### The Tilley Award 2000 — Crime and Disorder Reduction

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<th>Title of Project</th>
<th>A &quot;Problem Solving&quot; approach to Vice in the London Borough of Haringey</th>
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A "Problem Solving" approach to Vice in the London Borough of Haringey

Executive Summary

1. Introduction: Street Prostitution has been a long running problem in the Seven Sisters area of the London Borough of Haringey. The problem has been exacerbated by recent anti-vice initiatives in neighbouring areas which have displaced prostitutes into Haringey. This has been evidenced by: increasing levels of sex litter; increased harassment of both male and female residents; and an increase in disorderly and anti-social behaviour. The consequence of this deterioration has been an upsurge in public anger about the issue and a determination amongst partner agencies to deal with the problem in an effective way.

2. The partnership set an objective "to remove prostitution from the Seven Sisters Road".

3. Scanning and Analysis: analysis revealed that:

   • Whilst street prostitution almost inevitably involved repeat offending, the level of repeat offending increased with age. There are several possible explanations for this but it did highlight that a variety of approaches were needed to be able to offer women suitable exit strategies.
   ❯ The profile of kerb crawlers varied (and was varying). This indicated that a variety of different strategies were needed that could deal with the different groups involved
   ❯ There were many ways in which the local environment could be improved to make the locale both "safer" for the local community and more "unfriendly" to street prostitution.

4. Response

   4.1. Involving the Community: the involvement of the community was seen as being the key to the success of this project. The moribund "Vice Working Group" was galvanised. Local residents participated in street walkabouts with the Crime prevention Officer to identify problem areas. The community was encouraged to lobby parliament to try and make relevant legislation more effective.

   4.2. Partnership Action: the local authority worked to improve the environment by ensuring that streets were cleaned of sex litter early in the day (before children went to school). They also undertook a street survey to examine whether route changes could be used to make the area more difficult for kerb crawlers to operate.

   4.3. Police Action: police developed and utilised a menu of options to tackle both kerb crawling and street prostitution. Decoy operations were run with the aid of specialist policing units. Police also ensured that a joined up approach was adopted internally by increasing the training and awareness of all divisional officers.

   4.4. Other Activities: health campaigns are being undertaken and a high profile media strategy adopted. In addition this work has been the basis of a successful bid to the Home Office under the Targeted Policing Initiative.

5. Assessment:

   5.1. This initiative is still very much work in progress, however various consultative groups have expressed satisfaction that progress is being made and that the problem appears to be much reduced.

   5.2. Data from a local outreach programme indicates that the number of individual women working in this area has fallen by 26%.

   5.3. Whilst the ultimate objective of this scheme has not yet been attained, there is a clear feeling from local residents, and from available data, that this initiative is on the right track and will eventually achieve its aim.
A "Problem Solving" approach to Vice in the London Borough of Haringey

1. Introduction

1.1 A long standing community safety issue within the London Borough of Haringey has been the existence of a well defined and widely known vice area, centred around Seven Sisters Road in the South East of the Borough. The activities of street prostitutes and kerb crawlers in this area have severely affected the quality of life of local residents.

1.2 How this part of Haringey became established as a Vice area has been the subject of much debate. The problem appears to have developed in the Seven Sisters road during the Second World War. However the sex trade was originally centred on the South West end of the Seven Sisters Road — close to Finsbury Park. Extensive efforts to design out the prostitution in that area occurred during the early 90’s and the effect was to displace the trade North and East along the road — towards Tottenham and into the Borough of Haringey. Consequently, although street prostitution has been a long running issue in the area, the scale of the problem has increased dramatically in recent years.

1.3 Work focussed initially on trying to contain and manage vice, however it became very clear that this issue required a long term strategy that held as its primary objective the eradication of prostitution and related offences from the Seven Sisters Road area. This was necessary not just in the interests of the local community itself but also in the interests of the prostitutes and their families, and the men who seek their services and their families.

2. Background

2.1 General Background: Haringey is an outer London Borough with many inner city characteristics. It has an estimated 219,800 residents and has one of the most diverse populations in London (over 40% of the population are from black or minority ethnic communities). The Borough has high and increasing levels of poverty and deprivation, though this is concentrated mainly in the East. The 1999 Crime Audit identified the crime and disorder hot spots as being the Wood Green High Road (in the West) and the Tottenham High Road (in the East).

