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Availability and licensing: Introduction

The legal availability of alcohol is generally accepted to be one of the main controls on levels of alcohol consumption and harm. Licensing systems are therefore a key component of an overall alcohol control policy.

Licensing laws control where, when and to whom alcohol can be sold or supplied. The following sections provide information on the licensing regulations in the UK and trends in the number of licensed premises. There is also information about the impact of licensing and availability regulations on public health and the night time economy.

Licensing laws

Licensing laws control where, when and to whom alcohol can be sold or supplied. Licensing is governed by the *Licensing Act 2003* in England and Wales, and by the *Licensing (Scotland) Act 2005* in Scotland.

In England and Wales, the *Licensing Act 2003* amalgamated 6 previous licensing regimes into a single integrated scheme (alcohol, public entertainment, cinemas, theatres, late night refreshment houses and night cafes). In Scotland, the *Licensing Act 2005* regulates solely the sale and supply of alcohol.

However, while the basic principles and provisions of both Acts are broadly similar (for example, on both sides of the border alcohol licensing is the responsibility of local authorities) there are some key differences.

Basic principles and provisions

- A special licence is required to sell or supply alcoholic drink above 0.5% strength alcohol by volume [ABV]
- Premises are licensed for the sale or supply of alcohol. In addition, there is a system of personal licences, authorising the holders to sell or supply alcohol for consumption on or off premises for which a premises licence has been granted
- Personal licences are granted to those aged 18 years of age and over following a test of knowledge of licensing law and social responsibilities, and subject to police scrutiny if relevant offences have been committed
- Each application for a premises licence must be considered on its own merits
- Applications for premises licences must normally be granted by the licensing authorities in the form requested unless there is some specific reason why they should not be
- Licensing authorities may only restrict the sale or supply of alcohol when it is necessary for the promotion of the licensing objectives as defined in the Licensing Acts. No other considerations are relevant

Licensing objectives

In England and Wales, there are 4 licensing objectives:

1. The prevention of crime and disorder
2. The protection of public safety
3. The prevention of public nuisance
4. The protection of children from harm

In Scotland there is also a fifth objective:

5. The protection and promotion of public health.

Types of alcohol licences

Under both the England and Wales *Licensing Act 2003* and Section 142 of the *Licensing (Scotland) Act 2005*, in order to sell alcohol in any capacity, an individual must apply for a personal and/or a premises licence, or a temporary event notice if s/he wishes to sell alcohol on a temporary basis. In Northern Ireland, the situation is slightly different, in that there are a fixed number of licences for pubs and off-licences due to the surrender principle, whereby the granting of a licence for a new public house or off-sales is

conditional on the surrender to the court of an existing licence.

A personal licence authorises an individual to supply or authorise the supply of alcohol in accordance with a premises licence under the *Licensing Act 2003*.¹ Anyone who plans to sell or supply alcohol or authorise the sale or supply of alcohol must apply for a personal licence.² Personal licences are not required in Northern Ireland.

According to Home Office estimates, there were 544,600 personal licences in force in England and Wales on 31st March 2013. The number of personal licences in force on 31st March 2013 was 52,794, according to Scottish Liquor Licensing Statistics.³

A premises licence authorises a premises to be used for the sale or supply of alcohol, the provision of regulated entertainment or the provision of late night refreshment under the *Licensing Act 2003*.⁴ Any business or other organisation that sells or supplies alcohol on a permanent basis needs to apply for a premises licence. This includes qualifying members' clubs (such as the Royal British Legion, working men's clubs and rugby clubs).⁵

The Home Office estimates that there were 204,400 premises licences in force in England and Wales on 31 March 2013, of which 8,900 were 24-hour alcohol licenced premises. There were 16,237 premises licenses in force in Scotland on 31st March 2013, according to Scottish Liquor Licensing data.⁶ There were 2,520 licensed premises in Northern Ireland in 2013, according to the NI Department for Social Development.

When applying for a premises licence, the applicant is required to submit an operating schedule that includes a statement of the steps s/he proposes to take to promote the licensing objectives. There is a range of sanctions and remedies that can come into play in the event of breaches of the law or the conditions on which the premises licences were granted.

¹ www.gov.uk (November 2013), '[Alcohol and late night refreshment licensing England and Wales 31 March 2013](#)', Home Office

² www.gov.uk (March 2013), '[Alcohol licensing](#)', Home Office

³ www.gov.uk, 'Alcohol and late night refreshment licensing: statistical news release', Home Office; The Scottish Government (Last update: March 2014), High Level Summary of Statistics Trend, in '[Drugs and Alcohol – Liquor Licensing](#)'

⁴ www.gov.uk, 'Alcohol and late night refreshment licensing England and Wales 31 March 2013', Home Office; The Scottish Government, High Level Summary of Statistics Trend

⁵ www.gov.uk, Alcohol licensing, Home Office

⁶ www.gov.uk, 'Alcohol and late night refreshment licensing England and Wales 31 March 2013', Home Office; The Scottish Government, High Level Summary of Statistics Trend

Alcohol licences: Statistical trends

Home Office data illustrates a steady increase in the number of licences acquired for selling alcohol in recent years (see Figure 1).

There were 544,600 personal licences in England and Wales on 31 March 2013, 7% more than the previous year (510,300), and 39% more than 31 March 2009 (391,600). There were 52,794 personal licences in Scotland in 2013, 15% up on the previous year (45,919). There are no personal licences figures for Northern Ireland; alcohol licences are issued for premises only.

