birth or social standing and is defined as a process by which middle-class people take up residence in a traditionally working-class area, changing the character of the area (The Collins English Dictionary). Interestingly, the concept was created by sociologist Ruth Glass, working in Flaxman Terrace, King's Cross. A wider view would also include the wholesale redevelopment of derelict, former industrial sites into areas of luxury housing.

Tenure and ethnicity

Ethnic minority households were more likely to be public sector tenants with up to 95% of Black and 90% of Bangladeshi households citing the local authority or housing association as their landlord compared to 60% of white households. Black and Bangladeshi made up 49% of the council and 34% of the housing association population while white people made up 38% of council and 50% of housing association population.

Tenure and Disability

Poor health was most prevalent among council tenants followed by housing association tenants. By comparison, owner occupiers and private renters enjoyed better health.

Tenure and qualifications

Our household survey revealed that council and housing association tenants were more likely to be poorly educated with no or poor GCSEs compared to their counterparts in owner occupation and private renters. Both data series (1997/2000) in Table 3.4 reveal a higher proportion of lowly qualified King's Cross residents (No qualifications or qualified up to GCSE) rather than highly qualified people (A level and higher). The range between the proportion of highly and lowly qualified was higher for 1997 - which is a very narrow data set focusing on King's Cross ward only – and much lower for 2000 which is a broader data set covering the whole SRB area.

Table 3.4 : Highest qualification 1997 and 2000 (percent)

	1997				2000			
	King's Cross ¹	Rest of Camden	Rest of Islington	Inner London	King's Cross ²	Rest of Camden	Rest of Islington	Inner London
None	53	46	47	--	32	--	--	--
GCSE	45	48	48	--	21	--	--	--
A level	12	20	18	--	16	--	--	--
Degree	9	13	12	--	18	--	--	--
Higher Degree	2	4	3	--	13	--	--	--
Total ³ %	121	131	128	--	100	--	--	--

Sources: Camden Skills Survey, 1997; King's Cross Household Survey, 2000

Notes:

1. Based on King's Cross ward only. Differences in areal extent between 1997 and 2000 make comparisons difficult.
2. Based on the King's Cross SRB area.
3. Totals for 1997 exceed 100%, possibly as a result of double counting caused by respondents having more than one of the stated qualifications. Data for 2000 refer to the highest qualification only and there is therefore no double counting.

Tenure and unemployment

Claimant count data (Table 3.5) suggests that the rate of unemployment in King's Cross had fallen much faster between 1991 and 2000 than in the two boroughs but was still higher than the average in either borough or in inner London. Our findings revealed that the proportion who would be classified by the International Labour Organisation as unemployed was highest for council tenants, followed by housing association tenants than for owner occupiers and private renters.

Table 3.5: Unemployed Claimant Count 1991 and 2000 (Percent)

	King's Cross	Camden	Islington	Inner London
1991	23 ¹	13	12	--
2000	10 ²	6	8	7
% change	-13%	-7%	-4%	--

Sources: GLA and ONS Claimant count for December 2000 as compiled by London Borough of Camden, Environment Department; 1991 Census Key Statistics as compiled by London Borough of Islington, Information section.

Notes:

1. This is the average for the SRB area
2. Relates to 3 Camden wards (King's Cross, Somers town and Camden) which in part or whole make up part of the SRB area.

Tenure and income

Our household survey established that the average annual income in King's Cross was about £21,000. The overall proportion of households on relatively low incomes – i.e. households whose gross income was less than 50% of the average income for the area – was estimated as 52%. By tenure, 70% of council tenants and 47% of housing association tenants had low incomes, compared to 34% of owner occupiers and 18% of private renters. Weekly household incomes varied from £60 to £4000 revealing a high range in household incomes. Of all households with children, 54% were low-income households. Examined at ward level (Table 3.7), the smoothing effect of ward level data is evident. In 1999 (a year earlier than our survey), the proportion of households on low-income was estimated at 26% (average for 3 Camden Wards) compared to our 52% in 2000. But even at this ward level, King's Cross wards exhibited higher levels of low-income households than the average for the borough of Camden.

Table 3.7 : Household income, 1999 (percentage of households earning less than...)

	Less than £5,000	Less than £10,000	Less than £15,000	Less than £20,000
King's Cross ¹	11	26	42	57
Camden	8	19	32	45

Source: CACI

Note: Based on 3 Camden wards (King's Cross, Somers town and Camden) which in part or whole make up part of the SRB area.

In summary, evidence from the following measures—children in household, ethnic group, disabled persons in household, highest qualifications, unemployment, and income level suggests a concentration of vulnerable households in the social housing sector thus pointing to residualisation in this sector. The operation of the needs-based allocation system and/or the operation of the right-to-buy and possibly cultural self-ascription/community identity might have led to the concentration of vulnerable households in the social housing sector in King's Cross. Through the right-to-buy, much of the more desirable housing in good neighbourhoods could have been sold to well off tenants leaving mostly poor tenants in less desirable units and neighbourhoods.

The incidence of residualisation in the social housing sector is seen by some as a success in targeting public resources to those who most need them. Others have however counter-argued that this has the potential to further worsen the deprivation of those in the worst housing and to undermine the quality of public services due to lower expectations or the lack of political and economic clout among poor households (LRC, 1992).

3.3.2 Gentrification

It is possible that the incidence of residualisation is to some extent being counteracted by gentrification. Using measures of age structure, educational qualifications, occupational status and income, evidence suggests that recent (up to 2 years) and medium-term (3-9 years)

residents in King's Cross were more likely to be young adults (15-29 years old) or middle aged (30-59 years old) rather than over 60 years old. In addition, the proportion of better qualified persons (A level and higher) among recent and medium-term residents was higher than that of those who had poor qualifications (GCSE and lower). It was also observed that there was a higher proportion of better paid and high occupational status persons among recent and medium-term residents than that of those in lowly paid and low occupation status. What is evident therefore is a process in which young, professional, affluent and childless persons have been moving into the area, living alongside (often in the same estates and blocks as) the poorer social housing tenants.. It could be argued that being in close proximity to the university some of these are students - here for 1 to 3 years and thereafter moving on. While this might well be the case, if the effect of their presence is to push house rents up, then their presence can still be considered as generating some gentrification pressure.

But gentrification is all about displacement. To what extent is this taking place in King's Cross? Our original research design of tracking the same households two years later would have given us some information about this process. At this stage all we can say is that most of these recent and medium-term residents are coming into council or housing association units and we have no way of telling the characteristics of those people being displaced. To the extent that displacement is taking place, we would expect this to be happening within the housing association units, owner-occupied and private rental but less so in council housing because of stringent allocation procedures. However the council flats which change hands under the Right to Buy, and are subsequently re-sold or rented out, must be the primary source of population change.

The regeneration of King's Cross presents challenges in the housing field, not least, how it manages to regenerate without displacing established residential communities. There is evidence that as the redevelopment of King's Cross has got under way, so has housing market pressure and property speculation. A local resident expected regeneration to push up prices by 25-50% by 2005 (Sunday Times – Homes, 23 September, 2001). Local agents are reporting buoyant local markets for flats to rent. According to Mark Redfern of nearby Primrose Hill:

When you consider the plans for the place, and its closeness to the city, King's Cross is a fantastic place to buy new property at the moment. I'm looking for flats and houses there to put on my books, and if I had any money myself I'd buy a flat there, rent it out, and sit on it for five years(Daily Telegraph, 12 January, 2002).

Local estate agents APS Estates reported that the average price of a two-bedroom flat had jumped from £80,000 in 1997 to £250,000 in 2002 (Evening Standard, Homes and Property; February 20, 2002). King's Cross Partnership similarly observed that whereas a decent two-bedroom flat here would have cost about £80,000 in 1996, the going rate today is more like £240,000 (Daily Telegraph, 12 January, 2002).

Austin Daniels - another local estate agent - had on their portfolio in 2002, a Victorian three-bedroom terrace house in Somers Town (NW1) costing £450,000; a one-bedroom basement flat in Caledonian Road (N1) with a shared garden costing £115,000.

Some of this gentrification pressure has been taking place via the right-to-buy as revealed by our survey. When former council housing is subsequently sold on, it is likely to be sold at a market price as was the case with this property advertised by Banbury Ball : a two-bedroom fourth floor flat in a council estate in Birkenhead St (WC1) £202,500 (Daily Telegraph, 12 January, 2002). Loft apartments - costing more than £1m - on the serene canal bank stand in stark contrast to the grotty industrial landscape across York Way and seem a world away from activities around the station and stand in sharp relief against the deprived council estates. Rising house prices in King's Cross are also indicative of the general regional trend. According to the Halifax, the average price of a home in London is now 6.75 times the annual average salary of a London

teacher compared with 4 times higher ten years ago. This has serious implications for retaining teachers and other public service workers especially if you consider that traditionally, mortgage lenders will lend only 3.25 times an applicant's salary (Metro, Monday July 15, 2002).

We have established that recent and medium-term residents in King's Cross are likely to be young, more qualified, in better jobs and hence more affluent and that these are more likely to be council or housing association tenants. We have also discussed the booming residential property market. What we have here is the combined effects of a number of processes—differential outmigration, local labour market demands, housing shortages, and property speculation (Boddy et al. 1995)—which produce the same sort of effects as simple gentrification, replacing poorer with richer people in part of the housing stock.

3.4 Conclusions

The residualisation evidenced in the social housing sector has several significant implications. Concentrations in social housing of severely deprived households has the potential to undermine the success of tenant-led management structures due to the limiting effect in the exercise of tenant rights and the limited potential for involvement in these management structures. For local authorities and housing associations, there is the already observed increase in management costs related to processing housing benefit claims, rent recovery costs due to high arrears on the other, and high repair costs as a result of more intensive use of properties (DoE, 1992). Finally there is the potential that residualisation can undermine regeneration efforts aimed at building strong, prosperous, inclusive and sustainable neighbourhoods.

Housing pressure in King's Cross is certain to increase in the coming years as existing homeless, crowded and as newly arriving/forming households compete for a more-or-less limited supply of dwellings. With the opening of the new British library, the redevelopment of P&O blocks, the certainty of an international station arriving at St Pancras, to be followed by the redevelopment of the railway lands, blight and uncertainty is already being lifted. In the meantime however, due to the nature of the heavy construction work, the area has already begun to suffer severe disruption and is expected to do so for the next 15 years. All these developments seem to suggest that continuing gentrification pressures at King's Cross may be inevitable – indeed others would even argue that this is desirable for an area which has been blighted for so long and needs an injection of investment. As well as what is happening locally, government macro-economic policy and the overall performance of the economy for example, the current thriving residential property and labour market, are likely to influence the right-to-buy take up and further fuel overall levels of gentrification in King's Cross.

Given the very strong pressures for gentrification, we see the future of King's Cross in a 'balanced or managed gentrification', by which we mean the promotion of that level of gentrification which will help boost the local tax base and economy but also protect the traditional working class populace in order to ensure a socially just and balanced community. A very high proportion of King's Cross residents do not have sufficient regular income to become homeowners or private renters. This means that social housing (mainly council) will continue to be an important housing sector for white and (especially) ethnic minority families on middle and low incomes or no incomes, lone parents and old age pensioners. As regeneration takes hold, these households come up against restricted housing choices in the face of a limited and diminishing council stock, rising rents within the private rental and housing association sectors and the owner-occupier sector still beyond their reach. A key policy concern, shared by the Boroughs and by the Mayor (2002) is to ensure the growth of affordable housing.

As well as being home to a settled community, King's Cross is also distinctive for its rapidly changing population. This means a rapid turnover of people through King's Cross housing and

thus likely to induce volatility and unpredictability in the housing market and a greater diversity in housing demand.

The existence within the private rental sector of poorly maintained housing units raises policy issues about the adequacy of regulation of private landlords, some of whom are also owner-occupiers. As national policy forces housing associations and local Housing Authorities to move towards market rents and the rent subsidy is allowed to erode due to grant reductions their housing will be less affordable to those on low incomes and dependence on housing benefit support will become even heavier than it is now. This reinforces the benefit trap for those with low potential earning power. Middle-income groups who may not be poor enough to claim housing benefit but at the same time not rich enough to afford market rentals or buy their own property are caught in another kind of trap, which many can only escape by moving to lower-cost areas.

Overcrowding in a section of the community has been getting worse in the last decade alongside under-occupied units in another. The need is clustered around 2-5 bedroom family dwellings. Long waiting lists, loss of council stock through the right-to-buy with no corresponding replacement have contributed to this situation. Unless councils rehouse under-occupying households through periodic reviews, and the right-to-buy is suspended, the housing situation is likely to get worse. (The alternative modification of the right-to-buy, of permitting councils to use their capital receipts to build replacement units, would be of no help in this part of London because there are effectively no sites on which to build.)

At a regional scale, the Draft London Plan identifies transport nodes and brownfield sites as a focus for future residential development. This is significant at King's Cross which is both a transport node and has vast expanse of brownfield railway lands. King's Cross will therefore be expected to make a contribution to increasing London's housing stock as part of the regional agenda. But this should be done in a way which also protects and enhances the position of existing households in the area as is acknowledged by the Draft London Plan.

4. Crime and Security

King's Cross Household and Employers' Survey 2000/01 - Key crime and security findings

Feelings about crime and safety of the area

- A higher proportion of households and employers thought that crime was a serious problem in the area and this made the area feel unsafe; and
- both households and employers compared the safety of the area less favourably with that of surrounding areas.

Feelings about crime and safety of home/housing estate

- The feeling of safety in and around the house/estate was much more positive compared to that of the whole area in general.

Perception of change in safety 1996-2000

- 24% of households thought that the area had got safer compared to 31% who said that the area had got less safe; and
- 33% of employers thought that the area had got safer compared to 23% who said that the area had got less safe.

Crime and behaviour

- 39% of all respondents did not go out alone at night. The most cited reason for not going out was the feeling of insecurity;
- mostly for reasons of ill-health, 3% of respondents did not go out alone during the day.

Experience of crime and change 1996-2000

- 51% of all households had some experience of crime. Except for burglary, there was an increase in the proportion of households experiencing crime in the 4 years between 1996-2000
- Employers were most likely to be victims of burglary, theft by clients and violent crime.

