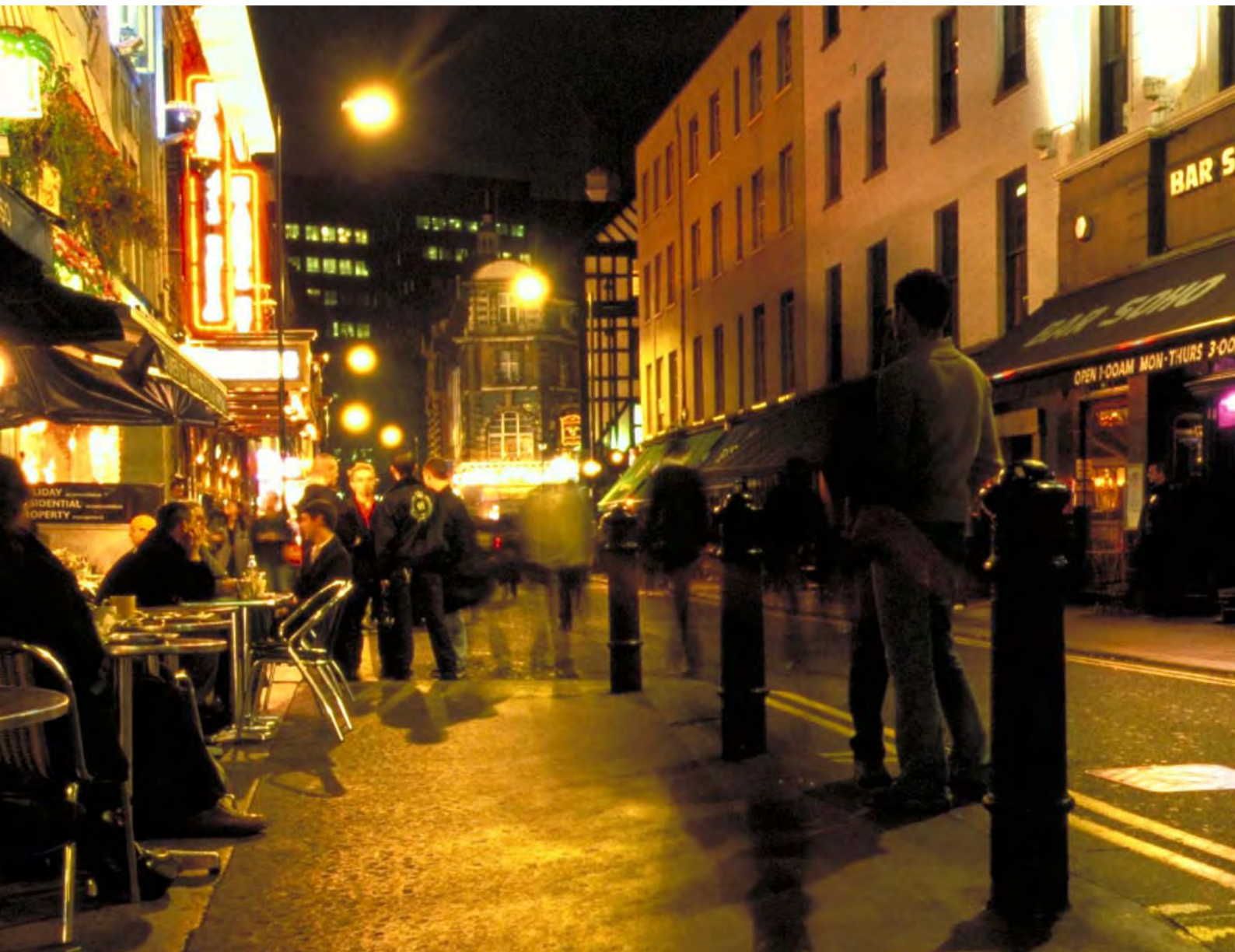


Working Paper 55

Alcohol consumption in the night-time economy

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Introduction

Consuming/drinking alcohol in the night-time economy (NTE) can have many benefits. For example, it generates economic activity and employment; it can bring people together to socialise; and it is an enjoyable pastime that many people value. However, it can also come with costs. Some of these costs, eg, noise, pollution, occur because the trading times in the NTE conflict with many people's daily routine/sleep. Other costs, eg, crime and injury, are facilitated by alcohol, which is often highly traded in the NTE. Managing these costs is important to ensure that the net benefits from alcohol sale in the evening/night time are maximised. The purpose of this document is to consider the effectiveness of different policies to manage these costs.

The report begins by outlining what exactly is meant by the 'night-time economy' and what the associated problems are (Section 1). It then goes on to examine why these problems occur (Section 2) and things that local authorities need to consider/understand before constructing a NTE policy to reduce associated costs (Section 3). Finally, the paper presents a list of policy tools which can be used to minimise the harms associated with alcohol consumption in the NTE (Section 4). The rationale behind each of the policies is considered as well as any caveats which may complicate/prevent the policy from working effectively. Where possible, examples of the policies in practice are also provided, as well as any evidence on their success in reducing alcohol-related harms. Unfortunately, most of the tried policies have not been coupled with robust evaluations so there is little evidence regarding the monetary costs of the programmes and benefits/savings achieved.

Section 1: What is the night-time economy (NTE) and what are the associated problems?

There is no standard definition for the night-time economy. For the purposes of this work (which focuses on alcohol consumption) the night-time economy (NTE) is taken to be economic activity which occurs between the hours of 6pm to 6am and involves the sale of alcohol for consumption on-trade¹ (eg, bars, pubs and restaurants). It is important to recognise that whilst a distinction is made between the night and day-time economy, in reality the two are highly connected and should be considered in parallel (eg, restriction on what firms can do in the evening/night time may impact on their functioning during the day).

Alcohol consumption in the NTE has many benefits (including the generation of output/GVA, the creation of social capital and consumer surplus²), but it can also come with costs. These include:

- Crime
- Fear of crime
- Ambulance/A&E/hospital
- Street cleaning around licensed premises and late-night fast-food takeaways
- Sale of alcohol to underage persons, and
- Noise and light pollution.

Whilst this is not an exhaustive list of alcohol-related harms in the NTE³, these are the main ones that the policies in this paper address.

It should be noted that many of these costs do not fall to those who actually create them. For example, the costs from someone drinking too much alcohol on a night out and ending up in hospital consists of the costs to the individual (eg, the displeasure from becoming ill) but also to society more widely (eg, from healthcare costs). Whilst the former cost is 'paid' by the individual directly responsible, the latter cost is not⁴. Where possible, therefore, local authorities should consider measures that pass on the costs to those who create them. This may include helping to form Business Improvement Districts in the NTE or making use of the Late Night Levy powers.

¹ On-trade premises refers to premises with a license to sell alcohol which is consumed at the premises eg, bars or pubs. This contrasts with off-trade premises where the license only permits the sale of alcohol which must then be consumed off the premises eg, supermarkets. On-licensed premises and on-trade will be used interchangeably within this work. Off-licensed premises and off-trade will also be used interchangeably.

² Social capital is the value (eg, health or employment opportunities) from creating and maintaining social networks which can be facilitated by alcohol consumption in the NTE. Consumer surplus is the value that consumers place on the alcohol over and above the price they actually pay ie, it is the difference between how much they value it and what they pay.

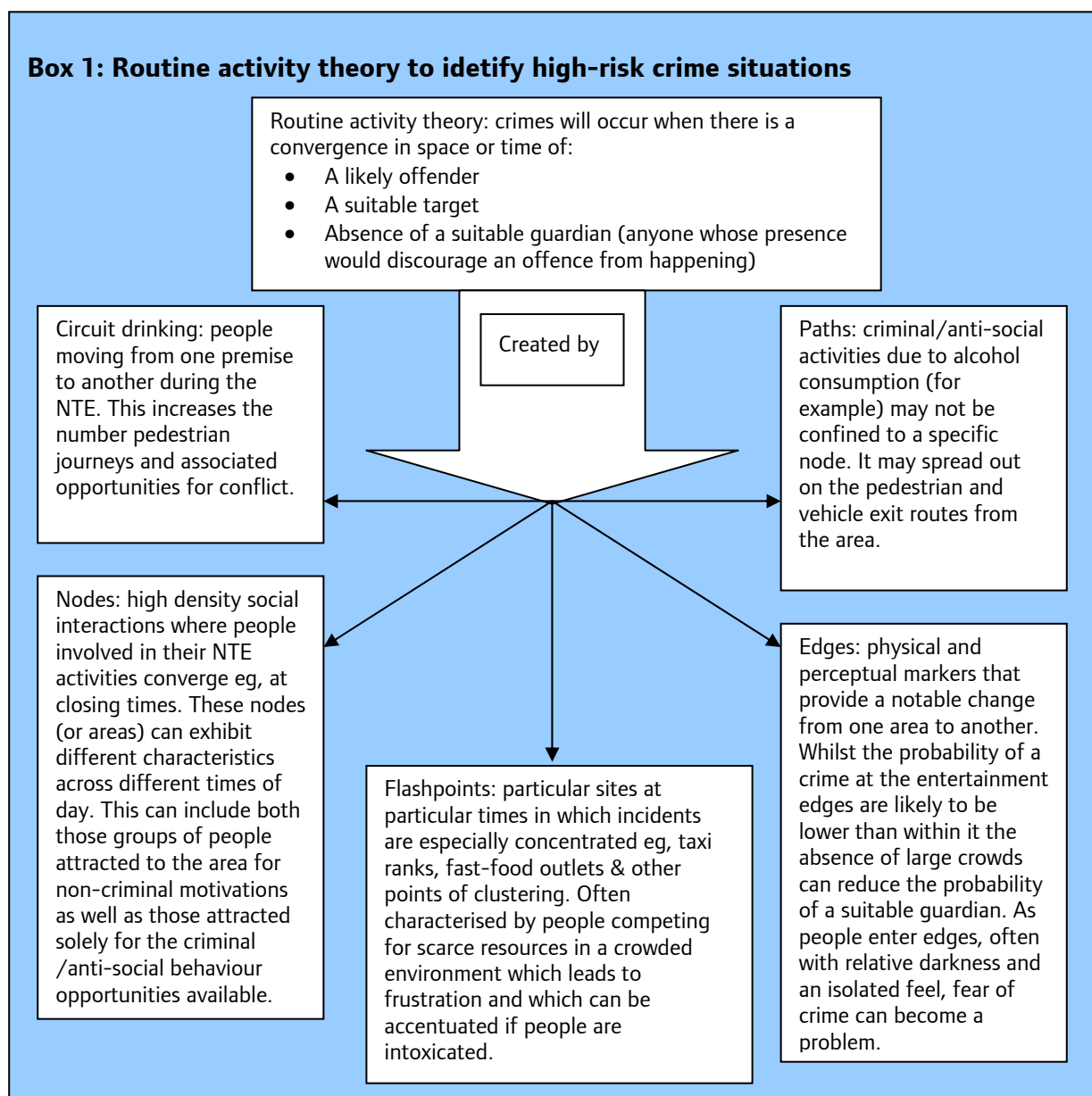
³ Which can also include work-absenteeism/lost productivity, transport costs (eg, need for additional cleaning staff), impact on relationships and family, and negative tourism impacts for other night-time non-alcohol related/day-time activities. Although policies to address these costs directly are not considered, it will be a by-product of more general policies aimed at reducing alcohol-consumption in the NTE.

⁴ Some of these costs to the wider society will be paid for by the individual through alcohol duty but it is unlikely that this covers all the external costs.

Section 2: Why does the NTE generate these costs?

To understand the most effective ways of mitigating the costs associated with alcohol consumption in the NTE it is important to understand how they come about. The NTE costs are often not random; they are largely concentrated in space and time.

Box 1 shows how high-risk *crime* situations can occur using an idea known as the ‘routine activity theory’. The theory suggests that in order for a crime to occur at least three conditions must be met: there must be an offender, a suitable victim (this could be an individual or an object eg, a street) and there must be an absence of a suitable guardian against crime (this can be anyone whose presence would discourage the behaviour from occurring)⁵. There are five situations which can contribute to the convergence of these three factors (and therefore the occurrence of a crime), as shown in Box 1.



⁵ Cohen and Felson (1979)

Whilst the routine activity theory is helpful, it does not account for all potential causes of high-risk situations in the NTE (including those that are not crime related). Some incidents may arise, for example, as the result of people intentionally seeking to cause trouble. Box 2 provides further information on other factors that can help in identifying situations likely to create large costs.

Box 2: Other factors that identify high-risk situations

Informal rules and social norms amongst the NTE visitors, eg, excess alcohol intoxication is more acceptable amongst younger populations.

This problem can be exacerbated where there is an absence of diversity amongst the visitors (eg, because some people avoid the area due to its negative image or because there is little mix in the entertainment offered). Social and cultural diversity can help 'normalise' the environment (in the same way as during the day).

Presence of people or groups actively seeking to create trouble.

Staff at licensed premises (or other premises open in the evening/night eg, fast food takeaways), eg, continuing to serve alcohol to intoxicated people.

Alcohol 'availability' (eg, price, hours of sales, number of licensed outlets) can entice visitors to consume more alcohol thereby increasing the number of alcohol-related incidents.

Mixed-use urban environments (eg, the presence of residential properties dispersed alongside night-time entertainment venues) can increase the problem of noise disturbances and can increase other costs (eg, littering/street fouling; in the absence of local residents there would be less people disturbed by these and it is not unreasonable to expect non-residents to value cleaner streets at a lower price than residents located directly above it).

Section 3: What to consider before developing a NTE policy?

Unfortunately, there is no 'one size fits all' solution to alcohol-related harms in the NTE. The underlying cause of the problem(s) and the nature in which they are exhibited will vary from place to place. For example, two neighbouring areas (where NTE visitors consume the same amounts of alcohol) may experience different levels of alcohol-related crime because the visitors have different socio-economic characteristics (with one group more likely to commit, for example, crime than the other). As a result, the effectiveness of a given policy will be different in these two areas.

Tackling alcohol-related harms in the NTE is further exacerbated by the fact that most harms are the result of a multitude of factors. In the example above, whilst different socio-economic characteristics of the visitors may be one explanation for varying levels of alcohol-related crime, in reality this will be only one of many explanations. Other driving factors may include differing levels of policing or CCTV or even the different environments within the premises (eg, provision of seating).

