

Night-Time Economy Management:

International Research and Practice

A Review for the City of Sydney, September 2011

Dr Phil Hadfield

www.philhadfield.co.uk

Contents

Executive Summary	6
--------------------------	----------

1. Introduction to the Review

Background	47
Objectives of the Report	47
Chapter Outline and Rationale	50

2. Public Health and the Night-time Economy

Background	52
Poly-Drug Use	56
NTE Drinking Practices: Regional and City Level Variations	59
Alcohol Pre-loading	62
Measuring Heavy Episodic Drinking in a Nightlife Context	64
The Public Health Role in NTE Management	65
Summary of Research Findings	78
Public Health Approaches: Policy Recommendations	81

3. Responding to Heavy Episodic Drinking in the Night-time Economy

Less Effective Approaches	83
Summary of Research Findings (less effective approaches)	91
More Effective Approaches	93
Summary of Research Findings (more effective approaches)	106

4. Public Realm Profiling

The ‘24-Hour City’ Vision	110
The Nightlife Environment	112
Routine Activities	115
Offenders and Victims	119
Fear of Crime	120
The Role of Residents	122
Summary: Locating Crime and Disorder in a Nightlife Environment	124

5. Licensing Approaches (Structural Interventions)

Outlet Density	128
Bottle Shop Premises	131
Fast food Takeaway Outlets	133
Licensed Restaurants	137
Outlet Density: Summary of Research Evidence	140
Licensing Hours	142

Lock Outs	145
Licensing Hours: Summary of Research Evidence	149
Noise Nuisance	150
Noise Nuisance Impacts: Summary of Research Evidence	153
Outlet Density and Licensing Hours: Strategic Policy Options	154
Licensing Approaches to Crime Reduction Summary	156
Structural Approaches: Less Effective Interventions	159

6. Design and Service Interventions

Design Interventions

CCTV	162
Street Lighting	163
Public Toilet Provision	164
Management of Glassware	166
Active Frontages	167
Design Interventions: Summary of Research Evidence	169

Service Interventions

Transport	173
Increasing the Safety and Supply of Late-Night Transport	177
Road Traffic Interventions	178
Transport Research: Summary and Recommendations	182
Street Policing	186
Street Wardens/Ambassadors	193
Third Party Policing (TPP) and Welfare Interventions for the NTE	197
Street Policing Interventions: Summary of the Research	200

Cleaning and Maintaining the Street Scene	206
Cleaning and Maintaining the Street Scene Summary	209
Creative Lighting, Space and Events Management	210
Using Spaces Differently: DIY Venues and ‘Pop Up Events’	211
Creative Lighting, Space and Events Management Summary	215
NTE Management Structures	218

7. Developing Sustainable and Evidence-Based Policies

Data collection and monitoring	221
Data Sources for Developing Evidence-based NTE Policies	224
Evidence-based decision-making at the local level	226
Evaluation	229

8. Building a Night-Time City Vision and Action Plan

Limitations of this Review	232
Towards a Night-Time City Policy (NTCP) Action Plan	233
Lessons from the Review	233

9. References	237
----------------------	-----

Executive Summary

Public Health and the Night-time Economy

- Young adults are both core consumers of nightlife and the most likely to engage in heavy sessional drinking to an extent which places themselves and others at risk of harm. English street surveys suggest that NTE participants drink more than the national average and at levels above average for their age group. Drinking to intoxication is a major mechanism through which alcohol causes harm. In terms of NTE management, it is the large numbers of people who are brought together and provided with opportunities – and sometimes inducements – to drink to intoxication which generates the main risks of crime, incivility, injury, and ill-health.
- Drinking patterns can vary between nightlife areas within the same city, as well as by region. This may include the extent of pre-loading prior to arrival. One explanation for this feature is the variability of social scenes within the NTE, which is linked to different attractions, audiences (especially by age) and substance use choices.
- In the UK research literature, those visitors surveyed later in the evening had consumed more alcohol, as had those with earlier onset times for their drinking. Thus, increasing the availability of alcohol through extended licensing hours for clubs and bars appears to correlate with increasing levels of alcohol consumption and therefore drunkenness and related harms. This factor may be one issue for the City to consider in its decision-making.
- Drinking at home in preparation for a night out (pre-loading) has been associated with higher levels of intoxication, and greater risk of crime and victimisation when out ‘on the town’, as well as greater control and duty of care burdens for licensed premises, the police, and emergency health-care services. In several research studies conducted across North West England around a half, or more, of all respondents reported having consumed alcohol prior to entering the nightlife environment (preloading; e.g. at home, a friend’s house, or in a hotel room). Preloading was significantly more common among younger respondents. One policy response to pre-loading may be to introduce levers reducing the price differential between alcohol purchased in the bottle shop, bar/hotel, and nightclub sectors.
- Levels of drunkenness found within local NTE social scenes have a direct influence upon criminal justice and public health outcomes. As an illustration of

this: “premises that produce the most assault-related injuries are also those that produce the greatest proportion of severely intoxicated patrons, suggesting that underlying premises-specific risks may contribute to both forms of alcohol-related harm” (Moore *et al.*, 2011: 363). This has important implications for local enforcement, prevention and research activity as, aggregated at the premises level, venues that accommodate the highest proportions of severely intoxicated customers can be identified using police data and surveyor ratings of intoxication.

- In relation to poly-drug use, it is difficult to draw generalisable lessons from what remains a small literature in terms of policy relevance. This is because the range of substances being consumed and mixed by nightlife patrons is now extensive and varies considerably between social scenes at the city and regional level, as well as internationally. For example, within one city, substance choices are likely to vary between the users of bars and nightclubs, and between different music scenes, including across different events hosted within the same licensed premises. This suggests the need to improve our understanding of the subtle patterns of drug taking in order to inform policy and shape education and harm reduction strategies. Given the diversity and fragmentation of drug use trends the central message of the evidence points to the need for in-depth local level research in order to identify use patterns and associated harms for which appropriate local level responses might then be devised.
- Some of the most consistent evidence in poly-drug studies surrounds cocaine use and its mixing with alcohol. This has been linked to greater levels of social and physiological harm than the use of either substance individually; including propensities to violence. This is a significant issue in some areas due to the high prevalence of cocaine use in licensed premises.
- Policy responses to poly-drug use face conflicting concerns regarding effective law enforcement in relation to the possession and use of illegal substances and the need to communicate harm minimisation messages to nightlife audiences and venue operators without appearing to condone illegal activity. One reason for the relative inactivity of city authorities around the world in responding to illegal drug use in comparison to alcohol is that there has been comparatively little evidence of a link with general public disorder in nightlife, nor is there any legitimate source of supply toward which action to improve standards might be applied. This can mean that recreational drug users face a vacuum in service provision precisely because they are not seen as a threat to wider society.
- Evidence suggests that enforcement activity to prevent drunkenness and sales to intoxicated individuals can be effective, especially when targeted at ‘high risk’ venues. As Stockwell *et al.*, (1997:1) argue, there are important practical advantages in ‘sharpening the focus’ of alcohol policy away from aggregate levels of consumption towards: “(i) the ability to distinguish between low risk and harmful consumption of alcohol; (ii) the ability to predict which drinkers are most likely to experience harmful consequences of drinking; (iii) the acceptability of policy objectives to government and industry; and (iv) the acceptability of prevention strategies to the general public.”

- At a macro level, the Australian National Alcohol Strategy (Commonwealth of Australia, 2006, extended to 2011) emphasizes the ‘facilitation of safer and healthier drinking cultures’. However, this policy vision stands in tension with that of a National Competition Policy that has promoted the relaxation of liquor licensing, leading to an increase in the availability of alcohol in many Australian States. The presence of large-scale drunkenness on the streets encouraged by the over development of nightlife areas through liquor licensing deregulation can deter other potential consumers of nightlife to the detriment of diversified economic activity and cultural life.
- Public education campaigns on safer drinking addressed to the general population or targeted at ‘high risk’ groups have a role to play as part of a package of measures within community-based programmes. However, the evaluation literature would suggest that, as stand alone initiatives, they are amongst the least effective tools for reducing alcohol-related harm.
- One clear obstacle in communicating a ‘safer drinking message’ to general users of the NTE is that many participants are not resident in the City. Whilst this is not particularly surprising given the City’s attraction value, it does make it hard for the City authorities to target people in a community setting and underlines the need to work in partnership with other local agencies at a regional, state and national level, and with health care professionals and the operators of licensed premises, in promoting a responsible drinking message.
- Evaluation studies have shown that the ‘Cardiff Model’ of data sharing and partnership working between health and community safety agencies enhances the effectiveness of targeted policing and local government initiatives for the NTE, significantly reducing serious violence recorded by the police and violence-related hospital admissions.
- The contribution of public health professionals in providing information to inform decisionmaking in licensing matters is an emergent trend in the England and Wales facilitated by changes to the Licensing Act 2003. Whilst falling short of the Scottish approach of listing the promotion of public health as a statutory licensing objective, ‘Primary Care Trusts’ are from 2012 to be listed as ‘Responsible Authorities’ under the Act giving them the power to independently initiate licensing proceedings in support of the current licensing objectives.

Public Health Approaches: Policy Recommendations

- As Bellis *et al.*, (2010: 1) note, in addition to City government and policing initiatives, “a public health approach to nightlife is needed to better understand and take into account the chronic effects of drunkenness, (and) the damages arising after drunk individuals leave city centres”.
- Relatively low-cost observational survey methods may provide the optimum

method for practitioners seeking to rapidly assess premises and evaluate interventions. Observational data can then be used to identify high-risk premises, and assess the outcomes of premises-level interventions.

- Annual data-gathering activities such as in-situ NTE user surveys are recommended in order to capture continuity and change in patterns of alcohol and drug use.
- Non-service users could be engaged through (a) point of sales (eg. bottle shops), (b) sites of consumption (eg. licensed premises), (c) employment agencies, and (d) workplaces. Workplaces are currently an underexploited method of accessing adults who may be experiencing problems with alcohol or drug use - their own, or others. Interventions should be confidential and non-disciplinary.
- Nightlife patrons who pre-load should be a focus for service provision given that they are amongst the heaviest drinkers and most prolific illicit drug users. UK surveys have found young adults in their twenties and young women, in particular, drinking to harmful levels even before they go out for the evening. In-situ surveys would assist in measuring the extent of the issue locally. This research should aim to record the age and gender profile of pre-loaders in order to inform the route and content of service provision.
- The variable content, purity and potency of both legal and illegal psychoactive substances and Performance and Image Enhancing Drugs creates a need for data-gathering and feedback to users on drug harms. Information and Communication Technologies could be used in innovative ways to assist in this process.
- The Pan-European ‘Club Health’ and Healthy Nightlife Toolbox’ (HNT) projects are involved in identifying, promoting and disseminating best practice in the field of club drug harm minimisation internationally, providing health harm reduction advice for venues, promoters and regulatory agencies responding to club scene substance use.
- Accident and Emergency Departments are often the first service contacted by both perpetrators and victims of alcohol-related violence. More serious injuries subsequently appear in other specialist departments (e.g. Oral and Maxillofacial clinics). These health care settings provide opportunities to deliver brief interventions such as motivational counselling/interviewing sessions. Brief interventions delivered at suture removal in a UK Maxillofacial Clinic were associated with one in five at risk drinkers converting to ‘safer’ drinking at one year’s follow-up. Alcohol screening (to identify those with alcohol problems), as well as brief interventions, have also shown some success in emergency health care settings.
- The use of mobile medical response units and street-based treatment centres dedicated to the needs of the NTE and positioned at key nightlife hubs can provide important services and reassurance for nightlife users. Benefits have been found to include major cost savings for hospital Accident and Emergency Departments and ambulance services, resulting in improved emergency call out response times.

There are also savings in police time dealing with injured or sick revellers, allowing the police to concentrate on their other duties.

- Introduction of an Alcohol Arrest Referral scheme in which persons detained in police custody for alcohol-related offences in a nightlife context following heavy sessional drinking, are offered screening and a Brief Intervention concerning their alcohol and/or polydrug use. Clients who agree to receive the intervention may be offered a concession in relation to any fines imposed. In particular, the cooperation of repeat offenders at risk of becoming chronic dependent drinkers should be encouraged, with as many as possible receiving referrals into treatment, or other diversionary activity.
- The findings of UK evaluations suggest that the issuing of ‘Alcohol Treatment Requirements’ and ‘Alcohol Activity Requirements’ by the courts, wherein offenders receive assistance with their drinking problems can have a positive impact on offenders’ wellbeing. Overall, participants were found to achieve positive life changes in terms of reduced alcohol consumption and re-offending, as well as in other areas such as health, emotional wellbeing and lifestyle. In order to achieve positive results it is important that participants fully complete their required course of treatment. In planning the delivery of such treatment within a criminal justice setting it is important to ensure that adequate provisions are in place for clients to receive throughcare and aftercare once their initial programme is completed.

Responding to Heavy Episodic Drinking

Less Effective Approaches

- Responsible Beverage Service (RBS)’ accreditation emphasises the need for better training of staff and management in licensed premises and bottle shops to complement or replace that provided by alcohol retailers themselves. Overall, the peer-reviewed literature suggests that there is no clear evidence that server training on its own has an impact on rates of server intervention, on reducing levels of intoxication amongst NTE patrons, or in reducing alcohol-related crime and disorder.
- This is an unfortunate outcome given that intervention by servers becomes particularly important in the NTE where one finds a culture of pre-loading in which customers engage in unsupervised drinking prior to their arrival at licensed premises.
- Intoxication is but one of several factors contributing to crime and disorder in and

around licensed premises, other factors including the behaviour of bar and door staff, the design and management of licensed premises, environmental conditions on the street, public realm design and service infrastructure, policing, and behavioural norms. The evidence would suggest that successful interventions for licensed premises need to acknowledge these interconnections rather than focusing on a single or limited number of components such as server training and patron intoxication.

- In licensed premises the commercial imperative to sell more alcohol has been found in some instances to override adherence to RBS principles and voluntary codes of practice. One UK evaluation of compliance with industry codes of practice across 600 licensed premises found widespread evidence of inducements to people to drink more and faster, to allow under-age people entry to restricted premises, and the serving intoxicated people. The literature suggests that voluntary codes of practice are apt to fail due to a lack of consistent monitoring and enforcement. Public sector regulation and enforcement activities in drinking environments can require a big commitment of political will and financial resources, however, the evidence suggests that mandatory codes of practice are necessary to ensure that customers have more choice and opportunity to monitor and control their drinking when visiting licensed premises, whilst equipping regulators with the necessary powers to ensure that these opportunities are in place.
- Reward and Accreditation schemes such as *Best Bar None* and *Purple Flag* originating in the UK have gained prominence in recent years. The schemes often have a high degree of political acceptability as they bring licensed operators and regulatory agencies together on a common platform, promoting a benchmark of responsible operating procedures, rather than concentrating on enforcement. This is seen as a pragmatic approach in the context of the budgetary restrictions that have been placed upon the UK public sector. Yet, neither *Best Bar None* nor *Purple Flag* have been subject to rigorous independent evaluation and many of the ‘minimum standards’ required by the schemes duplicate existing UK and NSW legislative requirements. This is not to say that such schemes might not be helpful in building bridges between regulators and the licensed trade and in place marketing, it is merely to suggest that, in the absence of evidence as to their specific effectiveness, such accreditation schemes may not represent the best use of resources, outside of their being considered as ‘second tier’ options for inclusion within comprehensive multi-component community strategies.
- A central message from the evaluation literature is that whilst enforcement of the licensing laws is likely to be a more effective form of regulation than voluntary codes of practice and accreditation schemes, enforcement will only have lasting effects in reducing alcohol-related harms in nightlife where it is both sustainable and sustained. As Hughes *et al.*, (2010: 7) comment: “a major limitation of many interventions in drinking environments is their short-term approach, with the

benefits of measures introduced through one-off funding often being short-lived. Support is needed to enable national and local agencies to build effective measures into routine practice”.

- Licensing laws governing the sale of alcohol to persons who are already drunk are little enforced by police in either NSW or the UK. Licensing enforcement is often a low priority for the police resulting in a failure to commit the extent of resources necessary to mount operations that might garner high quality evidence for prosecution. Police officers often lack the necessary knowledge and skills to monitor serving practices at licensed premises, with little time allocated to staff training in this area of policing and tasks delegated to a handful of force ‘specialists’. Although, like other approaches, enforcement of the licensing laws should not be seen as a panacea or standalone measure, where enforcement and an effective means of monitoring compliance with the provisions of the licensing laws is absent, many other initiatives to reduce alcohol-related harm in and around licensed premises are likely to prove less effective than they could be.
- In the UK and elsewhere, the police and local councils hold various powers to expel, exclude, or variously control the consumption of alcohol in public places such as city streets, parks and highways. Such powers are most effective in allowing police to respond to, or prevent, imminent alcohol-related disorder. However, research has highlighted concerns regarding the displacement of disorder to other locations, the tendency for these disposals to be applied to the same individuals, or groups of people repeatedly, and the general inability of area-based restrictions and summary fines to address many of the underlying causes of drink-related crime and disorder. Such forms of disposal may be most effective where they provide for direction toward services which might assist in helping individuals obtain advice or treatment to address their relationship with alcohol.
- The NTE is a complex policy arena and it is often difficult to identify ‘best practice’ and make strategy recommendations. This is partly because, although there has been a significant exertion of research effort exploring the factors that contribute to crime, disorder and public nuisance in the NTE, particularly around alcohol consumption, comparatively little research or formal evaluation has looked specifically at the types of policing, regulatory, city design, management and enforcement measures used to respond to these phenomena. Furthermore, there is a great deal of geographical and cultural unevenness in the international research literature concerning what is known about effective policy responses to alcohol-related harm in drinking settings. Literature relating to contemporary European contexts outside of the UK and Scandinavia is very sparse, the majority of the research output emanating from the English-speaking world.

More Effective Approaches

- Responding to heavy sessional drinking in the NTE involves embedding responsible beverage service and an effective enforcement regime within legal, regulatory and socio-political structures at the local level, as well as lobbying Government on matters such as alcohol taxation that may lie outside of the scope of local control.
- ‘Multi-component community-based programmes’ provide the clearest indication of effectiveness in published evaluation studies across a range of policy concerns, including assaults, traffic accidents, and underage sales. These programmes typically incorporate:
 - A strategic framework and theoretical basis for action;
 - The identification of problems defined at local levels;
 - A programme of co-ordinated action (projects) to address the issue based on an integrative programme design where individual interventions run in combination with each other and/or are sequenced together over time;
 - Identification, mobilisation and co-ordination of appropriate agencies, stakeholders and local communities;
 - Clearly defined aims, objectives, indicators and measures of effectiveness for the programme as a whole (although individual projects or activities will also have specified aims, objectives and outcome measures);
 - Evaluation as an integral part of the programme from the start;
 - Sustained commitment, implementation, and development of the programme over a period of several years.
- The choice of individual projects or activities to include within a multi-component community programme should be guided by the identification of specific local needs/demands and by evidence of proven effectiveness when used in similar settings elsewhere. This on-going strategic planning would be assisted by the creation of a ‘Night-time Economy Coordinator’ post. The holder of such a post would need the necessary powers to co-ordinate responsible authorities to undertake specific interventions. This review has identified the following projects/activities as promising additions to a multi-component ‘tool kit’ for Sydney, based upon the findings of relevant evaluations and research:
 - A Licensed Premises Enforcement database can be used to risk assess each licensed premises in the City in relation to their record for crime, disorder and public nuisance. Regularly updated and published points tallies are then employed to grade premises and signal the need for further monitoring. Information from the database is then shared with the operators of the premises, who become subject to targeted interventions by police and

licensing inspection personnel. Enforcement action is taken based upon a graduated approach; first of all, seeking to achieve compliance and co-operation by means of persuasion. Subsequent checks are made at regular intervals, with non-compliance leading to formal warnings, fines, and the addition of conditions on the license. In serious and intractable cases the premises become subject to temporary suspension or permanent forfeiture of their license. Licensees are given the opportunity to have their risk ratings reduced through evidence of cooperation with the police, through a reduction in incidents, and a sharing of intelligence. At 'high risk' premises, the impact of enforcement visits may be enhanced by the intervention of hospital Accident and Emergency Department and maxillofacial consultants, in addition to police activity.

- Using information from the database, a ranked list of the top licensed premises for assaults is published. Premises on the list are then subject to additional licensing restrictions. These restrictions are enforced through regular inspection visits and fines and prosecutions for non-compliance. Conversely, evidence of sustained improvements are rewarded by removal from the list at the earliest opportunity (6 months). Removals from the list are also publicized.

Evidence suggests that such action is likely to lead to an increase in social responsibility standards across the NTE, including within licensed premises that are not subject to the additional restrictions.

- The collection of 'alcohol sales data', that is information obtained from wholesalers regarding volumes of wholesale alcohol purchased from them by individual licensed retailers, or licensed retailer records of volumes of alcohol sold to the general public can be effectively used for monitoring patterns of alcohol consumption locally, as well as for attributing the harmful effects of consumption to particular retailers. This can provide the evidential basis for intelligence-led policing and health service delivery, as well as for decisions regarding licensing variations and prosecutions. The City of Sydney does not currently have access to such data and it is a recommendation of this report that the City advocate submission by the NSW government of alcohol sales data to the National Alcohol Sales Data Project administered by the National Drug Research Institute (NDRI) at Curtin University of Technology.
- Adoption of the 'Safer Bars' training programme, or similar model, as a mandatory requirement for the staff of all licensed premises operating within locations that are known 'hot spots' for alcohol-related crime and disorder. The training instructs staff on how to recognize signs of aggression; to use early intervention techniques to avoid and defuse aggression; and legal issues relating to managing problem behaviour. A specially adapted training programme might also provide an opportunity for NSW police and the City of Sydney to offer support to licensed operators and door supervisor agencies in

crime prevention, for example, by providing access to a radio-link scheme which encourages the sharing of intelligence with regard to observed incidents of crime and public nuisance.

- Introduction of an Alcohol Arrest Referral scheme in which persons detained in police custody for alcohol-related offences in a nightlife context following heavy sessional drinking, are offered screening and a Brief Intervention concerning their alcohol and/or polydrug use. Clients who agree to receive the intervention may be offered a concession in relation to any fines imposed. In particular, the cooperation of repeat offenders at risk of becoming chronic dependent drinkers should be encouraged, with as many as possible receiving referrals into treatment, or other diversionary activity.
- There is strong evidence to suggest that the pricing of alcohol has an effect on levels of alcohol consumption and related harms, including crime and disorder. Moreover, this applies to all groups of drinkers, including young people and heavy or problem drinkers. Therefore, effective policy responses are likely to include the setting of minimum prices per standard drink, thus reducing the price differential between alcohol sold (at low cost) in bottle shops, in comparison with (higher) drinks prices in licensed premises, and restricting discounted sales promotions such as 'happy hours', drinking games, free shots, and other forms of promotion which encourage rapid and/or heavy sessional drinking in licensed premises. The objective of the former measure is to deter pre-loading and the problems associated with heavy unsupervised drinking which may then require the attention of security and/or health services in the city streets at night. This impact would be most effective when combined with strong enforcement of the liquor laws in respect of serving further alcohol to persons who are drunk and the targeting of any alcoholic beverage types that local evidence suggests are particularly associated with alcohol-related harms.
- Increasing the price of alcoholic beverages is likely to be one of the less popular policy choices with general consumers and bottle shop retailers, whilst policies restricting promotional activity could potentially have detrimental economic implications for on-licensed businesses. Nonetheless, alcohol taxes remain an attractive and effective instrument of alcohol policy. Specialist legal/constitutional advice would need to be sought as to the options for setting City-wide pricing policies (this would be equally the case for voluntary accords or mandatory codes). At the same time, the City might decide to lobby the Commonwealth Government concerning changes to alcohol excise duty for particular alcoholic beverages on the basis of its local evidence gathering.

Public Realm Profiling

Summary: Locating Crime and Disorder in Nightlife Environments

“The downtown area...particularly at night, is the most socially unstable public environment in the city” (Wikström)

Urban centres are special kinds of places characterised by low social integration (people are strangers to each other), heterogeneity (people with different social backgrounds are brought together), mobility and transience.

The nature and volume of human activity is influenced by a number of factors, including the geographical distribution and trading hours of food, drink and entertainment outlets, the physical capacity of such outlets, the availability of public transport, the influence of weather and seasonality and the timing of public events and festivities.

Geography, temporal factors and cultural norms all exert influence over how and why people behave in particular ways. The nightlife areas of our towns and cities are particular kinds of ‘behaviour setting’ in which a standing pattern of behaviour occurs which is largely unique to the setting. In the Western world, urban nightlife areas are characterised by alcohol and drug-related activities which many participants associate with taking ‘time out’ from their daily lives.

Busy nightlife areas are the sites of intense social interaction where people converge in space and time in order to fulfil their entertainment needs, exercise choice, enjoy the exciting ambience and, in a minority of cases, exploit criminal opportunities.

Nightlife areas often exhibit an ‘edgy’ character of low level disorder. This intense experience is part of the appeal of the night-time city for the young, adventurous and action-seeking nightlife consumer. It may hold less appeal for other types of visitor and for some local residents.

In terms of volume, crime and disorder in the NTE is concentrated in space and time. Temporal peaks can be sharp where premises close at similar times; however, even where closing times are more dispersed, offences tend to occur within a fairly limited timeframe and range of locations. These patterns mirror people’s access to leisure opportunities and transport. A particular range of offences relating to inter-personal violence, drunkenness, criminal damage, anti-social behaviour, and public nuisance are apparent. In addition, the problem of domestic violence following a night out should be acknowledged.

The proportion of incidents occurring in the streets is almost always considerably larger than that occurring within licensed premises themselves, although there is likely to be a significant degree of under-reporting in both contexts.

According to routine activities theory, in order for a crime to occur there must be a convergence in time and space of three minimal elements: a likely offender, a suitable target, and an absence of capable guardians against crime.

Capable guardians can be anyone whose presence or proximity would discourage a crime from happening, such guardianship often being inadvertent, whilst targets of crime can be persons or objects, whose position in space and time, puts them at more or less risk of victimization.

Routine activity approaches posit a close relationship between the distribution in time and space of everyday legal activities and those of illegal or anti-social activities. In the NTE, 'hot-spots' and 'hot-times' for crime are generated by circumstances in which crowds are brought together in largely uncontrolled environments where intoxication and a high frequency of mixing of people with different social backgrounds is common.

The routine activities theory provides an overview of crime profiles that can assist in planning regulatory and policing responses, particularly licensing decisions concerning the location and trading hours of licensed premises. Areas with a high density of licensed premises exhibit both generator and attractor qualities. They draw in large numbers of legitimate users, a minority of whom – as a side effect of their heavy episodic drinking/poly drug use - may become embroiled in violent or disorderly incidents, or create public nuisance. Most alcohol-related arrestees in the NTE have no previous convictions for violent behaviour and the incidents leading to their arrest are typically spontaneous and unplanned.

From a routine activities perspective, circuit drinking or 'bar-hopping' wherein people move between different venues within the course of their night out can be viewed as problematic as it increases the number of pedestrian journeys and associated opportunities for conflict within busy periods of the night.

Studying the patterning of recorded crime and disorder has permitted the identification of specific 'flashpoints' i.e. particular sites at particular times in which incidents are especially concentrated. These include taxi-ranks, night bus stops, fast-food outlets and other points of pedestrian clustering and convergence.

Once a large intoxicated consumer base is formed, crime and public nuisance may not remain restricted to distinct central entertainment areas, but may also impact upon late-night pedestrian and vehicular exit routes throughout the city. This is not so much the displacement of crime – as these outlying areas do not, themselves 'generate' crime - but rather its radiation from one, or several, central hubs.

Routine activities approaches help to broadly identify high-risk situations but do not, of course, account for all potential causes of crime and disorder occurring in a nightlife context. Some crimes of violence, for example, may arise as a result of particular antagonisms between groups, or as a by-product of an individual's psychological and physiological responses to intoxication. Moreover, a small number of people intentionally seek out violence as part of their night out, or purposely target an area in order to exploit criminal opportunities (for example, by using the anonymity of large crowds to conduct theft, or prey upon intoxicated and therefore vulnerable persons in order to commit robbery or sexual offences). These intentional crimes also need to be targeted within multi-component programmes for nightlife security.

Although rates of directly experienced victimization may be low, social incivilities (such as public drunkenness) and physical incivilities (such as litter and vandalism) can generate fear in a large number of people by conveying negative messages about the social conditions in an area.

Research has found very different responses to 'fear of crime' surveys from different demographic groups regarding busy nightlife areas. Young males report fear the least and yet face the highest levels of objective risk. Similarly, young people's reported lack of fear in busy areas is almost always inversely related to levels of risk.

Violence prevention measures should take account of the demographic composition of patrons in addition to wider structural elements of the NTE. The likelihood of becoming involved in a physical fight in nightlife increases with younger age, higher levels of drunkenness, cocaine use (particularly in combination with alcohol), and reported preferences for more tolerant licensed venues. Heterosexuality appears to be a risk factor for men and a protective factor for women in relation to the likelihood of becoming involved in NTE-related violence. Victims of violence in the NTE tend to have very similar demographic profiles and patterns of behaviour to those of offenders.

Although certain high-risk profiles have been identified, persons who are intoxicated, emotionally aroused and placed under stressful conditions on the streets late at night come from a range of backgrounds and demographic groups. Their activities whilst 'in drink' may not amount to acts of violence or criminal damage, but might well be expressed as uninhibited and noisy exuberance, or argumentative and threatening behaviour; these activities can cause other people to experience alarm or distress. Thus, whilst it is useful to target interventions toward the social groups, street locations, and licensed premises where they are most needed, it is equally important to adopt a holistic safety and security management approach toward nightlife areas and their patrons.

Many, especially older people, young families, and some ethnic minorities, will simply avoid nightlife areas in circumstances where those areas have a negative image, do not

offer facilities that are attractive to them and are not connected to their homes by regular and secure transport services. This is unfortunate, as the presence of socially and culturally diverse crowds – as opposed to a monoculture of young drinkers - can serve to ‘normalize’ the on-street environment and enhance informal controls, in the same way it does during the day.

The balance of evidence favours the development of mixed-use areas over single-use zoning. Advantages include the promotion of social cohesion, vibrancy, the maintenance of local services, and the prevention of crime.

The inherent crime preventative functions of residential communities are said to include improved opportunities for the natural surveillance of public space and a shared sense of propriety toward such space. This occurs in the form of maintaining, guarding, watching and reporting, activities which have the effect of ‘informally’ increasing social control in ways which can reduce the need for formal action by the police and other authorities.

Problems often emerge in reconciling the NTE with nearby residential and day-time businesses uses. Those living near to licensed premises, late-night takeaways and transport termini, highlight a range of problems such as noise, litter, human fouling, congestion, anti-social behaviour, and drug-related activity. A comparative study of mixed-use entertainment districts in four Northern European capital cities found all areas to have similar problems in managing the conflict between business and residential interests. Local residents often feel they have little real influence or leverage in relation to decisions concerning nightlife developments.

Licensing Approaches (Structural Interventions)

Outlet Density: Summary of Research Evidence

The ‘availability’ of alcohol in a nightlife context refers to the number and geographical density of licensed premises, as well to the hours of sale of these outlets. These factors can further influence the retail price of alcoholic beverages in a given area, competition amongst premises that are bunched together creating pressure to lower prices. This section explores links between what is known about the availability of alcohol in nightlife areas and the policy options for harm reduction.

Cost is an important factor as demand for alcohol (and consumption) has been found to be price sensitive, particularly amongst certain sub-groups, with consumption and

associated harms increasing where prices reduce. Baseline rates of drinking amongst nightlife patrons are, in any event, likely to exceed general population-level consumption estimates for their demographic profile.

The international research evidence and previous reviews of this evidence have found strong associations between outlet density and local levels of alcohol-related harms (the frequency and severity of crime, public order, and adverse health outcomes).

A large and growing body of literature has found correlations between greater numbers of bars and bottle shops and greater rates of violence, measured through calls to police, arrests by police, and attendance for assaultive injuries at hospital emergency rooms. It is important to develop methods of monitoring premises-level capacity data in relation to small areas (blocks) containing concentrations of licensed premises, as fluctuations in capacity within such areas are major predictors of on-street violence.

A further major predictor of violent incidents in density studies is the *proximity* of on-licensed premises to each other, i.e. the bunching of premises. The ‘bunching’ of bars, pubs and nightclubs, in particular, within a small geographical area has been linked to the promotion of heavy sessional drinking, and is associated with alcohol-related injuries, violence, and other short-term consequences related to concentrated drinking during discrete occasions. The culture of ‘circuit drinking’ is inherent to such bunching, with patrons progressing from venue-to-venue in the course of a night out. Offences have been found to occur particularly in the public spaces surrounding bunched clusters of licensed premises.

Recent research analyzing data relating solely to *clusters* of licensed premises in the Sydney Local Government Area (LGA) found assaults to be highly concentrated around licensed premises in George Street in the central business district (CBD), Darlinghurst Road in Kings Cross, Oxford Street in Darlinghurst, King Street in Newtown, and Glebe Point Road in Glebe. The highest concentrations of recorded assault were in Kings Cross, Oxford Street in Darlinghurst and along George Street in the CBD. More than half of the assaults recorded by NSW police in the Sydney CBD occurred within 50 metres of a liquor outlet. Only 3 per cent of the Sydney LGA is within 20 metres of a liquor outlet, yet 37 per cent of assaults in Sydney LGA occurred within spaces with this profile.

In relation to alcohol-related violence in public places at least, there is a concentration of recorded problems and a lack of evidence of violence displacement. Clearly, if violence can be prevented within the ‘hot spots’ this can have a dramatic effect on overall levels of violence across the city.

Studies that consider outlet density alone have clear limitations as it is well-established that different types, sizes and designs of licensed operation are associated with different rates of alcohol-related harm at the premises level. Research has identified nightclubs and taverns/bars as high-risk venues for problems, especially when they are large.

Trading hours can also have an important impact on levels of harm. A nuanced examination of the relationship between outlet density and assault, for example, would consider the full range of outlet characteristics found within an area and the differences between them. Sources to be drawn upon might include data on alcohol sales, opening hours, relative capacities, and styles of operation, police crime statistics and hospital emergency department data.

When incorporating the above measures, research examining bunches or clusters of licensed premises in specific areas and their impacts across a range of crime, health and environmental outcomes provides some of the best evidence for informing decisions on licensing and resource allocation in policing, enforcement and city management.

Amongst the most methodologically robust studies of outlet density effects are those that have adopted a longitudinal approach to data collection, minimising the possibility that the effects attributed to the changes are related to other, unaccounted for, variables. These studies have demonstrated that increases in the density of premises are often accompanied by increases in violence, experienced as an area-specific problem that accumulates over time. At the same time, reductions in licensed premises, particularly bars, have been associated with reductions in the number of assaults.

Recent research has indicated that the influence of outlet density on rates of violence may be non-linear, that is to say that there may be a threshold, or ‘tipping point’ beyond which each additional licensed premises accelerates the effect on numbers of additional assaults. This research adds support to the idea that areas can become ‘saturated’ with licensed premises such that decision-makers should consider imposing limits on the number of further licenses issued.

Conflicts of interest can arise between property owners and licensed operators on the one hand and licensing authorities, police and residents on the other, as in Britain at least, new licensed venues developed for the young adult drinking market are more likely to attract investment if located in close proximity to existing venues, as a result of the location’s proven commercial value.

Research and evaluation studies have not so far explored the effects of policies which seek to restrict the further growth of licensed outlets within a particular designated zone in terms of the effects this may have on promoting development of the NTE elsewhere. Clearly, the redistribution of development is often a key aim of such policies which may be seen to have a range of social and economic benefits. Of greater concern, however, might be an outcome which saw increasing development pressure just outside of the special policy boundaries, as opposed to being within another clearly distinct and preferred area. One innovative response may be to introduce a graduated framework of regulation involving a ‘core zone’ and ‘buffer zones’. New licensed development within the ‘buffer zone’ would be subject to less stringent regulation than within the ‘core zone’, but more restriction than that ‘preferred areas’ of the city, not identified as subject to the same extent of NTE-related environmental pressures. Even with these measures in

place, the zones subject to additional control are likely to represent only a very small proportion of the total licensing area.

The observed effects of outlet density are generally absent, or much reduced, in the case of seated-dining, table service restaurants. Restaurants that are genuinely food-led, with alcohol served only as an ancillary to a table meal (as opposed to ‘café bars’), emerge as having comparatively much lower rates of violence and associated drink-driving than other types of venue serving alcohol for consumption on the premises.

Nightlife users will often seek to derive a proportion of their alcohol intake from bottle shops for a range of financial and social reasons related to their leisure activities. Research concerning impacts of the bottle shop element of alcohol availability has drawn associations between outlet density and violence and other harms in residential areas and at the city-wide level. In response to deep-discounting by the major supermarkets small shopkeepers can become dependent on ‘suspect’ high strength alcoholic products which the multiple retailers do not stock. However, many bottle shop alcohol-related problems may originate from sales made by the major superstores, whilst taking place elsewhere – be it outside shops and in parks and other residential community facilities, in a pub, or at a nightclub door.

Studies have yet to look specifically at the presence of bottle shops alongside licensed premises within nightlife entertainment zones and surrounding areas. Research on the impact of bottle shops within nightlife areas would permit further understanding of the effects of drinking practices such as ‘back-loading’ (drinking bottle shop alcohol after licensed premises’ closing time) and ‘side-loading’ (having a ‘roadie’), the drinking of alcohol purchased in bottle shops and consumed while travelling to, queuing to enter, or attending a late-night venue, either by smuggling it in, or leaving the venue for a while.

The drinking of bottle shop sourced alcohol often occurs within relatively uncontrolled environments where the speed, volume and extent of drinking sessions are limited only by the decisions of the consumer and the influence of their peers. This is becoming an increasing area of importance in the UK where the major supermarkets are moving toward the exploitation of alcohol markets within urban centers and suburbs, through the opening of smaller, convenience store formats, often with extended night-time opening hours.

Evidence from public consultation studies suggests that the contribution of bottle shop-sourced alcohol to local prevalence of alcohol-related harm within a nightlife context is likely to vary significantly between areas. Towns and cities that are tourist resorts popular with young people and/or with a high proportion of resident students are more likely to experience greater impacts related to drinking in public places than comparable areas where the NTE is primarily used by adults in employment.

Studies conducted in British towns and cities have repeatedly identified fast-food outlets as flashpoints for alcohol-related crime and disorder. Reference to such

problems is much less apparent in the international literature, however.

Two central messages arise from the British experience which are likely to be transferable to other contexts: firstly, that late-night takeaways offer attractive cluster points for revellers after they have left licensed premises, and secondly: in comparison with pubs, bars and nightclubs, take-away restaurants (like bottle shops within convenience stores) typically lack the type of design and management provisions necessary to process the custom of a large intoxicated late-night customer base.

Staff of late-night takeaways and some bottle shop stores are sometimes subject to repeat victimisation in a nightlife context, involving threatening behaviour, physical violence, and property damage. Businesses owners and their staff may benefit from conflict management training, the employment of door supervisors, and high levels of support from the police.

As is the case in relation to taxi drivers who serve the late-night economy, takeaway outlets are often staffed by members of an ethnic minority and UK research has revealed the vulnerability of staff and businesses to racially-motivated or aggravated crime and abuse; this comprising a ‘buried issue’ within more general policy debates concerning night-time safety and security.

Crime problems at takeaways present relatively low risks of displacement (apart from the targeting of ethnic businesses in residential areas and on pedestrian routes out of the city, as part of the ‘radiation’ effect of problems generated in nightlife hubs).

Given their symbiotic relationship with the pub and club scene there is good evidence to suggest that late-night takeaways should be subject to a similar licensing regime as that applied to licensed entertainment venues.

The identification of takeaways as crime ‘hot spots’ underlines the necessity for city governments to develop clear strategies of dispersal, along with transport and roads authorities and transport providers, to discourage a culture of loitering in nightlife areas in the early hours of the morning once entertainment premises have closed.

Effective dispersal is also vital in reducing the other major environmental impacts of late-night takeaways: noise nuisance for residents and the littering/fouling of streets, community facilities, and business premises.

The balance of evidence suggests that, under most circumstances, increasing trading into the early hours of the morning will result in increased alcohol use and related harms, such as violence.

Professor Tim Stockwell, a main authority on this topic, has stated that: “Perhaps one of the most remarkable things about this whole literature is that adding or subtracting just 1 or 2 hours of trading after midnight can make such a substantial difference to rates of violence” (2011: 311).

In a recent study in Newcastle, NSW Kypri *et al.*, (2011) examined the effects of reducing the trading hours of licensed premises from 5 a.m. to 3 a.m. and found an estimated 37% reduction in late-night violence.

In a study in Perth, WA, adding 1 extra hour of additional trading after midnight was associated with a 70% increase in late-night violent incidents reported to the police (Chikritzhs and Stockwell, 2002).

Higher rates of road traffic accidents have been found in drivers who consumed their last drink at premises with extended opening hours in comparison with customers of premises with earlier closing times.

‘Lockouts’ are licensing measures that require licensed premises to deny entry to new patrons beyond a certain time of night, although they can retain the customers that they already hold until closing time. The movement of intoxicated persons is not removed as a result of lockouts, it is simply delayed and there is no conclusive evidence concerning their effectiveness.

In considering the imposition of mandatory and universally- or widely- applied lockouts it is important that decision-makers explore the provision of other supporting mechanisms. An effective supply of late-night transport to serve the peaks of demand that are likely at both the beginning and end of the lock out periods is particularly important. This is especially so in circumstances where the closing of licensed premises coheres around a particular time.

Changes in the trading hours of licensed premises impact upon police, ambulance and hospital resources. Extended trading in the hours beyond midnight has been associated with increases in police work loads and hospital accident and emergency room admissions. The more that closing times vary within an area, the more even the spread of demand for services. Peaks of demand may be reduced by shifts away from fixed closing hours towards more varied trading times, however the demand for emergency services throughout the early hours of the morning is likely to increase which may necessitate (costly and unpopular) changes to staff shift patterns.

Recent experience in England and Wales points to the deficiencies of relying upon “market forces” - specifically, the commercial preferences of licensed businesses to seek and obtain a range of closing times for their outlet - to deliver the desired implementation effects of licensing laws. Despite being able to apply for licenses that could potentially allow them to trade for up to 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, bar and nightclub operations, particularly those located in close proximity to other similar venues, opted to apply for hours of trading that largely mirrored those of their neighbouring competitors. This negated the potentially beneficial effects of staggered closure (the intended prevention mechanism) and created new peaks in customer departure at later hours.

Without levers to control opening hours licensing regulations become primarily focused on operational matters. This means that very important means for reducing alcohol-related harms are lost. In turn, it also places much greater emphasis on the active management of venues and public spaces within city centres (Tiesdell and Slater, 2006).

Local variations are to be expected in the extent to which alcohol consumption and related outcomes are affected by the timing of extensions or reductions in trading hours. Intervening variables are likely to include the time periods involved, for example, early in the evening versus after midnight and the drinking norms and repertoires to be found within particular social scenes.

Obtaining an accurate assessment of the effects of closing times within an area is further complicated by the managerial decisions of venue managers who may choose to routinely close their premises at an earlier time than that stated on their licence. For this reason, it is necessary to conduct preliminary investigations into the times to which premises actually trade before conducting analyses which compare premises closing times within an area to specific local impacts, such as crime rates etc.

Noise Nuisance Impacts: Summary of the Research

Public nuisance, such as noise derived from groups of people wandering through or loitering on the street, from deliveries and services, from queues outside cafes and bars and from car horns, can impact on residents independently of crime and disorder.

Noise impacts are not so much derived from the actions of a small number of excessively anti-social individuals, but come from large numbers of people going about the business of having a good time.

Whilst it may be unreasonable for residents to expect that city centre living can offer an entirely peaceful and quiet environment, it does seem reasonable to expect that

noise affecting residential properties remains within tolerable levels such that home life remains viable and restful sleep a possibility.

Research points to the benefits of maintaining a substantial residential presence within mixed-use central city areas, which also include nightlife. Mixed-use areas offer social and economic advantages over functionally segregated spaces but require careful regulation and management in order to achieve comfortable livability.

The maintenance of livability is likely to be heavily dependent upon the effective enforcement of noise regulations.

Noise disturbance to residents can come from two different sources. The first is in noise breakout from licensed premises themselves, which affects adjacent properties either via transmission through the structure of the building, or through airborne sound; the second source emanates from activities in the street.

Street-based noise impacts may lie beyond the scope of environmental noise legislation, save where noise nuisances can be clearly identified as arising from the business service activities or customers of specific licensed premises (for example, customers using outdoor smoking areas). One option may be to reduce the trading hours of licensed premises on the grounds of their noise impacts.

Video recording techniques can provide objective evidence relating noise nuisance to the customers of particular licensed premises for presentation at licensing hearings.

Research has identified seven factors that influence the magnitude of the people's subjective response to noise. These are: sound level, background (ambient) level, differences between listeners, the context into which the sound intrudes, music type, bass level and bass beat.

Noise containing a large amount of energy at lower frequencies has greater effects upon the body than the same sound pressure level without the low-frequency element. Persons exposed to disturbance from 'bass beats' often report that they can both hear and feel the noise as it resonates within the chest cavity.

Low-frequency energy is also more transmissible over distance and through building structures and tends not to be present in the background noise environment. The introduction of a low-frequency bass-beat will therefore be more noticeable to nearby residents, particularly late at night.

Comparison of the objective assessment measures applied by environmental noise enforcement agencies in various countries points to the German criterion DIN 45680 as best meeting the needs of statutory noise nuisance enforcement in the case of low-frequency energy levels emanating from venue sound systems.

Licensing Approaches to Crime Reduction Summary

- Application of a cumulative impact criterion which acknowledges the relationship between the geographical over-concentration of licensed premises and the generation of crime and disorder;
- Policies of functional dispersal which seek to prevent the over-concentration of licensed premises. Depending on local conditions this might include late-night takeaways and bottle shop alcohol outlets;
- Weed and seed approaches which target enforcement activities on problematic premises whilst controlling the growth of licensed premises in crime and disorder 'hot spots';
- Policies of functional diversification which promote the development of a mixed NTE which attracts and provides facilities for families, older people, ethnic minorities and specialist interest groups;
- The general monitoring and control of any market shifts toward standardised local closing times, especially within the key 11pm-4am period;
- The general avoidance of very late terminal hours in residential areas and crime hot spots;
- Recognition of the increased crime and disorder risks associated with a convergence of terminal hours in areas with a high spatial density of licensed premises;
- The encouragement of social responsibility in relation to the development of new licensed premises and licence variations in existing 'hot spot' areas and also in terms of licensed operators being required to adopt a clear harm reduction strategy in relation to the dispersal of their customers and patrons' impact upon their surrounding area.
- Placing limits upon the spatial density of licensed premises, for example in gentrifying 'urban villages' subject to development pressure, can be one way to help promote the development of 'destination venues'. In order to thrive outside of an established cluster, businesses which aspire to 'destination' status are required to be more innovative and often operate to higher standards.

Design and Service Interventions

Design Interventions: Summary of Research Evidence

CCTV

The effectiveness of CCTV is largely dependent on its suitability to the type of crime it is intended to prevent, and the area in which it is installed.

CCTV is most effective in reducing property crime - particularly in protecting car parks. It has not been found effective as a deterrent to public order offences involving alcohol.

In support of the NTE, CCTV installation in public places and at licensed premises has shown most effectiveness in crime detection and recording. It is frequently used to help direct the police and door staff to the scene of disturbances and to help officers identify participants and make successful prosecutions.

In some areas, CCTV cameras are linked to 'help points' which allow members of the public to request surveillance and assistance in emergency situations.

By aiding rapid police response to developing situations CCTV may help to prevent violence from escalating into injuries requiring medical attention and thus reduce pressure on hospital emergency departments.

The effectiveness of CCTV is highly dependent on the availability of police resources; the efficiency of CCTV operators; and the level of communication between these and other partners, such as venue door supervisors and public transport staff.

The clarity of night-time CCTV footage is enhanced by the installation of contemporary 'white light' street illumination.

Street Lighting

Improved street lighting is often introduced to serve a range of purposes: the prevention of crime; pedestrian and traffic safety; and to help create impressions of a safe, welcoming, and lively environment.

The evidence base for improved street lighting as a tool for reducing crime and the fear of crime is strong, although the optimal circumstances for street lighting preventing crime are not yet clear.

Councils may consider conducting street lighting audits to identify where standards are met and where they are not. For the illumination of crime hot spots such as taxi ranks, higher lux levels and the use of high-colour rendering white light, or LED lighting may be appropriate.

The operators of licensed premises and other businesses can assist by brightly illuminating the exterior of their premises.

Street lighting audits should consider the issue of 'light pollution' for residents and hotel guests, as well as ways to conserve energy. Technological advances make it possible to have an empty space lit only dimly when the space is empty and then brightened when it becomes populated.

Public Toilet Provision

Lack of public toilet facilities can exacerbate the problems of street urination that have accompanied the growth of NTEs that are heavy focused on alcohol consumption.

In an attempt to curb street fouling, some local authorities have introduced open-air street urinals for the use of male late-night drinkers. Various designs of urinal have been developed, most of which are mobile, temporary fixtures that are removed in the day.

Existing schemes have been successful, judged in terms of the extent to which the facilities are used.

In some areas, police have increased the level of priority given to street urination offences.

Public toilets are an important element in making cities more accessible and comfortable. Whilst open-air facilities serving the needs of male drinkers may be effective in reducing street fouling, other social groups may view them as unpleasant insertions into the street scene.

Traditional toilet facilities for all members of the community, available across both day and night may be a more effective method for reducing street fouling, whilst at the same time providing an important support structure for NTE diversification. Security at toilets could be enhanced by the employment of attendants where resources allow.

Management of Glassware

In the UK, glasses and bottles are the most commonly used weapons in violence occurring in drinking environments. Incidents involving glass tend to result in more severe injuries.

Effective harm reduction initiatives for the NTE should incorporate attempts to reduce the opportunities for glass to be used as a weapon and opportunities for accidental glass-related injuries, both within licensed premises and on the streets.

Poorly operated licensed premises often fail to make adequate glass collections and allow customers to take their glass drinking vessels out onto the street.

When working with the operators of 'high risk' licensed premises enforcement agencies may be justified in requiring all glassware to be replaced by high quality polycarbonate glass (PCG) alternatives.

Research suggests that the introduction of good quality PCG alternatives is often acceptable to the management of licensed premises and their customers.

Whilst the introduction of PCG alone is unlikely to deliver reductions in the incidence of violence within licensed premises, it can provide immediate benefits in reducing the severity of associated injuries.

The management of glassware is also an important issue for street safety. Bottle bins designed to prevent the unauthorised retrieval of their contents have been installed in nightlife areas. The bins help support a range of service interventions to prevent on-street drinking and reduce glass-related injuries. In the UK, these include Taxi Marshal and Police Community Support Officer Schemes and the police enforcement of 'alcohol-free zone' byelaws (Designated Public Place Orders).

Waste from licensed premises often contains glass. It is advisable for waste collections to be scheduled so as to ensure rapid removal from the streets after premises have closed.

Active Frontages

In order to provide natural surveillance of the street from inside buildings and a more welcoming feel for pedestrians, property boundaries that face the street should, where possible, allow activity generated within the building to be visible from the street. The front of the building should also have at least one pedestrian access point to the street.

Venues that focus their operations on late-night drinking, for example, often have frontages that are distinctly 'inactive' during the day-time and evening periods. They may lie behind closed doors, or steel shutters, presenting a blank and barren face to the street.

Similarly, shops which close after their day-time trade may be shuttered and this conveys further impressions of 'dead' and unwelcoming space, as well as negative messages about crime risk and social relations.

Well-lit premises, with entrances facing the street are more visible and accessible. Ideally, ground floor café, restaurant and bar operations should spill out onto the street, placing tables and chairs outside and shop displays on the pavement. In larger spaces, provision can also be made for public performances. These features create an impression of *activity* and *permeability*.

Facilities in hotels, galleries and public buildings open in the evening also benefit the feel of the city where they have active frontages and foyers with large areas of glazing. Similar design features can be used to animate the ground floor of office developments

Retailers may be encouraged to illuminate their shop window displays at night, adding light to the street scene.

These design elements combine to add visual interest and diversity to the city at night. Active frontages are part of the character of important streets and ensure that the life of buildings helps animate the street, making it feel safer and more welcoming.

Residential Design

Placing licensed premises beneath residential properties runs the risk of noise reverberation through the structure of the building, noise breakout and street noise for residents, even where design and management provisions are in place to ameliorate this.

New housing developments may be designed to incorporate active, but quieter, uses on the ground floor.

Transport Research Summary and Recommendations

Street Crime and Public Safety

The provision and management of safe late-night transport into, and most importantly, *out of*, nightlife areas can offer a key contribution to violence and injury prevention, as well as helping to make city centres more attractive and welcoming to visitors.

Poor availability of late-night transport means people are required to spend longer in nightlife areas after bars and nightclubs have closed, and leads to frustration and competition for scarce transport resources and also the use of unsafe methods of

returning home. Such factors increase the potential for violence in nightlife areas and can render people more vulnerable to assault on journeys. Scarcity or absence of transport (which should also be affordable) also increases the risks of road traffic crashes, as intoxicated individuals attempt to walk home or drive home after a night out.

Pre-loading on alcohol ahead of a night out makes crime and disorder more likely on public transport routes into the city at night and therefore has potentially important policy implications for the targeting of security staffing resources.

Interaction between licensed premises closing times and the demand for public transport is very apparent. This requires coordination with licensing tools such as 'lock outs'. Where such licensing tools are implemented it is necessary to ensure that adequate transport is available to meet the additional supply, partly engineered by the intervention, both at the start and the end of the lock out period.

The launch of night bus services can be assisted by an initial injection of public, private, or partnership funding, thus reducing the financial risk for service providers. Well-planned night bus routes can prove very popular and the problem then becomes one of ensuring that sufficient services are available. This is likely to be particularly the case where perceptions of safety have been addressed.

Some cities have significant commuter and suburban rail systems and these can provide effective dispersal from city centres if appropriate late-night services are developed. Issues regarding customer and staff safety largely mirror those that apply to bus services, encompassing the need for security management at the beginning, for the duration, and at the end, of the journey.

Effective transport provision can provide substantial assistance to the evening economy, encouraging city centre workers to stay in town. This period, from around 18.00 to 22.00 hours, effectively bridges the gap between the day-time and night-time economy, adding to the vitality and viability of the city.

In larger cities, in particular, transport planning to support the NTE should take into account the need for 'connectivity' between different locations within the central city and central suburbs, as well as between these areas and more outlying commuter and residential zones. This type of transport planning can be used to support the development of a network of 'urban villages' - each with their own distinct nightlife attractions - between which patrons may wish to travel.

Traffic management interventions, such as temporary (night-time) road closures, pavement barriers, and traffic calming devices, can reduce road traffic accidents and injuries to intoxicated pedestrians.

Affordable multiple occupancy taxi services can be used to link relatively isolated

communities to bus and rail termini for accessing centrally-located nightlife attractions, thus discouraging people from driving under the influence of drink and/or drugs.

Licensed premises can help their customers to access safe travel home, 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.

Driver Safety: Raising Awareness and Responding to Risk

Transport staff who work at night represent an occupational group at particularly high risk of violence in many countries. Other problems such as fare evasion, soiling of, and damage to, vehicles are often apparent. These factors can act to discourage transport staff from working at night, contributing to a shortfall in transport supply.

Partnerships should be made aware of the crime and personal security issues (most notably violence, criminal damage and fare evasion) facing taxi and minicab drivers, as well as rail and bus staff.

The use of CCTV in vehicles, robust partition screens, bus and taxi marshals and white sodium lighting at transport termini should be considered as these have been found to assist in crime prevention. These measures should be evaluated to maximise effective practice in different circumstances.

Police support for public transport staff and taxi marshals should be put in place, including effective radio communication systems and personnel.

A public awareness poster campaign at taxi ranks, bus stops and on vehicles might be used. This would highlight that the assault of a person performing a public service, including transport staff – will be treated seriously by the courts when sentencing.

Passenger Safety: Raising Awareness and Responding to Risk

Bus and rail stops for night services need to be safe and accessible at both ends of a journey in order to encourage greater public use.

Bus marshals or police officers positioned at key bus termini at key times can be used to prevent drunken and aggressive passengers from getting onto buses, thus increasing

passenger and driver safety during the journey.

Taxis are often the first choice of transport for visitors exiting cities late at night. They can provide rapid dispersal and a door-to-door service, but only if supply and demand is well matched, ranks are located with night-time safety and security in mind and are sufficient in number. Furthermore, drivers and vehicles must be appropriately licensed, with a strong enforcement regime.

Illegal ‘minicabs’ are a problem in some cities. These vehicles and their drivers are unregulated and uninsured to carry passengers. In some cases, the drivers have been linked to more serious crimes, including rape and sexual assault, robbery and drug dealing.

Effective responses involve targeted policing and enforcement activity to identify, disrupt and deter illegal cab activity, combined with public awareness campaigns to warn people travelling at night of the dangers of taking un-booked ‘minicabs’ off the street, as well as informing them of the best ways to get home safely. Police officers working at operational level should be provided with information that raises their awareness of taxi-related offences, in particular those relating to the right to ply for hire.

Drivers, particularly younger males living in rural and suburban areas with limited access to public transport may continue to rely upon private cars when visiting nightlife destinations, despite self-reported alcohol and/or drug use.

There is an extensive literature on measures to reduce drink driving, with some of the most effective methods considered to be lowering the legal blood alcohol limits for driving and strict enforcement of drink driving legislation (e.g. through random breath testing and mandatory road checkpoint operations by police). Other measures such as designated driver schemes (where drivers are encouraged to remain alcohol-free) have been used to reduce drink driving, although there is little evidence for their effectiveness.

Developing and Implementing Effective Late-night Transport

Where NTEs are expanding, local councils and transport authorities should ensure that strategies to increase the number of people coming into nightlife areas also provide for safe and efficient late-night transport.

Well-planned and secure late-night transport services can assist with the wider project of diversifying the NTE and encouraging a wider range of visitors.

The night-time city requires transport policies specific to its needs. The development of a standard framework for testing and reviewing impacts on the night-time city is desirable.

Initiatives specific to the night often focus around individual modes of transport. The research evidence supports the development of cross-modal assessments (holistic reviews of supply and demand), and the development of tools for assessing how transport strategies might interact with other policy goals for the NTE, such as promoting public safety, reducing crime, and encouraging wider participation and economic growth.

While improvements to late night transport can reduce violence, they are not a stand-alone cure. Even cities with very effective transport services experience violence at the end of a night out, for example when confrontations occur at other congregation points such as fast food venues, when intoxicated individuals actively seek fights, or when arguments developing inside bars continue in the streets. Consequently, transport measures should be seen one, albeit very important, component in wider programmes to promote and support safer nightlife.

Partnership working between local government, police, transport authorities, transport providers and nightlife venues offers the best opportunities for achieving sustainable late-night transport environments that also promote safety on the streets.

Street Policing Interventions: Summary of the Research

Allocating and Targeting Police Resources

A high profile uniformed presence on the streets and particularly at known hot-spots during key time periods is a common policing strategy in nightlife areas. High visibility policing is commonly regarded as a deterrent to public disorder and also of importance in promoting public reassurance.

Proactive policing tactics may be used which seek to monitor the queues at potential flashpoints such as taxi-ranks and takeaways and to generally disperse people rather than allowing crowds to gather.

Proactive public order policing is resource intensive and may require the manipulation of shift systems in order to provide optimum cover. Police managers need to balance this demand against other policing priorities for the city.

The availability of cell space and the time taken to process arrestees can also have an important influence upon operational styles and tactics, encouraging officers to adopt a pragmatically permissive approach to low-level disorder. Intoxicated

offenders/arrestees who are themselves injured may need to be guarded by police over night, whilst in hospital.

Constructing 'Problem Profiles' for targeted policing in the NTE allows police managers to make resource decisions and determine tactics. This involves building a clear picture of the assembled intelligence on the nature of crime issues and their causes.

Mapping crime and incident 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. Due regard should be given to the accuracy of the data geocoding, particularly for the many offences occurring in the street.

Data from footfall counters is likely to offer the best denominators for measuring crime levels against the usage of an area, across licensed premises clusters, area capacities for each night, and at various times of the night.

Problem profiles should provide contextual data for the whole city, the remainder of the region, or another comparable city, together with more detailed analysis of local hot spot areas. This will help put the scale of the problems into context and demonstrate that resources are being channeled in the most appropriate ways.

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 and additional data on assaults may be available from hospital emergency departments, or the Ambulance Service.

It is essential to look at trends over time. This allows for the identification of seasonal changes, and helps distinguish real changes from random fluctuations.

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.

Particular licensed premises may generate a disproportionate number of problems. 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 opportunities for aggression and crime, 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 shift over time, due to changes of management, promotions, or time of year (for example, whether there are facilities for drinking outside).

It may also be useful to identify and target licensed premises in outlying areas where these are used earlier in the evening by groups who then go on to cause problems in the city centre. Suburbs/urban villages may have their own NTEs, especially where a high proportion of residents are students and young professionals. The extent of policing resources dedicated to these areas will need to be balanced against what is required for the city centre and the city region as a whole.

Analysing patterns of offences over the week and by time of 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. These could result from structural interventions, such as changes to operating hours, or may relate to particular aspects of the business such as the timing of drinks promotions.

Communication Systems

Radio-link systems are now widely used to allow licensed premises, door staff, CCTV operators, taxi marshals and police public order patrols to have a quick and direct line of communication.

Enhanced communication can assist in providing a more rapid response to crimes in progress, early warning of any emerging issues and improved intelligence and evidence gathering as a result of directly targeted CCTV monitoring.

Media Strategies

Campaigns in local media outlets can assist in communicating and raising awareness of alcohol, disorder and public safety issues.

Such campaigns can communicate police knowledge of risk, garner public support for initiatives, and relay positive news of their success.

The content of campaigns might include health information and a list of practical safety measures. The principle of these campaigns is that of providing people with the information they need to make informed choices that can reduce harm to themselves and others as a result of their drinking.

This harm reduction approach is therefore modest in its aims. It acknowledges people's social investment in, and commitment to, heavy sessional drinking cultures whilst seeking to reduce harmful outcomes in the absence of more fundamental changes in attitude.

Police Powers

In some countries and prominently in the UK, recent years have seen the introduction of a large number of new legislative powers and sanctions to address anti-social behaviour, associated with alcohol.

This legislative activity has occurred largely in response to reform of the licensing laws and a context in which, in the absence of effective controls over the availability of alcohol (structural interventions for the NTE), tough measures are required to manage drunkenness in public places on an on-going and routine basis.

These powers can be divided into three categories: person-based, place-based and venue-based. Although they have yet to be fully evaluated, Drink Banning Orders (DBOs) appear to be one of the more promising approaches as they can be used to remove persistent drink-related offenders from all licensed premises within a designated area.

Powers and sanctions will never be effective unless they are correctly implemented and adequately enforced. In England and Wales, the introduction of new legislation has often occurred at the expense of ensuring that sufficient attention and funding is directed toward the implementation and enforcement of existing laws.

Approaches which target 'irresponsible' licensed operators and alcohol 'misusers' (bad apples), and the removal of unruly persons from public places have been deemed the most politically palatable. Whilst prioritisation is always necessary in allocating resources, this has been at the expense of developing longer-term support structures for the NTE and its patrons as a whole

Street Wardens / Ambassadors

As part of the shift toward what is sometimes described as the 'extended policing family,' street wardens employed by local councils, or partnership structures such as

Business Improvement Districts, are increasingly used to augment the uniformed security presence in town and city centres.

A national evaluation of street warden schemes across the UK found the presence of wardens to be a popular local resource that communities value for their intricate understanding, or ‘ownership of an area and their ability to work cross agency demarcations and join-up service provision.

The typical roles of wardens in nightlife areas include:

- being a uniformed visible presence other than the police
- coordinating the provision of local services
- providing reassurance to visitors and local residents
- having a broad responsibility for problem-solving
- supporting the reduction of crime and disorder
- providing enforcement of council byelaws
- supporting the work of taxi marshals
- acting as ambassadors for the city
- supporting the council in delivering its vision, values, aims and objectives.

One of the main challenges for warden schemes can be engaging with communities in support of social inclusion goals, whilst also being agents of enforcement.

In Stirling, Scotland, a team of street wardens and youth workers known as the ‘Street Team’ patrol the city centre at night. Their activities are central to the delivery of community safety in the NTE and include:

Escorting vulnerable people to places of safety or away from the city centre;

Acting as a conduit to the Police and CCTV (via radios), to assist in monitoring of identified vulnerable / violent people or to refer for help / call for assistance;

Engagement and reassurance work with members of the public;

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, to disperse groups, to call or radio other team members to assist.

Third Party Policing (TPP) and Welfare Interventions

City authorities, criminal justice agencies and health professionals are increasingly recognizing that responses to crime, disorder and substance use in the streets of our towns and cities cannot be the sole responsibility of the police and other public services.

Whilst policy agendas have often been dominated by new powers to crack down on anti-social behaviour, a vacuum in the provision of welfare-based and rehabilitative provisions has emerged.

In meeting their responsibilities to reduce crime and protect public health, public sector agencies invariably seek assistance from private individuals, businesses, the voluntary sector, and charitable organisations.

Recent years have increasingly seen street-level policing and welfare activities also conducted by a range of private citizens, referred to here as 'third parties'.

Charities such as the Street Pastors have a rapidly expanding network of projects providing 'citizens patrols'. Projects are established in partnership with Police, local councils and other statutory agencies who provide financial grant aid to the projects.

Conciliatory interventions by third parties in on-street incidents have been found to prevent aggression from escalating into physical violence and are more successful when carried out by multiple third parties than when carried out by one person.

Although peer-reviewed studies of citizens' patrols interventions in the NTE have yet to be conducted, there is scope for optimism concerning their effectiveness for enhancing guardianship and reassurance and assisting in the resolution of low-level conflict situations that might otherwise lead to violence and injury.

Street Pastors (and council-employed street wardens) have been instrumental in removing large quantities of glass from public places which might otherwise have resulted in accidental injuries, or been used as a weapon in street incidents.

In a further element of voluntary sector TPP, so-called 'safe havens' have been established, operating as geographically prominent drop-in centres for people seeking assistance at night.

Clients present for a variety of reasons related to their drink and drug use and for a range of injuries or other welfare requirements. Thus, staff based at the 'safe havens' need to possess the following skills sets: first aid; mental health, working with

substance misuse; handling difficult people/managing conflict; and occupational health and safety awareness.

Safe havens deal with many problems that are not recorded by the police and many issues that lie beyond the core police remit. Clients are able to receive interventions that prevent problems from escalating, thus easing the pressure on police and hospital emergency departments and allowing clients to avoid criminalisation. The facilities have achieved success in accessing to hard-to-reach groups, such as young adult males, who may have problems with their drinking and/or drug use. Staff working at the facilities can refer such people to on-going sources of assistance.

Radio links provide communication between safe haven staff and police, venue door supervisors, the CCTV control centre, and ambulance crews. Some schemes use a 'support vehicle' to collect clients who are injured or in distress and bring them to the project.

Taxi drivers can also play important roles in TPP, helping to disperse crowds and remove people from scenes of danger. They also witness crimes, accidental injuries, and high-risk behaviours involving intoxicated persons and often possess local knowledge and access to communication and tracking technologies.