Figure 1: Estimated number of personal licences, UK, 2009 to 2013

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
England & Wales	391,600	434,200	N/A**	510,300	544,600
Scotland	N/A*	N/A*	40,286	45,919	52,794
Northern Ireland	N/A				
* pre-implementation of the 2005 Licensing Act in full; earlier statistics are not comparable					
** data were not collected for 31 March 2011, according to the Home Office					

Home Office (November 2013), 'Alcohol and Late Night Refreshment Licensing England and Wales', 2012/13 tables; Scottish Government (March 2014), 'Statistical Bulletin Crime and Justice Series: Scottish Liquor Licensing Statistics 2012-13'

Figure 2 shows little change in the number of premises licences in the UK in recent years.

There were 204,400 premises licences in force in England and Wales on 31 March 2013, a slight increase of 1% compared with the previous year (202,500), and an increase of 3% compared with 31 March 2009 (198,000). Scotland saw a 1% fall in the number of premises licences in 2013 on the last 2 years. There were 7% fewer premises licences in Northern Ireland in 2013 compared with 2009 (2,510 compared with 2,700). This percentage decrease is relatively small in absolute terms compared with England & Wales and Scotland.

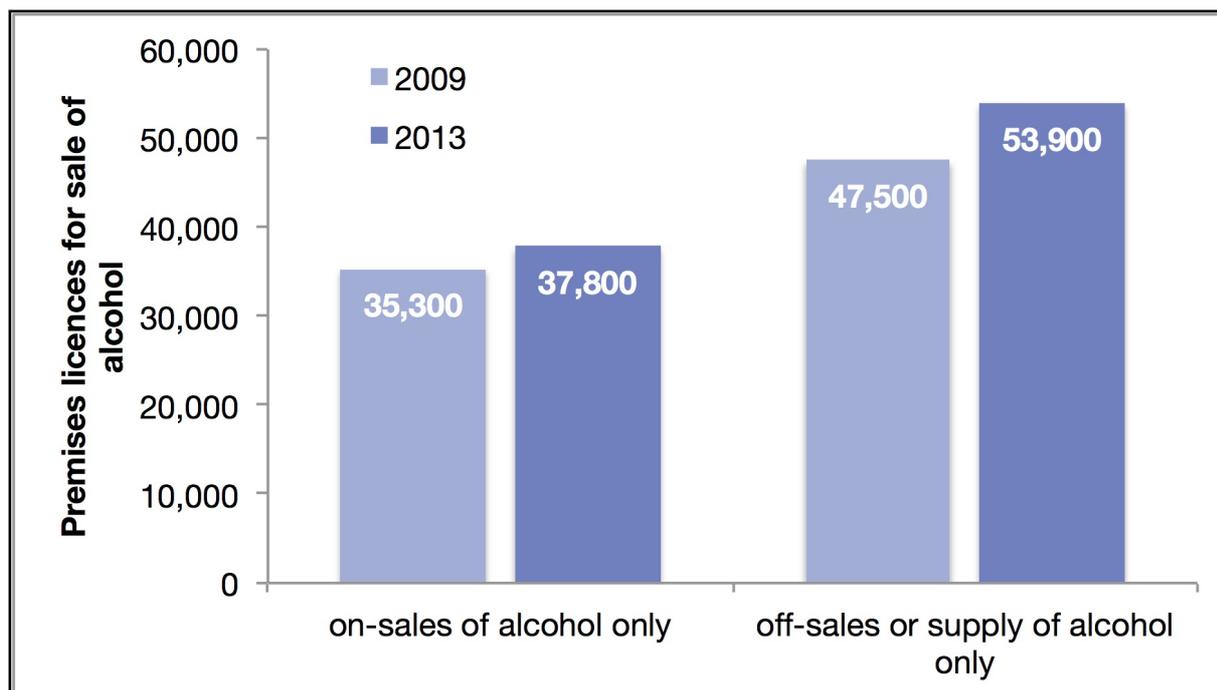
Figure 2: Estimated number of premises licences, UK, 2009 to 2013

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
England & Wales	198,000	202,000	N/A**	202,500	204,400
Scotland	N/A*	N/A*	16,377	16,378	16,237
Northern Ireland	2,700	2,725	2,757	2,447	2,510
* pre-implementation of the 2005 Licensing Act in full; earlier statistics are not comparable					
** data were not collected for 31 March 2011, according to the Home Office					

Home Office (November 2013), 'Alcohol and Late Night Refreshment Licensing England and Wales', 2012/13 tables; Scottish Government (March 2014), 'Statistical Bulletin Crime and Justice Series: Scottish Liquor Licensing Statistics 2012-13'

According to Home Office figures, there were 37,800 on-sales only premises licences in England and Wales in 2013, 2,500 (or 7%) more than in 2009, when there were 35,300. There were 53,900 off-sales only premises licences in 2013, 6,400 (or 13%) up on 2009 when there were 47,500 (see Figure 3).