For policies to work it is vital, therefore, that the local-specific problems are well understood, both in terms of (a) what the problems are and how they are manifested (eg, is it crime or just fall/injuries, does it originate from only a few number of premises etc.) and (b) what the drivers of the problems are (eg, is it excessive alcohol-consumption and/or socio-economic characteristics of the visitors, or is it because there are 'too' many visitors or premises). Finding these out will require collection of a large range of area specific data and collaborative working across agencies. The Home Office provides guidance on key data that should be collected and analysed for alcohol-related crime and disorder⁶. The GLA also provide some guidance on data that could be collected to estimate the size of the problems (eg, noise)⁷. Both of these guides should help to understand the types of problems in the local area but not necessarily why these problems occur. For this, it may be useful to collect some of the following data (although this is not an exhaustive list):

- Intelligence gathered from routine licensing inspections of premises;
- Footfall counts;
- Transport for London (TfL) travel data;
- Police or health care information on where people had their last drink and other information (eg, whether people had pre-loaded ie, been drinking off-trade before going out and drinking at licensed premises);
- Surveys of visitors;
- Alcohol sales data;
- Number and type of licenses, operating hours etc.

There are a range of possible policies that areas can employ to tackle problems (based on the analysis of data collected). These are explored in detail in Section 4. Some policies are specific to certain causes of the harms eg, alcohol arrest referrals aim to address the link between alcohol and crime; some attempt to control the amount of alcohol consumed (and thus more general alcohol-related harms) eg, pricing and outlet density; some policies address the costs

⁶ Home Office 2003

⁷ 'Methodology for estimating benefits and costs from alcohol consumption in London's night-time economy', GLA Intelligence Unit, 2012

associated with the harms eg, provisions of public toilets to reduce demands on street cleaning services or CCTV to allow a more efficient police response to evolving incidents.

Unfortunately, many policies that have been suggested/used have not been sufficiently evaluated so it is not easy to know in advance which may be the most effective. Knowing what problems need to be tackled can reduce the number of potential policies to consider but deciding which of these may be most effective may not always be clear. It is, therefore, extremely important that local areas try to test and evaluate the policies. This will involve an understanding of what would have happened in the absence of the policy/policies. It is also important to consider what would have happened in neighbouring boroughs and London as a whole. This is because it is possible that the new policies have simply shifted the problem (or people) elsewhere. Whilst this might not be an immediate concern to the area the problem has moved from (say, area A), if the neighbouring area, to where the problem has moved (say, area B) goes on to implement their own, more stringent controls to alcohol consumption in the NTE the problem may simply shift back to area A. It is important to ensure that areas are not constantly competing in this way with one another. This will merely result in a waste of public funds. Instead, areas should work collaboratively to ensure that the outcomes are in the interest of London as a whole.

When evaluating whether a policy has reduced alcohol-related costs in an area it is also important to account for the possibility of better detection of incidents. This will increase recorded incidents without there necessarily having been any change in the true numbers. For example, an area may have 100 occurrences of crime of which only half are reported to police. The area may then install CCTV, allowing for all 100 criminal occurrences to be recorded. So whilst the actual number of incidences is unchanged the results could misinterpret the policy as having increased crime. It may, therefore, be necessary to improve monitoring of the problems in the area so that the problems recorded after the policy can be more accurately compared to those before. In the example above, this may involve installing 'hidden' CCTVs and recording crime before making the presence of the CCTV apparent to the public.

In summary, local authorities may want to:

1. understand the issues specific to their area by collecting and analysing data and working collaboratively with other agencies, stakeholders, local communities and local authorities,
2. consider the policies that are likely to be most successful given the local issues (Section 4 examines the evidence for different policies). Consideration should also be given to the impact the policies may have on other areas in London,
3. ensure that mechanisms are in place to test and evaluate the policies. The evaluation results can then determine whether it is necessary to implement different policies or make adjustments to the ones currently in use. It may also be necessary to improve the recording of problems before the policy is implemented.

Strategies aimed at addressing the alcohol-related harms in the NTE should try to be long-term in their approach eg, based on a 5 or 10 year plan. This should help ensure that the problems do not simply return and may send a signal to visitors that the local authority is committed to tackling the problems, thereby making the programme more effective (eg, visitors may be more inclined to change their behaviour if they believe there will be a permanent shift in what is considered 'acceptable' behaviour).

Section 4: What policy tools can reduce the problems associated with the NTE?

As mentioned earlier, there are a number of potential policies that can address different causes and consequences of alcohol-related problems in the NTE. Some of these have been reviewed quite comprehensively whilst others do not have much evidence assessing their potential impact. However, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, this latter group may still be part of an effective NTE policy. The policy options assessed in this section below are:

- Pricing
- Licensing
 - Outlet density and mix
 - Monitoring and enforcement
 - Licensing hours
- Premise design and operations
 - Glassware management within premises
 - Manager and staff training
 - Accreditation and awards
 - Environment within the premise (covering capacity, layout, seating, games, food, and general atmosphere)
- Public realm design
 - CCTV
 - Street lighting
 - Active frontages
 - Public toilet provision
 - Glassware management outside premises
 - General layout
- Service interventions
 - Transport (covering buses, taxis and parking)
 - Policing (covering targeted policing, street policing, third party policing, transport policing, anti-social behaviour/drink banning orders and alcohol arrest referral schemes)
 - Health care
 - Noise and light pollution
 - Public education campaigns
- Community mobilisation

Amongst the limited number of policies which have been thoroughly evaluated, the most effective approaches seem to be those that consist of several policy elements (or are multi-component approaches, guided by evidence on the local needs/demands) and include some form of community mobilisation/involvement (see, for example, Box 3).

Box 3: Stockholm Prevents Alcohol and Drug Problems project

The Stockholm Prevents Alcohol and Drug Problems (STAD) project was a 10-year project implemented in northern central Stockholm. It consisted of combined community mobilisation/involvement, with responsible beverage server training and stricter enforcement of the existing licensing laws.

The initiative resulted in a significant reduction in violent crimes (roughly a 29 per cent reduction in recorded assaults, compared with a slight increase in southern Stockholm), as well as reductions in threatening behaviour/harassment, and violence and threats targeted at door staff/police. An analysis of the costs and benefits of the programme found that the savings accrued to public bodies was 39 times higher than the costs of implementing the scheme¹.

¹ Månsdotter et al., 2007

It should be noted that local authorities and other government agencies have a wide range of legislative powers and sanctions which can support the policies listed above. A summary of these are provided in Annex 1.

4.1. Pricing

When the price of a good/service increases the total amount demanded often falls. Research⁸ has shown that alcohol is no exception to this general rule; when the price of alcohol goes up the amount consumed falls. Given the relationship between alcohol and factors such as crime this should imply that an increase in alcohol price also results in a fall in such alcohol-related costs.

Whilst a general relationship between price and consumption is evident with alcohol the response will vary depending on three (related) factors:

- Socio-demographic factors (age, sex, income etc.). For example, research has found that young drinkers who drink frequently and those who drink heavily are more sensitive to alcohol price changes than either older drinkers or infrequent and light young drinkers⁹. Table 1 shows how harmful/hazardous drinkers are more responsive to changes in on-trade prices when compared to moderate drinkers.
- The choice of drink. For the on-trade sector, research suggests that on-trade beer consumption is more responsive than ready-to-drink drinks (RTDs), which is more responsive than wine, to a 1 per cent rise in price (Table 1). In fact, a 10 per cent rise in the on-trade price of beer results in a 4.8-5.0 per cent reduction in beer purchased compared to a 3.6-3.7 per cent reduction in RTDs and a 2.8-3.3 per cent reduction in wine.
- The ability (or willingness) of consumers to substitute on-trade purchases for off-trade purchases. If on-trade alcohol prices increase consumers may merely increase the amount they pre-load (ie, increase the amount of alcohol consumed off-trade before consuming

⁸ See, for example, Rand (2010)

⁹ Ibid.

(less) on-trade). In this case, a rise in on-trade alcohol prices may not actually reduce the amount of alcohol consumed by those enjoying the NTE.

Table 1: Price elasticity (percentage change in consumption from a 1 per cent change in price) for different types of drinks and different types of drinkers

		All drinkers	Moderate drinker	Harmful/hazardous drinkers
Beer	Low price	-0.48	-0.38	-0.62
	Higher price	-0.50	-0.41	-0.63
Wine	Low price	-0.28	-0.23	-0.38
	Higher price	-0.33	-0.29	-0.41
Spirits	Low price	-2.94	-1.78	-3.72
	Higher price	-0.24	-0.19	-0.29
Ready-to-drink (RTD)	Low price	-0.37	-0.33	-0.39
	Higher price	-0.36	-0.32	-0.42

Note: Low price/higher price refers to the starting price of the drink; low price is less than 80p/unit and higher price is greater than or equal to 80p/unit. Moderate drinkers are drinkers with an intake of alcohol less likely to damage health and/or associated with negative consequences (up to 21 units per week for men and 14 units for women), hazardous drinkers are drinkers with an increased risk of psychological and physical consequences due to alcohol intake (more than 21 to 50 units per week for men and more than 14 to 35 units for women), harmful drinkers are drinkers with an intake that is likely to adversely affect health and/or other negative consequences

Source: Brennan et al (2009)

The varying impacts of price on consumption amongst different socio-economic groups and across drinks are important to note. This is because some groups contribute disproportionately to alcohol-related costs so reducing consumption amongst these groups will have a larger impact on costs. For example, harmful/hazardous drinkers are more likely to suffer acute alcohol-related costs, so a reduction in the amount drunk by this group is likely to result in a larger reduction in health costs than an equal reduction in the amount drunk by a moderate drinker. In addition, the ability to substitute on-trade with off-trade is also important; if there is a very large price difference between on and off trade prices the amount of alcohol consumed in the NTE may be unchanged as a result of greater pre-loading (or even side-loading¹⁰).

Increases in alcohol prices/tax have been found to be associated with reductions in overall crime, violent crime, sexual assault and criminal damage/property offences. The link between price and homicide, domestic violence and robbery is less clear and there does not appear to be evidence to suggest that higher prices reduce anti-social behaviour¹¹. Higher prices have also been associated with lower health costs, especially amongst harmful (but also hazardous drinkers)¹².

Despite the evidence between price, alcohol consumption and its associated harms, it is not clear which alcohol pricing policy may be the most effective (eg, whether minimum pricing or taxes will have the greatest impact). To a large extent, this will depend on the structure of the market and how firms react to the policy eg, whether or not they pass on all increases in tax to

¹⁰ where alcohol purchased from an off-license is consumed while travelling to, or queuing to enter, or even within on-trade premises eg, by smuggling it in

¹¹ Booth et al (2011)

¹² Brennan et al (2008)

the consumer. Annex 2 looks briefly at the evidence regarding different pricing policy options, namely minimum pricing and policies regarding price promotions. Boroughs may be able to agree to a voluntary standard with local licensed premises to bring about such changes to alcohol prices. It is important to highlight that voluntary standards are often prone to failure if participants are not clear on the benefits and there is insufficient, ongoing, monitoring and evaluation.

4.2. Licensing

In England, local authorities have the power to grant premises licenses to sell alcohol. They also have the power to grant the hours covered by the license. The number of licences granted, the sales capacity covered by the license premises and the licensing hours all affect the availability of alcohol; alcohol availability will be higher in an area where there are more licensed premises, larger capacity in the licensed premises (eg, larger supermarkets or larger bars/clubs) and longer licensing hours. These factors can (a) influence the price of alcohol (via competition), which (as shown in section 4.1) can impact on the amount people drink and, therefore, the incidence of alcohol-related costs, and (b) influence the number of patrons/customers to the area creating high-risk nodes, flashpoints and circuit drinking (see Box 1). Furthermore, the mix of premises in a given area in the NTE can influence the social norms within the area (see Box 2).

4.2.1. Outlet density & mix

The density (numbers per square metre) of on-licensed premises can affect alcohol-related costs such as crime. For example, in urban areas, licensed premises bunched within an area are likely to compete on price and promotions (making alcohol available at a lower cost to patrons) and induce large crowds of visitors. This in turn is likely to effect heavy rates of sessional drinking, alcohol-related injuries and violence. Circuit drinking (or pub/bar hopping) is also more likely in such environments¹³.

A US study¹⁴ looking at outlet density and assaults across 581 Californian postal codes, found that an average reduction of one bar in each of the postal codes would reduce the number of assaults by 290 over six years. However, the relationship between the number of licensed outlets and crime is unlikely to be linear; it is likely that beyond a certain number, an increase in licensed premises will contribute increasing numbers of additional assaults¹⁵. This suggests that areas can become 'saturated' with licensed premises. As such, it is important to monitor the situation closely and impose limits on issuing further licences when this point is believed to have been reached (although new licenses should still be considered on a one-by-one basis rather than ruled out completely). The saturation point is likely to vary from area to area; the number of problems created per patron will vary depending on the type/environment of the premise, the 'type' of visitors as well as characteristics of the area (eg, presence of CCTV and public realm design) so the 'optimal' number of licensed premises will vary by area (and, possibly, over time).

Another factor which appears to impact the relationship between outlet densities and assaults is the geographical location of the area. A Melbourne study found 'packaged liquor' outlets (where alcohol is allowed to be sold off-premise only) were more associated with assaults in suburban areas, whilst 'general' (which allows the sale of alcohol for consumption both on and

¹³ See, for example, Livingston et al, 2007

¹⁴ Gruenwald and Remer, 2006

¹⁵ See, for example, Livingston, 2007. Note that this study relates to 'general licensed' premises, where alcohol is sold for both on and off-premise consumption.

off premises) and 'on-premise' outlets were associated with violence in inner-city and inner-suburban areas¹⁶.

The mix of NTE activities within a given area can also influence the scale of alcohol-related costs. When considering the density of on-licensed premises such as bars and clubs it is also important to factor in complimentary or substitute premises, namely off-license premises, fast-food takeaways, restaurants and housing.

The presence of **off-license** premises within a NTE is an important consideration. These can facilitate pre-loading (where nightlife visitors consume alcohol from off-licenses before moving to on-licensed premises), 'back-loading' (where visitors consume off-trade alcohol after on-trade closing time) and 'side-loading' (where alcohol purchased from an off-license is consumed while travelling to, or queuing to enter, or even within on-trade premises eg, by smuggling it in). These practices can (a) exacerbate the impacts of alcohol consumed at on-licensed premises and/or (b) invalidate attempts to limit alcohol consumption by limiting the number of on-licensed premises.

In addition, back-loading and pre-loading that occurs within the same area as the on-licensed premises that the visitors attended/are on their way to attend can increase the number of people within the area and thus the potential for crime and conflict (see Box 1). Further, off-trade alcohol sales for the purposes of pre, side or back loading can increase the presence of litter and noise pollution in an area¹⁷.