2.2 Crime Context: the Audit noted that, in 1997/8, Haringey had the 4th highest Robbery rate per head/population in London (representing 1593 offences), the 10th highest Burglary rate (4538 offences) and the 11th highest rate for Theft/Handling (10636 offences)- this category including vehicle crime. Two Wards in the Borough have qualified for the Home Office Burglary Reduction Programme by virtue of having residential burglary rate of twice the national average.

2.3 The role of prostitution in this high crime environment has long been the subject of debate. In particular, recent research has highlighted the links between the sex market and the drugs market. Evidence suggest that the growth in consumption of "crack" is a crime generator in the area and that prostitutes are an integral part of the crack trade.
3. The "Problem" of Prostitution

3.1 The problem simply put was and is one of prostitutes loitering or soliciting in a street for the purposes of prostitution, and, of men soliciting such women, either using a motor vehicle or on foot, to obtain their services. However, leaving aside, for the moment, the illegality of these activities, there are a wide variety of ways in which this behaviour impacted on the area and created a substantial crime and disorder issue.

3.2 Below are a selection of reasons that the local community highlighted to officers:-

- Men felt unhappy and ill at ease walking past such women, and being approached by them.
- Women walking home at night disliked the slow moving cars, the occupants eyeing them up and down viewing them as potential prostitutes, quite apart from the actual approaches endured by some women.
- School caretakers, parents and teachers voiced concerns over children picking up condoms or used needles whilst in the apparently safe environment of a school playground. (There are two primary schools in the affected area.)
- Carers of children and park users generally wanted the freedom to enjoy usage of their parks without encountering discarded sex litter.
- Some quite simply wanted the value of their properties not to be affected by such activities on their doorsteps.

Everyone wanted peace to sleep from the magnified evening sound of car doors getting slammed, or horns tooted or even just people conversing to 'arrange the price'.

- Parents/guardians wanted to protect their children from actually encountering the sexual activity as it took place.
- Quite apart from these very real experiences, everyone wanted their area to be free from the associated crimes of robberies, pimping, and drug dealing even when they had no direct or indirect knowledge to suggest such crimes existed in their area.

The community wanted all the 'overt evidence' to be removed. They needed re-assurance to prevent a 'talking up' of the associated, and feared crimes which they believed to be heavily plaguing their area without any real statistical justification or evidence.

3.3 Residents concern over these issues, and there desire to see a coherent response to it reached a head in the autumn of 1998. A local Vice Working Group meeting was hijacked by over 70 local residents eager to express their displeasure at what they perceived as an inadequate police and local authority response to the problems.

3.4 The desire of residents to see change occurred simultaneously with a growing awareness of the full impact and requirements of the Crime and Disorder Act. The impact of this legislation on partnership working was profound. In addition, the Auditing process required by the Act assisted in the development and support of a problem solving ethos within the Borough. The effect was a revitalisation of the Haringey Vice Working Group — which consisted of representatives from the Police, Health Authority, Local Authority and the local community.

3.5 This group issued a clear statement of intent to the local community — Vice was to be prioritised as an issue and it was to be dealt with in an effective and co-ordinated way.
4. **Re-structuring the Partnership**

4.1 **Partnership Structure:** an ethos of `problem solving policing` has been central to the way in which this issue has been dealt with. The first stage to developing an effective use of problem solving was seen as involving partners and the community at the earliest opportunity.

4.2 The Vice Officer Working Group with its established community contacts was the chosen forum to progress new ideas and initiatives. It was decided to shift the emphasis of the group, from being a forum for information exchange to being a dynamic, creative thinking group with a clear responsibility for removing the problem.

4.3 One aspect of this was the development of frequent contact between partner agencies outside of the forum. This enabled all partners to be sighted on developments and emerging issues. It also enabled the agencies responsible for the "delivery" of the strategy to work, and be perceived as working, as an effective team.

4.4 The involvement of the community was viewed as crucial to the success of any partnership work and their representatives were encouraged to think themselves about `new ways of doing things`. To assist in this process, the working group was given presentations and training on the problem solving process and, in particular on the use of the "Problem Analysis Triangle".

5. **Problem Analysis**

5.1 Data Analysis: the first step towards developing a co-ordinated response was an examination of police data. This study examined data relating to Soliciting/Loitering Offences as well as kerb crawling offences that occurred between April 1997 and October 1998.