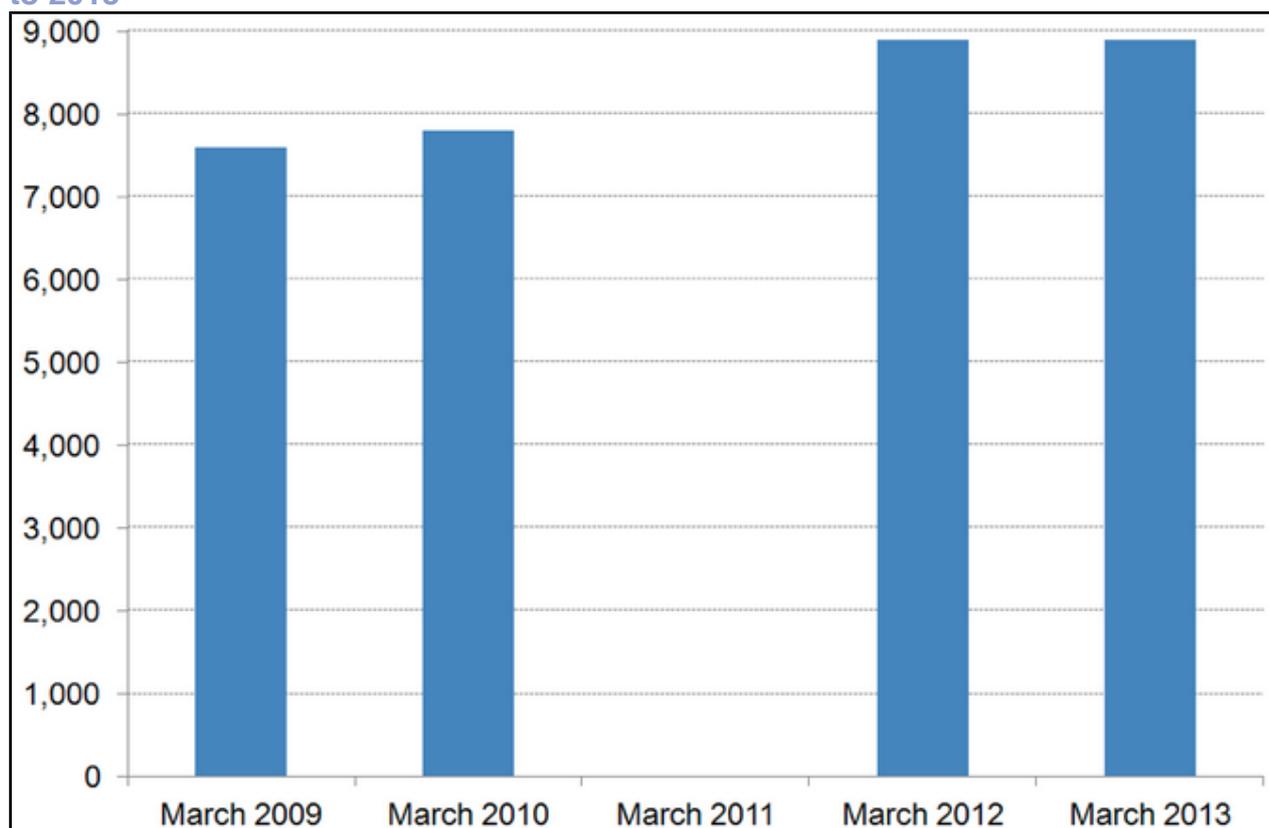
Figure 3: Premises licences for on- or off-sales of alcohol only, England and Wales, 2009/2013



Home Office (November 2013), 'Alcohol and Late Night Refreshment Licensing England and Wales', 2012/13 tables

There were 8,900 premises with 24-hour alcohol licences in force in England and Wales on 31 March 2013, the same as the previous year, but an increase of 14% (1,100) compared with 31 March 2010 (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Estimated number of 24-hour alcohol licences, England and Wales, 2009 to 2013