Fast-food outlets can provide a complimentary activity for patrons consuming alcohol in the NTE; they are often visited by NTE patrons after (or possibly before) alcohol consumption on-trade. These can act as flashpoints for alcohol-related crime and disorder¹⁸. They prevent effective dispersal of people from the area, and can also be the cause of litter and noise disturbances.

Given the symbiotic relationship between on-trade premises and off-trade premises and fast food takeaways, they should all be considered simultaneously. However, unintended negative impacts from restricting licenses should be considered; restrictions in the numbers of off-trade premises within an area should also be considered against the benefits that these places provide as well as the impact on their other customer groups, eg, local residents wanting to purchase alcohol for consumption at home (perhaps with their dinner). A further example is if off-license premises are only open in the evening/night time because the sale of alcohol makes these opening times profitable then removal of this revenue stream may see the off-licenses close earlier in the day. When these premises sell other goods (as many do) then local residents may lose out eg, those wishing to pick up dinner on their way home from work will no longer have a local store open providing a local convenience.

The removal of fast-food takeaways are also not without their costs; if people use them to eat to break up their drinking, for example, then they can act to reduce the rate of alcohol intake and, therefore, reduce alcohol-related harms. Reducing the numbers of fast-food takeaways may also have the adverse effect of increasing violence, for example, as more people gather at fewer premises.

¹⁶ Livingston, 2008

¹⁷ See, for example, Forsyth and Davidson, 2010

¹⁸ See, for example, Hadfield, 2011

Displacement/movement of harms should also be considered when restrictions are placed on the number of licenses (on and off-trade and fast-food licenses) granted within a specific area but not in nearby/surrounding areas. In these circumstances problems may simply spread out to the edges or paths (see Box 1) and resources (such as policing) may be stretched by having to cover larger ground. (Although, given (a) the concentration of incidents and (b) that new licensed venues are more likely to attract investment if they locate in proximity to existing attractive/successful pubs and nightspots (given that commercial value has been proven) there is perhaps a lack of evidence to support the idea that activity is displaced).

Restaurants, which are food-led, can introduce a different group of people to an area than premises whose primary activity is the sale of alcohol. In doing so, restaurants can help 'normalise' behaviour in the area (see Box 2). Indeed, evidence¹⁹ suggests that an increased density of licensed restaurants is associated with reduced rates of hospitalisation, have lower rates of violence and drink-driving associated with them. The impact of restaurants' presence amongst the on-trade is likely to be true for other non-alcohol led activities eg, late night opening of shops, galleries etc.

Box 4: Westminster: West End 'Weed and Seed' policy

Controls on outlet density and mix can be implemented in a 'weed and seed' approach. The 'weeding' involves targeting enforcement activities on existing problematic premises (enforcing licensing restrictions where necessary and generally denying new license applications in already overcrowded problem areas). The 'seeding' component involves the development of new food-led restaurants whilst relaxing licensing criteria to other areas of the city that are not suffering from over concentration of licensed premises.

Westminster City Council adopted a 'weed and seed' approach to its West End 'Stress Area' as part of its NTE management; they concentrated on restricting the growth of alcohol-focused bars trading beyond midnight with a preference to granting licences for restaurants. Research suggests that the economic profile of the 'West End Stress Area' changed; between 2005 and 2009 there was a rise of 14 per cent in the number of restaurants, a reduction of 5.7 per cent in the number of bars, café bars and pubs, and a 16 per cent reduction in the number of nightclubs. There was also evidence of a reverse in the area's trend of increasing crime, disorder and public nuisance.

The ability to adopt a 'weed and seed' policy will depend on the availability of location-specific data.

The presence of **residential properties** amongst NTE activities can improve surveillance of the area. 'People's attachments to their home and communities encourage them to perform a territorial function with regard to their surrounding area, which may involve maintaining, guarding, watching and reporting with the effect of informally increasing social control which may reduce the need for more formal controls such as police'²⁰. These benefits need to be

¹⁹ Hadfield, 2011

²⁰ Hadfield, 2011

weighed up against some costs which arise (or increase) with the presence of housing amongst the NTE. For example, noise and litter become larger problems.

The introduction of restaurants and residential properties within the alcohol-related NTE activities may have the adverse effect of increasing the number of crime incidences as the patrons of these premises may increase the number of 'suitable targets' (see Box 1) for patrons of alcohol-related NTE activities (such as clubs/bars). It may therefore also be necessary (in the short-term at least) to increase policing for this strategy to be successful and sustainable in the long-term.

Box 5: Camden: Licensing policy

Camden City Council found evidence of a link between the concentrations of premises closing late at night and crime, anti-social behaviour, pressure on transport and street cleaning infrastructure and hospital admissions.

In response to this finding, they:

- Created policies around framework hours;
- Refused new license applications (except for exceptional circumstances) in Camden Town and Seven Dials (which were heavily saturated);
- Created a multi-agency plan to enforce licensing rules, which involved:
 - Fortnightly meetings with licensing, environmental health, police, fire brigade and community safety,
 - Weekend visits by enforcement staff every Friday and Saturday night,
 - A monthly partnership night with the police, the council and health authority.

Although evidence is not yet available on the success of this policy, it will be evaluated as part of their annual strategic assessment for community safety.

4.2.2. Monitoring and enforcement

As part of a strategy to contain the density of licensed premises or to 'weed' out particularly troublesome premises it may be necessary to monitor and enforce licenses. This will require premise-specific data from a variety of sources and may include:

- intelligence gathered from routine inspections by licensing inspectors
- survey results of visitors
- police information on where arrestees had their last drink
- police reported incident data
- A&E data
- Ambulance data
- Footfall surveys

Box 6: Newham: Partnership working to close problem premises

In Newham, the council brought together teams and other agencies (including HMRC, police, licensing teams, health and safety and noise teams) to gather evidence on legal breaches. This then resulted in either corrections to the way they operate (eg, compliance with noise regulation) or premise closure. In the case of the latter, these teams worked closely with any new owners of the premises to ensure that the problems did not re-occur.

However, when considering the available data it is necessary to take into account attribution, ensuring that, for example, crime incidents occurring near a specific venue can actually be attributed to the venue itself eg, did the incident occur as a result of door staff refusing entry to drunken individuals or because the premise is located in close proximity to a bus stop?

Such policies will also require input and co-operation (not least for data and intelligence) from numerous agencies, including police, fire brigade and hospitals.

Box 7: New South Wales, Australia: Targeted enforcement/supply side precursors of drunkenness

In 2008, the New South Wales (NSW) Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research published a ranked list of the top 100 licensed premises for assaults. The top 48 licensed premises on the list were subject to the following license restrictions:

- mandatory 2am lock outs,
- cessation of alcohol service 30 minutes before closing time,
- plastic or polycarbonate vessels for beer service after midnight,
- no 'shots', drink purchase limits after midnight, and
- ten minute alcohol sale 'time outs' every hour after midnight.

The effect of the policy was a reduction in the incidence of assaults across all 100 of the listed premises¹. There was also a reduction of 1 per cent a month of assaults in *all* (ie, even those not in the 100 listed) NSW licensed premises after midnight².

¹ Moffatt *et al.*, (2009)

² Moffat and Weatherburn (2011)

4.2.3. Licensing hours

Licensing hours can affect the availability of alcohol as well as the flow of people from premises onto the streets, which in turn can impact on alcohol-related harms (see Box 1 and 2).

The balance of evidence²¹ suggests that increasing trading into the early hours will increase alcohol consumption and its related harms. Indeed, one Australian study²² found that extending

²¹ Hadfield, 2011

²² Chikritzhs and Stockwell, 2002

Box 8: Lock outs

Lock outs are licensing measures that require licensed premises to deny entry to new customers after a certain time.

In theory, lock-outs should reduce circuit drinking and therefore reduce the risks of crime (see Box 1). However, there does not seem to be conclusive evidence regarding the effectiveness of this policy tool.

When considering the use of lock outs it may be important to consider potential conflicts between patrons and door staff as well as increased risks of crime (including anti-social behaviour) on the street of people who have been 'locked out'. These may be particularly important where the general public do not have clear expectations about the lock out times eg, unexpected refusal of entry as a result of the lock out time may induce frustration and anger amongst patrons and towards door staff or other people within the local area.

opening hours by an hour (to 1am) increased alcohol consumption and resulted in a 70 per cent increase in violence at venues. Another study²³ found that reducing trading hours from 5am to 3am resulted in a 37 per cent reduction in late-night violence. There is also some (albeit weak) evidence that road traffic accidents may increase with longer licensing hours²⁴.

However, pressures on public services (eg, health and police) become more spread out in time when licensing hours are relaxed²⁵.

Nevertheless, UK evidence²⁶ (since the introduction of the Licensing Act 2003) suggests that there is a lack of commercial motivation for on-trade premises to take up the option of extended licensing hours. Often, premises extend their trading hours by a similar proportion to their neighbours, eliminating the potential to spread public services out over time.

When granting licenses to a premise it may be necessary to consider the licensing hours (and actual operating hours) of premises already in operation nearby, in order to facilitate staggered closing times within an area. This policy may be coupled with lock outs to prevent patrons moving from one closing venue to another with later trading hours. Availability of transport should also be considered (see Section 4.5.1).

4.3. Premise design and operations

The way in which individual premises are run and designed can have a bearing on the number and severity of incidences. Understanding how different operations and designs can impact on these may help in deciding whether to grant a premise a license and also guide councils on the type of restrictions to place on premises consistently linked with problems.

4.3.1. Glassware management within premises

Glasses and bottles can be commonly used as weapons in the drinking environment. In Thames Valley, between January and December 2006, there were 241 offences reported to the police that involved the use of a bottle or glass in a pub, bar or nightclub²⁷. Glass bottles may also result in accidental injuries; one study found²⁸ that within a six month period 26 per cent of bar workers reported injuries from broken glass. By removing glass bottles from premises injuries may fall.

Further, in Swansea, research found that of the 278 glass-related incidents recorded 31 per cent were serious compared to just 4 per cent of non-glass-related incidents²⁹. Thus glass-related offenses are also often more serious and so require greater use of public resources. Indeed Thames Valley Police estimated that a typical offence involving glassware is estimated to cost the NHS around £184,000 and involve 40 NHS staff (including A&E, hospital care and follow up psychology and psychiatry treatment). This is before the costs of a police criminal investigation are considered. Whilst there is an initial investment cost when considering replacing all glassware with alternatives, many of these alternatives, such as polycarbonate glass, last longer

²³ Kypri et al, 2011

²⁴ Hadfield, 2011

²⁵ Ragnarsdottir et al, 2002

²⁶ Humphreys and Eisner, 2010

²⁷ <http://www.thamesvalley.police.uk/polycarbonate-glassware.pdf>

²⁸ Warburton and Shepherd, 2000

²⁹ UCL Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science, 2006

and save time that would otherwise have been spent clearing away broken glass at the end of a night³⁰.

4.3.2. Manager and staff training

Manager and staff training policies are often popular given the important role these groups play in managing alcohol-related harms in the NTE (such as ensuring already intoxicated patrons are not served any more alcohol/permitted into the venue, effectively breaking up conflicts before they escalate and preventing under age alcohol sales). This is also true for managers and staff at other flashpoints eg, late-night fast-food takeaways, who are often not targeted for such training programmes.

However, evidence of the impact of server training is mixed. Poor manager and staff performance is only one of a multitude of factors that contributes to alcohol-related harms so, on its own, training is unlikely to be successful. Further, the high turnover of staff in these industries and the commercial imperative to sell more alcohol often makes the training invalid, especially if the codes of practice and legal guidelines are not accompanied by sufficient monitoring and enforcement. Staff training is also less likely to reduce alcohol-related harms if it is not mandatory or where compliance is unrewarded³¹.

Box 9: Glassware management policies

Swansea

To reduce the opportunity of glass injuries occurring, Swansea Council invested in 11,000 polycarbonate glasses. These were issued free to 12 premises located around a particularly busy street in the city centre. All premises were trialled for six weeks over a busy festival period. The trial was deemed a success; there were no glass related violent incidents in the pubs using safer glassware over the period. Further, no glass incidents were reported to the police for six months from the start of the initiative, compared to the seven incidents reported over the previous year (although there is no evidence that this was a direct result of the scheme). Swansea has also now made it a condition of new licenses that premises have to use safer glass on certain dates, such as over the Christmas period. Conditions are also placed on problematic premises to use safer glass¹.

Glasgow

In 2006, Glasgow City Council introduced a bye-law banning glassware from all venues holding an Entertainment Licence within the city centre. However, serving of wine and champagne were exempt from the ban. Serious glass-related injuries inflicted through violence continued. Although premises that had changed their practices so as to only serve drinks in polycarbonate vessels still experienced violence, the injuries sustained within these glass-free environments were much less severe. Their patrons also reported feeling safer in these nightclubs than in others².

¹ UCL, Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science, 2006

² Forsyth, 2008

³⁰ <http://www.thamesvalley.police.uk/polycarbonate-glassware.pdf>

³¹ Ker and Chinnock (2010)

Box 10: Toronto, Canada: The Safer Bars Programme

The Safer Bar Programme (SBP), first developed in Canada, shares some characteristics with Responsible Beverage Service (RBS) interventions. However, it recognises that alcohol intoxication is not the only factor affecting levels of crime and health risks amongst visitors to the NTE.

The SBP provides managers and staff with a risk assessment workbook which alerts them to environmental factors that could contribute to aggression in their premises. The workbook, based upon the findings of empirical research, contains a checklist of 92 items associated with the risk of violence and the training programme instructs staff on how to identify and challenge risk proactively including: recognising signs of aggression; early intervention techniques to avoid and defuse aggression; and legal issues relating to managing problem behaviour.

The programme was found to reduce 'moderate-severe aggression' by patrons (although the reduction was small). Staff aggression increased, but by less than in premises that did not undergo the programme. Overall, the impact of the policy was moderated by high staff turnover¹.

¹ Hadfield, 2011

4.3.3. Accreditation and awards

Accreditation and award schemes attempt to recognise good practice/performance. Competing for accreditation or awards can encourage licensed premises to improve standards (at least up to the minimum standard required for accreditation or above the standard amongst competitor venues for awards) and reduce alcohol-related harms associated with their premises. Many of these schemes, such as Best Bar None, have not been rigorously analysed to determine whether or not they have been successful. However, the 'minimum standards' required by the schemes duplicate existing UK legislation so it is questionable whether the schemes are likely to be the most effective tools in managing alcohol consumption in the NTE. For example, Kensington and Chelsea's Best Bar None scheme requires (amongst other things) venues to have:

- a zero tolerance towards drugs in their premises,
- fully stocked and maintained first aid kits,
- procedures for building evacuations in the event of an emergency,
- considered the safety and structure of the building,
- policies and procedures to control noise escape from the premises,
- policies to ensure surrounding areas are litter free,
- established policies regarding sales to anyone under 18.