5.2 **Time**

5.2.1 Offending by Month in the year April 97 — March 98, 161 soliciting offences had been recorded. However, in the period April 98 — October 1998, 211 offences had been recorded. The monthly variations in the number of offences was very wide:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>April</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>June</th>
<th>July</th>
<th>August</th>
<th>September</th>
<th>October</th>
<th>November</th>
<th>December</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
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5.2.2 Offending by Day: the results for the monthly distribution of offending indicated that the perceived pattern of offending related more to police activity than to offending behaviour. This was reinforced when offending by day of week was studied:
Availability of Police resources at that time were dictated by the days on which Response Teams were allocated "Tasking" days. Due to the shift pattern these occurred on Monday to Thursday. Very occasionally, specific "Vice" initiatives were launched in which officers worked throughout the week.

Offending by Hour of Day: the graph (below) illustrates the time at which offences occurred:

The clear peak in offending lay between 2100 and Midnight. However it was also noted that, in practical terms, this was when prostitutes were first arrested. The inevitable result of a policy of arresting, prostitutes is that, after the first series of arrests, there are progressively less and less police available. This again, this pattern is strongly influenced by police activity. Other evidence also indicated that prostitutes responded to this by adjusting the times at which they went onto the street.

Location

Location by Street name: the table (below) identifies those streets in which more than 10 offences occurred between April 1997 and October 1998.
5.3.2 The significance of the main Seven Sisters Road is obvious. It is not clear, however, where exactly in Seven Sisters Road this offending is occurring. Historically, offending has been concentrated at the West end of Seven Sisters Road, between St Ann’s Road and Amhurst Park. When Seven Sisters Road is excluded from calculations then the distribution of offences in the other streets can be measured. If looked at in this way then 43.9% of offences occur between St Ann’s Road and Tottenham High Road inclusive. This would appear to indicate a change in the location of offending away from the West of Seven Sisters Road and towards the junction of Seven Sisters and the High Road.

5.3.3 An additional issue was that although the most offending occurred on Seven Sisters Road, the main thoroughfare, nevertheless kerb crawling had a significant impact on the surrounding streets. Vehicles would frequently turn in to side roads to go back to a prostitute or to check that the area was clear of police or to find somewhere to go to with the prostitute.

5.3.4 If this assumption is correct, then it correlates with a concentration of offending that has been located around Seven Sisters Tube Station. Analysis for the Haringey Borough Crime Audit identified that 9% of all offences on Tottenham Central Ward occur in side streets around the station. If a proportion of crimes identified as occurring on Seven Sisters, the High Road and West Green Road are included, then the estimated proportion of crime occurring in that area rises to 27%. This indicated that a crime hot spot was developing which was strongly linked to prostitution. This added impetus to the need to address the vice issue with a coherent and effective strategy.

5.3.5 One needs to be wary of making too many assumptions and estimates, however these figures do match qualitative intelligence data. This area has a high number of acknowledged Crack houses for example.

5.3.6 Street Drinking/ Needle find locations: The evidence for unambiguous links between Drugs, Prostitution and Robbery was more qualitative than statistical. However evidence from other agencies did tend to add weight to the hypothesis. Haringey Council identified the main Street Drinking and Needle find locations as part of their input to the Crime Audit. Four out of Seventeen "Street Drinking" locations are on Tottenham Central and Seven Sisters Wards (see map). Five out of Nine "Needle find" locations in the Borough are on these two wards.

5.3.7 These locations would be consistent with use by prostitutes and their clientele and indicate a well defined concentration of drug use.

5.4 Profile of Street Prostitutes in Haringey

5.4.1 Age: The age distribution of prostitutes arrested is as follows:-
Repeat Offending: Of the 372 cases examined, 321 involved repeat offenders. When the pattern of Repeat Offending is examined the following results are found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of Offences per Offender</th>
<th>No of Offenders</th>
<th>Total Offences</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>372</td>
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5.4.3 From the above table the following conclusions were drawn about repeat offending:-

- A minority of Accused offend once. The majority of offenders are Repeat Offenders. (It should be borne in mind that the number of single offence Accused would probably be reduced still further if all possible Aliases for the Accused were identified.)
- 10 Offenders (10%) are responsible for 36% of Offences. Alternatively 21 Offenders (20%) are responsible for 60% of offences. Whilst this is a high rate of repeat offending for most categories of crime, for prostitution it is a surprise that there are, apparently, so many different women working the ground. This may reflect a large number of Aliases being used. Alternatively it may indicate a large transient population of prostitutes who come to the area infrequently, perhaps...
when displaced from more usual haunts. A third alternative is that amongst the many women working the ground regularly, Police are targeting a small number who are well known (i.e. who they know without a doubt to be prostitutes) rather than those who they do not immediately recognise.