The staff of late-night takeaways may be a further source of TPP activity, as a group of workers also present at the 'front line' of customer service in the NTE.

Although standard operating practices have been agreed between police and TPP agents on a local ad hoc basis, knowledge/policy transfer remains in its infancy and would benefit immeasurably from attempts to establish working protocols and codify 'best practice'. To allow such guidance to be drafted, systematic evaluations will need to be conducted exploring the effectiveness of TPP initiatives in various nightlife contexts.

Cleaning and Maintaining the Street Scene: Summary of Research

- NTEs present particular service needs in relation to street cleaning, as well as shift organisation and resource challenges so ensure the streets are cleansed following the departure of night-time crowds, but ahead of the arrival of other users the following morning.
- Use of mechanised equipment, or even broom sweeping, is often impractical when streets are thronged with people. At these times perhaps the most that can be achieved is litter picking to contain levels within reasonable bounds before

comprehensive cleaning becomes possible. Councils often speak of a short ‘window of opportunity’ for ensuring that such work is completed.

- Local environmental quality at night and through into the day-time can influence perceptions of the NTE, as well as the impacts it has on those who use it and people using the streets the following day.
- Typical on-street waste includes litter from bar, nightclub and theatre flyers, cigarette packets and ends, fast food detritus, bottles, glasses and cans, together with urine traces in shop doorways and alleys.
- Commercial waste left outside premises overnight for collection is a major cause of night-time litter and adds significantly to the cost of street cleaning.
- Areas in which licensed premises and takeaways are bunched tend to have the highest footfall and consequently place the greatest demand on cleansing teams. The worst of the litter can be found around congregation areas, such as bus stops, club entrances, fast food outlets, and convenience stores.
- It is good practice to ensure that the streets are clean and that bins are emptied at the start of the evening entertainment period. This encourages people to observe normal standards of care by placing litter in bins whilst also assisting the early morning cleansing process.
- The growth of the NTE in small towns, resorts and in city suburbs can place previously unanticipated pressures on the local council’s street cleaning resources.
- In the UK, ‘Street Litter Control Notices’ can be issued requiring businesses to remove litter related to their activities for up to a 100-metre radius from their premises. These powers are little used, however. Few local politicians are sufficiently aware of the scale of the problems caused by overnight littering and seldom question the scale of costs to councils of tackling such issues.
- The Licensing Act 2003 (in England and Wales) allows for a list of operating conditions to be applied to the Premises Licence of a venue (including late-night takeaways). The list could potentially include a requirement for licensed operators to sweep the pavements outside their premises on a regular basis, up until the end of their permitted opening hours.
- Associations of licensed operators will sometimes voluntarily cover the financial costs of additional street cleaning required by the NTE in order to enhance public perceptions of their trading environment.
- Business Improvements Districts (BIDs) for nightlife areas are one vehicle through which such private sector funding streams are being accessed.

Creative Lighting, Space and Events Management: Research Summary

Public perception surveys have found a strong desire for varied nightlife experiences, ranging from quiet venues, to active streets and live music venues.

Current venues and activities in the pub and club scene do not always provide adequate seating and un-crowded conditions, or a feeling of inclusion and relaxation for those outside of young adult social drinking scenes.

There appears to be further unmet demand for venues, social scenes and events that provide a friendly, less frenetic, though not necessarily sober, social environment.

As part of providing an improved support structure for the NTE, councils in many countries are introducing high tech lighting installations that can contribute to the identity of the city, as well as performing the necessary, though mundane, function of illumination.

The creative use of lighting on buildings and in public places can generate interest at night-time and attract people towards and into particular spaces, such as city squares.

With careful planning, the transition from day to evening can be a viable trading period for retailers, and the leisure and hospitality sectors. Working with retailers to agree later closing times and putting on a programme of events can entice workers to stay in the centre a little longer. In addition to the economic opportunities for businesses, this can enhance street life and ease congestion at peak times.

Events that place creative lighting at their heart have emerged influenced by the 'Nuit Blanche' concept, which began in Paris in 2002. These have become regular features of the city calendar in some cases and attract large numbers of visitors who are able to experience familiar urban spaces in new ways.

Creative lighting goes hand-in-hand with the encouragement of a more inclusive ambience through the provision of free festivals and other events in urban public spaces, together with later opening for museums and galleries etc. There is considerable scope for innovation. Music festivals, dance parties in museums, visual arts displays and performance art have all been used to enliven city streets and civic buildings. It may be necessary for local government to make an initial financial investment to help projects get off the ground, before establishing themselves as viable independent business ventures.

A key principle of the Nuit Blanche concept is that of free admission. Such events have successfully attracted audiences who may not often use the city at night, such as families

with children. Such culture-led approaches to urban rejuvenation clearly build upon the ideas of the early 24-hour city protagonists.

The apparent success of Nuit Blanche events in comparison to the over-simplified method of permanently de-regulating licensing hours for alcohol outlets stems from the proactive stance adopted by councils and their business partners. There have been concerted efforts to provide the necessary services and support structures, if only on a temporary basis (a further factor, of course, is that the events themselves do not promote intoxication as their focal point).

As Roberts (2004) notes, these are small steps in cultural advancement but nonetheless offer a middle ground between deregulation on the one hand and a punitive response to drunkenness on the other. An important theme is the 'normalisation' of street life in terms of its social composition and the resultant side effects of this in terms of what might be described as 'soft policing'.

The divide between cultural planning (stimulation) and crime prevention (regulation) is unproductive and needs to be more effectively dissolved by re-conceiving both processes as inevitably linked responses to the multiple uses of urban space. In Britain, at least, we remain some way removed from the 'sanitisation' or 'domestication' of the night-time city, such that the attraction value of a certain 'edginess' is removed.

Despite their promise and theoretical credibility there remains an absence of reliable, comparable and meaningful indicators to evaluate the full social, economic and environmental impacts of Nuit Blanche-style events. This remains an area of contention for funding bodies and organisations in the voluntary, public and private sectors.

Different sections of society will continue to use city centre nightlife facilities in different ways, depending upon their needs and particular circumstances. It is quite feasible, for example, that the same person who might bring their child along to a Nuit Blanche-style event might also visit the city as part of a large single-sex group following a sports event. In these latter circumstances, the purposes of staying on in the city centre may be very different and revolve more around alcohol. For such reasons, it is unhelpful to think of potential audiences as easily fitting into two opposing camps: the respectable and the potentially disreputable. City management for the 21st century must place objective risk assessment, harm reduction, and the anticipation of usage at its heart, rather than any moral judgments concerning the lifestyle choices of the consumer.

Diversification of a city's after dark offer need not be linked to occasional 'events' but rather be built into the city's weekly routine on a permanent basis. Night markets, 'pop-up events' and DIY venues can be very effective in promoting street activation and are an important means through which night-time street life can be 'normalised'. Night markets in particular involve inserting a form of activity usually associated with the day-time that is both accessible and of interest to a large proportion of the community.

The offering of additional late-night sittings in restaurants would provide, at a stroke, much enhanced options for night visitors and hotel guests who may also be involved in other activities such as evening shopping and visiting cultural attractions such as theatres and cinemas.

In order to achieve their full potential all such offers need to be supported by design and service interventions such as enhanced public transport throughout the night (with good connectivity between different urban hubs) and adequate outdoor seating and toilet facilities. Free wi fi and the development of apps offering guidance to visitors on night-time attractions can be further ways to encourage the diverse use of city spaces.

Contrary to the position adopted by the early 24-hour city proponents, experience has shown that, far from being an obstacle to the promotion of positive visions for the NTE, tight and effective regulation, policing and enforcement is a pre-requisite to moving beyond the 'crime focus'. With these solid foundations in place the remaining challenge is to build-in the additional levels of support and service that a successful NTE requires. All of these elements require careful planning and coordination, partnership working, long-term aims and objectives, sustainable funding streams, proactive monitoring and implementation, public support, and political will.

We are some way from being able to assess from the results of published evaluation studies exactly which forms of diversification planning might work best and where. Nonetheless, city action plans which seek to activate dead areas and open up the city at night to a wider constituency seems likely only to enhance rather than reduce the appeal of nightlife for the majority of citizens.

Developing Sustainable and Evidence-Based Policies

Multi-Component Programmes for the NTE: Evaluation Checklist

1. What initiatives have been developed to respond to alcohol-related crime, disorder and public nuisance impacts, or to promote design and service interventions in support of the NTE and what is the logic behind them?
2. Do these initiatives respond to local needs, as clearly identified in local data sets, research and data monitoring, over time? How have particular interventions performed in other settings? Does successful policy transfer appear likely given the comparability of settings and local needs?
3. How does each individual initiative form (or not form) part of a more holistic intervention or strategy for the NTE?
4. Have processes of evaluation been built in to the development and implementation of individual initiatives and the programme as a whole?
5. How effective is each individual intervention and how do different interventions interact?
6. What measures are used to assess effectiveness and how can they be improved?
7. What are the opportunities for building data collection in each intervention and for establishing protocols for each agency to share their data with partner agencies working within the programme?
8. What effects might interventions from other sources beyond the programme, such as national legislation and commercial practices, be exerting on the effective implementation of individual initiatives and the programme as a whole?
9. What is the extent of community awareness of and attitudes towards interventions within the programme?
10. Can new innovations be piloted on the basis of robust theoretical principles and empirical monitoring developed within the programme?

1. Introduction to the Review

Background

Visitors to Sydney are attracted by the diversity, number and concentration of night-time options which make the city one of the leading night-time destinations in the Asia-Pacific region. This vibrancy generates significant economic benefits for the local, NSW and national economy. Yet, the level of activity in Sydney's night-time economy (NTE) is not without its costs. Alcohol and associated intoxication, anti-social behaviour and violence have a significant impact on policing resources, ambulance call outs, public amenity and public health. Most importantly they may affect the city's reputation as a safe, global destination. Incidents of 'non-domestic violence related assault' recorded by the NSW police for the years 2006-2010 indicate that Sydney had the second highest rate of alcohol-related incidents per 100,000 of population in NSW, by Local Government Area¹. Local observational research suggests that nightlife is currently clustered in three main areas of the city: East Sydney/Darlinghurst/Kings Cross; George St./the Circular Quay CBD; and Darling Harbour². Crime mapping by the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (BOCSAR) indicates that these centres of activity are correlated with the location of hotspots for 'non-domestic violence related assault', especially in the case of the first two areas, although slightly less so in the case of Darling Harbour. Commentary on the latest published mapping exercise (2009) notes how:

*A large proportion of these offences occur on Sunday morning (between 12 am and 6 am: 16% of incidents), and Saturday morning (between 12 am and 6 am: 11% of incidents). Forty-six per cent of incidents occurred outdoors; 20% in licensed premises; and 10% in residential premises. Fifty-four per cent of incidents are alcohol-related.*³

Objectives of the Report

The Council of the City of Sydney are in the process of devising a 'Night-time City Policy' (NTCP) that will provide a 20-year vision for the future sustainable development of Sydney's NTE. As part of the planning process for the NTCP the City has commissioned this 'International Evidence Literature Review'. The report has three central objectives:

- 1. To identify models within the sphere of local government policy (and other tiers of government, or sources of influence) which improve the functionality of the NTE (also identifying models that have been less**

¹NSW Bureau of Crime, 2011.

²Tomsen, 2010.

³NSW Bureau of Crime, 2010.

successful).⁴

2. **To identify contextual and jurisdictional issues that may contribute to the success or failure of these NTE models. This will include attempts to effectively balance the different needs and expectations of multiple stakeholders and day and night-time land uses.**
3. **To make recommendations as to what models or themes may be most appropriate for the City to pursue in developing and sustaining the NTCP, whilst highlighting those that are not recommended.**

The international research literature on the night-time economy is extensive and features great heterogeneity in study design and purpose, outcome measure, and treatment of the data. The scoping of research and its findings are greatly influenced by contextual and jurisdictional issues pertaining to the identification of pertinent research questions and the divergent cultural and situational factors one encounters across different countries, regions, cities, neighbourhoods and social scenes⁵. The key objective of this report is to review existing peer reviewed literature from the following Australian and international sources:

1. Scholarly/academic journals in the social sciences (including criminology, sociology, social psychology, alcohol and drug research), public health, town planning/urban geography and epidemiology;
2. Books (research studies and edited collections in the above disciplines) from academic publishers;
3. Research publications from official government sources and from regulatory agencies and partnerships.

The review also draws upon what is sometimes referred to as the 'grey' literature, i.e.:

1. Consultancy reports to local government / police authorities etc;
2. Reports commissioned and published by NGOs, pressure groups, charities and business interests;
3. Policy statements of local or central governments, informed by the results of non-peer reviewed research and/or public consultation exercises etc.

Scholarly books and articles have typically been subject to a process of 'quality control' through the process of being reviewed by anonymous and independent subject experts before they are accepted for publication. However, this peer-reviewed literature is often addressed primarily to academic / theoretical debates and has less to say about the practical concerns and complex, applied problem solving of city government. Very important policy lessons can be drawn from the peer-reviewed literature, yet these lessons often need to be distilled by the well-informed reader as

⁴Approaches to the design and operation of licensed premises themselves do not fall within the scope of this review. Chapter 8 provides a pointer toward existing comprehensive literature reviews on these topics such as those by Graham and Homel, (2008) and Hadfield, (2004).

⁵Hadfield, P. (2009a)

they are not made explicit by the original author/s.

The grey literature, by contrast, tends to have this much more policy-oriented content but is sometimes subject to the charge that it lacks objectivity (perhaps serving to further the interests or cause of its sponsors) and the element of quality control. Whilst the grey literature might be ignored were there a wealth of peer-reviewed sources addressing the day-to-day city management options for local government, this reviewer is of the opinion that this is not currently the case. Moreover, despite the global economic recession encouraging research funding bodies to promote ‘knowledge transfer’, ‘policy impact’, ‘dissemination’ and ‘value for money’ as key criteria for research grants it seems unlikely that research priorities, funding streams and academic culture will ever become aligned with the concerns of policymakers and practitioners to the extent that key strategic planning for the NTE can be justified purely on the basis of scientific peer-reviewed evidence, and even less so on those studies that conform to the methodological ‘gold standard’ of Randomised Control Trials’ (RCTs)⁶. This review therefore adopts a necessarily pragmatic approach, critically engaging with the grey literature in the case of important topic areas where peer-reviewed sources are few, emergent, or non-existent.

Evaluation and research literature pertaining to contemporary European contexts outside of the UK and Scandinavia, for example, is sparse, the majority of the research output emanating from the English-speaking world⁷. This review draws on the author’s previous experience as sole editor of *Nightlife and Crime: Social Order and Governance in International Perspective* (2009) Oxford: Oxford University Press, a collection of research literature review essays from 34 authors in 17 countries around the world. The report also draws upon his contributions to international research collaborations, the editorship of scientific journals and academic peer review activity.

The City of Sydney has commissioned a concurrent empirical research study analysing the economic ‘cost v benefits’ of nightlife activity in Sydney by drawing upon area-specific primary and secondary data (both quantitative and qualitative). The brief for this commission usefully sets out the current diversity within the commercial activities that comprise the NTE which:

... include (but are not limited to) restaurants, cultural institutions, small bars, theatres, nightclubs, pubs, retail, street buskers, take away food shops, taxis, live music, harbour cruises, party buses, tattoo parlours, accommodation, hairdressers,

⁶RCTs involve a formal trial or evaluation study in which participants, or individual units of a population/phenomenon under study are randomly assigned to two or more groups: at least one (the experimental group) receiving the intervention that is being tested and an other (the comparison, or control group) receiving an alternative treatment, placebo, or no intervention at all. This design allows assessment of the relative effects of interventions. RCTs and systematic reviews of RCTs are commonly regarded as the best available evidence as to the effectiveness of interventions and thus the best evidence available to inform policy decisions.

⁷Hadfield (2009a); Hughes *et al.*, (2010; 2011); Jones *et al.*, (2011); Recasens, (2007)

*walking tours, casinos, gyms, brothels, global stock markets, service industries, art galleries, night markets, supermarkets, convenience stores and many other activities of a commercial nature*⁸.

The diversity and number of these various commercial activities underlines Sydney's status as a major global city. It demonstrates that the extent of visitor engagement and demand generated by a large local and regional population are such as to create many social, economic and cultural opportunities not available to local government in smaller towns and cities. At the same time, the extent of activity in the NTE generates the need for major efforts by local government to ensure effective management and service provision in areas of urban planning, design and infrastructure, policing, regulation, enforcement and health care. This review seeks to compliment and inform the 'cost v benefit' analysis - as well as further research commissioned by the City which includes public and stakeholder consultation and detailed precinct-level profiling of pedestrian volumes, recorded crime, congestion and transport usage in late-night entertainment areas - by drawing examples of effective practice from around the world.

Chapter Outline and Rationale

The following chapters of the report will firstly, examine the role of alcohol in society and its public health dimensions. Particular attention will be paid to comparisons between Australia and the UK (as it is from these countries that much of the research literature on the NTE derives and in which nightlife has emerged as a key public policy priority), as well as the situation pertaining in other countries. Evidence concerning the specific drinking practices of NTE users will be examined including a review of literature regarding 'pre-loading', that is, drinking alcohol purchased from bottle shop sources ahead of a night out as part of a heavy sessional drinking style. The chapter concludes by exploring the options for incorporating a greater role for public health professionals in data sharing and strategic decision-making for the NTE, alongside their essential work in frontline service delivery.

The second substantive chapter (Chapter 3) will be concerned with responding to heavy episodic drinking in the NTE. This will be examined in terms of responsible operating practices by licensed venues themselves, the licensed industry's capacity to self regulate and their response to initiatives which seek to 'reward' compliance. The chapter then considers the issues surrounding enforcement activity, the importance of effective enforcement and its relationship to partnership structures involving local government, licensed retailers and police as key stakeholders (amongst others) in multi-component community safety and amenity programmes.

⁸City of Sydney, 2011.

Chapter 4 reviews the evidence regarding NTE management and the public realm. It summarises current knowledge from research and practice regarding the social and economic profiling of nightlife areas (including issues of diversity and homogeneity). A particular theme is that of theories that help explain risk factors for crime and disorder, linked to the structure of facilities and use patterns in the night-time city.

Chapter 5 then considers a range of licensing-based approaches (structural interventions) concerning the density of liquor outlets, the terminal trading hours of outlets and the resultant noise environment. Different types of premises are considered in terms of their range of impacts.

Design and service interventions for the NTE as then discussed in Chapter 6, including CCTV, street lighting, public transport and roads policies, policing and street cleansing. Attention is also paid to the opportunities for enlivening the city after dark through the creative use of space, lighting and public events.

Chapter 7 examines the type of partnership structures and protocols that may need to be in place to ensure policy development and implementation is both effective and sustainable. This will be discussed in terms of data collection and sharing, and the planning and monitoring of initiatives to ensure that policy measures for the NTE can be evaluated on the basis of firm and up-to-date evidence.

In the final chapter of this report (Chapter 8) key lessons from the research will be summarised and conclusions drawn. The scope and limitations of the review in terms of drawing recommendations will be discussed. Finally, the options for working towards the drafting of an 'Action Plan' for the implementation of key measures that may be most appropriate for the City to pursue within the framework of its NTCP will be discussed.

In what follows, each substantive chapter of this report will:

Review literature explaining the key issues impacting upon NTEs

Review literature highlighting the policy options arising from these key issues

Consider how particular models have succeeded or failed in different international contexts and jurisdictions.

2. Public Health and the Night-time Economy

Background

The World Health Organisation (WHO) *Global Status Report on Alcohol and Health* (2011) presents a comprehensive picture of global, regional and country-specific data on the consumption of alcohol, patterns of drinking, health consequences and policy responses in its 193 Member States. Findings are derived from the Global Information System on Alcohol and Health⁹ which encompasses more than 200 alcohol-related indicators.

WHO data show the highest average alcohol consumption levels to be found in the developed world, mostly the Northern Hemisphere, but also in Argentina, Australia and New Zealand. Medium levels of consumption are found in southern Africa, with Namibia and South Africa having the highest levels, and in North and South America. Low consumption levels are characteristic of the countries of North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean region, and southern Asia and the Indian Ocean. These regions have large Muslim populations, which have very high rates of abstinence.

Much alcohol use by young adults takes place in public drinking settings, such as pubs, bars and nightclubs, and sometimes on the streets. Well-managed licensed premises can provide some level of social protection for drinkers (e.g. denying further alcohol to intoxicated patrons), yet will be discussed in Chapter 4, the convergence of large numbers of drinkers in public places creates conditions conducive to harm (e.g. confrontation and encounters with aggressive strangers). As a result, public health practitioners are increasingly acknowledging nightlife settings as important contexts for preventative action.

Commentaries on the NTE often draw similarities between the UK and Australia, indeed a high proportion of the research literature emanates from these two countries. This chapter will, at various points, seek to draw out relevant comparators. In the latest available WHO figures for the period 2003-2005 (WHO, 2011), the recorded per capita average consumption for adults (persons aged over 15 years) in litres of pure alcohol was lower in Australia than the United Kingdom. The 'total consumption' average for UK adults was 13.37 in comparison with 10.02 amongst Australians. Nonetheless, both countries share similar overall profiles in terms of the types of beverages chosen by proportion of this total. Average beer consumption by UK adults was 4.93 litres (4.56 in Australia) and the corresponding figures for other beverage types were: Wine (3.53 v 3.12), Spirits (2.41 v 1.16) and 'Other' beverages (0.67 v 1.02). *Drinking patterns in Australia, 2001–2007* a report from the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2010) presenting analysis of alcohol-related data

⁹<http://www.who.int/globalatlas/alcohol> accessed 4 April 2011.

from three National Drug Strategy Household (NDSH) Surveys (2001, 2004 and 2007) found the most preferred alcoholic beverage among male drinkers to be regular-strength beer, with bottled wine the most popular drink among females. The WHO study places both the UK and Australia in the same ranked categories in relation to their (low) levels of abstention from drinking. The WHO analysis of five-year change in per capita alcohol use for the years 2001–2005 also ranks both countries as having ‘stable’ levels of consumption.

In a recent article for the *Medical Journal of Australia*, Chikritzhs *et al.* (2010) re-examined statistics recording the national trend in per capita consumption (PCC) of alcohol for Australians aged 15 years and older, for the financial years 1990–91 to 2008–09. The authors suggest that until recently (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010) the officially recorded annual totals of PCC of alcohol were underestimated, this conveying the mistaken impression that levels of alcohol consumption had been stable since the early-1990s. Australia’s total PCC had in reality been increasing significantly over time because of a gradual increase in the alcohol content and market share of wine. Once recalculated, the authors suggest, one finds that PCC is now at one of its highest points since 1991–92.

In the UK, the latest figures from the General Lifestyle Survey 2008 (Robinson and Bugler, 2010) and 2009 (Robinson and Harris 2011) indicates that levels of alcohol consumption, especially in the 16-24 year old age group, have fallen from their peak around 2001. However, as in Australia, there is a need to be cautious in interpreting the evidence at face value. Methods of estimating units of alcohol were revised from 2006 onwards, effectively doubling the units of alcohol calculated for a glass of wine. The revised method of alcohol unit calculation was introduced because of the trend for using larger sizes of wine glasses and the increasing strength of wine, beer and lager, which were not accounted for by the original methods of unit calculation. This was thought to contribute to an underestimation of alcohol consumption in surveys (Smith and Foxcroft, 2009). One also needs to consider the possible tendency for respondents to under-report consumption because of heightened publicity over the dangers of alcohol and associated pressure to moderate behavior. For the younger age group specifically, a declining level of participation by 16-24 year olds in UK General Lifestyle Surveys may also have contributed to an overestimation of consumption falls (Robinson and Bugler, 2010). These factors make it difficult to provide directly comparable data for the early and late- 2000s. Nonetheless, the general consensus in research and policy commentaries is that UK alcohol consumption has stabilised since the second half of the first decade of the 21st century. For Australia, Chikritzhs *et al.*, (2010: 1) suggest that the new information on PCC “...is consistent with evidence of increasing alcohol-related harm and highlights the need for timely and accurate data on alcohol sales and harms across Australia” of a type that is not currently collected. The authors go on to recommend the adoption of WHO guidelines concerning public health monitoring of alcohol use that should include credible estimates of per capita consumption derived from alcohol sales data, in addition to population surveys of drinking patterns.

At a Pan-European level, reducing alcohol consumption and related harm amongst young people has become a major public health priority¹⁰. Young Europeans typically consume greater quantities of alcohol per drinking session than older drinkers¹¹, and there are now high proportions of self-reported heavy sessional drinking and drunkenness across a broad range of regions¹². These drinking patterns are reflected in the disproportionate burden of alcohol-related harm amongst younger Europeans. The Survey evidence suggests that drinking frequency in the UK peaked around 2002 and has since decreased at the national level – in terms of both weekly consumption levels and binge drinking, particularly amongst young people and younger adults (Measham and Østergaard 2009; Robinson and Harris 2011; Smith and Foxcroft, 2009). Although overall alcohol consumption in Britain may have stabilised at the population level, concern about drinking has not diminished and attention continues to focus on the manner in which people are drinking. ‘Drinking to get drunk’ remains a prominent cultural norm, being associated with a greater risk of problematic outcomes in young, especially single, adults generally (Goddard, 2006, Pincock, 2003, Engineer, *et al.*, 2003). Heavy episodic or ‘binge’ drinking to a state of drunkenness, and frequent drinking are associated with a range of adverse short and long term consequences for individuals and their communities.

Such patterns appear to be emerging at earlier ages, with the average units consumed by British under-16 year olds increasing markedly between 1990 and 2006, although again, this has shown signs of leveling off in more recent years (Smith and Foxcroft, 2009). Also of note is the development of a more bi-partite pattern of alcohol use with increasing numbers of abstainers in the UK since the millennium. The proportion of the general population who reported that they do not drink alcohol has increased from 10% in 1998 to 15% in 2009 (Robinson and Harris 2011). Although this increase in abstainers can be partially explained by the rise of multi-culturalism, especially in the two largest UK cities (London and Birmingham), this is unlikely to fully account for the growing numbers of abstainers. According to the European School Survey Project on Alcohol and Other Drugs (hereafter ESPAD) (Hibell, *et al.*, 2009), the UK has been among the top five youth binge drinking European nations since the beginning of the 1990s although, in line with measures of total per capita consumption, there is evidence of stability and decline in the most recently published survey.

The acute consequences of these drinking styles in public nightlife settings can include aggression, sexual assault, public disorder, non-intentional injury, and road traffic accidents¹³. At a European level, over 25% of deaths in 15-29-year-old males and more than 10% in females are associated with alcohol use, occurring largely through violence, road traffic accidents and unintentional injuries¹⁴. Although drinking patterns vary widely across Europe, many countries have seen increasing levels of hazardous and harmful alcohol consumption in young people in recent

¹⁰ Commission of the European Communities (2006)

¹¹ Mäkelä, *et al.*, (2006)

¹² Andersson, *et al.*, (2007); Bellis, *et al.*, (2008)

¹³ Luke, (2002); Moore, Perham *et al.*, (2007).

¹⁴ Anderson and Baumberg, (2006)

years¹⁵. Even in countries such as Italy, Portugal and France, where drinking cultures have been traditionally characterised by regular moderate consumption with meals¹⁶, prevalence of heavy episodic drinking in 15-16-year-olds has increased over the last decade, as measured by ESPAD, which records reported consumption of five or more drinks on one occasion¹⁷. Those surveyed in the last published sweep of this survey (figures for 2007) are now young adults of an age to partake in nightlife. This has raised concerns that drinking patterns associated typically with northern European cultures, including determined drunkenness, ie. consuming alcohol primarily for the purpose of experiencing its intoxicating effects, are spreading throughout Europe¹⁸.

In the WHO (2011) analysis of the extent to which reported drinking patterns in 62 Member States conformed to this heavy episodic model, Australia was ranked in the second lowest category for males and the lowest category for females. However, a 2007 survey by the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2008) found one in five respondents over the age of 14, including nearly half (44%) of young men and around a third of young women aged 20–29 years, reported drinking in ‘risky’ ways monthly, or more often¹⁹. More recently, a national (excluding Northern Territory) online survey conducted in Australia by the Alcohol Education and Rehabilitation Foundation (AER Foundation, *Annual Alcohol Poll: Community Attitudes and Behaviours*, 2011) found the majority (61%) of ‘Generation Y’ (18-29 years) drinkers consuming alcohol to get drunk, whilst one-in-ten of the overall sample of 1,009 respondents aged 18 years and over²⁰ reported drinking to get drunk at least once a week. The research also found: “a significant increase in the number of regular drinkers who think that Australians have a problem with alcohol, with 78% of regular drinkers reporting this, up from 59% in 2010”.

For young adults, drinking to intoxication enables opportunities for social interaction and the building of a sense of belonging through recognition and approval by in-group members. Socialisation and drinking can become intertwined to the extent that drinking is viewed as an end in itself, suggesting that the pursuit of intoxication is a desired aspect of the Australian (Lindsay *et al.*, 2009; Roche *et al.*, 2007; 2009) and UK (Griffin *et al.*, 2009; Measham and Brain, 2005; Parker, 2007) leisure experience. When one considers the extent of pressure to conform amongst young people’s peer groups, it is not surprising that the pursuit of intoxication has become a powerful and arguably dominant norm within young people’s social activity repertoire²¹.

¹⁵ Anderson and Baumberg, (ibid)

¹⁶ Mäkelä, *et al.*, (2006)

¹⁷ Hibell, *et al.*, (2009)

¹⁸ Järvinen and Room, (2007)

¹⁹ Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2008). For the purpose of this survey, ‘short-term risk’ of harm (particularly injury or death) was associated with reported levels of drinking on any drinking occasion. For adult males, the consumption of up to 6 standard drinks on a single occasion was considered ‘Low risk’, 7 to 10 per occasion ‘Risky’, and 11 or more per occasion ‘High risk’. For adult females, the consumption of up to 4 standard drinks on a single occasion was considered ‘Low risk’, 5 to 6 per occasion ‘Risky’, and 7 or more per day ‘High risk’.

²⁰ The sample was weighted by age, gender and location, based on Australian Bureau of Statistics population estimates to the national population.

²¹ This is not to say that alternative identity positions for young people do not exist outside of the cultural norm. Abstinent or restrained positions can be maintained as a result of strong attachment to

Qualitative research with young adults in the UK NTE, however, has revealed the extent to which this heavy episodic drinking involves a ‘controlled loss of control’, that is, it usually forms part of an otherwise conventional lifestyle in which exploration of the pleasures of intoxication is restrained or ‘bounded’ by the recognition of the responsibilities and health and welfare concerns of daily life (Measham, 2004; Measham and Brain, 2005).

The Australian National Alcohol Strategy (Commonwealth of Australia, 2006, extended to 2011) emphasises the ‘facilitation of safer and healthier drinking cultures’. Priority Area 4 of the Strategy aspires to reduce the incidence of heavy sessional drinking by way of encouraging an ethics of moderation, especially among the at-risk young adult cohort. The edict of a ‘safe and healthier drinking culture’ seeks to de-normalise the current status quo of intoxication and related anti-social behaviour, promoting a national consensus regarding healthy alcohol consumption (National Preventative Health Taskforce, 2009). At the same time, however, the availability of alcohol has proliferated in recent decades, due in part to a relaxation of laws governing the issuing of liquor licences to reflect National Competition Policy (NCP) principles. The aims of the NCP in relation to the sale and supply of alcohol are potentially at odds with those state and territory Liquor Acts for which the minimisation of harm is a primary or secondary objective (Chikritzhs, 2009a).

Poly-Drug Use

In relation to NTE management and the issue of poly-drug use, it is difficult to draw generalisable lessons from what remains a small literature in terms of applicability to policy. This is because the range of substances being consumed and mixed by nightlife patrons is now extensive and varies considerably between social scenes. Recent British surveys conducted in-situ in nightclub environments have noted the emergence of mephedrone and a range of ‘legal (or formerly legal) highs’ as emerging popular drugs of choice alongside more established illegal drugs such as cannabis/skunk, cocaine and ecstasy²². However, it is difficult to draw regional, let alone, national and international conclusions as to usage patterns, as even at the city level, substance choices are likely to vary between the users of bars and nightclubs, and between different music scenes, including across different events hosted within the same licensed premises²³. This suggests the need to improve our understanding of the subtle patterns of drug taking in order to inform policy and shape education and harm reduction strategies. Given the diversity and fragmentation of drug use trends the central message of the evidence points to the need for in-depth local level research

other lifestyle choices, ambitions and beliefs including those related to religion and family, sporting endeavour, health concerns and career (Fry, 2010; Valentine *et al.*, 2010).

²²Measham, *et al.*, (2011a, 2011b)

²³Measham and Moore, (2009); Demetrovics, (2009)

in order to identify use patterns and associated harms for which appropriate local level responses might then be devised.

Some of the most consistent evidence surrounds cocaine use and its mixing with alcohol. This has been linked to greater levels of social and physiological harm than the use of either substance individually; including propensities to violence²⁴. This is a significant issue in some areas due to the high prevalence of cocaine use in licensed premises. An in-situ study of bar customers in Manchester, UK, for example, found that one in 20 reported consuming cocaine on the night of the survey²⁵. A further survey of drug and poly-drug use in the NTE of Lancashire towns and cities found reported use of cocaine on the fieldwork night amongst 6% of respondents. Cocaine was second only to cannabis as the most common drug to combine with alcohol on a night out in Lancashire²⁶. In terms of the effects and significance of this form of poly-drug use, the results of around 1000 drug tests taken at the police station by Greater Manchester Police between August 2007 and March 2008 show that between a quarter and a third of people arrested for violence had snorted powder cocaine before becoming involved in a fight²⁷.

The policy arena is particularly complex in responding to recreational drug use in and around licensed premises as there are often conflicting concerns regarding effective law enforcement in relation to the possession and use of illegal substances and the need to communicate harm minimisation messages to nightlife audiences and venue operators without appearing to condone illegal activity. In 2002, a document entitled '*Safer Clubbing: Guidance for Licensing Authorities, Club Managers and Promoters*' was drawn up by the UK Home Office and the London Drugs Forum, in partnership with drugs charity Release²⁸ which attempted to bridge this gap by offering pragmatic advice. This guidance has not been updated to keep pace with the rapidly changing substance choices of nightlife users within dispersed and fragmented social scenes. A UK survey by Measham *et al.*, (2011b), for example, found that the popularity of mephedrone now surpassed that of other drugs, despite having been banned by the UK government prior to the survey being conducted. The researchers concluded that "early adopters" of drug trends appeared to be undeterred by the legal classification of emergent psychoactive substances. Given the global nature of the trade in 'legal highs', this study has implications for other countries where mephedrone use is emerging.

One reason for the relative inactivity of city authorities around the world in responding to illegal drug use in comparison to alcohol is that there has been comparatively little evidence of a link with general public disorder in nightlife, nor is there any legitimate source of supply toward which action to improve standards might

²⁴ Macdonald, *et al.* (2008); Morris, (2010); Pennings, *et al.*, (2002); Schnitzer *et al.* (2010).

²⁵ Measham and Moore, (ibid)

²⁶ Measham, *et al.*, (2011a)

²⁷ Daly, (2009)

²⁸ Webster, *et al.*, (2002)

be applied²⁹. This can mean that recreational drug users face a vacuum in service provision precisely because they are not seen as a threat to wider society. Yet, the potential for acute and chronic public health issues to arise in association with nightlife-related substance use are considerable when one considers that many of the new ‘legal highs’ (such as MDAI and NRG-1) and Performance and Image Enhancing Drugs (PIEDS) (such as anabolic steroids and human growth hormone) are of variable content, purity and potency, with misbranding adding to risks for customers of consuming unknown substances³⁰.

In response to concerns over an increase in combined alcohol and cocaine use in 2009, the London Borough of Havering, Drugs and Alcohol Action Team launched a 12-week campaign entitled ‘Project Weekend’. The campaign involved informing the general public and the licensed trade about the harmful side effects and physical dangers of this form of poly-drug use. Pocket-sized information cards were handed out in pubs and clubs. Publicity material was also distributed in the streets, in treatment agencies, and displayed on a central town centre billboard. Licensed premises assisted by putting up campaign posters and their staff received guidance in developing an anti-drugs strategy, whilst being trained in how to deal with health incidents arising from substance use. Evaluation of the project involved follow-up interviews with members of the public and over 90% of respondents reported having seen the literature. The majority of interviewees were also able to articulate the key messages of the campaign. The project was therefore judged to be a success in that it had raised awareness of the health messages around combined alcohol and cocaine use³¹.

The Pan-European ‘Club Health’ project is a three-year research programme financed by the European Commission under its ‘Health Programme 2008-2013’. The project is involved in identifying, promoting and disseminating best practice in the field of club drug harm minimisation internationally and contains a work package on ‘Health and Safety Standards in Nightlife’ coordinated by IREFREA (The European Institute of Studies on Prevention) Palma de Mallorca, Spain. The work package is involved in preparing, testing and disseminating guidelines on health and safety standards developed through evaluation conducted in partnership with club operators. The aim is to promote the incorporation of these standards into legislation and licensing procedures for venues and events internationally. Previous European Commission research investment has led to the launch of an on-line resource known as the ‘Healthy Nightlife Toolbox’ (HNT) hosted by The Trimbos Instituut (Netherlands). The HNT website provides access to a ‘Handbook’ providing health harm reduction advice for venues, promoters and regulatory agencies responding to club scene substance use³².

²⁹ Violence surrounding the control of drug markets is, of course, an important aspect of NTE governance, especially where it involves the infiltration and/or participation of door supervisors. See Hobbs, *et al.*, (2003).

³⁰ Brandt, *et al.*, (2010), cited in Measham, *et al.*, (2011a); Hall and Margetts, (2011).

³¹ JAG, (2009)

³² <http://www.hnt-info.eu/default.aspx>; Trimbos Instituut (2010)

In terms of taking action to respond to drug use / poly drug use in the NTE locally, the starting point must always be to conduct research providing insight into drug consumption patterns, levels of harm and sources of supply at a city/regional level. Such research would need to be sufficiently nuanced to account for social scene-level variations.

NTE Drinking Practices: Regional and City Level Variations

In the UK, one alcohol unit is currently measured as 10ml or 8g of pure alcohol - the amount of alcohol the average adult can process within an hour³³. As an example, the typical bottle of wine contains nine units of alcohol. However, today's sophisticated drinks market means that the unit content of the drinks we consume can vary significantly according to brand and quantity (see the online 'unit calculator' provided by *Drinkaware*, the drinks' industry social responsibility organisation³⁴. 'Binge drinking' is defined by the UK's Department of Health as drinking more than double the recommended daily amount of two to three units for women and three to four units for men. In Australia, the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) (2009) *Australian Guidelines to Reduce Health Risks from Drinking Alcohol* advise that for healthy men and women: "drinking no more than two standard drinks (20g of pure alcohol) on any day reduces the lifetime risk of harm from alcohol-related disease or injury", whilst "drinking no more than four standard drinks (40g pure alcohol) on a single occasion reduces the risk of alcohol-related injury arising from that occasion". The UK health guidance is therefore more liberal, allowing for up to 48g of pure alcohol for women and 64g for men per day as falling within recommended levels. In the AER Foundation survey (2011), just over half of Australian adults (54%) reported being aware of the NHMRC's Guidelines, although relatively few (12%) were familiar with their content.

The Australian guidelines have the advantage of distinguishing between two important components of a person's total consumption: drinking frequency and average quantity per occasion. As regular 'light' drinking has different effects from heavy sessional drinking, two apparently equal overall levels of drinking may lead to different outcomes³⁵. These different outcomes are important in policy terms, as drinking to intoxication is a major mechanism through which alcohol causes harm. Certainly, in terms of NTE management, it is the large numbers of people who are brought together and provided with opportunities – and sometimes inducements – to drink to intoxication which generates the main risks of crime, incivility, injury, and ill-health (Hadfield, 2006; Wikström, 1995). As Babor et al. (2010:33) note, "cultures

³³The equivalent measurement in Australia is the 'standard drink' at 10g of pure alcohol (National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC)) (2009).

³⁴<http://www.drinkaware.co.uk/tips-and-tools/drink-diary/> accessed 28 April 2011.

³⁵See Babor et al. (2010: 33)

vary in the extent to which drinking to intoxication is a characteristic of the drinking pattern” although this is a more stable feature of a culture’s drinking patterns than consumption levels overall. Moreover, there are important variations between regions within the same country in terms of the amounts of alcohol consumed³⁶ and in relation to the extent to which people’s drinking conforms to the heavy sessional pattern³⁷. To further complicate matters there are also often important differences in drinking styles across different social scenes *within* regions³⁸. Cultures differ in how intoxicated people become, in how they behave while intoxicated, and in the acceptability of different forms of ‘drunken comportment’³⁹.

The latest average weekly consumption of alcohol figures for the general UK population is 12 units of alcohol as recorded in the General Lifestyle Survey, 2009 (Robinson and Harris, 2011). Gender differences in binge drinking are less apparent in young adults than older adults: 24% of 16-24 year old men and women in the UK reported binge drinking (drinking over eight and six units of alcohol, respectively) at least once during the previous week. Amongst 25-44 year olds, 27% of men and 19% of women reported binge drinking at least once during the previous week and amongst 45-65 year olds, 21% of men and 11% of women reported binge drinking once during the previous week. Hughes *et al.*’s (2007) in-situ survey of 380 nightlife users (aged 18-35 years) in a city in north-west England found that more than 90% of both males and females typically ‘binged’ on a night out. The average (mean) alcohol consumption recorded was 23.7 units for men and 16.3 units for women. In a follow-up study, data was derived from on-street surveys in three cities (Manchester, Liverpool and Chester). In this case, the total mean (average) alcohol consumption that respondents reported they intended to consume over the course of their night out was higher, at 27.2 units for males and 16.5 units for females⁴⁰. National statistics for England and Wales reveal increasing proportions of abstainers amongst the general population, as well as increasing numbers who are drinking more heavily⁴¹. In the Hughes *et al.* (2007) sample a slightly higher proportion of males than females reported drinking alcohol only ‘occasionally’ (5.6% male, 4.9% female) or ‘never’ (1.5% male, 1.1% female) on a night out. The trend towards generally heavier drinking by males in these Northern English studies is matched by findings from recent surveys in the London Boroughs of Camden and Lambeth (albeit with significantly lower levels of overall consumption)⁴².

In the Hadfield *et al.* (2010) research, important differences between the two study areas of the Borough of Camden were found, with average reported consumption of 16.7 units for men and 10.4 units for women recorded for Area A and 11.7 units for

³⁶APHO, (2007); NWPHO, (2011)

³⁷Shelton and Savell, (2011)

³⁸Valentine *et al.*, (2011)

³⁹McAndrew and Edgerton, (1969); Room and Mäkelä (2000)

⁴⁰Hughes *et al.* (2009)

⁴¹Measham, (2008)

⁴²Hadfield *et al.*, (2010), Ward *et al.* (2010)

men and 8.6 units for women in Area B. 14.8% of men and 4% of women in our sample reported drinking over 21 units on the night they were surveyed (19.8% of men and 5.1% of women in Area A and 7.5% of men and 1.9% of women in Area B. Although lower than the levels recorded in the north-west English studies, this is well above recommended daily levels. Furthermore, 14.9% of respondents reported visiting Area A or Area B to drink three nights a week or more and 54.8% said that they intended to continue drinking after completion of the survey, indicating that total alcohol consumption was likely to increase. This may be significant given UK government health recommendations for “at least 48 hours with no alcohol” following any heavy drinking session in order to “give your body a chance to recover”⁴³ and suggests the need for further survey work with NTE users to derive information about consumption patterns across the week.

In sum, these targeted street-based studies suggest that participants in the night-time economy drink more than the national average and more significantly, drink at levels which are above average for their age group. Information regarding this sub-group of heavy drinkers is not identifiable by reference to routine national data collection exercises such as the UK General Lifestyle Survey, which selects participants from the general population using random sampling methods. For example, whilst the 2009 survey records that 15% of the general population are abstainers, Measham *et al.*, (2011) found only 1% in their in-situ NTE surveys conducted in four Lancashire towns. Whilst research has pointed to more general under-reporting of alcohol consumption in such surveys⁴⁴, nightlife users undoubtedly represent a ‘hidden population’ whose drinking habits need to be studied in isolation from those of the wider community if targeted evidence-based policies for nightlife are to be devised. For example, in both Hadfield *et al.* (2010) and in Hughes *et al.* (2009), the prolonged presence of visitors who were frequenting licensed premises with later drinking hours corresponded with higher levels of reported consumption. These outcomes run contrary to the aims of the Licensing Act 2003, which was intended to encourage people to drink similar amounts over a longer period of time. The findings also support the argument that increasing the availability of alcohol gives rise to increased levels of consumption. As Bellis *et al.*, (2010: 1), in their study of ‘blood alcohol levels in UK nightlife and their relationships with drinking behaviours and observed signs of inebriation’, note:

Survey and modeling techniques together ... identified patrons as routinely getting drunk, with risks of drunkenness increasing over later nights. Without preventing drunkenness and sales to intoxicated individuals, extended drinking hours can simply act as havens for drunks.

⁴³National Health Service, (2010)

⁴⁴Bellis *et al.* (2009); Jinhui, et al. (2009), Moore, Perham *et al.*, (2007)

Alcohol Pre-Loading

The practice of drinking at home or in a public place before attending nightlife is widely regarded as an embedded aspect of NTE drinking culture, especially for young people in a time of recession⁴⁵. It has been noted as an international phenomenon, receiving attention from researchers in Canada, Spain and Italy⁴⁶. In their study mentioned above, Hughes *et al.* (2009) found that over half of respondents across three cities in North West England (53.3%) reported having consumed alcohol prior to entering the nightlife environment (preloading; e.g. at home, a friend's house or in a hotel room). Preloading was significantly more common among younger respondents. In their earlier (Hughes *et al.*, 2007) study over a quarter (26.5%) of female and 15.4% of male alcohol consumption across one drinking session had occurred prior to attending nightlife.

The results of Measham *et al.*'s (2011a) in-situ NTE surveys in four Lancashire towns resemble Hughes *et al.*'s (2007) North West study with an identical proportion of drinkers preloading. 58% of the total Lancashire NTE survey sample (aged 16-51) reported that they had had alcohol (either at their own or a friend's house) before they arrived in the town/city centre in which they were surveyed. Within the Lancashire NTE survey sample there were no statistically significant differences in terms of the number of people preloading in each town/city centre. The study found that women preloaded more than men. In total 66% of the women reported preloading compared with 49% of the men. This statistically significant difference in preloading by gender was mainly due to the high prevalence of preloading among women in Burnley compared to the other towns/cities. In Burnley, 80% of the women were preloading compared to 45% of the men. As the authors explain, for the majority of young adults, in particular those below the age of 25, 'the weekend of excess' begins in private settings, their own homes and friends' houses, with young women in Burnley:

*...drinking on average the equivalent of a whole bottle of white wine each before going out. This means that women have surpassed 'binge drinking' levels before they buy their first drink in a bar...*⁴⁷

The average number of units of alcohol consumed in preloading across the Lancashire towns was the same for both men and women (approximately eight). However, when they then joined the NTE, men consumed more units on average than women (ten units for men compared with seven units for women), although this is considerably less than in the Hughes *et al.* (2007) study. In other ways, the overall trends in the Lancashire area resembled those of the Hughes *et al.* (2007) study in a further North West city centre. Hughes *et al.*, focused on the under-35s as these were the strongly predominant demographic in their location. One possible explanation for the lower

⁴⁵Forsyth *et al.*, (2010)

⁴⁶Basanta, (2009), Selmini and Nobili (2009), Wells *et al.*, (2009a)

⁴⁷Measham, *et al.*, (2011a: 31)

average unit consumption overall in the Lancashire NTE surveys could be the wider age range of drinkers.

Hadfield *et al.*, (2010) conducted in-situ surveying in two nightlife areas within the London Borough of Camden. Overall, 27.0% of respondents reported consuming alcohol prior to their night out, either at home or at a friends' home. For this sub-sample, pre-loading accounted for 15.1% of all reported alcohol consumption. When broken down by Area, 35.8% of individuals in the Area A sample and 13.7% of individuals in the Area B sample reported drinking either at home or at a friends' home prior to their night out ($\chi^2=21.348$, $p=0.000$). Consuming alcohol at home or at a friends' home was more prevalent amongst our younger respondents, those aged '29 and under' (34.0%) than amongst those aged '30 and over' (13.1%) ($\chi^2=15.241$, $p=0.000$).

Overall, 26.8% of males and 28.4% of females reported engaging in pre-drinking either at home or at a friends' home ($\chi^2=0.098$, $p=0.423$). When broken down by Area, in the Area A sample, 37.5% of males and 34.7% of females ($\chi^2=0.170$, $p=0.395$) reported engaging in pre-loading either at home or at a friends' home, as compared to 11.5% of males and 17.0% of females ($\chi^2=0.789$, $p=0.263$) in the Area B sample.

The Hughes, *et al.*, (2007; 2009) and Measham, *et al.*, (2011a) surveys suggest that preloading could be a more widespread phenomenon in the north west of England than in London. Women's average consumption during a survey night in London was lower compared to the North West (10 units, compared with 12 units), whereas men in the Lancashire study were consuming on average about the same amount (14 units) as men in London, but considerably less than in the North West study by Hughes *et al.*, (2007). There were some small variations between the four Lancastrian fieldwork sites recorded by Measham *et al.*, (2011a) in terms of overall alcohol consumption. Preston had the highest reported total consumption of alcohol among women (15 units) and men (17 units), although this city level variation was not statistically significant. The Hughes *et al.*, (2007) study was conducted in a larger city within the same English region that is a 'destination' for nightlife. One explanation suggested by Measham, *et al.*, (2011a) for the higher recorded rates of total alcohol and drug consumption (but not preloading) in larger city centres is the function of these NTEs as destinations for a 'big night out'.

In Hughes *et al.* (2007) those night-time economy customers who had pre-loaded before going out in the evening were more likely to be involved in alcohol-related violence, disorder and other problems. Individuals who drank before going out were four times more likely to report drinking over 20 units on a usual night out and 2.5 times more likely to have been involved in a fight in the city's nightlife during the previous 12 months. The practice of pre-loading on alcohol before a night out therefore has quite specific policy implications beyond the issue of what overall quantities of alcohol have been consumed. The critical aspect of pre-loading is that it

involves the rapid consumption of alcohol done with the intention of reaching a sufficient level of intoxication to carry one through the main event of the evening (visiting a pub, bar, or club) with minimal further spending on alcohol ('alcohol banking'). Pre-loading has been associated with high levels of intoxication, and greater risk of crime and victimisation when out 'on the town', as well as greater control and duty of care burdens for licensed premises, the police, and emergency health-care services⁴⁸.

Despite the above, data concerning the prevalence of pre-loading does not appear to be consistently collected in any jurisdiction. Research studies that have looked at the issue in detail relate to local case study areas only and their findings suggest a high degree of variability between cities and regions. Learning more about the pre-loading phenomena has helped researchers illustrate how some nightlife users plan and structure their drinking with the intention of getting drunk; that is to study the mechanics of what is sometimes referred to as 'determined drunkenness'⁴⁹.

Measuring Heavy Episodic Drinking in a Nightlife Context

The individual and social costs of heavy drinking do not simply fall upon the drinker. Collins and Lapsley (2008: 68-9) have estimated the tangible social costs of alcohol use in Australia in 2004/5 to total \$10.8 billion of which 9.2% was for work absenteeism, 35.6% for health care, 29.4% for road traffic accidents, and 25.7% for crime. As Room *et al.* (2010) point out, nuanced methodologies are needed to understand and measure the full range of harms to others accruing from the actions of heavy drinkers. In the context of the NTE, this may include crime and incivilities occurring on public transport routes in and out of the city and within the neighbourhoods from which nightlife participants are drawn⁵⁰. Recent Australian population surveys report that alcohol-related incidents outnumber those related to illicit drugs (all combined) by at least two to one. In 2007, an estimated 750,000 Australians were physically abused by someone under the influence of alcohol; a further 6.7 million were verbally abused or 'put in fear' (AIHW, 2008).

The extent of drunkenness found within local NTE social scenes has important policy implications. Both NSW and UK legislation states that disorderly behaviour should not be permitted on licensed premises and those who become drunk on the premises, or are already drunk upon arrival, should be denied service at the bar. "Features of premises that promote intoxication are associated with violence, suggesting that targeting resources at risky premises will likely address two public health concerns: excessive intoxication and assault-related injury" (Moore *et al.*, 2011: 357). Alcometers can be used to survey customers and obtain a close approximation of blood alcohol concentration levels, thereby providing objective measures of

⁴⁸Wells *et al.*, (2009b)

⁴⁹Measham and Brain, (2005)

⁵⁰Hughes *et al.*, (2007)

drunkenness, however, they require considerable investments in staff training. Research suggests a high degree of correspondence between BAC as an objective measure of intoxication and subjective ratings of its physical manifestations (slurred speech, staggering gait and glazed eyes) by trained researchers in naturally occurring nightlife settings⁵¹. Such considerations lead Moore *et al.* (2011: 357) to suggest that relatively low-cost observational survey methods may provide the optimum method for practitioners seeking to rapidly assess premises and evaluate interventions. Observational data can then be used to identify high-risk premises, and assess the outcomes of premises-level interventions. Such approaches have the advantage of ‘sharpening the focus’ of policy initiatives toward the targeted reduction of harm and of high risk drinking (Stockwell *et al.*, 1997).

Pre-loading is but one element of the drinking practices and drug repertoires of nightlife users, which like other elements, has a tendency to vary between local social scenes⁵². It has clear implications for nightlife management and yet is not easily influenced by the types of premises and public realm design and infrastructure measures available to City licensing authorities and police departments. Drawing from his research in Glasgow nightclubs, Forsyth (2010) considers some of the policy options for responding to pre-loading and other drinking behaviours that involve bottle shop purchased alcohol being consumed in a nightlife context. He warns that policies which foster higher prices in licensed premises may have unintended consequences, encouraging further bottle shop purchases (and unregulated consumption). Moreover, in terms of linking alcohol sales to intoxication, ‘joined up’ policies are required which might, for example, reduce price differentials between the bottle shop, pub (hotel), and nightclub sectors. As circumstances differ, local case studies are needed to measure the extent to which pre-loading presents a particular problem or challenge for local areas, as well as to help devise policy responses that are appropriate to local criminal justice, city management and public health needs.

The Public Health Role in NTE Management

Many commentaries on alcohol and the NTE seek to emphasise that real changes in levels of harm will only occur as a result of a shift in cultural attitudes towards drinking and drunkenness and the adoption of moderation as a social norm amongst drinkers. The policy priorities and recommendations arising from this position tend to emphasise educative campaigns aimed variously at the general public, or toward ‘at risk’ groups, in order to challenge common misconceptions and provide people with the information they need to make informed choices about their drinking.

One influential approach within contemporary public health interventions involves

⁵¹ Perham *et al.*, (2007)

⁵² Measham and Moore (2009)

targeted ‘nudges’⁵³ towards personal risk management / harm minimisation. These nudges may point patrons towards information on ‘staying safe’ on a night out. This would typically include advice on managing one’s alcohol consumption and drinking styles, but may also address other issues such as personal safety and sexual health. Best practice within the drugs field indicates that such messages must be presented and communicated in ways that have credibility amongst systematically identified key audiences. This is likely to include the use of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs). The Greater Manchester Police ‘Think Safe Drink Safe’ campaign, for example, used flyers and posters in venues, together with a dedicated website to communicate a range of simple coping strategies used by people who enjoy as safe night out. The campaign avoided use of the police logo, as well as any enforcement rhetoric. Although police-initiated, the campaign focussed primarily on public health and safety. The key police aim was to reduce levels of criminal victimisation.

Whilst such campaigns may have a role to play as part of a package of measures within multi component community-based programmes⁵⁴, the evaluation literature would suggest that, as stand alone initiatives, educative programmes are amongst the least effective tools for reducing alcohol-related harm. As Babor *et al.*, (2010:216) conclude:

It is likely that even with adequate resources, strategies that try to use education to prevent alcohol-related harm are unlikely to deliver large or sustained benefits. Education alone is too weak a strategy to counteract other forces that pervade the environment. An unanswered question, beyond the scope of this book, is why significant resources continue to be devoted to initiatives with limited potential for reducing or preventing alcohol-related problems.

In 2007, the NSW Department of Health published its *Drug and Alcohol Plan 2006-10* outlining a policy framework for drug and alcohol services and health programs in New South Wales. However, references to the NTE, for example, in relation to service planning for Accident and Emergency Departments, ambulance services, and Brief Interventions (BIs) for binge drinkers were conspicuously absent, suggesting the need for more joined-up working prioritising partnership working and data sharing between police, city authorities and health, and treatment services. These actions would accord with the World Health Organization’s (WHO) document *World Report on Violence and Health* (WHO, 2002) which highlights the link between alcohol and violence and makes a number of recommendations – particularly the need to enhance

⁵³Defined by Thaler and Sunstein (2009: 6) as “...any aspect of the choice architecture that alters people’s behaviour in a predictable way without forbidding any options, or significantly changing their economic incentives”. In the case of alcohol, a ‘nudge’ might involve the prominent placing of soft drink alternatives at the point of sale (eg. at the bar). Approaches which go beyond a nudge, by this definition, might include increasing levels of taxation on alcoholic drink sales, or intervening in the market so as to restrict the availability of alcohol by, for example, reducing bar trading hours.

⁵⁴Mistral *et al.*, (2007)

capacity for collecting data on violence and, crucially, to promote primary prevention responses.

In England and Wales much of this work is effected through Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs) – to which primary care organisations are statutory partners. In England and Wales, around 116,000 National Health Service staff are assaulted each year, primarily by patients and relatives⁵⁵. Being on the ‘front line’ of a city’s alcohol problems makes public health professionals well placed to help coordinate partnership activities, ensure evidence-based practice underpins interventions, and promote primary and secondary preventions. For example, there is a ‘dark figure’ of alcohol-related violence that never comes to the attention of the courts. However, hospital Accident and Emergency Departments are often the first service contacted by both perpetrators and victims. More serious injuries subsequently appear in other specialist departments (e.g. Oral and Maxillofacial clinics).

The United Kingdom Alcohol Treatment Trial (UKATT) found that for every £1 spent on treating problem drinkers (social behaviour and network therapy and motivational enhancement therapy) £5 was saved on costs to health, social and criminal justice services⁵⁶. This is likely to be an underestimate as it does not include loss of productivity or measure the full social costs of either alcohol-related violence or the effects of alcohol problems on family and friends. Health care settings provide opportunities to deliver Brief Interventions (BIs). These typically involve 5-20 minute sessions of motivational counseling/interviewing and as described below have been successful in reducing alcohol consumption. As the following sections outline, alcohol-related offenders’ engagement with the criminal justice system offers opportunities for the delivery of effective health and treatment interventions of benefit to individuals and crime reduction outcomes.

Alcohol Arrest Referral Schemes, UK

Arrest referral involves engaging with a detained person in a police custody suite in terms of offering them a Brief Intervention concerning their substance use and facilitating their referral into treatment, or some other diversionary activity. In the policy statement document *Safe. Sensible. Social – the Next Steps in the National Alcohol Strategy*⁵⁷, the UK Home Office committed to evaluating the impact of BIs in a criminal justice setting, particularly in relation to reducing alcohol-related reoffending by heavy sessional drinkers. The Home Office subsequently issued guidance for setting up Alcohol Arrest Referral schemes⁵⁸ wherein alcohol treatment specialists deliver advice to arrestees about the effects of their drinking and the links between unsafe alcohol consumption and criminal behaviour. Evidence from Referral

⁵⁵ Bellis, (2005).

⁵⁶ UKATT, (2005)

⁵⁷ Department of Health *et al.*, (2007)

⁵⁸ Home Office, (2009)

schemes in the UK suggests that most clients engage in drink-related crime and disorder in the context of the NTE, however, a screening process is used to identify those heavy sessional drinkers at risk of becoming chronic dependent drinkers, who can then be referred into appropriate longer-term care pathways.

Practical lessons for development and implementation from existing Referral schemes are reviewed in a Home Office guidance document⁵⁹. These include the advantages and disadvantages of conducting the interventions immediately in the custody environment, as compared to later, as a follow-up to arrest. The guidance also contains the list of ‘trigger offences’ that are used to set the screening and intervention process in motion. In some UK schemes, offenders receiving a Penalty Notice for Disorder (PND) for ‘drunk and disorderly’ or ‘public order’ type offences are offered a partial or full reduction in their fine if they agree to attend an intervention/short educational session.

Four pilot sites for Referral schemes in England⁶⁰ were established in October 2007, followed by a second phase of nine further pilot sites⁶¹ in November 2008. Following policy commitments made in the UK Government’s *Youth Alcohol Action Plan*⁶², a further six Referral schemes specifically targeting under-18 year olds were launched in April 2009⁶³. The Home Office have engaged an external company to carry out the evaluation of the pilots and Phase 1 results have not yet been published, with Phase 2 findings not expected until the end of 2011, at the earliest. The evaluation will include Gloucester, the longest running AAR scheme in England, which began in 1999.

The formal evaluation literature on BI schemes in relation to their impact on reoffending remains sparse (although, see UK evaluations of ‘Alcohol Activity Requirements’ below). Nonetheless, the evidence from clinical settings in relation to reducing alcohol consumption is positive. A literature review commissioned by the NHS National Treatment Agency for Substance Misuse⁶⁴ found good evidence of the effectiveness of alcohol problems interventions in health care settings. For example, studies reviewed from both the UK and USA provided strong support for the effectiveness of BIs in A&E departments and linked services⁶⁵. In one study, BIs delivered at suture removal in a Maxillofacial Clinic were associated with one in five hazardous drinkers converting to ‘safer’ drinking at one year’s follow-up⁶⁶. Evidence suggests that BIs are especially useful in reducing alcohol-related harm among male patients and particularly among young men with alcohol-related injuries whom it may be difficult to recruit for intervention elsewhere.

⁵⁹Home Office, (2009) op cit.

⁶⁰Cheshire, Ealing, Liverpool and Manchester

⁶¹Bristol, Cleveland, Cumbria, Islington, Leicester, NE Lincolnshire, Northampton, Stoke, Swindon.

⁶²DCSF, (2008)

⁶³Liverpool, Newcastle, East Sussex, Blackpool, Stoke-on-Trent/Staffordshire, and Lincolnshire.

⁶⁴Raistrick, Heather, and Godfrey, (2006); see also Heather, (2011)

⁶⁵See, for example, Crawford *et al.*, (2004)

⁶⁶Smith *et al.*, (2003)

A review by Kaner *et al.*, (2008) of 29 controlled trials of BIs in clinical settings from various countries (24 trials in general practice settings and 5 trials in emergency settings) found beneficial effects for clients. Participants drank an average of 306 grams of alcohol (over 30 standard drinks) per week on entry to the trial. Over 7000 participants with a mean age of 43 years were randomised to receive a BI, or a control intervention that involved assessment only. After one year or more, people who received the BI drank less alcohol than people in the control group (average difference 38 grams/week, range 23 to 54 grams). For men (some 70% of participants), the benefit of brief intervention was a difference of 57 grams/week, range 25 to 89 grams (six trials). The benefit was not clear for women⁶⁷.

The evidence from Randomised Control Trials in health settings, therefore, is that BIs can be effective in reducing levels of consumption, especially in men. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the weight of evidence suggests that reducing alcohol consumption results in a reduction of alcohol-related harm, including the types of crime, public nuisance and acute emergency health harms typically encountered in a nightlife setting.

An interim evaluation report looking at the experience of the Phase 2 Home Office trials in Cleveland, North East England, by Inspector Kath Barber, Drugs and Alcohol Strategic Lead for Cleveland Police⁶⁸ examined pre-and post-intervention offending, with some of the local evaluation methodology and results validated and interpreted by Home Office research staff. The Cleveland Referral scheme was examined in relation to:

- Post-intervention offending by those who had no previous record of offending
- Comparisons of the clients' AUDIT⁶⁹ scores pre- and post- intervention (through telephone interviews)
- Re-offending by those who had high AUDIT scores and a history of previous alcohol-related arrests.

⁶⁷Kaner *et al.*, (2007: 2)

⁶⁸Barber, (2009)

⁶⁹ The Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test (AUDIT) questionnaire was developed by the World Health Organization (WHO) specifically for use in primary healthcare, but is now used in a range of settings including AAR schemes. AUDIT has generated a very large amount of research, has been translated into all major languages and has been evaluated in a range of settings, populations and cultural groups. It is now used in research and practical applications worldwide. The AUDIT instrument consists of ten items: three questions on alcohol consumption, four on alcohol-related problems and adverse reactions, and three on dependence symptoms. It is said to take about two minutes to complete, although some experience puts it rather longer than this. Apart from the last two questions, items refer to drinking in the previous year and responses are weighted 0–4, based mainly on frequency of occurrence. Cut-points on the AUDIT have been proposed as follows:

- A score of eight or above classifies drinking as hazardous or worse. More detailed examination of the service user's responses to the items on dependence symptoms may be useful.
- A score of 8–15 indicates the need for simple brief interventions (i.e. simple, structured advice) on alcohol consumption.
- A score of 16–19 indicates the need for the addition of extended brief interventions.
- A score of 20 or above indicates the need for referral to a specialist service for assessment and treatment.

9% fewer individuals with no previous record of offending (matched by age, gender, type of offence, and time of offence with a sample of offenders from the previous year) had been re-arrested in the 6 months following the intervention. The estimated 'number needed to treat' (NNT) was 11.35 (that is, treat 11 people and one will not re-offend). In relation to the AUDIT scores:

- The average score reduced from 22.5 to 15.14
- 85.7% of the sample had a reduction in their AUDIT scores
- 92.8% stated that they found the intervention useful
- 21% had been re-arrested for an alcohol-related offence

Two samples of 32 repeat offenders were then matched as closely as possible by age, gender, type of offence, and with a record of at least two alcohol-related arrests on the custody system. The first group, arrested 6 months after the intervention, were compared with a similar group of individuals arrested 12 months earlier, before the Referral scheme pilot had been established. The group that received the intervention all had AUDIT scores of 20 or above. The group who had received the intervention reduced their rate of offending over a 6-month period by 56.25% in comparison to the 6-months preceding the intervention. The group who had not received the intervention also showed a reduction in reoffending of 23.9%. These local results are no substitute for the full national evaluation, yet they do indicate that positive results are emerging from the pilot schemes.

One important reason to believe that Referral schemes may offer significant benefits for NTE management is that many heavy sessional drinkers, and especially young men, never come into contact with alcohol services. Moreover, in the case of repeat offenders there appears to be particularly good reason to offer advice and challenge behaviour. Analyses of the database compiled as part of the Tackling Alcohol-related Street Crime (TASC) project in Cardiff revealed that 42% of arrestees had previous arrests for violence, or public order offences and that most of those involved as offenders or victims were young white males⁷⁰. Post-arrest brief interventions therefore offer opportunities to engage with a group who may be beginning to develop a pattern of negative consequences related to their drinking before they reoffend and/or develop an alcohol dependency.