Crime prevention measures

- The following measures were identified by employers as crucial to improving safety in the area – in order of declining popularity : increased police presence, CCTV, quicker police response and better street lighting.

4.1 Introduction

Through the implementation of the sixth strategic objective – *tackle crime and improve community safety* - the Partnership's target outcomes have been:

to reduce people's anxiety about crime to the borough average; and

to reduce key crime categories to the inner London average.

In pursuit of the above outcomes, a number of projects have been undertaken:

- contribution towards the installation of a comprehensive CCTV system;
- women's self-defence, assertiveness and risk assessment courses;
- young people's drug education scheme;
- referral scheme for sex workers; and
- support for witnesses and victims of race crime.

A 1994 MORI survey in Camden highlighted high levels of anxiety about crime in King's Cross compared to the whole borough resulting in fewer people going out at night. At the borough level and since 1994, Camden have developed an extensive inter-agency partnership to tackle crime

and disorder and increase safety throughout the borough. In 2002, Camden published its second Community Safety Strategy (the first was published in 1996) with the following priorities for action for the period 2002-2005:

- youth crime and disorder;
- anti-social behaviour;
- drug related crime;
- burglary;
- hate crime including racist crime;
- domestic violence and homophobic crime; and
- business crime

The multi-agency approach to tackling crime was eventually formalised nationally in the Crime and Disorder Act of 1998. Islington has also developed a similar approach and developed its own strategic priorities in tackling crime.

As in housing, the Partnership's crime strategy complements that of the two local authorities. While this makes it easy for inter-agency delivery of the programme, it makes our job of trying to disentangle and evaluate that aspect of outcomes which could be attributed to the Partnership very difficult. In attempting to understand crime changes and attitudes in King's Cross we have relied on a number of different secondary sources but also on our comprehensive household and business surveys. The immediate problem this presents is the lack of direct comparisons between different sources resulting from differences in:

- (i) The definition of crime - Home Office crime counting rules changed from 1 April 1998. With the inclusion of common assault as a notifiable³ offence, we would expect an increase in violence against the person offences. While the downgrading of cannabis will have a moderating effect on total drug crime figures, this will be against a change in 1998 which allowed for possession of drugs to become a notifiable offence.
- (ii) Different measurement approaches - some studies simply give the relative rates of the level or prevalence different crimes as a proportion of total crime others use rate of incidence per population.
- (iii) Lack of common geographical boundaries used by different sources (e.g. the SRB boundary does not coincide with either Ward or Police beat boundaries).

In addition to a number of ad-hoc crime studies undertaken before 1998, each of the two boroughs undertook and published crime audits covering the period 1998–2001. These audits provide the most comprehensive borough-wide studies on crime. Chronologically arranged, this section discusses as far as practicable comparative changes in perceptions about crime, changes in household behaviour and business plans, and changes in actual levels/rates of crime.

4.2 Explaining crime perceptions

Crime statistics do not give a measure of the level of crime-induced anxiety in a population in a way people's perceptions about crime and their behaviour does.

Our detailed King's Cross household Survey (2000) established a clear distinction between people's perception of safety of the general area and that related to their own housing estate or home. Overall, about half of the population in King's Cross (compared to 40% in 1994) were positive about the safety of the area and approximately two-thirds felt positive about the security of their own home or housing estate. Typical of the attitude 'you can't believe it can happen to you', there was a strong tendency within the population to think that other people were more at risk than themselves. For instance, while only 52% thought that others felt safe in their homes at night, 77% felt themselves safe in their homes at night. This anomaly might in part be explained

³ The Home Office only requires certain criminal offences to be reported to them for statistical purposes. These are known as notifiable offences. On 1st April 1998 the rules changed so that more offences are now included in the statistics.

by the widespread media coverage of crime leading to an overestimation of risk faced by other households. Comparative data shows that King's Cross is not that different from Central Stepney (another area subject to regeneration) as far as home/housing estate safety perceptions are concerned except that King's Cross is perceived as a less safe area generally than Central Stepney. The comparison with Camden as a whole throws into sharp relief the differences in home safety perceptions.

Table 4.1 : Resident perceptions¹ (percent)

	King's Cross SRB	Central Stepney SRB	Camden
	2000		1999
Satisfaction with area security	50	70	--
Satisfaction with home security	50/80 ²	70	90
Satisfaction with estate/block security	70	70	--

Sources : King's Cross Household Survey, 2000; Ambrose, 2000 and LBC, 1999.

Notes:

1. These proportions are overall averages from a range of questions relating to perceptions on safety in the home around the home/estate and in the general area.
2. Fifty percent thought that others felt safe in their homes and 80% said that they themselves felt safe in their homes.

Without any form of prompting, 53% of businesses cited crime as a serious problem. But when prompted to state how much crime was a problem, the proportion citing crime as a serious problem rose to 76% - there could be an element of bias included in this due to the use of prompting. There are a number of factors which influence people's perception of safety which might help to explain the lower safety rating of the King's Cross area.

4.2.1 Demographic and Social factors

Gender, age-structure, community feeling etc are some of the aspects which can affect the perception of safety in an area. These links are often not simple or straight forward.

Gender mix

Gender is one factor strongly associated with the fear of crime. The proportion of women reporting feeling safe or in agreement with positive safety statements about King's Cross was consistently lower. These differences in perception were particularly significant for questions which referred to the feeling of safety at night whether this was at home or outside their own homes. For example, except for certain streets in the area, a higher proportion of women felt safe outside their home during the day than did alone at home after dark. For this reason, the partnership's women's self-defence, assertiveness and risk assessment courses were an appropriate programme.

Age-structure

The general assumption that older people would be more fearful of crime was not strongly borne out in King's Cross. While a lower proportion of older people felt satisfied about safety issues in King's Cross the differences between age groups were not significant.

Sense of community

When King's Cross was compared with surrounding areas, people valued their familiarity with the people and the area as sources of security. When the area was compared with itself over a period of time, households, still valued the community sense but tended to rely more on public measures such as CCTV, Police and lighting as signs of improved security.

To the extent that a sense of community (narrowly understood to represent a local network of friendships) promotes the feeling of security, it is an important social factor in promoting a safe feeling. Although 42% of King's Cross residents have lived in the area for more than 10 years, the area is simultaneously distinctive for its rapidly changing population. Our household survey found that 27% of residents were recent arrivals (up to 2 years) and the remaining 31% were medium term (3-9 years). The lack of neighbourhood cohesion fuelled by a rapidly changing population must add to the feeling of insecurity. In addition to a network of friendships, the possible presence of shared norms or controls in a local community has the potential to provide a strong social pressure which might limit anti-social or criminal behaviour from people within the community. But notice that all this is couched in doubtful terms such as *possible, potential, might*. This is so for a number of reasons; there will always be deviants in the neighbourhood; with a rapidly changing population there will be less and less of shared values and norms; where shared values and norms exist these will not act as a deterrent to an outsider who comes in to commit a crime.

While a sense of community might work to reinforce a feeling of security on a housing estate, its benefits diminish over a wide area. For this wide area, other factors tend to have a stronger influence.

4.2.2 Environmental factors and public measures

Although blight is one characteristic associated with the environment around King's Cross station, this did not feature prominently on the list of reasons why people felt unsafe. Even so, it could be argued that the unoccupied and dilapidated buildings, isolated streets, dead-end alley ways and poor street lighting contribute to the fear of or actual crime by providing refuge to potential offenders (kerb-crawlers, , drug dealers, muggers) and offering a low prospect of escape for potential victims. A little more creativity in the design of urban spaces and in their mix of land uses can contribute to feelings of security. Public measures such as policing, CCTV and street lighting are also important in the people's perceptions of the safety of an area. For example, businesses in King's Cross thought that increased policing, CCTV and better street lighting – in that order would help their businesses. On the other hand, households cited CCTV and police presence as reasons for saying that safety had improved in the area.

It would generally be assumed that there would be a direct relationship between perception of crime and people's behaviour. This does not appear to be the case in King's Cross. Generally, the proportion of people going out at night was slightly higher (say by 10%) than had expressed feelings of insecurity of the area at night. The feeling of safety in the King's Cross area was the same as reported in Finsbury Park SRB area. Forty two percent of King's Cross residents felt safe in the area after dark compared to 40% in Finsbury Park. The proportion of Kings Cross people who never went out alone at night was found to be twice as high as was recorded in a 1994 MORI survey. We speculate that this might be attributed to a number of explanations: firstly it could be that population turnover has led to an increase in those groups of people who feel particularly vulnerable at night. Secondly, it might also be the case that this difference is down to the different wordings used in the two studies. The word 'alone' might have compounded the sense of fear in our household survey. Thirdly, it might actually be that the area has indeed become less safe – and this leads us to examine changes in notified crime levels in the area.

4.3 Change in officially reported crime levels

In addition to the problems cited in section 4.1 above, the use of notifiable offences to evaluate change in crime levels is also affected by policing practices. Increasing police numbers will have the effect of increasing reported crime levels and vice versa – especially for those categories of

crime where there is no victim, and thus no crime to report, such as drug or sex trading. It is also widely accepted that crime statistics tend to under- estimate the actual levels of crime due to non-reporting of some crimes. It is generally acknowledged that victim surveys reveal a much higher incidence of crime than official statistics – roughly in the ratio of 10 : 1.

Table 4.2 : Reported Crime King's Cross Partnership Area 1997/98

		CCTV Introduced	
	April 1997/Sept. 1997	April 1998/Sept. 1998	% change 1997-1998
Violence	378	275	-27
Vehicle crime	340	315	-7
Burglary	323	315	-2
Pedal cycle	44	55	+25
Criminal damage	326	279	-14
Prostitution offences	107	206	+92
Offensive weapon	50	43	-14
Drugs possession	266	274	+3
Supply of drugs	25	17	-32
Theft	226	287	+27
Street Crime	121	158	+30
Total Crime	2465	2526	+2

Source : Camden's Community Safety Strategy 1999-2002

Crime statistics for the King's Cross Partnership area show little change in the total level of reported crimes (Table 4.2). Falls in six crime categories were moderated by increases in another six crime categories with the result that the overall total crime rate was up by only 2% between April-September 1997/1998. This is so despite the change in the definition of notifiable offences in April 1998 which we would expect to have increased the level of reported violent crime and drug offences. As it turns out, violent crime showed the biggest drop while possession of drugs increased by a very small margin. The highest jump between 1997 and 1998 was in prostitution offences. The Partnership crime initiative has been recognised by the Crime Concern National Crime Prevention and Community Safety Award scheme and was awarded the Metropolitan Police Area Award for 1997 (Camden's Community Strategy, 1999-2002). Total crime levels between 1998 and 1999 (Table 4.3) indicate a continuing stability in crime levels in King's Cross. While assaults and burglary were down, robbery, theft and criminal damage were up. The net result was a mere 4% increase between 1998 –1999, compared to 11% for Camden and 19% for Islington. Although there was a slight overall increase in the level of notifiable offences in King's Cross, this was significantly lower than corresponding increases in each of the two boroughs.

Tale 4.3 : Change in crime levels 1998-1999

	King's Cross			Camden			Islington		
	1998	1999	change	1998	1999	change	1998	1999	change
Assaults	46	28	-40%	448	460	+3%	401	444	+11%
Robbery	9	18	+100%	116	151	+56%	79	167	+114%
Burglary	29	19	-34%	447	473	+6%	403	433	+7%
Theft	58	84	+45%	1666	2045	+23%	1148	1380	+20%
Criminal damage	19	25	+31%	361	381	+6%	390	410	+5%
All crime	191	199	+4%	3678	4097	+11%	2771	3301	+19%

Source: King's Cross Partnership.

While the above two tables suggest that the level of notifiable offences in King's Cross had remained more or less stable between 1997-1999, divisional data (Table 4.4) shows a significant increase. Sharp increases are particularly noticeable in the level of violent crime (violence against the person, sexual offences and robbery) and other notifiable offences. The increase in total notifiable offences was significantly higher in the three police beats which cover King's Cross than in other divisions particularly in 1997/99. This might reflect a real increase in crime or might be the result of different geographical boundaries used to define King's Cross in Tables 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4. It is difficult to be categorical without precise boundary definitions in each case. Although burglary, theft and handling show evidence of slowing down between 2000-02 – following earlier rises – reductions in sexual offences, robbery, fraud and 'other notifiable offences' between 2000-01 had all been reversed into rises in 2001-02.

Table 4.4 : Percentage change in crime levels 1997-2002

	King's Cross ¹			Other Divisions ²	Camden		Islington	
	97/98-98/99	2000-01	2001-02		2000-01	2001-02	2000-01	2001-02
Violence against the person	+165	+4	+14	+129	0	+3	+4	+4
Sexual offences	+156	-37	+94	+32	+8	+31	-21	+31
Robbery	+27	-19	+16	+13	+16	+28	-14	+10
Burglary and going equipped	+2	+21	+16	-5	+2	+10	-12	+6
Theft and handling	-2	+24	+13	+9	+10	+17	+2	+8
Fraud and forgery	-3	-25	-1	+16	-28	+16	-39	-30
Criminal damage	-11	+15	+26	0	+2	+9	-4	0
Other notifiable offences ³	+559	-19	+6	+314	-11	+22	-20	+36
Total Notified Offences	+29	+8	+15	+21	+2	+14	-6	+4
Other accepted	-58	--	--	-70	--	--	--	--

Sources : Crime Concern, 1999; Metropolitan Police Performance Information Bureau

Notes to table 4.4 (copnt):

1. Covers police beats ED02 (Kentish Town), NY05 (Islington) and EO05 (Holborn).
2. Covers divisions EK (Kentish Town), EO (Holborn) – in Camden and NI in Islington.
3. The definition of notifiable offences was changed in April 1998 to include other previously unnotifiable offences. This might account for this big rise in 97/98 to 98/99

Table 4.5 identifies wards in King's Cross with particularly high risks of crime, suggesting where crime may be concentrated. By ward level, recorded crime was more widespread in Somerstown in which sexual offences and drugs crime were particularly more severe. Barnsbury and Thornhill while relatively safe from other crimes but were hotspots for drug crime. What explanations can be given for the spatial distribution of crime in King's Cross? Firstly, the prevalence of drug crime in Barnsbury and Thornhill could be explained by the 'broken windows' theory. This theory suggests that disorder leads directly to crime. The area north of Pentonville Road particularly around the P and O blocks has suffered from blight for a long time. Empty buildings in a state of disrepair apart from conveying the message that no one cares, have also provided a haven for drug users and dealers. As for Somerstown, the widespread crime could be due to a combination of factors – the drug dealing and prostitution which are prevalent around King's Cross station might be linked to a number of other crimes committed against the huge numbers of people in transit through the three railway stations – Euston, St. Pancras and King's Cross. This observation is strengthened by the fact that although there is high drug crime in Barnsbury and Thornhill, this does not necessarily lead to other crimes against the person as seems to be the case in Somerstown ward which has a high travelling/visitor density.