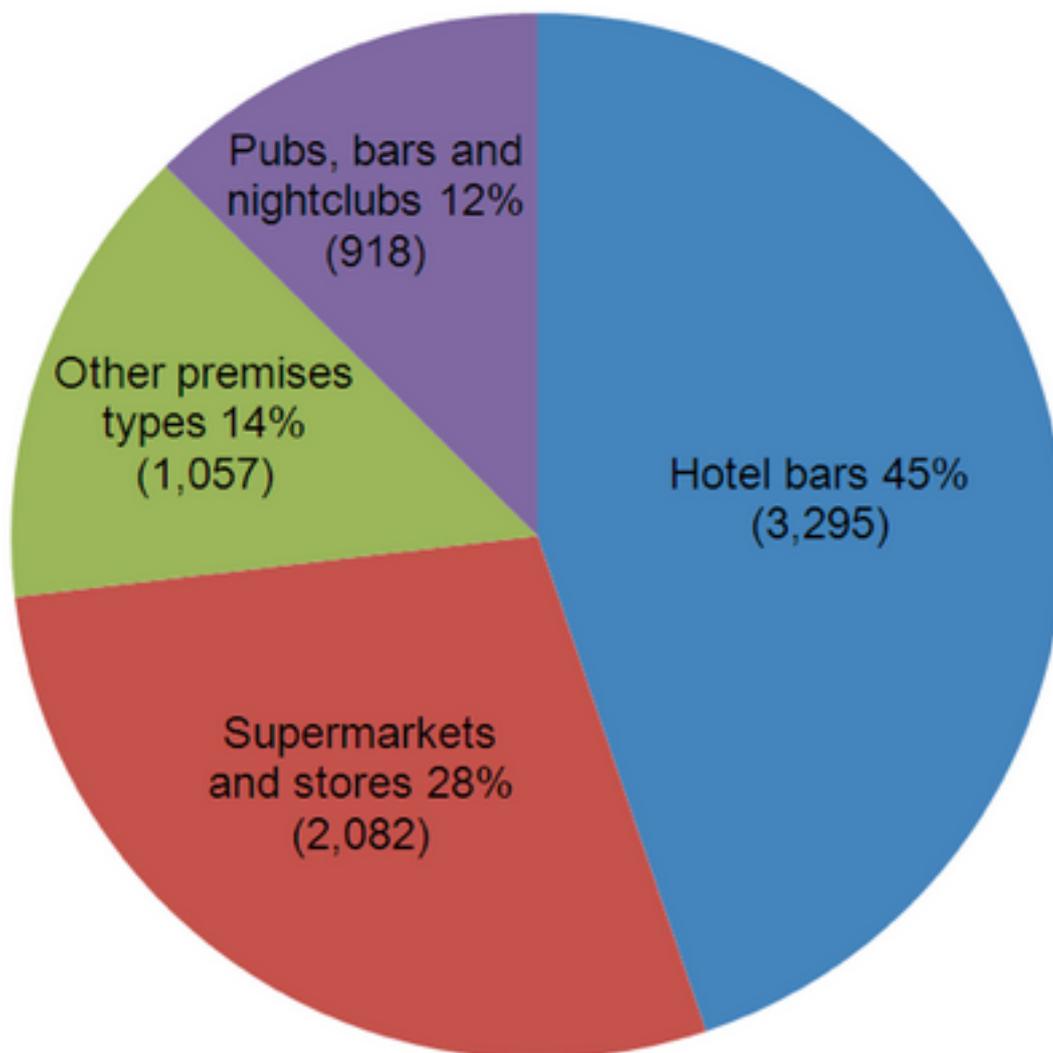


Home Office (November 2013), 'Alcohol and Late Night Refreshment Licensing England and Wales', 2012/13 tables

According to the survey results from 95% of all Local Authorities in England and Wales, 7,672 premises were licensed for the sale or supply of alcohol for 24 hours in their standard timings on 31 March 2013, and of these the premises type was known for 7,352 licences. This represents approximately 4% of all premises licences and club premises certificates authorised to sell alcohol.

As Figure 4 illustrates, on 31 March 2013, 45% (3,295) of all 24-hour alcohol licences were in hotel bars, of which, for where it was known, 85% (2,660) were open 24 hours for guests only and the remaining 15% (481) were open to the public as well as guests. Supermarkets and stores accounted for 28% (2,082) of 24-hour alcohol licences, of which, for where it was known, 53% (1,072) were for convenience stores and the remaining 47% (963) were for large supermarkets. Pubs, bars, and nightclubs accounted for 12% (918) of 24-hour alcohol licences. There were also 1,057 other premises types with a 24-hour licence. This category includes casinos, warehouses, village halls, cafés and restaurants, cinemas, holiday camps, and private member clubs as well as various other premises types.

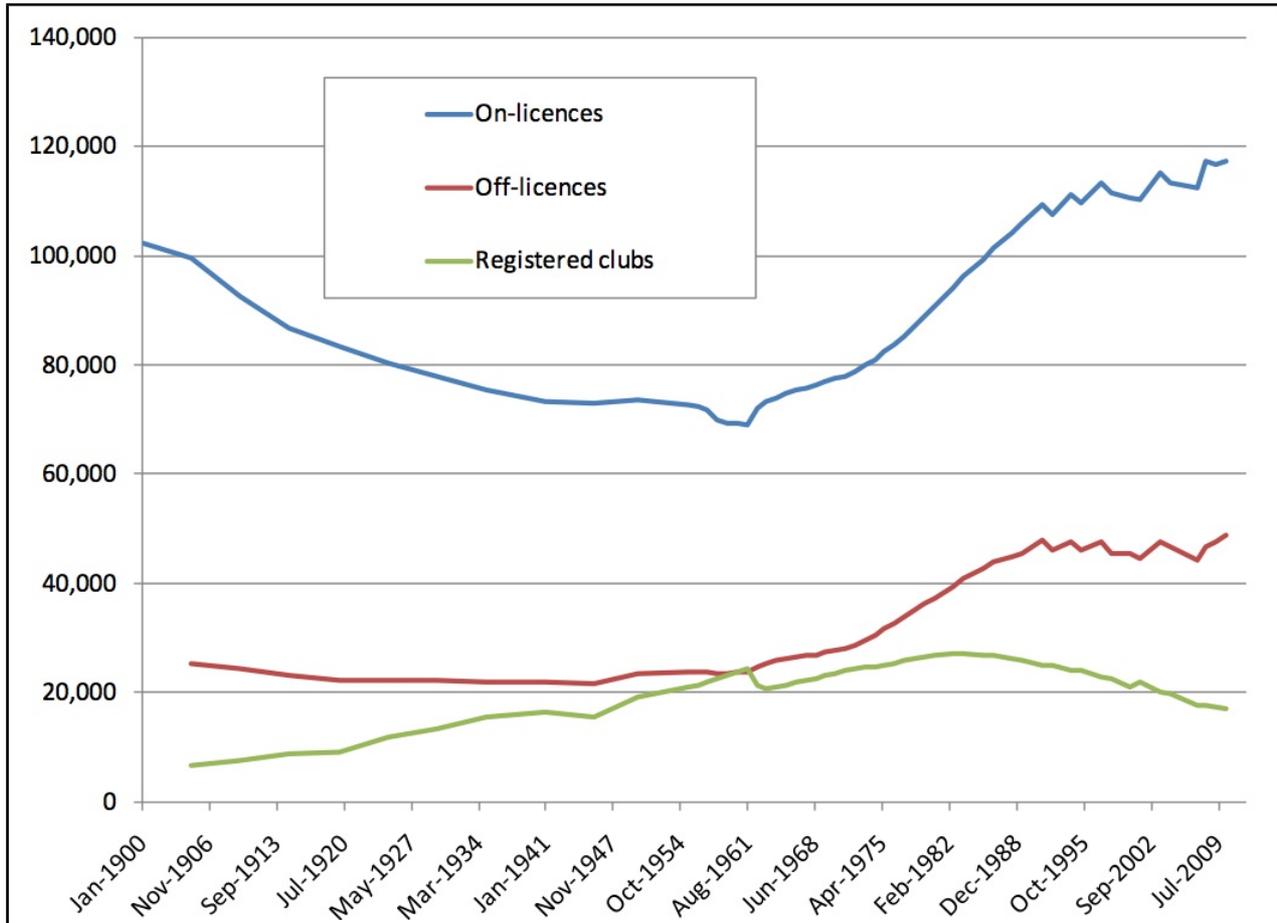
Figure 5: Premises with 24-hour alcohol licences by premises type, England and Wales, 31 March 2013