Interviewees in UK qualitative research studies exploring the efficacy of partnership arrangements between agencies tasked with tackling crime and disorder in the NTE frequently express their frustration concerning the lack of resources for reducing reoffending by heavy sessional drinkers⁷¹. As Hughes *et al.*, (2010:7) note, "measures that reduce violence in drinking environments should ensure displacement effects are not moving violence into homes and vulnerable communities, where violence is less

⁷⁰Maguire and Nettleton, (2003)

⁷¹Hadfield and Measham, (2011); Hadfield *et al.*, (2009)

visible”. Arrest Referral schemes appear to be one solution for combining with the new generation of police powers to tackle alcohol-related crime and anti-social behaviour that involve summary fines and exclusion from defined locations, rather than sentencing in the courts. Such powers (discussed in Chapter 6) have previously been criticised as ‘sticking plaster’ approaches, which in prioritising the maintenance of public order, provide the tools needed for immediate situational policing, but do not address the reasons behind people’s offending⁷².

Alcohol Treatment Requirements / Alcohol Activity Requirements, UK

In some cases, screening to identify alcohol problems will indicate that a more structured on-going programme of care is needed to address an offenders relationship with alcohol⁷³. Offender management services having access to AUDIT scores and other information on an individual’s drinking for inclusion in pre-sentence reports can assist in the use of Alcohol Treatment Requirements (ATRs) which a court may attach to a community order, or suspended sentence of imprisonment⁷⁴. Unlike in Alcohol Arrest Referral there is no list of ‘trigger offences’ for an ATR in the UK; indeed an offender’s alcohol dependency does not have to be linked to the offence(s) for which they are being sentenced. However, National Offender Management Service (NOMS) guidance explains that, in practice, ATRs are usually made where the offending is alcohol-related, of medium to high seriousness and probably violent in nature⁷⁵.

Offenders may be considered eligible for an ATR if they score 20 or more on AUDIT. Where treatment availability is limited, the use of ATRs is usually restricted to those *dependent* drinkers who have committed more serious offences e.g. physical violence, domestic violence, racially aggravated offences, sexual offences, serious public order offences, and/or present the greatest risk. The World Health Organisation *International Classification of Diseases* (ICD-10)⁷⁶ defines alcohol dependency as ‘psychological dependence’ with an increased drive to use alcohol, difficulty controlling its use, despite the consequences, and in more severe cases, physical withdrawals upon cessation of use. This definition of dependency is adopted in the Department of Health, *Models of Care for Alcohol Misusers (MoCAM)*⁷⁷ best practice guide. MoCAM identifies moderate and severely dependent drinkers as “the main groups of alcohol users who clearly may benefit from specialist alcohol treatment”⁷⁸ and draws a distinction between the provision of more intensive and prolonged

⁷²Crawford and Lister, (2007)

⁷³Hughes *et al.*, (2004)

⁷⁴NOMS, (2005)

⁷⁵ NOMS, (ibid)

⁷⁶ WHO, (2004)

⁷⁷ DoH/National Treatment Agency for Substance Misuse, (2006)

⁷⁸ DoH/National Treatment Agency for Substance Misuse, (ibid.: 14)

interventions for this group and the use of brief interventions “for those drinking excessively, but not requiring treatment for alcohol dependence”⁷⁹. This targeted and tiered approach is supported by the independent *Review of the Effectiveness of Treatment for Alcohol Problems* (2006)⁸⁰ conducted for the National Treatment Agency for Substance Misuse (NTA). Offender managers are responsible for ensuring enforcement of and general compliance with ATR orders, with the actual interventions usually delivered by local treatment services over a period of six months to two years. ATRs provide a tailored programme of treatment typically consisting of motivational interviewing, cognitive behavioural therapy, counselling, education, and preparation for medical detoxification.

For offenders scoring 16-19 on AUDIT, ‘Alcohol Activity Requirements’ (AARs) are more likely to be used in sentencing. Whilst recipients of AARs are not judged to be alcohol dependent, they are considered to be experiencing problems with alcohol that are adversely affecting their social behaviour and health. AARs are typically used where an individual’s offending is linked to their drinking and where the individual is drinking above recommended weekly limits. AARs comprise a structured package of brief interventions to provide offenders with a better understanding of alcohol, and to help them develop strategies to reduce their consumption. These interventions are delivered by trained probation staff for a period of up to two months. In addition to the use of AUDIT scores as an objective measure, it is for the authors of pre-sentence reports to determine which of these two requirements is more appropriate in specific cases, with reference to the NOMS guidance.

An evaluation of the ATR provision of Leicestershire and Rutland Probation Trust (LRPT) by the Institute for Criminal Policy Research (ICPR), Birkbeck, University of London⁸¹ found reductions in both probationers’ dependence on alcohol and the frequency and seriousness of their related offending. In this study, the most important protective factor against the risk of proven reoffending was completing an overall ATR order successfully, which was associated with a 55% reduction in the risk of recidivism. Similarly, those completing structured alcohol treatment were four times more likely to report a reduction in ‘drinking days’ than others. Besides successful completion of the entire ATR programme, no specific forms of treatment, delivered either individually, or in combination, were found to be positively correlated with, or predictive of, reduced alcohol use or related offending. Mentoring of offenders by peer/ex-service users was considered an innovative feature of ATR provision across LRPT and fulfilled a number of important functions - not least as a form of pro-social example setting for those exposed to the intervention. Key recommendations of the McSweeney, and Bhardwa report include ensuring that ATR orders reach completion and that adequate provisions for ongoing throughcare and aftercare post-ATR completion and outside of criminal justice settings, are in place.

⁷⁹ DoH/National Treatment Agency for Substance Misuse, (ibid.: 28)

⁸⁰ Raistrick, Heather, and Godfrey, (2006)

⁸¹ McSweeney, and Bhardwa, (2011)

An evaluation of the use of both ATRs and AARs in Cheshire (North West England) has been conducted by the Centre for Public Health, Liverpool John Moores University⁸². The results proved positive for both types of intervention. In the case of AARs, the average total AUDIT scores reduced significantly from 20 to 15 over the evaluation period; 64% of participants reported a reduction in the frequency of their drinking with the percentage of those drinking at least twice a week dropping from 75% to 42%; 44% reported a reduction in the quantity of alcohol consumed with the percentage of those drinking at least seven drinks on a typical drinking day halving from 51% to 26%; 75% of participants rated their health as either 'healthy' or 'very healthy' at the end of their AAR; however, since the start of their AAR, 54% reported experiencing anxiety or depression and 48% had experienced stress. 52% of participants felt more capable than usual of managing their lives and day-to-day activities since the start of the AAR and 60% reported that they felt happier with their lives⁸³.

For the sample of offenders receiving ATRs, the evaluation period saw a halving of the average total AUDIT scores from 30 to 14. 69% of participants reported a reduction in frequency of drinking with the percentage of those drinking four or more times a week dropping by two thirds from 86% to 24%; 78% reported a reduction in the quantity of alcohol consumed, with the percentage of those drinking ten or more drinks on a typical drinking day dropping from 66% to 7%. 85% of participants rated their health as either 'healthy' or 'very healthy' at the end of their ATR. However, since the start of their ATR, 49% reported experiencing anxiety or depression and 46% had experienced stress. 76% of participants felt more capable than usual of managing their lives and day-to-day activities since the start of the ATR and 67% reporting that they felt happier with their lives⁸⁴.

A further evaluation study in Liverpool examined the use of ATRs, together with a locally-devised option, the Alcohol Treatment Programme (ATP), a voluntary scheme for offenders contacted through Alcohol Arrest Referral, or non-ATR referral from their Probation Officer⁸⁵. The evaluation found significant reductions in the participants' total average AUDIT scores, as well as in the frequency of their drinking and reported number of units consumed. Health measures showed improvements, but clients continued to suffer with psychological and physical health problems. Positive changes were most prominent in the first three months of treatment, but less so in the second three months. The evaluators therefore recommended that the scheme focus on retaining and motivating clients to continue making positive changes following the initial impact of their treatment.

The examination of re-conviction data proved inconclusive for the Liverpool evaluation period and it was judged that more time must pass before an accurate comparison of pre- and post-intervention conviction rates could be made. Clients with

⁸² Harkins, *et al.*, (2011)

⁸³ Harkins, *et al.*, (2011: 1-2)

⁸⁴ Harkins, *et al.*, (2011: 2)

⁸⁵ Baldwin, *et al.*, (2009)

the highest re-conviction rates post-intervention had generally disengaged from treatment before completing their care plans. This finding provides further support for the conclusions of the Leicestershire evaluation reported above, concerning the importance of participants completing their programme of treatment. After six months in treatment, the Liverpool clients were generally more confident and optimistic about their future, whilst continuing to tackle their problems with alcohol. Several clients required further support for their alcohol dependency. Baldwin, *et al.*, in accordance with the Leicestershire and Cheshire evaluation teams, stress the importance of a formal framework for aftercare to ensure continued support for those who require it, thus minimising the risk of relapse into previous drinking behaviours and further convictions.

To conclude, the findings of UK evaluations suggest that the issuing of ‘Alcohol Treatment Requirements’ or ‘Alcohol Activity Requirements’ by the courts, whereupon offenders receive assistance with their drinking problems can have a positive impact on offender wellbeing. Overall, participants were found to achieve positive life changes in terms of reduced alcohol consumption and re-offending, as well as in other areas such as health, emotional wellbeing and lifestyle. In order to achieve positive results it is important that participants fully complete their required course of treatment. In planning the delivery of such treatment within a criminal justice setting it is important to ensure that adequate provisions are in place for clients to receive throughcare and aftercare once their initial programme is completed.

The Cardiff Model

Hospital Accident and Emergency Departments (AEDs) can contribute distinctively and effectively to the reduction of violence and other forms of alcohol-related harm in the NTE by working with community safety agencies and by sharing, electronically wherever possible, simple anonymised data about the precise location of violence, weapon use, assailants and the day/time of incidents. This data, and the contributions of hospital consultants to multi-agency crime reduction forums, can enhance the effectiveness of targeted policing, helping to reduce the amount of violence on licensed premises and on the streets, as well as reducing alcohol-related attendances at AEDs overall⁸⁶.

Public health professionals can also advocate within the health service for engagement in the broader alcohol-related violence and injury agenda. This integration of health and public safety agendas with local city management and policing priorities is best

⁸⁶Warburton and Shepherd, (2004)

developed in the ‘Cardiff Model’. Jonathan Shepherd, Professor of Oral and Maxillofacial Surgery and Director of the Cardiff Violence Research Group, has been at the forefront of developing and disseminating this model and the lessons from it, internationally. He and his team have developed an on-line resource for policy makers and practitioners seeking to emulate some of the Cardiff innovations entitled *The Cardiff Model/Effective NHS Contributions to Violence Prevention*⁸⁷. This protocol for Emergency Medicine involvement in community violence prevention sets out the reasons for contributing, how contributions can be made, what contributions have been found to be effective, who might contribute and at what point contributions are best made. Misconceptions and barriers to working with local violence reduction agencies are discussed, together with ways of overcoming them which are consistent with ethical guidance for health professionals and data protection legislation.

At the local level, marked decreases in licensed premises assaults resulting from targeted policing in Cardiff were enhanced by the intervention of AED and Maxillofacial consultants. Two consultants visited ‘high risk’ premises and presented in graphic detail the injuries sustained, treatment, and numbers of assaults to premises managers. They also informed premises managers that the local AED was auditing violence in their premises and that a report would be published six months later and disclosed to the local media⁸⁸.

The Cardiff Model has been adopted by London’s Regional Health Group, supported by the College of Emergency Medicine which has issued guidance to its members recommending the collection and sharing of data with Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs) as ‘best practice’. Almost all London Boroughs are engaged with the project, the results of which are beginning to feed into violence reduction initiatives for the NTE.

Mobile Medical Response Unit (MMRU), Cardiff and London, UK

One of the most successful public health initiatives for the NTE within Cardiff city centre has been the Mobile Medical Response Unit (MMRU). Developed as a multi-agency response from the Ambulance Service Wales, the City of Cardiff and the police to reduce pressure on the city’s hospital Accident and Emergency Department. The scheme involves a paramedic and a technician being deployed in a small ambulance to the city centre during the 20.00-04.00 period on Friday and Saturday

⁸⁷ See ‘The Cardiff Model/Effective NHS Contributions to Violence Prevention’ at the Alcohol Learning Centre website:
<http://www.alcohollearningcentre.org.uk/LocalInitiatives/projects/projectDetail/?cid=6476> accessed 4 April, 2011 and Shepherd (2007).

⁸⁸ Warburton and Shepherd, (2006)

nights, supported by two patient transport vehicles. Additional staff are deployed to the vehicles for large events, or other dates predicted to create high demand. Specialist staff are placed on standby in case a patient has issues beyond the regular staff's expertise. These personnel will travel with the patient to hospital. The ambulance is parked in a prominent position in the city centre. In addition to the MMRU, a facility known as the Cardiff Medical Treatment Centre (CMTC) is positioned at the Millennium Stadium in the heart of Cardiff city centre. The Centre provides immediate patient assessment and treatment, reducing demands on both the ambulance service and the local Accident and Emergency Department.

A report on strategies for the NTE prepared for the City of Cardiff⁸⁹ records that on occasions the MMRU will respond to up to 40 cases over the course of a night, ranging from trips and falls to more serious traumatic injuries such as fractures, which can arise from serious offences such as assaults. However, a more typical Saturday night will see the service responding to 10-30 cases. The Cardiff Council document reports that MMRU staff have gained a great deal of experience in working on the city's streets, and they are able to gauge the mood of the crowds. Staff sometimes face abuse, though this is general drunken behaviour/incidents and only occurs in a minority of cases; staff feel their presence to be generally welcomed by the city's nightlife users. The team have a good working relationship with venue door supervisors, city centre CCTV operatives and the Street Pastors (see Chapter 6 for a discussion of these other NTE support services). A radio link system provides effective communication with partner agencies, including the police.

An evaluation of the scheme conducted in 2007⁹⁰ found that:

- Of 147 emergency calls answered by the MMRU only 8 required an ambulance call out, saving at least 139 unnecessary journeys;
- When the MMRU operated without the Cardiff Medical Treatment Centre (CMTC), only 23 out of 157 emergency calls required an emergency ambulance to be called to the city centre;
- Of 159 people treated at the CMTC, 107 (67%) did not require additional treatment at the local Accident and Emergency Department. This saved an estimated 360 hours of AED time;
- When the CMTC was open an estimated 20 hours of AED hospital consultant time was saved each night;
- The Welsh Ambulance Service estimated a saving of £25,000, or £1,000 per night, as a result of the MMRU;
- With the MMRU facility in place, the Welsh Ambulance Service met its 8-minute emergency response target for 97.8 per cent of calls to Cardiff city centre. In 2005/06 the established performance against this target across Wales for the

⁸⁹ City and County of Cardiff, (2011)

⁹⁰

<http://wales.gov.uk/topics/housingandcommunity/safety/crimereduction/whatworks/cardifftriage?lang=en> accessed 23 August 2011.

Welsh Ambulance NHS Trust was 57 per cent;

- Hundreds of hours of police time are estimated to have been saved, as officers spent less time with injured people;
- St. John Cymru-Wales personnel worked closely with the emergency services providing volunteers with valuable experience in challenging and dynamic environments;

The CMTC is provided to the Community Safety Partnership free of charge. The cost of the MMRU paramedic vehicle and support vehicle is borne by the Ambulance Trust. As this relieves a large proportion of city centre work, it has been evaluated as cost-neutral in the long term. Medical supplies and sustenance for volunteers and staff costs £300 each time the MMRU operates. Medical supplies and sustenance for volunteers and staff cost £500 each time the CMTC operates. Other costs have varied and include occasions when nursing staff from the local hospital and police have been based or present at the CMTC. Despite the success of the interventions, current funding pressures are now requiring the service providers to consider only sending out services on key nights, working with the police to gain intelligence on which nights are likely to be busy. London Ambulance Service introduced a similar roaming service in 2009, to cover the main nightlife areas of the West End, Camden, and the City of London.

Public Health and Licensing

In England, the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Bill 2010-11 includes a provision to extend the categories of 'Responsible Authorities' under the Licensing Act 2003 to include Primary Care Trusts (the bodies responsible for delivering state health care at a local level). Accordingly, these bodies will be able to make Representations concerning a drinking venue's Premises Licence application and even initiate the Review of such a licence. However, the Bill does not go so far as to include 'health' as a licensing objective and therefore any grounds for Representations will still have to fall within the existing licensing objectives concerning the prevention of crime and disorder, public safety, the prevention of public nuisance and the protection of children from harm. These provisions are significant as they acknowledge the links between public health, municipal government, and criminal justice concerns, providing a platform for health care professionals, particularly hospital Accident and Emergency Department consultants, to play an enhanced role in local NTE management.

Public health approaches to the minimisation of harm in nightlife settings sit well with the visions and aspirations of many city governments. UK, charity Alcohol Concern has a 'kite mark' scheme, known as the Licensing Policy Health Check Award (LPHCA), which accredits licensing authorities that incorporate local health concerns into their alcohol regulation agendas. The award is obtained through examination

against a set of 7 indicators, including: does the Licensing Policy make reference to the local health impacts of alcohol?; in developing the Licensing Policy, have local health services and alcohol treatment services been consulted?; can the applicant demonstrate a commitment to evaluation of their Licensing Policy? The award lasts for the duration of the Licensing Policy and successful applicants are able to refer to the award in press releases and other promotional documentation.

As will be discussed in Chapter 6, attempts to monitor and manage public drunkenness can be usefully combined with effective design, service and infrastructure measures to positively encourage nightlife attractions and activities that do not centre around alcohol consumption (and therefore have reduced public health impacts), such as live music, street theatre, cinema, and later opening hours for shops, coffee bars, museums and galleries⁹¹.

Summary of Research Findings

- Young adults are both core consumers of nightlife and the most likely to engage in heavy sessional drinking to an extent which places themselves and others at risk of harm. English street surveys suggest that NTE participants drink more than the national average and at levels above average for their age group. Drinking to intoxication is a major mechanism through which alcohol causes harm. In terms of NTE management, it is the large numbers of people who are brought together and provided with opportunities – and sometimes inducements – to drink to intoxication which generates the main risks of crime, incivility, injury, and ill-health.
- Drinking patterns can vary between nightlife areas within the same city, as well as by region. This may include the extent of pre-loading prior to arrival. One explanation for this feature is the variability of social scenes within the NTE, which is linked to different attractions, audiences (especially by age) and substance use choices⁹².
- In the UK research literature, those visitors surveyed later in the evening had consumed more alcohol, as had those with earlier onset times for their drinking. Thus, increasing the availability of alcohol through extended licensing hours for clubs and bars appears to correlate with increasing levels of alcohol consumption and therefore drunkenness and related harms. This factor may be one issue for the City to consider in its decision-making.
- Drinking at home in preparation for a night out (pre-loading) has been associated with higher levels of intoxication, and greater risk of crime and victimisation

⁹¹Civic Trust, (2006)

⁹²Hadfield and Measham, 2009; Measham and Moore, 2009.

when out ‘on the town’, as well as greater control and duty of care burdens for licensed premises, the police, and emergency health-care services. In several research studies conducted across North West England around a half, or more, of all respondents reported having consumed alcohol prior to entering the nightlife environment (preloading; e.g. at home, a friend’s house, or in a hotel room). Preloading was significantly more common among younger respondents. One policy response to pre-loading may be to introduce levers reducing the price differential between alcohol purchased in the bottle shop, bar/hotel, and nightclub sectors.

- Levels of drunkenness found within local NTE social scenes have a direct influence upon criminal justice and public health outcomes. As an illustration of this: “premises that produce the most assault-related injuries are also those that produce the greatest proportion of severely intoxicated patrons, suggesting that underlying premises-specific risks may contribute to both forms of alcohol-related harm” (Moore *et al.*, 2011: 363). This has important implications for local enforcement, prevention and research activity as, aggregated at the premises level, venues that accommodate the highest proportions of severely intoxicated customers can be identified using police data and surveyor ratings of intoxication.
- In relation to poly-drug use, it is difficult to draw generalisable lessons from what remains a small literature in terms of policy relevance. This is because the range of substances being consumed and mixed by nightlife patrons is now extensive and varies considerably between social scenes at the city and regional level, as well as internationally. For example, within one city, substance choices are likely to vary between the users of bars and nightclubs, and between different music scenes, including across different events hosted within the same licensed premises. This suggests the need to improve our understanding of the subtle patterns of drug taking in order to inform policy and shape education and harm reduction strategies. Given the diversity and fragmentation of drug use trends the central message of the evidence points to the need for in-depth local level research in order to identify use patterns and associated harms for which appropriate local level responses might then be devised.
- Some of the most consistent evidence in poly-drug studies surrounds cocaine use and its mixing with alcohol. This has been linked to greater levels of social and physiological harm than the use of either substance individually; including propensities to violence. This is a significant issue in some areas due to the high prevalence of cocaine use in licensed premises.
- Policy responses to poly-drug use face conflicting concerns regarding effective law enforcement in relation to the possession and use of illegal substances and the need to communicate harm minimisation messages to nightlife audiences and venue operators without appearing to condone illegal activity. One reason for the relative inactivity of city authorities around the world in responding to illegal drug use in comparison to alcohol is that there has been comparatively little evidence of a link with general public disorder in nightlife, nor is there any legitimate source

of supply toward which action to improve standards might be applied. This can mean that recreational drug users face a vacuum in service provision precisely because they are not seen as a threat to wider society.

- Evidence suggests that enforcement activity to prevent drunkenness and sales to intoxicated individuals can be effective, especially when targeted at ‘high risk’ venues⁹³. As Stockwell *et al.*, (1997:1) argue, there are important practical advantages in ‘sharpening the focus’ of alcohol policy away from aggregate levels of consumption towards: “(i) the ability to distinguish between low risk and harmful consumption of alcohol; (ii) the ability to predict which drinkers are most likely to experience harmful consequences of drinking; (iii) the acceptability of policy objectives to government and industry; and (iv) the acceptability of prevention strategies to the general public.”
- At a macro level, the Australian National Alcohol Strategy (Commonwealth of Australia, 2006, extended to 2011) emphasizes the ‘facilitation of safer and healthier drinking cultures’. However, this policy vision stands in tension with that of a National Competition Policy that has promoted the relaxation of liquor licensing, leading to an increase in the availability of alcohol in many Australian States. The presence of large-scale drunkenness on the streets encouraged by the over development of nightlife areas through liquor licensing deregulation can deter other potential consumers of nightlife to the detriment of diversified economic activity and cultural life⁹⁴.
- Public education campaigns on safer drinking addressed to the general population or targeted at ‘high risk’ groups have a role to play as part of a package of measures within community-based programmes. However, the evaluation literature would suggest that, as stand alone initiatives, they are amongst the least effective tools for reducing alcohol-related harm.
- One clear obstacle in communicating a ‘safer drinking message’ to general users of the NTE is that many participants are not resident in the City. Whilst this is not particularly surprising given the City’s attraction value, it does make it hard for the City authorities to target people in a community setting and underlines the need to work in partnership with other local agencies at a regional, state and national level, and with health care professionals and the operators of licensed premises, in promoting a responsible drinking message.
- Evaluation studies have shown that the ‘Cardiff Model’ of data sharing and partnership working between health and community safety agencies enhances the effectiveness of targeted policing and local government initiatives for the NTE, significantly reducing serious violence recorded by the police and violence-related hospital admissions.
- The contribution of public health professionals in providing information to inform decisionmaking in licensing matters is an emergent trend in the England and

⁹³Stockwell, (1997, 2001); Stockwell *et al.*, (1993).

⁹⁴Bromley *et al.*, (2000); Dixon *et al.*, (2006); Finney, (2004); Thomas and Bromley (2000).

Wales facilitated by changes to the Licensing Act 2003. Whilst falling short of the Scottish approach of listing the promotion of public health as a statutory licensing objective, 'Primary Care Trusts' are from 2012 to be listed as 'Responsible Authorities' under the Act giving them the power to independently initiate licensing proceedings in support of the current licensing objectives.

Public Health Approaches: Policy Recommendations

- As Bellis *et al.*, (2010: 1) note, in addition to City government and policing initiatives, "a public health approach to nightlife is needed to better understand and take into account the chronic effects of drunkenness, (and) the damages arising after drunk individuals leave city centres".
- Relatively low-cost observational survey methods may provide the optimum method for practitioners seeking to rapidly assess premises and evaluate interventions. Observational data can then be used to identify high-risk premises, and assess the outcomes of premises-level interventions.
- Annual data-gathering activities such as in-situ NTE user surveys are recommended in order to capture continuity and change in patterns of alcohol and drug use.
- Non-service users could be engaged through (a) point of sales (eg. bottle shops), (b) sites of consumption (eg. licensed premises), (c) employment agencies, and (d) workplaces. Workplaces are currently an underexploited method of accessing adults who may be experiencing problems with alcohol or drug use - their own, or others. Interventions should be confidential and non-disciplinary.
- Nightlife patrons who pre-load should be a focus for service provision given that they are amongst the heaviest drinkers and most prolific illicit drug users. UK surveys have found young adults in their twenties and young women, in particular, drinking to harmful levels even before they go out for the evening. In-situ surveys would assist in measuring the extent of the issue locally. This research should aim to record the age and gender profile of pre-loaders in order to inform the route and content of service provision.
- The variable content, purity and potency of both legal and illegal psychoactive substances and Performance and Image Enhancing Drugs creates a need for data-gathering and feedback to users on drug harms. Information and Communication Technologies could be used in innovative ways to assist in this process.
- The Pan-European 'Club Health' and Healthy Nightlife Toolbox' (HNT) projects are involved in identifying, promoting and disseminating best practice in the field of club drug harm minimisation internationally, providing health harm reduction advice for venues, promoters and regulatory agencies responding to club scene substance use.
- Accident and Emergency Departments are often the first service contacted by both perpetrators and victims of alcohol-related violence. More serious injuries

subsequently appear in other specialist departments (e.g. Oral and Maxillofacial clinics). These health care settings provide opportunities to deliver brief interventions such as motivational counselling/interviewing sessions. Brief interventions delivered at suture removal in a UK Maxillofacial Clinic were associated with one in five at risk drinkers converting to 'safer' drinking at one year's follow-up. Alcohol screening (to identify those with alcohol problems), as well as brief interventions, have also shown some success in emergency health care settings.

- The use of mobile medical response units and street-based treatment centres dedicated to the needs of the NTE and positioned at key nightlife hubs can provide important services and reassurance for nightlife users. Benefits have been found to include major cost savings for hospital Accident and Emergency Departments and ambulance services, resulting in improved emergency call out response times. There are also savings in police time dealing with injured or sick revellers, allowing the police to concentrate on their other duties.
- Introduction of an Alcohol Arrest Referral scheme in which persons detained in police custody for alcohol-related offences in a nightlife context following heavy sessional drinking, are offered screening and a Brief Intervention concerning their alcohol and/or polydrug use. Clients who agree to receive the intervention may be offered a concession in relation to any fines imposed. In particular, the cooperation of repeat offenders at risk of becoming chronic dependent drinkers should be encouraged, with as many as possible receiving referrals into treatment, or other diversionary activity.
- The findings of UK evaluations suggest that the issuing of 'Alcohol Treatment Requirements' and 'Alcohol Activity Requirements' by the courts, wherein offenders receive assistance with their drinking problems can have a positive impact on offenders' wellbeing. Overall, participants were found to achieve positive life changes in terms of reduced alcohol consumption and re-offending, as well as in other areas such as health, emotional wellbeing and lifestyle. In order to achieve positive results it is important that participants fully complete their required course of treatment. In planning the delivery of such treatment within a criminal justice setting it is important to ensure that adequate provisions are in place for clients to receive throughcare and aftercare once their initial programme is completed.

3. Responding to Heavy Episodic Drinking in the Night-time Economy

Less effective approaches

Responsible Beverage Service (RBS) accreditation

Whilst public health approaches focus on attempts to influence the behaviour of individuals and groups within the NTE by illustrating the potential (detrimental) effects of their choices or business practices, enforcement agencies tend to focus on ‘supply-side’ issues. One popular approach is to emphasise a skills deficit in the serving of alcohol and the need for better training of bar staff and management in licensed premises and bottle shops through the delivery of ‘responsible beverage service (RBS)’ accreditation which complements or replaces the staff training provided by alcohol retailers themselves.

Overall, the peer-reviewed literature suggests that there is no clear evidence that server training on its own has an impact on responsible serving practices. Two of the studies that examined this outcome found some increases in server intervention, but highlighted that overall there was a low frequency of intervention⁹⁵. Scott, *et al.*, (2007) examined young adults’ experiences of responsible service practice in NSW, following up a previous study in 2002. Whilst they found some improvement in interventions toward the most intoxicated patrons of licensed premises, over half of this more intoxicated group still reported being permitted further alcohol purchases at the bar. The authors note the need for sustained emphasis on server training in NSW.

Intervention by servers becomes particularly important in the NTE where one finds a culture of pre-loading in which customers engage in unsupervised drinking prior to their arrival at licensed premises. However, the impacts of server training programmes in terms of moderating patrons’ alcohol consumption are unclear; one study⁹⁶ found a reduction in the number of patrons with high blood alcohol levels whilst another⁹⁷, conducted in student pubs, found no change. From their summary of the literature, Brennan *et al.*, (2011: 706) conclude that:

Server training courses that are designed to reduce disorder have some potential, although there is a lack of evidence to support their use to reduce intoxication and the evidence base is weak.

Similarly, Babor *et al.*, (2010) note that RBS programmes:

⁹⁵McKnight, (1991); Gliksman *et al.*, (1993)

⁹⁶Lang *et al.*, (1998)

⁹⁷Johnsson and Bergland, (2003)

*... are likely to have at best a modest effect on alcohol consumption, and this effect will depend on the nature of the programme and the consistency of its implementation...The impact of RBS training on other outcomes is even less encouraging.*⁹⁸

Graham (2011) in her response to the literature review on RBS evaluations by Brennan *et al.* (ibid) makes the point that intoxication is only one among several factors contributing to bar violence, other factors including staff behaviour, environmental conditions, and behavioral norms⁹⁹. Correspondingly, the *Safer Bars* programme, applied in Canada and duplicated elsewhere, focuses on managing problem behaviour, premises risk assessment and violence reduction. Whilst sharing some characteristics with a RBS intervention it would not necessarily be expected to reduce intoxication. The commentary by Graham underlines the point that harm reduction interventions in licensed premises need to consider issues of context and process, as part of a multi-component approach rather than focusing on a single, or limited number of sub-issues.

Stockwell (2001) questions both the frequency by which server skills deficits are found and the degree to which such skills deficiencies lie behind irresponsible serving practices. He points instead to systemic pressures and inducements toward non-compliance with licensing laws governing the sale of alcohol to intoxicated persons. These pressures arise from the nature of competitive markets (including the loss of alcohol sales to bottle shop premises and home consumption/pre-loading), the concern that an exertion of control might “risk the goodwill of their best customers”¹⁰⁰, and ineffectual and/or inconsistent regulation and enforcement¹⁰¹.

Voluntary Codes of Practice

To coincide with implementation of the Licensing Act 2003 in England and Wales in November 2005, a set of voluntary Social Responsibility Standards were published by 16 trade associations and organisations in the alcohol industry. The Standards document¹⁰² was intended to provide a comprehensive statement of the rules, regulations and additional commitments to which various parts of the alcoholic drinks industry had agreed in relation to matters of production, distribution, marketing and retailing, including the promotion of responsible drinking and “the avoidance of any actions that encourage or condone illegal, irresponsible or immoderate drinking, such as drunkenness, drink driving or drinking in inappropriate circumstances”¹⁰³. In January 2008, the UK Home Office commissioned systematic observational fieldwork

⁹⁸Babor *et al.*, (2010: 152)

⁹⁹Graham *et al.*, (2006); Graham and Homel (2008); Hadfield, (2004; 2005)

¹⁰⁰Stockwell (2001: 257)

¹⁰¹Stockwell (2001)

¹⁰²WSTA *et al.*, (2005)

¹⁰³WSTA *et al.* (2005) *ibid.*p5

coordinated by Measham and Hadfield on behalf of KPMG which encompassed nearly 600 licensed premises across eight English towns and cities to review the extent to which licensed premises and bottle shop vendors adhered to the standards, and whether the standards contributed to a reduction in alcohol-related harm. The KPMG report¹⁰⁴ concluded that although some excellent self-regulatory activity occurred, especially in the case of alcohol producers, poor practices were also apparent, especially in licensed premises and in the context of the NTE. As the report notes:

In the current trading climate the commercial imperative generally overrides adherence. Inducements to people to drink more and faster, to allow under-age people entry to restricted premises, and blatantly serving intoxicated people are evidence of this conclusion...In driving responsible practice they (the Standards) are ineffective because of a lack of consistent monitoring and enforcement” (p.10)...“there is sufficient evidence on the ground to show that both the Social Responsibility Standards and related legislation are being flouted on a scale that suggests corrective action and government intervention is required(p.67)¹⁰⁵.

Following these recommendations the UK Department of Health issued its ‘Safe, Sensible, Social - Consultation on Further Action’ document¹⁰⁶ which sought views on whether aspects of the existing voluntary codes should be replaced by a system of mandatory requirements. Following this the first stages of a national code placing mandatory conditions on Premises Licences took effect on 6 April 2010 under the auspices of the Policing and Crime Act 2009. These involved the banning of “irresponsible” drinks promotions such as “all you can drink for £10” offers, ‘women drink free’ deals, speed drinking competitions, and “dentist’s chairs” where drink is poured directly into the mouths of customers. From this date, licensed premises were also required to ensure that free tap water be available for customers. Further conditions came into effect on 1 October 2010 requiring all alcohol retailers to have an age verification policy in place to check the ID of anyone who looks under 18; and to ensure the availability of small measures of spirits and wine. Much of the mandatory code is intended to ensure that customers have more choice and opportunity to monitor and control their drinking when visiting on-licensed premises whilst equipping regulators with the necessary powers to ensure that these opportunities are in place¹⁰⁷.

The KPMG findings provide further support for Stockwell (2001) and Graham and Homel (2008) who, in reviewing the outcomes of purely voluntary ‘accords’ (agreements between licensees to limit activities and promotions associated with alcohol-related harms), found little benefit in the absence of adequate enforcement of the liquor laws.

¹⁰⁴ KPMG LLP/Home Office (2008)

¹⁰⁵ KPMG LLP/Home Office (2008) op cit, p67.

¹⁰⁶ Department of Health (2008)

¹⁰⁷ Home Office (2010a)

Despite a lack of evidence for the effectiveness of voluntary codes of practice there remain big political pressures towards such forms of industry self-regulation in many countries. Due to their contributions to economic activity, job creation and tax revenues, alcohol manufacturers and retailers are often an influential lobby, whilst at the same time, regulation and enforcement activities in drinking environments can require a big commitment of political will and financial resources¹⁰⁸. In the UK, the current Coalition Government's policy initiative, the *Responsibility Deal for Alcohol* (RDA) that involves partnership and voluntary commitments from drinks manufacturers and retailers has been subject to severe criticism from professional bodies in the alcohol field. In their online newsletter the Institute of Alcohol Studies¹⁰⁹ describe how in early 2011, alcohol and health organisations, led by the British Medical Association, who had previously been involved in the RDA:

... did their best to wreck its official launch by very publicly walking out of it. In briefings to the media they accused the Deal of being no more than diversion from the evidence-based alcohol policies likely to achieve a real reduction in alcohol harm, such as policies on pricing and availability of alcohol.

Premises-Based Reward and Accreditation Schemes

The *Best Bar None* award scheme was initiated in 2003 by Greater Manchester Police City Safe team and now operates in over 100 locations around the UK, as well as being piloted in Canada. Best Bar None accreditation is designed to recognize and reward good working practices for licensed premises to help reduce the risk of alcohol-related harm, disorder and crime. The scheme brings together licensed operators and other key agencies on a common platform promoting a benchmark of responsible operating procedures, rather than a concentrating on enforcement. Although no formal evaluation of the Manchester scheme had been published, the City's overall success in reducing alcohol-related violence encouraged the Home Office to push for the development of BBNs within the 32 Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRP) areas covered by its Tackling Violent Crime Programme (TVCP)¹¹⁰, these were then emulated by other areas. The three Best Bar None awards – bronze, silver and gold – represent the levels to which premises are assessed as meeting the standards. Premises gaining an award are able to display a plaque and to include the award in their promotional material.

Many of the 'minimum standards' required by the scheme relate to aspects of

¹⁰⁸Hadfield (2009)

¹⁰⁹Institute of Alcohol Studies (2011: 1)

¹¹⁰TVCP focused on a small number of CDRPs with high levels of serious violent crime. For instance, the twelve Tranche 1 CDRPs, which began the programme in November 2004, comprised 3.2% of all CDRPs in England and Wales (6.2% of the population) but accounted for 14.9% of all serious violent crime in 2003/04.

operating a licensed business that are already statutory obligations or involve compliance with conditions attached to Premises Licences. In recognition of this, an evaluation of BBN schemes in Croydon and other TVCP boroughs in London (Ackerman and Rogers, 2007) (one of very few published evaluations available) raises questions as to the effectiveness of BBN in reducing violence and disorder, noting:

- A lack of credible evidence to suggest that the implementation of the BBN scheme in Croydon had specifically had an impact on the reduction of crime and disorder in the town centre;
- The benefits of BBN are not easily measurable and largely amount to perception rather than objective evidence of crime reduction. One of the main benefits appears to be a better dialogue between Police and licensees;
- A lack of agreed ‘indicators’ by which to measure the impact of BBN schemes and provide credible evidence for those considering introducing them;
- Administering BBN is a substantial commitment and has had an adverse impact on other duties for both the Police and the Local Authority personnel involved.
- In the absence of evidence of its effectiveness as a crime reduction tool, BBN should not be considered a single component solution but rather works best when it sits within a comprehensive holistic crime reduction strategy¹¹¹.

Originally devised in Manchester as a tool for combining the ‘carrot’ of accreditation with the ‘stick’ of enforcement BBN appears to have developed in practice as a scheme in which the former is emphasized over the latter. Inevitably schemes of this nature are not necessary to good enforcement and neither are they always sufficient to ensure good standards. Where enforcement action is required concerning BBN registered premises the benefits of improved dialogue and trust are likely to be strained¹¹². The above comments on evaluation and duplication of (a limited range of) statutory requirements apply equally to the *Purple Flag* award for nightlife areas, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Reward and accreditation schemes involving partnership between drinks manufacturers and retailers and public sector agencies are achieving an increasingly high profile in the UK. These schemes have thrived within a context in which the budgets available to local authorities and police for enforcement activities have been severely reduced, thus promoting the need to search for alternative means by which to be seen to be ‘doing something’ about managing drunkenness in the NTE. Furthermore, partnerships with the drinks industry, which can potentially give rise to conflicts of interest, are being promoted as pragmatic solutions by central government who are taking the lead in this through launch of the RDA.

¹¹¹Paraphrased from Ackerman and Rogers (2007) executive summary.

¹¹²Hadfield and Measham, (2011)

Deficiencies of implementation, sustainability and evaluation

“A liquor licensing act which promotes RBS and empowers police, licensing authorities and local communities to take effective local action is one thing, but having that act utilized and enforced is quite another” (Stockwell, 2001: 264)

In a departure from the previous the government, the UK Home Office removed the KPMG review of voluntary Social Responsibility Standards from its webpages in 2010 and launched a public consultation on ‘Re-Balancing the Licensing Act’¹¹³. This exercise included the proposal to “check on the impact of the Mandatory Licensing Conditions Order and whether the current conditions should be removed”. This occurred despite the evidence underpinning the Conditions Order and it being in place for only a few months. Similarly absent has been any scientific evaluation exercise or additional funding for local CDRPs to ensure that the mandatory conditions were being adequately enforced. The proposal to repeal the Conditions Order is currently being considered by Parliament, together with a package of other measures on alcohol licensing, as part of the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Bill 2010-11.

A central message from the evaluation literature is that whilst enforcement of the licensing laws is likely to be a more effective form of regulation than voluntary codes of practice and accreditation schemes, enforcement will only have lasting effects in reducing alcohol-related harms in nightlife where it is both sustainable and sustained¹¹⁴. In England and Wales, recent years have seen the introduction of numerous new laws and initiatives around underage drinking, public disorder associated with alcohol, and the responsible sale of alcohol¹¹⁵. Questions have been raised, however, as to the extent to which central government has focused upon the introduction of new legislation at the expense of ensuring that sufficient attention and funding is directed toward the enforcement of existing laws¹¹⁶. As the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) ‘Evaluation of the Impact of the Licensing Act 2003’ published in 2008 conceded:

*Our main conclusion is that people are using the freedoms but people are not sufficiently using the considerable powers granted by the Act to tackle problems, and that there is a need to rebalance action towards enforcement and crack down on irresponsible behaviour*¹¹⁷.

In recent qualitative research (Hadfield, *et al.*, 2009; Hadfield and Measham, 2011) NTE stakeholders across England and Wales were asked to comment on the effectiveness of a series of Home Office-funded enforcement campaigns orchestrated

¹¹³Home Office (2010b)

¹¹⁴Babor *et al.*, (2010); Graham and Homel (2008); Wallin *et al.*, (2003; 2005)

¹¹⁵See Hadfield *et al.*, (2009); Hadfield and Measham, (2011).

¹¹⁶WSTA (2008)

¹¹⁷DCMS (2008: 7)

between 2004 and 2007 under the auspices of the Alcohol Misuse Enforcement Campaign (AMEC), the Tackling Underage Sales of Alcohol Campaign (TUSAC) and the Responsible Alcohol Sales Campaign (RASC). These campaigns focused on police prosecution of licensed premises for making sales to drunks and to persons aged under-18 years of age in contravention of the Licensing Act 2003, amongst other measures. The campaigns, which featured ring-fenced funding and centrally-defined objectives, were criticised, both for their short-term nature and also for their capacity to ride roughshod over locally devised and approved ways of working. In their assessment of AMEC in Wirral, North West England, Bellis *et al.*, (2006) found reductions in the numbers of assaults during the period of the campaign, however it was difficult to decipher impact due to simultaneous changes to the licensing regime. Moreover, they note that sustained benefits “will be more reliant on additional funds being delivered to police and other agencies (e.g. Trading Standards) and when these stop, levels of alcohol-related violence may once again rise to previous levels”.

One concern regarding enforcement of the liquor laws expressed by police in both Australian and UK research surrounds the difficulty in proving offences relating to the serving of intoxicated patrons. Licensing enforcement officers and police officers must rely on subjective judgement and past experience to ascertain whether evidence of an intoxication offence has been sufficiently established to warrant further action. Research has found that regulatory agencies often do not pursue intoxication offences because they are hard to prove in a criminal court ¹¹⁸. In NSW, Briscoe and Donnelly, (2003) point to police concerns regarding the lack of an adequate definition of intoxication. In England and Wales, interviewees spoke of the difficulty of providing evidence given that the law included an intentional element; that is that an offence was committed only if the server could be proved to have ‘knowingly’ served alcohol to a person who was drunk. Briscoe and Donnelly (2003) found significantly fewer conduct offences proven in the Licensing Court in comparison with other types of finalised offences. However, it is rare for police to bring infringement notices for serving alcohol to a person who is intoxicated. More successful prosecutions would likely arise if increased effort were applied to improving the quality of the evidence gathered for presentation in Court proceedings. Both studies conclude that licensing enforcement is often not seen as a police priority and therefore frequently lacks the necessary resources to mount successful operations. A further concern is that police officers often lack the necessary knowledge and skills to monitor serving practices at licensed premises, with little time allocated to staff training in this area of policing and tasks delegated to a handful of force ‘specialists’ ¹¹⁹.

Strict enforcement of liquor licensing laws is, of course, not the only means by which to reduce the alcohol-related harm associated with licensed premises. It is one component of what should be a comprehensive, multifaceted approach to dealing with alcohol-related harm in the community ¹²⁰. Yet, as Briscoe and Donnelly, (2003) note,

¹¹⁸Briscoe and Donnelly, (2003); Hadfield and Measham, (2011)

¹¹⁹Briscoe and Donnelly, (2003); Hadfield and Measham, (2011); Smith, *et al.*, (2001)

¹²⁰Hauritz, *et al.*, (1998)

without adequate enforcement and an effective means of monitoring compliance with the provisions of the licensing laws, many other initiatives to reduce alcohol-related harm in and around licensed premises are likely to prove less effective than they could be.

In the case of police powers applied to the consumers of alcohol in public places, a number of interviewees in the Hadfield et al., (2009) and Hadfield and Measham (2011) studies expressed concern regarding the possibilities for displacement, the tendency to recidivism and the general inability of area-based restrictions such as Designated Public Place Orders¹²¹ and person-specific powers such as Penalty Notices for Disorder¹²² to address many of the underlying causes of drink-related crime and disorder. Many of the recent ‘anti-social behaviour’ powers fell into this category. They offered important advantages for police officers and Police Community Support Officers tasked with responding to or preventing imminent alcohol-related disorder, however, the nature of the penalties – which often involved summary fines – did not allow for the identification and monitoring of an offender’s possible drink-related problems, nor did the forms of disposal provide for direction toward services which might assist in helping individuals obtain advice or treatment to address their relationship with alcohol. Consequently, Hadfield and Measham (2011) found that police in one fieldwork site utilised arrest rather than summary fines as an opportunity to direct offenders with drink-related problems towards treatment services. At a more general level, this contrasted with the ‘silo mentality’ encountered in other fieldwork sites between the core police remit of order maintenance and public health/harm minimisation/duty of care concerns. The focus of recently introduced powers to address anti-social behaviour for police and councils in England and Wales has been to tackle the behavioural symptoms of excessive drinking as manifested in criminal or uncivil acts. This skewing of alcohol policy toward criminal justice concerns and the ‘management of drunkenness’ was widely regarded as an institutionalised feature of the current English and Welsh regulatory and enforcement landscape given the omission of any statutory objective relating to public health within the Licensing Act 2003.

In her review of the policing of anti-social behaviour and alcohol-related violence in and around licensed premises in Australia, Fleming (2008) notes the difficulties in identifying ‘best practice’ and recommending strategies in this complex policy arena. This is partly because, although there has been a significant exertion of research effort exploring the factors that contribute towards crime, disorder and public nuisance in the NTE, particularly around alcohol consumption, comparatively little research or formal evaluation has occurred which looks specifically at the type of policing, regulatory, city design, management and enforcement measures used to respond to

¹²¹ Allow councils to identify public places in which the consumption of alcohol is prohibited and alcohol can be confiscated by the police.

¹²² 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).

these phenomena. Brennan *et al.*, (2011: 712) suggest that many of the limitations of current evaluations arise from inadequate planning of initiatives during policy development, with evaluators only becoming involved in the latter stages, once interventions have been implemented. A more productive approach, they suggest, would be to involve evaluation teams in the preliminary stages of intervention development, including piloting. Furthermore, there is a great deal of geographical and cultural unevenness in the international research literature concerning what is known about effective policy responses to alcohol-related harm in drinking settings. As Hughes *et al.*, (2010: 6) summarize:

Although there are many interventions underway across Europe to create safer drinking environments, few of these are rigorously evaluated. Consequently there is very little information available on their effectiveness in reducing alcohol-related harm, and on their cost-effectiveness...Local agencies often lack the capacity and resources required to implement rigorous evaluations of their work.

Summary of Research Findings (less effective approaches)

- Many approaches focus on the responsible supply, rather than the excessive demand for alcohol. Responsible beverage service (RBS)' accreditation emphasises the need for better training of staff and management in licensed premises and bottle shops to complement or replace that provided by alcohol retailers themselves. Overall, the peer-reviewed literature suggests that there is no clear evidence that server training on its own has an impact on rates of server intervention, on reducing levels of intoxication amongst NTE patrons, or in reducing alcohol-related crime and disorder.
- This is an unfortunate outcome given that intervention by servers becomes particularly important in the NTE where one finds a culture of pre-loading in which customers engage in unsupervised drinking prior to their arrival at licensed premises.
- Intoxication is but one of several factors contributing to crime and disorder in and around licensed premises, other factors including the behaviour of bar and door staff, environmental conditions, service infrastructure, policing, and behavioural norms. The evidence would suggest that successful interventions for licensed premises need to acknowledge these interconnections rather than focusing on a single or limited number of components such as server training and patron intoxication.
- In licensed premises the commercial imperative to sell more alcohol has been found in some instances to override adherence to RBS principles and voluntary codes of practice. One UK evaluation of compliance with industry codes of practice across 600 licensed premises found widespread evidence of inducements

to people to drink more and faster, to allow under-age people entry to restricted premises, and the serving intoxicated people. The literature suggests that voluntary codes of practice are apt to fail due to a lack of consistent monitoring and enforcement. Public sector regulation and enforcement activities in drinking environments can require a big commitment of political will and financial resources, however, the evidence suggests that mandatory codes of practice are necessary to ensure that customers have more choice and opportunity to monitor and control their drinking when visiting on-licensed premises, whilst equipping regulators with the necessary powers to ensure that these opportunities are in place.

- Reward and Accreditation schemes such as *Best Bar None* and *Purple Flag* originating in the UK have gained prominence in recent years. The schemes often have a high degree of political acceptability as they bring licensed operators and regulatory agencies together on a common platform, promoting a benchmark of responsible operating procedures, rather than concentrating on enforcement. This is seen as a pragmatic approach in the context of the budgetary restrictions that have been placed upon the UK public sector. Yet, neither *Best Bar None* nor *Purple Flag* have been subject to rigorous independent evaluation and many of the ‘minimum standards’ required by the schemes duplicate existing UK and NSW legislative requirements. This is not to say that such schemes might not be helpful in building bridges between regulators and the licensed trade, it is merely to suggest that, in the absence of evidence as to their effectiveness, such accreditation schemes may not represent the best use of limited resources, outside of their being considered as ‘second tier’ options for inclusion within comprehensive multi-component community strategies.
- A central message from the evaluation literature is that whilst enforcement of the licensing laws is likely to be a more effective form of regulation than voluntary codes of practice and accreditation schemes, enforcement will only have lasting effects in reducing alcohol-related harms in nightlife where it is both sustainable and sustained. As Hughes *et al.*, (2010: 7) comment: “*a major limitation of many interventions in drinking environments is their short-term approach, with the benefits of measures introduced through one-off funding often being short-lived. Support is needed to enable national and local agencies to build effective measures into routine practice*”.
- Licensing laws governing the sale of alcohol to persons who are already drunk are little enforced by police in either NSW or the UK. Licensing enforcement is often a low priority for the police resulting in a failure to commit the extent of resources necessary to mount operations that might garner high quality evidence for prosecution. Police officers often lack the necessary knowledge and skills to monitor serving practices at licensed premises, with little time allocated to staff training in this area of policing and tasks delegated to a handful of force ‘specialists’. Although, like other approaches, enforcement of the licensing laws

should not be seen as a panacea or standalone measure, where enforcement and an effective means of monitoring compliance with the provisions of the licensing laws is absent, many other initiatives to reduce alcohol-related harm in and around licensed premises are likely to prove less effective than they could be.

- In the UK and elsewhere, the police and local councils hold various powers to expel, exclude, or variously control the consumption of alcohol in public places such as city streets, parks and highways. Such powers are most effective in allowing police to respond to, or prevent, imminent alcohol-related disorder. However, research has highlighted concerns regarding the displacement of disorder to other locations, the tendency for these disposals to be applied to the same individuals, or groups of people repeatedly, and the general inability of area-based restrictions and summary fines to address many of the underlying causes of drink-related crime and disorder. Such forms of disposal may be most effective where they provide for direction toward services which might assist in helping individuals obtain advice or treatment to address their relationship with alcohol.
- The NTE is a complex policy arena and it is often difficult to identify ‘best practice’ and make strategy recommendations. This is partly because, although there has been a significant exertion of research effort exploring the factors that contribute to crime, disorder and public nuisance in the NTE, particularly around alcohol consumption, comparatively little research or formal evaluation has looked specifically at the types of policing, regulatory, city design, management and enforcement measures used to respond to these phenomena. Furthermore, there is a great deal of geographical and cultural unevenness in the international research literature concerning what is known about effective policy responses to alcohol-related harm in drinking settings. Literature relating to contemporary European contexts outside of the UK and Scandinavia is very sparse, the majority of the research output emanating from the English-speaking world.

More effective approaches

Stockwell (2001) argues that the most effective means by which to lift standards of service and prevent harm in licensed premises is to: “institutionalise legal and regulatory procedures which impact most on licensed premises...creating a political and social climate which supports the responsible service of alcohol and thereby the enactment and enforcement of appropriate liquor laws” (Stockwell, 2001: 257). His paper, which reviews evaluated RBS and policing initiatives up to 2001, proposes a model of strategic monitoring and enforcement (reproduced below) which offers major advantages over more fragmented responses:

Recommendations for institutionalizing responsible beverage service in legal, regulatory and socio-political structures

Legal structures

Well-drafted legislation with clear harm minimization objectives
Mandatory server training
Banning of irresponsible promotions
Local controls over trading hours and conditions
Dram Shop Laws, i.e. laws which define legal responsibilities of licensees for behaviour of patrons after they leave the premises

Regulatory structures

Harm minimization as the major corporate goal of licensing authorities
Plain-clothes licensing inspectors
Uniformed police presence
Comprehensive training of licensing officers and police
Graded system of penalties leading to temporary licence suspension
Incentives for good practice by licensees

Promoting supportive socio-political environment

Public health advocacy on alcohol and licensing issues
Publicly disseminated data on harm and licensed premises
Media campaigns promoting licensing laws
Local licensing forums with community participation

Source: Stockwell (2001: 263)

The types of strategic, planned approaches to reducing alcohol-related harm proposed by Stockwell have been put into practice within ‘multi-component community-based programmes’. In their review of the literature surrounding such programmes, Thom and Bayley (2007:1) define the multi-component approach as involving:

- The existence of a strategic framework with a theoretical basis for action;
- The identification of problems defined at local levels;
- A programme of co-ordinated action (projects) to address the problem based on an integrative programme design where singular interventions run in combination with each other and/or are sequenced together over time;
- Identification, mobilisation and co-ordination of appropriate agencies, stakeholders and local communities;
- Clearly defined aims, objectives, indicators and measures of effectiveness for the programme as a whole (although individual projects or activities will also have specified aims, objectives and outcome measures)
- Evaluation as an integral part of the programme from the start.

Multi-component community-based programmes provide the clearest indication of effectiveness in published evaluation studies. They typically combine the goal of harm reduction in community and organizational mobilisation with RBS training, clear premises management policies and stricter enforcement of licensing laws over sustained periods of time. *Communities Mobilising for Change on Alcohol* (United States), the *Community Trials project* (United States) and the *STAD project* (Sweden) provide evidence of well-designed and implemented models, effective in reducing harms across a range of policy concerns, including assaults, traffic accidents, and underage sales.

Multi-Component Community-Based Programmes, USA and Sweden

The **Stockholm Prevents Alcohol and Drug Problems (STAD)** project was a 10-year community action project conducted in Stockholm, Sweden, in which regulators and the licensed trade worked together to reduce problems related to alcohol in drinking environments (Wallin *et al.*, 2003; 2005). The intervention was implemented in northern central Stockholm, with southern central Stockholm acting as the control. The programme combined community mobilisation, with RBS training and stricter enforcement of the existing licensing laws. The initiative produced significant reductions in violent crimes (an estimated 29% ($P < 0.001$) reduction in police-recorded assaults, compared with a slight increase in the control area), together with reductions in threatening behaviour/harassment, and violence and threats targeted at door staff/police in the intervention area. Premises where staff had received RBS training demonstrated a higher rate of service refusal to pseudo-intoxicated customers in covert inspections in comparison to other premises in the intervention area. A cost-effectiveness analysis of the programme estimated a cost-saving ratio of 1:39, indicating that the savings accrued to public bodies were 39 times higher than the costs of implementing the programme (Månsdotter *et al.*, 2007).

In their commentary of the project, Babor *et al.*, (2010: 155) note that:

The success of the project seemed to be largely due to the strong support from the action group members, especially the head of the licensing board, positive media coverage, evidence provided by the research data, and sustained and even increasing enforcement activity by the police. The commitment to a ten-year time frame, which allowed the project to document and build on accomplishments and set up structures for continuing implementation, appeared to have been a key factor in its success.

The Community Trials project was implemented in three locations in California over

a five-year period (1992-1996). It involved community mobilisation, RBS training, controls on the density of alcohol outlets and measures to address drink driving and underage access to alcohol, including increased enforcement activity. In communities that received the intervention programme there were reductions in self-reported alcohol consumption, drink driving, alcohol-related traffic crashes and assault injuries (Holder et al., 1997, 2000; Holder and Reynolds 1997; Moore and Holder 2003). The experience of the *Community Trials* project has raised the international profile of its main evaluator, Harold Holder. In their report for the Alcohol Education Research Council on *UKCAPP: An evaluation of 3 UK Community Alcohol Prevention Programmes* in Birmingham, Cardiff and Glasgow, Mistral et al., (2007: 13-14) define the 'Holder approach' as involving a fundamental distinction between 'traditional' and 'environmental' concepts of communities:

Traditional approaches tend to view a community as a catchment area for a specific target group, with interventions developed to specifically target this group. There is, Holder argues, limited evidence of the potential effectiveness of these interventions to reduce alcohol problems as long as the existing social, economic, and cultural structures remain unchanged (Holder, 2000). As an alternative Holder proposes a systems approach to the reduction of alcohol problems that operates by changing the community structure, or environment, in which alcohol consumption occurs. This approach does not require the identification of at-risk individuals or groups, or their active cooperation. Rather than attempt to reduce alcohol-related problems through the education and treatment of problem drinkers, efforts are directed toward local policy makers in positions to influence the local environment. Local alcohol policy can be used to alter local social, economic, or physical structures and put in place processes and priorities to reduce problems. These can include the police prioritising alcohol-related problematic behaviour; enforcement of laws to prevent alcohol sales to underage or intoxicated persons; controlling location and density of alcohol outlets; and ensuring server training for all licensed premises. A key issue in all this is a partnership approach involving a wide range of local community groups and individuals to bring about a community-level change, using local news media to influence perceptions in the pursuit of policy change (Holder, 2004).

The Communities Mobilising for Change on Alcohol (CMCA) programme was a community mobilisation intervention designed to reduce young people's access to alcohol. It was developed and evaluated using a 15-community randomised trial by the Alcohol Epidemiology Program at the University of Minnesota, School of Public Health (Wagenaar et al., 1999; 2000a; 2000b, 2005). The intervention involved encouraging action by communities, changes in local public policies and changes in the practices of major community institutions, such as law enforcement, licensing departments, community events, civic groups, churches and synagogues, schools, and local mass media. The objective was to reduce the flow of alcohol to youth from illegal sales by retail establishments, and from provision of alcohol to youth by other adults in the community. Limiting the accessibility of alcohol to teenagers was seen as effective; not only in directly reducing consumption, but also in communicating a

clear social norm in the community that underage drinking was unacceptable.

Data collection included pre and post in-school surveys of 12th graders, telephone surveys of 18-20-year-olds and alcohol merchants, direct testing of the propensity of alcohol retailers to sell to underage buyers, and the monitoring of changes in relevant practices across community institutions. Evaluations found the programme to significantly influence the accessibility of alcohol to underage drinkers, with a reduction in sales from licenced premises and bottle shops and an increase in age identification checking. 18-20-year-olds were less likely to try to purchase alcohol, less likely to frequent bars, less likely to drink, and, importantly, less likely to provide alcohol to other teens. Arrests for driving under the influence of alcohol also declined significantly among 18-20-year-olds. Younger adolescents were not significantly affected by CMCA.

Having identified that multi-component community programmes offer the best evidence of effectiveness, it is necessary to look more carefully at what types of individual projects or activities to include. These will, to a large extent, depend upon local needs and will require their own specified aims, objectives and outcome measures. Having solid evidence about the effectiveness of such interventions is vital to allow communities to move beyond constantly trialling the latest idea without understanding its consequences. This review has identified the following projects/activities as promising additions to the multi-component 'tool kit', based upon the findings of relevant evaluations and research:

Night-Time Economy Co-ordinator, Cardiff, UK

In Cardiff UK, a 'Night-time Economy Co-ordinator' post in the local council was created with funding from Central Government. This was an innovative role, which, by definition, cut across many different service areas. The individual was tasked with improving the collation of intelligence on patterns of alcohol-related violence and disorder, identifying 'hot-spots' and 'hot-times' for such incidents, and devising enforcement interventions that targeted problematic venues and locations.

One of the Coordinator's main tasks was to bring together agencies and individuals (senior management, middle managers, and frontline staff) responsible for implementing Cardiff's partnership approach to NTE management, as well as identifying local needs and devising and championing particular component initiatives. The post holder creatively engaged various local authority services perceived to have a role in reducing alcohol-related crime and disorder, helping establish a convenient

and well-marshaled transport system into and out of the main night-spots in the City, identifying the need for temporary road closures at key times in specific locations, and enhancing surveillance of street-based violence and disorder.

A full evaluation of the post by Adam Edwards (Cardiff University) has been published which describes how the post holder faced familiar problems of partnership working in a community safety context. These included conflicts and misunderstandings between different public sector working cultures and the ‘silo mentalities’ or ‘departmentalism’ that characterise much public administration. These combined with additional tensions between the commercial sector drive to expedite rapid interventions and changes in work patterns and the working culture of public sector organisations governed by duties to conduct time-consuming processes of bureaucratic, financial and politically accountable decision-making. Nonetheless, these are probably inevitable features of any multi-component approach that requires input from numerous agencies and stakeholders. As the evaluator concludes:

There is real value in investing in the NTEC post as a means of overcoming the challenge of ‘silo mentalities’ in the public administration of complex problems like alcohol-related crime and disorder. In brief, this entails granting the NTEC post the necessary powers for coordinating responsible authorities in community safety partnerships to undertake specific operations aimed at the short-term remediation of problems of violence and disorder and for planning reductions in these problems in the medium- to long-term¹²³.

Licensed Premises Enforcement Database, Cardiff UK

In Cardiff UK, partly as a result of input from the NTEC, licensing enforcement by South Wales Police is heavily targeted. Information about licensed premises is collated on a force-wide database, including the details of the conditions attached to each Premises Licence and any incidents of disorder and other indicators that a specific pub or club is becoming problematic. This information is used to grade each licensed premise within a ‘traffic light system’ in relation to the risks they and their customer base present for crime, disorder and public nuisance. Premises are graded on a continuum from green, to amber, to red according to a monthly points tally, signifying the level of police monitoring required which feeds into resource

¹²³Edwards, (2010: 2)

deployment and other forms of preventative action. Identified premises are sent warning letters and receive more inspection visits. In order to counteract any breakdown of trust and help maintain the flow of intelligence from licensed operators, each incident recorded against a venue is carefully scrutinised to establish that the chain of responsibility does, in fact, lie with the venue. Furthermore, licensed 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). As the ratings are shared and discussed with the licensees, the system importantly creates the impression of a 'level playing field' in which each premises is judged against objective and universal, legally binding standards criteria. Feedback received by Hadfield and Measham (2011) from interviewees in Cardiff, including those with bar operators, would suggest that this evidence-based, targeted approach is accepted by 'the regulated' as transparent, necessary, and proportionate¹²⁴. The Cardiff experience provides further support for research highlighting the importance of ensuring that existing licensing legislation is enforced¹²⁵.

The Cardiff risk-based/targeted model 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. This aspect of the legislation offers major benefits for enforcement agencies in comparison with the situation pertaining under the old legislation, pre-November 2005 (the Licensing Act 1964) under which the only available penalties were the laying criminal charges leading to large fines and loss of licence¹²⁶.

Targeted Enforcement: Supply Side Precursors of Drunkenness, NSW

On 11 March 2008, following a number of requests from the public and the media, the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (BOCSAR) published a ranked list of the top 100 licensed premises for assaults occurring between January and September 2007. On 30 October 2008, the NSW Premier announced the imposition of licence restrictions on the top 48 licensed premises on the BOCSAR list. The restrictions were: 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 following October, Moffatt *et al.*, (2009) evaluated the effect of these initiatives and found a decline in the incidence of assaults on the 48 licensed premises upon which restrictions were imposed. The decline, however, was

¹²⁴ Hadfield and Measham, (2011); UCL Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science, (2006).

¹²⁵ Jeffs and Saunders, (1983).

¹²⁶ DCMS (2008); Hadfield *et al.*, (2009)

not restricted to these premises. A general decline in the number of assaults on licensed premises occurred across the 100 licensed premises listed by BOCSAR. Thus, the evaluators found the precise causes of the decline to be unclear, although likely influences were some combination of adverse publicity and more vigorous liquor licensing enforcement by the NSW Police Force and the Office of Liquor, Gaming and Racing (OLGR).

Although the restrictions were applied to only 48 licensed premises across NSW, this increased level of supervision toward the bar and club sector since early 2008 drew the attention of licensees and many NTE patrons, throughout the State. A follow up study by Moffat and Weatherburn (2011) explored assault trends on all NSW licensed premises after midnight. The authors found a decline in post-midnight assaults at the NSW level equivalent to a drop of approximately 1 per cent per month since the liquor licensing policy changes were implemented. This set a previous underlying upward trend of 4.8 extra recorded assaults each month - across the aggregate of all premises types in the period leading up to the policy changes - into reverse, with a downward trend of 10.4 fewer assaults recorded for each month after March 2008. This was the first downward trend in assault recorded in NSW since 1988 (although the authors note a decline in the rate by which assaults numbers fell over the last six months of 2010). Moffat and Weatherburn conclude that although it is not possible to pinpoint the precise factors contributing to this reduction in assaults across NSW (several measures being instigated at the same time), there seems little doubt that one or more of the licensing enforcement measures taken from March 2008 onwards have had an impact. They note that the shift in trend is consistent with that found in the evaluation of a recent natural experiment in Newcastle, NSW (Kypri, *et al.*, 2011) wherein the introduction of liquor licensing restrictions reduced the incidence of assaults in comparison with a nearby control area.

The Safer Bars Programme, Toronto, Canada

The Safer Bar Programme, first developed in Canada, shares some characteristics with RBS interventions, whilst recognising that patron intoxication levels are not the only factors influencing levels of crime and health risk in and around nightlife venues. Managers and staff are provided with a risk assessment workbook alerting them to environmental factors that could contribute to aggression in their bars. 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. Evaluators found the programme succeeded in reducing 'moderate-severe aggression' by patrons in intervention premises compared to control premises. Staff aggression increased in both control and intervention bars after the intervention, but was more pronounced in the control bars.

The effects of the programme were moderated by high staff turnover (i.e. bars with higher staff turnover had higher staff aggression)¹²⁷.

The Injury Control Council of Western Australia are currently piloting ‘Safer Bars WA’, an adaption of the Canadian model to licensed premises in Perth and other Australian contexts¹²⁸. One policy option may be to make this brief intervention mandatory for the staff of all licensed premises in precincts that have a high level of alcohol-related crime.

Alcohol Sales Monitoring, Price and Taxation Interventions

A large number of studies have demonstrated that the price of alcohol has an effect on the level of alcohol consumption and related problems, including crime and disorder. Moreover, this applies to all groups of drinkers, including young people and heavy or problem drinkers¹²⁹. The strength of the evidence in this regard has meant that alcohol pricing has become a major theme of policy debate and in some cases legislative action in many countries around the world. Typical policy responses have been to establish minimum sale prices and/or to restrict discounted sales promotions in order to reduce rates of alcohol problems. In relation to the NTE, key policy considerations revolve around: a) the restriction of ‘happy hours’, drinking games, free shots, and other forms of promotion which encourage rapid and/or heavy sessional drinking, and b) attempts to reduce the price differential between alcohol sold (at low cost) in the bottle shop in comparison with (higher) drinks prices in licensed premises. The objective of this former measure is to deter pre-loading and the problems associated with heavy unsupervised drinking which may then require the attention of security and/or health services in the city streets at night.