Table 4.5 Recorded crime and ranking¹ of King's Cross SRB wards²

	Camden		King's Cross		Somerstown		Barnsbury		Thornhill	
	level	Incidence per 10000	level	Incidence per 10000	level	Incidence per 10000	level	Incidence per 10000	level	Incidence per 10000
All crime					3rd	4th				
Violence against the person					3rd	4th				5th
Sexual offences					2nd	3rd				
Robbery			4th	5th	3rd	3rd				
Burglary(residential)										
Burglary(non-residential)						5th				
Motor vehicle crime							6th			2nd
Theft of motor vehicle										
Theft from motor vehicle										
Drugs					3rd	2nd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st
Criminal damage					4th	4th				
Deception					4th					
Pedal theft			3rd							
Other theft					5th					
Disturbance in a public place					4th	3rd				
Disturbance in a licensed premises					5th	4th				
Disturbances in private premises					5th	3rd				
Domestic incidents					4th	3rd				
Drunkenness					5th	4th				
Racial incidents					3rd	4th				

Sources: Camden Crime Audit, 1998 (Second draft) and Islington Crime and Disorder Audit 1998-2001.

Notes:

1. Ranked on a diminishing scale of crime experience e.g. 1st represents worst crime experience.
2. Camden wards (among them Camden, King's Cross and Somerstown) ranked over an 18 months period from January 1997 to June 1998).
Islington wards (among them Barnsbury and Thornhill) ranked over a 2 year period 1999 -2001.

4.4 Change in self-reported crime experience

The above section is based on an analysis of reported crime statistics the shortcomings of which have been highlighted already. Our household and business surveys collected and analysed the crime experience of respondents regardless of whether or not these crimes had been reported. Except for burglary, the proportion of households who had experienced other specified crime between 1996-2000 in King's Cross was higher than those who had experienced crime before 1996 in King's Cross. While this count is dependent on the respondents' memories and hence susceptible to error, the finding that crime in King's Cross had increased in the 4 years between 1996-2000 is consistent with the official trend data which either shows very small increases (Tables 4.2 and 4.3) or significant increases (Table 4.4).

4.5 Key issues

Crime links

The major crime categories in King's Cross are drug crime, sexual offences, violent crime and robbery. Indeed drug dealing and prostitution have been a long time feature of King's Cross. Households are also concerned about anti-social behaviour, some of which is linked to drug and sex activity or related to gangs of youths and drunkards.

A successful strategy to combat drug crime might result in a reduction in other offences such as robbery, violence, anti-social behaviour and prostitution all of which are commonly associated with drug crime in King's Cross (Camden and Islington Crime Audits). For example, it has been suggested that eliminating drug dealing in King's Cross would reduce street crime by 50 -75% (KCP end of year five monitoring and key indicators, April 2001; Camden Chronicle 31 May, 2001). A further example of linkage is provided by a Capital Care Project set up by Metropolitan Police, Camden and Islington NHS Trust which reported that 82% of street prostitutes used crack cocaine on a daily basis (SBU, 2001 cited in the Big Issue, 17/09/01). Anecdotal evidence of the linkage between drug crime and prostitution suggests that when the price of drugs goes up the price of prostitution also goes up.

Scale of the problem

Cascading levels (international, national, regional and local) of intervention are needed to fight drug crime. The higher international and national levels are beyond the scope of this study. At the local and regional level however, it is suggested that strong and sustained local multi-agency efforts comprising the Police, Local Authorities, Probation Officers, Prisons and Health Authorities - as provided for in the Crime and Disorder Act of 1998 – need to be supported by simultaneous, robust and sustained activity among agencies working in London's major drug markets. The Camden Crime Audit for example, shows that only a quarter of drug users may be Camden residents and that nearly half of all suppliers travel from other London boroughs. But according to the Chief Executive of Camden, the borough has a higher than national average proportion of its population in drug treatment services (10.32 per 1,000 compared to 2.63 – Highbury and Islington Express, 26 October 2001). There is therefore need for a deliberate regional approach to police the movement of drugs into and between the major drug markets in London. For instance, bus routes 73 (passing through Stoke Newington, Islington and King's Cross) and 38 (passing through Hackney, Dalston and Bloomsbury) have been associated with a thriving drug trade contributing to the distribution of drugs in Central London (Time Out, Sept.26 – Oct. 3, 2001). For this reason, there has been concern raised about the effect the tramway - which will link King's Cross with some of the capital's well known drug areas in south London – will have on the drug crime in King's Cross (Camden New Journal, 30 August 2001). Similar fears have been raised about the Channel Tunnel Rail Link (CTRL) introducing a European dimension to the Drugs-Sex problem in King's Cross. There is need to closely study the impact on King's Cross of the proposed Tramway, the CTRL and devise strategies to deal with the crime effects of increased population in the area. We would expect that this regional/international approach would involve London's main public transport providers working with other agencies. There is evidence that when the King's Cross Partnership has been able to combine with other agencies in mounting a high visibility operation, they have been able to temporarily fracture the drugs market in King's Cross (e.g. Partnership Day, 15 December 2001). Sustaining such an operation however has high resource implications and leads to accusations that problems are simply displaced to surrounding areas..

4.6 Crime prevention initiatives

Special Operations and General Policing

Because of the perceived link between drugs and other crime in King's Cross, the focus of most crime prevention measures has been drug crime. Operation Welwyn was established about 10 years ago as a special police unit to tackle drug crime and prostitution-related offences in King's

Cross. A CCTV network was incorporated as part of Operation Welwyn in 1998. Since then a number of other operations have been staged with the support of other agencies and sometimes spanning a wider area than King's Cross. Among these have been: Operation Lilac (September 2000), Operation Strongbox (October 2000), Operation Regis (October-December 2000), Partnership Week (14-18 May 2001), Operation Joint Venture (19-23 December, 2001), Operation Safer Streets (March 2002). It has often been claimed that these operations have simply displaced crime to other areas before coming back again.

Police in King's Cross have also sought to establish a two-way intelligence exchange system. The police have solicited information from the public (residents and businesses) and the police in turn have given selective information on crime and prevention measures to the public. Our household survey found people were less likely to report a crime if they thought that it was a waste of time or that the police would not be helpful. The potential benefit of such a two way intelligence system is that the public would be more inclined to supply information especially if there was feedback showing what has been done by the Police. Bullseye – set up by Islington Police (Highbury & Islington Express, 8 June 2001) and another King's Cross Partnership initiative (Camden New Journal, 18 January 2001; Highbury & Islington 14 September 2001) are two examples of such schemes. Unfortunately, the Partnership police community surgery had to be discontinued due to lack of interest.

Urban Design Issues

Efforts have also been made to enlist the help of environmental criminologists to advise on how crime could be 'designed out' of streets and buildings. Some of this advice has included limiting blind spots (which could be used by muggers or for other anti-social activities) by the use of flush instead of recessed doorways and the use of railings instead of brick-sided stairways. It has also been considered to strip bus shelters of advertisements because these have been used by drug dealers to hide from CCTV while pretending to be waiting for a bus. Others include the use of minimalist telephone booths as these leave little room to pin up call girl cards and will not provide a big enough screen behind which drug dealers or users can hide and ply their trade. Narrow window sills which cannot be used as seats for people to idle around have also been considered. Yet other attempts have aimed at the narrowing of pavements so as to deter drug-dealing on streets by deliberately inducing a busy and quick flow of pedestrian traffic. Other design initiatives have aimed at rationalising street signage and the arrangement of street furniture to reduce clutter which is so evident in front of King's Cross station. On-going construction work and the re-directed traffic flow, closure of certain routes and narrowing down of Euston Road have only exacerbated the already confusing and visually unattractive streetscape and can only worsen the crime situation in King's Cross. Safety has also been one of the major concerns in the proposed developments of the Railway Lands and P & O blocks it is suggested that mixed land uses - with people living and working in the area - would provide active and passive surveillance of the area at all times.

Prohibitory Instruments

Using its 'sustainable estates' policy, and in addition to a borough-wide ban on housing known drug dealers, Camden has also experimented with not allocating housing in and around King's Cross to drug addicts. This had the support of residents and council officers who argued that housing drug addicts or former drug addicts in King's Cross would inevitably lead to dealers, users and prostitutes preying on these individuals and hinder their rehabilitation. Campaign groups (Release, Transform and Drugscope) have spoken against such a discriminatory approach and contend that drug users who have been through a rehabilitation process should be given a second chance. Anti-Social Behaviour Orders have also been used to impose movement restrictions on offenders. Working with British Telecom, Greater London Authority and the police, King's Cross Partnership was able to persuade the government to introduce a law which makes the placement of call cards in telephone booths a criminal offence. It was hoped that this would

impact on the local drugs and prostitution market. But the Kentish Town based English Collective of Prostitutes countered that:

As a result of this legislation, many prostitute women will no longer be able to work in premises and will be driven onto the streets where it is 10 times more dangerous...the change in the law that is needed is for prostitution laws to be abolished so that women can work safely from premises without being criminalised. Most are mothers supporting families in the face of growing poverty and low wages (English Collective of Prostitutes reported in Highbury & Islington Express, 7 September 2001).

Another recent change which grants police powers to arrest kerb crawlers is a measure which could help in King's Cross.

Neighbourhood Schemes/Street Wardens

Both boroughs have also experimented with wardens working jointly with police to act as a deterrent measure, instil public confidence and gather crime intelligence. Although there has been a measure of local support for this scheme, the Police Federation claim that this is a confidence trick because wardens have no powers to make arrests and this can only lead to a crisis of expectation. In one neighbourhood, King's Cross Partnership handed out sixty pea whistles for residents to blow when they saw anyone committing a crime. Although some residents were cynical, King's Cross Partnership hailed this innovative idea a success, claiming:

When a gang broke into the courtyard of Midhope House last week, a resident blew his whistle and residents appeared on the balconies above to hurl buckets of water onto the intruders (Camden Chronicle, 06 September, 2001).

Although King's Cross has a long history of community action, one hopes that this will not be compromised by the quick population turnover which is now evident in the area.

Supportive measures

As well as supporting the above deterrent strategies, King's Cross Partnership has also been running other programmes largely aimed at supporting victims or potential victims of crimes such as:

- women's self-defence, assertiveness and risk assessment courses;
- young people's drug education schemes;
- referral scheme for sex workers and drug users; and
- support for witnesses and victims of race crime.

The English Collective of Prostitutes is on record as saying that most prostitutes are mothers supporting families in the face of growing poverty and low wages (Highbury & Islington Express, 7 September 2001). A Capital Care Project report dealing with the rehabilitation for women sex workers and drug users says that the majority of women dislike their work and associated dangers. This raises issues of employment creation and wage or benefit levels which would help these women come off the streets.

Shooting galleries/wet-centres

In spite of all the above initiatives and more, Camden Chief Executive admitted to Commons Home Affairs Select Committee "we are losing the drugs war, let us legalise cannabis and ecstasy and then target police resources on heroin and crack cocaine" (Highbury & Islington 25 October 2001; 2 November, 2001). Arguing that Operation Welwyn had made 'no discernible' difference to drug dealing in the area, Camden recommended decriminalisation so that drugs could be dispensed and used at specially designated health centres and thus under-cut the present illegal drug market. Camden wants the trade moved off the streets and put where it can be carefully controlled, where the criminal profits – from drugs, robbery and street prostitution would be eliminated, the risk of injury or death reduced and where users can be helped (Camden Citizen, Dec/Jan 2001/02). But a former addict disagrees and says more money should be spent on counselling, rehabilitation and support. The view of Response – a counselling and rehabilitation centre - is that alcohol and heroin are the main problems not cannabis or ecstasy. If

this view is correct, then decriminalising cannabis or ecstasy would not make any significant impact on drug crime in King's Cross. In its bid to deal with street drinking, Camden have also considered the idea of wet-centres – an idea slammed as madness by local traders and residents (Camden Chronicle, 17 February 2000), but one which the Railway Lands Group - a local voluntary organisation - was supportive of and had probably initiated the discussion on this.

4.7 Process and Policy Issues

Community safety was not prioritised at the beginning of King's Cross SRB programme. A secondee from the Metropolitan Police was brought in to write the Community Action Plan about two years after the programme had started and the plan (which concentrates on the core area) was not published until October 2000 – four years after the start of the programme. Before then, there was no strategic thinking around community safety issues except for piecemeal projects here and there. Lacking co-ordination and comprehensive approach it is very unlikely that these projects would have made the necessary impact.

Community consultation on the action plan seems to have been limited to one Community Forum meeting held on the 4th April where prostitution, drug dealing, street robbery and street drinkers were identified as main concerns. The King's Cross crime reduction strategy has been criticised as being narrowly focused on the core area thus causing a displacement into residential surroundings. There seems to be an overriding concern with the travelling public's image of King's Cross to the extent that police think it a good and realistic strategy to move drug taking into the neighbouring housing estates where people can inject indoors or where it can be easily controlled – so goes the police argument (Camden New Journal, 17 May 2001). There is an assumption in this police argument that those taking drugs are local residents, although evidence suggests that this proportion is very small.