Some boroughs have also found that the schemes tend to award the same premises year after year so it is debateable whether it has the desired effect of increasing standards.

4.3.4. Environment within the premise

Drinking behaviour has been found not only to depend on the drink and drinker, but also on the environment. For example, a person's behaviour at a fine restaurant is likely to be different from

that person's behaviour while watching a sports game at a bar.³² Characteristics of the drinking environment, such as venue size, seating and crowding can help predict the likelihood of disorder.

It should be noted that whilst some of the relationship between the premise environment and the extent of alcohol-related harms can be explained by the characteristics of those attracted to it (eg, the type of people more likely to be attracted to low-quality premises may also be those more likely to be engaged in alcohol-related crime) some of it can not be. This suggests that one premise may have, for example, higher crime than another because of its environment even if the two premises have the same patrons³³.

Whilst some factors are considered in greater detail below it should be recognised that no one design factor by itself can cause or eliminate violence. Nevertheless, a range of protective factors can reduce the *likelihood* of such problems. The International Center for Alcohol Policy³⁴ suggests a range of factors can act to either protect or risk the likelihood of negative consequences (see Table 2). These factors can be broken into two categories: those related to the manager and staff training (eg, not serving intoxicated patrons) and 'other' (which covers more design-related features but also some staff/management practices eg, quick and efficient service and seating).

Table 2: Protective factors and risk factors relating to licensed premises

Protective factors	Risk factors
Lack of congestion, not overly crowded	High levels of noise and movement
Managing the exit of patrons	Congestion anywhere in the premises (at the door, bar, stairs, toilets, dance floor etc)
Monitoring patrons, including at entry, the bar and the exit	Higher percentage of customers standing
Higher percentage of customers sitting	Unsupervised pool tables
Promotion of food (full meals and snacks)	Music with a lot of offensive or sexually explicit words
Good range of reasonably priced soft drinks	Lack of bar wiping, table cleaning, toilet cleanliness
Good standards of cleanliness and housekeeping	Acceptance of openly sexual behaviour
	In house promotion or entertainment focusing on alcohol
	TV showing aggressive, offensive, sexual or intoxication-related images
	Vomiting
	Drug dealing or drug use
	Lack of ventilation
Factors related to manager and staff training	
Inappropriate persons (eg, intoxicated or underage) being refused entry or refused service	Drunk or underage persons allowed in and served
Friendly staff	Drunk customers on the premises
Calling last orders in plenty of time	Staff being hostile or aggressive towards patrons
Quick and efficient service	Staff allowing aggression or watching conflict
Staff trained in responsible service	Staff sending people outside to fight
Good communication between staff	Late intervention in situations by staff

³² International Center for Alcohol Policies (ICAP) and the European Forum for Responsible Drinking (EFRD), 2008

³³ See, for example, Macintyre, 1997 or Graham et al., 2006.

³⁴ 'Creating the Right Atmosphere'

In summary, premises that have high standards, are clean and tidy and can control the negative behaviour of their clientele are more likely to have a good atmosphere and prevent problems. Many of these factors centre on things that affect customer frustration ie, preventing people from doing what they want or getting what they expected to. The evidence surrounding some of these 'other' factors is examined in a bit more detail below (for evidence related to manager and staff training see Section 4.3.2).

4.3.4.1. Capacity

Although capacity on its own is not one of the protective factors listed in Table 2, larger nightclubs and bars tend to be particularly high risk³⁵. This is most likely due to the increased probability of a suitable offender and/or target being present (see Box 1).

When a venue is at full or near capacity it will become dense (many people per square metre of floor space). Dense venues have been linked to higher assaults³⁶. It is important to ensure that (a) the capacity limits of premises are set at levels which do not result in highly dense environments, and (b) venues do not exceed limits on the number of people allowed in (which is likely to require regular inspections and punishment for those breaking the rules).

4.3.4.2. Layout

The internal layout of premises may impact staff ability to monitor patrons, thereby preventing early and effective intervention in situations which could escalate into conflict. However, patrons may have a preference for some degree of privacy.

Open-plan designs allow for easier staff monitoring of patrons but does not provide any privacy for customers. Open-plan premises may also risk spreading aggressive behaviour; a small incident would be highly visible to others and can affect their mood and behaviour.

Separated bar areas, with traditionally two or three bars, may be more popular with customers and limit any spreading of aggression. These, however, can create blind spots where customers cannot be observed by staff members and therefore separated bar area designs may make early spotting of trouble less likely.

Optimal designs may include an open-plan space that is divided in such a way that groups of customers feel separated. This may be created using solid partitions that are clear/see-through, trellis or mesh partitions or even differentiated lighting/decor to create the effect of separate/distinct areas. Where blind spots cannot be avoided carefully placed decorative mirrors or CCTV systems may be appropriate.

Another option may be to have raised bar areas, which can make it easier for staff to see customers who are waiting to be served and spot potential trouble.

Layout can also affect the degree of crowding within a venue³⁷. Crowding refers to the amount of space each person has within a venue and the ease with which patrons can move around (eg, from the dance floor to the bar). It is therefore different to capacity (number of people). It is also slightly different to density (number of people per square metre); crowding is a product of both density and venue design and can be represented by the speed of people moving around

³⁵ Graham and Homel (2008); Macintyre and Homel (1997); Quigley et al (2003)

³⁶ Hughes et al (2011)

³⁷ See, for example, Macintyre and Homel (1997)

within an area. Crowding can arise from inappropriate pedestrian flow patterns caused by poor location of entry and exit doors, dance floors, bars and toilets.

Overcrowding has been found to be linked to lower irritation tolerance, increased frustration and conflict (even when the drunkenness and staff interaction with patrons is controlled for)³⁸. However, gender can also influence the relationship between overcrowding and the probability of conflict; females within a group can moderate the effect of crowding on the behaviour of males³⁹. The consequences of crowding will also depend on other factors such as the levels of drunkenness and the extent of server intervention⁴⁰.

4.3.4.3. Seating

There is some evidence that people drink faster whilst standing up than when sitting down⁴¹. The availability of seating (number of seats per patron) can affect the incidence of alcohol-related disorder. If the supply of seating is limited then competition between patrons for seats or frustration from the discomfort of standing could lead to aggressive behaviour⁴².

However, it has also been argued that more seating can increase the consumption of alcohol by encouraging patrons to stay longer (although there does not appear to be evidence to support this argument).

Seating (and its position within premises) should also be considered, as it can affect the 'flow' of customers (ie, create overcrowding). For example, seats should not obstruct flows between the bar, toilets and vending/amusement machines. This reduces the potential for jostling, drink spillages and confrontation.

4.3.4.4. Games

Entertainment in the form of games, for example, can provide a diversion from the activity of alcohol consumption. In Australia, for example, higher levels of aggression have been related to boredom, and games machines, shows and quizzes were found to relieve this⁴³.

On the other hand, things such as karaoke may improve people's mood and make them 'more up for partying' thereby consuming more alcohol⁴⁴.

The presence of games (eg, pool tables) in drinking venues has been linked to higher disorder in bars⁴⁵. Competition, when players are under the influence of alcohol, can turn to aggression and anti-social behaviour. It has been found that around 20 per cent of violence in pubs arises from activities on or around pool tables. To prevent this, possible strategy options are⁴⁶:

- only allow two cues out at a time;
- ensure there is a clear system for turn-taking (black board);
- make local rules clear to newcomers;

³⁸ Macintyre and Homel (1997)

³⁹ Macintyre and Homel (1997)

⁴⁰ Macintyre and Homel (1997)

⁴¹ <http://www.research-live.com/calling-time-on-binge-drinking/4007087.blog>

⁴² Graham et al., 2006

⁴³ Hughes, K., et al

⁴⁴ Forsyth et al (2005)

⁴⁵ Hughes et al (2011)

⁴⁶ The Portman Group,

- forbid heavy betting;
- Constantly monitor and intervene early in disputes;
- Tables should be situated away from customer flows but where they can be observed by staff members.

4.3.4.5. Music

Loud music can affect the speed at which people consume alcohol (and therefore the total amount drunk whilst out). It is possible that loud music makes people give up trying to communicate with each other and instead focus on their drinking. It is also possible that people drink more because the music creates greater levels of arousal, turning the music up signals 'the real beginning of night-time fun, so people start to drink more'⁴⁷.

Studies have found evidence that the volume of music can affect the amount of alcohol customers consume. For example, a study in France found that when the music was louder, beers were drunk faster; on average customers took 14.5 minutes to finish a 250ml (8 oz) glass of draught beer when the music was at its normal level. This came down to 11.5 minutes when the music was turned up. As a result, on average, during their time in the bar each participant ordered one more drink in the loud music condition than in the normal music condition⁴⁸.

4.3.4.6. Food

Eating before drinking has been found to reduce increases in blood alcohol levels for a given amount of alcohol consumption⁴⁹. Eating whilst drinking or in-between drinking sessions has also been found to lessen peak alcohol concentration⁵⁰, possibly by distracting from the act of consuming alcohol. Whilst there is a general relationship between the consumption of food and intoxication, the type of food consumed (carbohydrate, fat, protein) has not been shown to be important to this affect.

More generally, the availability of food has been shown to reduce the number of assaults and police call-outs⁵¹ and the International Centre for Alcohol Policies' 'Responsible Service of Alcohol: A server Guide' and 'Policy tools: Blue Book' recommend serving food as a way of reducing violence and disruptive behaviour.

4.3.4.7. General atmosphere

Behaviour in the NTE is often guided by different social norms to those found during the day (see Box 2). The atmosphere within a premise can contribute to people's perception of what is acceptable and thereby influence their behaviour. For example, 'drinking establishments with a permissive atmosphere, which are tolerant of rowdiness, swearing and disorderly behaviour, encourage the perception that aggressive and/or disorderly behaviour is generally acceptable and will not be punished'⁵². A sexist atmosphere, fostered through practices such as bar staff distributing shots of alcohol while wearing scant clothing, may also increase the risk of sexual aggression⁵³. 'Sports bars', which may have TVs showing aggressive activities (eg, boxing) have also been demonstrated to having higher levels of disorderly behaviour⁵⁴. Other social factors

⁴⁷ Gueguen et al. (2008)

⁴⁸ Gueguen et al. (2008)

⁴⁹ Millar K, Hammersley RH, Finnigan F.,

⁵⁰ <http://www.alcohol.vt.edu/students/alchoholeffects/intoxfactors.htm>

⁵¹ See, for example, Hughes et al (2011)

⁵² Mcllwain (2009)

⁵³ Mcllwain (2009)

⁵⁴ Forsyth et al (2005)

contributing to aggression in licensed premises may include the dress code of employees and the atmosphere created by bar staff.

4.4. Public realm design

Changing the facilities in and design of city centres may help reduce the incidence and severity of alcohol-related harms in the NTE. It may also improve people's perception of the area (and crime within it) and improve community spirit.

Potential changes to the public realm considered below are CCTV, street lighting, active frontages, public toilet provision, glassware management outside premises and the general layout of the public realm.

4.4.1. CCTV

CCTV and surveillance may help to deter, limit and monitor alcohol-related crime. However, there is limited evidence to support the use of CCTV as a tool of alcohol-related crime prevention. A Home Office review cited that CCTV led to a negligible reduction in crime of about 2 per cent⁵⁵. Its effectiveness tends to depend on the type of crime it is intended to reduce and the area in which it is installed; CCTV is most effective at preventing property crime (particularly in protecting car parks) and least effective at deterring public order offences involving alcohol where rationality is often lost and people are oblivious to the presence of CCTV. CCTV is also more effective as a deterrent of crime in smaller and 'less complex' areas as opposed to large city centres. In the long-term, the effectiveness of CCTV will also depend on renewal of public awareness or other factors to support the message against crime⁵⁶.

Nonetheless, CCTV may be useful in limiting the level of injuries sustained through alcohol-related violence through increased detection and rapid police response to developing situations. CCTV may also reduce the costs of policing related to investigating reported crimes/offences by allowing for faster identification, supporting prosecutions.

The role of CCTV with respect to crime will be highly dependant on: (a) availability of police resources to respond, (b) efficiency of CCTV operators, (c) clarity of CCTV footage (enhanced by installation of 'white light' street lighting) and (d) level of communication between CCTV operators and police.

When considering investment in CCTV, its potential benefits need to be weighed up against its costs, both the initial investment and maintenance and running costs of the system. Westminster city council estimated the cost of installation of a pole mounted CCTV camera is £25,000 with annual monitoring costs at £7,500 per year and annual transmission costs dependent on BT charges⁵⁷.

4.4.2. Street lighting

Improved street lighting can cause a reduction in crime through increased surveillance of potential offenders (and therefore increased deterrence), and by signalling a safe, lively,

⁵⁵ Hadfield, P.,

⁵⁶ Roberts (2004)

⁵⁷<http://transact.westminster.gov.uk/CSU/Cabinet%20Member%20Decisions/Archived%20Decisions/Planning/2006/08%20-%20S106%20SPG/Appendix%202%20-%20Formulae%20Details.doc>

welcoming environment and increasing community pride. It can also improve pedestrian and traffic safety by making routes more visible.

Evidence of street lighting as a policy to reduce crime is strong. Improved street lighting can be implemented as a 'feasible, inexpensive and effective method of reducing crime'. A review of 13 studies of street lighting interventions in the United Kingdom and United States, spanning four decades, finds that crime decreased by 21 per cent in areas that experienced street lighting improvements compared to similar areas that did not⁵⁸.

Street lighting can also reduce fear of crime (and the costs associated with this)⁵⁹, create clear edges for the NTE and help disperse crowds by creating paths (see Box 1).

Where residential properties are scattered amongst the NTE activities, light pollution will need to be considered. It is also important to consider energy waste (getting the amount of lighting just right, especially when the area is not occupied). Recent technology might provide one solution where lighting is dim when empty and then brightens up as the space becomes used.

4.4.3. Active frontages

A transparent frontage at licensed premises provides natural surveillance from both the street and inside the building. Well lit premises, with entrances facing the street, are more visible, accessible and less foreboding. Amongst non-licensed premises (or premises that may not be operating but exist within the NTE area) active frontages (such as lighting and absence of shutters) can create an impression of activity and permeability; this is as opposed to creating impressions of 'dead' and unwelcoming and negative messages about crime risks within the area.

There is no official evidence to support such initiatives. However it may follow the advantages of improved street lighting (without the costs falling to councils).