In 2008, Dr Petra Meir and colleagues published a major review of the ‘Effects of Alcohol Pricing and Promotion’ commissioned by the UK Department of Health. The report comprised of a systematic review of the evidence base on the relationships between the various types of alcohol promotions, alcohol pricing, alcohol consumption and alcohol-related harm (Meir *et al.*, 2008). It reported separately on different types of alcohol and groups of consumers (including underage drinkers, young adult binge drinkers, heavy drinkers and those on low incomes). Harms were defined widely and included health, social and crime-related harms on individuals and communities. In Part B of the report (Brennan *et al.*, 2008), a number of policy alternatives were then presented based upon economic modelling of their differential impact on alcohol consumption, alcohol-related harms and the specific effects of


¹²⁷Graham *et al.*, (2004)


¹²⁸Costello, (2010)


¹²⁹Comprehensive reviews of the evidence on controlling the affordability of alcohol through pricing and taxation can be found in Babor *et al.*, 2010: Chap 8, and in Meir *et al.* 2008.

proposed policy changes on the identified priority groups. The study explored the potential effect on alcohol-related harm of introducing: general price increases - including separate analyses for licensed premises and bottle shops and for low-priced alcohol; minimum prices per unit of alcohol; and restrictions on discounted price-based promotions in bottle shops. The modeling exercise was intended to assist strategic decision-making, enabling policy makers to answer ‘what-if’ questions, to predict the likely downstream impact of different policy scenarios and to identify areas of uncertainty and research priorities for different policy options¹³⁰.

Meir and her team estimated what would happen to the absolute number of violent offences, thefts, robberies, incidents of criminal damage and other crimes and the corresponding savings in prevention, detection and prosecution that could be expected were the frequencies of such incidents to be reduced through alcohol pricing options. The research team also drew economic estimates of the effects of reducing crime on the quality of life (the physical and emotional impacts of crime) for victims. Headline findings from the report include the following:

 • Crime harms were estimated to reduce as the price of alcohol increased, though proportionately less so overall than health harms. The imposition of a minimum price of £0.30p per unit of alcohol was estimated to have the potential to reduce the total number of crimes in England by around 3,800 incidents per annum, whereas a £0.40p minimum price was estimated to reduce crimes by 16,000 per annum. A £0.30p bottle shop minimum paired with a £0.80p licensed premises minimum would reduce crimes by 68,000 per annum. The banning of alcohol discounting in bottle shops was estimated to potentially prevent 14,000 crimes per annum, 4,000 of which would be violent offences;

• Crime-related harms were estimated to reduce as prices rose particularly in the case of 11-18 year-olds as they are disproportionately involved in alcohol-related crime and their drinking habits are more significantly affected by targeting price rises at lower-priced (high strength) products;

• A 30p, 40p and 50p (bottle shop)/80p (licensed premises) minimum price was estimated to lead to direct cost savings of around £4m, £17m and £65m per annum respectively, whereas the value of gains in quality of life associated with crime reduction was placed at £4m; £21m and £88m per annum respectively. A ban on price promotions in bottle shops decreased direct crime costs by £18m per annum and costs related to quality of life measures by £25m per annum;

• Different policies emerged as effective in relation to health harms: discount bans targeting cheap bottle shop alcohol and low minimum price options, which influence

¹³⁰Brennan *et al.*, 2008: 7)

only the bottle shop sector, are all less effective in reducing crime when compared to policies that also affect the licensed premises sector. This is because many of the offenders are young males who purchase just over 75% of their alcohol in licensed premises. ¹³¹

Despite the latter point, one sees from the above that, as the price differential between licensed premises and bottle shop alcohol sales reduces, moving more toward the licensed premises price, the estimated benefits in reducing harm-related costs increase exponentially. This suggests that some further variable/s, in addition to the anticipated reduction in overall alcohol consumption, may be serving to reduce levels of harm once the price incentive to consume bottle shop alcohol is removed. Meir and colleagues offer no explanation for this. Further research would be needed to test the hypothesis that it is those individuals pre-loading to the heaviest levels on bottle shop purchased alcohol that go on to commit a disproportionate amount of crime in licensed premises and/or in street level, or domestic (comparatively unregulated) drinking settings.

Evidence from England (Goodall, 2001) and Scotland (Forsyth *et al.*, 2007) would suggest that certain high strength alcoholic beverages sold cheaply in bottle shops, such as white cider and Buckfast tonic wine have particularly adverse effects on vulnerable social groups such as teenagers and the homeless. It would be useful for research to be conducted amongst different alcohol abusing populations in Sydney (including heavy sessional drinkers in the NTE) in order to identify if there are any unusual levels of harms relating to specific beverages and their affordability that might be reduced through targeted policies to prevent low or discounted sales.

Increasing the price of alcoholic beverages is likely to be one of the less popular policy choices with general consumers and bottle shop operators, whilst policies restricting promotional activity could potentially have detrimental economic implications for licensed premises. Nonetheless, alcohol taxes remain an attractive and cost-effective instrument of alcohol policy. They can be used to generate direct revenue for government at the same as reducing alcohol-related harms¹³¹. Yet, policy measures to influence alcohol pricing instigated at the local level can often face legal obstacles surrounding potential conflicts with national competition laws. Specialist legal/constitutional advice would be needed as to the options for setting City-wide pricing policies (this would be equally the case for voluntary accords or mandatory codes). At the same time, the City might decide to lobby the Commonwealth government concerning changes to alcohol excise duty for particular alcoholic beverages on the basis of its local evidence gathering.

¹³¹Babor *et al.*, 2010; Collins and Lapsey, 2008.

As the above discussion implies, the weight of international evidence suggests that making alcohol less affordable by increasing excise duty, banning ‘below cost’ sales and other low price promotions, and taking other policy measures designed to increase its retail price reduces consumption and therefore associated harms¹³². If such policy measures are to be considered it is essential for evaluation purposes to be able to monitor trends in the extent and patterns of alcohol consumption in order to demonstrate the effects of these and other jurisdictional changes in policy¹³³. There are currently two ways to collect data on alcohol consumption within a population: alcohol sales data collected for taxation purposes or in the process of wholesaler or retailer record keeping, and population-based surveys (WHO, 2000). The World Health Organisation, however, suggests that survey data should not be used to estimate per capita consumption (PCC) because several studies have found substantial discrepancies between consumption estimates based on survey data and those derived from sales data. Survey data tends to be biased towards under-reporting for a variety of reasons, and has been found to underestimate sales data by up to 60%¹³⁴.

The term ‘alcohol sales data’ refers to information obtained from wholesalers regarding volumes of wholesale alcohol purchased from them by individual licensed retailers, or licensed retailer records of volumes of alcohol sold to the general public. Information about volumes of alcohol sold is a basic requirement for estimating how much alcohol is consumed at a range of geographic levels as required, eg. across a particular region, a discrete community, a metropolitan location (such as a nightlife area), or within particular licensed premises. Adjusted for population size (PCC), alcohol sales data allow comparisons of consumption levels between regions and constitute top-level indicators for monitoring and evaluating policy changes and interventions. This information has obvious value for informing national alcohol taxation policies, and State-level licensing regimes, as well as actions to reduce alcohol-related harm as part of a holistic strategy of nightlife management at the city level.

As Loxley *et al.* (2011: 16-17) summarise, alcohol sales data can directly benefit liquor licensing, police, health and governments in a number of ways. For example to:

- Enable responsible authorities to closely monitor the sale of a regulated, addictive and psychoactive substance, identify emerging trends in its use and harms and to support intelligence-led policing and health service delivery;
- Enable reliable estimates of how much alcohol is actually consumed by a population: without local sales data it is not possible to know whether subjective

¹³²As discussed in Chapter 1 there are strong relationships between *per capita* consumption (PCC) and alcohol-related harms. These include, road crashes, accidental falls and other accidents, illnesses, assaults and other crimes (Catalano, *et al.*, 2001; WHO, 2000b).

¹³³Chikritzhs, (2009b)

¹³⁴Stockwell, *et al.*, (2008); WHO, (2000b).

impressions regarding levels of alcohol consumption in a particular area or by a specific population are accurate or indeed true;

- Provide a reliable, independent and objective measure for evaluating the effectiveness of federal, state and local government alcohol policy initiatives. Other administrative data sets typically employed for such purposes such as hospital, police or survey data may be affected by internal processes which differ by region, or over time. Where sales data have been available, they have been used to evaluate a range of important initiatives providing some of the most valid and reliable assessments of alcohol policy and strategy;
- Provide a reliable and equitable basis upon which to construct social impact models for gauging potential impacts of new liquor licenses and changes to existing licenses in local areas;
- Provide evidence to support decision-making processes regarding variations to existing licenses, and assist prosecutions against problematic or unlawful licensees and venue operators where necessary; and
- Assist authorities to identify 'hot-spots': communities and regions where alcohol consumption is associated with high levels of violence, crime and disorder and which may require pro-active supply, demand and/or harm reduction strategies to address these.

The Commonwealth Government is currently funding the Drug and Alcohol Office of Western Australia and the National Drug Research Institute (NDRI) at Curtin University of Technology, to develop a National Alcohol Sales Data Project (NASDP). The overall objective of the NASDP is to construct an ongoing, regularly updated, national database of standardised alcohol sales data, which includes all Australian states/territories. In 2009, the Northern Territory, Queensland and Western Australia made alcohol sales data available to the NASDP¹³⁵.

The results of Queensland's submissions reported by the NASDP evaluation team (Loxley *et al.*, 2011) make especially interesting reading in light of their comparability to NSW and in particular to Sydney:

The overall estimated alcohol consumption for Queensland for 2007/08 was 11.07 litres of pure alcohol per individual aged 15 plus, which was lower than in the Northern Territory and Western Australia in that year. There were, however, regions of higher alcohol consumption particularly in the Brisbane area, the Gold and Sunshine Coasts, and the North West. The inner Brisbane area had particularly high alcohol consumption, which was probably due to a combination of relatively low resident populations, its status as an entertainment area and alcohol sales to city workers. Some of the regions with higher alcohol consumption such as those north of Brisbane might also have relatively high levels of tourism.

¹³⁵ As Loxley *et al.*, (2011) note, other nations are mandating the collection of such information. For example, all Canadian provinces are required to report to Statistics Canada on both the volume and dollar value of alcohol sold.

*The volume maps show that the largest amounts of alcohol were generally sold on the eastern seaboard of the State but these did not necessarily translate into high per capita consumption. Again, the influence of tourism is likely to be reflected in high alcohol volumes being sold on the Sunshine Coast and the Gold Coast... Individual SSDs ... with the highest consumption tended to be inner Brisbane, the Gold Coast, Sunshine Coast, Rockhampton, Mackay, Townsville, Cairns and the North-West. Many of these are tourist areas and the Northern Territory example shows that taking tourist numbers into consideration can make some considerable difference to consumption*¹³⁶.

The NASDP research team are now encouraging other States to provide alcohol sales data to the project. South Australia, for example, has been investigating the possibility of collecting alcohol sales data to support its Alcohol Action Plan. As part of developing a robust and sustainable evidence base for the City's 20-year vision for the NTE it would be extremely useful to have access to alcohol sales data that could objectively demonstrate both the costs and benefits accrued to the NTE and local services by particular premises, premises types (hotels, bars, nightclubs etc.), and premises clusters. It is therefore a recommendation of this report that the City of Sydney advocates submission by the NSW government of alcohol sales data to the NASDP.

Summary of Research Findings (more effective approaches)

- Responding to heavy sessional drinking in the NTE involves embedding responsible beverage service and an effective enforcement regime within legal, regulatory and socio-political structures at the local level, as well as lobbying Central Government on matters such as alcohol taxation that may lie outside of the scope of local control.
- 'Multi-component community-based programmes' provide the clearest indication of effectiveness in published evaluation studies across a range of policy concerns, including assaults, traffic accidents, and underage sales. These programmes typically incorporate:
 - A strategic framework and theoretical basis for action;
 - The identification of problems defined at local levels;
 - A programme of co-ordinated action (projects) to address the issue based on an integrative programme design where individual interventions run in combination with each other and/or are sequenced together over time;
 - Identification, mobilisation and co-ordination of appropriate agencies,

¹³⁶Loxley et al., (2011: 62)

- stakeholders and local communities;
 - Clearly defined aims, objectives, indicators and measures of effectiveness for the programme as a whole (although individual projects or activities will also have specified aims, objectives and outcome measures);
 - Evaluation as an integral part of the programme from the start;
 - Sustained commitment, implementation, and development of the programme over a period of several years.
- The choice of individual projects or activities to include within a multi-component community programme should be guided by the identification of specific local needs/demands and by evidence of proven effectiveness when used in similar settings elsewhere. This on-going strategic planning would be assisted by the creation of a 'Night-time Economy Coordinator' post. The holder of such a post would need the necessary powers to co-ordinate responsible authorities to undertake specific interventions. This review has identified the following projects/activities as promising additions to a multi-component 'tool kit' for Sydney, based upon the findings of relevant evaluations and research:
 - A Licensed Premises Enforcement database can be used to risk assess each licensed premises in the City in relation to their record for crime, disorder and public nuisance. Regularly updated and published points tallies are then employed to grade premises and signal the need for further monitoring. Information from the database is then shared with the operators of the premises, who become subject to targeted interventions by police and licensing inspection personnel. Enforcement action is taken based upon a graduated approach; first of all, seeking to achieve compliance and co-operation by means of persuasion. Subsequent checks are made at regular intervals, with non-compliance leading to formal warnings, fines, and the addition of conditions on the licence. In serious and intractable cases the premises become subject to temporary suspension or permanent forfeiture of their licence. Licensees are given the opportunity to have their risk ratings reduced through evidence of cooperation with the police, through a reduction in incidents, and a sharing of intelligence. At 'high risk' premises, the impact of enforcement visits may be enhanced by the intervention of hospital Accident and Emergency Department and maxillofacial consultants, in addition to police activity.
 - Using information from the database, a ranked list of the top licensed premises for assaults is published. Premises on the list are then subject to additional licensing restrictions. These restrictions are enforced through regular inspection visits and fines and prosecutions for non-compliance. Conversely, evidence of sustained improvements are rewarded by removal from the list at the earliest opportunity (6 months). Removals from the list are also publicized.

Evidence suggests that such action is likely to lead to an increase in social responsibility standards across the NTE, including within licensed premises that are not subject to the additional restrictions.

- The collection of 'alcohol sales data', that is information obtained from wholesalers regarding volumes of wholesale alcohol purchased from them by individual licensed retailers, or licensed retailer records of volumes of alcohol sold to the general public can be effectively used for monitoring patterns of alcohol consumption locally, as well as for attributing the harmful effects of consumption to particular retailers. This can provide the evidential basis for intelligence-led policing and health service delivery, as well as for decisions regarding licensing variations and prosecutions. The City of Sydney does not currently have access to such data and it is a recommendation of this report that the City advocate submission by the NSW government of alcohol sales data to the National Alcohol Sales Data Project administered by the National Drug Research Institute (NDRI) at Curtin University of Technology.
- Adoption of the 'Safer Bars' training programme, or similar model, as a mandatory requirement for the staff of all licensed premises operating within locations that are known 'hot spots' for alcohol-related crime and disorder. The training instructs staff on how to recognize signs of aggression; to use early intervention techniques to avoid and defuse aggression; and legal issues relating to managing problem behaviour. A specially adapted training programme might also provide an opportunity for NSW police and the City of Sydney to offer support to licensed operators and door supervisor agencies in crime prevention, for example, by providing access to a radio-link scheme which encourages the sharing of intelligence with regard to observed incidents of crime and public nuisance.
- There is strong evidence to suggest that the pricing of alcohol has an effect on levels of alcohol consumption and related harms, including crime and disorder. Moreover, this applies to all groups of drinkers, including young people and heavy or problem drinkers. Therefore, effective policy responses are likely to include the setting of minimum prices per standard drink, thus reducing the price differential between alcohol sold (at low cost) in bottle shops in comparison with (higher) drinks prices in licensed premises, and restricting discounted sales promotions such as 'happy hours', drinking games, free shots, and other forms of promotion which encourage rapid and/or heavy sessional drinking in licensed premises. The objective of the former measure is to deter pre-loading and the problems associated with heavy unsupervised drinking which may then require the attention of security and/or health services in the city streets at night. This impact would be most effective when combined with strong enforcement of the liquor laws in respect of serving further alcohol to persons who are drunk and the targeting of any alcoholic beverage types that local evidence suggests are particularly associated with

alcohol-related harms.

- Increasing the price of alcoholic beverages is likely to be one of the less popular policy choices with general consumers and bottle shop retailers, whilst policies restricting promotional activity could potentially have detrimental economic implications for on-licensed businesses. Nonetheless, alcohol taxes remain an attractive and effective instrument of alcohol policy. Specialist legal/constitutional advice would need to be sought as to the options for setting City-wide pricing policies (this would be equally the case for voluntary accords or mandatory codes). At the same time, the City might decide to lobby the Commonwealth government concerning changes to alcohol excise duty for particular alcoholic beverages on the basis of its local evidence gathering.

4. Public Realm Profiling

In this chapter, a number of concepts and principles are introduced, which, it will be argued, are of considerable utility in explaining how and why nightlife areas become ‘hot spots’ and ‘hot times’ for violence and disorder, whilst also indicating ways in

which such problems might be reduced. It is unavoidable that the practical measures discussed in this report will need to be evaluated, not only in relation to their effectiveness, but also in terms of their social and political acceptability¹³⁷.

This chapter begins by describing the enduring attractions of the urban public realm as a site of pleasure and excitement, but also of danger and risk. Acknowledgement of these cultural dimensions is important as it highlights that there will always be a need to balance the sometimes competing concerns of ‘freedom’ and ‘security.’ The chapter then goes on to discuss theoretical frameworks and the empirical evidence for judging the likely effects of different courses of policy action (or inaction) for city governments.

The ‘24 Hour City’ Vision

It is important to remember that licensed premises, particularly at night, will often be particular kinds of social situation in which people seek to socialise, relax and experience ‘time out’ from their daily lives. These nightlife activities can involve the voluntary taking of risks in relation to the consumption of alcohol and other intoxicants and in relation to sexual and social behaviour¹³⁸. As Lovatt notes:

*The night-time is a time in which the world of work is seen to lose its hold. A time for and of transgression, a time for spending, a time for trying to be something the daytime may not let you be, a time for meeting people you shouldn’t, for doing things your parents told you not to, that your children are too young to understand. This is now being promoted as vibrancy.*¹³⁹

In recent years the political vision of many municipal governments across the world has crystallized around ambitious plans to create the ‘24-hour city,’ an urban core populated by residents, workers and visitors around the clock.¹⁴⁰ Such initiatives focus upon “extending the ‘business day’ and integrating it with an expanded evening and night-time economy,”¹⁴¹ thereby stretching the ‘vitality and viability’ of central urban areas across a longer time-span¹⁴². Drawing upon established planning principles of compact¹⁴³ and mixed use¹⁴⁴ development, the promotion and facilitation of these

¹³⁷ Plant *et al.*, (1997).

¹³⁸ Leigh, (1999); Plant and Plant, (1992); Schnitzer *et al.*, (2010).

¹³⁹ Lovatt, (1996: 162).

¹⁴⁰ See, Heath, (1997); Heath and Stickland, (1997); Jones *et al.*, (1999).

¹⁴¹ Thomas and Bromley, (2000: 1404).

¹⁴² As Ravenscroft (2000:2534) notes, these interrelated concepts are central to UK Government planning policy guidance for urban centres. The concept of ‘vitality,’ refers to activity at various times and locations, whilst ‘viability’ relates to the commercial life of an area and its ability to attract investment. See: Tiesdell and Slater, (2003) and DCLG, (2005).

¹⁴³ Rogers, (1997).

¹⁴⁴ Coupland, (1997); DCLG/ODPM, (2002)

“previously marginal zones of space and time”¹⁴⁵ has become central to the attempted transformation of ‘9-5’ urban centres into ‘organic/holistic’ locations for work, shopping, leisure and residence.¹⁴⁶ ‘24-hour city’ strategies have involved the wholesale re-definition and re-imaging¹⁴⁷ of many previously ‘dead’ or mundane urban centres, with a renewed emphasis on cultural development, consumption and spectacle and its role in urban design, economic activity and streets life¹⁴⁸.

Public Safety via Animation

Significantly, the vibrant street-life accompanying this temporally extended leisure activity has been widely proclaimed by urban design and planning professionals, leisure industry entrepreneurs, and politicians as not only providing new fountains of commercial and civic opportunity, but also as offering important contributions to public safety¹⁴⁹. Drawing upon the established urban design concepts of ‘natural surveillance’ and ‘territoriality’ that underpin the preference for mixed-use development from a crime prevention perspective¹⁵⁰, it is argued that a ‘24-hour city’ is not only livelier and more prosperous, but also safer and more welcoming as a by-product of its diverse and inclusive mix of after-dark activity. Cultural development experts such as Montgomery and Worpole¹⁵¹ followed Jane Jacobs in arguing that “a well-used street is apt to be a safe street, a deserted street is apt to be unsafe”¹⁵². From this perspective, public spaces populated around the clock are seen as safer due to the greater number of “eyes upon the street,”¹⁵³ allowing urban centres to police themselves to some degree. In Britain, this ‘increased safety through animation’ approach received official government endorsement as long ago as 1994. The Department of the Environment circular *Planning Out Crime*¹⁵⁴ stating that:

¹⁴⁵ O’Connor and Wynne, (1996: 9).

¹⁴⁶ Kreitzman, (1999). Such policies are in accordance with land use planning guidance issued by the UK Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG, 2005), which urges local authorities to promote a mixture of retail, leisure and residential usage in urban centres, including development which incorporates the evening and night-time economy.

¹⁴⁷ Bianchini and Schwengel, (1991).

¹⁴⁸ See Chatterton and Hollands, (2003); Hadfield, (2006); Hobbs *et al.*, (2003); Roberts and Eldridge, (2009); Valentine *et al.*, (2011).

¹⁴⁹ COMEDIA, (1991); Lovatt *et al.*, (1994); Fera Urbanism/MAKE Associates (2010),

¹⁵⁰ Following the influential work of Oscar Newman, crime reduction research and practice has often focused upon aspects of ‘territoriality’ i.e. “the capacity of the physical environment to create perceived zones of territorial influences” (1972: 52) The streets and other public spaces of our town and city centres are, by nature, accessible to everyone. As a result, encounters with strangers are unremarkable every-day occurrences and the territorial influences of local residents – even where they exist – are relatively weak. Whilst this sense of anonymity can be attractive to visitors seeking ‘time out’ experiences in the city after dark, it can also help create a permissive environment in which users of the entertainment zone do not apply the usual levers of informal social control over each others actions that might apply, even within the same spaces, during the day-time (Hobbs *et al.*, 2000; Melbin, 1978).

¹⁵¹ Montgomery (1995; 2007); Worpole (1992)

¹⁵² Jacobs (1961: 44).

¹⁵³ Jacobs *op cit.* (1961: 45).

¹⁵⁴ DoE and Welsh Office, (1994); DoE, (1996).

*One of the main reasons people give for shunning town centres at night is fear about their security and safety: one of the main reasons for that fear is the fact that there are very few people about. Breaking that vicious circle is a key to bringing life back to town centres...adopting planning policies that encourage a wide and varied range of uses...may well extend, for instance, to enabling arrangements that help promote the night economy*¹⁵⁵.

As a result, local strategies to facilitate growth of the NTE have been marketed, in part, as attempts to create “*safer city centres through the evening and into the night*” by bringing new dynamism to areas that were previously deserted after 5 pm¹⁵⁶. In order to judge the opportunities that exist for exploiting this vision and for avoiding the pitfalls that have been experienced by some jurisdictions that have sought to pursue it, it is necessary to look more closely at both the evidence and theories that highlight the potential effects of different courses of policy action (or inaction). These themes are explored in relation to management of the public realm by means of licensing and other regulatory instruments.

The Nightlife Environment

Central urban environments are created by a complex range of “*social, cultural, legal, spatial and temporal dimensions*” and characterised by a particular “*physical infrastructure of buildings, roads, transit systems, land uses, design and architecture*.”¹⁵⁷ Urban centres are also special kinds of places: “characterised by low social integration (people are strangers to each other), heterogeneity (people with different social backgrounds are brought together), mobility and transience. These factors influence the nature and patterning of human activity within such areas and shape the interlinking organization of space and time to form an “environmental backcloth”¹⁵⁸ against which opportunities for pleasure and entertainment and their various by-products emerge. As illustrated in Figure 1, nightlife areas are the sites of intense social interaction where people converge in space and time in order to fulfil their entertainment needs, exercise choice, enjoy the exciting ambience and, in a minority of cases, exploit criminal opportunities. As the diagram shows, the nature and volume of human activity is influenced by a number of factors, including the geographical distribution and trading hours of food, drink and entertainment outlets, the physical capacity of such outlets, the availability of public transport, the influence of weather and seasonality and the timing of public events and festivities.

As Valentine *et al.*, (2011) have explored geography matters when considering how and why people consume alcohol in particular ways. The nightlife areas of our towns

¹⁵⁵ DoE and Welsh Office, (1994: 14).

¹⁵⁶ Heath, (1997:193).

¹⁵⁷ Brantingham and Brantingham, (1993: 7).

¹⁵⁸ Brantingham and Brantingham, (1993).

and cities are also particular kinds of ‘behaviour setting’¹⁵⁹. Behaviour settings are socio-physical and temporal situations in which a standing pattern of behaviour occurs which is largely unique to the setting. In the Western world, urban nightlife areas are characterised by alcohol and drug-related activities which many participants associate with taking ‘time out’ from their daily lives.¹⁶⁰ As Wikström notes, “the downtown area...particularly at night, is the most socially unstable public environment in the city.”¹⁶¹ Busy nightlife areas are often crowded, chaotic, noisy, dangerous and exciting places populated by ‘beautiful people’ and characterised by a comparatively ‘lawless’ atmosphere of low level disorder, illegal parking, the sounding of horns and sirens, arguments and speeding police cars. It is this very edginess and instability that contributes to the function of the night-time city as an attractive environment for the young, adventurous and action-seeking nightlife consumer, the type of person who does not necessarily wish to consume in ‘safety.’¹⁶²

Locating Public Disorder

Crime and disorder and crime and disorder opportunities do not occur randomly, indeed there is strong empirical evidence to suggest that they are concentrated in both space and time¹⁶³. In urban centres, certain forms of violent crime, criminal damage and anti-social behaviour are typically concentrated in and around nightlife areas¹⁶⁴, with a large proportion of incidents occurring in the streets rather than within licensed premises themselves¹⁶⁵. Research by Kypri, *et al.* (2011) in Newcastle, NSW found that fewer than 10% of assault reports originated with licensed premises (although they note that a renewed emphasis on enforcement activity across the State may have influenced premises’ willingness to report incidents to the police). Similarly, attention to the temporal patterning of crime and disorder has shown that, in the UK, violent and disorderly incidents tend to peak between 2300 and 0300 on weekend nights, the periods in which pedestrian activities are at their height, there is considerable movement into and out of venues, and high levels of intoxication¹⁶⁶.

Figure 1: **The Nightlife Environment: Simple Dynamics**

¹⁵⁹ Barker, (1968).

¹⁶⁰ Hobbs *et al.*, (2003).

¹⁶¹ (1995: 437-8).

¹⁶² Ditton, (2000); Hobbs, *et al.*, (2000).

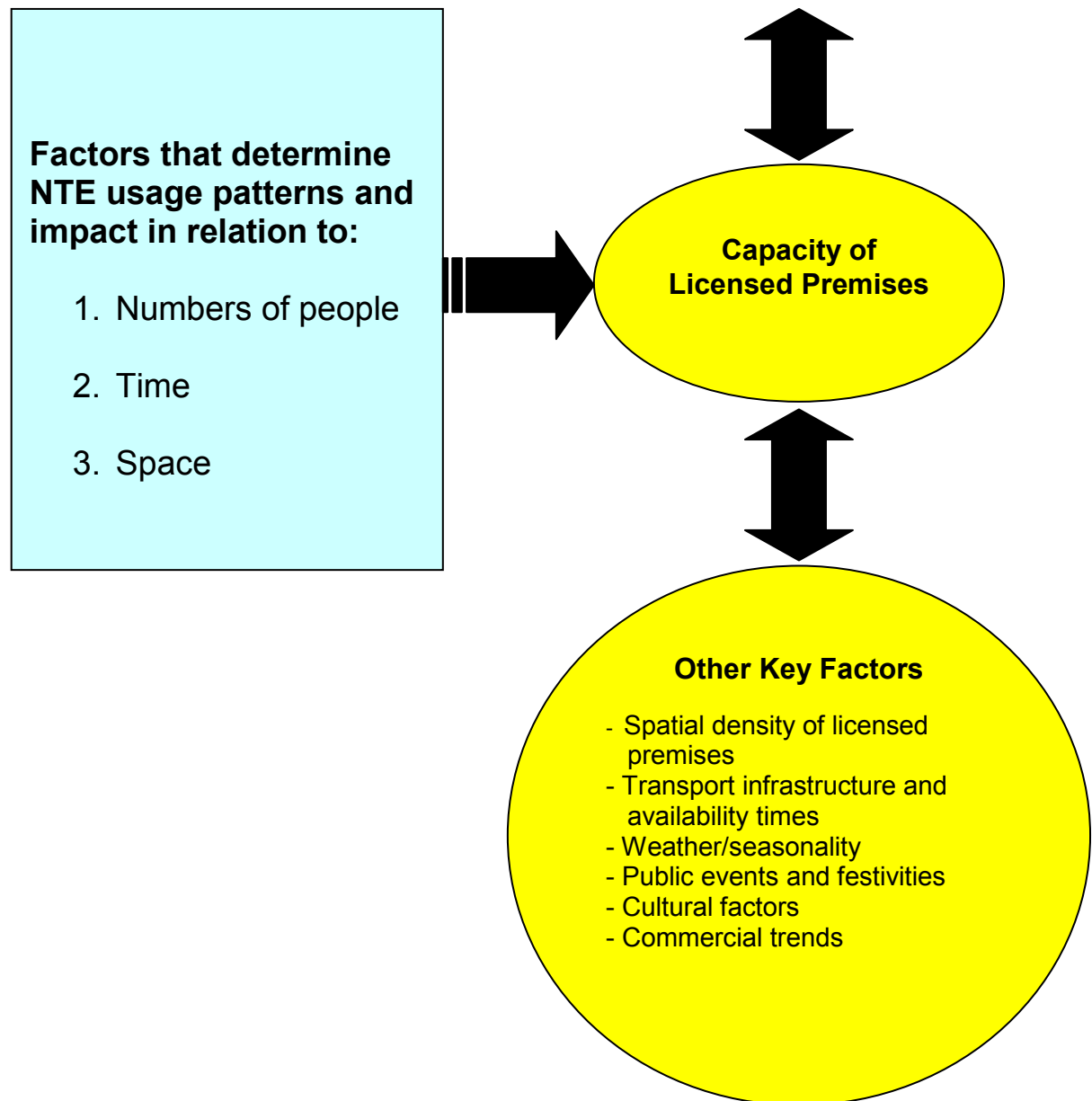
¹⁶³ Bottoms and Wiles, (2002); Brantingham and Brantingham,

¹⁶⁴ Bromley and Nelson, (2002); Hobbs *et al.*, (2003); Hope, (1985); Nelson *et al.*, (1989).

¹⁶⁵ Forsyth, (2006); Forsyth *et al.*, (2005); Graham and Homel, (2008); Hadfield, (2006); Nelson *et al.*, (2001); Tuck, (1989); Warburton and Shepherd, (2002).

¹⁶⁶ Hope, (1985); Maguire and Nettleton, (2003); Nelson *et al.*, (2001); Tuck, (1989).





In explaining and responding to the patterning of incidents, environmental criminologists typically combine Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CEPD) principles with other closely related approaches such as routine activities theory¹⁶⁷. This combined analysis can be used to examine the “environmental backcloth”¹⁶⁸ against which crime opportunities arise. In practical city management,

¹⁶⁷ See Bottoms and Wiles, (2002); Felson and Clarke, (1998); Pease, (2002).

¹⁶⁸ Brantingham and Brantingham, (1993).

the approach can help to explain how and why nightlife areas become ‘hot spots’ for violence and disorder, how ‘flashpoints’ develop within such areas at particular times, and also indicate suitable interventions to disrupt and prevent such patterns.

Routine Activities

According to routine activities theory, in order for a crime to occur there must be a convergence in time and space of three minimal elements: a likely offender, a suitable target, and an absence of capable guardians against crime¹⁶⁹. As Felson and Clarke¹⁷⁰ note, guardians can be “anybody whose presence or proximity would discourage a crime from happening,” such guardianship often being “inadvertent,” whilst targets of crime can be persons or objects, whose position in space and time, puts them at more or less risk of victimization. Routine activity approaches posit a “close relationship between the distribution in time and space of legal and illegal activities,” pointing to the ways in which “the latter are in many ways dependent on the former.” There is therefore a need “to understand the spatial and temporal variations of everyday legal activities” in order to “understand the spatial and temporal variations of crime.”¹⁷¹ Routine activity theory thus emerges as a powerful analytical tool in that it “embeds the concept of opportunity within the routine parameters of everyday life”¹⁷², including that of everyday *nightlife*.

Routine activity theory’s analytical focus upon the spatial and temporal dimensions of crime opportunities permits insight into the ways in which ‘hot-spots’ and ‘hot-times’ may be generated by “circumstances in which strangers are brought together and where intoxication and a high frequency of mixing of people with different social backgrounds is common”¹⁷³. Brantingham and Brantingham point to the way in which “normal daily activities appear to be critical in shaping where and when vaguely as opposed to carefully, planned criminal events and crimes of emotion occur.”¹⁷⁴ They go on to use the concepts of ‘nodes, paths and edges’ to explain more precisely the interplay of activity and opportunity which helps to generate concentrations of such crime:

Nodes

Nodes are areas of high density social interaction where people involved in the routine activities of their lives converge. Although some areas are subject to constant high-intensity use, urban activity nodes will often display temporal variations, perhaps being quite sparsely populated in the day and bustling at night, or vice versa.

¹⁶⁹ The theory was originally developed by Cohen and Felson (1979) and has subsequently been elaborated by Marcus Felson (see Felson, 2008) amongst others.

¹⁷⁰ (1998: 4-5).

¹⁷¹ Wikstrom, (1995: 434).

¹⁷² Bottoms and Wiles, (2002: 630).

¹⁷³ Wikstrom, (1995: 443).

¹⁷⁴ (1993: 21).

Similarly, distinctions between these day-time and night-time environments will often be qualitative as well as quantitative, with different mixtures of people using the area for different reasons and behaving in very different ways. These diverse functions of an area can generate a range of criminogenic opportunities which become manifest in temporally distinct concentrations of different types of crime incident¹⁷⁵. As nodal high activity zones, the nightlife functions of an area can act as ‘crime generators’ and ‘crime attractors’:

Crime Generators

Brantingham and Brantingham define crime generators as

...particular areas to which large numbers of people are attracted for reasons unrelated to any particular level of criminal motivation they might have or any particular crime they might end up committing. Typical examples might include shopping precincts; entertainment districts; office concentrations or sports stadiums...

*Crime generators produce crime by creating particular times and places that provide appropriate concentrations of people and other targets in settings that are conducive to particular types of criminal acts*¹⁷⁶.

Crime Attractors

Whereas crime attractors are places which:

*...create well-known criminal opportunities to which strongly motivated, intending criminal offenders are attracted because of the known opportunities for particular types of crime. Examples might include bar districts, prostitution areas...Crimes in such locations are often committed by outsiders to the area. Strongly motivated offenders will travel relatively long distances in search of a target*¹⁷⁷.

Areas with a high density of licensed premises that operate as well-known entertainment zones exhibit both generator and attractor qualities. They draw in large numbers of legitimate users, a minority of whom – as a side effect of their heavy episodic drinking/poly drug use - may become embroiled in unplanned violent or disorderly incidents, or may generate public nuisance. They may also attract a number of ‘illegitimate’ users who purposely target the area in order to exploit various criminal opportunities (for example by using the anonymity of large crowds to conduct theft, or preying upon intoxicated and therefore vulnerable persons in order to commit robbery or sexual offences).

¹⁷⁵ Melbin, (1978: 12); Wikstrom, (1995: 422; 433).

¹⁷⁶ (1995: 7).

¹⁷⁷ Op cit: 8.

Paths

Research within environmental criminology also indicates that “the term ‘hot spots’ should not seduce us too readily as it neglects the crime on the paths leading to and from the places in question”¹⁷⁸. In the context of nightlife, the notion of ‘criminogenic pathways’ can be important as once a large intoxicated consumer base is formed, violence and disorder may not remain restricted to distinct central entertainment areas, but may also impact upon late-night pedestrian and vehicular exit routes throughout the city, which become, in the early hours of the morning, the sites of further disorder, anti-social behaviour, criminal damage, vandalism and noise¹⁷⁹. Here again, the issue of preloading on alcohol at home or within one’s home community ahead of a night out in an urban centre raises levels of crime risk earlier in the evening, as already intoxicated persons make use of public transport links in their outward journeys.

Edges

Edges are physical and perceptual markers within the urban environment which denote the parameters of an area. Edges are “places where there is enough distinctiveness from one bit to another that the change is noticeable.”¹⁸⁰ The Brantinghams note that “both crime and fear may constitute problems at particular locations in space-time...Such dual hot-spots of crime and fear often occur along the edges of entertainment districts.”¹⁸¹ Such problems at the edges may occur, for example, when people leaving the hustle and bustle of the nightlife area begin to feel more isolated and fearful. Yet, although a lone drunk person walking home, for example, may represent an attractive target for certain forms of crime such as robbery or sexual assault, in comparison with the main crime and disorder ‘hot spots,’ the fear of crime experienced in these peripheral areas will often be inversely related to the level of risk. As Brantingham and Brantingham note, “places marked by darkness and isolation are generally feared as likely crime sites, but (with a few exceptions) tend to be relatively low-frequency crime locations...crime may often be high in situations and sites where people feel safe and express little fear”¹⁸².

Circuit Drinking

In many towns and cities a routine pattern or flow of customers between different licensed premises can be observed as people circulate between different venues within a geographically distinct nightlife area. For the consumer, the attractions of circuit drinking may be various including the ability to exercise choice, match venue ambience to their moods and requirements at different times of the night, mingle with an exciting

¹⁷⁸ Felson and Clarke, (1998: 15).

¹⁷⁹ Brantingham and Brantingham, (1993); Bromley and Nelson, (2002); Nelson et al., (2001).

¹⁸⁰ Brantingham and Brantingham, (1995: 12).

¹⁸¹ (1995: 6-7).

¹⁸² (1995: 6).

array of different people whilst maximising their entertainment experiences by combining the ambience of different licensed premises with the excitement of street life. The popularity, attraction value and consumer attachment to the high street circuit is reflected in the premium such sites are afforded by operators wishing to develop new licensed premises¹⁸³. From a routine activities perspective however circuit drinking can be viewed as problematic in that it increases the number of pedestrian journeys and associated opportunities for conflict within busy periods of the night.

Flashpoints

In a seminal report for the UK Home Office, Tuck describes how having left licensed premises, people “emerge on the streets still looking for further entertainment, cluster at fast-food outlets or other gathering points and are at this point excitable tinder, ready for any spark which may cause quarrels or violence”¹⁸⁴. Comparison of the patterning of recorded crime and disorder in various nightlife areas has permitted the identification, not only of general spatial ‘hot spots’ and temporal concentrations, but also of specific micro-spatial and temporal ‘flashpoints’ ie. particular sites at particular times in which incidents are especially concentrated. Such ‘flashpoints’ typically include taxi-ranks, fast-food outlets and other points of pedestrian clustering and convergence¹⁸⁵.

Taxi-ranks are for example, sites of confluence at which the frustration caused by queuing and anger caused by perceived or actual incidents of ‘queue jumping’ can create friction. The experience of competing for scarce resources within a crowded environment can be frustrating at the best of times, but within contexts in which the majority of participants are likely to be in some way intoxicated, the risk of ‘negative’ outcomes can be accentuated¹⁸⁶. In the West End of London for example, the absence of tube transport after 1am means that many late-night visitors have difficulty finding transport home and must therefore, by necessity, spend time on the streets in search of black cabs and night buses or take their chances with one of the many illicit minicabs. Where late-night crowds increase in size in the absence of any corresponding enhancement of local transport provision, more people are forced to remain on the streets for longer periods of time and, as described, increased competition for available transport can give rise to conflict and disorder.

Offenders and Victims

Offenders

While the Routine Activities explanation of suitable aggressor, suitable victim and low guardianship helps to broadly identify high-risk situations, other situational factors such as the informal rules and norms of nightlife visitors and the staff of licensed premises have an important influence, particularly if they are such as to excuse, tolerate, or reward

¹⁸³Hadfield, (2006)

¹⁸⁴(1989:66).

¹⁸⁵Nelson *et al.*, (2001); Purser, (1997); Shepherd, (1994) Tuck, (1989).

¹⁸⁶Brantingham and Brantingham, (1995); Wikstrom, (1995).

aggression¹⁸⁷. Young male “weekend warriors”¹⁸⁸ who actively seek out violence as a recreational activity related to their drinking behaviour inflict a disproportionate amount of harm¹⁸⁹. Their numbers are relatively low, however, within the composition of nightlife crowds. A pan-European cross-sectional survey of 1,341 nightlife users aged 16-35 by Schnitzer *et al.* (2010) assessed a variety of risk-taking traits amongst both genders, including violence, sexual, alcohol, and drug-related current and historic behaviours. They found that the likelihood of having been involved in a physical fight in nightlife increased with younger age, higher levels of drunkenness, and the reported preference for more tolerant licensed venues. As the authors further summarise:

*The odds of involvement in a fight for females who were drunk five or more times in the past 4 weeks were almost five times higher than those who were never drunk (odds ratio for males 1.99). Use of more than doubled the risk of involvement in violence among males. However, no association was found for females. For heterosexual men, the odds for violence almost doubled compared with bisexual or homosexual men, whereas for women heterosexuality was a protective factor... To develop effective violence prevention measures in nightlife, considerations need to be made regarding the demographic composition of patrons in addition to wider structural elements within the night-time environment*¹⁹⁰.

Empirical evidence from Cardiff, UK found that most alcohol-related arrestees in the NTE had no previous convictions for violent behaviour and that most of the incidents leading to their arrest were spontaneous and unplanned¹⁹¹. Although certain high-risk profiles have been identified, persons who are intoxicated, emotionally aroused and placed under stressful conditions on the streets late at night might come from a range of backgrounds and demographic groups¹⁹². Their activities whilst ‘in drink’ may not amount to acts of violence or criminal damage, but might well be expressed as uninhibited and noisy exuberance, or argumentative and threatening behaviour, that in accordance with the legal definition of public disorder in UK legislation, may elicit feelings of “harassment, alarm or distress” in those who observe or hear them (Section 5 of the Public Order Act, 1986). For this reason, although it is useful to target interventions toward the social groups and licensed premises where they are most needed, it is also important to adopt a complimentary harm reduction approach to nightlife areas as a whole, as well as toward all patrons of the NTE.

Victims

A number of studies have shown that those who go out at night, especially for entertainment, are more likely to become the victims of violent crime¹⁹³. Intoxicated

¹⁸⁷ Graham and Homel, (2008); Graham and Wells, (2003)

¹⁸⁸ Marshall, (1979).

¹⁸⁹ Burns, (1980); Dyck, (1980); Tomsen, (1997).

¹⁹⁰ Schnitzer *et al.* (2010: 1094)

¹⁹¹ Maguire and Nettleton, (2003).

¹⁹² Eldridge and Roberts, (2008)

¹⁹³ Felson, (1997); Gottfredson, (1984); Lasley, (1989); Miethe, Stafford and Long, (1987).

revellers who, for example, are unable to find transport home late at night, are placed at greater risk of accidental injury, robbery, sexual assault and various forms of street crime¹⁹⁴ and there is increasing evidence to suggest that the nightlife areas of our towns and cities are being targeted by criminals in search of a variety of ‘easy pickings.’¹⁹⁵ The crowded and the disorderly environment of nightlife areas is attractive to a variety of potential offenders and others wishing to exploit informal economic opportunities including street robbers, bogus taxi drivers, illegal vendors, unlicensed rickshaw touts, pickpockets, drug dealers, prostitutes and pimps. In a nightlife environment these activities can often be pursued in conditions of relative anonymity.

The legal distinction between ‘victims’ and ‘offenders’ may become blurred where both parties experience fighting as having ‘recreational’ elements. Maguire and Nettleton’s study in Cardiff found that the majority of those arrested for alcohol-related violence or disorder were young white males (around half aged between 20 and 30) who were first time offenders and who lived locally and that “assault victims whose details were recorded had fairly similar profiles to offenders in terms of age, sex and residence”¹⁹⁶. Clearly, nightlife brings offenders into contact with victims in numerous ways and the same theoretical model that “predicts crime and offender patterns also predicts that *victimization* patterns will be tied to the *victim*’s routine paths and activity nodes,” with victim movement patterns often proving “as important in determining where and when a crime occurs as offender movement patterns”¹⁹⁷.

Fear of Crime

Night-time economies that have a mono-cultural profile, typically targeting a young adult audience with an alcohol-focused offer, can become ‘honeypots’ for their core consumers, whilst serving to repel members of the wider community. Thus, although de-regulation of planning and licensing regulations can be effective in animating once deserted streets, as Oc and Tiesdell note, whilst there may sometimes be “safety in numbers,” the “*composition* of a crowd” is equally important¹⁹⁸. In the evenings and at night, particularly at weekends after 10.00pm, there is a tendency for people predominately aged from 17-25 years old, to visit urban centres. As a result of this age group’s domination of both licensed premises and public space and their often boisterous and intoxicated comportment, other members of the community may feel effectively excluded from participation in nightlife. Research conducted in a number of UK cities including Coventry¹⁹⁹; Nottingham²⁰⁰; Leeds²⁰¹ and Swansea and Cardiff²⁰² has found

¹⁹⁴ Giesbrecht et al., (1989); Magennis *et al.*, (1998); Shepherd and Brickley, (1996); Wechsler *et al.*, (1994).

¹⁹⁵ Robbery and sexual assault of revellers by bogus minicab drivers who target nightlife areas is of particular salience, having prompted police-led public safety campaigns in a number of English cities, including Birmingham, London and Manchester.

¹⁹⁶ (2003: 36).

¹⁹⁷ Brantingham and Brantingham, (1995: 11).

¹⁹⁸ (1998: 86).

¹⁹⁹ Ramsay, (1989).

that many people seek to avoid urban centres at night, perceiving them to be threatening environments dominated by drunken youths.

Although rates of directly experienced victimization may be low, social incivilities (such as public drunkenness) and physical incivilities (such as litter and vandalism) can generate fear in a large number of people by conveying negative messages about the social conditions in an area²⁰³. In both Swansea and Cardiff, Thomas and Bromley found that, “the concentrations of public houses and late-night clubs, and the principal transport termini were perceived to be especially problematic”²⁰⁴. In contrast to the initial 24-hour city expectations of ‘increased feelings of security through the animation of public space,’ people expressed their “*highest levels of anxiety* with regard to the areas which were the *most* populated at night”²⁰⁵. Thus the ‘hot spots’ of both fear and crime were found to converge to the extent that, as noted above, in the context of nightlife, the areas where social interaction is at its most intense will typically have the highest levels of crime and disorder. Thomas and Bromley²⁰⁶ also note that whilst the most frequent visitors to the city centre at night (young men) “consistently recorded the lowest levels of disquiet,” the least frequent visitors (older people, especially women) “displayed the highest levels of anxiety.” Such responses may well reflect forms of ‘indirect experience’ such as media reports, rumours, recalled past experiences and differential feelings of emotional and physical vulnerability²⁰⁷. In sum, many, especially older people, young families, and some ethnic minorities, will simply avoid nightlife areas in circumstances where those areas have a negative image, do not offer facilities that are attractive to them and are not connected to their homes by regular and secure transport services.

Avoidance Behaviours

The generation of fear is essentially an exclusionary process which can have the effect of undermining commercial diversity and discouraging wider community participation in nightlife, an important issue for public order given that the very presence of socially and culturally diverse crowds can serve to ‘normalize’ the on-street environment and enhance informal controls²⁰⁸. Fear generation can also set in motion something of a vicious circle as the more that people seek to avoid certain places at certain times, the greater becomes their perception that such spatial/temporal locations are dangerous or ‘not for them’ and the greater their perception of danger, the more their fear grows. Avoidance may also impact upon actual crime and disorder by further ghettoising nightlife areas as arenas which are ‘set aside’ for the more

²⁰⁰ Oc and Tiesdell, (1998).

²⁰¹ Spink and Bramham, (1999).

²⁰² Thomas and Bromley, (2000).

²⁰³ Dixon, *et al.*, (2006); Nasar and Fisher, (1993); Skogan and Maxfield, (1981); Warr, (1990); Wilson and Kelling, (1982).

²⁰⁴ (2000:1425).

²⁰⁵ Ibid, my emphasis; also see Moran *et al.*, (2003).

²⁰⁶ (2000: 1422-1425).

²⁰⁷ Nasar and Fisher, (1993); Skogan and Maxfield, (1981).

²⁰⁸ Jacobs, (1961).

aggressive forms of youthful hedonism. The operators of cinemas, theatres and restaurants sometimes complain that their customers feel intimidated. Thus, rather than acting (as sometimes predicted) as the catalyst of more inclusive urban streetlife, the growth of the NTE (at least in its present guise) has often not made our urban centres “more accessible at night for the majority of citizens, quite the reverse”²⁰⁹.

It would appear that the fear of crime may be undermining attempts to make our towns and cities safer at night. Fears relating to crime and disorder can be as important in discouraging people’s use of urban centres as the experience of crime itself and the processes which continue to generate such fear continue to present a ‘formidable barrier’²¹⁰ to the development of more diverse and inclusive nightlife. Clearly, much is at stake, including the accessibility and amenity value of the night-time city for wider constituencies of residents, visitors and businesses.

The Role of Residents

As noted, Jane Jacobs’s analyses of the social and economic benefits of populous after-dark streets have been important theoretical cornerstones of the ‘24-hour city’ concept, and also of official planning policy guidance in the UK. However, locations in which alcohol and youth-based leisure uses have been allowed to dominate have experienced a corruption of Jacob’s vision, involving “duplication of the most profitable use”²¹¹ that she specifically warned against²¹². Yet, at the same time, many proponents of the ‘24-hour city’ point to the crime preventative role of residential communities within central urban areas. Both Jacobs and Newman²¹³ argue in favour of mixed-use urban environments in which residential areas are juxtaposed with intensively used non-residential space. Mixed-use development is generally regarded as having many advantages over single-use zoning, including environmental sustainability, the promotion of social cohesion and vibrancy and the prevention of crime. These assumed advantages of compact, mixed-use development now form the basis of official urban planning policies in many countries around the world and especially in southern Europe²¹⁴.

In crowded public spaces in which many people are intoxicated, criminals can operate in conditions of greater anonymity with a smaller chance of being apprehended. The crime preventative functions of residential communities are said to include improved opportunities for the natural surveillance of public space and a shared sense of propriety toward such space. In Newman’s terms, residents’ attachments to their homes and communities encourage them to perform a territorial function with regard to their

²⁰⁹ Spink and Bramham, (1999:148).

²¹⁰ Thomas and Bromley, Op cit.

²¹¹ (1961: 259).

²¹² Hadfield *et al.*, (2001)

²¹³ Op cit.

²¹⁴ Montgomery, (2007); Urban Task Force, (1999); DETR, Urban White Paper, (2000).

surrounding area. This may typically involve various interventions into the public realm in the form of maintaining, guarding, watching and reporting which have the effect of ‘informally’ increasing social control in ways which can reduce the need for formal action by the police and other authorities. In relation to the observed ghettoising tendencies of an inadequately planned and regulated NTE, the advantages of encouraging and retaining a residential presence and residential amenities in areas which also contain nightlife seems clear. The role of residents in crime and disorder reduction might be understood as one of ‘normalisation,’ to the extent that simply by going about their daily and nightly activities, residents will use an area in ways which may not involve drinking and ‘partying’. In this way, even where an area’s night-time commercial attractions and visitors may be narrowly constituted, its links to the wider local community are not entirely severed and some degree of community involvement and guardianship is maintained.

Despite the above, problems often emerge in reconciling the NTE with nearby residential uses²¹⁵. Day-time businesses and those living near to licensed premises and late-night takeaways highlight a range of problems such as noise from both pedestrians and traffic, litter, human fouling, congestion, anti-social behaviour, criminal damage, drug-taking and drug dealing. A cross-cultural comparative study of mixed-use entertainment districts in four Northern European capital cities (Berlin, Copenhagen, Dublin and London) found that all the areas: “had similar problems caused by the concentration of bars, nightclubs and restaurants, especially in relation to noise, crowds, litter and social disorder. Each locale had experienced a conflict between business and residential interests”²¹⁶. The authors go on to conclude: “it is striking that in each of the case study areas, problems were associated with a concentration of licensed premises”²¹⁷. At the same time, local residents often feel that they have little influence or leverage in relation to decisions concerning nightlife developments. A national survey of Australians by the AER Foundation (2011), for example, found that 48% of their representative sample reported not having enough say in the number of licensed venues in their community (this being twice as many as those who reported that they felt that they did have enough say (24%).

Summary: Locating Crime and Disorder in Nightlife Environments

“The downtown area...particularly at night, is the most socially unstable public environment in the city” (Wikström²¹⁸)

²¹⁵ Central Cities Institute, (2002); GLA (2002a; 2002b), LGA, (2002).

²¹⁶ Central Cities Institute, (2002: 7).

²¹⁷ Ibid: 81.

²¹⁸ (1995: 437-8).

Urban centres are special kinds of places characterised by low social integration (people are strangers to each other), heterogeneity (people with different social backgrounds are brought together), mobility and transience.

The nature and volume of human activity is influenced by a number of factors, including the geographical distribution and trading hours of food, drink and entertainment outlets, the physical capacity of such outlets, the availability of public transport, the influence of weather and seasonality and the timing of public events and festivities.

Geography, temporal factors and cultural norms all exert influence over how and why people behave in particular ways. The nightlife areas of our towns and cities are particular kinds of 'behaviour setting' in which a standing pattern of behaviour occurs which is largely unique to the setting. In the Western world, urban nightlife areas are characterised by alcohol and drug-related activities which many participants associate with taking 'time out' from their daily lives.

Busy nightlife areas are the sites of intense social interaction where people converge in space and time in order to fulfil their entertainment needs, exercise choice, enjoy the exciting ambience and, in a minority of cases, exploit criminal opportunities.

Nightlife areas often exhibit an 'edgy' character of low level disorder. This intense experience is part of the appeal of the night-time city for the young, adventurous and action-seeking nightlife consumer. It may hold less appeal for other types of visitor and for some local residents.

In terms of volume, crime and disorder in the NTE is concentrated in space and time. Temporal peaks can be sharp where premises close at similar times; however, even where closing times are more dispersed, offences tend to occur within a fairly limited timeframe and range of locations. These patterns mirror people's access to leisure opportunities and transport. A particular range of offences relating to inter-personal violence, drunkenness, criminal damage, anti-social behaviour, and public nuisance are apparent. In addition, the problem of domestic violence following a night out should be acknowledged.

The proportion of incidents occurring in the streets is almost always considerably larger than that occurring within licensed premises themselves, although there is likely to be a significant degree of under-reporting in both contexts.

According to routine activities theory, in order for a crime to occur there must be a convergence in time and space of three minimal elements: a likely offender, a suitable target, and an absence of capable guardians against crime.

Capable guardians can be anyone whose presence or proximity would discourage a crime from happening, such guardianship often being inadvertent, whilst targets of crime can be persons or objects, whose position in space and time, puts them at more or less risk of victimization.

Routine activity approaches posit a close relationship between the distribution in time and space of everyday legal activities and those of illegal or anti-social activities. In the NTE, 'hot-spots' and 'hot-times' for crime are generated by circumstances in which crowds are brought together in largely uncontrolled environments where intoxication and a high frequency of mixing of people with different social backgrounds is common.

The routine activities theory provides an overview of crime profiles that can assist in planning regulatory and policing responses, particularly licensing decisions concerning the location and trading hours of licensed premises. Areas with a high density of licensed premises exhibit both generator and attractor qualities. They draw in large numbers of legitimate users, a minority of whom – as a side effect of their heavy episodic drinking/poly drug use - may become embroiled in violent or disorderly incidents, or create public nuisance. Most alcohol-related arrestees in the NTE have no previous convictions for violent behaviour and the incidents leading to their arrest are typically spontaneous and unplanned.

From a routine activities perspective, circuit drinking or 'bar-hopping' wherein people move between different venues within the course of their night out can be viewed as problematic as it increases the number of pedestrian journeys and associated opportunities for conflict within busy periods of the night.

Studying the patterning of recorded crime and disorder has permitted the identification of specific 'flashpoints' ie. particular sites at particular times in which incidents are especially concentrated. These include taxi-ranks, night bus stops, fast-food outlets and other points of pedestrian clustering and convergence.

Once a large intoxicated consumer base is formed, crime and public nuisance may not remain restricted to distinct central entertainment areas, but may also impact upon late-night pedestrian and vehicular exit routes throughout the city. This is not so much the displacement of crime – as these outlying areas do not, themselves 'generate' crime - but rather its radiation from one, or several, central hubs.

Routine activities approaches help to broadly identify high-risk situations but do not, of course, account for all potential causes of crime and disorder occurring in a nightlife context. Some crimes of violence, for example, may arise as a result of particular antagonisms between groups, or as a by-product of an individual's psychological and physiological responses to intoxication. Moreover, a small number of people intentionally seek out violence as part of their night out, or purposely target an area in order to exploit criminal opportunities (for example, by using the anonymity of large

crowds to conduct theft, or prey upon intoxicated and therefore vulnerable persons in order to commit robbery or sexual offences). These intentional crimes also need to be targeted within multi-component programmes for nightlife security.

Although rates of directly experienced victimization may be low, social incivilities (such as public drunkenness) and physical incivilities (such as litter and vandalism) can generate fear in a large number of people by conveying negative messages about the social conditions in an area.

Research has found very different responses to ‘fear of crime’ surveys from different demographic groups regarding busy nightlife areas. Young males report fear the least and yet face the highest levels of objective risk. Similarly, young people’s reported lack of fear in busy areas is almost always inversely related to levels of risk.

Violence prevention measures should take account of the demographic composition of patrons in addition to wider structural elements of the NTE. The likelihood of becoming involved in a physical fight in nightlife increases with younger age, higher levels of drunkenness, cocaine use (particularly in combination with alcohol), and reported preferences for more tolerant licensed venues. Heterosexuality appears to be a risk factor for men and a protective factor for women in relation to the likelihood of becoming involved in NTE-related violence. Victims of violence in the NTE tend to have very similar demographic profiles and patterns of behaviour to those of offenders.

Although certain high-risk profiles have been identified, persons who are intoxicated, emotionally aroused and placed under stressful conditions on the streets late at night come from a range of backgrounds and demographic groups. Their activities whilst ‘in drink’ may not amount to acts of violence or criminal damage, but might well be expressed as uninhibited and noisy exuberance, or argumentative and threatening behaviour; these activities can cause other people to experience alarm or distress. Thus, whilst it is useful to target interventions toward the social groups, street locations, and licensed premises where they are most needed, it is equally important to adopt a holistic safety and security management approach toward nightlife areas and their patrons.

Many, especially older people, young families, and some ethnic minorities, will simply avoid nightlife areas in circumstances where those areas have a negative image, do not offer facilities that are attractive to them and are not connected to their homes by regular and secure transport services. This is unfortunate, as the presence of socially and culturally diverse crowds – as opposed to a monoculture of young drinkers - can serve to ‘normalize’ the on-street environment and enhance informal controls, in the same way it does during the day.

The balance of evidence favours the development of mixed-use areas over single-use zoning. Advantages include the promotion of social cohesion, vibrancy, the maintenance

of local services, and the prevention of crime.

The inherent crime preventative functions of residential communities are said to include improved opportunities for the natural surveillance of public space and a shared sense of propriety toward such space. This occurs in the form of maintaining, guarding, watching and reporting, activities which have the effect of 'informally' increasing social control in ways which can reduce the need for formal action by the police and other authorities.

Problems often emerge in reconciling the NTE with nearby residential and day-time businesses uses. Those living near to licensed premises, late-night takeaways and transport termini, highlight a range of problems such as noise, litter, human fouling, congestion, anti-social behaviour, and drug-related activity. A comparative study of mixed-use entertainment districts in four Northern European capital cities found all areas to have similar problems in managing the conflict between business and residential interests. Local residents typically often little real influence or leverage in relation to decisions concerning nightlife developments.

5. Licensing Approaches (Structural Interventions)

Outlet Density

Nightlife consumers are similar to day-time ones to the extent that they are attracted 'like bees to the honey' to clusters of outlets which provide choice, conveniently located fulfilment of their needs, and the exciting ambience of a social gathering. Part of the appeal of nightlife areas is that one can always find 'lots of things going on' and many entertainment venues to 'see and be seen in.'

This section explores links between what is known about the availability of alcohol in nightlife areas and its relationship to harm reduction (reducing the frequency and severity of crime, public order, and adverse health outcomes). The ‘availability’ of alcohol in this context refers to the number and geographical density of licensed premises, as well to the hours of sale of these outlets. These factors can further influence the retail price of alcoholic beverages in a given area, competition amongst premises that are bunched together creating pressure towards lower prices. As discussed in the previous chapter, this is a further important factor as demand for alcohol (and consumption) has been found to be price sensitive, particularly amongst certain sub-groups, with consumption and associated harms increasing where prices are lower. It should also be recalled from Chapter 1 that baseline rates of drinking amongst nightlife patrons are likely to exceed general population-level consumption estimates for their demographic profile.

The international research evidence and previous reviews of this evidence have found strong associations between outlet density and local levels of alcohol-related harms, with some studies specifically linking outlet density to violence around on-licensed premises (Babor *et al.*, 2010; Freisthler and Gruenewald, 2005; Livingston, 2007, 2008; Livingston, *et al.*, 2007; Loxley *et al.*, 2004; Stockwell and Gruenewald, 2003; Stockwell *et al.*, 2006). The majority of studies that have examined the local-level relationship between alcohol outlet density and violence have utilized cross-sectional data²¹⁹. These studies have consistently demonstrated that there is a spatial link between outlets and violence, but because of their design they have not been able to determine whether *changes* in outlet density result in *changes* in rates of violence.

As Livingston, *et al.*, (2007: 559-60) note, the best evidence on how changes in outlet-density affect violence rates comes from longitudinal studies. Longitudinal analyses allow the examination of changes in outlet density within a particular region over time, minimising the possibility that the effects attributed to the changes are related to other, unaccounted for, variables. Norström (2000) conducted a time-series analysis relating two measures of assault to on-premise outlet density in Norway. This study found significant associations, suggesting that as the density of outlets in Norway increased or decreased, assault rates changed correspondingly. Further longitudinal evidence is provided by Gruenewald and Remer (2006) who explored the relationship between outlet density and assault across a 6-year period in 581 Californian postal code areas. The study incorporated a range of ‘control’ variables, including environmental factors such as other types of retail activity and socio-demographic factors, eg. changes in average household income across the 6-year period. Licensed premises were divided into three types of outlet: bars, restaurants and bottle shop retailers. The study found statistically significant relationships between increases in the density of bars and bottle shop outlets and increases in violence, but the opposite (negative) effect for restaurants. Increases in the density of bars in adjacent areas were also positively associated with violence, suggesting that

²¹⁹ Donnelly *et al.*, (2006); Stevenson *et al.*, (1999)

new bars influence violence not only in their immediate location, but also in proximate locations as well. The authors estimate that an average reduction of one bar in each of the 581 postal codes would have resulted in 290 fewer assaults over the 6-year period studied.

Research by Livingston (2008) has provided further evidence of the link between shifts in outlet density and violence rates over time. His study also examines the characteristics of different geographical locations in which changes in the density of particular types of premises are most strongly associated with changes in the rates of violence. Data over 9 years measuring alcohol outlet density (using liquor licensing records) and alcohol-related violence (using police recorded night-time assaults) were examined from 186 postcodes in the metropolitan area of Melbourne, Australia. Relationships between the density of three types of alcohol outlet licenses issued in the State of Victoria and alcohol-related violence were assessed: general, on-premise, and packaged. 'General licenses' allow the sale of alcohol for consumption both on and off the premises, and apply to an Australian tradition whereby large bars, taverns and pubs often have on-site liquor stores. Alcohol consumption is usually the primary activity in these premises. 'On-premise licenses' permit alcohol sales for consumption on the premises only, and typically apply to restaurants, bars, and nightclubs. 'Packaged licenses' allow alcohol to be sold for off-premise consumption only and apply to retail liquor stores (including some supermarkets). Data on assaults were provided by the Victorian police, the indirect indicator for alcohol-related assaults in this study being the rate of assaults taking place between 8 pm and 6 am on Friday and Saturday nights. Comparative analyses of assaults across all time periods were also undertaken. The results were broadly similar, although effect-sizes were smaller, suggesting the effects of outlet density on violence are predominantly experienced within the NTE period.

The Melbourne postcodes were then grouped into 5 clusters based on their socio-demographic profile and duplicated models applied to assess whether the relationship between outlet density and violence differed based on the type of area studied. The research found the link between outlet density and violence to be significant across all neighbourhood types. However, specific relationships varied between areas, with 'packaged liquor' outlets consistently associated with violence in suburban areas and 'general (large bar, taverns and pubs)' and 'on-premise' (nightclubs, restaurants, and bars) licenses associated with violence in inner-city and inner-suburban areas. A limitation of the study was that as a result of the data set that was available it was not possible to differentiate between the effects of different types of on-licensed premises, eg. Between those of a small licensed restaurant closing at 11pm and a large late-night nightclub.

In a separate analysis, Livingston (2007) focused on the possibility of a non-linear relationship between alcohol outlet densities and assault rates in local areas. Cross-sectional data on police-recorded night-time assaults, liquor licensing records and socio-demographic information was obtained for 223 Melbourne postcodes. These data sets were used to construct a series of models testing the relationship between

alcohol outlet density and assault, while controlling for socio-demographic factors. Four types of relationship were examined: a linear relationship between outlet density and assault, a non-linear relationship with potential threshold or saturation densities, a relationship mediated by the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood, and a relationship which took into account the effect of outlets in surrounding neighbourhoods. The model positing a non-linear relationship between outlet density and assaults was found to best fit the data for 'general licenses'. While the overall relationship was positive, with alcohol-related assaults increasing with the number of outlets in a linear fashion as found in previous studies, Livingston posits that there may be a point after which each additional outlet contributes increasing numbers of additional assaults. An increasing accelerating effect was found corresponding to the density of 'general licenses' within a postcode reaching 30, above which each new licence results in a marked increase in the expected number of alcohol-related assaults. This, the author suggests, provides evidence that areas with high densities of licensed premises may have a critical 'tipping point' above which decision-makers should consider imposing limits on the number of further licenses issued.

Given the nature of the licensing data used for this study it was not possible to fully ascertain whether the assaults associated with the density of 'general licence' premises were related to the on- or off-premise component of their sales. However, because of the assault measure used (assaults recorded by police between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. on Friday and Saturday), it seems reasonable to assume that a substantial proportion of the assaults were related to on-premise consumption in the NTE, although there may have been some further unknown effect of pre-loading. The difference between the rates recorded for the 'general licensed' premises and the 'on-premise licensed' venues could well be explained by the relatively large physical capacities of the former.