Home Office (November 2013), 'Alcohol and Late Night Refreshment Licensing England and Wales', 2012/13 tables

Figure 6 provides an historical overview of the number of alcohol licences in England and Wales dating back to the turn of the 20th century:

Figure 6: Liquor licensing statistics historical time series, England & Wales

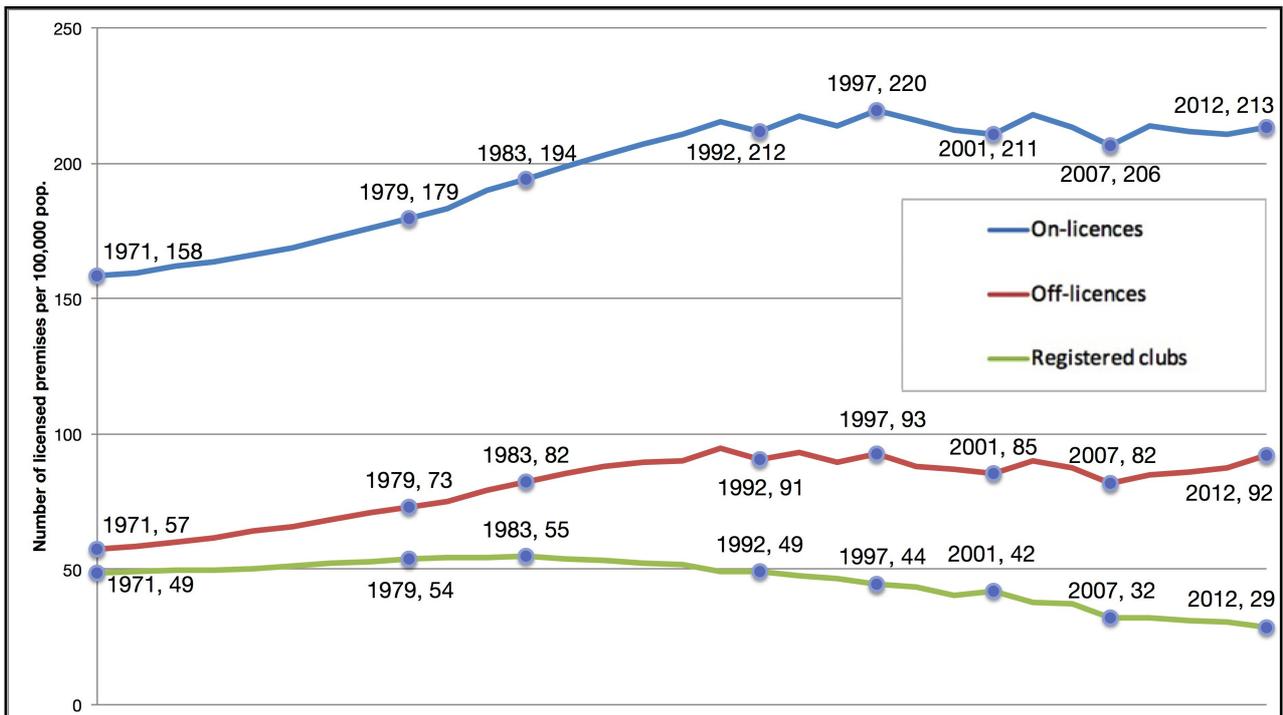


Source: Antoniadou, Peter and Thompson, Victoria (September 2010), 'Alcohol, Entertainment and Late Night Refreshment Licensing, April 2009 – March 2010', Department for Culture, Media and Sport, National Statistics Bulletin; Evidence & Analysis Unit

As can be seen, in terms of absolute numbers, the current number of licensed premises in England and Wales is at the highest level recorded in over 100 years. Premises licences with off sales only alcohol licences also reached a record high and have more than doubled compared with 50 years ago.