4.4.4. Public toilet provision

Street fouling can be a problem when alcohol is consumed in the NTE. A potential solution to this is the provision of public toilets. However this needs to be weighed up against the costs of providing and servicing these and steps need to be taken to ensure that they do not become hotspots for drug use and crime.

One solution to this problem is to provide 'open air' toilets, as in Westminster (see box 12). Nonetheless, these are not without their own consideration; they may discourage females and families from visiting the area during their times of operation.

Box 11: Leeds

In Leeds, pavement LED lighting has been installed running from the central train station to various destinations and points of interest. The lights are computer controlled and can be used for different functions to support the city's events programme.

⁵⁸ Farrington, D., Welsh, B

⁵⁹ Nasar and Fisher, 1993

Box 12: Westminster toilet provision

The city of Westminster provides:

- two toilets available 24hrs a day;
- twelve mobile urinals/ 'Kros Units' (placed strategically, often at transport points) available between 7pm and 8am Friday and Saturdays;
- two 'Uri-lift' pop up toilets, each containing three toilets and are self-cleaning and linked to the sewage system, operating 7pm until 6am 7 days a week;
- two butterfly toilets.

The success of the scheme has been measured through the extent to which the facility is used. Figures indicate that as many as 4,185 people use the Kros units each weekend to deposit an average total of 215 gallons of urine¹. This does not however mean that these people would have resorted to street fouling if these toilets had not been available.

¹Bevan, 2009

4.4.5. Glassware management outside premises

The management of glassware can be an important issue for street safety. In Manchester City Centre, to prevent unauthorised removal of their content there are specially designed 'bottle bins' (a repository of glasses and bottles). They were introduced in response to problems experienced with conventional bins that were misused by offenders as arsenals of readily available weaponry. However, there does not seem to be any evaluation looking into the effectiveness of these bins.

Due to similar concerns, the City of Westminster employs a 'Bags off Streets' policy, with targeted collection schedule for waste from licensed premises that often contains glass, to ensure that it is on the street for as little time as possible.

4.4.6. General layout

Design *around* licensed premises may be important in reducing alcohol-related harms in the same way as design *within* premises. For example, the layout, size and space on pedestrian routes can impact on crowding and thus conflict. Public seating may also prevent the dispersal of visitors from the area and increase the possibility of conflict as well as noise and litter pollution. It may also be worth considering pedestrianising some streets in the evening/night time so that large numbers of people in a small space can move around without congestion (and thus possible conflict). Good signage and walking routes can also help to move people around the area safely and efficiently.

4.5 Service interventions

Alcohol consumption within the NTE can impose large costs on public services, such as the costs of policing, health care, and noise and light pollution. Changes in the way that these services are delivered could help to reduce the costs associated with the NTE.

At the same time public services (such as late-night transport provision, brief intervention in police and health care settings, and public education and media campaigns) could help reduce the incidence of harms within the NTE.

The evidence on ways to reduce costs to public services and the use of services (public and private) to reduce incidents is examined in the sections below. Specifically, transport, policing, health care, noise and light regulation, and public education and media campaigns interventions are considered.

4.5.1. Transport

Evening/night transport is important in ensuring that people can get home safely and that crowds disperse from an area efficiently. This in turn can reduce the incidence of crime; poor availability of transport means people are required to spend more time waiting around in nightlife areas, often frustrated and competing for scarce resources, increasing the likelihood of trouble occurring (see Box 1). The efficient dispersal of crowds from the area can also reduce noise disturbances as well as the incidence of litter.

Good transport can also enhance the accessibility of an area and attract a wider range of visitors. This can then enhance the economic viability of an area but also alter the social norms of the area's NTE (see Box 2).

As with the day time economy transport policy should focus on all forms of transport simultaneously. Licensed premises can also play a role in ensuring that their customers can get home safely (either by providing buses themselves and including the cost in admission prices, by establishing links with local cab firms to provide a guaranteed service, providing free phone links to reputable cab firms, or through other types of assistance).

Although TfL have overall responsibility for public transport in London, the report considers factors that boroughs may want to consider during conversations with TfL. Given that London underground is closed late at night in order for cleaning and maintenance to be carried out (and there is currently no cost-effective way of speeding this up to extend operating hours) this form of transport has not been considered below.

4.5.1.1. Bus

It is important to state that, despite the logic, few late night bus schemes have been robustly evaluated with regard to their impact on NTE costs such as crime. Their effectiveness is therefore by no means certain.

Nevertheless, where new bus routes and timings are being considered it may be worthwhile coinciding it with the closing times of major/large venues and be in close proximity to them (possibly where they can be overseen by door supervisors). It may also be necessary to consider the regularity of the service to prevent crowds (and incidents) building up at bus stops.

However, whilst some areas can be popular evening/night time destinations, they will still often attract lower flows of people than they do in the day time. People may also have a greater preference for taxis in the evening/night than they do during the day time. The lower numbers of potential travellers may make the operation of certain bus routes appear unprofitable during the night-time. The additional compensation to drivers (eg, as a result of the unsocial working hours or increased safety risks at night) may also make operation on certain routes unviable (however, it may be possible to overcome this by, for example, CCTV or police on buses and conflict/safety training for drivers (although the additional cost of these will need to be considered when deciding whether it is worthwhile implementing them)).

Box 13: Bus subsidy examples

In 2001, the Passenger Transport Executive for Greater Manchester agreed to subsidise a network of late night bus services. This proved to be a successful ‘pump priming’ exercise as the services soon became commercially sustainable with additional routes added. Manchester now has an extensive night service running every 20 to 30 minutes up until around 3.30 on Fridays and Saturdays. Police statistics have shown that this improvement in late night transport in Manchester *correlates* with a reduction in assault levels¹.

Bolton, Swansea and Westminster have all invested in late night buses in order to reduce the problem of lack of supply. These were set up with local bus companies and were sometimes part funded by authorities or local licensed premises.

In the Netherlands, late-night buses have been provided by nightclub owners to shuttle customer’s home at the end of the night¹.

¹Hadfield, 2011

Once in operation, the service may become popular (eg, as more people can access the areas or people switch from taxis to public transport) turning it into profit. In these situations it may be worth considering providing initial (financial) support to bus companies ie, sharing some of the risk involved.

Some consideration should also be given to the safety and security of travellers at their destination stop to their final destination (eg, home).

Box 14: Camden ‘Departure Lounge’

Part of Camden’s NTE strategy focuses on improved dispersal of patrons. With this in mind, they set up a ‘Departure Lounge’ on Friday and Saturday evenings/nights. The Lounge is a marquee on one of the main streets which advises people on travel options and gives out provisions that may improve people’s state (fluids, glucose and caffeine in the shape of tea, coffee juice, biscuits and lollipops). The Lounge links into the CCTV, police and the London Ambulance Services.

The policy also had the by-product of creating some cohesion amongst NTE community members.

4.5.1.2. Taxi

Taxis (and minicabs) can be a popular form of transport amongst NTE visitors, and (in some areas) in particular demand at 1am, and possibly again at 4am (matching departures from pubs and clubs)⁶⁰. There is a clear requirement to coordinate the availability of taxis with opening times of licensed premises in the area and to ensure sufficient taxis are supplied to meet demand. This may be difficult as conflicts arise between addressing the Friday and Saturday night peaks and ensuring that the number of licenses does not drive over supply at other time periods. The predominance of intoxicated passengers (who may engage in anti-social behaviour)

⁶⁰ Cooper, 2005

may also deter some taxi/minicab drivers to operate at the peak evening/night times. This can reduce supply even further. For example, 21 per cent of all drivers surveyed in Glasgow⁶¹ reported that passenger behaviour affects the times they choose to work. This rose to 53 per cent of night time drivers – so there is clearly either greater awareness or caution for those considering working at night.

Although TfL control the fare structure of black cabs (to compensate for working at night), it may also be worth considering safety policies to encourage more taxis to work during the evening/night where the extra income (set by TfL) does not encourage sufficient numbers to meet demand. For example, 36 per cent of drivers currently choosing not to work expressed a willingness to do so if additional safety measures could be implemented⁶². Possible security measures may include in-vehicle CCTV, robust shields separating drivers and passengers, conflict training for drivers, CCTV at taxi-ranks and taxi marshals⁶³ (although there does not appear to be sufficient evidence currently regarding which of these will be most effective in different circumstances).

Taxi ranks can attract a large number of individuals and act as a flashpoint if people have to compete for taxis, are impatient (eg, due to the weather), do not observe queuing formalities (ie, not waiting their turn) and have consumed alcohol which can fuel violent incidents (see Box 1). A variety of measures can be introduced at transport termini (including bus stops and taxi ranks) to deter violence and disorder, to increase perceptions of safety, and thus to encourage the use of public transport at night. These include improving street lighting, installing CCTV cameras, and the introduction of security staff (or Taxi Marshals) to manage queues and assist customers (with effective radio communications to services such as the police).

Another way of potentially dealing with a shortage of taxis is to encourage ‘taxi sharing’ where strangers living within the same area share a taxi rather than take individual ones. This may also make taxis a more feasible option for some who would not otherwise be able to afford it and so may also help in the dispersal of patrons from an area.

Passenger safety is also an important consideration when it comes to taxis given the dangers of travelling in un-booked minicabs picked up off the street. For example, in London, in 2009–10, there were 143 reported cab-related sexual offences including 24 rapes. However, as a London-wide issue which falls under the remit of TfL this is not considered in this document.

⁶¹ Cooper, 2005

⁶² Cooper (2005)

⁶³ Stafford *et al.*, (2007)

Box 15: Transport policy examples

Glasgow 'Night Zone' Safer Transport Initiative

To reduce crime and the fear of crime, Glasgow set up a Night Zone scheme through a partnership between the city council, police and the city centre Alcohol Action Group. The scheme involves:

- Increasing the capacity of night taxi ranks;
- Dedicated night bus stops for the city's late night bus service;
- Amending traffic sequences to reduce congestion at night;
- provision of public street sodium white lighting;
- Developing a radio network involving night clubs and other late-night premises;
- Providing Taxi and Bus Marshalls (who can deliver first aid to people);
- Increasing CCTV operators;
- Providing Public Help Points and street signs for buses and taxis;
- Distribution of information on late-night transport options.

The total direct and indirect cost of the scheme was around £200,000¹. Police recorded a 9.3 per cent reduction in violent crime during the project evaluation period, but it was not possible to attribute this to the scheme itself. However, members of the public and key stakeholders *perceived* the project to have achieved almost all of its community safety objectives.

Manchester

Taxi Marshalls at taxi ranks were also introduced in Manchester. Here the scheme found increased perceptions of safety among taxi users and drivers, and a 50 per cent drop in crime at marshalled ranks compared with the year preceding the intervention (although, again, this may not all be attributable to the introduction of the marshals)².

Swansea

In Swansea permanent barriers have been erected to facilitate queuing in order to discourage conflict due to 'queue jumping'. However, the impact of this policy on crime (and associated costs) has not been carried out so it is difficult to say whether or not the scheme has been successful.

¹FMR Research, 2009

²Wheater, *et al.*, 2005

4.5.1.3. Parking

Providing parking in the evening/night time may also help in ensuring patrons are able to get home safely and may have the added benefit of reducing alcohol consumption in the NTE. Encouraging private car use will require consideration of night-time road safety eg, street lighting and monitoring of speed/speed cameras.

The benefits of this will need to be weighed up against the extra pollution and congestion created (if people would have used public transport) and also the possibility of more people drink-driving (in which case the policy may need to be coupled with policies aimed at tackling drink-driving⁶⁴).

4.5.2. Policing

Policing within the night-time economy may deter crime (or prevent it from escalating), enforce crowd dispersal (and thus reduce noise disturbances) and reduce the fear of crime. It may take several forms. Below, the evidence regarding targeted policing, more general street policing (including third-party policing) and transport policing is considered. The effectiveness of anti-social behaviour and drink banning orders and alcohol arrest referral schemes is also looked at.

4.5.2.1. Targeted policing

Targeted enforcement activity in high risk environments/areas (including hospitals) allows for police resources to be better directed (although may not reduce fear of crime by as much as more general, un-targeted and high-visibility policing).

However, proactive policing can be very resource intensive and can detract from policing in other areas of the borough/city. It may, therefore, result in a shift of crime from one area to another if there is insufficient coverage. As such, it is important that proactive policing is efficiently targeted; 'problem profiling', where intelligence is used to create a clear picture of crime in the area, can allow police to manage their limited resources and determine tactics. Box 18 sets out some guidelines for how 'problem profiles' can be constructed.

⁶⁴ Some of the most effective ways of reducing the risks involved with drink driving are reducing the legal blood alcohol limits for driving and strict enforcement of drink driving legislation (eg, random breath tests). See Hadfield 2011 for more information.

Box 16: Cardiff, UK: Licensed premises enforcement database

Cardiff grades licensed premises within a 'traffic light system' relating to the risks they and their customers present for crime, disorder and public nuisance. The grading is based on intelligence collected on a force-wide database and includes details of the conditions attached to each premise's license. Each incident recorded against a venue is carefully scrutinised to establish that the chain of responsibility does, in fact, lie with the venue. Premises are graded green, amber or red depending on their monthly score. These grades help determine allocated resource deployment and other forms of preventative action. High-risk premises are sent warning letters and subject to more inspection visits. Premises are able to earn credit points for working with the police which are subtracted from the points allocated for incidents for which they were judged to be responsible (thus, a venue could get its rating reduced from, say, red to amber by demonstrating good practice in helping the police in their detection of crime).

In addition to this, high-risk premises were visited by health consultants who presented in graphic detail the injuries sustained, treatment, and numbers of assaults to premises managers. They also informed managers that the hospital Emergency Department was auditing violence in their premises and that a report would be published six months later and disclosed to the local media

This policy makes full use of the provisions of the Licensing Act 2003 which allows for a graded system of penalties, ranging from warnings, to modest fines, to Review of the licence and imposition of additional binding conditions, to temporary licence suspensions of differing lengths, to outright loss of licence.

Box 17: New South Wales: Alcohol linking project

(Hadfield, 2011)

New South Wales (NSW) trialled a data collection procedure whereby police attending incidences recorded where drinks were last consumed. The data was then used to determine which premises were generating the most police call-outs. The police wrote to licensed premises informing them of the numbers of incidents related to their premise. Those with at least one alcohol-related incident were visited by police a week after the report was sent and were subject to a 30-item audit which measured the responsible service of alcohol and management practices. The results of this audit were made available to licensees. The following month, the audited licensees were invited to attend a workshop conducted by the police. The workshop allowed police and licensees to discuss the progress and problems licensees experienced in implementing responsible service of alcohol procedures and discussed ways to improve management practices.