In a further commentary on the outlet density research literature, Livingston *et al.*, (2007) argue that the strongest evidence linking outlet density to rates of violence relates to the 'bunching' of premises selling alcohol for consumption on the premises within distinct nightlife areas. Premises bunched within a postcode or neighbourhood in urban areas are, they report, more likely to have an effect on rates of heavy sessional drinking, alcohol-related injuries and violence, and on other short-term consequences related to concentrated drinking during discrete occasions. The culture of 'circuit drinking' highlighted above is inherent to such bunching, with patrons progressing from venue to venue in the course of a night out. There can be clear conflicts of interest here as, in Britain at least, new licensed venues developed for the young adult drinking market are more likely to attract investment if located in proximity to existing attractive pubs and nightspots as a result of the location's proven commercial value²²⁰.

Research and evaluation studies have not so far explored the effects of policies which seek to restrict the further growth of licensed outlets within a particular designated

²²⁰Hadfield, (2006)

zone in terms of the effects this may have on promoting development of the NTE elsewhere. Clearly, the redistribution of development is often a key aim of such policies, which may be seen to have a range of social and economic benefits. Of greater concern, however, might be an outcome which saw increasing development pressure just outside of the special policy boundaries, as opposed to being within another clearly distinct and preferred area. One innovative response may be to introduce a graduated framework of regulation involving a 'core zone' and one or more 'buffer zones'. New licensed development within the 'buffer zone' would be subject to less stringent regulation than within the 'core zone', but more restriction than that of the 'preferred areas' of the city, not identified as subject to the same extent of NTE-related environmental pressures. Even with these measures in place, the zones subject to additional control are likely to represent only a very small proportion of the total licensing area.

Bottle Shop Premises

Research concerning impacts of the bottle shop element of alcohol availability has so far failed to look specifically at the presence of such outlets alongside licensed premises within nightlife entertainment zones and surrounding areas. As part of investigations into the phenomena of 'pre-loading', wherein nightlife visitors derive a proportion of their alcohol intake from bottle shops, research suggests a high degree of mobility between premises and sectors, including other practices such as 'back-loading' (drinking bottle shop alcohol after licensed premises' closing times) and 'side-loading', the drinking of alcohol purchased at a bottle shop and consumed while travelling to, queuing to enter, or attending a late-night venue, either by smuggling it in, or leaving the venue for a while (also known as a 'roadie' in NSW)²²¹. Such problems were identified during a consultation on proposed revisions to the City of Westminster's Statement of Licensing Policy:

There is concern from the police and the on-trade that this is an issue that leads to nuisance and disorder. The police have confirmed there are 20-30 seizures of alcohol a night in Leicester Square on a regular basis and 60-70 seizures when a targeted operation is mounted, such as in November 2009. Figures supplied by 9 West End nightclubs on numbers of bottles and cans seized at nightclub queues over weekends at the end of September (2010) average out at 10.8 per club per night, and ranging from 4 in the lowest to 24 at the highest. These figures exclude undetected alcohol consumed before arriving at the club or in the queue and alcohol concealed in soft drinks²²².

²²¹ Forsyth, (2009)

²²² City of Westminster, (2010), p. 8.

At a wider community level, Livingston *et al.*, (2008) found an association between the density of packaged liquor outlets and reported rates of very high-risk drinking amongst young people in Victoria. A body of work by Forsyth and colleagues²²³ has explored the practices of young street drinkers and licensed corner shops in Scottish residential communities. There are two strands to this work of relevance to the outlet density literature: interviews with shopkeepers / servers and surveys of alcohol-related litter. In the first instance, people working in shops report repeat victimisation at the hands of customers and their considerable attempts to prevent this through responsible service. Thus, a picture emerges that is more nuanced than that of the ‘Daniels Report’ for the Scottish Executive²²⁴, which portrayed such shops as simply being the generators of alcohol-related anti-social behaviour in communities. In response to deep-discounting (on all products, including alcohol) by the major supermarkets these shopkeepers found themselves becoming dependent on what ‘Daniels’ refers to as ‘suspect’ high strength products (e.g. *Buckfast* tonic wine) which the multiple retailers did not stock (Forsyth and Davidson, 2008).

The presence of alcohol-related litter was largely predicted by local area deprivation rather than outlet density, with a large number of superstore trolleys abandoned in the survey area (sometimes alongside alcohol detritus, including supermarket own-brand alcohol packaging). As there were no superstores within the study area, and as own-brands only make-up a proportion of alcohol sales, the authors report it reasonable to assume that many bottle shop alcohol-related problems originated from sales made by the major superstores, whilst taking place elsewhere – be it outside shops and in parks and other residential community facilities, in a pub, or at a nightclub door, as a result of pre-loading (Forsyth and Davidson, 2010).

As Pridemore and Grubestic, (2011) note, convenience stores with bottle shop licenses can provide a place for local residents to socialise and may also serve as the place where ongoing disputes and grievances are resolved, this occurring both in the context of alcohol consumption and in the absence of drinking. Such premises typically lack the levels of formal social control and guardianship found in bars and this can result in high levels of crime risk and relatively weak mechanisms for preventing the escalation of aggression once it begins. By contrast, the presence of well-run pubs and general stores may be regarded as a positive amenity by some law-abiding members of the community (Forsyth *et al.*, 2007), thus detailed local area case studies are invaluable in providing insight into how different outlets contribute, or might potentially effect, the relationship between outlet density and a range of environmental impacts. In particular, the literature is currently silent about the role that bottle shop outlets located directly *within* nightlife areas might play in generating alcohol-related harms. This is becoming an increasing area of importance in the UK where the major supermarkets are moving toward the exploitation of alcohol markets within urban centres and suburbs, through the opening of smaller, convenience store formats, often with extended night-time opening hours.

²²³Forsyth and Davidson, 2008, 2010; Forsyth *et al.*, 2007; Galloway, *et al.*, 2007

²²⁴Working Group on Off-sales in the Community, (2004)

Evidence from public consultation studies suggests that the contribution of bottle shop-sourced alcohol to local prevalence of alcohol-related harm within a nightlife context is likely to vary significantly between areas²²⁵. Towns and cities that are tourist resorts popular with young people and/or with a high proportion of resident students are more likely to experience greater impacts related to drinking in public places than comparable areas where the NTE is primarily used by adults in employment. Location-specific research would be needed in order to identify the extent of, and any possible contributors toward, local problems of this nature.

Fast-Food Takeaway Outlets

Studies conducted in British towns and cities have repeatedly identified fast-food outlets as flashpoints for alcohol-related crime and disorder²²⁶. Reference to such problems is much less apparent in the international literature, however. Nonetheless, two central messages arise from the British experience which are likely to be transferable to other contexts: firstly, that late-night takeaways offer attractive cluster points for revellers after they have left licensed premises, and secondly: in comparison with pubs, bars and nightclubs, take-away restaurants (like bottle shop convenience stores) lack the type of design and management provisions necessary to process the custom of a large intoxicated late-night customer base. Tuck's oft-cited Home Office report describes what has become a seemingly perennial impact of the NTE in UK cities, wherein, having left on-licensed premises, young people "emerge on the streets still looking for further entertainment, cluster at fast-food outlets or other gathering points and are at this point excitable tinder, ready for any spark which may cause quarrels or violence" (1989:66). The 'takeaway issue' provides a perfect illustration of how street-based crime and disorder in the NTE occurs where there is a convergence of intoxicated persons competing for scarce resources under, often stressful, conditions at times where there is an absence of capable guardians.

As well as being crime generators, late-night takeaway businesses are often subject to repeat victimisation, involving threatening behaviour, physical violence, and property damage. Evidence from the Scottish Business Crime Survey (Burrows and Ingram, 1999) indicates how different business sectors and sub-sectors have distinctive crime profiles. Albeit dated, this survey remains the best quantitative investigation of the high levels of crime risk in takeaways, associated with a combination of factors including hours of trading (especially at weekends), direct customer contact and location within city centres. Particular reference is made to "the 'type of customer' the location attracts" and to "the fact that many of these premises serve customers who are under the influence of alcohol (or drugs)" being "certainly another important

²²⁵ Rushton, *et al.*, (2011)

²²⁶ Bromley and Nelson, 2002; Forsyth, 2006; Hope, 1985; Marsh and Fox-Kibby, 1992; Nelson *et al.*, 2001; Shepherd, 1994; Tuck, 1989.

factor” (ibid: 6). Such incidents were found to be drastically under-recorded in official crime statistics, with less than half having come to the attention of the police. As is the case in relation to the taxi drivers who service that late-night economy, takeaway outlets are often staffed by members of an ethnic minority and UK research has revealed the vulnerability of staff and businesses to racially-motivated or aggravated crime and abuse; this comprising a ‘buried issue’ within more general policy debates concerning night-time safety and security²²⁷.

This review has identified the following problems as frequently connected with the operation of late-night takeaways:

- Verbal abuse and intimidation of staff
- Physical assaults on staff
- Fast-food provision acting as a disincentive for crowd dispersal from nightlife areas after pub and club closing time.
- The creation of flashpoints for disorder through crowd convergence
- Anti-social behaviour in and around takeaway premises
- Criminal damage to fixtures and fittings
- Fights between customers
- Seasonal factors which influence all of the above
- The targeting of takeaways by racist elements
- Repeat victimization of premises and their staff

In the research literature, crime issues related to takeaways in the NTE have tended to be explored as one of a number of themes related to the policing and management of public spaces and there is undoubtedly a need for more focused and detailed examinations of the issue. Nonetheless, in England and Wales, the takeaway-crime nexus has been considered sufficiently self-evident as to warrant statutory intervention, the Licensing Act 2003 introducing a system of licensing for takeaways that is very similar to that which it applies to pubs and clubs.

The system, introduced on 24 November 2005, requires all late-night cafes and takeaway shops to obtain a licence to serve hot food or drink to the public on or from the premises when seeking to operate between 11pm and 5am. Premises are required to demonstrate that their proposed operations will not undermine any of the four objectives of the Licensing Act:

- the prevention of crime and disorder;

²²⁷ Athwal *et al.*, (2010); Burnett, (2011) There have been a number of high profile cases in which takeaways have been targeted by racist elements. Anecdotal evidence would suggest that this problem may be most acute in smaller towns and rural areas in which takeaways and their staff present highly visible and vulnerable targets for racially motivated crime.

- public safety;
- the prevention of public nuisance, and;
- the protection of children from harm.

This is the first time in British history (outside of London), that such a strong regulatory regime has been applied. Licensing of the fast-food industry can be seen as one component of the current broadening of formal social control in relation to low-level ‘quality of life’ and ‘anti-social behaviour’ issues. Such matters are increasingly seen, following Wilson and Kelling’s (1982) discussion of ‘broken windows’, to impact upon urban street life and the generation of a criminogenic social order. The new powers encompass not only the strategic and administrative governance of crime, as commonly understood, but also potential public nuisance to local residents through the generation of noise, litter and the attraction of vermin. In 2004, the Government Minister with responsibility for licensing law, Richard Caborn, issued a press release specifically warning that following introduction of the Act, fast-food outlets would be closed down where representations for the Review of their licence had been received from local residents or the police (DCMS, 2004). Such moves are clearly seen as popular with key urban constituencies and despite the strong evidence of objective risk, raise the question of whether fast-food outlets are being used as political scapegoats by influential drinks trade lobbyists²²⁸.

To summarise, many aspects of the phenomena are related to overcrowding due to the proximity of the food outlets to licensed premises, the problems present relatively low risks of displacement (apart from the targeting of ethnic businesses in residential areas and pedestrian routes out of the city). Given their symbiotic relationship with the pub and club scene, there is, therefore, good evidence to suggest that late-night takeaways should be subject to a similar licensing regime as that applied to licensed entertainment venues. The identification of takeaways as crime ‘hot spots’ underlines the necessity for city governments to develop clear strategies of dispersal, along with transport and roads authorities and transport providers, to discourage a culture of loitering in nightlife areas in the early hours of the morning once entertainment premises have closed. Effective dispersal is also vital in reducing the other major environmental impacts of late-night takeaways: noise nuisance for residents and the littering/fouling of streets, community facilities, and business premises.

Late-Night Takeaway Crime Audit

As part of the evidence gathering to inform strategies to take forward within the Night-Time City Policy, the council may consider commissioning research on alcohol-related crime and disorder in and around late-night takeaway businesses in the CBD, operated both by independent business people and the major chains. A robust research design would incorporate both quantitative (analysis of crime statistics,

²²⁸ The political strategies of this lobby are explored in Hadfield (2006: chps 1 and 3) and Room, (2004).

survey research) and qualitative (interviews, focus groups, structured observation) elements. Key questions for the study would include:

1. What types of incident occur and under what circumstances?
2. How are these incidents managed and resolved?
3. What are the emotional implications for victimised staff?
4. Have businesses experienced problems in recruiting staff to work at night? Are particular 'types' of person more willing to work than others?
5. Are target hardening and situational crime prevention measures employed in the design and operation of premises?
6. Is staff training in conflict management provided?; what interactional techniques are used?; are door supervisors employed?; is a security role accorded informally to certain members of staff?; do operators request assistance from the police and/or work in partnership with them? Is there scope for greater co-operation?
7. What is the exact nature of the relationship with surrounding businesses; is the premises one of many, or is it the only fast-food outlet to be found late at night? What effect, if any, does this have? Where do most customers come from? How closely does this relate to the spatial proximity of pubs and clubs?
8. Pilot interviews by the author suggest an element of 'gearing up' for the rush of customers at pub and club closing time. How might this temporal element influence crime rates within distinct clusters of licensed premises and in relation to changes in their trading hours, over time?
9. Do outlets remain open to attract the post-bar and club trade, or close early to avoid it?; how may these potential risks and rewards be balanced?
10. In relation to the above, how comparable are the issues to those found in similar contexts and jurisdictions, internationally?

Licensed Restaurants

Although a large body of literature has found correlations between greater numbers of bars and off-premise outlets and greater rates of violence, measured through calls to police, arrests by police, and attendance for assaultive injuries at hospital emergency rooms, the observed effect has generally been absent, or much reduced, in the case of seated-dining, table service restaurants (Gruenewald and Remer, 1996; Stockwell and

Gruenewald, 2003). Restaurants that are genuinely food-led, with alcohol served only as an ancillary to a table meal (as opposed to 'café bars'), emerge as having comparatively much lower rates of violence and drink-driving (there is a general absence of literature as to such premises' other community impacts). Lipton and Gruenewald (2002) distinguished between outlet densities in terms of bars, bottle shops and restaurants across 766 postcodes in three areas of California, when examining rates of violence. This analysis confirmed that increased density of bars was positively associated with rates of hospitalisation for violence. However, increased density of licensed restaurants was associated with reduced rates of hospitalisation. Stockwell *et al.*, (1992) compared the rates of violence and drink-driving associated with restaurants with other premises types, using the number of incidents per unit of alcohol sold. Restaurants emerged as comparatively low risk for both types of outcome. Similarly, a study by Boots (1993) in Victoria, Australia found that a substantial increase in the number of small bistro-type licensed premises serving alcohol with food (often at expensive prices) when combined with reductions in the number of high capacity bars ("drinking barns") was accompanied by a reduction in local alcohol sales.

In Cincinnati, USA, Pridemore and Grubestic, (2011) compared rates of outlet density and assault density across three premises types: off-premise outlets, bars, and restaurants. The outlet-violence association proved positive across all premises types, although it was stronger for off-premise outlets, relative to bars and restaurants. This result demonstrates that different results can emerge depending upon the geographical scale and unit/s of analyses that are chosen. Pridemore and Grubestic conducted their analyses across the whole of the city's 302 block groups and therefore would have incorporated many locations that were largely residential. The city-wide analysis did not control for land use, or other area characteristics that might be associated with heightened levels of violence and is therefore not directly applicable to central entertainment and nightlife areas. More specific information would be needed comparing the licensing profile of the city as a whole to blocks which had this specific usage in order to fully interpret the relative contribution of licensed premises and bottle shop to harmful outcomes in nightlife areas.

More specific research of this type has been conducted by Burgess and Moffatt (2011), who analysed data relating solely to *clusters* of licensed premises in the Sydney Local Government Area (LGA). Moreover, in order to measure incidents occurring not only within, but also around licensed premises, the proportion of recorded assault incidents within 20, 50, 100, and 200 metre buffer zones around the licensed premises was calculated and compared with the proportion of land area covered by the buffer. The incidence of recorded assaults as a function of increasing counts of alcohol outlets was also examined.

Assaults were found to be highly concentrated around licensed premises in George Street in the central business district (CBD), Darlinghurst Road in Kings Cross, Oxford Street in Darlinghurst, King Street in Newtown, and Glebe Point Road in Glebe. The highest concentrations of recorded assault were in Kings Cross, Oxford

Street in Darlinghurst and along George Street in the CBD. More than half of the assaults recorded by NSW police in the Sydney CBD occurred within 50 metres of a liquor outlet. Only 3 per cent of the Sydney LGA is within 20 metres of a liquor outlet, yet 37 per cent of assaults in Sydney LGA occurred within spaces with this profile. The authors suggest that the addition of one new alcohol outlet per hectare in the Sydney LGA would result, on average, in 4.5 additional assaults per annum.

Research examining bunches or clusters of licensed premises in specific areas and their impacts across a range of crime, health and environmental outcomes provides the best type of data for informing decisions on licensing and resource allocation in policing, enforcement and city management. However, the importance of a longitudinal element to any evaluation is further demonstrated by evidence from the Tackling Alcohol-Related Street Crime (TASC) project in Cardiff, UK. Warburton and Shepherd (2006) found that during the period of this intervention, the number of licensed premises in the intervention area of Cardiff city centre increased from 142 (capacity 137, 000) in December 1999 to 170 (capacity 150,000) in December 2001. By contrast, there was an overall decrease in the number of licensed premises from 243 (capacity 59, 040) to 235 (capacity 58, 835) in Cardiff suburbs (the control area) during the same period. The authors found that, relative to capacity (that is, taking into account these increases), the number of assaults in licensed premises within the intervention area remained constant, suggesting that the enforcement, policing and surveillance activities undertaken as part of TASC had had some effect (as the anticipated outcome of an increase in capacity would have been that of an increase in assaults). As the intervention area was quite limited geographically, the authors report that their results provide further support for the hypothesis that the major predictor of violent incidents in density studies is the *proximity* of on-licensed premises to each other, ie. the bunching of premises. This is underlined by other results of the study which found a 34% overall increase in street assaults which correlated significantly with the increases in overall total capacity of premises in the intervention area and incorporated a 105% increase in assaults on one street. Noting that licensed premises managers have little or no responsibility for street safety, except in relation to their statutory obligation not to serve intoxicated individuals, and to ensure that door staff behave responsibly, Warburton and Shepherd stress the importance of sustained, proactive police activity which extends to the areas around, as well as within, clusters of licensed premises.

Studies that consider outlet density alone have clear limitations as it is well-established that different types, sizes and designs of licensed operation are associated with different rates of alcohol-related harm at the premises level. Research has identified nightclubs and taverns/bars as high-risk venues for problems, especially when they are large (Graham and Homel, 2008; Macintyre and Homel, 1997; Quigley, *et al.*, 2003). Because licensed premises vary in capacity and the assault rate may vary according to capacity, Warburton and Shepherd (2006) judged it necessary to identify appropriate denominators. The physical capacity of licensed premises was identified

as the most appropriate surrogate measure for levels of patron attendance. They note the importance of developing and monitoring capacity data in relation to small areas (blocks) containing concentrations of licensed premises, as fluctuations in capacity within such areas that major predictors of on-street violence²²⁹.

Warburton and Shepherd suggest that the strength of evidence to suggest that crime and disorder relating to the NTE takes place disproportionately in a small number of licensed premises and on a small number of streets gives cause for optimism. In relation to alcohol-related violence in public places at least, there is a concentration of recorded problems and a lack of evidence of violence displacement. Clearly, were violence to be prevented within the ‘hot spots’, they argue, there would be a dramatic effect on overall levels of violence in the city. Burgess and Moffatt’s (2011) findings in relation to the reducing proportion of recorded assaults found at progressively greater distances from clusters of licensed premises provide further evidence in support of this contention.

As the next section of this chapter will discuss, trading hours can also have an important impact on levels of harm. A more nuanced examination of the relationship between outlet density and assault, for example, would consider the full range of outlet characteristics found within an area and the differences between them. Sources to be drawn upon might include data on alcohol sales, opening hours, relative capacities, and styles of operation, police crime statistics and hospital emergency department data. Licensing law in England and Wales incorporates the objectives of preventing ‘public nuisance’ and protecting ‘public safety’. These objectives acknowledge that the presence of a bar or bottle shop can have a range of negative impacts upon neighbourhood amenity: noise late at night, street disturbances, disruptive behaviour, litter, vandalism and so on. Additional bars or stores are likely to produce further environmental impacts²³⁰, however, premises will vary as to their relative contributions to such impacts. The more general characteristics of an area are also important and these can be profiled on the basis of demographic information, through assessments of land use, economic costs and benefits, and also on the basis of residents’ and stakeholders’ consultation surveys and focus groups²³¹, and systematic observational studies by social scientists²³².

Outlet Density: Summary of Research Evidence

The ‘availability’ of alcohol in a nightlife context refers to the number and geographical density of licensed premises, as well to the hours of sale of these outlets. These factors

²²⁹ Warburton and Shepherd, (2006: 16)

²³⁰ Donnelly, *et al.*, (2006), Wechsler, *et al.*, (2002)

²³¹ Rushton, *et al.*, (2011)

²³² Hadfield *et al.*, (2010); Sampson and Raudenbush, (1999)

can further influence the retail price of alcoholic beverages in a given area, competition amongst premises that are bunched together creating pressure to lower prices. This section explores links between what is known about the availability of alcohol in nightlife areas and the policy options for harm reduction.

Cost is an important factor as demand for alcohol (and consumption) has been found to be price sensitive, particularly amongst certain sub-groups, with consumption and associated harms increasing where prices reduce. Baseline rates of drinking amongst nightlife patrons are, in any event, likely to exceed general population-level consumption estimates for their demographic profile.

The international research evidence and previous reviews of this evidence have found strong associations between outlet density and local levels of alcohol-related harms (the frequency and severity of crime, public order, and adverse health outcomes).

A large and growing body of literature has found correlations between greater numbers of bars and bottle shops and greater rates of violence, measured through calls to police, arrests by police, and attendance for assaultive injuries at hospital emergency rooms. It is important to develop methods of monitoring premises-level capacity data in relation to small areas (blocks) containing concentrations of licensed premises, as fluctuations in capacity within such areas are major predictors of on-street violence.

A further major predictor of violent incidents in density studies is the *proximity* of on-licensed premises to each other, ie. the bunching of premises. The ‘bunching’ of bars, pubs and nightclubs, in particular, within a small geographical area has been linked to the promotion of heavy sessional drinking, and is associated with alcohol-related injuries, violence, and other short-term consequences related to concentrated drinking during discrete occasions. The culture of ‘circuit drinking’ is inherent to such bunching, with patrons progressing from venue-to-venue in the course of a night out. Offences have been found to occur particularly in the public spaces surrounding bunched clusters of on-licensed premises.

Recent research analysing data relating solely to *clusters* of licensed premises in the Sydney Local Government Area (LGA) found assaults to be highly concentrated around licensed premises in George Street in the central business district (CBD), Darlinghurst Road in Kings Cross, Oxford Street in Darlinghurst, King Street in Newtown, and Glebe Point Road in Glebe. The highest concentrations of recorded assault were in Kings Cross, Oxford Street in Darlinghurst and along George Street in the CBD. More than half of the assaults recorded by NSW police in the Sydney CBD occurred within 50 metres of a liquor outlet. Only 3 per cent of the Sydney LGA is within 20 metres of a liquor outlet, yet 37 per cent of assaults in Sydney LGA occurred within spaces with this profile.

In relation to alcohol-related violence in public places at least, there is a concentration of

recorded problems and a lack of evidence of violence displacement. Clearly, if violence can be prevented within the 'hot spots' this can have a dramatic effect on overall levels of violence across the city.

Studies that consider outlet density alone have clear limitations as it is well-established that different types, sizes and designs of licensed operation are associated with different rates of alcohol-related harm at the premises level. Research has identified nightclubs and taverns/bars as high-risk venues for problems, especially when they are large. Trading hours can also have an important impact on levels of harm. A nuanced examination of the relationship between outlet density and assault, for example, would consider the full range of outlet characteristics found within an area and the differences between them. Sources to be drawn upon might include data on alcohol sales, opening hours, relative capacities, and styles of operation, police crime statistics and hospital emergency department data.

When incorporating the above measures, research examining bunches or clusters of licensed premises in specific areas and their impacts across a range of crime, health and environmental outcomes provides some of the best evidence for informing decisions on licensing and resource allocation in policing, enforcement and city management.

Amongst the most methodologically robust studies of outlet density effects are those that have adopted a longitudinal approach to data collection, minimising the possibility that the effects attributed to the changes are related to other, unaccounted for, variables. These studies have demonstrated that increases in the density of premises are often accompanied by increases in violence, experienced as an area-specific problem that accumulates over time. At the same time, reductions in licensed premises, particularly bars, have been associated with reductions in the number of assaults.

Recent research has indicated that the influence of outlet density on rates of violence may be non-linear, that is to say that there may be a threshold, or 'tipping point' beyond which each additional licensed premises accelerates the effect on numbers of additional assaults. This research adds support to the idea that areas can become 'saturated' with licensed premises such that decision-makers should consider imposing limits on the number of further licenses issued.

Conflicts of interest can arise between property owners and licensed operators on the one hand and licensing authorities, police and residents on the other, as in Britain at least, new licensed venues developed for the young adult drinking market are more likely to attract investment if located in close proximity to existing venues, as a result of the location's proven commercial value.

The observed effects of outlet density are generally absent, or much reduced, in the case of seated-dining, table service restaurants. Restaurants that are genuinely food-led, with alcohol served only as an ancillary to a table meal (as opposed to 'café bars'), emerge as having comparatively much lower rates of violence and associated drink-driving than

other types of venue serving alcohol for consumption on the premises.

Nightlife users will often seek to derive a proportion of their alcohol intake from bottle shop sources for a range of financial and social reasons related to their leisure activities.

Research concerning impacts of the bottle shop element of alcohol availability has drawn associations between outlet density and violence and other harms in residential areas and at the city-wide level. In response to deep-discounting by the major supermarkets small shopkeepers can become dependent on 'suspect' high strength alcoholic products which the multiple retailers do not stock. However, many 'bottle shop' alcohol-related problems originate from sales made by the major superstores, whilst taking place elsewhere – be it outside shops and in parks and other residential community facilities, in a pub, or at a nightclub door.

Studies have yet to look specifically at the presence of bottle shop outlets alongside licensed premises within nightlife entertainment zones and surrounding areas. Research on the impact of bottle shops within nightlife areas would permit further understanding of the effects of drinking practices such as 'back-loading' (drinking bottle shop alcohol after licensed premises' closing time) and 'side-loading', the drinking of alcohol purchased from a bottle shop and consumed while travelling to, queuing to enter, or attending a late-night venue, either by smuggling it in, or leaving the venue for a while.

The drinking of bottle shop-sourced alcohol often occurs within relatively uncontrolled environments where the speed, volume and extent of drinking sessions are limited only by the decisions of the consumer and the influence of their peers. This is becoming an increasing area of importance in the UK where the major supermarkets are moving toward the exploitation of alcohol markets within urban centres and suburbs, through the opening of smaller, convenience store formats, often with extended night-time opening hours.

Studies conducted in British towns and cities have repeatedly identified fast-food outlets as flashpoints for alcohol-related crime and disorder. Reference to such problems is much less apparent in the international literature, however.

Two central messages arise from the British experience which are likely to be transferable to other contexts: firstly, that late-night takeaways offer attractive cluster points for revellers after they have left licensed premises, and secondly: in comparison with pubs, bars and nightclubs, take-away restaurants (like bottle shop convenience stores) typically lack the type of design and management provisions necessary to process the custom of a large intoxicated late-night customer base.

Staff of late-night takeaways and bottle shops are sometimes subject to repeat victimisation in a nightlife context, involving threatening behaviour, physical violence, and property damage. Businesses owners and their staff may benefit from

conflict management training, the employment of door supervisors, and high levels of support from the police.

As is the case in relation to taxi drivers who serve the late-night economy, takeaway outlets are often staffed by members of an ethnic minority and UK research has revealed the vulnerability of staff and businesses to racially-motivated or aggravated crime and abuse; this comprising a ‘buried issue’ within more general policy debates concerning night-time safety and security.

Crime problems at takeaways present relatively low risks of displacement (apart from the targeting of ethnic businesses in residential areas and on pedestrian routes out of the city, as part of the ‘radiation’ effect of problems generated in nightlife hubs).

Given their symbiotic relationship with the pub and club scene there is good evidence to suggest that late-night takeaways should be subject to a similar licensing regime as that applied to licensed entertainment venues.

The identification of takeaways as crime ‘hot spots’ underlines the necessity for city governments to develop clear strategies of dispersal, along with transport and roads authorities and transport providers, to discourage a culture of loitering in nightlife areas in the early hours of the morning once entertainment premises have closed.

Effective dispersal is also vital in reducing the other major environmental impacts of late-night takeaways: noise nuisance for residents and the littering/fouling of streets, community facilities, and business premises.

Licensing Hours

A 2009 review of the research literature evaluating the impact of changes to the trading hours of on-licensed premises (bars, taverns, hotels, restaurants and so on) (Stockwell and Chikritzhs, 2009) identified 49 relevant studies from eight countries across four decades of which 29 were peer reviewed and 20 were government reports or other grey literature. The authors concluded that the balance of present evidence suggests that, under most circumstances, increasing trading into the early hours of the morning will result in increased alcohol use and related harms, such as violence. They go on to note the likelihood of regional variations in the extent to which alcohol consumption and related outcomes are affected, driven to some extent, by the timing of trading hours extensions or reductions (for example, early in the evening versus after midnight), cultural practices, social norms, drinking patterns, prevalence of harms, administrative processes for data reporting and a range of other community-specific characteristics.

One of the more methodologically robust studies conducted in Perth, Western Australian identified the period of intensive use of licensed premises, late at night and into the early hours of the morning at weekends, as particularly important (Chikritzhs and Stockwell, 2002; 2005). Extending opening hours by an hour to 1am increased violence at venues by 70% because of rising alcohol use²³³. In addition, higher levels of road traffic accidents (RTAs) were found amongst drivers who had consumed their last drink at hotels (taverns) with extended opening hours compared with those who drank at hotels without extended hours²³⁴. In Ontario, Canada, Vingilis, *et al.*, (2005, 2007) examined various data sources to measure the effects of a 01.00am to 02.00am extension of trading hours across the province. Whilst no impact was found for motor vehicle collision injuries, significant increases in assaults and accidental injuries were recorded.

In a further well-known study, Ragnarsdóttir *et al.*, (2002) examined the effects of extended opening hours in Reykjavik, from a fixed regime of 11.30pm on weeknights and 2.00am at weekends to a system where hours were unrestricted. The changes were related to increases in police work, emergency room admissions and drink-driving cases. The call upon police and emergency services became more evenly spread throughout the night, however, reducing the peak demand at 2.00am but necessitated a change in police shifts to accommodate the increased demands up to 6.00am. Similarly, reporting early experiences following the abolition of fixed closing times in July 2001, the Isle of Man Constabulary *Chief Constable's Annual Report 2001-2002* noted:

...changes in the law have altered the shape of demand faced by us. On the positive side the old closing time rush no longer seems to happen, but on the negative side, more incidents now take place well into the night and on Sundays”²³⁵... the percentage of calls to the police in relation to alcohol-related matters has not altered as a result of de-regulation. What has changed is the time at which these incidents occur. There is now a more gradual call on police resources. I would sound some warnings, however: calls now extend well into the night and weekends, as people appear to be out much later than before. This has an effect on police staffing levels. Secondly, Sunday is fast becoming a day on which many drink-related incidents occur. Again this has resource implications for the police²³⁶.

Commenting on the literature, Tim Stockwell (2011: 311) writing in the journal *Addiction* has noted:

We now have at least 53 studies on the impact of pub trading hours on health and safety outcomes. Of these, 18 meet basic criteria of having both baseline and control

²³³Chikritzhs and Stockwell, (2002)

²³⁴Chikritzhs and Stockwell, (2005)

²³⁵Isle of Man Constabulary (2002:4).

²³⁶Op cit: 44.

data, 15 of which indicate support for the availability hypothesis, i.e. restricted hours reduce alcohol-related harm or increased hours result in greater harm.

In a study published subsequently to the review by Stockwell and Chikritzhs, Kypri, *et al.*, (2011) studied the effects of the New South Wales judiciaries decision in March 2008 to restrict pub closing times to 3 a.m., and later 3.30 a.m., in the central business district (CBD) of Newcastle, NSW. The research team sought to determine whether this restriction reduced the incidence of assault. Their study indicates a large relative reduction in assault incidence of 37% in comparison to a control locality. The study relied upon assault data recorded by the police and the authors acknowledge that it would be useful to examine additional sources of data, such as ambulance attendances and hospital emergency admissions in relation to the Newcastle intervention²³⁷.

Lock Outs

In outlining further details of the intervention, Kypri and colleagues explain that in 2008 the Liquor Administration Board reduced the opening hours of 14 ‘high risk’ pubs in the Newcastle CBD from 5 am to 3 am, with a compulsory 1 am ‘lockout’ period, effective from 21 March 2008. Under the lockout conditions patrons could continue to drink alcohol on the premises until 3 am, but no new patrons could be admitted after 1 am (also known as a ‘one-way door’ policy). The pubs mounted a legal challenge to the ruling and following an out-of-court agreement with the NSW police on 29 July 2008, the restriction was relaxed to 3.30 am closing, with a 1.30 am lockout.

As the authors note, further research is required to examine the effects of lockouts. These are now used widely in Australia (and also in Central London, on a voluntary basis), but there is no conclusive evidence concerning their effectiveness. From a routine activities perspective the benefits in reducing ‘pub hopping’ between premises late at night seem clear²³⁸, however, the movement of intoxicated persons is not removed as a result of a lockout, it is simply delayed. A consultancy report by KPMG (2008) evaluating the impact of late-night lock outs across Australia noted that a common theme across all jurisdictions was that the measures were only undertaken as part of a broader suite of initiatives to address alcohol-related issues in and around late-night licensed venues. The report therefore concluded that it was difficult to reach conclusive findings in the evaluation as a result of the challenges of disentangling the effects of lock out provisions from the influence of other variables acting upon the desired outcomes. The experience in jurisdictions where permanent Lockouts had been implemented was said to suggest that when used over a sustained period of time (in excess of one to two years), lockouts could be a useful tool to help address

²³⁷The research is also described in Jones *et al.*, (2009).

²³⁸Felson, *et al.*, (1997).

complex issues of alcohol-related violence, anti-social behaviour, and amenity issues as part of an ongoing multi-component programme, despite the fact that the exact contribution of the lock out component remained unclear. It should be noted, however, that the outcomes of lock out restrictions that are applied universally to all licensed premises within an area are likely to differ from those of lock out provisions that are imposed upon, or volunteered by, individual premises on an ad hoc basis. In such cases, clear expectations regarding admissions times are less likely to be established amongst the general public and this can lead to disputes between patrons and door staff concerning application of the 'one way door' policy and a heightened risk of street crime involving 'locked out' persons.

Moffatt and Weatherburn, (2011) explored the effects on all licensed premises in NSW of restrictions placed on 48 'high risk' premises that came into force on 1 December 2008 and included: Mandatory 2:00 am lock outs; Cessation of alcohol service 30 minutes before closing time; Plastic or polycarbonate glasses for beer service after midnight; No 'shots' and drink purchase limits after midnight; and Ten minute alcohol sale time outs every hour after midnight.

The research aimed to test the hypothesis that this suite of measures, combined with adverse media attention and increased enforcement activity by the NSW Police Force and the Office of Liquor, Gaming and Racing (OLGR) would have a communicative effect in improving operating standards generally within licensed premises across the State and improving standards of behaviour amongst patrons such that rates of assault after midnight would be reduced. In order to test this hypothesis the study examined trends in recorded assault between midnight and 5:00 am on any day between 1 January 2004 and 31 December 2010 to see if any patterns were observable before and after the intervention. Location information on each assault was also extracted, thereby permitting the creation of five separate time series: Assaults on licensed premises; Assaults in outdoor/public places; Assaults on business/commercial premises; Assaults on residential premises, and; Assaults on public transport.

The study found an underlying upward trend of 4.8 additional assaults recorded after midnight each month across the aggregate of all location categories in the period leading up to the policy changes (2004-2008). After the policy changes were implemented in March 2008, this trend reversed with 10.4 fewer assaults each month (equivalent to a drop of about 1 per cent per month) up until the end of 2010. The downward trend was statistically significant in all locations other than 'non-licensed business/commercial premises'. The effect may now be moderating, with a flattening in the series for assaults on licensed premises over the last six months of 2010. The authors note that, although it is not possible to pinpoint the precise reasons for this decline in assault across NSW there seems little doubt that the suite of measures introduced from March 2008 onwards contributed positively to the recorded reductions in alcohol-related violence.

As Stockwell and Chikritzhs (2009) note, British studies arising in response to the extensions of hours following the Licensing Act 2003 are generally to be found in the grey literature. The majority of these studies are reviewed in Hadfield and Measham (2009b) who found that many failed to control for other aspects of the regulatory and policy environment, or used inadequate baseline or follow-up periods, rendering them unable to provide clear policy lessons from Britain's 'natural experiment'. For example, studies failed to take account of the very distinct incremental extensions in trading hours that had taken place prior to the new legislation (Hadfield, 2007) and the subsequent limited uptake of the extended hours by licensed operators. Aggregate data for England and Wales covering the first two years subsequent to implementation of the Act shows that for on-licensed premises, the overall effects were limited to an average Saturday night trading-time extension of 21 minutes, with only 1% of premises that previously had not closed after midnight opting to close beyond this time (DCMS, 2008).

This attention to *implementation* forms the basis of one of the most important studies of policy changes relating to trading hours in the NTE to have emerged in recent years. In this study, Humphreys and Eisner (2010) looked specifically at the extent to which the legislative intentions that lay behind the de-regulation of 'fixed' licensing hours in England and Wales were realized. Using a city in Northern England as a case study, the authors tracked licensing trends (opening and closing times for licensed premises) over a 4-year period - 2 years before and 2 years after the Act was introduced in November 2005. Humphreys and Eisner were not concerned with an attempt to measure the crime reduction outcomes of the legislation but with the extent to which the Act had succeeded in applying its main crime reduction lever—a more staggered pattern of closing times for licensed premises. Humphreys and Eisner show that, alongside a lack of commercial motivation, the results of local licensing committees not being given sufficient powers to dictate or impose closing times in response to local circumstances resulted in varied outcomes that did not always produce the desired staggering effect.

The study adds to the suggestion of limited implementation while highlighting significant local variations. Humphreys and Eisner (2010) report major divergences at the micro level—although most of the licensed premises clusters they identified had taken advantage of the new opportunities for extended hours, each premise often opted to extend by a similar proportion to their neighbours, which negated the potential effects of staggering (the prevention mechanism) and created new peaks in closing that were displaced temporally longer into the night. Humphreys and Eisner provide a map of the premises clusters, demonstrating that clusters are not confined to the central core of the city. Humphreys and Eisner do not comment on how different types of neighbourhoods (e.g., affluent suburbs and deprived inner cities) might have experienced the extensions and staggering effects in potentially different ways. Such questions point to the importance of local contextual knowledge, for example, the need to account for the common practice of licensed premises management choosing

to close at a time earlier than that permitted by their licence (Hadfield, 2007) or a trend towards patrons choosing to remain within suburban bars as a result of extended hours in preference to visiting urban centres.

As Humphreys and Eisner (2010) note, the Act represented a rare example of a measure that tried to achieve crime reductions by removing restraints rather than by adding them. This restraint removal was perhaps most evident in the intention to limit the powers of local regulators to engineer closing times and to trust in the ability of “market forces”—specifically, the commercial preferences of licensed businesses to seek and obtain a range of closing times for their outlets—to deliver the desired implementation effects and attendant crime reduction goals. However, in limiting the power of local regulatory decision-makers, delivery of the core legislative intentions appears to have been severely compromised. One, of course, might speculate on the crime reduction efficacy of a policy that has failed to remove the peaking or clustering of closing times while concurrently extending the availability of alcohol and displacing crime and disorder incidents both longer into the night and further out from city centres.

The degree of disparity found within one city raises obvious questions concerning the implementation of national, or State-wide policies. Humphreys and Eisner’s (2010) central point is that in the absence of a concerted effort to ensure that stated aims are achieved, the uptake and impact of policies might vary from place to place and, in some cases, might amount to implementation failure. The research community should be mindful of such factors when attempting to measure and evaluate the effects of policy interventions. The major contribution of Humphreys and Eisner is to remind us that minutiae matters; too often, previous research in this field has involved superficial retrospection, or simple “before and after” comparisons of aggregate data that are not nuanced sufficiently to provide sound bases for public policy. It is, for example, necessary to conduct preliminary investigations into the times to which premises actually trade before conducting analyses which compare premises closing times within an area to specific local impacts, such as crime rates etc. The article is suggestive of the need for researchers to pay attention to such local contextual factors, measured most effectively through the use of mixed-method alcohol–crime nexus case studies within the cultural context of “naturally occurring” local leisure scenes and clearly specified regulatory landscapes.

Licensing Hours: Summary of Research Evidence

The balance of evidence suggests that, under most circumstances, increasing trading into the early hours of the morning will result in increased alcohol use and related harms, such as violence.

Professor Tim Stockwell, a main authority on this topic, has stated that: “Perhaps one of the most remarkable things about this whole literature is that adding or subtracting just 1 or 2 hours of trading after midnight can make such a substantial difference to rates of violence” (2011: 311).

In a recent study in Newcastle, NSW Kypri *et al.*, (2011) examined the effects of reducing the trading hours of licensed premises from 5 a.m. to 3 a.m. and found an estimated 37% reduction in late-night violence.

In a study in Perth, WA, adding 1 extra hour of additional trading after midnight was associated with a 70% increase in late-night violent incidents reported to the police (Chikritzhs and Stockwell, 2002).

Higher rates of road traffic accidents have been found in drivers who consumed their last drink at premises with extended opening hours in comparison with customers of premises with earlier closing times.

‘Lockouts’ are licensing measures that require licensed premises to deny entry to new patrons beyond a certain time of night, although they can retain the customers that they already hold until closing time. The movement of intoxicated persons is not removed as a result of lockouts, it is simply delayed and there is no conclusive evidence concerning their effectiveness.

In considering the imposition of mandatory and universally- or widely-applied lockouts it is important that decision-makers explore the provision of other supporting mechanisms. An effective supply of late-night transport to serve the peaks of demand that are likely at both the beginning and end of the lock out periods is particularly important. This is especially so in circumstances where the closing of licensed premises coheres around a particular time.

Changes in the trading hours of licensed premises impact upon police, ambulance and hospital resources. Extended trading in the hours beyond midnight has been associated with increases in police work loads and hospital accident and emergency room admissions. The more that closing times vary within an area, the more even the spread of demand for services. Peaks of demand may be reduced by shifts away from fixed closing hours towards more varied trading times, however the demand for emergency services throughout the early hours of the morning is likely to increase which may necessitate (costly and unpopular) changes to staff shift patterns.

Recent experience in England and Wales points to the deficiencies of relying upon “market forces” - specifically, the commercial preferences of licensed businesses to seek and obtain a range of closing times for their outlet - to deliver the desired implementation effects of licensing laws. Despite being able to apply for licenses that could potentially allow them to trade for up to 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, bar and nightclub operations, particularly those located in close proximity to other similar

venues, opted to apply for hours of trading that largely mirrored those of their neighbouring competitors. This negated the potentially beneficial effects of staggered closure (the intended prevention mechanism) and created new peaks in customer departure at later hours.

Without levers to control opening hours licensing regulations become primarily focused on operational matters. This means that very important means for reducing alcohol-related harms are lost. In turn, it also places much greater emphasis on the active management of venues and public spaces within city centres (Tiesdell and Slater, 2006).

Local variations are to be expected in the extent to which alcohol consumption and related outcomes are affected by the timing of extensions or reductions in trading hours. Intervening variables are likely to include the time periods involved, for example, early in the evening versus after midnight and the drinking norms and repertoires to be found within particular social scenes.

Noise nuisance

In a research project focused on a small area of Soho, Central London, Roberts and Turner (2005) examined in depth, the extent and nature of the nuisance impacts associated with the NTE over a 48-hour period in this mixed-use location. The investigation employed video surveillance to observe and record activity. The study found that residents' complaints of unacceptable levels of noise, activity and waste could be substantiated. These incessant 'low level' impacts associated with the concentration of licensed premises contrasted with police crime data, which did not show the area to be especially problematic in terms of serious violent crime. A key message for regulation and management of the NTE therefore was that public nuisance impacts could arise independently of crime and disorder, being less exceptional and rather a chronic and uncomfortable backdrop to everyday urban life (Town Centres Ltd, 2001). As Roberts and Turner note (2005: 188):

This study found that noise derived from groups of people wandering through or loitering on the street, from deliveries and services, from queues outside cafes and bars and from car horns. It was not derived from the actions of a small number of excessively anti-social individuals, but came from large numbers of people going about the business of having a good time.

Of course, some might argue that the effects of crowds, traffic, noise and low-level examples of anti-social behaviour, such as shouting and insensitive boisterousness are to be expected in central urban areas and are the price that residents must pay for convenient access to the numerous facilities and opportunities that such locations can provide (Travers, 2001). Thus, residents should move to somewhere less 'intense' if

the daily and nightly business of the city is not to their liking. This position, however, assumes that the residents actively chose to live in a nightlife area and that property values remain such that their choices in residential mobility remain (Arnot, 2002). Choice is less likely to be available to those in social housing (Worpole, 1999), furthermore, long-standing residents may find that an area changes around them as a result of commercial (over-)development. The preferred option for maintaining a sustainable and diverse NTE is therefore to ensure that mixed-use, late-night centres remain viable (offering social and economic advantages over functionally segregated spaces), whilst recognizing that such areas will require careful regulation and management in order to achieve comfortable livability (Roberts *et al.* 2006).

The maintenance of livability, however, is likely to be heavily dependent on the effective enforcement of noise regulations. For many local authorities, weekends result in numerous complaints regarding noise from pubs and clubs. Increasingly powerful music systems, the desire for late-night entertainment and the extension of licensing hours have all contributed to a situation where many residents have their sleep disturbed. Noise disturbance to residents can come from two different sources. The first is in noise breakout from the licensed premises themselves, which affects adjacent properties either via transmission through the structure of the building, or through airborne sound; the second source emanates from activities in the street. At the time of writing, noise prevention legislation in England and Wales focuses on the first source. The Noise Act 1996 and the Environmental Protection Act 1990 relate to noise from equipment, such as venue music systems. Environmental Health Officers are powerless to prevent street-based disturbances, save where noise nuisances can be clearly identified as arising from the customers of specific licensed premises (for example, customers using outdoor smoking areas); impacts of this nature being governed by the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 and the Licensing Act 2003. Video recording techniques have the potential to provide objective evidence relating noise nuisance to the customers of particular licensed premises that can be used at licensing hearings. Noise nuisance from buskers is enforceable as the musical instruments fall within the definition of 'equipment', however, the general noise from nightlife visitors and from traffic sources such as taxi queues are exempt.

Davies *et al.*, (2005) conducted a review of available data on entertainment noise from pubs and clubs. Noting significant variation in how such noise is measured and assessed across the UK, they point to the need for a universal, validated assessment method and go on to identify several candidate methods. Seven factors are identified which may affect the magnitude of the people's subjective response to noise. These are: sound level, background level, differences between listeners, the context into which the sound intrudes, music type, bass level and bass beat. Measurement of the disturbance caused by 'bass beat' has received particular attention in recent years. As McCullough and Hetherington (2005) note, although music consists of energy at a wide range of frequencies, modern musical styles contain a relatively large amount of energy at low frequencies, which provides a rhythm or 'beat'. Research has shown that noise containing a large amount of energy at lower frequencies is more annoying

than the same sound pressure level without the low-frequency element (Perrson *et al*, 1990). Persons exposed to disturbance from bass beats often report that they can both hear and feel the noise as it resonates within the chest cavity.

McCullough and Hetherington describe how, when investigating complaints relating music from venues, it is common practice for the local authority officer to gauge the level of disturbance by both subjective assessment and objective noise measurement. In the absence of a specific objective criterion for entertainment noise, the guideline values contained in the World Health Organization, *Guidelines for Community Noise* (WHO, 2002) are frequently used. This assessment criterion, however, has been shown to under-represent the annoyance caused by low-frequency noise (Perrson *et al.*, 1990), with the WHO document itself advising that its recommended measures are not appropriate where prominent low-frequency components are present. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that it is the low-frequency energy in the music that is more transmissible over distance and through building structures. Furthermore, as low-frequency noise tends not to be present in the background noise environment, the introduction of a low-frequency bass-beat will be more noticeable to nearby residents, particularly late at night. McCullough and Hetherington compare the objective assessment criterion applied in various countries and conclude that the German criterion DIN 45680 best meets the requirements for enforcing statutory noise nuisance regulations in the case of low-frequency energy levels emanating from venue music systems.

The Greater London Authority (2007) *Managing the Night-time Economy: Best Practice Guide*, reports how Manchester City Council routinely attaches the following conditions to planning permissions for new food and drink uses:

- The provision of acoustic glazing;
- The installation of sound limiters linked to any sound amplification equipment at appropriate levels;
- 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;
- Prohibition of the external playing of amplified music;
- Restriction of the hours of operation of outside drinking areas;
- Establishment of maximum noise levels.

Noise Nuisance Impacts: Summary of the Research

Public nuisance, such as noise derived from groups of people wandering through or loitering on the street, from deliveries and services, from queues outside cafes and bars and from car horns, can impact on residents independently of crime and disorder.

Noise impacts are not so much derived from the actions of a small number of excessively anti-social individuals, but come from large numbers of people going about the business of having a good time.

Whilst it may be unreasonable for residents to expect that city centre living can offer an entirely peaceful and quiet environment, it does seem reasonable to expect that noise affecting residential properties remains within tolerable levels such that home life remains viable and restful sleep a possibility.

Research points to the benefits of maintaining a substantial residential presence within mixed-use central city areas, which also include nightlife. Mixed-use areas offer social and economic advantages over functionally segregated spaces but require careful regulation and management in order to achieve comfortable livability.

The maintenance of livability is likely to be heavily dependent upon the effective enforcement of noise regulations.

Noise disturbance to residents can come from two different sources. The first is in noise breakout from licensed premises themselves, which affects adjacent properties either via transmission through the structure of the building, or through airborne sound; the second source emanates from activities in the street.

Street-based noise impacts may lie beyond the scope of environmental noise legislation, save where noise nuisances can be clearly identified as arising from the business service activities or customers of specific licensed premises (for example, customers using outdoor smoking areas). One option may be to reduce the trading hours of licensed premises on the grounds of their noise impacts.

Video recording techniques can provide objective evidence relating noise nuisance to the customers of particular licensed premises for presentation at licensing hearings.

Research has identified seven factors that influence the magnitude of the people's subjective response to noise. These are: sound level, background (ambient) level, differences between listeners, the context into which the sound intrudes, music type, bass level and bass beat.

Noise containing a large amount of energy at lower frequencies has greater effects upon the body than the same sound pressure level without the low-frequency element. Persons exposed to disturbance from 'bass beats' often report that they can both hear and feel the noise as it resonates within the chest cavity.

Low-frequency energy is also more transmissible over distance and through building structures and tends not to be present in the background noise environment. The introduction of a low-frequency bass-beat will therefore be more noticeable to nearby residents, particularly late at night.

Comparison of the objective assessment measures applied by environmental noise enforcement agencies in various countries points to the German criterion DIN 45680 as best meeting the needs of statutory noise nuisance enforcement in the case of low-frequency energy levels emanating from venue sound systems.

Outlet Density and Licensing Hours Hours: Strategic Policy Options

Even though the role of outlet bunching and extended late-night trading hours in the generation of alcohol-related crime, disorder and public nuisance is increasingly acknowledged, views differ as to the appropriate responses to such problems. Interventionist approaches to influencing the spatial distribution and closing hours of licensed premises through planning and licensing controls often fall into two opposing categories: functional segregation and functional dispersal:

Segregation v Dispersal

Policies of functional segregation seek to restrict the dispersal of outlets and later trading hours, thus containing problems of crime, disorder and nuisance within easily identifiable ‘fuse’ areas²³⁹. Such areas are mostly avoided by the majority community at night and routinely ‘overlooked’ by control agencies. If disorderly activities within the area reach such a level as to provoke public outcry, heavily targeted policing measures can be swiftly implemented. By contrast, policies of functional dispersal seek to prevent the development or exacerbation of problems by regulating to prevent over-concentration (Tiesdell and Slater, 2006).

Bromley et al., (2000)²⁴⁰ argue in favour of the spatial segregation of youth-oriented drinking circuits in order to encourage the development of alternative nightlife attractions in other parts of the urban centre. The suggestion is that, as such areas may already have a somewhat tarnished image, corralling new developments within those clearly defined areas might serve to reduce public fear and encourage a wider range of people to participate in night-time activities in other parts of town. However, given what is known about the processes which generate public disorder, it seems likely that such policies of containment and enforced concentration may well serve to exacerbate existing problems with harmful consequences for the licensed businesses involved and in particular, for the young people who visit them.

²³⁹ Barr and Pease, (1992: 207).

²⁴⁰ Bromley et al. (2000).

Displacement

Other debates have focussed upon the issue of geographic displacement. Displacement concerns suggest that by targeting regulatory, policing and enforcement activities on the central nodes and pathways of the NTE, problems may be simply be shifted to other areas rather than being reduced. In Edinburgh, the practice of ‘zoning’, wherein different terminal hours were set for different geographical zones within a licensing district is said to have led in part to the late-night migration of drinkers from the earlier to the later-licensed areas and attendant shifts in late-night problems²⁴¹. The Edinburgh experiment, however, involved a wholesale shift in policy that gave rise to incentives for the entire nightlife population and the problems experienced in one area to simply shift to another similar area. Much depends upon the availability of transport throughout the key activity periods and the willingness of those leaving licensed premises at earlier times to use it. In areas where little transport is available or where trading times continue to cohere around a particular terminal hour, the concentration of pedestrian and vehicular activity may simply be delayed, rather than avoided. Yet, where there is a general absence of crime generating and attracting features in adjacent areas and a greater presence of crime ‘detractors’ (such as residents), the possibilities of chronic displacement seem remote²⁴². Moffatt and Weatherburn’s (2011) study of the suite of licensing restrictions introduced in NSW from 2008 to 2010 (as described above), for example, found no evidence of the temporal or locational displacement of assaults. Similarly, Kypri *et al.*, (2011) who studied the only two nightlife areas of Newcastle NSW, found no evidence of displacement from the CBD (the intervention area) to Hamilton (the control area), i.e. an increase in assaults as a consequence of patrons either moving to Hamilton from the CBD following the 3.30 a.m. closing or choosing to frequent Hamilton pubs instead of those in the CBD.

New licensed premises and variations to licences seeking to extend trading hours will always have some impact upon the local environment. Even proposals from operators with impeccable credentials who can be predicted to run their premises very responsibly should be considered carefully with due regard to their businesses’ potential impact within a location. Relevant considerations are likely to relate to issues of *proportionality*, that is, the *degree* to which a proposed outlet might be anticipated to add incrementally to any existing problems within an area.

There are strong reasons to suggest that licensing authorities should adopt a flexible approach to such matters, with the location and terminal hours of licensed premises being considered on a case-by-case basis. Such decisions, should, however, be guided

²⁴¹Glen, (2000: 32).

²⁴²Maguire and Nettleton, (2003).

by a local policy framework which seeks to avoid the over-concentration (bunching) of premises, especially those of a larger capacity and extended trading hours. It is recommended that the City and the Office of Liquor, Gaming and Racing (OLGR) pay regard to a range of factors including:

- The operating plan of the premises, its trading profile and the trading profile of surrounding premises in relation to typical customer base
- Police evidence relating to crime patterns and the location of hotspots
- Data from other agencies and sources indicating patterns of other environmental ‘stress’ within the area such as noise pollution, littering, and vandalism
- The premises’ spatial location in relation to other licensed premises and ‘after hours’ points of convergence such as fast-food outlets and taxi ranks
- The terminal hours of other licensed premises in the area
- The availability of transport
- The location of residential properties in both the immediate area and along any pedestrian and vehicular pathways likely to be used by customers when leaving the premises late at night

Licensing Approaches to Crime Reduction Summary

- Application of a cumulative impact criterion which acknowledges the relationship between the geographical over-concentration of licensed premises and the generation of crime and disorder;
- Policies of functional dispersal which seek to prevent the over-concentration of licensed premises. Depending on local conditions this might include late-night takeaways and bottle shop alcohol outlets;
- Weed and seed approaches which target enforcement activities on problematic premises whilst controlling the growth of licensed premises in crime and disorder ‘hot spots’;
- Policies of functional diversification which promote the development of a mixed NTE which attracts and provides facilities for families, older people, ethnic minorities and specialist interest groups;
- The general monitoring and control of any market shifts toward standardised local closing times, especially within the key 11pm-4am period;
- The general avoidance of very late terminal hours in residential areas and crime hot spots;
- Recognition of the increased crime and disorder risks associated with a convergence of terminal hours in areas with a high spatial density of licensed premises;
- The encouragement of social responsibility in relation to the development of new licensed premises and licence variations in existing ‘hot spot’ areas and also in

terms of licensed operators being required to adopt a clear harm reduction strategy in relation to the dispersal of their customers and patrons' impact upon their surrounding area²⁴³.

- Placing limits upon the spatial density of licensed premises, for example in gentrifying 'urban villages' subject to development pressure, can be one way to help promote the development of 'destination venues'. In order to thrive outside of an established cluster, businesses which aspire to 'destination' status are required to be more innovative and often operate to higher standards.

It is essential that such deliberations be informed by good quality and location-specific qualitative and quantitative data concerning both the manner in which existing premises are operated and the general profile of the area such that the suitability of applications might be more accurately assessed. This approach to the sustained gathering of location-specific data allows for the adoption of an empirically justified 'weed and seed' approach.

Weed and Seed

Overall, the evidence supports the view that one pragmatic approach to NTE licensing policy which promotes the continued vitality and viability of nightlife areas, whilst at the same time helping to reduce alcohol-related crime and disorder, would involve a 'weed and scatter good seed' approach²⁴⁴. The 'weeding' component of such interventions would involve targeting enforcement activities on existing problematic premises, particularly large late-night bars, in order to improve standards, and if necessary, place restrictions on the licence. At the same time, new licence applications for bars, clubs, bottle shops and takeaways would generally be denied in areas that are identified as already under environmental pressure. This would not be a moratorium on new development of the NTE, however, as even in these hot-spot areas, the simultaneous 'scatter good seed' approach would permit the development of bona fide restaurants serving table meals. At the same time, more relaxed licensing criteria might be applied to other areas of the City that are *not* suffering from an over-concentration of licensed premises.

A good example of the weed and seed approach in action is the Statement of Licensing Policy adopted by the City of Westminster in regulating the West End of London, the UK's largest night-time economy. The focus on restricting the growth of

²⁴³ As outlined in the voluntary 'Dispersal Policy' drafted by *Noctis*, the UK late-night entertainment trade association: http://www.noctisuk.org/Policy/163512/noctis_policy_documents.html. See also recommendations regarding the management of 'closing time' in Hadfield, (2004: 598-600).

²⁴⁴ Pease, (2000).

alcohol-focused bars and licensed premises trading beyond midnight has reversed a trend emerging from the mid-1990s through to the early-noughties which saw the increasing development of late-night bars and attendant crime, disorder and public nuisance. Westminster's 'Stress Areas' cover less than 6% of the total area of the City of Westminster although they contain 36% of the licensed premises within the City, including 64% of the nightclubs, 35% of the pubs and pub restaurants and 49% of the restaurants²⁴⁵. Research now indicates that the economic profile of the 'West End Stress Area' is changing. The years 2005 to 2009 saw a rise of 14% in the number of restaurants, a reduction of 5.7% in the number of bars, café bars and pubs, and a 16% reduction in the number of nightclubs²⁴⁶. The Stress Area policy does not apply retrospectively and very few licenses in the Borough are subject to revocation as a result of Review hearings. The reasons for the reductions in the latter categories of premises are therefore likely to be due to business failures. The Stress Area policy simply gives preference to new applications for restaurants licenses above those for bars/pubs, nightclubs and takeaways, thus serving to engineer a cultural change in the NTE over time that helps achieve a better balance between uses.

Weed and seed has the major advantage of promoting diversification that involves more than aesthetic differences between brands of bar (a phenomena that was becoming apparent in Westminster prior to the introduction of the Stress Area policy, when the City had adopted a more laissez faire approach). True diversification involves the facilitation of a functionally-mixed evening, night-time and late-night economy, including for example, cinemas, theatres, coffee shops, galleries, live music venues, 'alternative' music venues, libraries, restaurants, shops, museums and health clubs. Restricting only very late-night uses involving certain categories of 'high risk' premises performs the dual role of supporting a diverse evening economy whilst intervening to check the growth of the type of mono-cultural drink-focused development that generates crime risks and has a negative effect on public perceptions of the city.

Structural Approaches: Less Effective Interventions

Licensing and Planning-based Measures in England and Wales: Evidence from Two Decades of Evolution

Central Government Planning Guidance, UK

In 2005, the Department of the Environment *Planning Out Crime* guidance that, for nine

²⁴⁵City of Westminster, (2011)

²⁴⁶TBR and MAKE, (2010)

years, had promoted a simple ‘public safety through animation’ message was repealed and replaced by new text²⁴⁷. The new guidance referred readers to a more detailed official document titled *Safer Places: The Planning System and Crime Prevention*. The position adopted here was more circumspect, advising that:

Crime and anti-social behaviour are more likely to occur if:

An area is either very quiet or very busy, depending on the local context and the type of crime...

Potential offenders and/or victims are concentrated in the same place at the same time, such as bus stops, taxi ranks, or fast food outlets after pubs close, or areas of the town centre throughout the evening...

Different people use the same spaces in different ways and at different times. Rather than encouraging segregation or ‘monocultures’ where one group dominates, the public realm should be designed to be enjoyed by different cultural or age groups at the same time. This can be done by:

- Providing a range of complementary activities and designing the environment to minimise conflict.
- Attracting the right mix of uses can generate greater activity and surveillance. The right mix of uses in an area almost always leads to more surveillance, more of the time.
- Care should be taken to ensure that the mixed uses in a locality are compatible. For example, concentrations of bars and clubs are usually best sited away from residential areas.
- A town centre residential population brings activity, surveillance and ownership, and should be encouraged²⁴⁸.

It is likely that revision of the planning policy guidance regarding town centres at night was influenced by political debate and evidence emerging from the development of the Licensing Act (2003), this being the most significant reform of liquor legislation to occur in England and Wales for 40 years.

A ‘Natural Experiment’ in Ill-Prepared Legislative Reform: Policy Impacts Preceding and Following Introduction of the Licensing Act 2003 in England and Wales

In England and Wales, the temporal restrictions placed upon the sale of alcohol by

²⁴⁷ DCLG (Department for Communities and Local Government) (2005)

²⁴⁸ ODPM (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister) and Home Office (2004)

national government proved to be an obstacle restricting these localised attempts to animate the streets over a longer time-span. Indeed, the importance of licensed trade investment²⁴⁹ prompted many civic entrepreneurs to identify current alcohol licensing legislation as a hindrance to the development of successful urban spaces²⁵⁰. Local government in cities such as Manchester and Leeds campaigned vigorously for statutory reform and in a bid to circumvent existing legislative restrictions, began to develop their own strategies of de-regulation and facilitation with regard to the NTE. At the same time, Central Government encouraged local councils and the magistracy to adopt a laissez faire approach to licensing, with alcohol increasingly regarded as a simply innocuous commodity. These opportunities were embraced by bar entrepreneurs and pub chain companies, who, rather than ‘expanding the 9-5 business day’, chose to follow the money to be made from late-night vodka shots, rather than early evening cappuccinos²⁵¹. This approach provided a safe option for investors who could simply exploit an existing young adult market in which there was additional latent demand, rather than taking the risks involved in being among the first to tempt new mature and family audiences into towns and cities in the evening. What emerged therefore was a social and economic monoculture; an entrenchment of the pre-existing pattern. The streets being ‘brought to life’ by one small section of the population, most of whom were drunk, was not what Jane Jacobs had had in mind. In fact, it was a scenario that she had expressly warned against²⁵².

National de-regulation of previously fixed licensing hours occurred later, following introduction of the Licensing Act 2003 in November 2005. This legislation was accompanied by further powers for the police and local councils, however, by this time the ‘horse had bolted’ and for many UK urban centres the bases of an unplanned and commercially unstable, youth and alcohol-dominated NTE were in place. Such environments then presented chronic management and policing problems, draining the resources of health care, municipal services, and the criminal justice system, whilst contributing little by way of cultural innovation, community cohesion, or economic advantage to the wider population (and especially minorities)²⁵³. The Licensing Act had limited effect as its introduction was not accompanied by adequate levels of enforcement²⁵⁴, sufficient attention to policy implementation²⁵⁵, or systematic evaluation²⁵⁶; it therefore failed to achieve its central objectives of transforming Britain’s ‘binge drinking’ culture and reducing violent crime²⁵⁷. Once economic recession hit, licensed premises within these ‘night-time high streets’ were competing for a decreasing pool of disposable income, creating pressure to lower drinks prices and stay open for longer hours of the night as their customers chose to drink higher proportions of their

²⁴⁹ Jones, (1996).

²⁵⁰ Leeds City Council, (1995).

²⁵¹ Chatterton and Hollands, (2003); Hadfield, (2006).

²⁵² Hadfield, *et al.*, (2001)

²⁵³ Talbot, (2007); Valentine *et al.*, (2010)

²⁵⁴ DCMS, (2008); Hadfield and Measham, (2011); KPMG LLP, (2008); WSTA, (2008)

²⁵⁵ Humphreys and Eisner, (2010)

²⁵⁶ Stockwell and Chikritzhs, (2009)

²⁵⁷ Hadfield and Measham, (2009); Hadfield and Newton, (2010); Roberts and Eldridge, (2009)

alcohol at home, or stay in the suburbs²⁵⁸. In many ways, the recent experience of England and Wales therefore might be understood as a ‘natural experiment’, the results of which have tended to dampen the enthusiasm for wholesale de-regulation and overly-ambitious hopes that social engineering / cultural change could be achieved through standalone, or limited, policy measures. At the same time, policy makers and practitioners remain concerned with the on-going need to manage public drunkenness in the context of high demand for alcohol amongst nightlife users, its widespread availability and affordability and a cultural acceptability of excess²⁵⁹.