Equally, the borough wide Crime Reduction Strategy Partnership Boards have been criticised for their failure to include the community as required by the Crime and Disorder Act (Community Forum Minutes of 15 February, 2000). Differences in management approaches and funding priorities between Islington and Camden have been cited as undermining cross-borough initiatives needed to tackle crime in King's Cross. For example, the problem of street drinkers has often divided the two boroughs. At one time Islington was not interested because it did not have street drinkers while Camden was keen to give priority to this problem. Following a change of leadership in Islington in December 1999 both councils were keen to tackle street drinking although the police in both boroughs complain of lack of resources to deal with street drinkers.

Another area of difference has to do with licensing of sex shops. While Camden licences sex shops, Islington does not although both have sex shops operating in the area (illegally in Islington). To the undiscerning, the two boroughs seem to work in harmony. However, there are often tensions between the two with petty jealousies getting in the way of important decisions.

Closely related to this is the problem of multiplicity of police forces in King's Cross. There needs to be better liaison between the different forces e.g. British Transport Police's concern for safety is limited to the stations, whereas people are concerned about safety for the whole time they are in King's Cross and are not really bothered about which force is in charge of which area. The establishment of Operation Welwyn in 1992 was supposed to provide a single police agent to deal with King's Cross as a whole. Although staff numbers are up, Operation Welwyn is still understaffed, suffers from a high staff turnover and is limited in what it can do due to restrictions of the law relating to human rights issues.

Rising crime was one of the main points raised during the King's Cross Partnership awayday in November 2001 - called to reflect on progress and chart the way forward.

Following the creation of the LDA in 2000, the nature of funding available to King's Cross Partnership changed as LDA has a different remit geared towards jobs and training, and the development of brownfield sites – economic regeneration. Therefore less money is available to fund projects such as those dealing with youth, crime and sports activities. The King's Cross Partnership would like any continuation strategy to include community safety work such as CCTV and both boroughs agree the need for a strategic impact group, bringing together key actors, among them the police.

4.8 Conclusions

King's Cross is perceived as a high crime and therefore unsafe area – less safe than other surrounding areas. Feelings of safety in King's Cross were very much related to a sense of community and public measures such as policing and lighting and to a less extent CCTV. The net feeling of change among employers in 2000 was that the area had become safer since the SRB programme started four years ago. Households on the other hand, and consistent with their crime experience, thought that the area had become less safe. Analysis of victim households revealed a higher proportion of households had experienced crimes since the advent of SRB than before.

Comparative statistical evidence of recorded crime remains inconclusive as to the crime trend in the area. Year on year statistics (1997-98 and 1998-99) sourced from Camden and King's Cross Partnership cast a favourable light on King's Cross by showing lower rates of crime increases. For example, when compared to the rest of the two boroughs, the increase in King's Cross crime level in 1998/99 is significantly smaller than that of either Camden or Islington. However, divisional data from the Performance Information Bureau (PIB) of the Metropolitan Police conveys a different picture – one in which between 1997-99 total notifiable offences in King's Cross Police Beat areas had risen by a significantly higher proportion compared to the rest of the divisions.

The wide range of secondary data sources and quality do not augur well for examining crime trends and benchmarking. In addition the multi-agency activity in fighting crime make it difficult for us to link King's Cross Partnership initiatives to specific outcomes.

5. Education

King's Cross Household Survey 2000 - Key Education findings.

Households with children

- 39% of households had children aged between 0-10 years old; and
- 22% of households had children aged between 11-18 years old

Free School Meals (FSM)

- 38% of all households had one or more children on FSM;
- 62% of Bangladeshi households had one or more children on FSM;
- 45% of black households had one or more children on FSM; and
- 28% of white households had one or more children on FSM

Satisfaction with nursery schools

- 28% were happy or very happy; and
- 9% were not very happy or not at all happy

Satisfaction with primary schools

- 28% were happy or very happy; and
- 11% were not very happy or not at all happy

Satisfaction with secondary schools

- 13% were happy or very happy; and
- 15% were not very happy or not at all happy

Percentage of pupils gaining 5 or more A-C GCSEs

- 36% of all students gained 5 or more GCSEs in 1997; and
- 34% of all students gained 5 or more GCSEs in 2001

Percentage of pupils with no GCSE passes

- 11% of all students left with no GCSE passes in 1997 compared to 8% in 2001

Percentage of pupils achieving level 4 at key stage 2 (Year 6 National Tests) in 1997 and 2001

- English - this had improved from 54% in 1997 to 69% in 2001;
- Mathematics – this had improved from 59% in 1997 to 68% in 2001; and
- Science – this had improved from 58% in 1997 to 86% in 2001.

Perception of change in standard of education in 4 years between 1996-2000

- 15% said standard of education had got better;
- 11% said standard of education had got worse; and
- 26% said that standard of education had remained the same

5.1 Introduction

Education is one of the key aspects of social programmes aimed at revitalising inner city areas and combating social exclusion. Recognising the part that education plays in structuring life's chances, the education aspect of the King's Cross programme is coupled to employment prospects, skills training and equality of opportunity. Up to 5 different educational projects have been funded by the King's Cross Partnership between years two and seven thus:

- (i) Project 16 – to provide education support for disaffected students with difficulty maintaining attendance at school;
- (ii) Youth Achievement Strategy – establishment of out-of-school study support centres designed to enhance pupil achievement;
- (iii) GNVQ and Business Links – use links between secondary schools and businesses to provide resources and support to young people in schools through mentoring, curriculum development, placements, training and employment;
- (iv) Islington Lifelong Learning Project – a range of initiatives designed to raise achievement at primary and secondary school level, others include a family involvement programme and a youth impact programme; and

- (v) Camden Education Project – support to pre-school children, support to ease the transition from primary to secondary school, and study support centres at secondary school.

The above education projects have been funded to contribute to the strategic objective designed to 'Enhance the employment prospects, education and skills of local people, particularly the young and those at a disadvantage and promote equality of opportunity' (King's Cross Partnership – Strategic objective 1).

Although projects with an education theme had been funded from the second year of the Partnership, it appears that strategic thinking was not well elaborated and the Partnership Board at its year 3 awayday acknowledged that current education projects would not have the desired impact (King's Cross Partnership, Year 4 Delivery Plan). In year 4, two comprehensive pilot projects were funded – one for Islington and the other for Camden [project s (iv) and (v) above]. After successful pilots in year 4 (1999/2000), the projects were rolled out in full in year 5 (2000/01) and reported significant outcomes at the end of their full year. These projects were an attempt 'to develop a cohesive approach to raising achievement that knits in with other initiatives in the area' (Islington Lifelong Learning 2000-2001 end of year report). Here again as with housing and crime, there was the desire to have some form of synergy with wider initiatives taking place in the area.

5.2 The effect of non-school factors on education attainment

Education and sociological research recognises the association between 'non-school factors' and education outcomes. Beyond simple association, the elucidation of those factors which are causal still remains patchy. Sparkes and Glennerster (2002) identify a number of key non-school factors which are associated with education outcomes:

- Pupils' personal characteristics – these include the effect of maternal health during pregnancy, early cognitive development, gender and general health; Special Education Needs (SEN)
- Socio-economic – low-income, parental unemployment, social class and housing;
- Educational – parents' educational attainment;
- Family structure – family size, lone parent status, institutional care;
- Ethnicity/language – ethnic group, fluency in English; and
- Other – parental interest/involvement/practice, locally based factors.

All of the above factors are key to addressing the improvement of education in King's Cross as is briefly discussed below.

Pupils' personal characteristics

This relates to prior attainment, gender and health characteristics. The notion that prior attainment is associated with education outcomes is premised on work which has found linkages between poor maternal health during pregnancy and low education attainment in later life (Rutter and Madge, 1976) and on variations in cognitive development observed in early infancy (Feinstein, 1998). In addition, the phonological dimension of prior attainment has been suggested to be a very good predictor of Key Stage One results (Sammons and Smees, 1998). The magnitude of the effect of prior attainment has been estimated at between 26%-43% at seven years (Sammons and Smees, 1998) and as explaining up to 59% of the total variation in pupils' academic test scores (Thomas and Smees, 1997). Physical ill health in certain cases might trigger SEN which call for special educational provision.

Nearly 30% of sampled households in King's Cross reported a long-term illness in the family. On the whole, 30% of key stage 2 pupils in King's Cross had SEN in 2001. This compares favourably with 28% for the two LEAs. Overall, Bangladeshi and Black households were more likely to have a poor health profile than white households – except in the specific case of breathing problems, heart problems and arthritis. This suggests that interventions to improve

education attainment have to explicitly recognise the association with health (maternal/pupil) and targeted at the early years with proper follow-up programmes throughout the system.

Socio-economic factors

Studies have shown that children from low-income families (indicated by their eligibility for free school meals) generally perform poorly in school. A similar association is to be found between housing tenure and conditions. Children in council housing and those experiencing poor housing conditions also tend to fare less well in school. Evidence on the effect of parental economic status is still inconclusive. With respect to social disadvantage however, there is the danger of missing those pupils whose success is driven more by their bitter experience of poverty and deprivation rather than any clever initiatives.

About 80% of households in King's Cross earned less than the average income for the area in the year 2000. Nearly 40% households reported dependants on free school meals. The proportion of pupils eligible for free school meals in 2001 was estimated to range from 30% to 65% for different schools on the Camden side of King's Cross. Such high levels of poverty limit access to additional home educational aids such as toys, books, computers which can enrich the learning experience. Under-occupation in some housing units was interspaced with severe overcrowding in others especially among ethnic minority groups in social housing – home to 90% of all children aged 16 and under in King's Cross. Crowded conditions at home will often mean that pupils have nowhere to sit down quietly on their own to do their homework. This is particularly so among ethnic minority groups who may also be asylum seekers in social housing or temporary accommodation. In addition, the trauma of living their home country and the initial instability of arriving in a new country with no stable accommodation and with little or no English language skills present additional challenges for families/pupils and schools/teachers who cannot, in the initial period, form enduring relationships necessary to foster a rich learning environment.

Parent's educational credentials

There is a well established positive relationship between parental literacy levels and their children's ability to read. Children whose parents have high literacy levels tend to score high in reading tests and vice versa. At the time of our survey, 40% of the adult (16+ years) population in King's Cross had no or poor GCSEs with about 12% reporting difficulties in speaking, reading, writing and understanding English. The problem was particularly acute within the Bangladeshi households in which 36% reported problems in all aspects of the English language. If parents have English language problems and little understanding of the British education system then they will be limited in what they can do to help with their children's learning. This problem seems to have been well recognised in King's Cross and some of the Partnership's projects have had an element of family involvement.

Family structure

Growing up in institutional care or multiple foster homes are also shown to have an adverse effect on children's attainment as is growing up in a large family. On the other hand, growing up in a one parent household has been found to be a weak predictor of educational attainment – after controlling for other risk factors such as low income.

About 60% of all children aged under 18 years in King's Cross lived in households with 5 or more people compared to the average household size of 2.4 in the area.

Ethnic background

From what little evidence there is, the national educational achievement of Afro-Caribbean pupils – in particular boys - is low when compared to other ethnic groups. While there are variations within it, as a generic group, Asian pupils tend to do just as well as, or better than, white pupils.

The largest minority ethnic group in Camden are the Bangladeshi whose education performance in analyses undertaken in 1997 was below that of other groups although there is evidence of this gap narrowing. Our King's Cross household survey found that 30% of all children aged 18 and under were white, 22% Black and 35% Bangladeshi. While white households were more likely to send their children to an outside school, Bangladeshi households were least likely to do so.

Other

Studies have identified parental attitude to school as a useful explanation of pupils' education attainment. Using teachers' assessments of parental interest, it is claimed that pupils whose parents showed an interest in their education tended to score higher maths and reading scores than those whose parents did not. Sammons (1998) cautions that the reality might be different. Because of the lack of objective parental interest measures the variations in attainment may well be explained by other risk factors. For example, with lone parent families in which one of the parents is absent and hence perceived as not interested in their childrens education, the variation could be the result of socio-economic disadvantage often associated with single parent families. Household evidence in King's Cross revealed high regard for the importance of education. Ninety-five percent of all respondents said that it was very important to get a good education another 4% said a good education was important only 1% thought that a good education was not very important.

5.3 The effect of school factors on education attainment

In addition to 'non school factors' the school environment has factors which can promote or impede learning. Schools draw their pupils from different catchment areas whose non school factors may well be different. In an effort to arrive at an equitable methodology of comparing the performance of different schools there has recently been a focus on the value added approach to evaluating school performance. This approach controls for all non-school factors and explains any residual variance in attainment as the value added by the school - largely put down to team approach, vision, careful use of targets and resources, good physical environment and good parent-teacher relations (Sparkes and Glennerster, 2002).

5.4 Change and Perceptions of change in education standards

Perceptions

Households in King's Cross were generally more happy with the standard of nursery and primary education than with secondary education. The two most important factors for those very happy with the quality of education were the teaching staff and evidence of the learning experience from their children. On the other hand, low education standards and poor discipline were the strongest factors for those not at all happy. While 43% could not offer a view on changes in education standards over the four year period (1996-2000), 26% said that standards had remained the same. The remaining proportion of households was almost evenly split between those saying standards had improved (15%) and those saying that standards had got worse (16%).

Performance measures at Key Stage 2

Measures using national assessment results provide an objective approach to evaluate education change in King's Cross. All pupils are eligible for assessment under the National Curriculum when they reach the end of Key Stage 1, 2, 3 and 4. At Key Stage 2, most pupils will be aged 11 but some will be younger or older. At this stage, pupils are expected to reach level 4 or above in english, mathematics and science.

The use of 'raw' (uncontextualised) national assessment results as a guide to school performance has severe limitations because it takes no account of the impact of differences between schools in their pupil intake. Research reveals that a range of factors (discussed in 5.2 and 5.3 above) are related to lower attainment patterns (e.g lack of fluency in English, high pupil mobility often related to homelessness or refugee status, poverty as measured by free school meals etc). Given

this, changes in schools' results in the annual performance tables may reflect changes in intakes as well as changes in schools' focus on assessments or examinations.

In Tables 5.1 and 5.2, percentage scores of pupils attaining level 4 and above in each of the three subjects were added to give one aggregate score for each school instead of three and the changes in aggregate scores from one year to another are shown.