When the density of licensed outlets in relation to population size is factored into the figures, the long-term increases in alcohol licences offer a modest interpretation of the historical time series data (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Density of licensed premises, England & Wales, 1971 to 2012, (per 100,000 population)



Source: Office for National Statistics, 'Alcohol, Entertainment and Late Night Refreshment Licensing, April 2009 – March 2010', Population Estimates Unit

Licensing legislation and alcohol availability

The legal availability of alcohol is generally accepted to be one of the main controls on levels of alcohol consumption and harm. Licensing systems are therefore a key component of an overall alcohol control policy. However, other potentially conflicting considerations also come into play, such as safeguarding employment and promoting the night time economy. In regard to the prevention of harm, some specific issues arise in the context of licensing controls.

Drinking age laws

Most societies restrict the availability of alcohol to children in some form. In the UK, the licensing laws normally restrict the sale of alcohol to people aged 18 and over, and also place some restrictions on the presence of under 18s in licensed premises, and on their consumption of alcohol unsupervised by an adult.

Hours of trading

England, Wales and Scotland have now abolished the old system of permitted hours for the sale of alcohol, allowing for potentially 24-hour trading. In England and Wales, *Licensing Act 2003* was introduced ostensibly to encourage the development of a Mediterranean-style 'café culture' and to tackle the problem of binge drinking allegedly caused by what were stated to be artificially early fixed closing times. These controversial claims were disputed by many alcohol control advocates who argued that they were not borne out by the available evidence, which shows that longer drinking hours normally tend to be associated with more alcohol harm rather than less.¹

To counter the potential social and health problems arising from the 24-hour sale of alcohol, the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act (PRsRA) 2011 provided and expanded the power of licensing authorities to impose Early Morning Restriction Orders (EMROs) and Late Night Levies (LNLs) on alcohol vendors within a local vicinity, as part of the Government's Alcohol Strategy. EMROs enable a licensing authority to prohibit the sale of alcohol for a specified time period between the hours of 12am and 6am in the whole or part of its area, if it is satisfied that this would be appropriate for the promotion of the licensing objectives.² So far, licensing authorities have been reluctant to make use of these extra powers; (to date) no EMROs and only a handful of LNLs have been approved.

On occasion, the Secretary of State for the Home Office may make an order relaxing licensing hours for licensed premises during events of "exceptional national significance". This order was enacted for the England football team's matches during the 2014 World Cup, the first time such a power was used for a sports event. This step was opposed by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), Association of Police and Crime Commissioners (APCC), Local Government Association (LGA), the Chartered Institute of Environmental Health (CIEH), the National Organisation of Residents Associations (NORA), and the Alcohol Health Alliance (AHA). These organisations argued that licensing authorities are best placed to make decisions about which premises should be allowed to stay open late and that with a national relaxation, councils and the police would not have a definitive picture of which premises intend to open later, making effective public safety planning much harder.³

Opening hours for the trading of alcohol on licensed premises have been extended on 2 other occasions since the introduction of the 2003 Licensing Act: 1) the Royal Wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge in 2011 and; 2) the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 2012.

Responsible marketing practices

Anxieties about ‘binge drinking’ have led to greater attention being paid to the ways in which sales and marketing practices can encourage undesirable patterns of consumption. There has been a long-standing legal prohibition of sales to alcohol to people who are already intoxicated, but additional controls have now been incorporated into the conditions placed on premises licences.

In England and Wales, and in Scotland, the Licensing Acts mandate certain conditions to be placed on sales of alcohol on the premises, banning irresponsible promotions such as drinking games in which customers drink as much as possible within a time limit; large quantities of alcohol being supplied free or at a fixed price; prizes and rewards for drinking large amounts, and posters and flyers inciting or glamorising drunkenness.⁴

In Scotland, the *Alcohol etc. (Scotland) Act 2010* restricted the display and promotion of alcohol in the off-trade to within a single area of the store, so that alcohol could not be displayed at the end of aisles throughout supermarkets etc. The Scottish Act also bans quantity-based discount promotions, or “multi-buy” purchases such as two-for-one or buy-one-get-one-free offers. The aim of such conditions is to prohibit or restrict promotions which encourage people to drink more than they might ordinarily do and in a manner which does not promote the licensing objectives.

In 2012, the Home Office launched a public consultation on the Government’s Alcohol Strategy seeking views on a ban on multi-buy promotions in shops and off-licences in England and Wales.⁵ However, it decided against a ban following the consultation.

Density of licensed premises

On both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border, alcohol licence applications can only be rejected on the basis that granting them would likely undermine one or more of the licensing objectives.

In Scotland, the *Licensing (Scotland) Act 2005* permits the licensing authorities to take into account an ‘over-provision’ of licensed outlets in general, or licensed outlets of a particular type, in a given locality, in order to tackle problems caused by a proliferation of licensed outlets. Where over-provision is held to apply, there is a rebuttable assumption that additional licences may not be granted, though each application must still be considered on its own merits.

In England and Wales, the underlying assumption is that it is for the market, not the licensing authorities, to determine the number of licensed outlets in a given area, and the only provision for licensing authorities to control the numbers of outlets is in the context of special policies to tackle the ‘cumulative impact’ of concentrations of licensed premises in specific localities, normally the main entertainment zones of towns and cities. Here, too, however, each licensing application must be considered on its own merits.

This partly explains why the number of Cumulative Impact Areas has more than doubled since 2007 (Figure 8), yet the proportion of new premises licences applications stood at only 3.3% in 2012/13.