6. Design and Service Interventions

Design Interventions

CCTV

Gill and Spriggs (2005) evaluated the impact of CCTV on crime in 14 English towns and cities. The effectiveness of CCTV in terms of crime deterrence was found to be largely dependent on its suitability to the type of crime it was intended to prevent, and the area in which it is installed. Their findings were consistent with previous research and evaluation studies which have found that CCTV is most effective in reducing

²⁵⁸Hadfield and Measham (2009)

²⁵⁹Hadfield *et al.*, 2009; Hughes *et al.*, (2010), Measham and Brain, (2005).

property crime - particularly in protecting car parks- and least effective in deterring public order offences involving alcohol, “where ‘rationality’ is often lost” and deterrent effects are thereby weakened²⁶⁰. It would seem that as alcohol-related crime and disorder is by nature spontaneous and expressive rather than premeditated and acquisitive, participants can often be largely oblivious to the presence of CCTV. A UK, Home Office review of CCTV evaluation studies found that in urban centres, “CCTV led to a negligible reduction in crime of about two per cent in experimental areas compared with control areas”²⁶¹. The conclusions of Gill and Spriggs that CCTV failed to have a deterrent effect on crime in large city centres is consistent with the repeated finding documented in previous reviews of the literature indicating that CCTV generally has a more positive impact in terms of crime deterrence on smaller, and less complex areas.

This is not to deny that CCTV is an important component of the crime reduction package. It is important to distinguish between real changes in crime rates as a result of CCTV installation, and increases in crime detection and recording²⁶². Many towns and cities already have comprehensive CCTV coverage of their main hot-spot areas and although the presence of CCTV may not have actively deterred public disorder in these areas, evidence would suggest that it is frequently used to help direct the police to the scene of disturbances and to help officers identify participants. In some areas, CCTV cameras are also linked to ‘help points’ which allow members of the public to request surveillance and assistance in emergency situations.

Sivarajasingham, *et al.*, (2003) compared police-recorded violent crime statistics with assault-related hospital emergency department attendance data in attempt to shed more light on the effects of CCTV on violent crime, in particular. The study found no evidence of a deterrent effect of CCTV on police recorded violent crime (a finding consistent with the previous literature). CCTV was, however, found to limit the level of injuries sustained through increased detection and rapid police response to developing situations. This prevented many instances of violence from escalating into injuries requiring medical attention (reflected in a decrease in the number of assault-related emergency department attendances for the target areas). The potential value of CCTV for the detection of violent crime is therefore illustrated well by this study. The true extent of this value however, is clearly highly dependent on a number of other factors such as for example, the availability of police time and resources; the efficiency of CCTV operators; and the level of communication between these two services²⁶³. The primary utility of both open street CCTV systems and cameras positioned on the outside of licensed premises may often be retrospective in that CCTV footage can be used as visual evidence of offending to support prosecutions. The clarity of night-time CCTV footage is enhanced by the installation of ‘white

²⁶⁰ Armitage, (2002: 3); Brown, (1998)

²⁶¹ Welsh and Farrington, (2002:vi)

²⁶² Sivarajasingham, *et al.*, (2003)

²⁶³ Justice Analytical Services, Police and Community Safety Directorate, Scottish Government (2009)

light' street illumination. Both white light and CCTV is therefore recommended for coverage of key crime hot spots.

Street Lighting

Improved street lighting is often introduced to serve a range of purposes, one of them being the prevention of crime and other reasons including pedestrian and traffic safety, and to help create impressions of a safe, welcoming and lively environment. As Welsh and Farrington, (2008: 2) explain:

There are two main theories of why improved street lighting may cause a reduction in crime. The first suggests that improved lighting leads to increased surveillance of potential offenders (both by improving visibility and by increasing the number of people on the street) and hence to increased deterrence of potential offenders. The second suggests that improved lighting signals community investment in the area and that the area is improving, leading to increased community pride, community cohesiveness, and informal social control.

The evidence base for improved street lighting as a crime reduction tool is strong²⁶⁴. Pease suggests that "research and evidence leads to the inescapable conclusion that street lighting can help in crime control"²⁶⁵. In addition, it is also well established that the fear of crime increases after dark and decreases in circumstances of improved lighting²⁶⁶.

In summarizing the results of their literature review, Welsh and Farrington, (2008: note that the optimal circumstances for street lighting preventing crime are not yet clear, as this needs to be established by future evaluation research. However, they argue that depending on the analysis of the crime problem, improved street lighting could often be implemented as a feasible, inexpensive, and effective method of reducing crime in coordination with other interventions. Commenting on the two mechanisms identified as underpinning the success of street lighting schemes they note how:

...night-time crimes did not decrease more than day-time crimes. This suggests that a theory of street lighting focusing on its role in increasing community pride and informal social control may be more plausible than a theory focusing on increased surveillance and increased deterrence.

²⁶⁴ Welsh and Farrington, (2009)

²⁶⁵ Pease, (1999: 48); see also Farrington and Welsh, (2002).

²⁶⁶ Nasar and Fisher, (1993); Warr, (1985).

Cozens *et al.*²⁶⁷ argue that if city authorities are committed to supporting a vibrant NTE, then “street lighting clearly demands to be carefully examined as one of the fundamental components of this process.” Benchmark standards for lighting in UK urban centres are set out in the British Standard for road lighting BS 5489, however it is questionable whether this minimum standard is sufficient. Cozens *et al.* recommend that local authorities should “conduct street lighting audits to identify where standards are met and where they are not, and then seek funding to improve street lighting.” The researchers also recommend the amendment of BS 5489 to incorporate higher illumination (lux) levels and the use of high-colour rendering white light (including the more recently developed LED or Sulphur Plasma lighting) in central urban areas. The operators of licensed premises and other businesses can also assist by brightly illuminating the exterior of their premises.

On a more cautionary note, it may be necessary to profile areas considered for improved street lighting in terms of minimising any detrimental effects upon residents or hotel guests as a result of increased ‘light pollution’ in the home or sleeping environment²⁶⁸. Further issues relate to the question of energy waste. How much light is needed in public urban spaces?; especially when the spaces are not occupied? In proposing this question Lawford (2010) points to recent technological advances in lighting control gears and varied performance which make it possible to have an empty space dimly-lit when the space is empty and then slowly brightened when it becomes populated, saving energy and light pollution. Such deliberations as to how, why, and where lighting is to be enhanced are in keeping with the balance of considerations that are always required in mixed-use areas.

Public Toilet Provision

Greed, (2004) notes how some city-centre managers and police in the UK have favoured reducing the opening hours of public toilet facilities, or closing them altogether, as a means of controlling vandalism, graffiti, cottaging and drug-taking. This has tended to exacerbate problems of street urination that have accompanied the corresponding development of a NTE that is heavy focused on alcohol consumption, but often lacks sufficient public transport, adequate street lighting, and policing resources. In an attempt to curb street fouling, some local authorities have been introducing male-only facilities in the form of open-air street urinals for use by late-night drinkers.

The City of Westminster, UK now has the following night-time public toilet provision:

- Two toilets available 24-hours a day;

²⁶⁷ Cozens *et al.*, (2003: 26).

²⁶⁸ Crabb, *et al.*, (2009)

- Twelve ‘KrosUnits’ (mobile urinals) placed strategically at transport points available between 19.00-08.00 hours on Fridays and Saturdays;
- Two ‘Uri-lift’ pop-up toilets, which each contain three urinals, are self-cleaning and are linked to the main sewerage system. They operate seven days a week between the hours of 19.00 and 06.00;
- Two ‘Open Wing toilets’ (Butterfly toilets)²⁶⁹.

Similarly, in other UK locations, the town of Winchester has a number of toilets which are staffed 24-hours a day; Strathclyde Police have set detection targets for street urination offences, and in Torquay, police carry out regular operations in which individuals caught urinating in public are given a choice of cleaning the area they have fouled with a mop and bucket, or being issued with an on the spot £80 fine (a ‘Penalty Notice for Disorder’).

The success of such schemes is often measured through the simple means of recording the extent to which the new facilities are used. City of Westminster figures indicate that as many as 4,185 people use the Kros urinals each weekend to deposit an average total of 215 gallons of urine²⁷⁰. It is possible to identify the relative usage rates at each location and the Kros urinals are now sited in the same streets each week unless special circumstances prevent their deployment. In a pilot scheme within the Sydney CBD in 2011, four Kros Units were installed in the Kings Cross and Oxford Street nightlife areas on weekend nights for a month. These installations were recorded as collecting 1,600 litres of urine over the pilot period. The trial has been judged successful and is likely to continue on a more permanent basis²⁷¹.

Greed (2004: 77), whilst calling for additional toilet provision “as a vital component in creating accessible, sustainable and comfortable cities for all”, criticizes the current emphasis upon providing extra open-air facilities which serve the needs of male drinkers. This, she states, may actually discourage women, the disabled, and families from visiting cities in the evenings. A preferable approach, Greed argues, would be for councils to provide more traditional toilet facilities for all members of the community, across both the day and night-time periods. Such facilities would, she says, convey positive messages to visitors and provide important support for other positive initiatives for the night-time city.

Management of Glassware

Effective harm reduction initiatives for the NTE should incorporate attempts to reduce the opportunities for glass to be used as a weapon and opportunities for accidental glass-related injuries, both within licensed premises and on the streets. Glasses and

²⁶⁹ Bevan, (2009)

²⁷⁰ City of Westminster, (2003)

²⁷¹ ABC News, (2011)

bottles are the most commonly used weapons in violence occurring in drinking environments (Coomaraswamy and Shepherd, 2003). As a blunt weapon, an intact bottle can cause significant physical damage. But when glass is broken and used as a sharp weapon, the potential damage is much increased. Glass-inflicted injuries to the eyes and face often require stitches or surgery and can result in heavy blood loss and even loss of sight. Accidental breakage of glassware is also a significant cause of unintentional injury in licensed premises. One study found that 26% of bar workers reported injuries from broken glasses during a single six-month period (Warburton and Shepherd, 2000). This is not surprising given that observational studies have found the floors of some poorly operated nightclubs to resemble “a carpet of glass” (Forsyth *et al.*, 2005).

In 2006, Glasgow City Council introduced a bye-law banning glassware from all venues holding an Entertainment Licence within the city centre. However, exemptions to the ban for the serving of wine and champagne enabled some premises to continue serving alcoholic drinks in glass vessels. A subsequent study by Forsyth (2008) found continued evidence of serious glass-related injuries inflicted through violence within these premises. By contrast, 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 others. The research demonstrated the potential of such policies to reduce the severity of alcohol-related violence in the NTE, whilst indicating that future bans of this nature should be tailored towards the elimination of all types of glassware from licensed premises.

An evaluation of a Polycarbonate Glass Pilot Project in Lancashire, UK²⁷² demonstrated that the introduction of high quality polycarbonate glass (PCG) was a positive and feasible measure to address serious glass-related injury. Furthermore, despite initial skepticism, it was a solution that proved to be highly acceptable to the managers and licensees of the participating premises:

*PCG appeared to be broadly acceptable to customers and had no significant impacts on their perceptions of safety and violence in venues adopting PCG. Whilst some negative effects were seen on perceptions of violence in the wider nightlife area, such impacts could be reduced through a public awareness campaign that stressed the safety benefits of PCG to both customers and staff. Despite very low numbers of glass-related injuries recorded over the study period, in PCG venues the average weekly number reduced following the introduction of PCG for both customers and staff*²⁷³.

²⁷² Anderson, *et al.*, (2009)

²⁷³ Anderson, *et al.*, (2009: 6)

The evaluators of the Lancashire scheme underline the point raised by Forsyth that such interventions alone cannot deliver reductions in the incidence of violence within licensed premises, but can only reduce the extent of the injuries sustained.

The management of glassware is also an important issue for street safety. In Manchester city centre, specially designed ‘bottle bins’ which act as repositories of glasses and bottles are specially designed in such a way as to prevent the unauthorised retrieval of their contents. This design feature was introduced in response to problems experienced with conventional bins that were misused by offenders as arsenals of readily available weaponry. The bins are now used alongside the Taxi Marshals scheme. Marshals loading passengers onto taxis will request them to wait until they have finished any open drinks before entering a taxi, or to empty the drink and place the container in the bottle bin. Alcohol must be emptied out and not drunk in or around the taxi ranks, in accordance with the enforcement of an ‘alcohol-free zone’ byelaw (Designated Public Place Order). No evaluation of the secure bottle bin installation could be found. 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 possible²⁷⁴.

Active Frontages

*Urban quarters are judged by their street life. Good streets need to be active, to accommodate and generate diversity, and they must be permeable. Good streets have well-defined edges and a quality of transparency or visibility at their edges (where the private and public realms meet)*²⁷⁵.

Active frontages in the context of licensed premises, hospitality, leisure and cultural facilities can be defined as the distance along a property boundary that provides transparent frontage so that the activity generated within the building is visible from the street. The front of the building should also have at least one pedestrian access point to the street. Active frontages are not always apparent in nightlife venues that are located in basements, or in floors of a building above street level. Late-night venues that are purely targeted towards the late-night drinking economy, for example, often have frontages that are distinctly ‘inactive’ during the day-time and evening periods. They lie behind closed doors or steel shutters that present a blank and barren face to the street. Similarly, in mixed-use leisure and retail areas, shops which close after their day-time trade may be shuttered and this conveys further impressions of ‘dead’ and unwelcoming space, as well as negative messages about crime risk and social relations within the area.

²⁷⁴Bevan, (2009)

²⁷⁵Montgomery, (2003: 301)

Active frontages provide for natural surveillance of the street from inside the building and a more welcoming feel for pedestrians outside. Well-lit premises, with entrances facing the street are more visible, accessible and less foreboding. Ideally, ground floor cafes, restaurants and bars should provide opportunities for activity to spill out onto the street, placing tables and chairs outside and shop displays on the pavement. In larger spaces, provision can also be made for public performances. Facilities in hotels, galleries and public buildings open in the evening also benefit the feel of the city where they have active frontages and foyers with large areas of glazing. Similar design features can be used to animate the ground floor of office developments in the city centre. Retailers may be encouraged to illuminate their shop window displays at night, adding light to the street scene. These design elements combine to add visual interest, diversity and activity to public areas²⁷⁶.

The UK has not had a tradition of evening café culture, partly due to the discouraging climate and also as a result of the dominance of alcohol in evening leisure habits. A number of local councils have, however, sought to promote active frontages for licensed premises and cafes, particularly in city squares. The City of Westminster, for example, permit restaurants in London's Leicester Square to serve to pavement tables up until 01.00; this, it is hoped, will encourage customers to stay in one place for longer periods and for alcohol to be consumed alongside a meal²⁷⁷.

Residential Design

Conflicts between residents and night-time activities can be reduced through design measures in residential blocks. Placing licensed premises beneath residential properties runs the risk of noise reverberation through the structure of the building, noise breakout and street noise for residents, even where design and management provisions are in place to ameliorate this. New housing developments may be designed to incorporate active, but quieter, uses such as hairdressers on the ground floor, with flats above. Apartments and flats may be protected from the activities on the street by being configured into a perimeter block around a quiet internal courtyard. Access to the courtyard and the flats can be limited to one gate, which is securely locked and under the control of the residents.

Design Interventions: Summary of Research Evidence

CCTV

²⁷⁶Gehl, (1994)

²⁷⁷Bevan, (2009)

The effectiveness of CCTV is largely dependent on its suitability to the type of crime it is intended to prevent, and the area in which it is installed.

CCTV is most effective in reducing property crime - particularly in protecting car parks. It has not been found effective as a deterrent to public order offences involving alcohol.

In support of the NTE, CCTV installation in public places and at licensed premises has shown most effectiveness in crime detection and recording. It is frequently used to help direct the police and door staff to the scene of disturbances and to help officers identify participants and make successful prosecutions.

In some areas, CCTV cameras are linked to 'help points' which allow members of the public to request surveillance and assistance in emergency situations.

By aiding rapid police response to developing situations CCTV may help to prevent violence from escalating into injuries requiring medical attention and thus reduce pressure on hospital emergency departments.

The effectiveness of CCTV is highly dependent on the availability of police resources; the efficiency of CCTV operators; and the level of communication between these and other partners, such as venue door supervisors and public transport staff.

The clarity of night-time CCTV footage is enhanced by the installation of contemporary 'white light' street illumination.

Street Lighting

Improved street lighting is often introduced to serve a range of purposes: the prevention of crime; pedestrian and traffic safety; and to help create impressions of a safe, welcoming, and lively environment.

The evidence base for improved street lighting as a tool for reducing crime and the fear of crime is strong, although the optimal circumstances for street lighting preventing crime are not yet clear.

Councils may consider conducting street lighting audits to identify where standards are met and where they are not. For the illumination of crime hot spots such as taxi ranks, higher lux levels and the use of high-colour rendering white light, or LED lighting may be appropriate.

The operators of licensed premises and other businesses can assist by brightly illuminating the exterior of their premises.

Street lighting audits should consider the issue of 'light pollution' for residents and hotel guests, as well as ways to conserve energy. Technological advances make it possible to have an empty space lit only dimly when the space is empty and then brightened when it becomes populated.

Public Toilet Provision

Lack of public toilet facilities can exacerbate the problems of street urination that have accompanied the growth of NTEs that are heavy focused on alcohol consumption.

In an attempt to curb street fouling, some local authorities have introduced open-air street urinals for the use of male late-night drinkers. Various designs of urinal have been developed, most of which are mobile, temporary fixtures that are removed in the day.

Existing schemes have been successful, judged in terms of the extent to which the facilities are used.

In some areas, police have increased the level of priority given to street urination offences.

Public toilets are an important element in making cities more accessible and comfortable. Whilst open-air facilities serving the needs of male drinkers may be effective in reducing street fouling, other social groups may view them as unpleasant insertions into the street scene.

Traditional toilet facilities for all members of the community, available across both day and night may be a more effective method for reducing street fouling, whilst at the same time providing an important support structure for NTE diversification. Security at toilets could be enhanced by the employment of attendants where resources allow.

Management of Glassware

In the UK, glasses and bottles are the most commonly used weapons in violence occurring in drinking environments. Incidents involving glass tend to result in more severe injuries.

Effective harm reduction initiatives for the NTE should incorporate attempts to reduce the opportunities for glass to be used as a weapon and opportunities for accidental glass-related injuries, both within licensed premises and on the streets.

Poorly operated licensed premises often fail to make adequate glass collections and allow customers to take their glass drinking vessels out onto the street.

When working with the operators of 'high risk' licensed premises enforcement agencies may be justified in requiring all glassware to be replaced by high quality polycarbonate glass (PCG) alternatives.

Research suggests that the introduction of good quality PCG alternatives is often acceptable to the management of licensed premises and their customers.

Whilst the introduction of PCG alone is unlikely to deliver reductions in the incidence of violence within licensed premises, it can provide immediate benefits in reducing the severity of associated injuries.

The management of glassware is also an important issue for street safety. Bottle bins designed to prevent the unauthorised retrieval of their contents have been installed in nightlife areas. The bins help support a range of service interventions to prevent on-street drinking and reduce glass-related injuries. In the UK, these include Taxi Marshal and Police Community Support Officer schemes and the police enforcement of 'alcohol-free zone' byelaws (Designated Public Place Orders).

Waste from licensed premises often contains glass. It is advisable for waste collections to be scheduled so as to ensure rapid removal from the streets after premises have closed.

Active Frontages

In order to provide natural surveillance of the street from inside buildings and a more welcoming feel for pedestrians, property boundaries that face the street should, where possible, allow activity generated within the building to be visible from the street. The front of the building should also have at least one pedestrian access point to the street.

Venues that focus their operations on late-night drinking, for example, often have frontages that are distinctly 'inactive' during the day-time and evening periods. They

may lie behind closed doors, or steel shutters, presenting a blank and barren face to the street.

Similarly, shops which close after their day-time trade may be shuttered and this conveys further impressions of 'dead' and unwelcoming space, as well as negative messages about crime risk and social relations.

Well-lit premises, with entrances facing the street are more visible and accessible. Ideally, ground floor café, restaurant and bar operations should spill out onto the street, placing tables and chairs outside and shop displays on the pavement. In larger spaces, provision can also be made for public performances. These features create an impression of *activity* and *permeability*.

Facilities in hotels, galleries and public buildings open in the evening also benefit the feel of the city where they have active frontages and foyers with large areas of glazing. Similar design features can be used to animate the ground floor of office developments

Retailers may be encouraged to illuminate their shop window displays at night, adding light to the street scene.

These design elements combine to add visual interest and diversity to the city at night. Active frontages are part of the character of important streets and ensure that the life of buildings helps animate the street, making it feel safer and more welcoming.

Residential Design

Placing licensed premises beneath residential properties runs the risk of noise reverberation through the structure of the building, noise breakout and street noise for residents, even where design and management provisions are in place to ameliorate this.

New housing developments may be designed to incorporate active, but quieter, uses on the ground floor.

Service Interventions

Transport

Ensuring that people can get home safely and conveniently from a night out can make a significant contribution to reducing problems associated with the NTE (GLA, 2007). Disputes over taxis or in queues for buses can lead to disorder late at night, as well as presenting dangerous working conditions for transport staff (Cooper, 2005; Stafford, *et al.*, 2007). Addressing the issues around public transport at night can reduce the number of people waiting on the street and provide opportunities for people to get home quickly and safely. Difficulties in accessing safe and reliable public transport can present a barrier to the promotion of diversified activities and social inclusion for a wider range of visitors.

A research study by Cooper (2005) for the UK Department for Transport concluded that urban transport policy was mostly directed towards meeting the needs of the day-time and evening city, being much less effective in planning for people travelling home from entertainment. Policies drafted to meet the needs of the day-time economy may fail to meet the aspirations of the NTE or, at worst, work against them. Issues in the provision of daytime transport, most particularly congestion, access restrictions and a desire to promote certain forms of public transport are far less likely to apply with the same weight in the NTE, where private car use is reduced, congestion usually less apparent and most public transport unavailable, or much reduced.

Bus Transport

Lack of bus transport may reflect the inability of providers to operate profitably late at night, lower numbers of passengers travelling on traditional linear routes, or simply that taxis are the preferred mode of transport in the later evening and early hours of the morning. All act to reduce movement by bus. The need for commercial viability requires that services operate profitably, adapt, or exit particular market segments. Night-time services require specific and thorough planning as many routes viable in the day may be susceptible to reduced numbers of passengers and fare revenue. Where services are provided they often differ from those operated in daytime hours, run differing routes and charging different fares. Well-planned night bus routes such as those in Central London can, however, prove very popular and the problem then becomes one of ensuring that sufficient services are made available (Hadfield, *et al.*, 2010)

Following negotiations with police and the city council in 2001, the Passenger Transport Executive for Greater Manchester, UK agreed to subsidise a network of new late-night bus routes. This proved to be a successful exercise in ‘pump priming’ as the services soon became commercially sustainable, with additional routes added

(Roberts, 2004). Manchester now has extensive night bus services running various routes to other regional towns and suburbs, mostly every 20 or 30 minutes, up until around 03.30 on Fridays and Saturdays. Manchester's *Metrolink* tram system also operates a limited number of routes until around 01.30 at weekends.

It is not purely the ability to supply bus services that influences the extent of their use. Transport staff working in nightlife areas can themselves be at risk of violence and abuse from aggressive customers (Stafford, *et al.*, 2007). Thus, the supply of willing drivers and safety and accessibility of bus stops at both ends of a journey can impact upon the operation of bus services (Newton, 2008). Measures to protect transport staff include the use of security guards and police on public transport, the installation of CCTV in vehicles and at transport termini, radio links between drivers and police, and modification of vehicles to protect drivers (DfT, 2003). In Manchester, security on buses is assisted by Greater Manchester Police and the bus companies providing staff at key bus termini to prevent drunken and aggressive passengers from alighting. Warning notices regularly appear on buses highlighting a 'zero tolerance' policy in prosecuting perpetrators, although such notices may also act to deter passenger use, or heighten levels of concern.

Cooper (2005) found that perceptions of vulnerability had influenced the working practices of bus drivers, with the increasing use of security screens separating driver from passenger resulting in drivers being less willing to come to the aid of passengers. Reluctance to leave the (relatively secure) driving area resulted in 'disabled access' vehicles becoming inaccessible when drivers refused to operate manual ramps.

Taxi Transport

People's preferences in modes of transport and patterns of movement differ in relation to the NTE in comparison to their day-time journeys (Cooper, 2005; Hadfield, *et al.*, 2010). In the UK, taxis are the most widely used mode of transport. Taxis represent a particular type of 'public' transport, being relatively expensive and operating commercially under the auspices of licensing departments at a local authority level. Taxis have a particular appeal to NTE patrons, where alternative modes of public transport are often absent or unattractive and the use private vehicles has less appeal due to the desire to drink alcohol. Furthermore, taxis provide a convenient point-to-point transport service favoured by patrons who wish to obtain a rapid service from home that preserves their appearance ahead of a night out and provides fast delivery out of city streets at the end of the night. Taxi use particularly predominates late at night, earlier evening activities remaining amenable to the use of last trains and later day-time bus services. Such early evening activities also often involve less consumption of alcohol and include more private transport journeys (Cooper, 2005).

A broad range of influences impact on the supply and demand for taxis during peak

night-time hours; security factors - as with buses - being important (Stafford, *et al.*, 2007). The survey by Cooper (2005) found a pattern of steeply peaked demand in UK towns and cities at 1am, and again at 4am, matching departure from pubs and clubs. Fridays and Saturdays were identified as problem evenings, with the majority of demand outside these peaks being sufficiently well served. Here the interaction between licensed premises closing times and demand for taxis was very apparent. This presents clear requirements for coordination with licensing tools such as 'lock outs'. Were such licensing initiatives to be considered, it would be necessary to ensure that adequate taxis were available to meet the additional supply, partly engineered by the intervention, both at the start and the end of the lock out period.

The conflict of interest between addressing the Friday and Saturday night peaks and ensuring that the number of taxi licenses issued does not drive over-supply during other time periods presents an ongoing challenge for licensing authorities. Jurisdictional conflicts are also apparent in some cities, particularly given the relative size of nightlife districts compared to their (larger) metropolitan areas, taxis from neighbouring authorities being seen by local drivers to be encroaching, often illegally, on the livelihoods of those correctly licensed and legally operating. Private Hire Vehicles (PHVs) have also been observed to collect passengers who hail them, or to tout for business; both activities being against the terms of their licence (which in the UK only permits pre-booking). As Cooper (2005) notes, authorities and police active in the NTE will, in many instances, turn a 'blind eye' to taxi licensing requirements where a public order priority exists. This can lead, over time, to the development of 'unofficial ranks', overt picking-up by PHV drivers and even to the encouragement of bogus (unlicensed) providers.

Taxi ranks are a focal point for those seeking transport out of city centres late at night as they offer opportunities to engage a taxi with relative certainty. Taxi ranks can therefore also form a focal point for late-night street vendors and are subject to large numbers of individuals congregating and sometimes competing for taxis. The combination of large numbers of people, the sometimes significant delays experienced in waiting for a taxi, and the predominance of intoxicated revelers has an impact on the perception, and actual levels of crime and inter-personal violence. Incidents at ranks tend to be related to targeted theft, and disagreements over 'whose taxi?', queuing formalities etc. Both customers and drivers can be subject to instances of and fear of personal attack at taxi ranks containing large queues. Cabs can also be subject to damage and soiling by customers who have consumed alcohol, drugs and/or fast food. In the study by Cooper (2005), 21% of all drivers surveyed in Glasgow reported that passenger behaviour was a factor that would affect their choice to work. This rose to 53% of night-time drivers, suggesting a greater awareness or caution in those drivers choosing to operate at night.

Clearly, security factors can deter drivers from working at night, thus reducing the supply of transport options to nightlife users. Lack of drivers can, of course, further

heighten the issue of peaked demand. This suggests that overall numbers of licensed taxis may not be a prime concern in supply, but rather the reticence and opting-out of drivers unwilling to work at hours felt to be anti-social and dangerous. Nonetheless, while working conditions can present a barrier to supply, in the Glasgow survey by Cooper (ibid), 36% of drivers currently choosing not to work at night expressed a willingness to do so if additional safety measures could be instigated.

In their study of personal security issues for Taxi and Private Hire Vehicle drivers for the UK, Department of Transport, Stafford *et al.*, (2007) list a number of measures that appear to assist in offering protection to taxi drivers, including the use of in-vehicle CCTV, robust shields or screens that separate the driver from their passengers, CCTV at taxi ranks, taxi marshals and conflict management training for drivers. The authors recommend that evaluations on these measures be conducted to maximise effective practice in different circumstances.

Rail Transport

Rail transport tends to be more widely used in the evening rather than late at night, often due to an absence of very late-night services, and as a result of differences in the lengths of journey undertaken by (non-local) rail services in comparison to other modes of transport. The Subway and Underground services available in a limited number of UK cities are largely provided no later than midnight, including in Central London, where tube services operate until around 00.30. Discussion continues about extending opening times for up to an hour at weekends, but the need for maintenance work to proceed overnight has meant that the requirements of the day-time economy for a resumption of services at around 06.00 takes precedence. Cooper (2005) found that within medium-sized cities, the Glasgow Subway system operated to 23.30, while the Tyne and Wear Metro operated its last train from Newcastle Central at 23.50. Both services are therefore appropriate to the evening and early night markets, but neither could provide for the needs of 'clubbers'. Cities with significant commuter and suburban rail systems, such as Leeds and Birmingham also serve evening rather than late-night travellers.

Yet, with a significant number of services operating to 23.00, many of the same or similar night-time security issues are experienced on trains as are found on other modes of public transport. Cooper (2005) found that staffing awareness of and fear for personal safety had resulted in largely unsupervised evening rail operations, with revenue control and policing limited to 'gangs of inspectors' rather than the series of barriers and staffed stations visible in the day-time.

Increasing the safety and supply of late-night transport

As Hughes *et al.* (2007) note, poor late-night transport services and fear of violence at transport termini can encourage people to adopt risky methods of getting home, including accepting lifts from strangers, driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs, or walking through unfamiliar areas. Often those opting to walk home or searching for transport pass through areas that are poorly lit and have limited security measures, increasing their vulnerability to assaults, rape and road traffic crashes, especially when intoxicated. This section outlines a range of measures being used to improve nightlife transport, reduce the use of unsafe methods for getting home after a night out, and consequently reduce violence and injury among nightlife patrons whilst encouraging wider access to the NTE.

Although few late-night bus schemes have been independently evaluated, police statistics in England have shown that improvements to late night bus services have contributed to reduced levels of assault (e.g. in Manchester²⁷⁸). Here, financial barriers to the implementation of late night bus services have sometimes been overcome through the development of local partnerships between transport service providers, local authorities, police, and bar and nightclub owners to fund bus services in their introductory periods (Roberts, 2004: 21), whilst Hughes *et al.*, (2007) report that in the Netherlands, late-night buses have been provided by the owners of nightclubs to shuttle customers home at the end of the night. Regardless of how late-night bus services are developed, their implementation should seek to protect both customer and driver safety. They should also consider where customers are being deposited and what onward transport facilities are available to prevent the redistribution of violence to neighbouring areas that may already face high demands for late-night transport, or have limited night-time security.

A variety of measures can be introduced at transport termini 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 to manage queues and assist customers. Taxi marshals - security staff employed to manage queues and supervise the loading of customers - have been used in a number of UK cities at key NTE taxi ranks. An evaluation of the Manchester scheme found increased perceptions of safety among taxi users and drivers, and a 50% drop in crime at marshaled ranks compared with the year preceding the intervention (Wheater, *et al.*, 2005). Taxi marshals wear high visibility clothing and can communicate with police and CCTV controllers via a radio system, thus increasing the extent of public reassurance and capable guardianship within the city more generally.

Road Traffic Interventions

²⁷⁸ Greater Manchester Police statistics, cited in Hughes, *et al.*, (2007:2)

Environmental measures such as additional street lighting (particularly, white LED lighting) can increase the safety of transport termini and pedestrian routes out of the city, helping reduce individuals' vulnerability to both road traffic crashes and assaults. Traffic management interventions, such as temporary (night-time) road closures, pavement barriers, and traffic calming devices, can reduce the risks of intoxicated pedestrians receiving road traffic injuries. Hughes *et al.*, (2007) report how, in Ibiza, Spain, a main highway separating two of the island's largest nightclubs was the scene of a number of pedestrian deaths involving young club-goers. In response, a range of improvements were made to reduce traffic speed, prevent club-goers walking onto the highway, and ensure that public transport providers only collect and deposit customers in safe areas. For example, traffic lights were installed at regular intervals to slow traffic down as it passed the nightclubs.

In Melbourne, Australia, one intervention focused on a busy road intersection, situated several kilometres east of the Central Business District. The location was chosen on the basis of a review of vehicle-pedestrian crash statistics during the late night 'high-alcohol hours' of Fridays and Saturdays. Problems at this location were caused by the large number of pedestrians who showed disregard for the traffic signals on the pedestrian crossings, crossing the road on 'red' despite the fact that there was poor lighting, high vehicle speeds, and no pedestrian island for protection midway across the road. A traffic-calming scheme referred to as 'Dwell-on-Red' was used at the interchange, involving 'all-red' signal phases in situations where there is no vehicular or pedestrian demand. The signal phase, which displays a red traffic signal in all directions, causing approaching traffic to stop and slow down more frequently, had been found to be effective in reducing traffic speeds in the provincial city of Ballarat, Victoria²⁷⁹. Evaluators of the Melbourne intervention concluded that in this particular location, Dwell-on-Red be supplemented with improved street lighting, the introduction of a pedestrian refuge, and new pedestrian signaling treatments, involving reduced waiting times²⁸⁰.

²⁷⁹Lenné, *et al.*, (2007)

²⁸⁰Archer, *et al.*, (2008)

'Night Zone' Safer Transport Initiative, Glasgow UK

The Nite Zone scheme in Glasgow, Scotland, aims to reduce crime and fear of crime in the city at night. Through a partnership of 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 marshals; increasing CCTV operators and providing Public Help Points and street signs for buses and taxis; Taxi marshals delivering first aid to people in taxi queues; and widespread distribution of information on late-night transport options. Night Zone's objectives have been to facilitate the prompt and safe exit of users of Glasgow's NTE and to reduce violent crime, disorder, anti-social behaviour, and the fear of crime.

Police recorded violent crime fell by 9.3% during the project evaluation period, although it was not possible to link this reduction directly to the intervention. The evaluators found that both members of the public and key stakeholders perceived the project to have achieved almost all of its community safety objectives, with the possible exception of public help points and traffic congestion measures which required further development (FMR Research, 2009). The conclusions of the research team underline the importance of partnership working and emphasize the status of the intervention as part of a wider programme of NTE initiatives:

What was clear to the consultants conducting this evaluation was the level of reliance each part of the Nite Zone chain has upon the other; from Taxi and Bus Marshals, Police, CCTV, Club/Bar Stewards and Taxi Drivers. To use an expression, the sum of the whole of the Nite Zone initiative is greater than the sum of its constituent parts. Nite Zone achieves this through good partnership working at all levels between both public and private sectors²⁸¹.

Furthermore, in relation to the benefits accrued from the partnership's investment in Night Zone:

The total direct and indirect cost of the Nite Zone initiative is around £200,000. It was largely perceived that this budget delivers best value for money by creating a co-ordinated response to community safety at night during the weekend. While it would be difficult to provide a cost-benefit analysis, the cost of Night Zone needs to be set against the benefits of less trouble at Taxi and Bus ranks, less serious crime, which is costly to investigate and an improved perception of Glasgow city centre, benefiting the night time economy. While the evaluation did not look at health benefits it could

²⁸¹FMR Research, (2009: 29)

be argued that there may be a benefit from a reduction in the number of people going to A&E, although this would need further investigation²⁸².

The evaluation report focuses upon ‘perceptions’ of the project’s success and does not include quantification of the effects on crime levels, transport waiting times, visitor footfall, or changing demographics of nightlife users to which the project may have contributed. Nonetheless, the creation of positive perceptions are certainly of key importance and well thought out projects of this nature which enhance security and feelings of safety are undoubtedly a step in the right direction, where the ultimate goal is to deliver sustainable diversification of the NTE.

Enhancing Safety for Late-night Taxi users

Illegal ‘minicabs’ are a problem in some towns and cities. These vehicles and their drivers are unregulated and uninsured to carry passengers. In some cases, the drivers have been linked to more serious crimes, including rape and sexual assault, robbery and drug dealing. Policies to require taxi drivers to display a standard photo identification card containing their licence details, for vehicles to display external taxi plates, or be of a standard design (e.g. yellow and black; Barcelona, Spain) can help customers recognize illegal taxis (Hughes *et al.*, 2007). Illegal ‘cabs’ also present a threat to licensed and law-abiding Taxi and Private Hire services as they intercept customers and represent unfair competition.

The Safer Travel at Night (STaN) partnership between Transport for London (TfL), the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), City of London Police (CoLP) and the Greater London Authority (GLA) began in October 2002. The project combines targeted police and enforcement activity to identify, disrupt and deter illegal cab activity, with a public awareness campaign to warn people travelling at night of the dangers of taking un-booked ‘minicabs’ off the street, as well as informing them of the best ways to get home safely. The project began with a poster campaign entitled ‘Know what you're getting into’, which highlighted the dangers of using unlicensed cabs. More recently, a text service entitled ‘CABWISE’ has been promoted and advertised across London in pubs, clubs, and press advertisements on public transport networks; the service allows users to text the word ‘HOME’ to 60835 and have the numbers of one taxi and two local licensed minicab providers that serve the area, sent directly to their mobile phone. London taxi ranks have been made easier to identify thanks to the introduction of taxi poles. Introduced in July 2004, the poles offer clear recognition of the location of ranks. The poles include information on taxi tariffs and taxi fares to key destinations.

²⁸²FMR Research, (2009: 29)

The policing, enforcement and regulatory component of STaN has included the listing of taxi toutting as a recordable offence. Private Hire Vehicles, which were previously not rigorously licensed in London, are now subject to a strict licensing regime. The number of night/24 hour bus routes has been increased (GLA, 2007), all buses now being fitted with CCTV. STaN delivers policing and enforcement activity across Central London, the West End, and parts of Camden involving intelligence-led operations, undercover tactics, roadside vehicle and licence compliance checks on all 'minicabs' within the operation area, together with high-visibility patrols, cooperation with licensed premises, and engagement with members of the public. This activity resulted in 1,300 arrests for toutting and other cab-related offences in 2010/11, this forming part of the 7,000 arrests conducted since 2003. Figures released by the partnership suggest that cab-related sexual offences have fallen by 20 per cent year-on-year since the beginning of the campaign²⁸³.

Reducing Drink and Drug Driving

A German study found that many young people, particularly those living in rural and suburban areas with limited access to bus services, remained wedded to the use of private cars, despite reporting alcohol and drug use (12 per cent of female drivers reported consuming alcohol, compared to 39% of the male drivers. 15% of those polled admitted to having used other drugs). These results were interpreted in the context of a high incidence of road traffic accidents involving young drivers at night. In order to encourage greater use of night bus services, the study recommended the introduction of affordable multiple occupancy taxi services linking relatively isolated communities to the main bus termini for accessing centrally located nightlife attractions²⁸⁴. The 'Safer Clubbing' guidance²⁸⁵ produced in partnership between drug harm reduction agencies and the UK Home Office, highlights the dangers of driving under the influence of controlled drugs and recommends that venues and promoters help their customers to access safe travel home, either by providing buses themselves and including the cost in the ticket price, or by providing freephone links to reputable cab firms, or other types of assistance.

There is an extensive literature on measures to reduce drink driving, with some of the most effective methods considered to be lowering the legal blood alcohol limits for driving and strict enforcement of drink driving legislation (e.g. through targeted police breath testing operations)²⁸⁶. In Sweden, for example, a reduction of the blood alcohol content (BAC) limit for driving from 0.5g/L to 0.2g/L reduced alcohol-related road

²⁸³ TfL, (2011)

²⁸⁴ Rode, (2003)

²⁸⁵ Webster, *et al.*, (2002)

²⁸⁶ See, Babor, *et al.*, (2010: 166-81)

deaths by up to 10%²⁸⁷. Some countries have implemented zero BAC limits for younger drivers and a review of six studies on the effects of ‘zero tolerance’ found this approach to be effective in reducing drink driving and related injuries and crashes²⁸⁸. A review of 17 studies selected for soundness of research design found that use of random breath testing for drivers resulted in a 22% decrease in road traffic crash fatalities, an 18% decrease in total crashes, and a 24 % decrease in drivers with BAC above 0.08%²⁸⁹. The introduction of compulsory breath testing in New Zealand was evaluated using crash data from 1987 to 1997²⁹⁰. A 22% reduction in serious or fatal night-time crashes was recorded, with the costs of implementation being far outweighing by the savings for health, emergency and criminal justice budgets. Sobriety checkpoints are a further policing option that may be considered for exit routes from the city at night. Their effectiveness has been found to be similarly strong to that of random breath testing²⁹¹. Other measures such as designated driver schemes (where drivers are encouraged to remain alcohol-free) have been used to reduce drink driving, although there is little evidence for their effectiveness²⁹² and in some studies such schemes have been associated with increased alcohol consumption by passengers²⁹³.

Transport Research Summary and Recommendations

Street Crime and Public Safety

The provision and management of safe late-night transport into, and most importantly, *out of*, nightlife areas can offer a key contribution to violence and injury prevention, as well as helping to make city centres more attractive and welcoming to visitors.

Poor availability of late-night transport means people are required to spend longer in nightlife areas after bars and nightclubs have closed, and leads to frustration and competition for scarce transport resources and also the use of unsafe methods of returning home. Such factors increase the potential for violence in nightlife areas and can render people more vulnerable to assault on journeys. Scarcity or absence of transport (which should also be affordable) also increases the risks of road traffic crashes, as intoxicated individuals attempt to walk home or drive home after a night out.

²⁸⁷Norström, (1997).

²⁸⁸Zwerling and Jones, (1999)

²⁸⁹Shults, *et al.*, (2001)

²⁹⁰Miller, *et al.*, (2004)

²⁹¹Shults, *et al.*, (2001)

²⁹²Ditter, *et al.*, (2005)

²⁹³Rivara, *et al.*, (2007)

Pre-loading on alcohol ahead of a night out makes crime and disorder more likely on public transport routes into the city at night and therefore has potentially important policy implications for the targeting of security staffing resources.

Interaction between licensed premises closing times and the demand for public transport is very apparent. This requires coordination with licensing tools such as 'lock outs'. Where such licensing tools are implemented it is necessary to ensure that adequate transport is available to meet the additional supply, partly engineered by the intervention, both at the start and the end of the lock out period.

The launch of night bus services can be assisted by an initial injection of public, private, or partnership funding, thus reducing the financial risk for service providers. Well-planned night bus routes can prove very popular and the problem then becomes one of ensuring that sufficient services are available. This is likely to be particularly the case where perceptions of safety have been addressed.

Some cities have significant commuter and suburban rail systems and these can provide effective dispersal from city centres if appropriate late-night services are developed. Issues regarding customer and staff safety largely mirror those that apply to bus services, encompassing the need for security management at the beginning, for the duration, and at the end, of the journey.

Effective transport provision can provide substantial assistance to the evening economy, encouraging city centre workers to stay in town. This period, from around 18.00 to 22.00 hours, effectively bridges the gap between the day-time and night-time economy, adding to the vitality and viability of the city.

In larger cities, in particular, transport planning to support the NTE should take into account the need for 'connectivity' between different locations within the central city and central suburbs, as well as between these areas and more outlying commuter and residential zones. This type of transport planning can be used to support the development of a network of 'urban villages' - each with their own distinct nightlife attractions - between which patrons may wish to travel. Areas, with theatres and restaurants, for example, should be well connected to the location of hotels and bars, especially where each area lacks a good mix of such uses.

Traffic management interventions, such as temporary (night-time) road closures, pavement barriers, and traffic calming devices, can reduce road traffic accidents and injuries to intoxicated pedestrians.

Affordable multiple occupancy taxi services can be used to link relatively isolated communities to bus and rail termini for accessing centrally-located nightlife attractions, thus discouraging people from driving under the influence of drink and/or drugs.

Licensed premises can help their customers to access safe travel home, 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 freephone links to reputable cab firms, or through other types of assistance.

Driver Safety: Raising Awareness and Responding to Risk

Transport staff who work at night represent an occupational group at particularly high risk of violence in many countries. Other problems such as fare evasion, soiling of, and damage to, vehicles are often apparent. These factors can act to discourage transport staff from working at night, contributing to a shortfall in transport supply.

Partnerships should be made aware of the crime and personal security issues (most notably violence, criminal damage and fare evasion) facing taxi and minicab drivers, as well as rail and bus staff.

The use of CCTV in vehicles, robust partition screens, bus and taxi marshals and white sodium lighting at transport termini should be considered as these have been found to assist in crime prevention. These measures should be evaluated to maximise effective practice in different circumstances.

Police support for public transport staff and taxi marshals should be put in place, including effective radio communication systems and personnel.

A public awareness poster campaign at taxi ranks, bus stops and on vehicles might be used. This would highlight that the assault of a person performing a public service, including transport staff – will be treated seriously by the courts when sentencing.

Passenger Safety: Raising Awareness and Responding to Risk

Bus and rail stops for night services need to be safe and accessible at both ends of a journey in order to encourage greater public use.

Bus marshals or police officers positioned at key bus termini at key times can be used to prevent drunken and aggressive passengers from getting onto buses, thus increasing passenger and driver safety during the journey.

Taxis are often the first choice of transport for visitors exiting cities late at night. They can provide rapid dispersal and a door-to-door service, but only if supply and demand is well matched, ranks are located with night-time safety and security in mind and are

sufficient in number. Furthermore, drivers and vehicles must be appropriately licensed, with a strong enforcement regime.

Illegal ‘minicabs’ are a problem in some cities. These vehicles and their drivers are unregulated and uninsured to carry passengers. In some cases, the drivers have been linked to more serious crimes, including rape and sexual assault, robbery and drug dealing.

Effective responses involve targeted policing and enforcement activity to identify, disrupt and deter illegal cab activity, combined with public awareness campaigns to warn people travelling at night of the dangers of taking un-booked ‘minicabs’ off the street, as well as informing them of the best ways to get home safely. Police officers working at operational level should be provided with information that raises their awareness of taxi-related offences, in particular those relating to the right to ply for hire

Drivers, particularly younger males living in rural and suburban areas with limited access to public transport may continue to rely upon private cars when visiting nightlife destinations, despite self-reported alcohol and/or drug use.

There is an extensive literature on measures to reduce drink driving, with some of the most effective methods considered to be lowering the legal blood alcohol limits for driving and strict enforcement of drink driving legislation (e.g. through random breath testing and mandatory road checkpoint operations by police). Other measures such as designated driver schemes (where drivers are encouraged to remain alcohol-free) have been used to reduce drink driving, although there is little evidence for their effectiveness.

Developing and Implementing Effective Late-night Transport

Where NTEs are expanding, local councils and transport authorities should ensure that strategies to increase the number of people coming into nightlife areas also provide for safe and efficient late-night transport.

Well-planned and secure late-night transport services can assist with the wider project of diversifying the NTE and encouraging a wider range of visitors.

The night-time city requires transport policies specific to its needs. The development of a standard framework for testing and reviewing impacts on the night-time city is desirable.

Initiatives specific to the night often focus around individual modes of transport. The research evidence supports the development of cross-modal assessments (holistic reviews of supply and demand), and the development of tools for assessing how transport strategies might interact with other policy goals for the NTE, such as

promoting public safety, reducing crime, and encouraging wider participation and economic growth.

While improvements to late night transport can reduce violence, they are not a stand-alone cure. Even cities with very effective transport services experience violence at the end of a night out, for example when confrontations occur at other congregation points such as fast food venues, when intoxicated individuals actively seek fights, or when arguments developing inside bars continue in the streets. Consequently, transport measures should be seen one, albeit very important, component in wider programmes to promote and support safer nightlife.

Partnership working between local government, police, transport authorities, transport providers and nightlife venues offers the best opportunities for achieving sustainable late-night transport environments that also promote safety on the streets.

Street Policing

A high-visibility uniformed presence on the streets and particularly at known hot-spots during key time periods is a common policing strategy in nightlife areas²⁹⁴. High visibility policing is commonly regarded as a deterrent to public disorder and also of importance in reducing the fear of crime. In many UK towns and cities and in tourist resorts in Spain and Greece, officers wear reflective jackets, park marked vehicles in prominent positions or patrol in mobile CCTV vans in order to increase public awareness of their presence. In some areas, officers will patrol in pairs on foot supported by others in vans and cars. Proactive policing tactics may be used which seek to monitor the queues at potential flashpoints such as taxi-ranks and takeaways and to generally disperse people rather than allowing crowds to gather. Proactive public order policing is however very resource intensive and will often require the manipulation of shift systems in order to provide optimum cover. In many areas there is concern about the way in which the need to concentrate resources within central nightlife zones can detract from policing cover of other areas of the city or region. Furthermore, the availability of cell space and the time taken to process arrestees can also have an important influence upon operational styles and tactics, forcing officers to adopt a pragmatically permissive approach to incidents, particularly those involving low-level disorder²⁹⁵.

²⁹⁴ Berkley and Thayer, (2000); Hadfield, (2006)

²⁹⁵ Hadfield, (2006: Chap 5)

Constructing 'Problem Profiles' for Targeted Policing, Enforcement and Regulation in the NTE

- '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 channeled 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.
- 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.

The recommendations in this section have been adapted for current purposes from the work of Rosie Erol, University College London, who evaluated 35 proposals put forward by 22 UK police forces when applying for additional Home Office funding under the remit of the ‘Alcohol Misuse Enforcement Campaign’ (2006):

Erol, R. (2006) *Alcohol Misuse Enforcement Campaign: Guidance on Problem Profiles*. London: Jill Dando Institute Crime Science Laboratory.

Communication Systems

Radio-link schemes such as the Manchester city centre 'Nite Net' system are now widely used to allow licensed premises, door staff, CCTV operators, taxi marshals and police public order patrols to have a quick and direct line of communication. This enhanced communication can assist in providing a more rapid response to crimes in progress, early warning of any emerging issues and improved intelligence and evidence gathering as a result of directly targeted CCTV monitoring.

Media Strategies

A number of police forces have developed media strategies in which local newspapers and radio stations assist in communicating and raising awareness of alcohol, disorder and public safety issues. UK examples include the *Manchester Evening News*, 'Safe Glass, Safe City' and the *Eastern Evening News*, 'Home Safe and Sound' campaigns. Such campaigns can serve not only to communicate police knowledge of risk, but also to gain public support for initiatives and to relay positive news of their success. Some campaigns use specially designed logos and slogans to create a recognisable brand image.

Other campaigns have sought to educate people about the general range of risks that might be encountered on a night out. Launched in September 2001, the Greater Manchester Police 'Think Safe, Drink Safe' campaign provides health information and a list of practical safety measures for avoiding the often unforeseen dangers which can befall the inebriated including violence, spiked drinks, sexual assault and even kidnap. People are advised to make advance travel plans to get home late at night, to stay with friends and be aware of each other's safety, to avoid drinking large quantities of alcohol early in the evening (by taking advantage of happy hours etc.), to avoid confrontations and walk away from potential fights, and of the dangers of having un-protected sex when intoxicated. Campaign posters depict the more embarrassing and unattractive symptoms of 'over-indulgence' such as vomiting and impaired (male) sexual performance in ways that portray participants as 'losers.' The principle of these campaigns is that of providing people with the information they need to make informed choices that can reduce harm to themselves and others as a result of their drinking. This harm reduction approach is therefore modest in its aim. It acknowledges people's social investment in, and commitment to, heavy sessional drinking cultures whilst seeking to reduce harmful outcomes in the absence of more fundamental changes in attitude.

Recent years have seen the introduction of a large number of new legislative powers and sanctions to address public disorder associated with alcohol in England and Wales. This legislative activity has occurred largely in response to the reform of the licensing laws and crime concerns in the NTE. Questions have been raised, however, as to the extent to which central government has focused upon the introduction of new legislation at the expense of ensuring that sufficient attention and funding is directed toward the enforcement of existing laws (Hadfield, *et al.*, 2009; Hadfield and Measham, 2011; Hadfield and Newton, 2010). Despite the lack of attention to evaluation and implementation the extent of regulatory activity is revealing in outlining the scope of the problems and their perceived causes, as well as indicating the types of approaches that have been deemed the most politically palatable (see below).

Legislative Powers and Sanctions Applied to the Consumers and Suppliers of Alcohol in England and Wales (September, 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).
Place-based	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
	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
	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.

Venue-based	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 Policing and Crime Act 2009	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. 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.

Street Wardens / Ambassadors

As part of the shift toward what is sometimes described as the ‘extended policing family,’ street wardens employed by local councils, or partnership structures such as Business Improvement Districts, are increasingly used to augment the uniformed security presence in town and city centres. In London’s Leicester Square, one of the busiest nightlife locations in Europe, a warden scheme entitle ‘City Guardians’ is in operation which aims to enhance regulation and enforcement action in relation to street activities. The providers contract with the City of Westminster specifies that there should be two wardens on the Square at any given time until 01.00 on weekdays and Sundays, and until 04.00 on Fridays and Saturdays. All wardens have a radio link to each other, the police, and to the CCTV control room which covers the Square. The

primary function of the wardens is to monitor the situation in the Square: if they spot a problem they seek to intervene whenever possible or call in assistance (from police, or the appropriate department of the Council, such as street cleansing or premises enforcement teams). Leicester Square has a dedicated policing unit that liaises closely with the wardens. The jurisdiction of the warden scheme extends beyond the Square itself to include a number of nearby streets. As part of their general duties, wardens monitor the following environmental matters within the area covered by the scheme:

- Street lighting
- Tables and chairs placed in the street by cafes and restaurants
- Litter and refuse
- Busking and street traders

Leicester Square wardens routinely observe and respond to antisocial behaviour – much of which is not witnessed by the police, nor serious enough to result in arrest.

A national evaluation of street warden schemes across the UK (DCLG, 2006) found the presence of wardens to be a popular local resource that communities value for their intricate understanding, or ‘ownership of an area and their ability to work cross agency demarcations and join-up service provision. According to this report, the aim of the Street Warden Programmes is to “*tackle nuisances, incivilities and inconveniences*” by:

- being a uniformed, visible presence other than the police
- co-ordinating the provision of local services
- providing reassurance to local residents
- having a broad responsibility for problem-solving
- fostering social inclusion and community spirit²⁹⁶.

Street crime wardens often operate in deprived residential communities. When used in city centres and nightlife areas, they may typically adopt additional roles, such as to:

- support the reduction of incidents of crime and disorder
- improve public reassurance
- reduce feelings associated with fear of crime
- provide enforcement of council byelaws
- support the work of taxi marshalls
- act as ambassadors for the city
- support the council in delivering its vision, values, aims and objectives.

Although engaged in ‘soft policing’, the wardens were not perceived to be closely affiliated to the police as in most areas their core responsibilities lay in environmental management and social inclusion issues, the focus being around caring for, improving and supporting quality of life issues in their allocated area and supporting people

²⁹⁶DCLG, (2006:7)

experiencing problems within those areas. Wardens and their managers were keen to distinguish their work from that of Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) whose responsibilities were spread over much wider geographical areas, who were closely police-affiliated, and whose remit revolved more around dealing with anti-social behaviour and associated enforcement, rather than environmental management. In a separate local evaluation of a street warden scheme in the North West of England, Smithson and Armitage, (2007) found that one of the main threats to the effectiveness of the warden scheme was that in engaging with communities it was hard for the wardens to balance their role of supporting social inclusion within communities and also being agents of enforcement. Being “good cop one day and bad cop the next” threatened to undermine the valued distinctiveness of their role from that of the police and PCSOs. This ambiguity of roles and potential duplication of effort was also noted in Crawford and Lister’s (2004) research on warden schemes and other forms of ‘reassurance policing’.

In Stirling, Scotland, a patrol known as the ‘Street Team’ has been established to specifically deliver support to the city centre NTE. The ‘Street Team’ comprises Community Wardens and youth workers, also employed by the council at other times of day. The Street Team patrol the city centre during the opening hours of the ‘Safe Base’, a facility for people who feel vulnerable or unsafe whilst out at night, operated between 22.00 and 02.00. Safe Base is housed in premises supplied by Stirling Council Youth Services. Staffed by personnel from various local agencies, the service aims to ensure that the following skill sets are present: first aid; mental health, working with substance misuse; handling difficult people/managing conflict; and occupational health and safety awareness. The team of three is supported by one security steward and the facility is linked to the ‘Pubsafe’ radio link – providing communication between the Safe Base, door supervisors at venues in the city centre, taxi marshals, the CCTV control centre, and the ‘Street Team’.

The role of the Street Team, as anticipated at the planning and development stage of the Safe Base initiative focused strongly on developing a ‘safe haven’ for vulnerable people in city centre, with less emphasis placed on the role of the Street Team. The role of the Street Team was to identify and refer people that were in need; that is, to ‘feed’ the Safe Base with clients. However, an evaluation of the first stages in implementing Street Base/Street Team, alongside other support services for the NTE, found that the activities of Safe Base were significantly outnumbered by the interventions of the Street Team. These are worth citing at length:

The Street Team made a huge variety of different interventions with people in the city centre – collectively having a real and perceived major positive impact on community safety. It was not possible to record the number of incidents, however the different types of intervention can be described as follows:

- *Escorting vulnerable people to places of safety or away from the city centre, e.g. 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 refer for help / call for assistance;*
- *Engagement and reassurance with members of the public, to disseminate the message of Safe Base, distribute packs to young people (Streetworx youth workers), and even to pose for photos with the general public!;*
- *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, to disperse groups, to call or radio other team members to assist²⁹⁷.*

The evaluators go on to conclude that:

The central role of the Street Team in assisting those on the street became apparent, and interventions by the Team were frequent and effective in reducing perceptions of vulnerability and anti-social behaviour. The Safe Base was only required for a relatively small number of particularly challenging cases.

As a result of this learning...it would seem appropriate to place the Street Team as the focal point of the planning for this initiative, with the Safe Base acting as a resource in support of the Street Team, rather than vice versa. This should provide the focus on the Street Team to ensure that their roles, and how they interact with other elements of the initiatives, are clearly defined and understood, and will focus the leadership and management of the initiatives more closely on the team. As a result this will enable them to deliver a better service to clients in the city centre²⁹⁸.

In conducting their work, members of the Street Team were particularly concerned about the continuity of care once clients had been delivered to Street Base. The team felt there was a danger in losing the relationship with clients built up on the street and that this could have a negative impact on vulnerable clients – particularly if a vulnerable person who had taken time to build up trust with the Street Team had to go through the same process again in the Safe Base. As one team member told the evaluators:

“There were times when I thought twice about taking someone into Safe Base, because the relationship we built stopped at the door, I did not want them to have to

²⁹⁷Progressive, (2009: 10)

²⁹⁸Progressive, (2009:15)

go through all the same questions again”²⁹⁹.

Street Team and the other warden schemes described here, together with the Safe Base facility, involve salaried staff from local agencies. Whilst role descriptions may be similar, they therefore differ in important ways from the types of patrolling and ‘safe haven’ projects described below.

Promoting Third Party Policing (TPP) and Welfare Interventions in the Night-time Economy

City authorities, criminal justice agencies and health professionals are increasingly recognizing that responses to crime, disorder and substance use in the streets of our towns and cities cannot be the sole responsibility of the police and other public services. Whilst policy agendas have often been dominated by new powers to crack down on anti-social behaviour, a vacuum in the provision of welfare-based and rehabilitative provisions has emerged. In meeting their responsibilities to reduce crime and protect public health, public sector agencies invariably seek assistance from private individuals, businesses, the voluntary sector, and charitable organisations.

UK nightlife zones are now variously subject to an extended 'family' of publicly-funded street patrols, including the services of Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs), local authority Street Wardens, Taxi Marshals, and privately funded Security Guards and Door Supervisors. Recent years have increasingly seen street-level policing and welfare activities also conducted by a range of private citizens, referred to here as 'third parties'. Various agencies working in and around the ‘night-time economy’ (NTE) of British cities provide an excellent example of these ‘third party policing’ (TPP) processes in action. Charities such as the Street Pastors, an initiative developed and run by Christian organization, the Ascension Trust, have a rapidly expanding network of over 150 local projects around the UK providing ‘citizens’ patrols’. Each project is run by a local co-ordinator with support from the Ascension Trust and local churches and community groups. Projects are established in partnership with Police, local councils and other statutory agencies who provide financial grant aid to the projects.

Recent research in social psychology analysing footage from closed-circuit television surveillance of public spaces in the NTE³⁰⁰ has compared aggressive incidents that ended in violence with those that did not. Conciliatory interventions by third parties (in this case ordinary members of the public) in on-street incidents tended to prevent aggression from escalating into physical violence and were more successful when

²⁹⁹ Progressive (2009: *ibid*)

³⁰⁰ Levine, *et al.*, (2011).

carried out by multiple third parties than when carried out by one person. A brief evaluation of the first 20-months of the Street Pastor project in the city centre of Portsmouth, UK³⁰¹ records that the patrols engaged with over 5,000 people; were involved in the calming of 134 aggressive situations; supported 370 vulnerable people, and provided practical help to a further 173. Street Pastors also removed nearly 1,400 glass drinking vessels from the streets that may otherwise have been used as weapons, or led to accidental injury. Thus, whilst peer-reviewed studies of citizens' patrols interventions in the NTE have yet to be conducted³⁰², there is scope for optimism concerning their effectiveness for inserting 'capable guardianship' and assisting in the resolution of low-level conflict situations that might otherwise lead to violence and injury. An international network of Street Pastor projects is now emerging; the first in Australia being in Manly, NSW (launched on 1 May 2010). The Pastors patrol the 'Corso' night strip each Saturday evening between 11pm and 3am.

The concept of 'night patrols' staffed by volunteers has a long history in Australia, being a feature of some Aboriginal communities since the 1980s³⁰³. The night patrols model has been adapted to individual communities as required and there is no single definition of what a patrol is, or what it does. However, a common element is to provide a safe means of transport home or to refuges and safe houses for people at risk of offending or victimization. Typically, this includes young people or intoxicated adults³⁰⁴. Night patrols interventions have spread across Australia, particularly across the rural communities of the Northern Territory, Western Australia, South Australia, and New South Wales.

In a further element of voluntary sector TPP, so-called 'safe havens', such as the various 'SOS Bus' schemes in British cities and 'Chill Out Zones (COZs) at Surfer's Paradise and at Airlie Beach in Queensland, Australia (the latter running during the annual 'Schoolies week', school-leavers' parties) have been established. Both schemes operate as geographically prominent drop-in centres for people seeking physical assistance, counseling and basic first aid. The COZ at Surfers' Paradise is a long-running intervention funded by the Queensland, Department of Communities under its Management of Public Intoxication Program. Data collected by the COZ provides insight into otherwise unrecorded patterns of assault and drug and alcohol use 'on the street'. An independent evaluation of the Surfers' Paradise COZ data³⁰⁵ covering 36 months within the periods: January to June, 1999, January to December, 2000, January to December, 2001, and January to June, 2002 found that the facility assisted 1,114 clients. These persons presented for a variety of reasons related to their drink and drug use and for a range of injuries or other welfare requirements. The COZ database contained a proportion of incidents not recorded by the police, moreover,

³⁰¹ Cornish, (2009); Hampshire Police Authority (2009).

³⁰² Johns, *et al.*, (2009a).

³⁰³ Australian Institute of Criminology, (2004).

³⁰⁴ Blagg and Valuri, (2003).

³⁰⁵ McIlwain, (2004).

clients were able to receive interventions that may have prevented problems from escalating thus easing the pressure on police and hospital emergency departments.

The SOS Bus scheme in Norwich, UK has now operated for over 10 years. The scheme currently uses two vehicles, one of which focuses on providing counselling and practical support and another parked nearby which is operated as a ‘medical unit’ The scheme also has a ‘support vehicle’ which is used to collect clients who are injured or in distress and bring them to the project. The scheme’s website provides access to the project database giving demographic details on who is using the facilities and for what reasons. The profile of problems and interventions is very similar to that recorded in the Australian COZ database. An estimated 409 hospital Accident and Emergency Department admissions were saved by the project between 22 November 2008 and 1 April 2011. The main causes of the injuries presented by clients during this period were assaults and accidental trips/falls³⁰⁶. A further benefit of ‘safe haven’ projects is that they are able to engage hard-to-reach groups - such as young adult males - who may have problems with their drinking and/or drug use and to refer such people to on-going sources of assistance, whilst avoiding the stigma and costs of criminalization³⁰⁷ (entry to the criminal justice system being a typical access route to help for those not subject to disposal by means of summary fines).

The private sector also plays important roles in TPP, with taxi services helping to disperse crowds and remove people from scenes of danger. Taxi drivers witness crimes, accidental injuries, and high-risk behaviours involving intoxicated persons; they often possess local knowledge and access to communication and tracking technologies. The UK Department for Transport’s ‘best practice’ guidance³⁰⁸ emphasizes that concerns regarding the suitability of drivers should be balanced against competing factors which may arise as a result of an insufficient supply of taxis; potential security and public safety risks for members of the public being associated with situations in which demand for taxis outstrips supply (p3: para 7-8). The Guidance goes on to recommend: “licensing authorities may want to encourage the taxi trade to build good links with the local police force, including participation in CDRPs” (p7: para 23). Such official statements implicitly endorse the view that taxi drivers perform an important role in TPP whilst remaining vague as to the specific ways in which taxi operators might be able to ‘participate in CDRPs’. The staff of late-night takeaways may be a further source of TPP activity, as a group of workers also present at the ‘front line’ of customer service in the NTE. In a move towards this, the Liverpool Community Safety Partnership has funded training in conflict management for the staff of city centre takeaway premises.

The momentum for increasing local capacities for TPP has been growing for some time. The Halifax, UK, ‘Street Angels’ project (part of the ‘Christian Nightlife Network’) received a national *Tilley Award* for services to crime reduction (2008),

³⁰⁶<http://www.sosbus.co.uk/press.aspx> accessed 16 June 2011.

³⁰⁷ Blagg and Valuri, (2004).

³⁰⁸ DfT (Department for Transport), (2006).

whilst the Norwich SOS bus won the Queen's Award for Voluntary Work, 2005. Despite such accolades and media attention there is currently no guidance provided by central government on interagency, especially public sector, cooperation with TPP agents, making this an area of urgent policy need. Perhaps more than ever, the concept of the public sector supporting voluntary/third sector (including faith organisations, trade unions, charities and social enterprises), private sector, and individual, safety and security interventions is very much an idea of moment. The promotion of TPP and its sustainable integration into multi-component programmes to address the impact of alcohol and drug use fits with the aspirations of the current UK government to nurture the 'Big Society'. Whilst the author could find no trace of formal cost-benefit analyses in published literature at the time of writing, projects staffed by community volunteers seem likely to deliver significant cost savings to the public sector whilst encouraging local communities to be proactive in responding to locally identifiable needs. Although standard operating practices have been agreed with police on a local ad hoc basis³⁰⁹, knowledge/policy transfer remains in its infancy and would benefit immeasurably from attempts to establish working protocols and codify 'best practice'³¹⁰.

Street Policing Interventions: Summary of the Research

Allocating and Targeting Police Resources

A high profile uniformed presence on the streets and particularly at known hot-spots during key time periods is a common policing strategy in nightlife areas. High visibility policing is commonly regarded as a deterrent to public disorder and also of importance in promoting public reassurance.

Proactive policing tactics may be used which seek to monitor the queues at potential flashpoints such as taxi-ranks and takeaways and to generally disperse people rather than allowing crowds to gather.

Proactive public order policing is resource intensive and may require the manipulation of shift systems in order to provide optimum cover. Police managers need to balance this demand against other policing priorities for the city.