5.4.4 If the Ages of Repeat Offenders are compared to the number of Total Accused, the results are as follows:

5.4.5 From the above table, it appeared that Repeat Offending is predominant amongst the 25-29 Age group. As the Age Groups become younger the element of Repeat Offending reduces. This is not surprising in that one would expect prostitutes to become hardened to a way of life and hence increase their offending. However it did emphasise the need to consider using a variety of different strategies to deal with individual prostitutes.

5.5 Profile of Kerb Crawlers in Haringey

5.5.1 Ethnicity: the proportions of those accused of Kerb Crawling by ethnic group is as follows (figure in brackets is the actual number):
- White 72.8% (67)
- Black 16.3% (15)
- Other Ethnic Groups 10.9% (10)

5.5.2 These figures indicated an over-representation of the white community and an under-representation of the Black community. In addition, when the “white” kerb crawlers were examined in terms of the police identification codes. It was noted that the proportions were as follows:
- IC1 (white European, light skinned) 31.5% (29)
- IC2 (white European, dark skinned/Mediterranean) 41.3% (38)

5.5.3 Most of the names relating to the designation IC2 appear to be of Turkish/Kurdish/Greek origin. This helped to indicate specific communities in which health education activities could be targeted.

5.5.4 Age of Kerb Crawlers: The following graph indicates the age of those accused of Kerb Crawling:
5.5.5 The peak age is clearly 35-39 years old, with strong representation for those aged 25-34. One should be wary of drawing conclusions from such a small sample base, however, given the age of the Accused it is likely that they are married men, possibly with families. This serves to emphasise the need for health education amongst whichever groups are identified as being the client groups for the prostitutes.

5.5.6. Repeat Offending: there is no recorded repeat offending amongst Kerb Crawlers. The conclusions to be drawn from this are equivocal. This finding may be held to illustrate the effectiveness of enforcing kerb crawling legislation. However, it also emphasises the critical importance of dealing effectively with the prolific offenders — the prostitutes.

5.6 Conclusions and Priorities:

5.6.1 Working with Partnership and the Community: all evidence indicated that it was essential to build a joined up response to the problems of the area. Training and communication both internally and externally to partner agencies was essential to ensure that all within the organisations were aware of the role they had to play.

5.6.2 Target Offenders: pressure needed to be maintained on both prostitutes and kerb crawlers in the area. This needed to be achieved with as an effective use of resources as possible. The profiles indicated that several different types of offending patterns may be present for both offender groups. This required that a range of approaches be adopted and that a wide ranging menu of options should be developed.

5.6.3 Assist Victims: a range of support mechanisms should be available to ensure that vulnerable women could be provided with an exit strategy from prostitution.

5.6.4 Care for Communities: data should be gathered to ensure that communities that may be at risk, in health terms, can be targeted in health promotion campaigns.

5.6.5 Environmental Improvements: improving the local environment and making it "unfriendly" to offenders should be a key part of any strategy. This should be linked to commitments to maintain improved areas and track areas in which displacement may have occurred.
6. **Response**

6.1 The response to the vice issue has been delivered in a variety of ways and through a range of agencies. This response has been informed by the research and analysis undertaken and the priorities set by it.

6.2 **Involving the Community:** the practical and positive involvement of the community was seen as being the key to the long term success of this initiative. Accordingly great emphasis has been placed on galvanising individual members and ensuring their active participation in what has occurred. Specific examples of their actions are:-

- Attendance at and support for the Vice Officer Working Group. The representatives were given and have indeed fulfilled a responsibility to report back to their communities on the good work that is being done.
- Participating in street walkabouts in company with the local beat officer, the housing officer if applicable, and the crime prevention officer to show `where' hotspot vice locations are or have moved to. This has enabled targeted environmental improvements to be made.
- The provision of statements to the police proving the `annoyance to the local community' which is necessary to secure the conviction of offenders detected in decoy initiatives.
- Lobbying of the Home Secretary and local MP through letter writing to get `kerb-crawling' made an arrestable offence.