Table 5.1 : Change in Camden primary schools' aggregate scores at Key Stage 2

	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01
Argyle	+94	-28	-9	+41	+42
Edith Neville	-96	+75	+29	-10	+42
Richard Cobden	-3	-55	+70	+34	+72
St. Aloysius	+17	-4	+85	-44	+28
St. Mary and St. Pancras	+23	-4	+47	-51	+20
Net average change	+7	-3	+44	-6	+41
LEA net average change	+28	-7	+29	+8	+13

Source : Performance Tables at www.dfes.gov.uk

Table 5.2 : Change in Islington primary schools' aggregate scores at Key Stage 2

	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01
Vittoria	-36	-8	+71	+29	+19
St Andrews	+51	-34	+28	+1	+3
Blessed Sacrament	+21	0	+47	+40	-11
Winton	+48	-56	+43	+36	+14
Copenhagen	+70	-23	+73	-77	+37
Angel	+50	+10	+51	+31	-34
Net average change	+34	-18	+52	+10	+5
LEA net average change	+32	-10	+35	+14	-8

Source : Performance Tables at www.dfes.gov.uk

Key Stage 2 results for both sets (Camden and Islington) of King's Cross schools exhibit wide year on year fluctuations between 1996 – 2001. The net average change in aggregate scores between 1996 and 1997 shows King's Cross schools within Camden performing less well than the average for the LEA (Table 5.1). This gap is narrowed in 97/98, 98/99 and 99/00 only to open up in 00/01 as a result of great improvements in the aggregate scores within King's Cross schools compared to the rest of Camden LEA. King's Cross schools in Islington on the other hand were performing just as well as other schools in the LEA in 1996/97 (Table 5.2). A slight gap which had opened up in 1997/98 as aggregate scores for both fell was further widened in 1998/99 with King's Cross schools showing a dramatic improvement compared to the rest of the LEA. Evidence suggests that since 1998/99 aggregate scores have been falling much faster within other schools in the Islington LEA but less so in King's Cross schools.

In a detailed study of Key Stage 2 results in King's Cross between 1995-2000 Mujtaba and Sammons (2001) were able to show that the most improvement made was in english. The results for science and maths fluctuated between each year, where in some years the pupils performed better than other years. Although it seemed that by the year 2000 not much progress had been made especially when compared to 1995 - when science and maths results were very high. If the

baseline was shifted to 1996 the study found that there was an improvement over this period (1996-2000).

Analysed by gender the study found that in 1995 girls were not performing as well as boys in maths. For science and english girls were performing just slightly better than boys. Although both groups of pupils made improvements in science and english between 1995-2000 the mean results for maths suggest that there was not an overall improvement in this subject. The achievement gap in science had remained the same between the two groups in 2000. For maths girls were now performing slightly better than boys and had also managed to further widen the achievement gap in English.

As regards equity issues the study was able to demonstrate that in 1995 pupils who were eligible for free school meals were not performing as well as pupils who were not on free school meals. Although both groups of pupils improved in science and english between 1995-2000 the mean results for maths suggest that there was not an overall improvement in this subject. The achievement gap between the two groups had decreased slightly by the year 2000 for science and maths but not for english.

Performance measures at GCSE

Overall, the proportion pupils obtaining 5 or more A*-C at GCSE fell from about 36% in 1997 to around 25% in 1998 and 1999 before rising to the 1997 level in 2000 and 2001 (Table 5.3). At individual school level, South Camden Community School shown year on year improvements since 1998 as has Elizabeth Garrett Anderson – although in the latter case progress has stalled in 2001. Maria Fidelis on the other hand has struggled to get back to its 1997 performance level when 58% of pupils got 5 A*-C compared to 41% in 2001. Notwithstanding sustained year on year improvements since 1998, South Camden Community School has been performing below the average for Camden LEA as has Maria Fidelis. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson has been achieving above the average for Islington LEA in 2000 and 2001. There is also evidence of a general fall in the proportions of pupils leaving school with no GCSEs (Table 5.4).

Table 5.3 : Percentage of pupils with 5 or more GCSEs A*-C

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Maria Fidelis Convent School	58	41	40	47	41
South Camden Community School	21	14	19	25	30
Elizabeth Garrett Anderson	28	21	23	32	32
King's Cross average	36	25	27	35	34
Camden Average	48	46	47	51	50
Islington Average	25	23	27	27	29
National Average	45	46	48	49	50

Source : Performance Tables at www.dfes.gov.uk

Table 5.4 : Percentage of pupils with no passes at GCSE

	1998	1999	2000	2001
Maria Fidelis Convent School	8	8	7	4
South Camden Community School	16	11	11	9
Elizabeth Garrett Anderson	11	8	2	7
King's Cross average	12	9	7	7
Camden Average	6	7	6	4
Islington Average	10	9	8	11
National Average	7	6	6	6

Source : Performance Tables at www.dfes.gov.uk

5.5 Linking KCP interventions to education outcomes

In its simplest and crude form, the observed gross educational outcome is a combination of three main elements:

- SRB activity;
- effects of other programmes; and
- design effects or measurement errors.

The mathematical relationship between these being:

$$\text{Gross outcome} = [\text{Effects of SRB activity}] + [\text{Effects of other programmes}] + [\text{Design Effects}]$$

Our concern however is with the effects of the SRB programme and not the gross output. This is calculated by netting off from the gross outcome, effects of other programmes and design effects.

In order to estimate the contribution of other programmes, seven wards (Table 5.5) identified in the 1991 census as having similar demographic structure, household composition, housing, socio-economic character and employment as the King's Cross Partnership wards have been used as a comparator. It was particularly important to control for the possible effect of differences in Local Educational Authority policies by using data from one local authority only – in this case Camden. Separate analyses were made for secondary schools and primary schools (Table 5.6 and 5.7).

Table 5.5 : King's Cross Partnership wards and other comparator wards

King's Cross Partnership Wards (Camden part only)

Camden

King's Cross

Somers Town

Camden Comparator Wards

Castlehaven

Gospel Oak

Grafton

Holborn

Priory

Regents Park

St Pancras

The difference between the comparator wards and the King's Cross Partnership area is the estimate of the impact we are looking for since the former had no regeneration programme during this period. We make the assumption that all the changes occurring in the comparator wards are due to other local or national programmes except regeneration. On the other hand, changes in King's Cross have been attributed to all the above three elements. King's Cross schools, having benefited from regeneration projects, should show greater improvement than schools in comparator wards.

While estimating the effect of other programmes is not easy, a lot is known about the nature of measurement errors (design effects) and their effect can be kept to a minimum by a stringent design of the survey instrument, sampling, proper training of interviewers, careful coding of responses and through the application of statistical tests – all of which were done in our household survey. Ignoring the design effects, we only have to deal with the effect of other programmes.

Table 5.6 : Comparative percentage change of pupils attaining 5 or more GCSEs at A*-C

	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00
Comparators	+1	-2	+3	-3	+2	+2
King's Cross	-4	+8	+8	-12	+2	+6

Source : Calculated from data found at www.dfes.gov.uk

The general picture is one of fluctuation in both sets of schools with King's Cross schools exhibiting greater changes than schools in the comparator area. While the proportionate number of pupils achieving good GCSEs was always higher in the comparator schools than those schools in the Partnership area between 1994-2000, schools in the Partnership area showed far greater improvements as well as (in one year 97/8) greater falls than the other schools. Notice for example that at the beginning of the Partnership programme in 1995-96, schools in the Partnership area registered an improvement of 8.5 percentage points, falling slightly to 7.5 between 96-97. However, these improvements were reversed to a sharp fall of -12 in 1997-98 before rallying again in 1998-99 and further still in 1999-2000. The inter-relation between the two areas would suggest that the Partnership intervention in King's Cross may have stabilised what would have been a turbulent set of results between 1996-97. The figure further suggests that GCSE results would have fallen between 1997-98 anyway, except this fall was greater in the Partnership area for whatever reasons. This declining trend was reversed in both areas but once again, the positive changes were more noticeable in the Partnership area. At this crude scale of analysis, we see that results in the King's Cross Partnership area exhibit less stability and are susceptible to swings. However, there is perhaps evidence that achievements have been amplified in the Partnership area compared to the comparator area.

Table 5.7 shows the inter-relationship in Key Stage 2 results of primary schools in the two areas. Key Stage 2 results for the Partnership area roughly mirrored those of the comparator area. For example, both areas recorded an increase in aggregate scores in the period 96-97 followed by a fall in 97-98, except that both the increase and fall in the Partnership area were smaller than in the comparator area. Two years into the regeneration programme (98-99), primary schools in the Partnership area recorded a higher increase in the aggregate score than schools in other comparator wards. Both areas however lost the improvement in the following period (1999-2000) with a sharper fall in the Partnership area.

Table 5.7 : Comparative average change in aggregate percentage at Key Stage 2.

	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00
Comparator	+48	-27	+31	+19
King's Cross	+7	-3	+44	-6

Source : Calculated from data found at www.dfes.gov.uk

5.6 Conclusions

After a somewhat ad hoc start, the Partnership thinking on education coalesced into a more strategic approach in the 4th year of its activities. Two education projects (one for each borough) designed to link into other government initiatives by adding value to ongoing work in schools and the community, were piloted in year 4 and rolled out in year 5. Despite favourable evaluations at the end of their first full year 2000/01, the Partnership was only able to commit about a quarter of the project budgeted revenue for year 7 (2002/03) to the two projects.

As well as the quality of teaching, management and the general physical environment in the school, education outcomes are influenced by factors outside the control of the school. Our household survey confirmed a high level of poverty, limited English language skills and poor housing conditions in sections of the population. These and other factors have been associated with poor education outcomes.

Households were generally happier with nursery and primary education than with secondary education. Although not significant, the proportion of households who thought that the quality of education had improved in the four years (1996-2000) was slightly higher than those who thought that it had got worse. The highest proportion was of households who thought that this had remained the same. The favourable perception of change in primary schools seems to be borne out by key stage 2 results which have shown an overall improvement in the number of pupils attaining level 4 and above from 1996-2001. Although subject to wide fluctuations, primary schools in King's Cross showed improved overall attainment levels between 1996-2001 compared to the average for each of the respective LEA. There was also evidence that the achievement gap between those pupils eligible for free school meals and those not eligible was narrowing in science and mathematics but not English between 1995-2000.

Although there had been a slight fall in the proportion of pupils with no passes at GCSE, the performance of secondary schools in King's Cross has not been impressive. While in 2000 gains had been made following falls in pass rates in 1998 and 1999, the percentage of pupils obtaining 5 or more A*-C passes at GCSE in 2001 was slightly lower in 2001 than in 1997. Except for South Camden Community School, whose performance had shown consistent improvement since 1998, performance at one of the two secondary schools fell down between 2000-2001 and remained the same in the other.

On balance however, it would seem that the Partnership made limited progress towards achieving its strategic objectives for improving education in the area. Household opinion and national assessment tests seem to bear this out.

An attempt to link this progress to the King's Cross Partnership's interventions reveals what is generally known about the inter-linked nature of social activity and the difficulty this presents for research to elucidate causal processes. For example, Partnership efforts at improving school performances have to link into other similarly designed local or national programmes. Based on comparisons with other areas, we have managed to establish the probability that Partnership activity has had small impacts on school attainments which would have been less likely without the work of the Partnership. That these impacts are only small at this stage is not surprising. Social change is a lengthy and slow process. It is difficult to think that these changes will be dramatic after 4 years (the focus of our study). Some of these changes may not even be evident until after the 7-year life of the Partnership.

Following the creation of the LDA in 2000, the nature of funding available to King's Cross Partnership changed as LDA has a different remit geared towards jobs and training, and the development of brownfield sites – economic regeneration. Therefore less money is available to fund projects such as those dealing with basic education. Given the high priority accorded to education by the current Government as a mechanism to enhance equity and reduce social exclusion it is important that this aspect of regeneration is continued after the end of the SRB programme.

6. Employment and the Local Economy

King's Cross Surveys 2000/01 - Key findings.

Household survey findings
<p>Economic activity (respondents aged 16 +)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 46% were in paid work; • 7% (30 out of 446) were unemployed according to the ILO definition • The rest were either on training, on leave, doing unpaid work or retired
<p>Employment by Sector(top 5 only)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 24% in business sector; • 11% in wholesale and retail trade; • 11% in community, social and personal activities; • 10% in health and social work; and • 9% in education
<p>Employment by Occupation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 20% Personal/Protective services; • 16% Professionals; • 15% Associate professional/technical; • 14% Managers and Administrators; • 12% Clerical/Secretarial; • 9% Sales; • 4% Craft and related occupations; • 3% Plant/Machinery operatives; and • 7% Other
<p>Travel to work patterns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 53% go to work outside the borough; • 27% within the borough; and • 19% locally (within walking distance)

Business survey findings
<p>Length of time operating in King's Cross</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 31% up to 5 years; • 21% 6-10 years; • 21% 11-20 years; and • 27% 21 years or more
<p>Business by sector (top 4 only)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 26% Wholesale and Retail trade; • 22% Hotels and Restaurants; • 15% Community, social and personal services; and • 10% Manufacturing
<p>Ownership type and workforce</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 65% private or partnership employing 22% of workforce • 16% Private or Public limited companies employing 15% of workforce • 15% Not-For-Profit (co-operatives community businesses, charities and Trade Unions) employing 14% of workforce • 4% Public bodies employing 48% of workforce <p style="text-align: right;">continues>></p>

Business survey findings continued

Size of establishment and workforce

- Large firms (200+ employees) employed 48% of workforce
- Medium firms (25-199 employees) employed 18% of workforce
- Small firms (1-24 employees) employed 33% of workforce

Tenure

- 65% businesses held their premises on leaseholds greater than 15 years;
- 22% businesses owned their premises on freehold; and
- 13% businesses had other shorter leases or licenses

Residence of Workforce

- 17% local - employed in 36% of businesses;
- 29% rest of inner London – employed in 28% of businesses;
- 23% outer London – employed in 23% of businesses;
- 14% outside outer London – employed in 9% of businesses; and
- 16% residence unknown

Adverse factors

- Rents – 77%;
- Business Rates – 75%;
- Cost of inconvenience of parking, loading and access – 71%;
- Staff recruitment and retention due to poor skills – 38%;
- Staff recruitment and retention due to high wages – 37%;
- Costs of crime or crime prevention – 24%
- Other – 42%

Favourable factors

- Accessibility for customers and staff – 94%
- Benefits of intense pedestrian flow – 86%
- Attractive features of buildings/area – 83%
- General reputation of the area – 70%
- Other – 94%

6.1 Introduction

The King's Cross Partnership considers those activities which support investment in economic activity as crucial to the success of all aspects of its regeneration objectives. The drive to reverse economic decline and attract new investment by improving the environment, upgrading the transport system and tackling crime has been a central plank of the King's Cross programme aimed at delivering the following second strategic objective, *'Encourage sustainable economic growth and wealth creation by improving the competitiveness of the local economy, including support for existing businesses.* The expectation is that as the local economy regenerates this will create employment for local people and thus help to tackle poverty and deprivation which are linked to unemployment. Clearly, however, these benefits cannot be expected to be localised to residents within the Partnership area.