The Alcohol Linking project was evaluated (via randomised controlled trials) and found that in the three months after the intervention there was a:

- 15 percentage point reduction in alcohol-related *incidents* as a result of the scheme (there was a 36 per cent reduction in alcohol-related incidents for licenses in the trial group compared to a 21 per cent reduction for those in the control group)
- 7 percentage point reduction in alcohol-related *arrests* as a result of the scheme (there was a 32 per cent reduction for licenses in the trial group compared to a 25 per cent reduction for those in the control group)

The scheme was also palatable for those involved; 92 per cent of licensees agreed that the audit visit was acceptable.

4.5.2.2. Street policing

Street policing can be carried out either by police directly (including targeted policing), by community support officers (funded by the police), by street wardens (funded by either local councils or Business Improvement Districts) or by third parties (funded by volunteers/charities). Street policing increases the number of suitable guardians in an area and can thus reduce crime (see Box 1) as well as the fear of crime amongst other NTE patrons and local residents.

Good communication systems can assist in efficient street policing (regardless of the group carrying it out). Radio link between licensed premises, door staff, CCTV operators, taxi marshals and street/third -party police/street wardens allows for a rapid response to crime in progress.

Systematic reviews of evidence have found that targeted foot patrol by the police is effective in reducing crime⁶⁵. Recent UK studies have also highlighted the importance of targeted police foot patrols in reassuring the public (and, when implemented alongside community engagement and problem solving, in improving public confidence⁶⁶). Community Support Officers (CSOs) may be used to assist police in street policing (dealing with low-level crime and preventing incidents from escalating). Studies looking at the effectiveness of CSOs have found that there is no discernable difference of their impact on

⁶⁵ Sherman, L. and Eck, E. (2002) 'Policing for Crime Prevention', in Farrington, D. et al. (eds) Evidence-Based Crime Prevention. London: Routledge.

⁶⁶ Tuffin, R., Morris, J. and Poole, A. (2006) An Evaluation of the Impact of the National Reassurance Policing Programme. London: Home Office; Quinton, P. and Morris, J. (2008) Neighbourhood Policing: The Impact of Piloting and Early National Implementation. London: Home Office.

Box 18: Constructing 'problem profiles' for targeted policing, enforcement and regulation in the NTE

The recommendations below have been taken from Hadfield (2011), which itself has been adapted from the work of Erol, R. (2006) Alcohol Misuse Enforcement Campaign: Guidance on Problem Profiles. London: Jill Dando Institute Crime Science Laboratory.

- 'Problem profiling' involves constructing a clear picture of the intelligence assembled on a problem to allow police managers to make resource decisions and determine tactics.
- Calculating rates of offences by head of population is problematic when analysing crime and disorder associated with the NTE, as it is difficult to obtain an accurate denominator (many nightlife areas have a small residential population and very large numbers of visitors).
- Rates are especially useful when identifying problem premises. It could be that a particular venue emerges as a problem because it has a much larger capacity than surrounding venues. Also, changes in the licensed capacity of a nightlife area might occur as a result of a new venue opening, or a premises closing. These factors may contribute to changes in the number of offences occurring.
- Suggestions for denominators to use include footfall counters in licensed premises, local authority footfall counters, or estimates of the average capacity for each night at various times of the night, although there are limitations to using these.
- Mapping data is a useful way of pinpointing areas, streets and premises with particular problems, and seeing how these have changed over time. Maps can be used in conjunction with other local data to determine why problems are concentrated in certain areas, such as outside particular licensed premises, or adjacent to a taxi rank. To obtain the most value from GIS, appropriate and, where possible, more sophisticated techniques such as cluster analysis should be employed.
- For an initiative based in a particular town or city, the problem profile should provide contextual data for the whole city, with a more detailed analysis of hot spot areas where the main problems exist. This will demonstrate that resources are being channelled into the most appropriate geographical area within the city.
- Where appropriate some consideration should also be given to the rest of the city, and the proportion of crime occurring outside the hot spot areas, to put the scale of the problems into context and show awareness of the problems across the city. To show the extent of the problem, it is useful to provide comparative data for the remainder of the region, or another, comparable city.
- The most appropriate police data sources about the problem, in particular, recorded crime, incident data, and supporting information, should be identified and fully utilized.
- Where possible, information from sources other than police data should also be used to provide a more complete picture of the problem, as only a proportion of offences are reported to the police. For example, incidents of anti-social behaviour and disorder may be reported to the local council rather than the police, or additional data on assaults may be available from hospital emergency departments, or the Ambulance Service.
- It is essential to look at trends over time, preferably looking at how the situation has changed over the past two or three years. This gives ample data to identify seasonal changes, and distinguish real changes from random fluctuations. Using a moving average can help remove the effects of random variations. Comparable time periods for each year should be used when analysing the changes over time.

Box 18 continued

- When preparing for particular events such as sporting fixtures or festivals, examine data on what occurred during similar events in the past. This can help to plan specific interventions for forthcoming events.
- Where a number of nightlife areas with various impacts exist within a city, individual profiles should be prepared for each area. These will undoubtedly differ between locations, depending on such things as the number and proximity of licensed premises, the variation and range of closing times, and ease of dispersal at the end of the night.
- Determine where the main crime hot spots ('hot areas') are and how these have changed over time. Hot spot maps using GIS analysis can be useful in depicting where the main problems are occurring, and the size of the area affected by the different crime types being analysed. Due regard should be given to the accuracy of the data geocoding, particularly for the many offences occurring in the street.
- Looking at hot streets ('hot lines' on maps), and how these change over time, can help to understand why problems are concentrated in these streets. This may be due to there being a large number of pubs and clubs actually located on the road, or because it provides quick access between other pubs and clubs. There may be taxi ranks or takeaway premises located in the street that attract large numbers of people when pubs and clubs close, and deter them from dispersing quickly, leading to more violent incidents.
- Particular venues and licensed premises can generate particular problems (plotted as 'hot dots' on maps). Again, understanding why these premises are problematic is important. They could have large capacities, and in fact have a lower rate of violent crime than other venues. They could be open for longer, be designed in a way that may provide more opportunity for confrontation, or have management policies that may need to be reviewed. Detailed analysis, along with close working with the licensees, can uncover why problems are associated with a particular venue, and help to develop ways of addressing this.
- Ranking licensed premises in terms of number of offences, with information about capacities and opening times where possible will highlight those that require targeted interventions. These may change over time, due to changes in management, promotions, or time of year (for example, whether there are facilities for drinking outside). The use of appropriate denominators should, again, be considered.
- The location of hot pubs and their proximity to each other will assist in the targeting of high visibility patrols. In addition, their proximity to 'cold' premises, where few or no offences occur, may point to other factors that can be exploited to reduce violent crime. It may be useful to consider why some premises within hot areas and on hot streets are less likely than others to have violent incidents associated with them.
- It may also be useful to consider identifying and targeting licensed premises outside the city centre that are frequented by groups earlier in the evening before they travel to the town or city centre to continue drinking.
- Recognising patterns and changes in offences by time of night can help to ensure the right places are being targeted at the right time, with more resources deployed when the risk increases.
- Analysing patterns of offences over a week, and over a day will identify hot days and times, and emerging changes, such as offences occurring later at night, or an increasing number occurring on a Thursday night, for example.
- Many offences occur overnight – it may be more useful to recode data to take account of this (for example, coding the day to run from 06:00 – 05:59). A high count on 'Sundays' may actually refer to offences on a Saturday night/Sunday morning, rather than Sunday night.

reported incidents⁶⁷ although, when deployed for long periods of time, residents felt safer. Table 3 provides a list of the main advantages and disadvantages associated with CSOs.

Table 3: Advantages and Disadvantages of Community Support Officers (CSOs)

Advantages	Disadvantages
The public feel reassured if there is a speedy response to their call about an incident;	Attending the incident could take CSOs away from their core task of visible patrol and if out of their area or if the incident requires additional action or paperwork the CSOs may be away from their beat for a considerable time.
The perpetrators get sent a message that their behaviour has consequences;	If the call is about youth disturbance, evidence suggests that the young people have often dispersed before the CSOs arrive.
If CSOs attend rather than police officers it reduces the burden on police officers	Many of the low-level incidents would not be attended by police officers – so there is little reduction in the burden on officers.
	CSOs have limited training and powers and there are risks in deploying them to situations where the circumstances may not be clear.

Street wardens can also be used to enhance the uniformed police presence. Typically, street wardens adopt a wide range of duties, such as:

- act as a visible guardian presence, in addition to the police,
- support the reduction and prevent the escalation of crime and disorder,
- improve public reassurance,
- enforce council byelaws,
- act as an ambassador for the area, and
- foster social inclusion and community spirit.

Where street wardens are also employed during the day there may be some conflict between their duties of supporting social inclusion within the community and law enforcers at night. This should be managed carefully. It is also important to ensure that their roles are clearly defined and that they do not duplicate the effort of other groups/agencies already in operation.

An alternative or supplement to street wardens and CSOs are third-party policing. Research analysing footage from CCTV of public spaces in the NTE⁶⁸ compared aggressive incidents that ended in violence with those that did not. Conciliatory interventions by third parties (in the case of this study, ordinary members of the public) in on-street incidents tended to prevent aggression from escalating into physical violence and were more successful when carried out by multiple third parties than when carried out by one person. This (along with studies looking at the impact of police presence on streets) suggests third-party policing may be a cost-effective way of controlling certain types of crime in the NTE. In addition, surveys of the public have found that a majority were prepared to play an active role in tackling crime but were often

⁶⁷ However, this *may* be because they are often involved in low-level crime which is often not reported or officially categorised as crimes.

⁶⁸ Levine et al, 2005

unsure how⁶⁹, so there is likely to be a supply of individuals with which this policy could be implemented.

Whilst third party policing presents many benefits, such as reductions in crime, it is not without costs/risk (see Table 4).

Table 4: Advantages and disadvantages of third party policing⁷⁰

Advantages	Disadvantages
Patrols could provide support to local policing teams, communicate directly with the public, and report issues causing concern.	Significant health and safety risks to volunteers especially if only light training is provided.
High visibility and general low-level crime policing may reduce low-level crime incidents and free up police resources. It may also help reduce the fear of crime	Police may need to provide support to the schemes (including support with inducting volunteers, accompanying volunteers on initial patrols and attendance at monthly meetings) which uses up police resources.
Volunteer street patrols could provide a bridge between the police and members of the public who may not approach police officers.	Patrols may be perceived as being 'policing on the cheap' by members of the public. This may reduce their effectiveness against crime and fear of it.
Volunteers could gain a better knowledge of their local area and have an increased sense of ownership of issues in their locality.	Third party policing may also be viewed as being vigilante and may encourage people to engage in actual vigilante behaviour themselves.
Patrols could lead to a better understanding by volunteers of local crime issues and the work of neighbourhood policing teams.	Mixed approaches to recruitment, selection and training could lead to wide variances in the skills, abilities and motivations of volunteers and pose a risk to the sustainability of such schemes.
Possibility that the public could respond positively to patrols due to their non-confrontational stance and their willingness to help and support and take an interest in members of the community.	If police support is not maintained: there is evidence to suggest that if a structured approach and guidelines are not put in place this can lead to breakdown of police support and disillusionment.
	There is a danger that volunteers may not represent the collective will of the community and may lack accountability to the wider community.
	Can not enforce council bylaws

Nonetheless some of these disadvantages/risks can be minimised or mitigated. Street Angels⁷¹ (part of the Christian Nightlife Initiatives Network, where volunteers go out on the street Saturday evening/nights and provide practical help to visitors), for example, provide volunteers with a handbook that covers most of the risks involved and it is reviewed annually. Police briefing is also provided before each shift begins, which covers wanted people, situations to be aware of and other issues that volunteers should be aware of. Street Pastors (see Box 19) also have a risk matrix document which outlines what they should do in situations including finding drugs, guns, and knives as well as travelling and dealing with the public.

⁶⁹ Casey, 2008

⁷⁰ Adapted from NPIA, 2011

⁷¹ <http://www.sa-cni.org.uk/index.html>

It may also be possible to provide public liability insurance and accident insurance cover for volunteers. Whilst this will not eliminate the risks involved it could reduce the costs associated with dealing with them. For example, Street Watch⁷² (another UK group of civilians who patrol streets) members are covered by Lloyds Underwriters, although it is up to individual members if they wish to take out additional personal accident / injury cover or public liability insurance.

As with street wardens, it is important to ensure that third-party policing has clearly defined roles and that these do not duplicate the effort of other groups/agencies already in operation. It is also important that they work with police and other agencies to minimise the potential risk to volunteers.

⁷² <http://www.street-watch.org.uk>

Box 19: Examples of street wardens and third party policing

Leicester Square: City Guardians

Leicester Square uses a Warden scheme entitled 'City Guardians' to monitor the situation in the area and deal with low-level offences (or call on police for more serious situations). They employ two wardens on the Square until 1am on weekdays and Sundays, and until 4am on Fridays and Saturdays. All Wardens have a radio link to each other, the police and to the CCTV control room. Leicester Square also has a dedicated police unit that liaises closely with the wardens.

Stirling, Scotland: Street Team

In Stirling, Scotland, a patrol, 'Street Team' is used to specifically deliver support to the NTE. It comprises of Community Wardens and youth workers. The team patrol between 10pm and 2am. There is a 'Pub Safe' radio link in operation between Street Team, door staff at venues, taxi marshals, CCTV control centre and 'Safe Base' (Stirling Council Youth Services premises where people trained to deal with first aid, mental health, substance misuse and conflict are present). The Street Team engage in the following activities:

- Escorting vulnerable people to places of safety or away from the city centre, eg, to bus stop / taxi rank / home; to Safe Base; or calling an ambulance;
- Acting as a conduit to the Police and CCTV (via radios), to assist in monitoring of identified vulnerable / violent people or to call for assistance;
- Engagement and reassurance with members of the public, and to disseminate the message of Safe Base;
- Liaising with taxi marshals (via radio and in person), to identify problems with particular people or groups, and to update them on the progress of incidents;
- Liaising with door stewards (via radio and in person) to identify problems with particular people or groups, and to update them on the progress of incidents;
- Monitoring / passively intervening with groups of people, to stop escalation into violence / anti-social behaviour, and to disperse groups.