Figure 8: Number of cumulative impact areas, England & Wales, 2007 to 2013

Year	2013	2012	2011	2010	2009	2008	2007
CIAs	175	160	N/A	134	129	112	71

Source: Home Office, ‘Alcohol and late night refreshment licensing’, Tables

In Northern Ireland density is limited due to the *surrender principle* (see ‘Licensing laws’

section for a full definition). This means that there are a maximum number of licences for the sale of alcohol. Density is also limited for the reason that licences are granted for a 5-year licensing period to the following categories of premises only:⁶

- Pubs
- Off-licences
- Hotels
- Guest houses
- Restaurants
- Conference centres
- Higher education institutions
- Places of public entertainment (theatres, ballrooms, race tracks)
- Refreshment rooms in public transport premises (railway or bus stations, airports and harbours)
- Seamen's canteens
- Indoor arenas
- Non-seagoing vessels

Licensing and the night time economy

Studies have shown that the density of licensed premises can have an impact on violence and alcohol-related disorder in the night time economy. A main finding of studies of violence is that serious violence in a city's entertainment thoroughfare is proportional to the overall capacity of licensed premises in that street, and the numbers of people present.⁷

For illustration, the West End of London is the most heavily licensed district in the UK with over 3,000 licensed premises, and Leicester Square alone sees over 225,000 visitors every Saturday night. High levels of alcohol consumption and large crowds contribute to high levels of reported crime: indeed, there are almost as many reported crimes a year in the West End as in the city centres of Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool and Birmingham combined.⁸

However, the problems are not restricted to London. In recent years there has been a major growth in the licensed capacity in the entertainment zones of many town and city centres. The result is that during busy periods even average-sized towns can have thousands, perhaps even tens of thousands, of revellers concentrated into a fairly small area, and the great majority of late-night revellers are drunk, exacerbating the burden of noise and disturbance placed on the local community, and the pressure on public services, notably policing and accident and emergency services.⁹

A causal factor underlying the development of this state of affairs has been the growth in youth-orientated 'vertical drinking' establishments, where drinking is an end in itself rather than an accompaniment to other activities, such as having a meal while seated at a table. A characteristic account was given in evidence to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Home Affairs by the chief constable of Nottinghamshire Police in 2005:

As the Chief Constable of Nottinghamshire Police I have been concerned for some time about the effects that the burgeoning night time economy across the County, and in particular the City of Nottingham, has had upon policing and communities. Specifically, my concerns have centred upon the changing nature of the licensed economy and the increasing demands it places upon the municipal infrastructure. The concept of a

typical bar has altered dramatically over the last decade, with many city centres now featuring developments packed with huge buildings converted to drinking "palaces", often with occupancies of 1,000 people or more. In many ways the development of the licensed economy during late 1990s and early part of this century has all the appearances of an alcohol-driven gold rush, with every available building being converted into a bar or nightclub. This scene is well evidenced by my own experiences in Nottingham, where the licensed capacity in the City Centre has grown from approximately 62,000 in 1997 to around 108,000 currently, amounting to a 74% increase in licensed capacity. Of further note has been the increase in late night capacity, associated with bars and clubs, Nottingham witnessing a rise over the corresponding period from around 24,000 to 32,000 for those premises which have a terminal hour of 2.00 am.

The nature of the alcoholic products available has also changed dramatically; in the past, products such as bitter, mild and pale ale, with all their traditional connotations, were to the fore, with lager considered a continental oddity and spirits limited to the serious drinker. However, today's reality provides for a truly cosmopolitan cocktail of premium strength lagers, traditional beers, Alco pops, liqueurs and lurid spirits; all advertised and promoted in a crescendo of vivid colours, images and formats and all seemingly promoted with the intention of appearing "cool". it should be noted that most of these recent products arrive with significantly higher alcoholic contents...

These considerations explain why the IAS responded as it did to the consultation on licensing reform undertaken by the Coalition Government:

... We opposed the previous Administration's plans for licensing reform precisely on the grounds that they constituted an un-balanced approach to the issues involved, and while the legislation was, it is true, improved during its progress through Parliament, it still retains the unhelpful imprint of its origins.

The original concept of Labour's new Licensing Act was essentially that of a conflict-resolution mechanism between individual licencees or applicants for licences on the one side, and individual objectors on the other. While the objectives were later broadened in response to political pressure, the original concept was never abandoned and this ensured that the legislation would be ill-suited to achieve what was then stated to be its main objective – the better management of the night-time economy. Indeed, and as we attempted to explain at the time, on one occasion in a face to face meeting with the then Licensing Minister, the original concept of the new Act was the exact opposite of what was actually required. Whereas the better management of the night time economy requires an approach which is holistic, proactive and policy-led, the new Act, by focusing almost exclusively on what occurred in individual premises, was by its nature a reactive, complaint-led system which actually put obstacles in the way of an holistic approach, and also obstructed community involvement in licensing decisions. For example, it placed an arbitrary and artificial restriction on which members of the community were allowed to make representations in regard to licensing decisions. It is unnecessary to comment on the silliest claim made for the new legislation, that it would transform the drinking culture of England and Wales into a binge drinking-free, Mediterranean-style continental café culture.¹⁰

The eventual changes made to the licensing legislation regarding the night time economy which appeared in the Alcohol Strategy included not only the EMROs, but also the Late Night Levy (LNL). The LNL enables licensing authorities to impose a charge on persons who are licensed to sell alcohol late at night in the authority's area as a means of raising a contribution towards the costs of policing the late-night economy.¹¹

In its attempt to reform the environment within which alcohol can be bought at night, as well as the affordability of alcohol, Newcastle City Council was first to approve the introduction of a LNL in its town in June 2013, for implementation in November.¹²

Milton Keynes Council has followed suit with its intention to introduce the levy in 2014.¹³ Other local authorities reported to be contemplating adopting the measure include Plymouth, Southampton, and the City of London.¹⁴ EMROs are yet to be introduced in England & Wales.