One of the contributing factors to unemployment in King's Cross is the decline in manufacturing and distribution jobs in London. Set against these declines has been the rapid growth of service sector jobs. But, because unemployment does not necessarily flow from a lack of jobs, there is need to look at factors other than the mere creation of jobs.

While some existing businesses in King's Cross have the potential to benefit from regeneration, others lose out. As the place regenerates, it will attract more upmarket firms leading to rising rents, rates, tighter parking controls and rising wages driving up costs and forcing some businesses to contract, close down or relocate. This chapter uses evidence drawn largely from our business and household surveys to sketch the nature of the local economy in terms of its structure, performance, level of dynamism and innovation, the needs and structure of the labour force and how the local economy is positioned to survive and serve the local community as "London's new urban quarter."

6.2 The structure and character of the local economy: Size and Sector

Using the dimension of size as defined by number of employees (see key findings above) Figure 6.1 shows that 96% of all businesses in King's Cross can be defined as small. Between them, they employ 33% of the workforce. Medium size enterprises make up 3% of businesses and employ 18% of the workforce. There are only 4 large employers in King's Cross (less than 1% of all businesses) and these employ nearly half (48%) of the workforce.

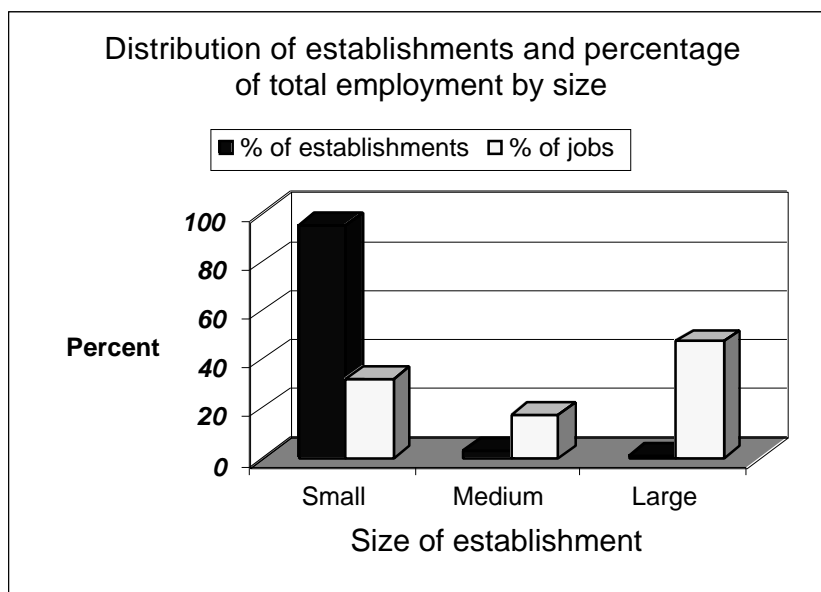
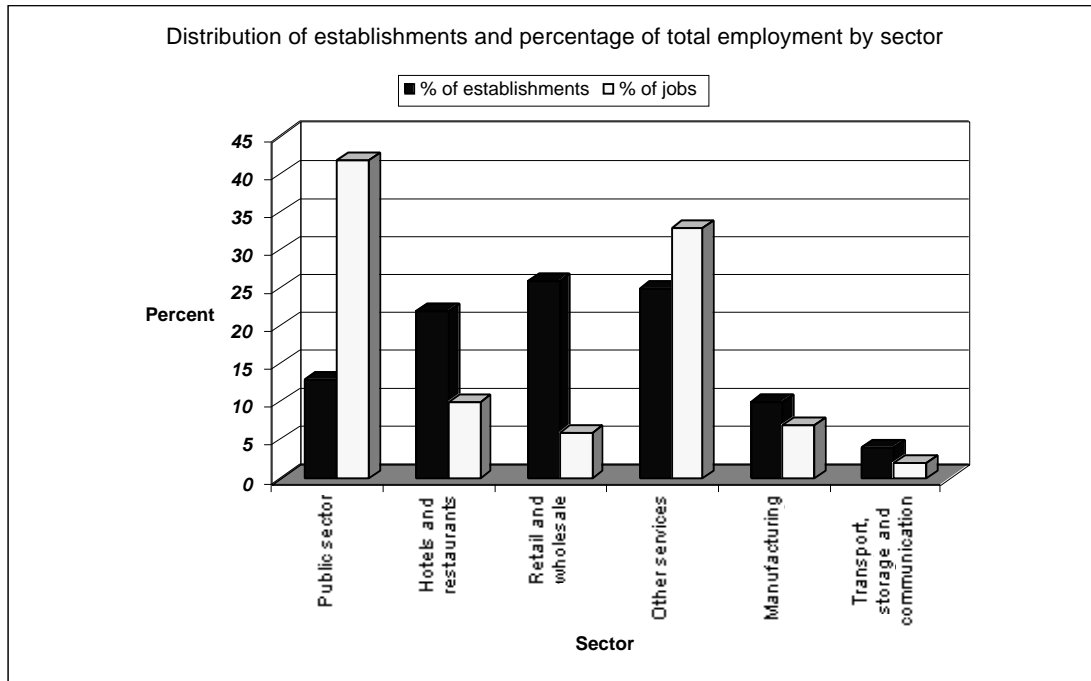


Figure 6.1 : Size of business and proportion of employees

Source : Survey of employers in King's Cross, 2000/01

Figure 6.2 shows that the public sector (13% of businesses) is the single largest employer accounting for 42% of the jobs in King's Cross; this is followed by Hotels and Restaurants (22% of businesses) employing 10%; Wholesale and retail (26% of businesses) employing 6%. Other services (includes Financial intermediation, Real estate, renting and business activity, other community, social and personal activities – 25% of businesses) account for a combined total of 33%. The declining manufacturing (10% of businesses) and transport, storage and communication (4% of businesses) sector employ 7% and 2% respectively.

Figure 6.2 : Sector and proportion of employees



Source : Survey of employers in King's Cross, 2000/01

Control and market focus

With 81% of businesses operating as single site enterprises, this reveals a high degree of autonomy in decision making for a majority of businesses in King's Cross. This level of autonomy is essentially linked to size, to small privately owned or partnership businesses and by sector, to manufacturing and transport, storage and communication who are more likely to operate from the single local site. Compared with most of central London, Kings Cross is distinctive for the absence of 'corporate' business activity.

The principal market, accounting for over 75% of over-the-counter sales, are the local people. Forty-two percent of all business reported more than 75% of over-the-counter sales as being to local people. For those sales/services delivered to customers, the main markets are the local people and central London closely followed by the rest of the UK.

Stability and change

Using responses which reveal recent or anticipated change we were able to gain some understanding of the dynamics of the local economy. Three measures were used to classify a business as unstable:

- Recent and anticipated increases or decreases in annual turnover, and /or;
- Recent increases or falls in total workforce, and/or
- Certainty of relocation within five years.

Where a business did not fulfil any of the above conditions then it was classified as stable.

Forty percent of businesses reported an increase in annual turnover in the four years between 1996-2000 compared to 21% who reported a decrease giving a net positive balance of 19% of firms reporting increases in annual turnover. In terms of stability, the proportion of firms exhibiting instability (growth or decline in turnover) is 61% - the combined total of increases and decreases in turnover – compared to 12% reporting stability (no change in turnover).

Looking to the future, 68% of businesses expected their turnover to increase compared to 9% who thought that it would decrease. There was a high level of optimism for the future with a net positive balance of 59% of firms expecting increases in future annual turnover. With a combined total of 77% of firms expecting either future increases or falls in turnover the anticipated future instability is higher than what was experienced between 1996-2000. Only 12% of firms expect future annual turnover to remain the same. Further insight into local economic turbulence was provided by examining changes in the size of the workforce. Twenty-two percent of firms reported an increase in their labour force between 1996-2000 during which time the labour force had contracted in 13% of firms giving a net positive balance of 9% firms reporting increases of labour force. Note however that this does not necessarily mean that there was a net increase in number of jobs. Using the labour force dimension, 35% of firms showed instability (rising or falling number of workers), while 38% showed a level of stability by reporting no changes in size of labour force.

The confident expectation of relocation in less than a year (9%) and within next 1-5 years (16%) also provided another measure of instability in 25% of businesses. Using this measure there was a strong show of stability with 66% of all businesses expressing an ongoing interest in the local area.

The picture which emerged was one which indicated a high level of local economic change measured by turnover and labour force. Not all this change was negative: on balance, it actually appears that most of it was positive. For example the net proportions (see above) and absolute numbers (Table 6.1) of businesses reporting increases in turnover, growth in labour force and showing continued interest in the area was consistently higher than those reporting negatively. But there were also businesses under pressure reporting decreases in turnover, falls in labour force and certainty that they would have to relocate from the area.

The following is a three-way summary classification of businesses in King's Cross:

- Stable – no change in turnover and/or labour force and/or has no intentions of relocating;
- Unstable but growing – increasing annual turnover and/or increasing labour force and/or has intentions of relocating;
- Unstable and under pressure – decreasing annual turnover and/or decreasing labour force and/or has intentions of relocating.

The distribution of these different businesses in King's Cross together with their employment levels are shown in Table 6.1 and Figure 6.3.

Table 6.1 : Number of firms and size of workforce of stable and unstable businesses

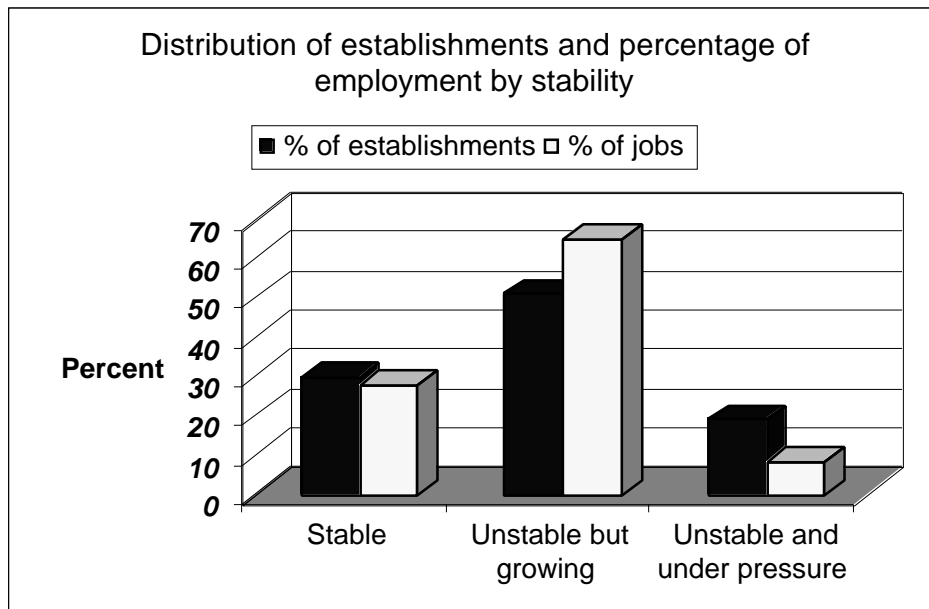
	Stable		Unstable but growing		Unstable and under pressure	
	Firms	Workforce	Firms	Workforce	Firms	Workforce
Recent turnover	48	1598	90	2194	30	302
Next turnover	22	338	130	3537	15	134
Change in Workforce	58	921	58	5060	29	435
Intentions to stay/move	59	1935	47	459	47	459
Total Numbers ¹	187	4792	325	11250	121	1330
Percentages	30%	28%	51%	65%	19%	8%

Source : Survey of employers in King's Cross, 2000/01

Notes:

1. Because businesses could appear in one or more of these 'stability dimensions', there is an element of double counting as far as total numbers are concerned.

Figure 6.3 : Distribution of establishments and percentage of employment by measure of stability



Source : Survey of employers in King's Cross, 2000/01

A number of these factors above will be further discussed in subsequent sections. At this point we note from Figure 6.3 that:

- The King's Cross economy is characterised by change in up to 70% of businesses and stability in the remaining 30%;
- Most of this change is characterised by growth in 51% of businesses employing 65% of the workforce; and
- There is a significant proportion (19%) of businesses accounting for 8% of the workforce which are under pressure.

6.3 Performance of the local economy

Economic performance can be measured in a number of different ways. Our business survey provides performance measures by changes in employment levels and annual turnover. With respect to changes in employment levels, because our analysis is based on information given during interviews with existing businesses, it fails to account for job losses arising from firms closing or relocating from the area prior to the interviews.

Change in employment levels

On balance, our business survey showed a higher proportion of businesses reporting improved employment levels in 2000/01 compared to 4 years previously, though this says nothing about the absolute employment levels and does not account for business relocation or closures. By sector, manufacturing firms were least likely to report employment growth compared to transport, storage and communications; and public services among whom a significant proportion reported growth.

Tackling unemployment by enhancing job prospects through the promotion of the local economy has been central to the King's Cross project. While the Partnership's intervention is unlikely to alter changes in employment levels linked to wider structural economic changes, study of such changes can help inform local efforts at helping the unemployed into work by focusing on areas of employment growth.