The availability of cell space and the time taken to process arrestees can also have an important influence upon operational styles and tactics, encouraging officers to adopt

³⁰⁹ Johns *et al.*, (2009b)

³¹⁰ Hadfield, (2011)

a pragmatically permissive approach to low-level disorder. Intoxicated offenders/arrestees who are themselves injured may need to be guarded by police over night, whilst in hospital.

Constructing 'Problem Profiles' for targeted policing in the NTE allows police managers to make resource decisions and determine tactics. This involves building a clear picture of the assembled intelligence on the nature of crime issues and their causes.

Mapping crime and incident 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. Due regard should be given to the accuracy of the data geocoding, particularly for the many offences occurring in the street.

Data from footfall counters is likely to offer the best denominators for measuring crime levels against the usage of an area, across licensed premises clusters, area capacities for each night, and at various times of the night.

Problem profiles should provide contextual data for the whole city, the remainder of the region, or another comparable city, together with more detailed analysis of local hot spot areas. This will help put the scale of the problems into context and demonstrate that resources are being channeled in the most appropriate ways.

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 and additional data on assaults may be available from hospital emergency departments, or the Ambulance Service.

It is essential to look at trends over time. This allows for the identification of seasonal changes, and helps distinguish real changes from random fluctuations.

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.

Particular licensed premises may generate a disproportionate number of problems. 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 opportunities for aggression and crime, 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 shift over time, due to changes of management, promotions, or time of year (for example, whether there are facilities for drinking outside).

It may also be useful to identify and target licensed premises in outlying areas where these are used earlier in the evening by groups who go on to cause problems in the city centre. Suburbs/urban villages may have their own NTEs, especially where a high proportion of residents are students and young professionals. The extent of policing resources dedicated to these areas will need to be balanced against what is required for the city centre and the city region as a whole.

Analysing patterns of offences over the week and by time of 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. These could result from structural interventions, such as changes to operating hours, or may relate to particular aspects of the business such as the timing of drinks promotions.

Communication Systems

Radio-link systems are now widely used to allow licensed premises, door staff, CCTV operators, taxi marshals and police public order patrols to have a quick and direct line of communication.

Enhanced communication can assist in providing a more rapid response to crimes in progress, early warning of any emerging issues and improved intelligence and evidence gathering as a result of directly targeted CCTV monitoring.

Media Strategies

Campaigns in local media outlets can assist in communicating and raising awareness of alcohol, disorder and public safety issues.

Such campaigns can communicate police knowledge of risk, garner public support for initiatives, and relay positive news of their success.

The content of campaigns might include health information and a list of practical safety measures. The principle of these campaigns is that of providing people with the information they need to make informed choices that can reduce harm to themselves and others as a result of their drinking.

This harm reduction approach is therefore modest in its aims. It acknowledges people's social investment in, and commitment to, heavy sessional drinking cultures whilst seeking to reduce harmful outcomes in the absence of more fundamental changes in attitude.

Police Powers

In some countries and prominently in the UK, recent years have seen the introduction of a large number of new legislative powers and sanctions to address anti-social behaviour, associated with alcohol.

This legislative activity has occurred largely in response to reform of the licensing laws and a context in which, in the absence of effective controls over the availability of alcohol (structural interventions for the NTE), tough measures are required to manage drunkenness in public places on an on-going and routine basis.

These powers can be divided into three categories: person-based, place-based and venue-based. Although they have yet to be fully evaluated, Drink Banning Orders (DBOs) appear to be one of the more promising approaches as they can be used to remove persistent drink-related offenders from all licensed premises within a designated area³¹¹.

Powers and sanctions will never be effective unless they are correctly implemented and adequately enforced. In England and Wales, the introduction of new legislation has often occurred at the expense of ensuring that sufficient attention and funding is directed toward the implementation and enforcement of existing laws.

Approaches which target 'irresponsible' licensed operators and alcohol 'misusers' (bad apples), and the removal of unruly persons from public places have been deemed the most politically palatable. Whilst prioritisation is always necessary in allocating resources, this has been at the expense of developing longer-term support structures for the NTE and its patrons as a whole

Street Wardens / Ambassadors

³¹¹ Hadfield, *et al.*, (2009); Hadfield and Measham, (2011)

As part of the shift toward what is sometimes described as the ‘extended policing family,’ street wardens employed by local councils, or partnership structures such as Business Improvement Districts, are increasingly used to augment the uniformed security presence in town and city centres.

A national evaluation of street warden schemes across the UK found the presence of wardens to be a popular local resource that communities value for their intricate understanding, or ‘ownership of an area and their ability to work cross agency demarcations and join-up service provision.

The typical roles of wardens in nightlife areas include:

- being a uniformed visible presence other than the police
- coordinating the provision of local services
- providing reassurance to visitors and local residents
- having a broad responsibility for problem-solving
- supporting the reduction of crime and disorder
- providing enforcement of council byelaws
- supporting the work of taxi marshals
- acting as ambassadors for the city
- supporting the council in delivering its vision, values, aims and objectives.

One of the main challenges for warden schemes can be engaging with communities in support of social inclusion goals, whilst also being agents of enforcement.

In Stirling, Scotland, a team of street wardens and youth workers known as the ‘Street Team’ patrol the city centre at night. Their activities are central to the delivery of community safety in the NTE and include:

Escorting vulnerable people to places of safety or away from the city centre;

Acting as a conduit to the Police and CCTV (via radios), to assist in monitoring of identified vulnerable / violent people or to refer for help / call for assistance;

Engagement and reassurance work with members of the public;

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, to disperse groups, to call or radio other team members to assist.

Third Party Policing (TPP) and Welfare Interventions

City authorities, criminal justice agencies and health professionals are increasingly recognizing that responses to crime, disorder and substance use in the streets of our towns and cities cannot be the sole responsibility of the police and other public services.

Whilst policy agendas have often been dominated by new powers to crack down on anti-social behaviour, a vacuum in the provision of welfare-based and rehabilitative provisions has emerged.

In meeting their responsibilities to reduce crime and protect public health, public sector agencies invariably seek assistance from private individuals, businesses, the voluntary sector, and charitable organisations.

Recent years have increasingly seen street-level policing and welfare activities also conducted by a range of private citizens, referred to here as 'third parties'.

Charities such as the Street Pastors have a rapidly expanding network of projects providing 'citizens patrols'. Projects are established in partnership with Police, local councils and other statutory agencies who provide financial grant aid to the projects.

Conciliatory interventions by third parties in on-street incidents have been found to prevent aggression from escalating into physical violence and are more successful when carried out by multiple third parties than when carried out by one person.

Although peer-reviewed studies of citizens' patrols interventions in the NTE have yet to be conducted, there is scope for optimism concerning their effectiveness for enhancing guardianship and reassurance and assisting in the resolution of low-level conflict situations that might otherwise lead to violence and injury.

Street Pastors (and council-employed street wardens) have been instrumental in removing large quantities of glass from public places which might otherwise have resulted in accidental injuries, or been used as a weapon in street incidents.

In a further element of voluntary sector TPP, so-called 'safe havens' have been established, operating as geographically prominent drop-in centres for people seeking assistance at night.

Clients present for a variety of reasons related to their drink and drug use and for a range of injuries or other welfare requirements. Thus, staff based at the 'safe havens' need to possess the following skills sets: first aid; mental health, working with substance misuse; handling difficult people/managing conflict; and occupational health and safety awareness.

Safe havens deal with many problems that are not recorded by the police and many issues that lie beyond the core police remit. Clients are able to receive interventions that prevent problems from escalating, thus easing the pressure on police and hospital emergency departments and allowing clients to avoid criminalisation. The facilities have achieved success in accessing to hard-to-reach groups, such as young adult males, who may have problems with their drinking and/or drug use. Staff working at the facilities can refer such people to on-going sources of assistance.

Radio links provide communication between safe haven staff and police, venue door supervisors, the CCTV control centre, and ambulance crews. Some schemes use a 'support vehicle' to collect clients who are injured or in distress and bring them to the project.

Taxi drivers can also play important roles in TPP, helping to disperse crowds and remove people from scenes of danger. They also witness crimes, accidental injuries, and high-risk behaviours involving intoxicated persons and often possess local knowledge and access to communication and tracking technologies.

The staff of late-night takeaways may be a further source of TPP activity, as a group of workers also present at the 'front line' of customer service in the NTE.

Although standard operating practices have been agreed between police and TPP agents on a local ad hoc basis, knowledge/policy transfer remains in its infancy and would benefit immeasurably from attempts to establish working protocols and codify 'best practice'. To allow such guidance to be drafted, systematic evaluations will need to be conducted exploring the effectiveness of TPP initiatives in various nightlife contexts.

Cleaning and Maintaining the Street Scene

Due to the extent of usage, city centres will always require significant investment in maintaining local environmental quality through cleaning and maintaining the street scene. NTEs have particular service needs in relation to street cleaning and also present shift organisation and resource challenges if the streets are to be cleansed following the departure of night-time crowds, but ahead of the arrival of other users

the following morning. Councils with late-night NTEs often speak of a short ‘window of opportunity’ for ensuring that such work is completed³¹². Local environmental quality at night and through into the day-time can influence perceptions of the NTE and the impacts it has on both those who use it and those who use the streets the following morning.

Typical on-street waste includes litter from bar, nightclub and theatre flyers, cigarette packets and ends, fast food detritus, bottles, glasses and cans, together with urine traces in shop doorways and alleys. Areas in which licensed premises and takeaways are bunched tend to have the highest footfall and consequently place the greatest demand on the cleansing teams. The worst of the litter can be found around congregation areas, such as bus stops, club entrances, fast food outlets, and convenience stores.

Onyx provides the City of Westminster with a dedicated night-time waste collection and cleansing service. The contractors remove an estimated 110 tons of waste from a total of 204 streets every night. The cleansing team is made up of 21 night-time road sweepers, who work from 22.00 to 06.00. *Onyx* also use mechanical sweepers and flushing vehicles. The service is structured differently to that of the day shift. Due to the changing nature of the problems and the issues that the city presents to the service, the night shift must be very flexible³¹³. In some locations streets are so busy that the contractor is unable to obtain access until the crowds disperse. The position taken by WCC Cleansing Services is that a minimum of three hours (between 03.00 and 06.00) is required to clean the ‘West End’ in time for the start of the next working day. Use of mechanised equipment, or even broomsweeping, is seen as impractical when streets are thronged with people. At these times it is accepted that the most that can be achieved is litter picking to contain levels within reasonable bounds before comprehensive cleaning becomes possible³¹⁴.

The West End of London undoubtedly represents a NTE area that is under an unusually intense degree of pressure. Outside of the ‘global cities’, local councils may simply need to arrange extra provision of street cleaning during key periods such as Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights. It is good practice to ensure that the streets are clean and that bins are emptied at the start of the evening entertainment period. This encourages people to observe normal standards of care by placing litter in bins whilst also assisting the early morning cleansing process. As mentioned above, Manchester City Council has had special refuse bins designed that prevent the public from removing litter (including, importantly glass) and strewing it around.

The growth of the NTE in small towns and resorts can place unanticipated pressures on the local council’s street cleaning capabilities. The growth of the NTE in the English coastal resort of Bournemouth has required the council to introduce a street

³¹²Elvins and Hadfield, (2003)

³¹³Bevan, (2009)

³¹⁴Elvins and Hadfield, (2003)

cleaning nightshift for which there was no previous need, as well as reviewing its litter bin strategy. This has resulted in an increase in the number and capacity of town centre bins and, most significantly, the frequency of emptying. It is estimated that the combined cost of these initiatives is in the region of £90-110,000 per annum, this comprising of labour, supervision, plant, materials and administrative support³¹⁵.

In the UK, Section 93 of the Environmental Protection Act 1990 can be used to issue 'Street Litter Control Notices' requiring premises to prevent or remove accumulations of litter or refuse in streets, where litter is related to their activities. A council can specify reasonable requirements in relation to a maximum radius of 100 metres from the premises. In spite of this, many town centres continue to be fouled by commercial waste left outside premises overnight for collection. This practice is a major cause of night-time litter and adds significantly to the cost of street cleaning.

An official report on the sustainability of the tourist economy in two English coastal resorts (DEFRA, 2003) raises the point that:

*Whilst the law places a clear duty on local authorities to take appropriate action to deal with this problem, most choose for reasons of employee safety, cost or practicality, not to address it directly, opting instead to deal with it as a part of the normal day-time street cleaning task. The absence of litter enforcement policies is one reason why this issue and others associated with the NTE are not given a higher political and spending profile... Few local politicians are sufficiently aware of the scale of the problems caused by the NTE and overnight litter and seldom question the largely avoidable scale of costs to councils of tackling these issues*³¹⁶.

The DEFRA report suggests that the costs to local communities in servicing the NTE are neither fully understood by, nor adequately devolved to, the licensed trade either as a direct charge, or indirectly by way of current or modified licensing mechanisms. Since this report was published, the Licensing Act 2003 now allows for a list of operating conditions to be applied to the Premises Licence of a venue (including late-night takeaways). The list could potentially include a requirement for licensed operators to sweep the pavements outside their premises on a regular basis, up until the end of their permitted opening hours.

Roberts (2004:23) describes how, in the Temple Bar area of Dublin, the trader's association TASCQ (Traders in the Area Supporting the Cultural Quarter) have agreed to make an annual financial contribution toward the additional cost of street cleaning. This includes a bottle collection at 05.00 and the provision of 21 'Eurobins' (large refuse containers the size of small skips with covers), together with a hosing down of the streets. Business Improvements Districts (BIDs) for nightlife areas (see below) are providing a further source of private sector funding in support of cleansing services. In Birmingham, UK, for example, the Broad Street BID partners (who

³¹⁵DEFRA, (2003)

³¹⁶DEFRA, (2003: 9)

comprise local licensed venues) provide the finance for daily cleaning of their area, in addition to that provided by the local council.

Cleaning and Maintaining the Street Scene: Summary of Research

NTEs present particular service needs in relation to street cleaning, as well as shift organisation and resource challenges so ensure the streets are cleansed following the departure of night-time crowds, but ahead of the arrival of other users the following morning.

Use of mechanised equipment, or even broom sweeping, is often impractical when streets are thronged with people. At these times perhaps the most that can be achieved is litter picking to contain levels within reasonable bounds before comprehensive cleaning becomes possible. Councils often speak of a short ‘window of opportunity’ for ensuring that such work is completed.

Local environmental quality at night and through into the day-time can influence perceptions of the NTE, as well as the impacts it has on those who use it and people using the streets the following day.

Typical on-street waste includes litter from bar, nightclub and theatre flyers, cigarette packets and ends, fast food detritus, bottles, glasses and cans, together with urine traces in shop doorways and alleys.

Commercial waste left outside premises overnight for collection is a major cause of night-time litter and adds significantly to the cost of street cleaning.

Areas in which licensed premises and takeaways are bunched tend to have the highest footfall and consequently place the greatest demand on cleansing teams. The worst of the litter can be found around congregation areas, such as bus stops, club entrances, fast food outlets, and convenience stores.

It is good practice to ensure that the streets are clean and that bins are emptied at the start of the evening entertainment period. This encourages people to observe normal standards of care by placing litter in bins whilst also assisting the early morning cleansing process.

The growth of the NTE in small towns, resorts and in city suburbs can place previously unanticipated pressures on the local council’s street cleaning resources.

In the UK, 'Street Litter Control Notices' can be issued requiring businesses to remove litter related to their activities for up to a 100-metre radius from their premises. These powers are little used, however. Few local politicians are sufficiently aware of the scale of the problems caused by overnight littering and seldom question the scale of costs to councils of tackling such issues.

The Licensing Act 2003 allows for a list of operating conditions to be applied to the Premises Licence of a venue (including late-night takeaways). The list could potentially include a requirement for licensed operators to sweep the pavements outside their premises on a regular basis, up until the end of their permitted opening hours.

Associations of licensed operators will sometimes voluntarily cover the financial costs of additional street cleaning required by the NTE in order to enhance public perceptions of their trading environment.

Business Improvements Districts (BIDs) for nightlife areas are one vehicle through which such private sector funding streams are being accessed.

Creative Lighting, Space and Events Management

Research by Eldridge and Roberts, (2008) exploring the policy options for creating more inclusive urban centres at night, using focus groups to gauge public opinion, has found that it is not so much a disapproval of alcohol consumption, or a reluctance to partake in urban life that may deter use of the NTE. Respondents were selected on the basis they went out less than once a week and there was some discrepancy in exactly how often they ventured out. The authors note that whether respondents went out once a week, or once a year, however, was not altogether important. What *was* important was that they expressed a desire to go out more often, but instead chose to stay home for specific reasons. The focus groups comprised a total of 160 people and were held across five towns/cities in England that each had an established or emerging NTE including bars, clubs, restaurants and other leisure venues. Study participants expressed the strong desire for varied late-night experiences, ranging from quiet local venues, to active streets and live music venues. In sum, the respondents wanted their experience in the night-time city to be varied, interesting, and 'comfortable'. Comfort in this context involved not only the opportunity to obtain seating and un-crowded conditions in licensed venues (elements which were reported to be often missing in current provisions), but also a feeling of inclusion and relaxation³¹⁷. In sum, the research participants wanted to access the kind of nightlife where they could feel at ease in a friendly, though not necessarily sober, social environment.

³¹⁷Eldridge and Roberts, (2008)

Using Spaces Differently: DIY Venues and 'Pop Up Events'

Many types of spaces within cities can be used in creative ways to host 'pop-up' nightlife events and DIY venues that engage the imagination of audiences. Large dance music club nights organised in Manchester, UK by 'The Warehouse Project', for example, were held over a 5-year period (up until the end of 2011) in a subterranean car park beneath the city's main rail station.

In Sydney, the Australian Museum has run a series of Tuesday evening events entitled 'Jurassic Lounge'. The events, which operate from around 17.30 to 23.00 hours involve a significant transformation and re-imaging of the museum, with the staging of live music, dance performances, 'silent disco', karaoke, interactive workshops and visual and lighting displays. A bar is provided and many of the visitors do consume alcohol. Crucially, however, drinking is very much secondary to the experience, which attracts a mixed audience including a large proportion of students and young professionals.

In various cities in the United States and in New Zealand, evening street food bizzarres are held which offer gourmet ethnic and regional cuisine sold from 'food trucks' (mobile stalls). The 'Night Market' events held in various locations across Philadelphia, for example, are based around their food offer, but also feature live entertainment and stalls selling local beers.³¹⁸ The installation of food trucks is clearly influenced by the night markets found in South East Asian towns and cities, such as the famous Kota Kinabalu night market in East Malaysia.

Many cities are now looking for lighting solutions that offer more than simply functional and mundane illumination. Lighting is increasingly used to beautify urban spaces and contribute to the identity of a city. The presence of creative lighting installations on buildings and in public places can generate interest at night-time and attract people towards and into particular spaces, such as city squares.³¹⁹ Recent advances in technology such as digital control, as well as improvements in LED performance (colour rendering and brightness) have led to many new creative opportunities. Pavement LED lighting has been installed in Leeds, UK running from the central train station to various destinations and points of interest in the city centre and within Millennium Square, a central public square and events space. The LED lights are computer controlled and can be used for different functions and to support the city's events programme.

Creative lighting often goes hand-in-hand with the encouragement of a more inclusive ambience through the provision of free festivals and other events such as those described above. When combined with patrolling schemes, such as local authority

³¹⁸ see: <http://www.nightmarketphilly.org/> accessed Sept 2011

³¹⁹ Lawford, (2010)

street wardens/ambassadors and street pastors these elements help insert a level of 'soft policing' that can be both unobtrusive and reassuring. A programme of evening events may be useful in helping bridge the transition between day and night, the urban economy being broadly split into three phases that typically provide different offers that appeal to distinctive market segments:

The Day-Time Economy (7.00am – 5.00pm)

The Evening Economy (5.00pm – 10.00pm)

The Late-Night Economy (10.00pm – 4.00am)

As the business day ends and large numbers of workers simultaneously make their commute home, pressure is placed on the transport infrastructure causing congestion and pollution. This is compounded by lost opportunities for town centre businesses as there is a lull in activity on the high street until the evening economy gathers pace. With careful planning, the transition from day to evening can be a viable time for the high street. Ideas such as working with retailers to agree later closing times can entice town centre workers to stay in the centre a little longer, cutting congestion at peak times and increasing custom for the leisure and hospitality sectors.

As part of their attempts to bridge the gap between the day and evening economies, Leeds City Council have used an initiative called 'Alive After 5' which seeks to bring longer, Southern European-style opening hours to the city and encourage more shopping and leisure activities in the early evening. During 'Alive After 5' periods shop opening hours on Thursday, Friday and Saturday evenings are extended until 19.00 hours. At the same time, the lighting installations in Millennium Square are used to support the hosting of evening events such as the German Christmas Market (running from mid-November), ice-skating and live music concerts. The longer shop opening hours and evening events have succeeded in encouraging many office workers to remain in town for longer. Similarly, Berlin has established 'The Long Night Of The Museums' an annual festival in which museums and cultural projects open from 18.00 to 02.00 hours, with free transport provided between all venues. The 'Jurassic Lounge' events in Sydney, as described above, provide a further example of such 'bridging' offers.

Events which place creative lighting at their heart have emerged influenced by the Fete des Luminères in Lyon, France which attracts large numbers of visitors and significant tourist spending in the city's licensed premises, cafes and hotels. Jiwa, *et al.*, (2009) describe the evolution of the 'Nuit Blanche' concept which began in Paris in 2002 and is now an annual event that has prompted the creation of a network of city partners across Europe and beyond. In Italy the events are referred to as Notte Bianca (White Night) and in German cities as Lange Nacht (Long Night). In 2007, the Toronto Nuit Blanche had an estimated economic impact of \$4.9 million on the city and attracted 800,000 visitors. The Paris event is now estimated to generated one million visits every year with over 100 attractions, including music festivals and dance parties in museums and visual arts

displays. Such approaches clearly build upon the ideas of the early 24-hour city protagonists³²⁰.

‘Light Night’, a re-interpretation of the Nuit Blanche concept for the UK, is now being promoted by the Association of Town Centre Managers. Typically, a Light Night programme of events would involve museums and galleries opening free of charge until late evening, extended hours in shops and streets and squares transformed into entertainment spaces. Light Night is now a national branding, advice and facilitation programme for such initiatives that have so far run in: Belfast, Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Nottingham, Sheffield, Kirkcaldy and Perth, amongst other places. The events offer residents and visitors the opportunity to experience cultural events throughout the evening and night, experiencing familiar urban spaces in new ways. A key element of the Light Night concept is that all events are free. As Roberts (2009) reports:

*These evenings are intended to open up the city to children, families and others who would not normally venture out, with shops and museums opening until late and free events and arts events being held in public squares and public buildings. Iconic buildings are illuminated and a different ambience is created emphasising creativity and play. These are small steps in cultural advancement but nevertheless offer a middle ground between deregulation on the one hand and a punitive response to drunkenness on the other*³²¹.

Light Nights are often organized during periods of the year in which retail, leisure and hospitality spending might otherwise be at a comparative lull. In Nottingham, UK a Light Night event in February 2009 attracted 52,000 people into the city centre over two nights. The programme included illuminated guided walks, late opening of museums and galleries, live street entertainment and other attractions running from 14.00 to 23.00 hours. The event achieved a diverse audience, including many families and older people. The Light Night initiative is open to new towns to join where they agree to adopt the scheme’s five key principles:

1. Light Night is a cultural event, open to all with no admission charge;
2. Light Night favours community engagement in all its forms; arts, sports, music, social, and voluntary groups and performances;
3. Light Night uses public spaces in all their aspects;
4. Light Night is an opportunity for promoting local opportunity and activity;
5. Light Night encourages inter-exchange between different towns and cities³²².

³²⁰ See, for example Hughes, (1999)

³²¹ Roberts, (2009: 499)

³²² <http://www.lightnight.co.uk/exchange-network/index.php> accessed 27 June, 2011

Jiwa, *et al.*, (2009) report statistics from a stakeholders' event evaluation survey at the Italian Notte Bianca event in 2005. These figures indicate that although the programme cost 3 million Euro to host, it generated 30 million Euro in revenue.³²³ Nonetheless, there remains an absence of reliable, comparable and meaningful indicators to evaluate the social, economic and environmental impacts of Nuit Blanche-style events and this remains an area of contention for funding bodies and organisations in the voluntary, public and private sectors. Despite their enthusiasm for the potential effectiveness and transferability of such schemes, Jiwa, *et al.*, (2009) note that in order to improve current understanding of the contribution of evening cultural events:

*... it will be necessary to develop a knowledge base both qualitative and quantitative, that builds on pan-European and international experience to create robust methodologies for data collection and meaningful comparisons. Currently no standardised evaluation and monitoring mechanism exists in Europe to establish, capture and compare the socio-economic effectiveness of cultural-led initiatives and events to inform future choices in terms of programming and delivery. This is an area of practice-led research that will continue to inform policy making for the involvement of creative and cultural enterprises in the nurturing of local distinctiveness, liveability, community involvement and business buy-in across neighbourhoods, towns and regions in Europe and internationally*³²⁴.

This reviewer is of the opinion that there is now an urgent demand for published evaluations and cost-benefit analyses of such schemes. Nonetheless, there are grounds for optimism, as such projects match with established theories as to the creation of successful urban public spaces, the overcoming some of negative perceptions of the NTE, and indeed the reduction of objective crime risks. As Rowe *et al.*, (2008) point out, the divide between cultural planning (stimulation) and crime prevention (regulation) is unproductive and needs to be more effectively dissolved by re-conceiving both processes as inevitably linked responses to the multiple uses of urban space.

In Britain, at least, we remain some way removed from the 'sanitization' or 'domestication' of the night-time city, such that the attraction value of a certain 'edginess' is removed. As Rowe (2008) points out, there is often an important interaction between sports events and the evening and night-time economy of cities. People leaving big games at a sports stadium will often move on to the main restaurant and bar areas before returning home. This type of activity also encourages spending, as well as helping bridge the gap between night and day in terms of activity levels. Yet, the demands of sports crowds, as Rowe points out, may often represent working class focal concerns, such as post-match drinking, which sit uneasily alongside the relaxed cosmopolitan culture favoured by proponents of creative, 24-hour cities. At the same time, the wearing of sports shirts and other 'tribal' paraphernalia is likely to breach the access codes of many city centre licensed premises.

³²³Cherubini and Iasevoli, (2006)

³²⁴Jiwa, *et al.*, (2009: 163)

Nonetheless, whilst their attractions are unlikely to truly appeal to the tastes of all sections of the community, the clear message of Light Night and similar initiatives for residents and visitors alike is to come and enjoy oneself after dark in ways that do not revolve solely around the bar and club scene. Diversification of a city's after dark offer need not be linked to occasional 'events' but rather be built into the city's weekly routine on a permanent basis. Night markets can be very effective in promoting street activation and are an important means through which night-time street life can be 'normalised'. This normalisation involves inserting a form of activity usually associated with the day-time that is both accessible and of interest to a large proportion of the community. At the same time, the offering of additional late-night sittings in restaurants would provide, at a stroke, much enhanced options for night visitors and hotel guests who may also be involved in other activities such as evening shopping and visiting cultural attractions such as theatres and cinemas. In order to achieve their full potential all such offers need to be supported by design and service interventions such as enhanced public transport throughout the night, with good connectivity between different urban hubs and adequate outdoor seating and toilet availability. Free wi fi and the development of apps offering guidance to visitors on night-time activities can be further ways to encourage the diverse use of city spaces.

We are some way from being able to assess from the results of published evaluation studies exactly which forms of diversification planning might work best and where. Nonetheless, city action plans which seek to activate dead areas and open up the city at night to a wider constituency seems likely only to enhance rather than reduce the appeal of nightlife for the majority of citizens.

Creative Lighting, Space and Events Management: Research Summary

Public perception surveys have found a strong desire for varied nightlife experiences, ranging from quiet venues, to active streets and live music venues.

Current venues and activities in the pub and club scene do not always provide adequate seating and un-crowded conditions, or a feeling of inclusion and relaxation for those outside of young adult social drinking scenes.

There appears to be further unmet demand for venues, social scenes and events that provide a friendly, less frenetic, though not necessarily sober, social environment.

As part of providing an improved support structure for the NTE, councils in many countries are introducing high tech lighting installations that can contribute to the identity of the city, as well as performing the necessary, though mundane, function of illumination.

The creative use of lighting on buildings and in public places can generate interest at

night-time and attract people towards and into particular spaces, such as city squares.

With careful planning, the transition from day to evening can be a viable trading period for retailers, and the leisure and hospitality sectors. Working with retailers to agree later closing times and putting on a programme of events can entice workers to stay in the centre a little longer. In addition to the economic opportunities for businesses, this can enhance street life and ease congestion at peak times.

Events that place creative lighting at their heart have emerged influenced by the 'Nuit Blanche' concept, which began in Paris in 2002. These have become regular features of the city calendar in some cases and attract large numbers of visitors who are able to experience familiar urban spaces in new ways.

Creative lighting goes hand-in-hand with the encouragement of a more inclusive ambience through the provision of free festivals and other events in urban public spaces, together with later opening for museums and galleries etc. There is considerable scope for innovation. Music festivals, dance parties in museums, visual arts displays and performance art have all been used to enliven city streets and civic buildings. It may be necessary for local government to make an initial financial investment to help projects get off the ground, before establishing themselves as viable independent business ventures.

A key principle of the Nuit Blanche concept is that of free admission. Such events have successfully attracted audiences who may not often use the city at night, such as families with children. Such culture-led approaches to urban rejuvenation clearly build upon the ideas of the early 24-hour city protagonists.

The apparent success of Nuit Blanche events in comparison to the over-simplified method of permanently de-regulating licensing hours for alcohol outlets stems from the proactive stance adopted by councils and their business partners. There have been concerted efforts to provide the necessary services and support structures, if only on a temporary basis (a further factor, of course, is that the events themselves do not promote intoxication as their focal point).

As Roberts (2004) notes, these are small steps in cultural advancement but nonetheless offer a middle ground between deregulation on the one hand and a punitive response to drunkenness on the other. An important theme is the 'normalisation' of street life in terms of its social composition and the resultant side effects of this in terms of what might be described as 'soft policing'.

The divide between cultural planning (stimulation) and crime prevention (regulation) is unproductive and needs to be more effectively dissolved by re-conceiving both processes as inevitably linked responses to the multiple uses of urban space. In Britain, at least, we remain some way removed from the 'sanitisation' or 'domestication' of the night-time city, such that the attraction value of a certain 'edginess' is removed.

Despite their promise and theoretical credibility there remains an absence of reliable, comparable and meaningful indicators to evaluate the full social, economic and environmental impacts of Nuit Blanche-style events. This remains an area of contention for funding bodies and organisations in the voluntary, public and private sectors.

Different sections of society will continue to use city centre nightlife facilities in different ways, depending upon their needs and particular circumstances. It is quite feasible, for example, that the same person who might bring their child along to a Nuit Blanche-style event might also visit the city as part of a large single-sex group following a sports event. In these latter circumstances, the purposes of staying on in the city centre may be very different and revolve more around alcohol. For such reasons, it is unhelpful to think of potential audiences as easily fitting into two opposing camps: the respectable and the potentially disreputable. City management for the 21st century must place objective risk assessment, harm reduction, and the anticipation of usage at its heart, rather than any moral judgments concerning the lifestyle choices of the consumer.

Diversification of a city's after dark offer need not be linked to occasional 'events' but rather be built into the city's weekly routine on a permanent basis. Night markets, 'pop-up events' and DIY venues can be very effective in promoting street activation and are an important means through which night-time street life can be 'normalised'. Night markets in particular involve inserting a form of activity usually associated with the day-time that is both accessible and of interest to a large proportion of the community.

The offering of additional late-night sittings in restaurants would provide, at a stroke, much enhanced options for night visitors and hotel guests who may also be involved in other activities such as evening shopping and visiting cultural attractions such as theatres and cinemas.

In order to achieve their full potential all such offers need to be supported by design and service interventions such as enhanced public transport throughout the night (with good connectivity between different urban hubs) and adequate outdoor seating and toilet facilities. Free wi fi and the development of apps offering guidance to visitors on night-time attractions can be further ways to encourage the diverse use of city spaces.

Contrary to the position adopted by the early 24-hour city proponents, experience has shown that, far from being an obstacle to the promotion of positive visions for the NTE, tight and effective regulation, policing and enforcement is a pre-requisite to moving beyond the 'crime focus'. With these solid foundations in place the remaining challenge is to build-in the additional levels of support and service that a successful NTE requires. All of these elements require careful planning and coordination, partnership working, long-term aims and objectives, sustainable funding streams, proactive monitoring and implementation, public support, and political will.

We are some way from being able to assess from the results of published evaluation

studies exactly which forms of diversification planning might work best and where. Nonetheless, city action plans which seek to activate dead areas and open up the city at night to a wider constituency seems likely only to enhance rather than reduce the appeal of nightlife for the majority of citizens.

Night-time Economy Management Structures

Business Improvement Districts

New methods of securing sustainable private sector funding for public space design, infrastructure, and service measures for the NTE are being explored via the introduction of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) schemes. BIDs are a North American model of urban management promoting the establishment of public-private sector partnership funding, typically in support of a range of service interventions to enhance the appeal, cleanliness, and safety of urban public spaces³²⁵. BIDs operate within distinct spatial boundaries usually determined by an identifiable community of interest and requirement of need. They are essentially a partnership arrangement through which the local business community and local authorities can agree to take forward schemes which are intended to yield enhanced dividends for businesses as well as provide other economic, social and environmental benefits in the designated area. In the UK, BID schemes for the evening and night-time economy have been used to fund the installation of improved street lighting, the introduction of street wardens, enhanced street cleansing, and taxi marshals to oversee the safety of taxi queues. Other BID activities typically include place marketing and public relations (including dealing with negative media coverage), market research, and business networking opportunities. Some of the most prominent NTE-focused BIDs include: 'Heart of London' (West End of London), 'We are Nottingham' (Nottingham City Centre'), and the 'Broad Street BID' in Birmingham.

In the UK, BIDs work by charging businesses within the designated area an agreed levy based on the rateable value of the property. The levy is paid into a fund for use by the BID management team on agreed projects to improve/regenerate the local business district. The majority of businesses and a majority of the total rateable value of the properties of those voting in the area must vote in favour of the BID for it to proceed. As a consequence of this process, all businesses in the area, whether originally in favour or not, must then pay the levy. Under the current regulations the initiation of the BID and the associated costs reside with the occupiers/tenants of properties in the designated BID area rather than direct involvement by property owners.

³²⁵ Jones *et al.*, (2003)

BIDs should not be seen as a substitute for central and local government investment, but rather an additional investment to strengthen an area's economic outlook with the aim of increasing returns to those businesses that are paying for the improvements on a basis agreed by them. Businesses will decide in advance which specific initiatives they wish to support, the way in which their money is spent, and how much they are prepared to pay. BIDs therefore differ markedly from mandatory levy or taxation schemes where in local government decides how the money is to be used. There is no particular onus upon the BID management company to support projects which have the most proven effectiveness (in terms of harm reduction), or which have a primarily public interest remit. Thus, as some academic commentators have noted³²⁶, a number of important social, political and economic issues remain unresolved in relation to the impact that BIDs status may have upon a designated area and the surrounding public realm.

The Purple Flag Award

Purple Flag is a UK accreditation scheme developed by the Association of Town Centre Management and inspired by research originally undertaken by the Civic Trust as part of its NightVision project³²⁷. Partly sponsored by drinks company Diageo and other business interests, the scheme provides 'awards' to urban areas that have taken steps to "raise the standard and broaden the appeal of centres between 17.00 and 06.00"³²⁸. Purple Flag's webpages list the benefits of the scheme as including: "A raised profile and an improved public image; increased visitors; increased expenditure; lower crime and anti-social behaviour, and; a more successful mixed-use economy". Thus, Purple Flag status is marketed as a way of positively promoting the evening and late-night economy to residents and visitors alike. The accreditation measures towns and cities (or designated areas within them) across four standards criteria:

Wellbeing:

This criteria includes: Active policing; Responsible customer care; Proactive licensing and regulation; Addressing alcohol abuse; Public utilities after hours; Active involvement of business; and Good public engagement and presentation.

³²⁶ Crawford and Flint, (2009); Jones *et al.* (2003): 159-161.

³²⁷ Civic Trust (2006)

³²⁸ <http://www.purpleflag.org.uk/>

Movement:

Safe, affordable public transport; Secure late-night parking; Well designed pedestrian links; Business participation in the journey home; and Practical information for travellers.

Appeal:

A good choice of eating options; Licensed venues to suit varied ages, tastes and lifestyles; A vibrant arts and cultural scene; Retail hours to meet customer choice and preference; Active public buildings; and a programme of inclusive events.

Place:

Successful density and juxtaposition of venues; A lively and viable mix of day and night uses; Active streets and frontages; Respect for location and identity; and Good design for the night.

The origins of the scheme's principles are based upon the findings of empirical research and indeed match many of the conclusions of this review. However, the impressive claims listed for the scheme appear to be 'vision statements' and have not so far been evidenced by evaluations thoroughly demonstrating such outcomes in areas where the Purple Flag model has been applied in comparison to control areas. Quantitative and qualitative Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) for Purple Flag performance across a range of issues related to the scheme's remit are currently being developed. The goal is to evaluate at both a local level in terms of providing a practical toolkit of KPIs for local Purple Flag awardees to measure progress and then to bring these together at a national level to compare with control areas, to see if there has been any impact over and above alternative packages of measures. Purple Flag staff are not involved in the delivery of multi-component programme interventions, but rather act as a source of advice, support and training for city partnerships, as well as offering opportunities for city marketing linked to the receipt of the award.

7. Developing Sustainable and Evidence-based Policies

Data Collection and Monitoring

Maguire and Hopkins (2003) suggest efforts to identify alcohol-related violence in the NTE should not focus on causality (attempting to distinguish between cases which were or which were not due to the intoxication of the offender or the victim, although it is known that consumption is almost certainly a contributory factor), and should instead focus on the location and timing of offences. This stance is supported by Tierney and Hobbs (2003) who advocate indirect measures of alcohol-related crime and disorder in the NTE, based on the timing and location of offences (eg., near to licensed premises, or the homeward routes and gathering points of revellers). This allows opportunities for practical measurement, given that from a local crime reduction perspective what proportion of offences are ‘caused’ by alcohol is of secondary importance compared with the fact that in most town and city centres, the majority of hotspots for violence and public disorder are located in the areas containing concentrations of licensed premises³²⁹.

Thus, it is proposed here that:

- the analysis of incidents correlated with the drinking of alcohol purchased from licensed premises in nightlife areas (and associated pre-loading) need not be based on clear establishment of causality;
- the analysis of such incidents should be based on the time and location of the offence;
- prevention measures should focus on reducing crime, disorder and public nuisance occurring in and around licensed premises, and at other places closely associated with the NTE.

The approach outlined above has particular relevance to the development of structural interventions concerning outlet density and terminal hours, as well as for local enforcement strategies. There is a need for analysis and monitoring of crime and disorder at both the ‘micro’ level (inside, or at licensed premises) and the ‘meso’ scale (when looking at areas with concentrations of licensed premises). Previous research has shown that large-scale monitoring and evaluation (across entire towns or cities) may mask more localised trends in individual premises or in areas with high densities of premises. Data gathering in specific areas may then be compared with local (city-wide), regional, or even national, trends to enable partnerships to develop meaningful performance-related indicators.

³²⁹Hadfield, (2003); Tierney and Hobbs, (2003)

Attribution

Some premises may contribute disproportionately to local problems. In order to target enforcement activities these ‘high risk’ premises need to be accurately identified. Complex issues arise in relation to the methods of collating venue-specific data for such purposes, however. Problems may involve an interaction between the extensive and concentrated availability of alcohol within a confined area, a highly competitive trading environment that encourages the discounting of drinks and a customer preference for ‘circuit drinking.’ Where customers visit a number of premises during their night out, purchasing drinks at each (perhaps ‘surfing the happy hour’), attributing server liability can be extremely difficult.

Most police intelligence arises out of calls that relate to specific incidents, making police incident records a key source of data. Many police licensing officers will routinely check electronically stored incident data on a Monday morning in order to monitor patterns of police activity over the preceding weekend. However, as licensed operators point out, simply focusing upon the number of reported incidents at a venue is too simplistic an approach. It is necessary to clearly establish the following:

- Did the incidents attributed to the venue take place inside the premises?
- Did they occur at the door when the manager and door team refused entry to drunken individuals?
- Were the incidents in the vicinity of the premises, but actually involving patrons of other venues (perhaps because a taxi rank is located outside that particular venue)?

All of these factors can distort the data and careful contextual analysis is needed. In larger nightlife areas, which may have hundreds of licensed premises, this can be a specialised and time-consuming task.

Qualitative intelligence about specific premises can be gathered in the course of routine inspections by licensing inspectors, visits by plain-clothes police officers and in the course of visits by uniformed officers engaged in ‘high profile’ policing operations. Coordinated enforcement visits involving police, licensing authority and environmental protection personnel can be particularly effective. These visits might typically be used to identify premises with highly intoxicated or underage patrons, to check the registration details of door supervisors and to generally assess operating standards. A detailed checklist may be used and any problem areas highlighted for improvement in consultation with the venue manager. In some cases, the evidence gathered may lead to prosecution and in premises with serious, chronic and seemingly intractable problems, enforcement visits can form part of the detailed evidential basis needed to support licence amendment proceedings.

Last-drink Data

A number of police initiatives have involved asking arrestees where they had their last drink. Various practical problems arise in relation to this approach. Firstly, it can be unrealistic to attempt to extract cogent information from intoxicated persons. Secondly, and more fundamentally, complex issues of causality re-emerge where, for example, the arrestee began drinking at home, visited a number of licensed premises, or is a poly-drug user³³⁰. For such reasons, the utility of ‘last drink’ data will often be limited to the possibility of highlighting premises which admit and serve already intoxicated customers.

Accident and Emergency Department (AED) Data

AEDs can be an important source of additional data on violence-related injury³³¹. Information is typically obtained by means of an assault patient questionnaire, as developed by Goodwin and Shepherd with the UK Home Office³³². These questionnaires, which are completed by AED receptionists for patients reporting injuries from assault, can be used to collect brief information about where and when an incident took place. AED data can be especially useful in smaller towns and cities where local hospitals serve a clearly defined area. In metropolitan areas, data collection is a much more complex proposition as relevant data will typically be spread amongst several hospitals (each of which may have different data collection practices and protocols). Moreover, in many areas a number of barriers relating to issues of protocol, confidentiality and interagency liaison may exist to complicate the integration of AEDs into data sharing and preventative work³³³.

In the UK, a number of cities have adopted the Linxs Accident and Emergency Data Collection System, a specially designed database which can capture geographical reference information on all alcohol-related and violent crime incidents recorded at an AED. Additionally, the software can analyse datasets for patterns. This allows health providers to review current practice, identify gaps in services and develop action plans.

Collecting Suitable Data

As discussed above, given the difficulties inherent in any attempts to directly link alcohol consumption patterns to crime and disorder data such that definitive causal relationships may be drawn, it is usual practice to adopt an indirect approach to the measurement of alcohol-related crime and disorder³³⁴. Key sources of indicative data

³³⁰ For a discussion of issues arising in relation to the processing of intoxicated arrestees, see Deehan, *et al.* (2002).

³³¹ Sivarajasingam *et al.*, (2003).

³³² Goodwin and Shepherd (2000).

³³³ Shepherd and Lises, (1998); Waller *et al.*, (1998).

³³⁴ Hadfield, (2003); Maguire and Hopkins, (2003); Tierney and Hobbs, (2003)

are police recorded crime and incident (disorder) data, AED and ambulance data. Local studies asking members of the public to ‘self-report’ any experiences of crime victimisation can provide further data on incidents that have not been recorded by the police. Cross-referencing of these data sets is helpful in overcoming the deficiencies of each individual source. The Table below lists a range of data that could and perhaps should be collected on a regular basis in order to better inform decisions for developing and implementing support strategies for the NTE.

Data Sources for Developing Evidence-based NTE Policies³³⁵

Source	Description	Essential / Very Desirable/ Desirable
Licensed Premise Data (State Liquor Authority)	Contains information on the location of each licensed premise, its permitted trading hours for alcohol sales, permitted opening hours, the requirements on its licence permit, type of premises/establishment (supermarket, bottle shop, pub, bar, nightclub, restaurant, hotel), licensing fee/band, and capacity limit where this has been recorded.	Essential
Police Recorded Crime Data (Police)	Times and locations of crime, especially violent crime and criminal damage. Also information on theft from shops (alcohol) and domestic violence related to alcohol. May contain markers or flags such as alcohol-related, public place, and licensed premise (these should be used with caution due to inconsistencies in the completion of these fields).	Essential
Police Incident Data (Police)	Times and locations of incidents, especially disorder. May contain markers or flags such as alcohol (these should be used with caution due to inconsistencies in the completion of these fields).	Essential
Accident and Emergency Data (Health Care Services)	Hospital admissions data on alcohol-related harm; admissions for injuries, including those sustained from domestic incidents Case notes may provide indicators of alcohol use, involvement in crime and disorder, or both.	Essential
Ambulance Data (Health Care Services)	Data on test purchases for under-age sales in licensed premises and sales of ‘bootleg’ alcohol.	Essential

³³⁵Table adapted from Hadfield and Newton, (2010)

Trading Standards Authority	Should hold records on the capacity of licensed premises.	Essential
Fire Service	The logged times and locations of incidents provide indicators of alcohol-related crime and disorder.	Essential
CCTV incident log (Police/Council/Private/ Local business)	Times and locations of crime, especially violent crime and criminal damage. May contain markers or flags such as alcohol-related (these should be used with caution due to inconsistencies in the completion of these fields)	Highly Desirable
Transport Police	Local bus/train/tram services may collate records of incidents of crime and disorder (which should contain location and temporal indicators). They make reference to alcohol if relevant (but care should be taken with use of subjective flags)	Highly Desirable
Local Public Transport Services	Custody records provide information on an arrestee's condition, including signs of intoxication, although this may introduce a degree of subjectivity based upon police officers' appraisals. Other police data sources such as intelligence data may contain information on alcohol-related offences or incidents.	Highly Desirable
Other Police Data (Custody, Police Intelligence etc)	Assessment files may contain (where relevant and disclosed), information relating to alcohol misuse and either victimisation or offending.	Highly Desirable
Social Services / Care	May provide information on homelessness case records (alcohol may be disclosed as relevant), may also contain information on domestic violence and its links to alcohol	Desirable
Housing Departments	May contain local sources of information such as the identities of persistent offenders and information on the time and location of incidents	Desirable
Local Intelligence (Licensees Forums)	For example, safe haven database. These may record whether the victim or perpetrator (according to the victim) was intoxicated at the time of an alleged offence.	Desirable
Voluntary organisations:	Commissioned surveys and observational studies may contain relevant information on perceptions of alcohol-related crime and disorder in the local area.	Desirable

Consultation/ Surveys/ Local Research Facilities	Services which also may hold local information include: Planning; Environmental Protection and Education	Desirable
---	--	-----------

Evidence-Based Decision Making at the Local Level

If an appropriate information system/partnership working forum is established at the local level, this may have a number of functions. These could be classified as short-term operations responses, mid- to longer-term strategic policy decision-making, and research functions. Some potential functions include:

- to administer licensing applications
- to monitor individual premises and areas with clusters (high concentrations) of premises
 - to monitor if premises adhere to their licensing permits
 - to identify problematic ‘premises’ (for example, the top 10 premises for violence/disorder, introducing a red/amber/green system/“3 strikes and you’re out” etc., over an agreed time period
 - monitoring the status of particular premises (are the premises currently of interest to a particular organisation? If so, this would operate in a similar fashion to a flagging system), or monitoring the number of inspection visits/amount of enforcement action over a specified period.
- to provide representation at hearings
 - to compile evidence for licensing hearings.
- to identify, prioritise and carry out targeted enforcement activity
 - to carry out targeted test purchases (under-age sales)
 - to co-ordinate multi-agency responses
 - education, formal warning, prosecution.
- to corroborate and share knowledge
- to remove duplication of effort (for example avoiding dual visits by different agencies).

Potential Obstacles

There are a range of potential obstacles to developing a local information system/partnership working forum for targeting crime and disorder in the NTE. These include that:

- despite sharing protocols it can be difficult to share data
- analysis of different datasets may produce inconsistencies (for example, errors in analysing location or attributing crime incidents to individual premises)
- agencies have different objectives, thus collect data for different purposes
- pre-analysed data in aggregated form is not always useful to enhance intelligence
- there is often heavy reliance on working relationships between particular individuals in partner agencies rather than the establishment of wider and more formal links.

Further obstacles may exist for those seeking to develop a single information system. These might include: cost (Who will pay for the system? Can existing/corporate systems be adapted?); maintenance (Who and how will information be maintained? Who will update the system, as input may be required on a daily/weekly basis?); training (specialised training may be required for analysts); and security (any system will need to personal data protection and privacy laws).

Data Sharing and Partnership Working

Research suggests that, in the UK at least, despite big efforts towards multi-agency working, data collection and intelligence sharing to tackle alcohol-related crime and disorder in the NTE remains fragmented³³⁶. Intelligence gathering, for example, usually occurs in isolation except for sporadic multi-agency enforcement visits to premises. This continues to impair attempts to gain a strategic overview of the timing and location of the availability of alcohol, the proximity of the various outlets to each other (pubs, corner shops, restaurants, etc) and how these relate to land use and demographics (eg. transport routes, deprived areas), to crime and disorder, and to the appropriate implementation of prevention strategies at the local level.

There is a need for consistent and reliable data to be shared amongst relevant organisations and it is suggested that local areas identify an intelligence system that suits their needs. This may be in the form of a single database. However any system developed should be simple, user-friendly, relevant, and also be of added value to any systems that currently exist. One major advantage of developing a shared information

³³⁶Newton and Hirschfield, (2009); Newton, *et al.*, (2010)

system is that it removes the over-reliance on relationships between key individuals within organisations for sharing information that is evident in much partnership working. If individuals leave such organisations these links are often lost and not maintained.

Partners should be identified locally, but are likely to include the State Licensing Authority, NSW Police; the Fire Service; Health and Safety and Environmental Protection agencies; Planning authorities and Social Services. Additional representation could include health and treatment services, and other interested parties (for example local residents' organisations and businesses). Using improved analysis and monitoring techniques an appropriate partnership working forum may then be developed to include:

- identification of nature and type of problems
- corroboration of intelligence
- identification of appropriate solutions
- targeting of individuals/premises/or areas for multi-agency responses
- responses to be led by the agency considered to have most impact, or to be the most relevant to a particular challenge
- ongoing monitoring of the strategies implemented.

Suggested core information to inform the above would include the following:

- geo-referenced licensed premises database (location, opening and trading hours, capacity, type of premise, licence conditions)
- crime and disorder data that is referenced by location and time
 - From police recorded crime; police incident; police intelligence; hospital AED and ambulance data; and other sources as suggested in the above Table. In relation to hospital AED data it is recommended that admissions data be supplemented by consistently recorded attendance data.
- local contextual data
 - For example, location of late-night taxi ranks, public transport interchanges, land use, socio-demographic characteristics of areas.
- local policy responses
 - For example, police deployment, education awareness schemes, general requirements imposed on licensed premises, trading standards test purchases, alcohol free zones, and other relevant policy.

Evaluation

Designing a Robust Evaluation

When conducting an evaluation, it is necessary to account for what would have happened in the absence of the scheme or intervention in question – this is commonly referred to as the counterfactual³³⁷. The most robust designs involve randomised control trials (RCTs) wherein licensed premises or other examples of target populations would be selected at random and then allocated to either an intervention/policy group, or to a control group. Following this, the two groups would then be treated differently, either receiving the relevant intervention/policy or being treated in the usual way. An alternative to this would involve ‘matched pairs’ whereby the premises exposed to an intervention would be matched with premises given no intervention, or an intervention of some other kind³³⁸. A third potential approach, and one adopted by Newton and Hirschfield, involves ‘longitudinal status comparisons’ which involves monitoring change in an action and control area over time (before and after)³³⁹.

Lessons from Post-hoc Evaluation: The TVCP Programme, England and Wales

The Tackling Violent Crime Programme (TVCP) was a UK Home Office initiative aimed at reducing national levels of serious violent crime by working intensively with 32 Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) across England and Wales that had high rates of serious violent crime. The programme provided these CDRPs with support and resources with which to implement local policing initiatives aimed at reducing alcohol-related street crime and domestic violence specifically. To gauge the efficacy of the TVCP, the UCL Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science was commissioned by the Home Office Police Standards Unit (PSU) to evaluate the initiative. The evaluation sought to establish the extent to which the project met its stated goals. The TVCP Evaluation Report³⁴⁰ drew on police recorded crime data for November 2004 – June 2006 and interviews with TVCP staff to determine the extent of the programme’s effectiveness.

The evaluators were unable to statistically attribute recorded violent crime rates in the TVCP areas solely to the introduction of the TVCP, as they report:

³³⁷Sherman, *et al.*, (1997)

³³⁸Hirschfield and Newton, (2008)

³³⁹Newton and Hirschfield, (2009)

³⁴⁰Czarnomski, *et al.*, (2006)

*Where notable reductions in crime were observed, these were more likely to have occurred as a result of various initiatives (available to both TVCP and non-TVCP areas), as opposed to the TVCP alone. Detailed information on initiatives other than those being part of the TVCP was not available for either the TVCP or the non-TVCP areas, and their effect could not, therefore, be controlled for.*³⁴¹

Since TVCP areas were selected on the basis of high rates of serious violent crime, in most cases these issues were already receiving considerable local resources. In some TVCP areas, programmes had been in operation for several years and the processes and partnerships involved were well established. The authors concluded that it is not surprising therefore that the 'before and after' TVCP comparison did not yield a statistically significance effect on overall violent crime rates. This was because:

*a) Work of the nature encouraged by the TVCP may have already started prior to its formal introduction; and b) the TVCP-funded initiatives represent in many cases a small proportion of the work being done in these areas (TVCP provides a relatively small amount of funds in comparison to local crime reduction budgets).*³⁴²

Other methodological difficulties in conducting the evaluation resulted from variable data recording practices on the timing, intensity and exact location of the initiatives being implemented. The evaluators were able to conclude that that programme had delivered benefits to the extent that anecdotal evidence and staff perceptions indicated that there had been an impact on local crime. Moreover, the TVCP was regarded as successful in promoting relationships and communication between different agencies, which it was hoped would lead to more efficient work being carried out in future and thus significant reductions in violent crime. Nonetheless, as thorough evaluation mechanisms had not been built into the design of the programme from inception a systematic evaluation of the TVCP and the initiatives implemented under its umbrella was not possible.

³⁴¹Czarnomski, *op cit*, (p.25)

³⁴²*Ibid.*

Multi-Component Programmes for the NTE: Evaluation Checklist

1. What initiatives have been developed to respond to alcohol-related crime, disorder and public nuisance impacts and what is the logic behind them?
2. Do these initiatives respond to local needs, as clearly identified in local data sets, research and data monitoring, over time? How have particular interventions performed in other settings? Does successful policy transfer appear likely given the comparability of settings and local needs?
3. How does each individual initiative form (or not form) part of a more holistic intervention or strategy for the NTE?
4. Have processes of evaluation been built in to the development and implementation of individual initiatives and the programme as a whole?
5. How effective is each individual intervention and how do different interventions interact?
6. What measures are used to assess effectiveness and how can they be improved?
7. What are the opportunities for building data collection in each intervention and for establishing protocols for each agency to share their data with partner agencies working within the programme?
8. What effects might interventions from other sources beyond the programme, such as national legislation and commercial practices, be exerting on the effective implementation of individual initiatives and the programme as a whole?
9. What is the extent of community awareness of and attitudes towards interventions within the programme?
10. Can new innovations be piloted on the basis of robust theoretical principles and empirical monitoring developed within the programme?

8. Building a Night-Time City Vision and Action Plan

Limitations of this Review

Scope and Purpose

The scope and purpose of this report has been to present a conservative and defensible review of the international research evidence concerning effective interventions in support of the NTE, primarily focusing on those issues that fall within the jurisdiction of city authorities. The review has therefore covered a limited range of topics in detail, rather than a larger number in brief. This reflects the state of knowledge in peer-reviewed studies (with research activity tending to focus on some issues much more so than others), the most credible grey literature, as well as particularly prominent interventions for the NTE that have not been fully evaluated. There has been a particular emphasis on evidence from English-speaking countries, particularly Australia and the UK. A wider European literature has only recently started to emerge and outside of Scandinavia there has been little evaluation and research activity as evidenced by peer-reviewed sources from which to extract insight. It is fair to say that Australia and the UK probably have the most developed literatures on NTE management issues specifically – as opposed to alcohol-related issues more generally. This is no doubt due, in part, to the political significance of the issues in these countries; issues which are often much less prominent in public policy elsewhere in the world³⁴³. Some of the interventions highlighted in this report have been judged to be effective, others less effective, whilst others are judged as promising, but as yet, not fully evidenced.

Readers wanting to learn more from the literature on alcohol harm reduction, including, but also going far beyond, the NTE context are referred to Babor *et al.*, (2010). The design and management of the drinking environment *within* licensed premises is a well-developed area of research, evaluation, policy and practice. Reviews of this literature can be found in Graham and Homel, (2008) and Hadfield, (2004). Baird, (2003) also presents an excellent overview from the perspective of an experienced practitioner. The Safer Bars Training risk assessment checklist/workbook and Safer Clubbing Guidance (Webster, *et al.*, 2002) mentioned in this report are also key resources for ‘best practice’ guidance. Door supervision has its own further literature and the most revealing sociological account remains that of Hobbs *et al.*, (2003). Police powers have been discussed in this report but not in detail as their particular effectiveness depends very much upon the local contexts of their deployment, guidance and resourcing issues, etc. The author has conducted research

³⁴³ Hadfield, (2009 a and b)

evaluating use of some of the recent UK legislation and this may be of interest to international readers where points of comparison emerge, see Hadfield *et al.*, (2009), Hadfield and Measham, (2011).

Towards a Night-Time City Policy (NTCP) Action Plan

This report presents the findings of a desk-based literature review exercise. As such it provides a necessary, but not sufficient, indication of the options that the City of Sydney may wish to consider in developing their Night-Time City Policy (NTCP). Whilst the author draws upon his extensive experience in conducting empirical research projects on NTE issues in the UK, he has not had the opportunity to ‘drill down’ into the local issues that arise within the Sydney CBD and how these interact with the wider city-region. The brief for this review to be ‘conservative and defensible’ specifically precludes the temptation to draw up a long list of ‘off the shelf’ interventions that have been ‘tried’ elsewhere. Such interventions may not be easily transferable, cost effective, or most importantly, *necessary* in Sydney. In concluding this review therefore, it is more appropriate to think in terms of *working towards* a local ‘Action Plan’ that might form the agreed content of the NTCP, rather than outlining a recommended list of components here, in the absence of local needs assessments.

Lessons from the Review

- The focus upon individual premises and persons forms a necessary, but not sufficient component of the harm reduction toolkit for the NTE. Separate, albeit related, issues concern the potential impact of licensed businesses upon their surrounding environment. In crowded nightlife areas there may be good evidence to suggest that, regardless of the quality of service provided by individual operators, the number or density of licensed premises is such as to generate significant levels of crime, disorder and nuisance.
- Movement between premises means that there is bound to be noise and disturbances in the neighbourhood while the night-time economy is flourishing. Close proximity of licensed premises makes it easier for customers to react to promotions such as cost undercutting. The movement of patrons between bars complicates the assignment of responsibility to any one server or establishment to forestall intoxication by cutting supply. These are all factors that can increase the level of problems from drinking.

- Because core cultural change in drinking practices and attitudes to alcohol may be difficult to effect, or, at least, difficult to effect in the short-term, situational measures (i.e. those that affect the opportunity space) remain important.
- As harm reduction measures, the policy concerns relating to the cumulative impact of licensed premises through outlet bunching are fundamentally addressed to the problems caused by an over-concentration of activities in space. It is equally important to consider the over-concentration of activities in time. Indeed, the two issues are effectively indivisible.
- Whilst the overall evidence that the availability of alcohol is a powerful driver of levels of alcohol consumption and related harm is clear and expanding there is an absence of studies evaluating specific interventions in this policy area. Further work remains to be done to untangle causal relationships and convert this knowledge into models for assessing outlet densities and trading hours appropriate to particular kinds of area (e.g. mixed-use v residential, central urban v suburban). From this it would be possible to develop and evaluate practical guidance for approving alcohol licenses so as to maintain a balance between meeting consumer demand and promoting economic vibrancy on the one hand and addressing criminal justice, city management and public health and safety concerns on the other.
- Perhaps the key challenge for local decision makers is to resist the insistent lobbying by the business community to cut the ‘red tape’ and rely upon voluntary codes of self-regulation. The results of experiments in wholesale de-regulation of alcohol supply have resulted in outcomes which run contrary to the public good and the aspirations of city governments, including in cases where supposedly robust corporate social responsibility standards were in place. More effective approaches involve working in partnership with businesses to guide licensed development in ways which may achieve a more sustainable balance through compliance with existing licensing laws.
- Across the world, the most effective strategies for the NTE have involved the design and implementation of long-term ‘multi-component programmes’ tailored to local needs and priorities. Standalone interventions do not have proven effectiveness, nor do short-term ones. Among the list of components that have worked elsewhere, greater control over the operation of licensed premises, improved late-night transport, extended retail hours, enhanced regulation of fast food outlets, arrest referral schemes, drink banning orders, street pastors, radio link schemes, night markets, and restrictions on sales of alcohol at heavily discounted prices are examples of potential components for Sydney discussed in this report.
- Carefully planned design and service interventions are essential to support creative ideas which encourage variety and diversification in the city’s night-time offer that move beyond the economic dependance upon alcohol sales and a

cultural focus on ‘alco-leisure’. It is equally important to ensure that effective regulation and enforcement is maintained to control the number, density and trading hours of drink-led venues, as well as their standards of operation.

- More inclusive visions for the night-time city are only likely to be achieved where ‘high profit-high risk’ alcohol-led ventures and monocultural drinking zones remain subject to tight regulation, such that the seeds of change are not smothered.
- Despite wide acknowledgement that the most effective ways of dealing with NTE-related problems involve adoption of a partnership approach, there are a number of concerns that this approach needs to address. As Pease notes, although a collaborative approach to crime reduction is emerging between police, local councils, the private sector and the voluntary sector, “the obstacles to partnership are deep-rooted, involving differences in culture and tradition”³⁴⁴. For example, “no one will spend long in the company of crime reduction practitioners without sharing their frustration about commercial practices which facilitate crime”³⁴⁵.
- The enhancement of routine data profiling, as described in Chapter 7, may be one way to develop a more objective evidential basis to inform debate amongst politicians, senior police officers, emergency health care professionals, licensed businesses and residents. Routine data profiling is still in its infancy, but this report provides pointers for its development at the local level.
- Attempts to reduce opportunities for aggression, crime, disorder and environmental nuisance within licensed premises and on the streets are two sides of the same coin. This report has described a number of opportunity reduction and management approaches to the prevention of public disorder. Such approaches have considerable “explanatory power and practical application,”³⁴⁶ yet none can offer a panacea. Place management problems are inherently complex and no single response, used in isolation, is likely to deliver the ‘magic bullet’³⁴⁷. Some approaches will be transferable, but not all will be appropriate or effective in every context³⁴⁸.
- Benefits seem most likely to accrue from the implementation of an integrated, holistic and carefully targeted, package of measures and it is important that measures be tailored to local circumstances and needs. As Pease notes, “we should never seek universal, ‘off the shelf’ techniques of prevention”³⁴⁹. To simply ask ‘what works?’ is to ask the wrong question. Pawson and Tilley, authors of the influential book *Realistic Evaluation*³⁵⁰ recommend that practitioners consider the more appropriate, albeit more sophisticated question: “what works, for whom, and

³⁴⁴Pease (2002: 963).

³⁴⁵Pease, Op cit: 968.

³⁴⁶Tilley, (2002: 80).

³⁴⁷Pease (2002).

³⁴⁸Plant, et al., (1997).

³⁴⁹Pease (2002: 948).

³⁵⁰Pawson and Tilley (1994)

in what circumstances?”

- To paraphrase Cohen and Felson,³⁵¹ it is perhaps ironic that the very factors which increase the opportunities to enjoy the benefits of life may also increase the opportunities for crime and disorder. NTE management is a branch of urban policy; one which must be compatible with other branches relating to planning, culture, housing, tourism, transport and the environment. However, in Sydney an extensive NTE is already in place and such long-term strategies must be combined with other partnership work to enhance the existing physical, social and economic environment in its current form.
- Communities vary widely with regard to their expectations and toleration of late-night activity³⁵² and politically acceptable approaches to city management will need to be negotiated at a local level³⁵³. It is therefore important that all stakeholders, as well as the local community and nightlife users, share the opportunity to enter into constructive dialogue about what is proposed. Finding an appropriate balance between facilitation of a vibrant NTE and effective policing and regulation is not easy and too often debate is conducted within an adversarial and litigious context.
- Where the necessary supporting infrastructure, design elements and services are in place, initiatives which seek to activate city streets at night through their usage by a wide cross section of the local community and visitors can provide a platform for embracing a more positive long-term vision for the NTE. This vision is one that transcends the turgid debates regarding alcohol, crime and personal safety that have fostered a culture of low expectations as to what the NTE represents and what it can achieve. The 20-year schedule of the Night-Time City Policy allows time for processes of change to occur that are ambitious, but also achievable, based as they are upon an understanding of what works, what is promising, and what is most appropriate for Sydney. This process will provide unique opportunities to deliver a truly renowned and world class nightlife experience.

³⁵¹ Cohen and Felson (1979: 605).

³⁵² Berkley and Thayer, (2000).

³⁵³ Plant et al., (1997).

9. References

ABC News (2011) 'Popular Outdoor Urinals Here to Stay', 18 May
<http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2011/05/18/3219653.htm>

Ackerman, K., and Rogers, T. (2007) *Best Bar None Croydon Review*. London: Government Office for London.

Alcohol Education and Rehabilitation Foundation (2011) *Annual Alcohol Poll: Community Attitudes and Behaviours (2011)*. Deakin, ACT: AER Foundation.

Alcohol Harm Reduction Group (2003) *No Half-Measures: A Report on the Impact of Alcohol Misuse on the Work of Emergency Service and Emergency Healthcare Workers*, London: Alcohol Harm Reduction Group.

Anderson, Z., Whelan, G., Hughes, K. and Bellis, M.(2009)*Evaluation of the Lancashire Polycarbonate Glass Pilot Project*. Liverpool: Centre for Public Health Faculty of Health and Applied Social Sciences, Liverpool John Moores University.

Archer, J., Candappa, N., and Corben, B. (2008) 'Effectiveness of the Dwell-on-Red Signal Treatment to Improve Pedestrian Safety during High-Alcohol Hours', *Peer-reviewed papers from the 2008 Australasian Road Safety Research, Policing and Education Conference*. Monash University Accident Research Centre: 232-45.

Armitage, R. (2002) *To CCTV or not to CCTV?* London: NACRO.

Arnot, C. (2002) 'Sleepless in Birmingham; A new breed of city dweller bought into a dream - but they didn't take to the soundtrack, says Chris Arnot,' *Sunday Telegraph*, August 25, London.

Athwal, H., Bourne, J., and Wood, R. (2010) *Racial Violence: The Buried Issue*.IRR Briefing Paper No. 6. London: Institute of Race Relations (IRR).