Minimum unit pricing as a licensing condition

In addition to EMROs and LNLs, the Coalition Government flirted with the idea of enforcing a minimum unit price for alcohol before it was abandoned in July 2013. However, in the wake of the Government climbdown over introducing the measure as part of national legislation, Newcastle City Council announced its decision to introduce a minimum unit price for alcohol locally on a voluntary basis, as part of its Statement of Licensing Policy 2013 – 2018.¹⁵ Business owners applying for new licenses in the town are encouraged to apply a minimum unit price of 50p to all alcohol products sold on their premises. Although the condition is voluntary, the local authority warns that “where there is evidence that the licensing objectives are being compromised or are likely to be compromised, the Licensing Authority will consider imposing controls”. This extends to restricting promotional offers on alcohol, including on the sale of super-strength beer, lager and cider. The local authority has implemented the condition across the 400 licensed premises in the city after testing out the scheme on 2 bars since last September. So far the condition has been applied to 4 bars and 3 off-licences.

Voluntary bans on high strength drinks

In recent years, an increasing number of local authorities have adopted the *Reducing the Strength* initiative, first implemented in the Suffolk regions, reflecting the Coalition Government's desire for more collaborative, local-led voluntary approaches aimed at limiting the availability of low cost, high strength alcoholic drinks. The measure aims to encourage off-licence owners to stop selling the cheapest high strength drinks in their stores as part of an overall effort to reverse the damaging social effects of irresponsible drinking in their local communities.

Suffolk Constabulary revealed that the campaign was having a positive effect, one year on from its launch. The number of reports of street drinking being made to police in the 12 months since the campaign began dropped by almost 100 when compared to the same period the year before; from 26/09/11 to 17/09/12 police were contacted 341 times with reports of street drinking in Ipswich, compared with 261 in the same period a year later, a drop of 23.5%.¹⁶

A notable tension with this scheme is that there is no legal obligation for off-licences to participate. This means that the initiative can only be as effective as the willingness of off-licence owners to place alcohol harm reduction above their profit margins.

In February 2014, the Home Office announced a pilot of the Local Alcohol Areas (LAAAs) initiative to combat the harmful health and social effects of irresponsible drinking in the night time economy. 20 LAAAs have been selected with the aim of bringing together local

agencies (including licensing authorities, health bodies and the police), businesses and other organisations to address problems being caused by alcohol in their area.¹⁷

¹ Anderson, P., and Baumberg, B (June 2006)., '[Alcohol in Europe](#)', London: Institute of Alcohol Studies

² [www.gov.uk](#) (March 2013), '[Alcohol licensing: early morning alcohol restriction orders \(EMROs\)](#)', Home Office

³ Institute of Alcohol Studies (IAS) (March 2014), '[Government confirms plans to relax licensing hours for 2014 World Cup](#)'

⁴ Home Office (April 2010), '[SELLING ALCOHOL RESPONSIBLY: The New Mandatory Licensing Conditions](#)'

⁵ [www.gov.uk](#), '[Alcohol Strategy Consultation](#)', Home Office

⁶ NI Direct, '[Law on licensed premises and registered clubs](#)'

⁷ Curtis Florence, Jonathan Shepherd, Iain Brennan, Thomas Simon (June 2011), '[Effectiveness of anonymised information sharing and use in health service, police, and local government partnership for preventing violence related injury: experimental study and time series analysis](#)', British Medical Journal, 342: d3313

⁸ West End Commission (April 2013), '[Final Report](#)'

⁹ Jones, L., Hughes K., Atkinson, A. M., Bellis, M. A (March 2011)., [Reducing harm in drinking environments: a systematic review of effective approaches](#), 'Health and Place', Volume 17: Issue 2, pp. 508–518

¹⁰ McNeill, Andrew (August 2010), 'Institute of Alcohol Studies Response to "Rebalancing the Licensing Act"', in [Archive of IAS Responses to Public Consultations](#)

¹¹ Home Office (December 2012), '[Amended guidance on the late night levy](#)', p. 2

¹² Alcohol Policy UK (July 2013), '[Newcastle approves first late night levy](#)'

¹³ Morning Advertiser (September 2013), '[Milton Keynes next for late-night levy](#)'; Milton Keynes Citizen (April 2014), '[Second attempt at 'late night levy' to control violence in Milton Keynes](#)'

¹⁴ The Plymouth Herald (September 2013), '[Meeting called so bar bosses can quiz Plymouth council chiefs and police on Late Night Levy](#)'; Morning Advertiser (September 2013), '[Industry criticises City of London's late-night levy proposal](#)'

¹⁵ IAS (September 2013), '["Voluntary" minimum unit pricing introduced in Newcastle](#)'

¹⁶ Suffolk Constabulary, '[Reducing the Strength – one year on](#)'

¹⁷ [www.gov.uk](#) (February 2014), '[Local alcohol action areas](#)', Home Office

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