Change in annual turnover

Overall, a net balance of 19% of businesses reported an increase in turnover over the 4-year period 1996-2000/01. Twelve percent reported no change in their turnover. Sectoral analysis shows that businesses within the public services were more likely to report increases than those in manufacturing.

Relationship between employment and annual turnover

The relationship between employment and turnover is not a simple one. It does not necessarily follow that increases in annual turnover will result in more jobs or vice versa. It is perfectly feasible that increases in annual turnover may not translate into more jobs and might, in some cases lead to actual job losses as productivity grows. Friction in the labour market might result in the situation in which labour gains or losses lag behind turnover changes. Understanding the nature of this relationship is important in discussing issues of local economic competitiveness and employment – both crucial aspects of the local regeneration programme in King's Cross.

Table 6.2 : Percentage of businesses reporting changes in annual turnover and employment levels 1996 and 2000

		Number of Jobs 4 years previously					
		More	Fewer	Same	Not Applicable	Don't Know	Base
Turnover	Increased	10	36	28	20	6	359
	Decreased	21	8	52	8	12	189
	Same	5	20	45	13	16	272
	Don't Know	55	19	19	3	5	62
	Base	123	211	335	125	89	882

Source : Survey of employers in King's Cross, 2000/01

Our analysis reveals that increases in annual turnover were associated with improvements in employment levels. Thirty six percent of businesses reporting increases in turnover also reported increases in employment levels. However, in 28% of cases - and in spite of growth in turnover - employment levels remained the same and in 10% of cases there was actually a decline. This 10% case reveals the possible existence of the phenomenon of 'jobless growth' alluded to above where productivity growth is as strong as (or stronger than) the growth of sales. This is not to deny the fact that some employment impacts will lag behind turnover growth and may not have been picked up during our survey work. Where turnover had decreased firms were more likely to maintain the same level of employment (52%) or lose some of it (21%). At sector level, public services were more likely to report improvements in turnover and employment levels. Manufacturing firms on the other hand were less likely to report growth in turnover or employment.

6.4 The dynamics of local economic change

The local economy in King's Cross is dynamic – constantly changing to respond to new challenges and opportunities. Many sectors which used to employ local people have declined, especially manufacturing; storage and distribution and have been replaced with office-type employment. The pivotal role King's Cross played as a distribution centre for fish, coal and other bulky commodities has declined for decades. Jobs in mail and newspaper transport have largely gone from the locality too.

Manual jobs, both skilled and unskilled, have declined not just in King's Cross but throughout London in recent decades. Set against these declines has been the rapid growth of public services in the 1970s and private sector services in the 80s and 90s. The service economy of London has expanded greatly with jobs across a wide spectrum from those demanding

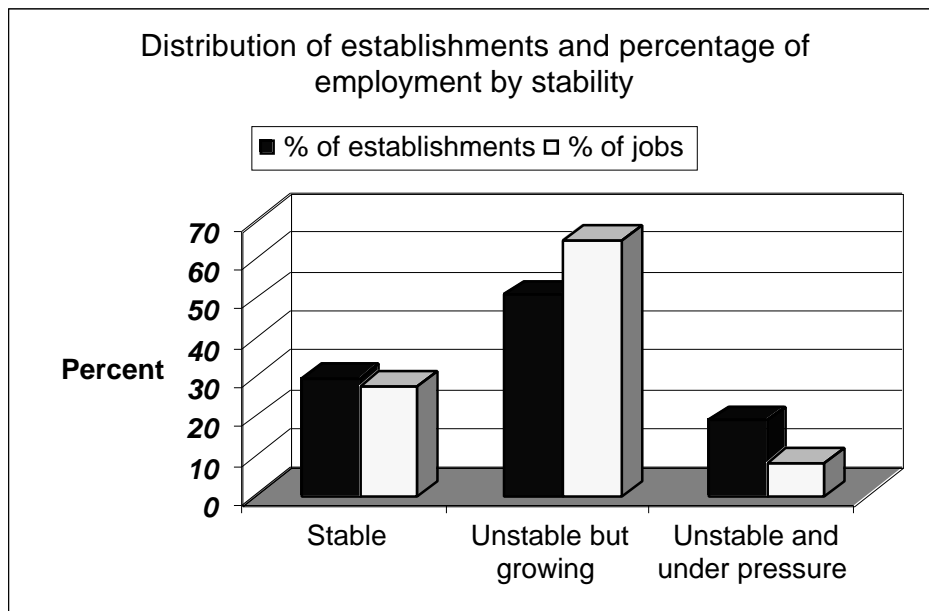
advanced degrees, through retail and transport work to low-skill manual work in hotels, cleaning and security.

Our business survey has been helpful in elucidating some particular aspects of the dynamics of local economic change in King's Cross. Such analysis may also help in identifying local economic driving forces with the potential to generate growth in output and employment.

Length of time business has been operational in the area

Because new businesses tend to generate the fastest growth among small firms, one indicator of a dynamic economy is high levels of business start-ups. The length of time businesses have been operational in the area while not an exact measure of start-up, can be used as a simple indicator of such activity. Our business survey revealed a high level of business start-ups (Figure 6.4). At the time of our survey, 31% of all businesses had been established in the area for 5 or less years; 21% had been established for 6-10 years and another 21% for 11-20 years; and 27% represented long-term businesses who had been in the area for 21 years or more. A detailed analysis by sector, showed the proportion of new businesses was highest within public service and lowest within transport, storage and communications. The manufacturing sector by contrast was characterised by older firms.

Figure 6.4 : Distribution of establishments by number of years in King's Cross



Source :

Survey of employers in King's Cross, 2000/01

The extent to which new businesses in King's Cross are able to achieve growth and expand their work force is crucial to the Partnership's drive to encourage sustainable economic growth and enhance the employment prospects for local people. Survey data enabled us to explore recent trends for new businesses in terms of growth in turnover and employment. Evidence in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 and related Figures 6.5 and 6.6 suggest that new businesses (established 0-5 years ago) fared better in terms of growth in annual turnover and employment levels than older firms:

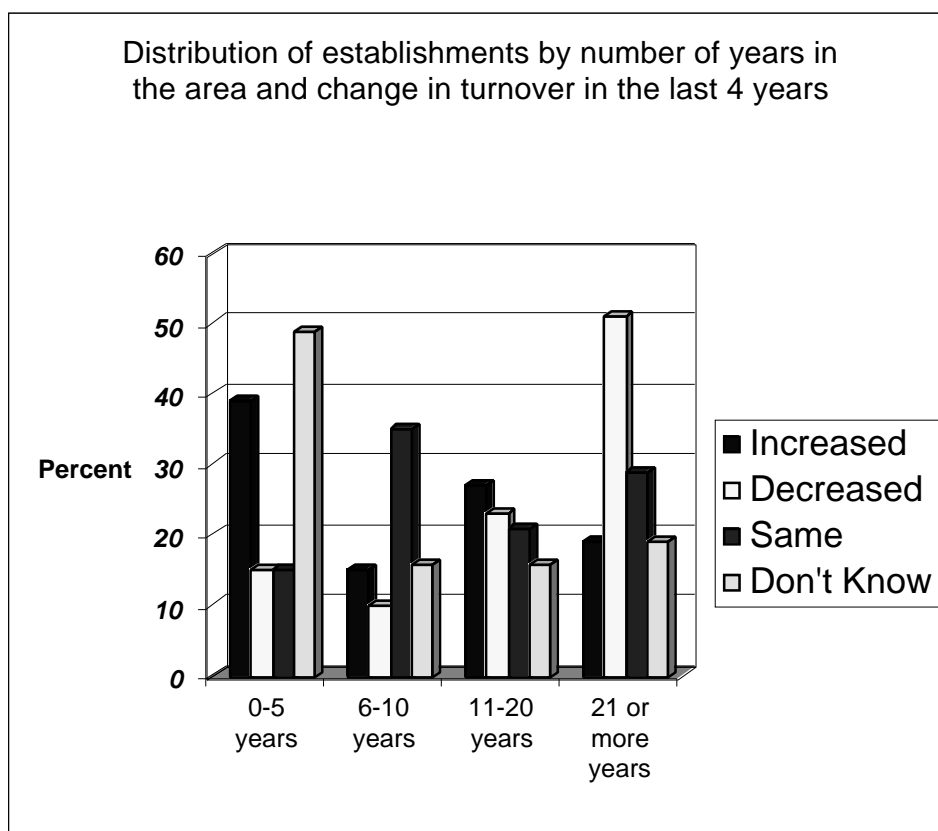
- 39% of new businesses reported increased turnover compared to 19% of older long-term firms; and
- 38% of new businesses reported growth in employment compared to 20% of older long-term firms.

Table 6.3 : Percentage of businesses reporting changes in annual turnover between 1996 and 2000 by age in the area

		Age of establishment -years				
		0-5	6-10	11-20	21+	Base
Turnover	Increased	39	15	27	19	364
	Decreased	15	10	23	51	202
	Same	15	35	21	29	294
	Don't Know	49	16	16	19	72
	Base	250	191	220	271	932

Source : Survey of employers in King's Cross, 2000/01

Figure 6.5 : Distribution of establishments by number of years in the area and change in annual turnover between 1996-2000



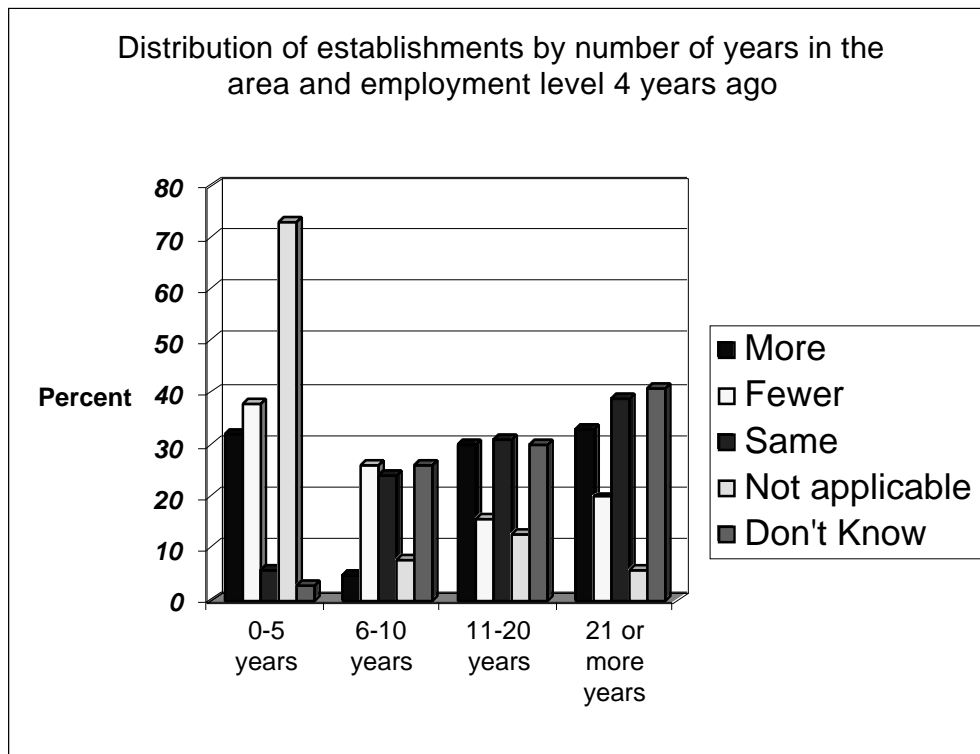
Source : Based on Table 6.3

Table 6.4 : Percentage of businesses reporting changes in employment levels between 1996 and 2000 by age

		Age of establishment -years				
		0-5	6-10	11-20	21+	Base
Number of jobs 4 years ago	More	32	5	30	33	126
	Fewer	38	26	16	20	214
	Same	6	24	31	39	358
	Not applicable	73	8	13	6	166
	Don't Know	3	26	30	41	89
Base		265	183	231	273	953

Source : Survey of employers in King's Cross, 2000/01

Figure 6.6 : Distribution of establishments by number of years in the area and change in employment levels between 1996-2000



Source : Based on Table 6.4

Business goals/plans

Identifying the nature and distribution of current and future business goals is essential to understanding the level of dynamism and innovation in the different parts of the local economy. Business growth was by far the most common goal with small and medium size firms more likely to go for growth than large firms. There was also evidence of severe pressure among a section of small firms whose prime goal was survival. Although limited, there was also evidence of the existence of dynamic and innovative firms with ambitions to grow internationally, develop new products and services and also to introduce new technology. Manufacturing was the one single sector with a significantly above average proportion of firms struggling to survive. On the other hand, the level of dynamism and innovation was highest with the public service sector.

Relocation intentions

While two-thirds of businesses expressed ongoing interest in the local area, up to a quarter said they were going to move over the next five years with manufacturing firms more likely than others to move. By size, small businesses were more likely to consider relocation followed by medium size firms. The impact of relocation on the local economy is likely to be influenced by the destination of relocating firms. Of those businesses with plans to relocate 30% had considered relocating within the area, while 54% had considered moving outside the area. Whilst movements within the local area are likely to influence local patterns of growth and decline, movements outside the local area are more likely to have an impact on the local economy as a whole. Our survey estimated that 99 establishments out of an estimated total of 1007 - representing 10% of the local economy - had intentions to move outside the area. This proportion

has the potential to have a moderate to significant impact on the local economy depending on the balance of the performance characteristics and actual employment levels of incoming and outgoing firms. While we are not able to accurately predict the characteristics of incoming firms, we have enough information to understand the nature of recently established firms in King's Cross. Our analysis of 54% of firms with moving intentions in the next five years suggests that this could result in a loss of about 3% of the total labour force of about 12000. About three-quarters of these jobs would be within small firms and the other quarter in medium size (Table 6.5) firms and a tenth would be jobs belonging to local people.

Table 6.5 : Estimated proportion of establishments expecting to relocate outside the area and job levels (percent).