6.3 **Partnership Action:** in response to issues identified within the problem scanning and analysis stages, the Local Authority have provided significant assistance. Specific examples are:-

- The collecting of sex litter; the local authority cleansing department has changed its cleansing times to avoid school children encountering condoms in identified locations. Cleaning now occurs early in the morning. Before children arrive at school.
- Street Survey: in response to concerns regarding routes adopted in and around Seven Sisters by kerb crawlers, a full survey of the area was completed by Haringey Highways Department. The result was a series of traffic proposals to make it more difficult for kerb-crawlers in vehicles to go `undetected' and indeed to evade capture by police. (This was subsequently rejected by the community after a full consultation procedure. Nevertheless it is a good example of partnership working and of working in full consultation with the community.)

6.4 **Police Response:** using the problem analysis, Police have tried to approach the Vice issue from a number of different directions.

6.4.1 **Designing Out Prostitution:** a police crime prevention officer conducted a full Crime Prevention Survey. The findings of that report have resulted in:

- The ends of advertising boards being blocked off preventing prostitutes taking their clients behind them to conduct sexual acts.
- The prioritising of trees being cut back and maintained in the area to maximise the impact of street lighting.
- The removal of a narrow strip of grass/bush area to the front of a school clearly being used by the prostitutes because of complaints re dropped condoms found in the school. By opening up the area, the problem has gone.
- Two park areas were identified as being heavily used by prostitutes. The `sunken gardens' in Seven Sisters Road now are regularly maintained and have improved lighting making it difficult for the girls to hide.
- Paignton Park has had new types of bushes planted that are not `friendly to the human touch', others have been removed and the ground level actually heightened to improve natural surveillance of the area.
6.4.2 The police / council have also initiated street walkabouts with ‘the people in the know’ in an attempt to identify further problem areas. By focusing the community on how to ‘design out’ street prostitution and kerb crawling, a number of actions, such as those described above, have been generated to help address the problem.

6.4.3 Enforcement Action: A comprehensive menu of activities has been developed to ensure a flexible and effective approach by police:

- **Record Keeping:** A ‘Prostitute Binder’ has been created which has a photograph of every woman likely to ‘work our patch’. This assists the core team officers in ‘not being had over’ by a prostitute who provides false particulars. Also in this binder is an easy guide to what the offences are, the evidence necessary to prove the offence, and the paperwork required.

- **Training New Recruits:** Every Street Duties Course (new officers who have just completed their training at Hendon) has rostered into its timetable a vice attachment whereby they are given a classroom input and thereafter observe the arresting of offenders.

- **Training and Using Special Constables:** The Special Constabulary have likewise received training on vice legislation and participated in arrest/report initiatives. They are directly tasked to patrol the area not only to provide a high visibility presence but also to arrest/report offenders.

- **Targeted Patrolling:** The Chief Inspector responsible for core team policing monitors and expects from his team inspectors evidence of their team having policed the problem. Therefore, when team strengths permit, this inevitably means each team running a ‘vice car’ over their week of nights.

- **Targeted Vice Initiatives:** To supplement the team actions, the Community Policing Unit will work early turns to catch the ‘late-workers’ and will periodically run week long vice initiatives especially in the summer months when the problem tends to intensify and is more overt.

- **Wants Register:** Whenever a vice initiative takes place, the Community Policing Unit will liaise with the courts to establish what ‘Non-payment of Fines’ warrants are outstanding against any prostitute and collect these for action throughout the initiative. All teams are encouraged to scan the ‘Warrants Register’ for prostitutes prior to any initiative undertaken or night duty performed.

- **Use of Summons:** A new approach adopted for a trial period was to exercise our discretion not to arrest prostitute offenders but to report and summons them to court instead. The intention was to get all the prostitutes to court on the one day, with more charges against them than if they had been arrested, and to maximise in the magistrate(s) mind the extent of the problem thus hoping to influence his/her punishment of them. The intention and hope was that the heavier fines would deter the prostitutes. This achieved some success in terms of deterring ‘new girls’ but the established ‘crack addict’ prostitutes remained.

- **Specialist Assistance:** A specialist Metropolitan Police Unit, C014 (CLUBS AND VICE), has been asked for their assistance. This has resulted in two decoy operations being run in South Tottenham. In these operations, female officers walk around the local area and prosecute any males attempting to procure their services. The “decoy” officers are kept under visual and audio surveillance at all times to gather evidence and to ensure their safety. The Community Policing Unit at Tottenham has both participated in and support these operations. In doing so officers have familiarised themselves with the practices, procedures, and equipment necessary to run successful decoy operations. This knowledge will be developed to support future initiatives.