UK: Street Pastors

Street Pastors is an initiative of the Ascension Trust¹. It currently operates in over 100 locations in the UK and has more than 2,500 trained volunteers. The schemes are run by local Christian charity organisations. Volunteers (aged 18 or older) are recruited from local churches and provided with 12 days of training. Volunteers commit to going out on the streets at least once a month, normally at the weekend between 10pm and 4am in areas known to be particularly troublesome. Street Pastors patrol in a minimum group of two and wear a uniform and carry a mobile phone for safety. They work closely with local councils and police but are operationally independent. The role of Street Pastors involves largely providing practical help, including:

- Handing blankets outside nightclubs or flip-flops to clubbers unable to walk home in their high heels;
- Giving out water, chocolate (for energy), personal alarms and, occasionally, condoms;
- Carrying bus timetables;
- Ensuring the safety of vulnerable people;
- Removing bottles and other potential weapons from the streets.

¹ <http://www.streetpastors.co.uk/>

4.5.2.3. Transport policing

Crime and fear of crime on/around public transport can be problematic at night. This could deter people from coming to an area for the evening and make it harder for crowds to disperse at the end of the day (eg, by trying to find other modes of transport to return home). Boroughs may consequently need to consider policing both on public transport and around public transport hubs. This can be done either through targeted policing (concentrating on particularly problematic stops/stations or routes) and/or more general policing (similar to street policing).

4.5.2.4. Anti-social behaviour and drink banning orders

Police and local councils have the power to exclude consistently troublesome people from an area (including licensed premises). However, in the absence of policies that provide advice/treatment to individuals to help tackle the underlying causes of their bad behaviour, anti-social behaviour orders (ASBOs) and drink banning orders (DBOs) may simply displace (ie, move elsewhere) the bad behaviour (so that it is not actually solved). Indeed, between 1 June 2000 to 31 December 2010, 56.5 per cent of ASBOs (in England and Wales) had been breached at least once, with 42.0 per cent of these breached more than once (although it is not possible to determine how successful ASBOs have been in reducing (rather than preventing) further trouble; it is unknown how many times persecutors would have repeatedly got into trouble if the ASBO hadn't been issued).

ASBOs and DBOs are likely to be most successful in areas where there is not a large and transient visitor population, where the anonymous nature of the client base makes identifying 'troublemakers' particularly hard. Their use may therefore be limited in London.

Evidence from the Home Office suggests that the average cost of issuing an ASBO to be £4,800, including the staffing costs of preparing the case and attending meetings. This average cost increased to £5,350 when costs of dealing with breaches and appeals were included⁷³.

4.5.2.5. Alcohol Arrest Referral Schemes

Alcohol arrest referral (AAR) involves offering brief intervention with a person in police custody. The intervention involves alcohol treatment specialists providing advice around drinking and the links with criminal behaviour. A screening process is often used to identify those heavy sessional drinkers at risk of becoming chronic dependent drinkers. The Home Office provide guidance on how AAR schemes can be set up⁷⁴. One major benefit of AAR is that by potentially tackling the underlying causes of peoples' drinking and associated crime the problem is being addressed rather than displaced/moved elsewhere eg, into the home.

In the case of repeat offenders there appears to be particularly good reason to suggest that offering advice may result in behaviour changes; research in Cardiff revealed that 42 per cent of arrestees had previous arrests for violence, or public order offences and that most of those involved as offenders or victims were young white males⁷⁵. Post-arrest brief interventions therefore offer opportunities to engage with people who may be beginning to develop a pattern of negative behaviour related to their drinking before they reoffend and/or develop an alcohol dependency.

⁷³ Home Office, The Cost of Anti-social Behaviour Orders Home Office summary report March 2005

⁷⁴ Home Office, 2009

⁷⁵ Maguire and Nettleton (2003)

In spite of the potential benefits, evidence from the Home Office⁷⁶ AAR Pilot Scheme (Phase 2) suggests that AARs are *not* effective at reducing re-offending. However, there were tentative findings that suggest AARs *may* reduce alcohol consumption⁷⁷ and *may* be more effective amongst those:

- Without a previous arrest history.
- Are not risky/dependent alcohol drinkers,
- Are in employment.

The average cost per AAR intervention is £170 (ranging from £62 to £826, with lower average costs when the number of interventions are higher)⁷⁸, and needs a 4.7 per cent reduction in re-arrests (over and above what would have happened in the absence of the intervention) to break-even. If health costs/savings are also considered this break-even reduction is likely to be lower.

4.5.3. Health care

Excessive alcohol consumption can increase the likelihood that someone will require medical assistance. This means that (a) the health care setting provides a good opportunity to deliver education/advice to people to help them change their behaviour with regard to alcohol consumption, and (b) it is important to consider ways to make health care costs more manageable in the immediate term. Both of these are considered in detail below.

4.5.3.1 Brief interventions

Brief interventions operate in a similar way as AARs, except the intervention is with a person in health care (A&E, hospital or field hospitals) rather than to someone in police custody. Referral schemes in a health care setting have been proven to be successful in reducing long-term alcohol consumption, especially for men. For example, in Manchester a brief advice programme was set up in each of the three Emergency Departments in the city for patients attending due to alcohol-related incidents. An evaluation of the programme suggests that for every eight patients treated, one will reduce their drinking to below recommended levels. There was also evidence that the brief intervention reduced re-attendance to Emergency Departments by up to 50 per cent in some cases⁷⁹.

Another review that looked at brief interventions in health care settings (24 trials in general practice settings and five trials in emergency settings) from various countries found that for those receiving the intervention, alcohol consumption fell by an average of 57 grams/week (ranging from 25 to 89 grams/week across different trials) compared to those that had not received the intervention. The benefit for women was not as clear.

Box 20: Westminster case study: Booze bus/Alternative Response Vehicle

Westminster City Council occasionally operates a 'Booze Bus' which can treat several people simultaneously and helps free up hospital/A&E beds. The service also contacts family/friends to take people home and patients are required to talk to Turning Point, who provide advice on avoiding alcohol-related problems, before they leave.

⁷⁶ Home Office, 2012

⁷⁷ Or, more specifically, reduce individuals Alcohol Use Disorder Identification (AUDIT) scores.

⁷⁸ Home Office, 2012

⁷⁹ <http://www.alcohollearningcentre.org.uk/LocalInitiatives/projects/projectDetail/?cid=6494>

4.5.3.2 'Field hospitals'

Field hospitals provide a way of reducing the health costs associated with alcohol-consumption in the NTE. Some of the patients attending A&E/hospital following hazardous alcohol consumption in the evening/night will require professional medical treatment in hospital, however, some require only very little specialist treatment. Given the limited number of ambulances and hospital beds and the importance of not detracting from treating potentially life-threatening illnesses, in some areas it may be sensible to set up 'safe havens'. These safe havens can provide low-level alcohol-related medical treatment (eg, 'Booze buses' in central London) or act as a more general drop-in centre for people looking for assistance at night (eg, 'Safe Base' in Stirling, Scotland). They can also save police time spent waiting at incidents for the ambulance to arrive and can identify problem premises through intelligence gathered from operating close to the 'scene' (by surveying patients once they have sobered up). Field hospitals may also allow people to access specific alcohol-related advice and can refer people to on-going sources of assistance.

Box 21: Cardiff, Triage

(City and County of Cardiff, 2011)

Cardiff operates a scheme called Triage, which provides emergency service in the city centre on weekends and during major events. The scheme was set up to reduce the unnecessary time and equipment used to transport patients to A&E departments. Triage is comprised of two components:

1. Cardiff Medical Treatment Centre (CMTC): This provides a treatment centre at the Millennium Stadium in the heart of Cardiff city centre. The Centre provides immediate assessment and treatment; this reduces the demands on both the ambulance service and the local Accident and Emergency department. Medical supplies and sustenance for volunteers and staff costs around £500 each time the CMTC operates.
2. Mobile Medical Response Unit (MMRU): This is a rapid response ambulance vehicle (which can take up to five people and does not need to carry all the full set of equipment required in standard ambulances) responding only to those 999 calls coming from the city centre. Medical supplies and sustenance for volunteers and staff costs around £300 each time the MMRU operates.

An evaluation of the schemes between December 2004 and December 2005 established that:

For CMTC:

- Of the 159 people treated at the CMTC 107 67 per cent of those treated at the CMTC did not require additional treatment at the A&E, saving an estimated 360 hours of A&E department time.

For MMRU:

- Only 5.4 per cent of '999' calls answered by the MMRU required an emergency ambulance. This rose slightly to 14.6 per cent when the MMRU operated without the CMTC.
- As a result of the MMRU an estimated £1,000 was saved per night.

4.5.4. Cleaning and maintaining the streets

Street cleanliness can play an important role in an area's reputation and send a message about acceptable behaviour and norms in the area (see Box 2); dirty streets (at both night time and day time) can deter people from visiting an area and discourage people from observing normal standards of behaviour. Ensuring that litter (especially materials like glass) is removed from the public realm may also be important in ensuring litter cannot be used as a weapon. However, the NTE can present a challenge to street cleaning in relation to ensuring the streets are cleaned during the NTE and once the NTE crowds have dispersed but ahead of day time trade. As such, it is important that boroughs consider their street cleaning policy/shifts as well as rules regarding commercial waste and collection (eg, preventing commercial waste from being left outside premises, or within reach of the public).

Box 22: Examples of street cleaning policies when a NTE is present

Westminster

(Elvins and Hadfield, 2003)

Onyx Environmental provides the City of Westminster with dedicated night-time waste collection and cleaning services. They remove an estimated 110 tons of waste from a total of 204 streets every night. The cleaning team is made up of 21 night-time road sweepers and flushing vehicles, which work from 10pm to 6am. At busy times, when the streets are crowded, the contractor may not be able to get access until people disperse. At these times the most that can be achieved is litter picking to contain litter levels within reasonable boundaries before comprehensive cleaning becomes possible.

Bournemouth

(Bevan, 2009, Roberts, 2004)

The growth of the NTE in Bournemouth has required councils to introduce a street cleaning nightshift and to review their litter bin strategy. They have increased the number and capacity of town bins and, most significantly, the frequency of emptying.

It is estimated the combined cost of Bournemouth's initiative is in the region of £90,000 to £110,000 per annum, this comprising of labour, supervision, plant, materials and administrative support. There is not currently a monetary figure to the benefits of these initiatives available.

Dublin

(Roberts, 2004)

In the Temple bar area of Dublin, TASCQ (the local trader's association which acts on behalf of (and is funded by) its 53 members which include hotels, pubs, restaurants, shops and other service providers) have agreed to make an annual financial contribution toward additional cost of street cleaning. This includes a bottle collection at 5am, the provision of 21 'euro bins' (large, skip sized bins with covers) and a hosing down of the street.

It is worth noting on the topic of street cleaning that section 93 of the Environmental Protection Act 1990 can be used to issue 'street litter control notices'. These can require premises to prevent or remove litter in the streets, where it is related to their activities. A council can specify reasonable requirements in relation to a maximum of a 100m radius from the premise. In spite of this, commercial waste left for collection still often litters the streets, a major cause of night-time litter which adds significantly to the cost of street cleaning. More recent legislation (in the Licensing Act 2003) allows operating conditions to be placed on licensed premises (including late-night takeaways). Under the legislation, licensed premises can be required to sweep the pavements outside their premises on a regular basis during their permitted licensing hours.

4.5.5. Noise and light regulation

Although residential properties situated within the area of the NTE can reduce crime it can also contribute to the number of people disturbed by noise. Some noise is to be expected in areas with a high concentration of NTE activities and will be factored into peoples' decision to move to the area and price that they pay to reside there. However, those in social housing or long-standing residents who moved to the area prior to the NTE development may not be subject to such a choice. As such, there is a need to ensure that the levels of noise associated with the NTE are minimised eg, by encouraging patrons to disperse from the area after closing times (rather than loitering).

Noise disturbances can occur in many ways eg, from within licensed premises (eg, music too loud), around licensed premises (eg, by those queuing to get in) or more generally by people moving in/around/out of the NTE area. Noise does not necessarily occur in the same areas as crime and disorder. Much of the noise disturbances associated with the NTE tend to come "more from large numbers of people going about the business of having a good time"⁸⁰.

Box 23: Berlin

(Roberts, 2004)

In Berlin a noise impact report is considered as part of the process of application for a premises license. Environmental Protection Officers use a sophisticated software programme to model the impacts of the new premises on neighbouring residential properties. Using the results, recommendations are then made about levels of sound insulation and numbers of permitted seats both inside and outside the premises.

It is important for councils to effectively enforce noise regulations available to them in the planning permission stage, licensing stage and in the developed/operating stages. This applies to protect both properties in the direct vicinity of the premise as well as those on the pedestrian or vehicle routes used by customers when entering/leaving. It may also be necessary to ensure licensed premises have a clear strategy to disperse customers.

⁸⁰ Roberts and Turner, 2005

Box 24: Barcelona: Respecting the Peace (Descans dels veïns)

(Roberts, 2004)

The City of Barcelona has already implemented educational campaigns to reduce noise disturbance from outdoor drinking at tables and chairs on the pavement or in squares. Licenses in the city appear to be granted on the basis of micro-management, with cafes and bars on narrow streets, where noise disturbance is greater because the sounds reverberate, being required to remove their outdoor tables and chairs at an earlier time than those on wider streets. A typical time for earlier removal might be midnight with the bar itself closing at 1 am or 2 am. The City Council sponsors campaigns aimed at three different groups: customers, bar workers and bar owners. They have used measures such as banners, with signs in Catalan, reminding customers to be quiet. Attractively designed drinks coasters and postcards reinforce the same message. Licensees are also encouraged to display notices that set out the clearing away and closing times for their premises. Outdoor seating is licensed on an annual basis and licenses are enforced through inspections and a series of sanctions.

Box 25: Manchester City Council: conditions for planning permissions to minimise NTE noise disturbances

Manchester routinely attaches the following conditions to planning permissions for new food and drink uses:

- The provision of acoustic glazing;
- The provision of acoustically treated ventilation;
- The installation of an acoustic lobby at entrances and exits to premises to act as a physical barrier between the inside of premises and the outside environment;
- The installation of sound limiters linked to any sound amplification equipment at appropriate levels;
- Prohibition of the external playing of amplified music;
- Restriction of the hours of operation of outside drinking areas;
- Establishment of maximum noise levels.

The planning authority also imposes as a condition on developers that new residential development is insulated to a standard that would preserve residential amenity, irrespective of the use proposed, on the basis that the ground floor may be used for a café, restaurant, drinking establishment or other similar uses in future.

4.5.6. Public education and media campaigns

Although educating the public about the dangers associated with harmful/hazardous drinking have a role to play, the evidence suggests that used alone they are not effective at reducing alcohol-related harm⁸¹.