	Establishments	Jobs	Base (Nos.)
Small	98	76	97
Medium	2	24	1
Base (Nos.)	98 = 100%	418 = 100%	

Source : Survey of employers in King's Cross, 2000/01

Analysed against turnover and business goals, over half (54%) of these businesses had reported falls in turnover, one fifth (21%) had reported increases. As to the future, two-thirds expected their turnover to increase. Although more than half had experienced reductions in turnover, it does not appear - from the business goals - that these were firms under considerable pressure because most were looking to grow, develop new products/services, develop into new overseas markets and aspiring to become/remain national business leaders. But, businesses are bound to overstate their goals and future turnover expectations may also be disposed to overestimates. Ten percent of firms certain to relocate had had growth in their employment levels compared to 15% who had experienced a drop. As to the specific reasons why these firms intended to move out of the area 32% said that their tenancy was expiring and another 18% needed larger premises. In the remaining 50% of cases a number of varied reasons were given. The foregoing analysis is based on a small sub-sample of businesses in the survey with certain intentions to move outside the King's Cross area.

Our findings on potential movers suggests the need to balance the strategic objective of securing new inward investment with the need to improve the competitiveness of existing enterprises. In the case of King's Cross the two main push factors relate to premises - insecure tenure and need for larger premises. These findings underline the need to provide secure tenure for a range of different size premises in King's Cross.

Ability to respond to change

Business ability to compete is associated with its efficiency in responding to the changing business environment. Business restructuring can be a response to actual or perceived pressures arising from changes in customer levels and preferences, supplier patterns, labour market etc. Ninety two percent of all businesses in King's Cross regarded their ability to respond to changes in customer levels as good. The proportion being higher for small and medium size enterprises than large firms. Unfortunately, it does appear that this ability was lower than the overall average for manufacturing firms - the very sector in need of restructuring due to recent structural economic changes which have shifted the balance of the economy from traditional manufacturing to high tech industries.

A taxonomy of business dynamism

Further detailed analyses allow us to identify and understand the nature and spread of businesses demonstrating different levels of dynamism. This understanding is not only essential in explaining the process of local economic change in different sectors, size of business and establishment type, but also in our attempts to discover those sectors of the local economy that generate growth in output and employment. For ease of understanding, businesses have been

divided into three groups based on the three-way summary classification first introduced in Section 6.2 above and repeated below:

- Stable – no change in turnover and/or labour force and/or has no intentions of relocating;
- Unstable but growing – increasing annual turnover and/or increasing labour force and/or has intentions of relocating;
- Unstable and under pressure – decreasing annual turnover and/or decreasing labour force and/or has intentions of relocating.

Table 6.6 is a categorisation of businesses based on the above three-way classification against some of the key characteristics. You will recall that change in past turnover was one of the dimensions on which businesses were defined as stable or unstable. The positive association between past turnover and the three-way classification in Table 6.6 is to be expected.

Table 6.6 : A Taxonomy of business dynamism in King's Cross

By...	Stable on...		Growing on...		Under pressure on...	
	Turnover	Employment	Turnover	Employment	Turnover	Employment
Sector	Retail and Wholesale	Retail and Wholesale; Hotels and Catering	Retail and Wholesale; Public services	Hotels and Catering	Hotels and Catering; Manufacturing	Hotels and Catering
Size	Small	Small	Small	Small	Small	Small
Sites	Single site	Single site	Single site	Single site	Single site	Single site
Goal	Survival	Growth	Growth	Growth	Survival	Profit;Growth
Moving or Staying	Staying for the foreseeable future	Staying for the foreseeable future or no intention of moving	Staying for the foreseeable future	Staying for the foreseeable future	No intention of moving	Staying for the foreseeable future
Past turnover	Remained the same	Remained the same	Increased	Increased	Decreased	Decreased
Main sales	Over the counter sales to local people	Over the counter sales to local people	Over the counter sales and deliveries to local people	Over the counter sales to local people	Over the counter sales to local people; deliveries to central London	Deliveries to central London

Source : Survey of employers in King's Cross, 2000/01

In summary, Table 6.6 suggests that the growth sector of the 1996-2000/01 King's Cross economy was more likely:

- In Retail and Wholesale; Public services; Hotels and Catering sectors;
- Among small businesses ;
- Single site establishments;
- Intending to remain in the area for the foreseeable future; and
- Reliant on local people for their main sales/services.

On the other hand, 'under pressure' businesses were more likely:

- In Hotels and Catering; and Manufacturing;
- Small in size;
- Single site establishment;
- Struggling to survive but also aiming for growth and profit;
- Remaining in the area for the foreseeable future or having no intentions to move out; and
- Reliant on local people and central London.

In other words, the buoyant firms are in many respects in similar categories to the struggling ones.

6.5 The Local economy and the Labour market

A detailed discussion of the structure of the labour force and recruitment practices was done in our report on the survey of employers (Mutale and Edwards, 2001). This penultimate section is intended to tease out and answer some of the questions raised in this earlier report but also to shed more light on the level and nature of existing demand for labour, examine the match between skills levels and job vacancies and how this might affect the Partnership's objective of enhancing employment prospects for local people. In an effort to gauge the impact of the Partnership's employment related projects unemployment levels in the area are compared with other local areas.

Demand for labour

Section 6.3 underlined the apparent strength of the local economy between 1996-2000 with a higher proportion of businesses reporting improved employment levels in 2000/01 compared to 4 years previously - with the proviso that this says nothing about the absolute employment levels. Vacancy levels provide a further indicator of the overall demand for labour, relative demand for different skills, and can also be used as a measure of the strength of the local economy. Our survey estimated that there were a total of 271 unfilled vacancies in 2000/01. We observed in the introduction to this chapter (Section 6.1) that unemployment does not necessarily flow from a lack of jobs arguing that if it did, all of King's Cross residents would be employed. While this might be true at the scale of an open regional economy, our findings suggest that at the local level of King's Cross available vacancies represent 1% of the total population and therefore lower than the level of local unemployment estimated at 7% of the adult population or 4% of the total population. However, this absolute figure tells us nothing about the distribution of these vacancies in different sectors. Indeed we don't even know if these are new vacancies created as a result of growth or old jobs falling vacant through labour turnover. Disaggregating these by sector (Table 6.7) might give us some insights on the distribution and hopefully the significance of these vacancies.

Table 6.7 : Percentage distribution of all unfilled vacancies and employment sector of local labour force

Sector	% of King's Cross vacancies by sector	% of King's Cross employees by sector	% of King's Cross working residents by sector
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	0	0	8
Manufacturing	19	7	0
Retail and Wholesale trade	4	6	11
Hotels and Restaurants	13	10	10
Transport, Storage and Communication	11	2	8
Public services	10	42	26
Other services	44	33	39

Source : King's Cross Household and Employer Surveys, 2000/01

We would expect the level of vacancies in different sectors to partly relate to the overall structure of employment in the area. This is true in a number of sectors such as Hotels and Restaurants, Transport, storage and communication, and 'other services' in which the level of vacancies compare very roughly with the proportion of people employed in that sector (Table 6.7). But even here we notice a number of interesting things: for example, the proportion of local people employed within the transport, storage and communication and 'other services' sectors is higher for local people than for each of whole sectors. Perhaps the most significant observation from

Table 6.7 is in manufacturing. It is rather curious that although manufacturing had the second highest proportion of vacancies, none of the local labour force were in the employment of this sector. The proportion of current vacancies within manufacturing considerably exceeded that of the general workforce and local labour force in manufacturing - suggesting at least in part, a high labour turnover perhaps due to low job satisfaction, poor pay and working conditions in this sector of the economy which has been in decline. The highest proportion of vacancies was in the 'other services' sector which accounts for a third of King's Cross jobs. On the premise that this sector includes financial intermediation, most professions, real estate, renting and business activity, other community, social and personal activities – generally growth areas – we contend that the high level of vacancies rather than signalling decline, most likely points to a potential growth sector with recruitment difficulties. Survey evidence suggests that this sector was more likely than any other sector to be an employer of professional people and also of those with secretarial/clerical skills and had difficulties to fill available vacancies at the wages being offered, (compared with the wages demanded). By comparison, other sectors such as retail and wholesale, public services and some sections of hotels and restaurants – requiring slightly less skilled workers - were recruiting and growing.

6.6 Linking KCP interventions to unemployment

Table 6.8 : Changes in unemployment rates in the SRB wards and other comparator wards (refer to Table 5.5 above for what these wards are).

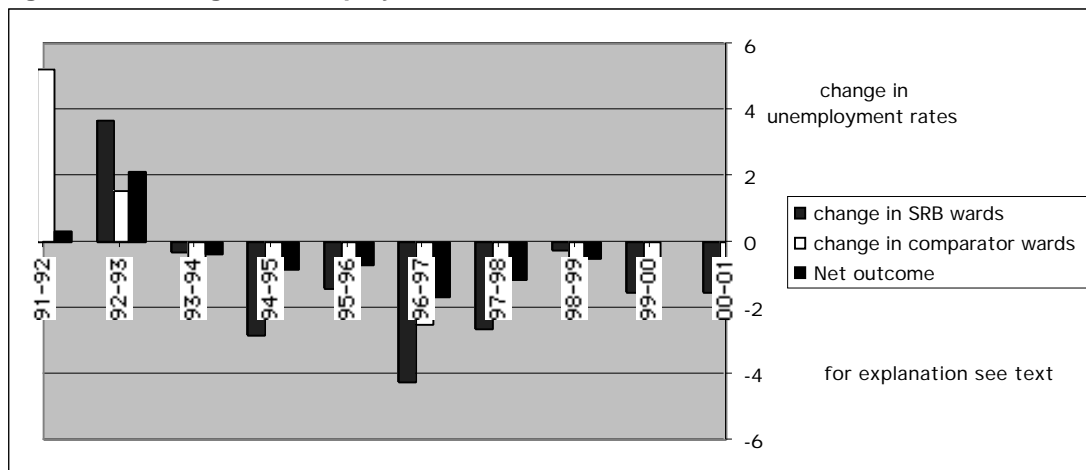
	91-92	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	96-97	97-98	98-99	99-00	00-01
Gross Outcome (SRB wards)	4.87	3.67	-0.3	-2.83	-1.41	-4.23	-2.65	-0.24	-1.54	-1.55
Outcome (Comparator wards)	5.2	1.54	-0.68	-2	-0.73	-2.54	-1.46	-0.78	-1.51	-2.06
Net outcome ¹	0.33	2.13	-0.38	-0.83	-0.68	-1.69	-1.19	-0.54	-0.03	-0.51

Source : London Borough of Camden, Ward Comparisons 2001, Table 8.

Notes:

- 1 Positive net outcome means that unemployment is rising and vice versa.
- 2. For explanation see text

Figure 6.7 : Change in unemployment



Source : Based on Table 6.8

Unemployment in King's Cross and other areas was on the increase until 1993 when it began to fall. This trend continued until 1996 when regeneration started in King's Cross. The significant falls in unemployment were between 1996-97. The rates of fall were higher in the Partnership area compared to other areas, after 1998 unemployment in the comparator wards has fallen more than in Partnership wards. To the extent that the Partnership activity has contributed to falls in unemployment rates, it is estimated that this contribution was highest in the first two years of its programme and can be estimated at no more than 2% points of the fall in unemployment. This contribution to falls in unemployment has whittled away after 1998.

An attempt to link this progress to regeneration reveals what is generally known about the interlinked nature of social activity and the difficulty this presents for research to elucidate causal processes. For example, in addition to the Partnership's attempts to reduce unemployment, there are other local and national programmes directed towards the same goal – reduce unemployment. Unemployment rates are also influenced by economic trends, labour market conditions and the nature of work forces at places of work.

6.7 Conclusions

This chapter has been an attempt to sketch the nature of the King's Cross economy in terms of its structure, performance, level of dynamism and innovation, the needs and structure of the labour force and how the local economy is positioned to survive and serve the local community as London's new urban quarter. An analysis of the structure and character of the local economy revealed the importance of SMEs in contributing to employment and economic activity. This area is distinctive for the relative absence of 'corporate' enterprises: except for the railway companies and a couple of hotels, the corporate sectors are largely missing.

The public sector was identified as the single largest employer. Local people accounted for the principal market for most businesses in King's Cross. A high level of change was observed: changes in turnover and labour force characterise the local economy. Not all this change was negative: on balance, it actually appears that most of it was positive. For example the net proportions of businesses reporting increases in turnover, growth in labour force and showing continued interest in the area was found to be consistently higher than the obverse. Our analysis revealed that increases in annual turnover were more likely to be associated with improvements in employment levels although in some cases this growth failed to translate into more jobs. Further evidence suggested that new businesses fared better in terms of growth in turnover and employment levels than older firms. Business growth was by far the most common goal with small and medium size firms more likely to go for growth than large firms. Although limited, we found evidence of the existence of dynamic and innovative firms with ambitions to grow internationally, develop new products and services and also to introduce new technology. The level of dynamism and innovation was highest within the public service and non-profit sector.

However, severe pressure was also to be found among a section of small firms whose prime goal was survival. These businesses were more likely to report decreases in turnover, falls in labour force and were certain to relocate from the area. Manufacturing was the one single sector with a significantly above average proportion of firms struggling to survive.

Our findings on potential movers suggests the need to balance the strategic objective of securing new inward investment with the need to improve the competitiveness of existing enterprises. In the case of King's Cross the two main push factors related to premises – insecure tenure and need for larger premises. These findings underline the need to provide secure tenure for a range of different size premises in King's Cross.

Many organisations have started up in King's Cross, or moved here, because of the combination of superb accessibility (local people, swarms of travellers and main line terminals) and cheap premises. As a result it has a very distinctive economy of non-corporate business, including a lot of non-profit, campaigning and charitable bodies and their associated professions.

As major investments now hit the area, reversing many decades of disinvestment, there will clearly be strong growth of activity, especially of the corporate business familiar in the rest of central London: chain stores and restaurants, corporate offices and services. Many of the existing businesses which are struggling – especially in manufacturing, vehicle repair and servicing have already been displaced by the railway building programme. Others are almost certain to be displaced as rents and property values rise. But if growth is to be achieved without the displacement of many of the area's other organisations, property management policies will need to offer strong support and we do not, at present, see where such policies are to come from.