6.5 Other Activities

- **Health Information:** The decoy operations yield a large amount of data about the customers of prostitutes. This data is being systematically examined to establish the primary users in terms of age, ethnic background, address, etc. This information is being passed to relevant agencies with a
view to educating and dissuading males from future offending. This will take the form of posters in relevant languages being displayed in key community locations. One recent finding is that the profile of customers is changing and that more young males, particularly those of East European appearance, are coming to the area. A campaign is being develop which will identify for those males the health risks of this activity but will also draw attention to the impact of a criminal conviction on any asylum application etc that is being processed.

Developing a Media Strategy: the local press were invited to observe a decoy operation with the intention that an article would be written and hopefully thereafter read by a large section of the community. An article did appear in the local paper reaching a substantial audience allowing partners to re-assure the community of our commitment to tackling the problem. The importance of involving the media has been recognised and it is the intention to build on this relationship.

Prostitutes as Victims: whilst the impact of their work on the community is unacceptable, there is also a recognition that prostitutes are often very vulnerable members of society. Police have worked with "Sexual Health On Call" (SHOC) an outreach project funded by the local health authority to try and assist in supporting work that provides an exit strategy for these women from prostitution. Police have set up meetings with local prostitutes to try and discuss issues and have recognised that provision for this aspect of the problem if long term progress is to he made with individual women.

Building for the Future: the commitment to using all means available to tackle vice is further evidenced in the successful bid under the Home Office Targeted Policing Initiative (Round 2) £535,000 has been secured to tackle prostitution and drugs. This bid will continue current work, make environmental improvements, . will establish an enhanced outreach project in South Tottenham and will pilot the use of Anti-social behaviour orders against persistent prostitutes.

7. Assessment

7.1 The . objective set for this objective was to remove prostitution from the Seven Sisters Road area. In this respect, the Tottenham Vice initiative is still very much work in progress. Street Prostitutes can still be found in this area, kerb crawlers do still come to the area and problems associated with the presence of both groups still exist.

7.2 This. initiative has had difficulties in identifying and quantifying progress towards its objective because of problems in developing relevant performance indicators. Whilst arrest figures and summons data would measure outputs and the number of vice initiatives would measure inputs, neither would clearly indicate progress towards the objective. In fact, they could serve to demonstrate that the initiative was failing to achieve its objective.

7.3 The most obvious way of evaluating success would have been to measure public satisfaction and feelings regarding the effectiveness of work being undertaken. Unfortunately, funding was not available to develop and undertake the public surveys that would have provided this means of measurement. Resources drawn from the Home Office Targeted Policing Initiative will address this lack of funding, in the near future. It is hoped that, at that stage, a full assessment of the impact of work in South Tottenham can be carried out.

7.4 Notwithstanding the availability of better developed performance indicators in the future, this initiative can be assessed at the moment as succeeding in the following ways:-

7.5 Sector and Residents Meetings: since the occasion in 1998 when residents came en masse to a meeting, attendance has been good at sector and residents meetings. However, in recent months attendance has dwindled. At a recent Sector meeting, disappointment was expressed at the low turn out (9 members of the public) however it was felt that this was because residents felt that the issue was no longer of such burning importance — primarily because the residents could see it was being tackled effectively. That same meeting expressed satisfaction that progress was being made...
that the streets were not as crowded with street prostitutes and that the area was generally quieter. These feelings have been expressed in a number of different forums in the area.

7.6 Feedback from "Sexual Health Outreach Clinic" (SHOC): In 1998/9, SHOC identified that they had encountered 116 individual women on the streets. In the period 1999/2000, they had encountered 86 individual women. This indicates a 26% reduction in the number of women they have found working as prostitutes. There may be different reasons for this. One suggestion is that prostitutes were starting to work later, when they knew police would not be operating, however this was also outside the time that the outreach programme operated in. If this is the case then it should be noted that a side effect of the reduction in activity during the evening/night is a reduction in anti-social behaviour that impacts on local residents. There was a strong feeling, however, that the reduction in women encountered was due to the police and partnership action that had been taking place.

7.7 All the information above indicates that the Tottenham Vice Initiative has had a positive impact on the problems of the area. The work conducted so far will be built on using Home Office funding, to ensure that the initial objective is achieved and that the residents of this community are able to have the quality of life that they deserve.

Appendix

A: Map of Borough of Haringey