⁸¹ Hadfield, 2011

It should be noted that the media may also be used to deter individuals from committing alcohol-related harms. For example, by communicating police awareness of criminal activities, media campaigns may reduce the incentive to commit a crime or they may help reduce the fear of crime by, for example, communicating police success. Media strategies can also help people avoid becoming victims of alcohol-related crime or ill-health (from excess alcohol consumption). Although there is no evidence of the policy's success, in 2001 the Greater Manchester Police launched a 'Think Safe, Drink Safe' campaign. This provided health information and a list of practical safety measures for avoiding the harms that can accompany excessive alcohol consumption on a night out (eg, violence and sexual assault).

Education and media campaigns can both help to make policies, such as rises in alcohol duty, more publically acceptable.

4.6 Community mobilisation

Community mobilisation involves engaging community members/groups to help deal with and prevent alcohol-related harms in the NTE. It can provide informal regulation and monitoring (eg, imposing social, moral or commercial sanctions on 'irresponsible' licensed premises). Indeed, despite the numerous legislative powers and sanctions available to limit the harms associated with alcohol-consumption (see Annex 1) the extent to which they have been used in the UK has been limited. This may be a consequence of limited resources with which to monitor 'small scale' problems. For example, the 2003 Licensing Act makes it an offence to 'knowingly sell or attempt to sell alcohol to a person who is drunk', but regulating compliance with this law can be a low priority for police (who would need to collect a lot of evidence, which can be very resource intensive, to carry out a conviction). In this example it may be worth considering using the public to monitor/report situations (although this needs to be weighed up against the costs of, for example, false/'prank' information and the value of people's time) to allow for police to then target premises reported that constantly breach the rules (requiring fewer police resources than a more general policing approach).

Third party policing offers one example of how community groups can be mobilised to reduce harms in the NTE.

The success of community mobilisation projects will depend on the extent to which community members are empowered (through knowledge and resources), have a sense of ownership over the programme, and when the programme is targeted to the needs/desires expressed by the community. The sustainability of community mobilisation schemes will be higher when the whole community is involved and when the community feels as though they are partially driving the project.

It is important to ensure that individuals/groups in the community which do engage work closely with agencies already in operation (eg, police) to (a) prevent a duplication of effort and (b) ensure that they operate in a legal, responsible and trained manner.

Box 26: USA – Communities mobilising for change on alcohol

(Wagenaar et al, 1999; 2000a; 2000b)

Between 1992 and 1995 a Communities for Mobilising Change on Alcohol (CMCA) programme was piloted in the USA. The scheme was designed to change the local environment in order to make it harder for young people (under 21 years old) to access alcohol illegally and to make underage drinking less acceptable by changing cultural norms. Measures used included more frequent police patrols and increased media coverage of alcohol-related issues. The whole community was targeted through the involvement of local public officials, enforcement agencies, alcohol retailers, retail associations, media, schools, and other community institutions.

The policy resulted in a 24 per cent reduction in underage alcohol sales on-trade/ proportion of outlets selling to buyers who appeared underage, a 17 per cent increase in the proportion of servers who reported checking age identification in on-trade premises, and 17 per cent more on-trade premises saying they would refuse sales to a 21 year-old accompanied by an underage person. However, there was no significant reduction in alcohol sales or arrests for disorderly conduct.

Annex 1: Legislative powers and sanctions against the consumers and suppliers of alcohol

(Taken from Hadfield, 2011)

Nature	Type	Enabling legislation	Power / Sanction
Person-based	Anti-Social Behaviour Orders	Crime and Disorder Act 1998, s.1	Civil orders widely used to exclude persons from public space, including night-time drinking areas To be replaced by the "Crime Prevention Injunction" (CPI) and "Criminal Behaviour Order"
	Penalty Notices for Disorder	Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 s.1	Summary fines which police and accredited persons can issue for a range of low-level disorder offences, often associated with the offence of causing "harassment, alarm or distress" (Section 5 of the Public Order Act 1986)
	Drinking Banning Orders	Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006 s.1-14	A civil order excluding 'risky' individuals from licensed premises within a defined geographical area
	Police confiscation of alcohol from under 18s	Policing and Crime Act 2009	From 29 January 2010 police no longer need to prove that an individual 'intended' to consume the alcohol being confiscated.
	Illegal alcohol purchases	Licensing Act 2003	To 'knowingly...obtain alcohol for a person who is drunk' is an offence under s142 of the LA2003. Prosecution of under-18s who have purchased alcohol and adults who have purchased alcohol on their behalf ('proxy sales') (offence of the 'purchase of alcohol by or on behalf of children' - s149 Licensing Act 2003.
	Directions to Leave a Locality	Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006 s.27 Policing and Crime Act 2009	Police can require persons to leave a specified locality if that person is judged likely to contribute to alcohol-related crime and disorder. Directions can now be issued to people aged 10-15 years
Place-based	Underage Drinking in public	Policing and Crime Act 2009	Creates a new offence for under-18s of persistently possessing alcohol in a public place and strengthens police powers in relation to the confiscation of alcohol
	Dispersal Orders	Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 s.30-36	Police can exclude groups of two or more persons from a designated area, where their behaviour or presence is likely to be perceived by others as anti-social
	Designated Public Places Orders	Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 s.13	Allows councils to identify public places in which the consumption of alcohol is prohibited and alcohol can be confiscated by the police
Venue-based	Cumulative Impact Policies	Guidance to the Licensing Act 2003	Allows for a rebuttable presumption against the granting of new Premises Licences, or variations to licences, eg. so as to extend opening hours, within a given area
	Alcohol-Disorder Zones	Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006 s.15-20	Allows licensing authorities to design an action plan to remedy alcohol-related problems within a specified area with the potential for mandatory financial levies to be imposed upon licensed premises
	Licensing Conditions	Licensing Act 2003	Allows licensing authorities to specify how premises will be run, including the required introduction of various crime prevention measures
	National Mandatory Licensing Conditions	Policing and Crime Act 2009	Phase 1 (from 6 April 2010) bans certain types of drinks promotion Licensed premises must offer free tap water Phase 2 (from 1 October 2010) licensed premises must offer small measures (125ml of wine, 25ml or 35ml spirits) and have an age-check system in place.
	Licence Review	Licensing Act 2003 s.51 Policing and Crime Act 2009 s33	Allows a responsible authority or an 'interested party' to request a review of the licence conditions Amends the definition of "interested parties". s13(3) Licensing Act 2003 to include all members of local authorities that are also licensing authorities, so that elected councillors of the licensing authority can now make representations or seek a review in their own right.
	Licensing Enforcement Powers	Licensing Act 2003 Pt. 7	Section 147A restates the offences of supplying alcohol to an under-18. To 'knowingly sell or attempt to sell alcohol to a person who is drunk' is an offence under s141 of the Licensing Act 2003.
		Policing and Crime Act 2009	Part 7 of the LA2003 allows authorities to check compliance by test-purchases. A premises licence holder is guilty of an offence if on 2 or more different occasions within a period of 3 consecutive months alcohol is unlawfully sold on the same licensed premises to an individual aged under-18
	Closure Powers	Licensing Act 2003 Pt 8	Allows police to close temporarily certain premises, or all premises in a specific area, where there is actual or anticipated disorder, or to abate noise-related nuisance.

Annex 2: Effectiveness of minimum pricing and price promotion restriction policies

The price of alcohol facing those wishing to purchase it can be manipulated in several different ways. Two of these involve a legal minimum price that the alcohol must be sold at, and a ban on promotions which effectively reduce the unit cost of alcohol (eg, buy-one-get-one-free). The evidence on how successful these two policies are at reducing alcohol-related harms in the NTE is considered further below.

Minimum pricing

Minimum pricing involves applying a price floor which legally restricts the per-unit price alcohol is allowed to be sold at. Although boroughs do not have the legal power to enforce such pricing it may be possible to negotiate a voluntary code with licensed premises in the area.

In theory, minimum pricing could be a very effective policy tool: the policy targets young, harmful and hazardous drinkers who tend to choose the cheapest drinks and comprise a disproportionate share of the alcohol-related costs to public services.

Despite minimum pricing policy existing in some Canadian provinces (eg, Alberta) there does not appear to be any research assessing the impacts in these areas. However, there are some studies which use available data (at national level) to estimate what the likely (national level) impact will be. One such paper⁸² finds that minimum pricing would reduce alcohol consumption but that this impact varies depending on:

- The type of alcohol consumed: lower minimum prices per unit of alcohol appear to reduce the consumption of beers and spirits more than wine;
- The type of alcohol that the minimum price applies to: minimum prices that target particular beverages are less effective than minimum prices for all alcoholic products;
- The minimum unit price level: higher minimum prices result in increasing reductions in consumption (and, therefore, alcohol-related harms). For example, a 20p minimum price reduces consumption by 0.1 per cent, increasing this by 5p (to 25p) reduces consumption by 0.3 per cent – a 0.2 percentage point difference. However, a 35p minimum price is estimated to reduce consumption by 1.4 per cent and a 40p minimum unit price (an increase of 5p) reduces consumption by 2.6 per cent – a difference of 1.2 percentage points. ie, as the minimum price increases by 5 pence, there are larger and larger reductions in consumption;
- The difference between the on and off-trade minimum prices: a higher minimum unit price for on-trade alcohol (compared to that off-trade) will reduce consumption by more than if the two premise-types had the same minimum unit prices. For example, a 30p minimum unit price for both on and off-trade will reduce consumption by 0.6 per cent, compared to a 2.1 per cent reduction when the minimum off-trade unit price is 30p but the minimum on-trade unit price is 80p. Equally, a 40p minimum unit price for both on and off trade will reduce consumption by 2.6 per cent compared to a 5.4 per cent reduction when the minimum off-trade unit price is 40p but the minimum on-trade unit price is 100p.

⁸² Brennan et al, 2008

Minimum pricing has also been estimated to reduce the negative health, crime and employment outcomes associated with alcohol consumption. As with its impact on consumption, the impact varies depending on a number of factors (which are the same as those for consumption, listed above). Table A1 provides examples of estimated impacts from different minimum pricing policies for England⁸³.

Table A1: Estimated percentage change in health, crime and employment impacts from minimum pricing for England

Policy	Health outcomes per annum (first year)			Crime outcomes per annum (full effects)			Workplace per annum	
	Deaths	Chronic illness (000s)	Acute illness (000s)	Violent crime (000s)	Criminal damage (000s)	Other crime (000s)	Days of absence (000s)	Unemployment (000s people)
Minimum price 30p	-0.9	-1.3	-0.3	-0.1	-0.1	-0.4	-0.2	-3.5
Minimum price 35p	-2.2	-2.9	-0.9	-0.3	-0.3	-0.8	-0.5	-6.8
Minimum price 40p	-4.5	-5.6	-2.0	-0.7	-0.6	-1.3	-1.1	-11.6
Minimum price 45p	-7.7	-9.1	-3.6	-1.3	-1.2	-2.1	-1.9	-17.8
Minimum price 30p off and 80p on trade	-2.6	-3.1	-1.8	-2.8	-3.1	-4.6	-1.9	-7.0
Minimum price 40p off and 100p on trade	-8.4	-9.4	-4.9	-5.0	-5.7	-8.2	-4.0	-17.8

Source: Brennan et al (2008)

A majority of the reduction in crime harms from minimum pricing is due to a reduction in crimes amongst 11-18 year olds. Workplace absence reductions occur largely amongst harmful and hazardous drinkers (eg, the 40 pence per unit minimum price results in a 1.1 per cent reduction in days of absence, of which 35 per cent is due to hazardous drinkers and a further 54 per cent from harmful drinkers), whilst the reduction in unemployment is largely due to a reduction in alcohol consumption of harmful drinkers.

It is important to note that the policies which are most effective from a health and employment perspective do not necessarily correspond to the most effective policies for crime reduction. This is because different sub-groups in the population reduce their alcohol consumption by different amounts in response to price increases (ie, they have different price elasticities), have different preferred beverages and preferred price points. For example, young male drinkers (who commit a disproportionately high volume of total crime) have a high proportion of their purchases in on-trade beer and therefore are less affected by policies targeting cheap alcohol (more likely to be consumed by hazardous drinkers) compared to other groups of people.

⁸³ It should be noted that the models used to estimate these effects have the conclusions pre-built into them and should, therefore, be treated with some degree of caution. ie, the model assumes that alcohol consumption results in harms such as crime, so it is unsurprising that a reduction in consumption results in a reduction in crime. In reality, the causality is not so straightforward ie, whilst alcohol consumption may cause people to commit crime it may also be the case that committing crime causes alcohol to be consumed.

Whilst minimum pricing can provide benefits by reducing alcohol consumption and its related costs it is also important to consider the impact to businesses and the Exchequer of minimum unit prices (which reduce the amount of alcohol purchased/sold). It is estimated that minimum pricing per unit above 35p (for both on and off trade) will reduce total government revenues from VAT and alcohol duty. However, for businesses selling alcohol, minimum unit prices (at all levels) increase the revenue they receive⁸⁴. Nonetheless, there may be some short term costs. For government minimum unit pricing is likely to require significant monitoring to ensure it is effective. This is further compounded by the need to carry out checks to confirm that alcohol strength and size conform to the unit price of alcohol price policy. For business, there may also be costs incurred to alter display and menu prices. There may also be some short run costs imposed by a build up of inventories eg, warehousing costs as a result in alcohol selling at a slower speed.

For consumers, the long-term impact of minimum pricing is less clear; on the one hand they are worse off as the price of alcohol is higher, but on the other hand by reducing alcohol-related harms (a) people gain from a saving in the cost incurred (eg, tax savings as a result of less policing) and (b) those individuals directly affected are spared the welfare loss (eg, a hazardous/harmful drinker benefits from not suffering from, for example, ethanol poisoning).

Price promotions

Alcohol sales promotions, such as happy hours, can encourage binge drinking with negative consequences for services such as health. Again, whilst boroughs do not have the power to legally enforce a ban on such promotions it may be possible to encourage local licensed premises to voluntarily agree to a ban.

Much of the evidence studying the impact of alcohol promotions and discounts examines the off-trade. However, a US study⁸⁵ of price promotions to US college students found that “the availability of large volumes of alcohol (24- and 30-can cases of beer, kegs, party balls), low sale prices, and frequent promotions and advertisements at both on- and off-premise establishments were associated with higher binge drinking rates on the college campuses”.

Looking at the off-trade alone, evidence suggests that the effects on consumption may be small; a total ban on discounting is estimated to reduce consumption by 2.8 per cent, which is equivalent to a 40 pence per unit minimum price.

As with minimum pricing, banning price promotions will require substantial monitoring and may impose short run storage costs to retailers. Again, the impact on consumer well-being is unclear.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Kuo et al (2003)

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