ABI (Association of British Insurers) (2001) *Effectiveness of CCTV*, General Insurance Research Report No 3, ABI: London.

ACPO (Association of Chief Police Officers) (2002) *Association of Chief Police Officers: Briefing for Licensing Bill*, ACPO.

ACS (Association of Convenience Stores) et al., (2004) *Responsible Retailing of Alcohol: Guidance for the Off-Trade*, London: ACS et al.

ACTM (Association of Town Centre Management) (2003) 'Memorandum by The Association of Town Centre Management (ATCM),' *Office of the Deputy Prime Minister: Housing, Planning, Local Government and the Regions Committee-The Evening Economy and the Urban Renaissance*, EVE 39, London: The Stationery Office.

Anderson, P. and Baumberg, B. (2006) *Alcohol in Europe: A Public Health Perspective*. London: Institute of Alcohol Studies.

Andersson B., Hibell B., Beck F., Choquet M., Kokkevi A., Fotiou A. *et al.* (2007) *Alcohol and Drug Use Among European 17–18 Year Old Students: Data from the ESPAD Project*. Stockholm: The Swedish Council for Information on Alcohol and Other Drugs.

APHO (Association of Public Health Observatories) (2007) *Alcohol: Indications of Public Health in the English Regions*, London: APHO.

Australian Bureau of Statistics (2010) *Apparent Consumption of Alcohol, Australia, 2008–09* (ABS Cat. No. 4307.0.55.001.) Canberra: ABS, 2010. <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/allprimarymainfeatures/>

Australian Institute of Criminology (2004) *Night Patrols*. AIC Crime reduction matters no. 26. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology. ISSN 1448-1383.

(AIHW) Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2008) *2007 National Drug Strategy Household Survey: first results*. Canberra: AIHW. (AIHW Cat. No. PHE 98.) <http://www.aihw.gov.au/publications/index.cfm/title/10579> (accessed May 2010).

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2010) *Drinking Patterns in Australia, 2001–2007*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare Aldridge, J. (1994) *CCTV Operational Requirements Manual*, Police Scientific Development Branch 17/94, St Albans: Police Scientific Development Branch.

Babor, T., Caetano, R., Casswell, S., Edwards, G., Giesbrecht, N., Graham, K., *et al.* (2010) *Alcohol: No Ordinary Commodity - Research and Public Policy*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Baldwin H., McCoy E., and Duffy, P. (2009) *Evaluation of Liverpool's Criminal Justice Alcohol Treatment Pilot: Final Report*. Liverpool: Centre for Public Health, Liverpool John Moores University.

Barker, R. (1968) *Ecological Psychology*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

Baird, M. (2003) *Back to Basics: A Guide to Nightclub Operation*, Stockport: Mondiale.

Barber, K. (2009) *Local Evaluation of Cleveland Alcohol Arrest Referral and Brief Intervention Pilot*. Middlesbrough: Cleveland Police.

Barr, R. and Pease, K. (1992) 'A Place for Every Crime and Every Crime in its Place,' in D. J. Evans, N. R. Fyfe and D. T. Herbert (Eds.) *Crime, Policing and Place: Essays in Environmental Criminology*, pp. 196- 216. London: Routledge.

Beck, A and Willis, A. (1995) *Crime and Security – Managing the Risk to Safe Shopping*, Leicester: Perpetuity Press.

Basanta, A. (2009) 'Spain' in P. Hadfield (ed.) *Nightlife and Crime: Social Order and Governance in International Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp: 153-68.

Bellis, M. (2005) 'Tackling Violence – A Health Service Priority', in *Medical Information Systems Directory 2005 edition*. London: Medical Information Systems.

Bellis, M., Anderson, Z. and Hughes, K. (2006) *Effects of the Alcohol Misuse Enforcement Campaigns and the Licensing Act 2003 on Violence: A Preliminary Assessment of Accident and Emergency Attendances*. Liverpool: Centre for Public Health, Liverpool John Moores University.

Bellis M., Hughes K., Calafat A., Juan M., Ramon A., Rodriguez J. A. *et al.* (2008) 'Sexual uses of alcohol and drugs and the associated health risks: a cross sectional study of young people in nine European cities', *BMC Public Health* 2008; 8: 155.

Bellis, M., Hughes, K., Cook, P. and Morleo, M. (2009) *Off Measure: How We Underestimate the Amount We Drink*. London, Alcohol Concern.

Bellis, M., Hughes, K., Quigg, Z., Morleo, M., Jarman, I. and Lisboa, P. (2010) 'Cross-sectional measures and modelled estimates of blood alcohol levels in UK nightlife and their relationships with drinking behaviours and observed signs of inebriation', *Substance Abuse Treatment, Prevention, and Policy*, 5:5.

Berkley, B. J. and Thayer, J. R. (2000) 'Policing Entertainment Districts,' *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 23/4: 466-491.

Bevan, P. (2009) *Tackling Night Time LEQ Issues*. London: City of Westminster.

Bianchini F. and Greed, C. H. (1999) 'Cultural Planning and Time Planning,' in C. H. Greed (ed.) *Social Town Planning*, London: Routledge.

Bianchini, F. and Schwengel, H. (1991) 'Re-imaging the City,' in J. Corner and S. Harvey (eds.) *Enterprise and Heritage*, London: Routledge.

Blagg, H. and Valuri, G. (2003) *An Overview of Night Patrol Services in Australia*. Attorney General's Department and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, Canberra.

Blagg, H. and Valuri, G. (2004) 'Aboriginal community patrols in Australia: Self-policing, self-determination and security', *Policing and Society*, 14 (4): 313-28.

Boots, K. (1993) 'An odious and loathsome sin', *Substance*, 4, 6-9.

Bottoms, A.E. and Wiles, P. (2002) 'Environmental Criminology' in M. Maguire, R. Morgan and R. Reiner (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, 3rd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brain, K., Parker, H. and Carnwath, T. (2000) 'Drinking with Design: Young Drinkers as Psychoactive Consumers,' *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy*, 7/1: 5-20.

Brandt S., Sumnall H., Measham F., and Cole J. (2010) 'Second Generation Mephedrone: The Confusing Case of NRG-1', *British Medical Journal*, 6 July; 341: c3564.

Brantingham, P. L. and Brantingham, P. J. (1993) 'Nodes, Paths and Edges: Considerations of the Complexity of Crime and the Physical Environment,' *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 13: 3-28.

- Brantingham, P. L. and Brantingham, P. J. (1995) 'Criminality of Place: Crime Generators and Crime Attractors,' *European Journal of Criminal Policy and Research*, 3: 5-26.
- Brennan, A., Booth, A., Meier, P., O'Reilly, Purshouse, R., Rafia, R., Stockwell, T., Sutton, A., Taylor, K., Wilkinson, A. and Wong, R. (2008) Independent Review of the Effects of Alcohol Pricing and Promotion: Part b – Modelling the Potential Impacts of Pricing and Promotion for Alcohol in England: results from the Sheffield Alcohol Policy Model version 2008 (1-1). ScHARR: University of Sheffield.
- Brennan, I., Moore, S. C., Byrne, E. and Murphy, S. (2011) 'Interventions for disorder and severe intoxication in and around licensed premises, 1989–2009', *Addiction*, 106: 706-13.
- Briscoe, S. and Donnelly, N. (2003) *Liquor Licensing Enforcement Activity in New South Wales*. Sydney: Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research New South Wales. Sydney: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.
- Bromley, R. and Nelson, A., (2002) 'Alcohol-Related Crime and Disorder Across Urban Space and Time: Evidence from a British City,' *Geoforum*, 33: 239-254.
- Bromley, R., Thomas, C. and Millie, A. (2000) 'Exploring Safety Concerns in the Night-time City,' *Town Planning Review*, 71: 71-96.
- Bromley, R., Tallon, A., Thomas, C. (2003) 'Disaggregating the space-time layers of city-centre activities and their users', *Environment and Planning A*. 35, 1831–51
- Brown, S. (1998) 'What's the Problem, Girls? CCTV and the Gendering of Public Safety,' in C. Norris, J. Moran, and G. Armstrong (eds.) *Surveillance, Closed Circuit Television and Social Control*, pp. 207-220. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Burgess, M. and Moffatt, S. (2011) *The Association between Alcohol Outlet Density and Assaults on and around Licensed Premises*. Crime and Justice Bulletin, no. 147 (January). Sydney: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.
- Burnett, J. (2011) 'Racial Violence and the Night-Time Economy', *Institute of Race Relations (IRR) News*. 10 February 2011. London: IRR.
- Burns, L., Flaherty, B., Ireland, S. and Frances, M. (1995) 'Policing Pubs: What Happens to Crime?' *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 14: 369-376.
- Burns, T. (1980) 'Getting Rowdy with the Boys,' *Journal of Drug Issues*, 10: 273-286.
- Burrows, J. and Ingram, D. (1999) 'The Restaurants/Takeaways and Pubs/Clubs Sub-Sectors' in *Counting the Cost: Crime Against Business in Scotland*, Crime and Criminal Justice Research Findings no. 38, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Central Research Unit.
- Cabinet Office and Strategy Unit (2003) *Alcohol Misuse: How Much Does it Cost?* London: Cabinet Office and Strategy Unit.

Casswell, S., Fang Zhang, J. and Wyllie, A. (1993) 'The Importance of Amount and Location of Drinking for the Experience of Alcohol-related Problems,' *Addiction*, 88, 1527-34.

Catalano, P., Chikritzhs, T., Stockwell, T., Webb, M., and Dietze, P. (2001) *Trends in per capita alcohol consumption in Australia, 1990/91-1998/99. National Alcohol Indicators, NDRI Monograph No. 4*. Perth: National Drug Research Institute, Curtin University of Technology.

Central Cities Institute (2002) *Licensing Reform: A Cross-cultural Comparison of Rights, Responsibilities and Regulation*, London: University of Westminster.

Chatterton, P. and Hollands, R. (2003) *Urban Nightscapes: Youth Cultures, Pleasure Spaces and Corporate Power*, London: Routledge.

Cherubini, S. and Iasevoli, G. (2006) 'Stakeholders Event Evaluation: Notte Bianca Case Study', Paper presented at the *Marketing Trends in Europe Conference*, Venice, 20-21 June, available at: www.escpeap.net/conferences/marketing/2006_cp/Materiali/Paper/It/Cherubini_Iasevoli.pdf (accessed 27 June 2011).

Chikritzhs, T. (2009a) 'Australia' in P. Hadfield (ed.) *Nightlife and Crime: Social Order and Governance in International Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp: 307-28.

Chikritzhs, T. (2009b) 'Tools for policy and prevention: The Australian National Alcohol Indicators Project (NAIP)', *Contemporary Drug Problems*, 36, 607-24.

Chikritzhs, T., Allsop, S., Moodie, R. and Hall, D. (2010) 'Per capita alcohol consumption in Australia: will the real trend please step forward?', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 193(10), 15 November, 1-4.

Chikritzhs, T. and Stockwell, T. (2002) 'The impact of later trading hours for Australian public houses (hotels) on levels of violence', *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 63(5): 591-99.

Chikritzhs, T. and Stockwell, T. (2005) 'The impact of later trading hours for hotels on levels of impaired driver road crashes and driver breath alcohol levels', *Addiction*, 101: 1254-64.

City and County of Cardiff (2011) *Report of the Cardiff Night-Time Economy Task and Finish Group*. Cardiff: Economy and Culture Scrutiny Committee.

City of Sydney (2011) *Night-time Economy – Cost v Benefit Analysis*, Request for Quotation, Number 63/11. Sydney, NSW: City of Sydney.

City of Westminster (2003) *Managing Urban Renaissance: Making it Work* (Promotional Pamphlet)

City of Westminster (2010) *Second Review of the City of Westminster Statement of Licensing Policy: Consultation Responses and Proposed Revisions October 2010*. London: City of Westminster.

City of Westminster, (2011) *Statement of Licensing Policy 2011*. London: City of Westminster.

Civic Trust (2006) *Nightvision: Town Centres for All*. London: The Civic Trust.

Clarke, R.V. (1995) 'Situational Crime Prevention' in M. Tonry and D. Farrington (eds.) *Building a Safer Society*, Chicago Ill: University of Chicago Press.

Clarkson, C., Cretney, A., Davies, G. and Shepherd, J. P. (1994) 'Assaults: the Relationship Between Seriousness, Criminalisation and Punishment,' *Criminal Law Review*, January, 4-20.

Cohen, L.E. and Felson, M. (1979) 'Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activities Approach' *American Sociological Review*, 44: 588-608.

Collins, D., and Lapsley, H, (2008) *The Costs of Tobacco, Alcohol and Illicit Drug Abuse to Australian Society in 2004/05*. Australian Department of Health and Ageing: Canberra: Australia.

COMEDIA in association with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (1991) *Out of Hours: A study of economic, social and cultural life in twelve town centres across the UK*, London: COMEDIA

Commission of the European Communities (2006) *An EU Strategy to Support Member States in Reducing Alcohol-Related Harm*. Brussels: EC. http://ec.europa.eu/health/ph_determinants/life_style/alcohol/documents/alcohol_com_625_en.pdf Accessed 20 August 2011.

Commonwealth of Australia (2006) *National Alcohol Strategy 2006 (extended to 2011): Towards safer drinking cultures*. (Publication No. 3900), Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.

Connolly, P. (2003) 'Analysis: Streets that Police Themselves,' *Guardian*, 17 July, p.32.

Coomaraswamy K. and Shepherd J. (2003) 'Predictors and severity of injury in assaults with bar glasses and bottles', *Injury Prevention*, 9: 81-84.

Cooper, J. (2005) *Policy and Planning for City Centre Evening, Night-time and Weekend Economies, Entertainment and Transport Needs*. London: Department for Transport.

Cornish, P. (2009) *Evaluation of the Street Pastors Initiative in Portsmouth*, Portsmouth: South Central Strategic Health Authority.

Costello, D. (2010) 'Safer bars WA – Reducing violence in and around licensed premises', *Injury Prevention*, 16, A192 doi:10.1136/ip.2010.029215.684

- Coupland, A. (ed.) (1997) *Mixed Use Development: Reclaiming the City*, London: Spon.
- Cozens, P., Hillier, D. and Graham, M. (2003) 'Shedding Some Light- Street Lighting and the 24-Hour City,' *Town and Country Planning*, January, 72/1, 26-27.
- Crabb, G., Beaumont, R. and Webster, D. (2009) *Review of the class and quality of street lighting*. Published Project Report PPR 380. London: Transport Research Laboratory.
- Crawford, A. and Flint, J. (2009) 'Urban safety, anti-social behaviour and the night-time economy', *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 9(4): 1-11.
- Crawford, A. and Lister, S. (2004) 'The patchwork shape of reassurance policing in England and Wales - Integrated local security quilts or frayed, fragmented and fragile tangled webs?' *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*. 27: 413-30.
- Crawford, A. and Lister, S. (2007) *The use and impact of dispersal orders: Sticking plasters and wake-up calls*. Report for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Abingdon, Oxon: The Policy Press.
- Crawford, M., Patton, R., Touquet, R., Drummond, C., Byford, S., Barrett, B., et al. (2004) 'Screening and referral for brief intervention of alcohol-misusing patients in an emergency department: A pragmatic randomized controlled trial', *The Lancet*, 364: 1334-39.
- Czarnomski, S., Marshall, B. and Summers, L. (2006) *Tackling Violent Crime Programme (TVCP) Evaluation*. London: UCL Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science.
- Daly, M. (2009) 'The Hidden Mixer', *Druglink*, March/April, 10-13.
- Davies, W., Hepworth, P., Moorhouse, A. and Oldfield, R. (2005) *Noise from Pubs and Clubs Phase I: Report for the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs*. London: DEFRA.
- Deehan, A., Marshall, E. and Saville, E. (2002) *Drunks and Disorder: Processing Intoxicated Arrestees in Two City-centre Custody Suites*, Police Research Series Paper 150, London: Home Office.
- Deehan, A. and Saville, E. (2000) *Crime and Disorder Partnerships: Alcohol-Related Crime and Disorder in Audit and Strategy Documents*, Briefing Note 9/00, London: Policing and Reducing Crime Unit, Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate.
- Deehan, A. and Saville, E. (2003) *Calculating the Risk: Recreational Drug Use Among Clubbers in the South East of England*, Home Office Online Report 43/03, London: Home Office.
- Demetrovics, Z. (2009) 'Hungary' in P. Hadfield, (ed.) *Nightlife and Crime: Social Order and Governance in International Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp: 169-82.

DCLG (Department for Communities and Local Government) (2005) *Planning Policy Statement 6: Planning for Town Centres*. London: The Stationery Office.

DCLG (Department for Communities and Local Government) (2006) *National Evaluation of the Street Wardens Programme*. Research Report 24. London: DCLG.

DCLG/ODPM (Department for Communities and Local Government) (2002) *Mixed-Use Development, Practice and Potential*. University of Westminster, Llewelyn-Davies, the Civic Trust, and Pettersson Stafford. London: DCLG.

DCMS (Department for Culture, Media and Sport) (2004) 'Rowdy Takeaways will be Taken Away – Caborn,' press release, 30 December, London: DCMS.

DCMS (Department of Culture, Media and Sport) (2008) *Evaluation of the Impact of the Licensing Act 2003*. London: DCMS.

DCMS (Department of Culture, Media and Sport) (2010) *Guidance Issued under Section 182 of the Licensing Act 2003 and Guidance to Police Officers on the Operation of Closure Powers in Part 8 of the Licensing Act 2003*, London: DCMS.

DEFRA (Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs) (2003) *Coastal Resorts and Sustainable Tourism Project*. London: DEFRA, Local Environmental Quality Pathfinder Programme (LEQPP).

DETR (Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions) (2000) *Our Towns and Cities: The Future. Delivering an Urban Renaissance*, Cm 4911, Urban White Paper, November, London: DETR, The Stationery Office.

Dixon, J., Levine, M. and McAuley, R. (2006) 'Locating impropriety: Street drinking, moral order and the ideological dilemma of public space', *Political Psychology*, 27(2), 187-206.

DoE (Department of the Environment) (1987) *Changes of Use of Buildings and other Land: The Town and Country Planning (Use Classes) Order*, Circular 13/87.

DoE (Department of the Environment) (1994) *Vital and Viable Town Centres: Meeting the Challenge*. Report of the study undertaken by the Urban and Economic Development Group (URBED) in association with Comedia, Hillier Parker, Bartlett School of Planning University College London, and Environment and Transport Planning Department of the Environment. London: HMSO.

DoE (Department of the Environment) and Welsh Office, (1994) *Planning Out Crime*, Circular 1994/5, London: HMSO.

DoE (Department of the Environment) (1996) *Town Centres and Retail Development: Revised Planning Policy Guidance 6*, London: HMSO.

DCSF (Department for Children, Schools and Families, The Home Office & Department of Health) (2008) *Youth Alcohol Action Plan*. London: The Stationery Office.

DoE (Department of the Environment) (1996) *Town Centres and Retail Development: Revised Planning Policy Guidance 6*, London: HMSO.

DfT (Department for Transport)(2003) *Protecting Bus and Coach Crews, A practical guide for bus and coach operators and staff*, London: DfT.

DoH (Department of Health) *et al.* (2007) *Safe. Sensible. Social. The Next Steps in the National Alcohol Strategy*. London: Department of Health.

DoH (Department of Health) (2008) *Safe, Sensible, Social - Consultation on Further Action*, London: Department of Health.

DoH (Department of Health/National Treatment Agency for Substance Misuse) (2006) *Models of Care for Alcohol Misusers (MoCAM)*. London: DH/NTA.

Ditter, S., Elder, R., Shults, R., Sleet, D., Compton, R., and Nichols, J., *et al.* (2005) 'Effectiveness of designated driver programs for reducing alcohol-impaired driving: a systematic review', *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*; 28: 280-87.

Ditton, J. (2000) 'Crime and the City: Public Attitudes towards Open-Street CCTV in Glasgow,' *British Journal of Criminology*, 40: 692-709.

Doherty, S. and Roche, A. (2003) *Alcohol and Licensed Premises: Best Practice in Policing*, Australasian Centre for Policing Research, Adelaide.

Donnelly N., Poynton S., Weatherburn D., Bamford E., and Nottage J. (2006) *Liquor outlet concentrations and alcohol-related neighbourhood problems*. Alcohol Studies Bulletin no. 8. Sydney: Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.

Dyck, N. (1980) 'Booze, Barrooms and Scrapping: Masculinity and Violence in a Western Canadian Town,' *Canadian Journal of Anthropology*, 1: 191-8.

Edwards, A. (2010) *Evaluation of the Cardiff Night-Time Economy Co-ordinator (NTEC) Post*. Cardiff: Centre for Crime, Law and Justice, Cardiff University.

Edwards, P and Tilley, N. (1994) *Closed Circuit Television: Looking Out For You*. London: Home Office.

Eklblom, P. (2001) *The Conjunction of Criminal Opportunity: A Framework for Crime Reduction*, London: Home Office Policing and Reducing Crime Unit.

Eldridge, A. and Roberts, M. (2008) 'A comfortable night out? Alcohol, drunkenness and inclusive town centres', *Area*, 40(3): 365-74.

Elvins, M. and Hadfield, P. (2003) *West End 'Stress Area' Night-time Economy Profiling: A Demonstration Project: Final Report to the City of Westminster*,

Engineer, R., Phillips, A., Thompson, J. and Nicholls, J. (2003) *Drunk and disorderly: a qualitative study of binge drinking among 18-24 years olds*. Home Office Research Study 262. London: Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate.

Erol, R. (2006) *Alcohol Misuse Enforcement Campaign: Guidance on Problem Profiles*. London: Jill Dando Institute Crime Science Laboratory.

Fagan, J. (1993) 'Set and Setting Revisited: Influences of Alcohol and Illicit Drugs on the Social Context of Violent Events' in S.E. Martin (ed.) *Alcohol and Interpersonal Violence: Fostering Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, Vol 24, Rockville, MD: NIH.

Farrington, D. P. and Welsh, B. C. (2002) *Effects of Improved Street Lighting on Crime: A Systematic Review*, Home Office Research Study 251, London: RDSO.

Felson, M. (2002) *Crime and Everyday Life*, 3rd ed., London: Pine Forge.

Felson, M. (2008) 'The Routine Activity Approach' in R. and L. Mazzerole, (eds.), *Environmental Criminology and Crime Analysis*. UK: Devon Press.

Felson, M., Berends, R., Richardson, B. and Veno, A. (1997) 'Reducing Pub Hopping and Related Crime' in R. Homel (ed.) *Policing for Prevention: Reducing Crime, Public Intoxication and Injury*, Crime Prevention Studies, Volume 7, Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.

Felson, R. B., Baccaglini, W. and Gmelch, G. (1986) 'Bar-room Brawl: Aggression and Violence in Irish and American Bars' in A. Campbell and J. Gibbs (eds.) *Violent Transactions*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Felson, M. and Clarke, R.V. (1998) *Opportunity Makes the Thief: Practical Theory for Crime Prevention*, Police Research Series 98, London: HMSO.

Felson, R. B. (1997) 'Routine Activities and Involvement in Violence as Actor, Witness, or Target,' *Violence and Victims*, 12/3: 209-221.

Feria Urbanism/MAKE Associates (2010) *Designing Out Crime: Recommendations to Improve Safety in the City after Dark* (Final Report to Liverpool City Council). Liverpool: Liverpool City Council.

Finney, A. (2004) *Violence in the Night-Time Economy: Key Findings from the Research*. London: Home Office.

Fleming, Jenny, (2008) *Rules of Engagement: Policing Anti-social Behaviour and Alcohol-related Violence in and Around Licensed Premises*, Sydney: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.

FMR Research (2009) *Evaluation of 'Night Zone': Final Report Prepared for the Glasgow City Centre Alcohol Action Group*. Glasgow: FMR Research.

Forsyth, A. (2006) *Assessing the relationships between late-night drinks marketing and alcohol-related disorder in public space*. London: Alcohol Education Research Council.

Forsyth, A. (2008) 'Banning Glassware from Nightclubs in Glasgow (Scotland): Observed impacts, compliance and patron's views', *Alcohol & Alcoholism*, 43(1), 111-17.

Forsyth, A. (2010) 'Front, Side, and Back-loading: Patrons' Rationales for Consuming Alcohol Purchased Off Premises Before, During, or After Attending Nightclubs', *Journal of Substance Use*, 15 (1), 31-41.

Forsyth, A., Cloonan, M. and Barr, J. (2005) *Factors Associated with Alcohol-related Problems within Licensed Premises*. Glasgow: Greater Glasgow NHS Board.

Forsyth, A. and Davidson, N. (2008) 'Passing The Buck? Are local licensed grocers to blame for alcohol-related incivility in residential communities?', *Scottish Journal of Criminal Justice Studies*, 14: July, 63-95.

Forsyth A. and Davidson, N. (2010) 'Community off-sales provision and the presence of alcohol-related detritus in residential neighbourhoods', *Health & Place*, 16(2), 349-58.

Forsyth, A., Davidson, N. and Lennox, J. (2007) *An Investigation into the Environmental Impact of Off-license Premises on Residential Neighbourhoods* (Final Report to the Alcohol Education Research Council). London: AERC.

Freisthler, B. and Gruenewald, P. (2005) 'Social ecology and the invention of new regulatory strategies for preventing drug and alcohol problems' in T. Stockwell, P. Gruenewald, J. Toumbourou and W. Loxley (eds.) *Preventing harmful substance use: the evidence base for policy and practice*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Fry, M-L., F. (2010) 'Countering consumption in a culture of intoxication', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 26(13): 1279-94.

Galloway, J., Forsyth, A. and Shewan, D. (2007) *Young People's Street Drinking Behaviour: Investigating the Influence of Marketing & Subculture*. London: Alcohol Education Research Council.

Garland, D. (1996) 'The Limits of the Sovereign State: Strategies of Crime Control in Contemporary Society,' *British Journal of Criminology*, 36/4: 445-471.

Garland, D. (2001) *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gehl, J. (1996) *Life Between Buildings*, 3rd edn (Copenhagen, Arkitektens Forlag).

Geller, E. and Kalsher, M. (1990) 'Environmental Determinants of Party Drinking,' *Environment and Behavior*, 22: 74-90.

Giesbrecht, N., Gonzales, R. and Grant, M. (1989) *Drinking and Casualties: Accidents, Poisonings and Violence in an International Perspective*, London: Tavistock/Routledge.

Gill, M. (1994) 'Introducing Crime at Work' in M. L. Gill (ed.), *Crime at Work: Studies in Security and Crime Prevention*, Leicester: Perpetuity Press.

Gill, M. and Spriggs, A. (2005) *Home Office Research Study 292: Assessing the Impact of CCTV*. London: Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate.

GLA (Greater London Authority) (2002a) *Whatever Gets You Through the Night: 24-Hour Licensing in London*, London: GLA.

GLA (Greater London Authority) (2002b) *Late-Night London: Planning and Managing the Late-Night Economy*, Urbed in association with CASA and Dr Andy Lovatt, commissioned by the Greater London Authority, the London Development Agency and Transport for London. SDS Technical Report Six, June, London: GLA.

GLA (Greater London Authority) (2003) *The London Agenda for Action on Alcohol: Mayor of London's Priorities to Reduce Alcohol-related Harm in the Capital*, London: GLA.

GLA (Greater London Authority) (2007) *Managing the Night Time Economy: Best Practice Guidance*. London: GLA.

Glen, J. (2000) *Licensing Law Liberalisation: The Scottish Experience*, Appendix to BEDA (Bar, Entertainment and Dance Association, formerly, British Entertainment and Discotheque Association) (2000) *Time for Reform: Proposals for the Modernisation of our Licensing Laws: A Response by the British Entertainment and Discotheque Association*, Stockport: BEDA.

Gliksman, L., McKenzie, D., Single, E., Douglas, R., Brunet, S. and Moffatt, K. (1993) 'The Role of Alcohol Providers in Prevention: An Evaluation of a Server Intervention Programme,' *Addiction*, 88: 1195-1203.

Goodall, T. (2011) *White Cider and street drinkers – Recommendations to reduce harm*. London: Alcohol Concern.

Goodwin, V. and Shepherd, J. P. (2000) 'The Development of an Assault Patient Questionnaire to allow Accident and Emergency Departments to contribute to Crime and Disorder Act Local Crime Audits,' *Journal of Accident and Emergency Medicine*, 17: 196-98.

Goldstein, H. (1979) 'Policing: A Problem-oriented Approach,' *Crime and Delinquency*, 25: 236-58.

Goldstein, H. (1990) *Problem-oriented Policing*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Goddard, E. (2006) *General Household Survey 2005: Smoking and drinking amongst adults*. London: Office for National Statistics

Gottfredson, M. (1984) *Victims of Crime: The Dimensions of Risk*, Home Office Research Study No. 81, London: HMSO.

Graham, K. (1985) 'Determinants of Heavy Drinking and Drinking Problems: The Contribution of the Bar Environment' in E. Single and T. Storm (eds.) *Public Drinking and Public Policy*, Toronto, Canada: Addiction Research Foundation.

Graham, K. (2011) 'Commentary on Brennan *et al.* (2011): Towards more interpretable evaluations', *Addiction*, 106: 714-15.

Graham K. and Homel R. (2008) *Raising the Bar: Preventing Aggression in and around Bars, Pubs and Clubs*. Uffculme, Devon, United Kingdom: Willan Publishing.

Graham K., Bernards S., Osgood D. W., and Wells S. (2006) 'Bad nights or bad bars? Multi-level analysis of environmental predictors of aggression in late-night large-capacity bars and clubs', *Addiction*, 101: 1569–80.

Graham, K., LaRocque, L., Yetman, R., Ross, T.J. and Guistra, E. (1980) 'Aggression and Bar Room Environments,' *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 41: 277-292.

Graham, K., Osgood, W., Zibrowski, E., Purcell, J., Gliksman, L., Leonard, K., Pernanen, K., Saltz, R., Toomy, T., (2004) 'The effect of the safer bars programme on physical aggression in bars: The results of a randomised control trial', *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 23: 31-41.

Graham, K. and Wells, S. (2003) 'Somebody's Gonna Get Their Head Kicked in Tonight!: Aggression Among Young Males in Bars- A Question of Values?,' *British Journal of Criminology*, 43: 546-566.

Greed, C. (1997) 'Bad Timing Means No Summer in the Cities,' *Planning*, 14 March, 1209: 18-19.

Greed, C. (2004) 'Public toilets: the need for compulsory provision', *Municipal Engineer*, 157(2): 77-85.

Griffin, C., Bengry-Howell, A., Hackley, C., Mistral, W. and Szmigin, I. (2009) 'Every time I do it I absolutely annihilate myself': Loss of (self-) consciousness and loss of memory in youngpeople's drinking narratives', *Sociology*, 43(3), 457–76.

Gruenewald, P., Millar, A. and Roeper, P. (1996) 'Access to Alcohol: Geography and Prevention for Local Communities' *Alcohol Health and Research World*, 20/4: 244-251.

Gruenewald, P., Millar, A. and Treno, A. (1993) 'Alcohol Availability and the Ecology of Drinking Behavior,' *Alcohol Health and Research World*, 17/1: 39-45.

Gruenewald, P., Ponicki, W. and Holder, H., (1993) 'The Relationship of Outlet Densities to Alcohol Consumption: a Time-series Cross-sectional Analysis,' *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research*, 17: 591-597.

Gruenewald P. and Remer L. (2006) 'Changes in outlet densities affect violence rates', *Alcohol Clinical and Experimental Research*; 30:1184-93.

Hadfield, P. (2003) 'Review of "Counting the cost: The measurement and recording of alcohol-violence and disorder", by Peter Marsh et al. (London, The Portman Group, 2002, 56pp)', *British Journal of Criminology*, 43(2): 449-51.

Hadfield, P. (2004) 'The Operation of Licensed Premises' in P. Kolvin (ed.), *Licensed Premises: Law and Practice*, Haywards Heath: Tottel.

Hadfield, P. (2006) *Bar Wars: Contesting the Night in Contemporary British Cities*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hadfield, P. (2007) 'A Hard Act to Follow: Assessing the Consequences of Licensing Reform in England and Wales', Editorial, *Addiction*, 102: 177-80.

Hadfield, P. (2009a) 'Nightlife and Crime in International Perspective' in P. Hadfield (ed.) *Nightlife and Crime: Social Order and Governance in International Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp: 3-16.

Hadfield, P. (2009b) 'Nightlife Horizons: Some Further Thoughts and Conclusions' in P. Hadfield (ed.) *Nightlife and Crime: Social Order and Governance in International Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hadfield, P. (2011) *Promoting Third Party Policing (TPP) and Welfare Support in the Night-time Economy*. Working Paper for Alcohol Concern. Leeds: www.philhadfield.co.uk.

Hadfield, P., Lister, S., and Traynor, P. (2009) 'This Town's A Different Town Today: Policing and Regulating the Night-time Economy', *Criminology and Criminal Justice*. 9/4: 465-85 (with open access).

Hadfield, P., Lister, S., Hobbs, D. and Winlow, S. (2001) 'The '24-Hour City'-Condition Critical?' *Town and Country Planning*, 70/11, November: 300-302.

Hadfield, P. and Measham, F. (2009a) 'Shaping the Night: How Licensing, Social Divisions, and Informal Social Controls, Mould the Form and Content of Nightlife' *Crime Prevention and Community Safety. An International Journal*, 11/3: 219-34.

Hadfield, P. and Measham, F. (2009b) 'England and Wales' in Hadfield, P., (ed.) *Nightlife and Crime: Social Order and Governance in International Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hadfield, P. and Measham, F. (2011) *Lost Orders? Alcohol and Law Enforcement in England and Wales: Final Report to the Portman Group*. London: The Portman Group.

Hadfield, P. and Newton, A. (2010) *Alcohol, Crime and Disorder in the Night-time Economy*. On-line Factsheet. London: Alcohol Concern.

Hadfield, P., Noga, H., Large, J. and Jones, R. (2010) *Visitor Drinking, Late-Night Refreshment and Transportation in the Camden Special Policy Areas: Final Report to the London Borough of Camden. August 2010*. Summarised at pages 78-85 of Camden's Statement of Licensing Policy.
<http://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/content/business/business-regulations/licensing-and-permits/general-licensing-information/licensing-policy.en>

Hall, T. and Margetts, T. (2011) 'PIED Use: A Growing Problem?', *Drink and Drugs News*, September: 8-9.

Hampshire Police Authority (2009) *Report of the Consultant to the Committee*. Crime Prevention Committee, Item 9, Progress Reports. Basingstoke: Hampshire Police Authority.

Harkins, C., Morleo, M. and Cook, P. (2011) *Evaluation of the Use of Alcohol Treatment Requirements and Alcohol Activity Requirements for Offenders in Cheshire*. Liverpool: Cheshire Probation / Centre for Public Health, Liverpool John Moores University.

Hauritz, M., Homel, R., McIlwain, G., Burrows, T. and Townsley, M. (1998) 'Reducing Violence in Licensed Premises through Community Safety Action Projects: The Queensland Experience,' *Contemporary Drug Problems*, 25: 103-118.

Heath, T. (1997) 'The Twenty-Four Hour City Concept – A Review of Initiatives in British Cities,' *Journal of Urban Design*, 2/2: 193-204.

Heath, T. and Stickland, R. (1997) 'The Twenty-Four Hour City Concept,' in T. Oc and S. Tiesdell (eds.) *Safer City Centres: Reviving the Public Realm*, London: Paul Chapman Publishing.

Heather, N. (2011) 'Developing, Evaluating and Implementing Alcohol Brief Interventions in Europe,' *Drug and Alcohol Review*. 30: 138-47.

Hibell, B., Guttormsson, U., Ahlström, S., Balakireva, O., Bjarnason, T., Kokkevi, A. and Kraus, L. (2009) *The 2007 ESPAD Report: Substance Use Among Students in 35 European Countries*. Stockholm: The Swedish Council for Information on Alcohol and Other Drugs.

Hindmarch, I., Kerr, J.S. and Sherwood, N. (1991) 'The Effects of Alcohol and Other Drugs on Psychomotor Performance and Cognitive Function,' *Alcohol and Alcoholism*, 26: 71-79.

Hirschfield, A. and Newton, A. (2008) 'The crime-crime prevention relationship: A Manchester case study,' *Built Environment*, 34(1): 104-120.

Hobbs, D., Hadfield, P., Lister, S. and Winlow, S. (2002) 'Door Lore: The Art and Economics of Intimidation,' *British Journal of Criminology*, 42/2: 352-370.

Hobbs, D., Hadfield, P., Lister, S. and Winlow, S. (2003) *Bouncers: Violence and Governance in the Night-time Economy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hobbs, D., Lister, S., Hadfield, P., Winlow, S. and Hall, S. (2000) 'Receiving Shadows: Governance and Liminality in the Night-time Economy,' *British Journal of Sociology*, 51/4: 701-717.

Holder, H. (2000) 'Community Prevention of Alcohol Problems,' *Addictive Behaviors*, 25/6: 843-59.

Holder, H. (2004) 'Community action from an international perspective,' in R. Muller and H. Klingemann (eds.) *From Science to Action? 100 Years Later, Alcohol Policies Revisited*, pp. 101-112. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic.

- Holder H., Gruenewald P., Ponicki W., Treno, A., Grube, J., Saltz, R., Voas, R., Reynolds, R., Davis, J., Sanchez, L., Gaumont, G., and Roeper, P. (2000) 'Effects of community-based interventions on high-risk drinking and alcohol-related injuries', *Journal of the American Medical Association*; 284: 2341-7.
- Holder, H. and Reynolds, R. (1997) 'Application of local policy to prevent alcohol problems: experiences from a community trial', *Addiction*, 92: 285-92.
- Holder, H., Saltz, R., Grube, J., Treno, A., Reynolds, R., Voas, R., Gruenewald, P., (1997) 'Summing up: lessons from a comprehensive community prevention trial,' *Addiction*, 92 (Suppl. 2): 293-301.
- Hollands, R. (2002) 'Divisions in the Dark: Youth Cultures, Transitions and Segmented Consumption Spaces in the Night-time Economy,' *Journal of Youth Studies*, 5/2: 153-171.
- Home Office (2003) *Guidance for Local Partnerships on Alcohol-Related Crime and Disorder Data*, London: Home Office Development and Practice Report 6 (Drugs and Alcohol).
- Home Office (2004a) *Alcohol Audits, Strategies and Initiatives: Lessons from Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships*, London: Home Office Development and Practice Report 20.
- Home Office (2004b) *Violent Crime: Tackling Violent Crime in the Night-time Economy: Guidelines and Tactical Options*, Police Standards Unit and Crime Directorate.
- Home Office (2009) *Alcohol Arrest Referral: A Guide to Setting Up Schemes*. London: Home Office Alcohol Strategy Unit.
- Home Office (2010a) *Selling Alcohol Responsibly: The New Mandatory Conditions Licensing Conditions – The New Mandatory Code for Alcohol Retailers in England and Wales*. London: Home Office.
- Home Office (2010b) *Re-balancing the Licensing Act – a consultation on empowering individuals, families and local communities to shape and determine local licensing*. London: Home Office. www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/consultations/cons-2010-licensing-act/alcohol-consultation?view=Binary
- Hommel, R. and Clark, J. et al., (1994) 'The Prediction and Prevention of Violence in Pubs and Clubs,' *Crime Prevention Studies*, 3: 1-46.
- Hommel, R., Hauritz, M., Wortley, R., McIlwain, G. and Carvolth, R. (1997) 'Preventing Alcohol-related Crime through Community Action: The Surfers Paradise Safety Action Project,' in R. Hommel (ed.) *Policing for Prevention: Reducing Crime, Public Intoxication and Injury*, Crime Prevention Studies, Volume 7, Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.
- Hommel, R. and Tomsen, S. (1991) 'Violence, Public Drinking and Public Policy,' *Current Affairs Bulletin*: 20-27.

Homel, R., Tomsen, S. and Thommeny, J. (1992) 'Public Drinking and Violence: Not Just an Alcohol Problem,' *Journal of Drug Issues*, 22/3: 679-697.

Hope, T. (1985) 'Drinking and Disorder in the City Centre: A Policy Analysis,' in *Implementing Crime Prevention Measures*, Home Office Research Study No. 86, London: HMSO.

Hough, M. and Tilley, N. (1998) *Auditing Crime and Disorder: Guidance for Local Partnerships*, Crime Detection and Prevention Series, Paper 91, London: Home Office Police Research Group.

Hughes, G. (1999) 'Urban Revitalization: the Use of Festive Time Strategies', *Leisure Studies*, 18(2): 119-35.

Hughes K, Anderson Z, Morleo M, and Bellis M. (2007) 'Alcohol, nightlife and violence: the relative contributions of drinking before and during nights out to negative health and criminal justice outcomes', *Addiction*, 103: 60-5.

Hughes, K, Anderson, Z, Bellis, M, Morleo, M, Jarman, I, and Lisboa, P. (2009) *Blood Levels and Drunkenness amongst People Visiting Nightlife in the North West*. Liverpool: Centre for Public Health, Liverpool John Moores University.

Hughes, K. and Bellis, M. (eds.) (2003) *Safer Nightlife in the North West of England: A Report by the North West Safer Nightlife Group*, Liverpool: Centre for Public Health, Liverpool John Moores University

Hughes, K., Furness, L., Jones, L., and Bellis, M. (2010) *Reducing Harm in Drinking Environments: Evidence and Practice in Europe*. Focus on Alcohol Safe Environments (FASE) Project Report. Liverpool: Centre for Public Health, Liverpool John Moores University.

Hughes, K., Hungerford, D., Anderson, Z. and Bellis, M. (eds.) (2007) *Factsheet 3: Late-Night Transport*. Liverpool: WHO, VPA Working Group on Youth Violence, Alcohol and Nightlife.

Hughes, K., Quigg, Z., Eckley, L., Bellis, M., Jones, L., Calafat, A., Kosir, M. and van Hasselt, N. (2011) 'Environmental factors in drinking venues and alcohol-related harm: the evidence base for European intervention', *Addiction*, 106: 37-46.

Hughes K., Tocque K., Humphrey G., and Bellis M. (2004) *Taking measures: A Situational Analysis of Alcohol in the North West*. Liverpool: Centre for Public Health.

Humphreys, D. and Eisner, M. (2010) 'Evaluating a natural experiment in alcohol policy: the Licensing Act (2003) and the requirement for attention to implementation', *Criminology & Public Policy*, 9(1): 41-67.

Institute of Alcohol Studies (2011) 'Coalition's Alcohol Policy Comes Under Attack', *Alcohol Alert*, Issue 1. London: IAS.

Hu, C. (2004) 'On-the-Spot Fines are 'Unworkable': Fixed Penalties for Drunken Behaviour Slammed as a 'Gimmick,' *Morning Advertiser*, 26 February, 183: 1.

- Isle of Man Constabulary, (2002) *Chief Constable's Annual Report 2001-2002*, Douglas: Isle of Man Constabulary.
- Jacobs, J. (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- JAG (Joint Action Group for Alcohol in London) (2009) *Joint Action Group Alcohol Practitioners' Report: Managing the Night-Time Economy*. London: JAG.
- Järvinen, M. and Room R. (2007) (eds.) *Youth Drinking Cultures: European Experiences*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Jeffs, B. W. and Saunders, W. M. (1983) 'Minimizing Alcohol-related Offences by Enforcement of the Existing Licensing Legislation' *British Journal of Addiction*, 78: 67-77.
- Jinhui, Z., Stockwell, T. and Macdonald, S. (2009) 'Non-response bias in alcohol and drug population surveys', *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 28, 648-57.
- Jiwa, S., Coca-Stefaniak, J., Blackwell, M., and Rahman, T. (2009) 'Light Night: an "enlightening" place marketing experience', *Journal of Place Management and Development*. 2(2): 154-66.
- Johns, N., Squire, G., and Barton, A. (2009a) 'Street Pastors: From Crime Prevention to Re-Moralisation', *Papers from the British Criminology Conference*. British Society of Criminology online journal: www.britsoccrim.org. ISSN 1759-0043; Vol. 9: 39-56.
- Johns, N., Barton, A., and Squire, G. (2009b) *Final Report of the Plymouth Street Pastors Evaluation* (for Devon and Cornwall Police, Plymouth Community Safety Unit, and Plymouth Street Pastors). Plymouth: University of Plymouth.
- Jones, C., Kypri, K., Moffatt, S., Borzycki, C. and Price, B. (2009) *The impact of restricted alcohol availability on alcohol-related violence in Newcastle, NSW*. Bulletin 137. Sydney: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.
- Jones, L., Hughes, K., Atkinson, A., and Bellis, M. (2011) 'Reducing harm in drinking environments: A systematic review of effective approaches', *Health & Place*, 17: 508-18.
- Jones, P. (1996) 'Enter the Superpub,' *Town and Country Planning*, April: 110-112.
- Jones, P., Hillier, D. and Comfort, D. (2003) 'Business Improvement Districts- Another Piece in the UK Regeneration Jigsaw?,' *Town & Country Planning*, 72, June: 158-161.
- Jones, P., Hillier, D. and Turner, D. (1999) 'Towards the '24-Hour City,' *Town & Country Planning*, 68, May: 164-165.
- Johnsson K. and Berglund M. (2003) 'Education of key personnel in student pubs leads to a decrease in alcohol consumption among the patrons: A randomized controlled trial,' *Addiction*, 98: 627-633.

Justice Analytical Services, Police and Community Safety Directorate, Scottish Government (2009) *The Effectiveness of Public Space CCTV: A Review of Recent Published Evidence Regarding the Impact of CCTV on Crime*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive. ISBN 978 0 7559 7739 0 (Web only publication) <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/294462/0090979.pdf> Accessed 26 June, 2011.

Kaner E., Dickinson H., Beyer F., Pienaar E., Campbell F., Schlesinger C, Heather N, Saunders J, Burnand B (2008) *Effectiveness of brief alcohol interventions in primary care populations (Review)* *Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews* 2007, Issue 2. Art. No.: CD004148. DOI: 10.1002/14651858.CD004148.pub3.

Kelling, G. and Coles, C. (1996) *Fixing Broken Windows: Restoring Order and Reducing Crime in our Communities*, New York: Free Press.

KPMG (2008) *Evaluation of the Temporary Late-Night Entry Declaration*. Report to the Australian Department of Justice. Sydney: KPMG.

KPMG LLP/Home Office, (2008) *Review of the Social Responsibility Standards for the Production and Sale of Alcoholic Drinks*, Birmingham: KPMG LLP.

Kreitzman, L. (1999) *The 24-Hour Society*, London: Profile.

Kypri, K., Jones, C., McElduff, P., and Barker, D. (2011) 'Effects of restricting pub closing times on night-time assaults in an Australian city', *Addiction*, 106, 303-10.

Lang, E. and Rumbold, G. (1997) 'The Effectiveness of Community-based Interventions to Reduce Violence in and around Licensed Premises: A Comparison of Three Australian Models,' *Contemporary Drug Problems*, 24/4: 8-25.

Lang, E., Stockwell, T., Rydon, P., and Beel, A. (1998) Can training bar staff in responsible serving practices reduce alcohol-related harm? *Drug and Alcohol Review* 17:39-50.

Lasley, J. R. (1989) Drinking Routines/Lifestyles and Predatory Victimization: A Causal Analysis, *Justice Quarterly*, 6: 529-42.

Lawford, D. (2010) *The Role Of Creative Lighting in Urban Public Space*. Leeds: Landscape Architecture, Leeds Metropolitan University. www.creative-light.info. Accessed 26 June, 2011.

Leigh. A., Read.T. and Tilley. N. (1996) *Problem-Orientated Policing: Brit Pop*, Crime Prevention and Detection Series Paper 75, London: Home Office.

Leigh. A., Read. T and Tilley. N (1998) *Brit Pop II: Problem-Orientated Policing in Practice*, Police Research Series Paper 93, London: Home Office.

Leeds City Council, (1995) *Leeds: 24 Hour City Licensing*. Leeds: LCC Legal Services Department.

- Lenné, M., Corben, B. and Stephan K. (2007) 'Traffic signal phasing at intersections to improve safety for alcohol-affected pedestrians', *Accident Analysis and Prevention*, 39(4): 751-56.
- Levine, M., Taylor, P., and Best, R. (2011) 'Third-Parties, Violence and Conflict Resolution: The Role of Group Size and Collective Action in the Micro-Regulation of Violence', *Psychological Science*. 22(3): 406-12.
- Levinson, D. (1983) 'Social Setting, Cultural Factors and Alcohol-related Aggression' in E. Gottheil, K.A. Druley, T. E. Skoloda and H.M. Waxman (eds.) *Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Aggression*, Springfield: IL: Charles C. Thomas.
- Lindsay, J., Kelley, P., Harrison, L., Hickey, C., & Advocat, J. (2009). *What a great night: The cultural drivers of drinking practices among 14–24 year old Australians*. Canberra: Department of Health and Aging, Australian Government.
- Lipsey, M. W., Wilson, D.B., Cohen, M.A. and Derzon, J. H.(1997) 'Is there a Causal Relationship Between Alcohol and Violence?' in M. Galanter (ed.) *Recent Developments in Alcoholism*, 13: 245-282, New York: Plenum Press.
- Lipton, R. and Gruenewald, P. (2002) 'The spatial dynamics of violence and alcohol outlets', *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*.63: 187-95.
- Livingston, M. (2007) 'Alcohol outlet density and assault: a spatial analysis', *Addiction*, 103, 619-628.
- Livingston, M. (2008) 'A Longitudinal Analysis of Alcohol Outlet Density and Assault', *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research*. 32(6): 1-6.
- Livingston, M., Chikritzhs, T. and Room, R. (2007) 'Changing the Density of Alcohol Outlets to Reduce Alcohol-Related Problems', *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 26/5: 557-66.
- Livingston, M., Laslett, A-M.,and Dietze, P. (2008) 'Individual and community correlates of young people's high-risk drinking in Victoria, Australia', *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 98(3): 241-48.
- Lovatt, A. (1996) 'The Ecstasy of Urban Regeneration: Regulation of the Night-time Economy in the Transition to a Post-Fordist City,' in J. O' Connor and D. Wynne (eds.) *From the Margins to the Centre: Cultural Production and Consumption in the Post-Industrial City*, Aldershot: Arena.
- Lovatt, A., O'Connor, J., Montgomery, J. and Owens, P. (eds.) (1994) *The 24-Hour City: Selected Papers from the First National Conference on the Night-time Economy*, Manchester: Manchester Metropolitan University.
- Loveday, B. and Tedstone, C. (2001) *Crime and Disorder in Southsea: a Report on Transport Issues Related to the City Entertainment Areas*, Portsmouth: Institute of CriminalJustice Studies, University of Portsmouth.

Loxley, W., Chikritzhs, T. and Pascal, R. (2011) *National Alcohol Sales Data Project Final Report, 2009*. Drug and Alcohol Office, Western Australia, National Drug Research Institute, Curtin University, Perth, Western Australia.

Loxley, W., Toumbourou, J., Stockwell, T., Haines, B., Scott, K., Godfrey, C., Waters, E. and Patton, G. (2004) *The prevention of substance use, risk and harm in Australia: A review of the evidence*. Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing: Canberra.

Luke, L. (2002) 'A little nightclub medicine: the healthcare implications of clubbing', *Emergency Medical Journal*, 19: 542-45.

McClintock, F. H. and Wikström, P-O H., (1992) 'The Comparative Study of Urban Violence: Criminal Violence in Edinburgh and Stockholm,' *British Journal of Criminology*, 32: 505-520.

McCullough, P. and Hetherington, J. (2005) 'A Practical Evaluation of Objective Noise Criteria used for the Assessment of Disturbance due to Entertainment Music', *Journal of Environmental Health Research*, 4(2): 69-74.

McKnight A. (1991) 'Factors influencing the effectiveness of server-intervention education,' *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 52: 389-97

McKnight, A. and Streff, F. (1994) 'Effect of Enforcement upon Service of Alcohol to Intoxicated Patrons of Bars and Restaurants,' *Accident Analysis and Prevention*, 26: 79-88.

McIlwain, G. (2004) *Crime and Safety Profile of Surfers' Paradise*. Report 1. Gold Coast, QSL: Crime Prevention, Queensland and the Gold Coast City Council.

McSweeney, T. and Bhardwa, B. (2011) *The Impact and Delivery of Alcohol Treatment Requirements in the Leicestershire and Rutland Probation Trust Area*. London: ICPR.

MacAndrew, C. and Edgerton, R.B. (1969) *Drunken Comportment: A Social Explanation*, London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd.

Macdonald, S., Erickson, P., Wells, S., Hathaway, A., & Pakula, B. (2008). Predicting violence among cocaine, cannabis and alcohol treatment clients. *Addictive Behaviors*, 33, 201-205.

Macintyre, S. and Homel, R. (1997) 'Danger on the Dance Floor: A Study of Interior Design, Crowding and Aggression in Nightclubs,' in R. Homel (ed.) *Policing for Prevention: Reducing Crime, Public Intoxication and Injury*, Crime Prevention Studies, Volume 7, Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.

Magennis, P., Shepherd, J., Hutchinson, H. and Brown, A. (1998) 'Trends in Facial Injury,' *British Medical Journal*, 316: 325-326.

Maguire, M. (2002) 'Crime Statistics: the "Data Explosion" and its Implications' in M. Maguire, R. Morgan and R. Reiner (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, 3rd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Maguire, M. and Hopkins, M. (2003) 'Data analysis for problem-solving: Alcohol and city centre violence', in K. Bullock and N. Tilley (eds.) *Crime Reduction and Problem-Oriented Policing*. Cullompton: Willan.

Maguire, M. and Nettleton, H. (2003) *Reducing Alcohol-Related Violence and Disorder: An Evaluation of the 'TASC' Project*. Home Office Research Study 265. Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate: London.

Mäkelä, P., Gmel G., Grittner U., Kuendig H., Kuntsche S., Bloomfield K. *et al.* (2006) 'Drinking patterns and their gender differences in Europe', *Alcohol Alcohol Supplement*, 41: i8–18.

Månsdotter A., Rydberg, M., Wallin E., Lindholm, L., and Andréasson, S. (2007) 'A cost-effectiveness analysis of alcohol prevention targeting licensed premises', *European Journal of Public Health*, 17: 618-623.

Markowitz, S. (2000) *Criminal Violence and Alcohol Beverage Control: Evidence from an International Study*, NBER Working Paper 7481, Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Marsh, P. and Fox Kibby, K. (1992) *Drinking and Public Disorder*, London: The Portman Group.

Measham, F. (2004) 'Play Space: Historical and Socio-cultural Reflections on Drugs, Licensed Leisure Locations, Commercialisation and Control', *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 15, 337-345.

Measham, F. (2008) 'The Turning Tides of Intoxication: Young People's Drinking in Britain in the 2000s', *Health Education, Special Edition: Drugs in the 21st Century*, 108 (3), 207-22.

Measham F. and Brain K. (2005) 'Binge' Drinking, British Alcohol Policy and the New Culture of Intoxication', *Crime, Media, Culture: An International Journal*, 1(3): 263-84.

Measham, F. and Moore, (2009) 'Repertoires of Distinction: Exploring Patterns of Weekend Polydrug use within Local Leisure scenes across the English Night-time Economy', *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 9(4): 1–28.

Measham, F. and Østergaard, J. (2009), The Public Face of Binge Drinking: British and Danish young women, recent trends in alcohol consumption and the European binge drinking debate, *Probation Journal*, 56(4): 415-434.

Measham, F., Moore, K. and Østergaard, J. (2011a) *Emerging Drug Trends in Lancashire: Night-Time Economy Surveys. Phase One Report*. Lancaster: Lancaster University / Lancashire Drug and Alcohol Action Team (LDAAT).

Measham, F., Wood, D., Dargan, P. and Moore, K. (2011b) 'The Rise in Legal Highs: Prevalence and Patterns in the Use of Illegal Drugs and First- and Second-Generation "Legal Highs" in South London Gay Dance Clubs', *Journal of Substance Use*, 16/4: 263-72.

- Melbin, M. (1978) 'Night as Frontier,' *American Sociological Review*, 43/1: 3-22.
- Meier, P., Booth, A., Stockwell, T., Sutton, A., Wilkinson, A., Wong, R., Brennan, A., O'Reilly, D., Purshouse, R., and Taylor, K. (2008) *Independent Review Of The Effects Of Alcohol Pricing And Promotion: Systematic Reviews*. School of Health and Related Research. University of Sheffield, UK.
- Miller, T., Blewden, M., and Zhang, J-F. (2004) 'Cost savings from a sustained compulsory breath testing and media campaign in New Zealand', *Accident Analysis and Prevention*, 36: 783-94.
- Miethe, T. D., Stafford, M. C. and Long, J. S. (1987) 'Social Differentiation in Criminal Victimization: a Test of Routine Activities/Lifestyle Theories,' *American Sociological Review*, 52: 184-194.
- Mistral, W., Velleman, R., Mastache, C. and Templeton, L. (2007) *UKCAPP: An Evaluation of 3 UK Community Alcohol Prevention Programs*. Final Report to AERC <http://www.aerc.org.uk/>
- Moffatt, S., Mason, A., Borzycki, C., & Weatherburn, D. (2009). *Liquor licensing enforcement and assaults on licensed premises*. Bureau Brief 40. Sydney: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.
- Moffatt, S. and Weatherburn, D. (2011) *Trends in Assaults after Midnight*. Issue paper no. 59. Sydney: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.
- Monaghan, L. F. (2002) 'Regulating 'Unruly' Bodies: Work Tasks, Conflict and Violence in Britain's Night-Time Economy,' *The British Journal of Sociology*, 53/3: 403-29.
- Montgomery, J. (1995) 'Urban Vitality and the Culture of Cities,' *Planning Practice and Research*, 10/2: 101-109.
- Montgomery, J. (2003) 'Cultural quarters as mechanisms for urban regeneration. Part 1: Conceptualising cultural quarters', *Planning Practice and Research*, 18 (4): 293-306.
- Montgomery, J. (2007) *The New Wealth of Cities: City Dynamics and the Fifth Wave*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Montgomery, J. and Owens, P. (1997) 'The Evening Economy of Cities,' *Regenerating Cities*, 7: 32-39.
- Moore, R. and Holder, H. (2003) 'Issues surrounding the institutionalization of local action programmes to prevent alcohol problems: Results from a community trial in the United States', *Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*, 20: 41-55.
- Moore, S., Brennan, I. and Murphy, S. (2011) 'Predicting and Measuring Premises-Level Harm in the Night-Time Economy', *Alcohol and Alcoholism*. 46(3): 357-63.

Moore, S., Perham N., Shepherd J., Perham, N. and Cusens, B. (2007) 'The prevalence of alcohol intoxication in the night-time economy', *Alcohol and Alcoholism*, 42: 629-34.

Morris, J. (2010) *Cocaethylene: Responding to combined alcohol and cocaine use*. London: AERC Alcohol Academy briefing paper 004 (April). www.alcoholacademy.net

Myers, T. (1986) 'An Analysis of Context and Alcohol Consumption in a Group of Criminal Events,' *Alcohol and Alcoholism*, 21: 389-395.

Nasar, J. L. and Fisher, B. (1993) 'Hot-spots of Fear and Crime: A Multi-Method Investigation,' *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 13: 29-49.

National Health Service (NHS) (2010) *Choices: NHS Advice on Drinking Limits*, Online, available from: <http://www.drinking.nhs.uk/questions/recommended-levels/> [Accessed 28/06/2010]

National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) (2009) *Australian Guidelines to Reduce Health Risks from Drinking Alcohol*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.

National Preventative Health Taskforce (2009) *Australia: The Healthiest Country by 2020*.

Nayak, A. (2003) 'Last of the 'Real Geordies'? White Masculinities and the Sub-cultural Response to Deindustrialisation,' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21: 7-25.

Nelson, A., Bromley, R. and Thomas, C. J. (2001) 'Identifying Micro-spatial and Temporal Patterns of Violent Crime and Disorder in a British City Centre,' *Applied Geography*, 21: 249-274.

Newman, O. (1972) *Defensible Space: People and Design in the Violent City*, London: Architectural Press.

Newton, A. (2008) 'A Study of Bus Route Crime Risk in Urban Areas: The changing environs of a bus journey', *Built Environment*. 34(1): 88-103.

Newton, A. and Hirschfield, A. (2009) 'Measuring violence in and around licensed premises: The need for a better evidence base', *Crime Prevention and Community Safety: An International Journal*, 11(3): 171-88.

Newton, A., Hirschfield, A., Rogerson, M., and Sharratt, K. (2010) *Building an Evidence Base on Alcohol Supply Points: A Pilot Project to Generate Intelligence for Managing Areas with Licensed Premises* (Final report to the Alcohol and Education Research Council, AERC). Huddersfield, University of Huddersfield.

Nicholson Committee (2003) *Review of Liquor Licensing Law in Scotland*, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

NOMS (National Offender Management Service) (2005) *Alcohol Interventions Guidance including revised guidance on Managing the Alcohol Treatment Requirement (ATR) - Update of Annex B to Probation Circular 57/2005*. London: Ministry of Justice.

Norström, T. (1997) 'Assessment of the impact of the 0.02% BAC-limit in Sweden', *Studies on Crime and Crime Prevention*; 6: 245-58.

Norström, T. (2000) 'Outlet Density and Criminal Violence in Norway, 1960-1995,' *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 61: 907-911.

NSW Bureau of Crime (2010) *Local Government Area Crime Reports* Press Release. Accessed on 27 April 2011.

http://www.ipc.nsw.gov.au/lawlink/bocsar/ll_bocsar.nsf/pages/bocsar_mr_lga_sydney

NSW Bureau of Crime (2011) *Alcohol-related Crime, 2010*. Sydney: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (BOCSAR).

NSW Department of Health (2007) *NSW Health Drug and Alcohol Plan 2006 – 2010*. NSW Department of Health: Sydney.

NWPHO (North West Public Health Observatory) (2011) *Local Alcohol Profiles for England*. Available at: <http://www.nwph.net/alcohol/lape/download.htm> accessed 25.5.11.

O'Connor, J. and Wynne, D. (1996) 'Introduction' in J. O'Connor and D. Wynne (eds.) *From the Margins to the Centre: Cultural Production and Consumption in the Post-Industrial City*, Aldershot: Arena.

ODPM (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister) (2002a) *Living Places: Cleaner, Safer, Greener*, London: The Stationery Office.

ODPM (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister) (2002b) *Mixed Use Development: Practice and Potential*, London: The Stationery Office.

ODPM (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister) (2003a) 'Memorandum by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister' *Office of the Deputy Prime Minister: Housing, Planning, Local Government and the Regions Committee-The Evening Economy and the Urban Renaissance*, EVE 36, London: The Stationery Office.

ODPM (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister) (2003b) *Office of the Deputy Prime Minister: Housing, Planning, Local Government and the Regions Committee-The Evening Economy and the Urban Renaissance, Twelfth Report of Session 2002-03*, London: The Stationery Office.

Parker, H. (2007) 'The Centrality of Heavy Social Drinking in the Lifestyles of English Youth', in M. Jarvinen and R. Room (eds.) *Youth Drinking Cultures*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Parker, H., Williams, L. and Aldridge, J. (2002) 'The Normalization of 'Sensible' Recreational Drug Use: Further Evidence from the North West England Longitudinal Study,' *Sociology*, 36/4: 941-964.

- Pawson, R. and Tilley, N. (1994) *Realistic Evaluation*, London: Sage.
- Pease, K. (1999) 'A Review of Street Lighting Evaluation: Crime Reduction Effects' in K. Painter and N. Tilley (eds.) *Surveillance of Public Space: CCTV, Street Lighting and Crime Prevention*, Monsey NY: Criminal Justice Press.
- Pease, K. (2002) 'Crime Reduction' in M. Maguire, R. Morgan and R. Reiner (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, 3rd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pennings, E., Leccese, A. and Wolff, F. (2002) 'Effects of Concurrent Use of Alcohol and Cocaine', *Addiction*, 97: 773–83.
- Perham, N., Moore, S., Shepherd, J. and Cusens, B. (2007) 'Identifying Drunkenness in the Night-Time Economy', *Addiction*, 102(3): 377–80.
- Persson, K., Björkman, M., And Rylander, R., (1990) 'Loudness, Annoyance and DbA in Evaluating Low Frequency Sounds', *Journal Of Low Frequency Noise And Vibration*, (9)1: 32- 45.
- Plant, M., Miller, P., Plant, M. and Nichol, P. (1994) 'No Such Thing as Safe Glass,' *British Medical Journal*, 308: 6-7.
- Pridemore, W. and Grubestic, T. (2011) 'Alcohol Outlets and Community Levels of Interpersonal Violence: Spatial Density, Outlet Type, and Seriousness of Assault' *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, published online 17 May 2011. DOI: 10.1177/0022427810397952.
- Progressive (2009) *Evaluation of the Night-Time Economy Action Plan*. Final Report to the Stirling Community Planning Partnership. Edinburgh: Progressive.
- Quigley, B., Leonard, K. and Collins, R. (2003) 'Characteristics of Violent Bars and Bar Patrons', *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*. 64:765-72.
- Ragnarsdóttir, T., Kjartansdóttir, Á. and Davídsdóttir, S. (2002) 'Effects of Extended Alcohol Serving-Hours in Reykjavík', in R. Room (ed.) *The Effects of Nordic Alcohol Policies: What Happens to Drinking when Alcohol Controls Change?* NAD Publication no.42, Helsinki: Nordic Council for Alcohol and Drug Research (NAD).
- Raistrick, D., Heather, N., and Godfrey, C. (2006) *Review of the Effectiveness of Treatment for Alcohol Problems*. London: NHS National Treatment Agency for Substance Misuse.
- Ravenscroft, N. (2000) 'The Vitality and Viability of Town Centres,' *Urban Studies*, 37: 2533-2549.
- Recasens, A. (ed.) *Violence between Young People in Night-Time Leisure Zones: a European Comparative Study*, Brussels: Vubpress.
- Reid Howie Associates Ltd. (2003) *Liquor Licensing and Public Disorder: Review of Literature on the Impact of Licensing and Other Controls/Audit of Local Initiatives*, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Social Research.

Rivara, F., Relyea-Chew, A., Wang, J., Riley, S., Boisvert, D., and Gomez, T. (2007) 'Drinking behaviors in young adults: the potential role of designated driver and safe ride home programs', *Injury Prevention*. 13(3):168-72.

Roberts, A. and Goulette, S. (1996) "CCTV Surveillance: the Local Authority's Role a Review of Current Practice,' *Proceedings of the Institute of Civil Engineers – Municipal Engineers*, 115/2: 564-580.

Roberts, M. (2004) *Good practice in managing the evening and late night economy: a literature review from an environmental perspective*. London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

Roberts, M. (2009) 'Planning, urban design and the night-time city: Still at the margins?', *Criminology and Criminal Justice*. 9(4): 487-506.

Roberts, M. and Eldridge, A. (2009) *Planning the Night-time City*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Roberts, M. and Turner, C. (2005) 'Conflicts of liveability in the 24-hour city: learning from 48 hours in the life of London's Soho', *Journal of Urban Design*, 10(2): 171-93.

Roberts, M., Turner, C., Greenfield, S. and Osborn, G. (2006) 'A Continental Ambience? Lessons in Managing Alcohol-Related Evening and Night-time Entertainment from Four European Capitals', *Urban Studies*, 43(7): 1105-25.

Robin R., Ferris, J., Laslett, A., Livingston, M., Mugavin, J. and Wilkinson, C. (2010) 'The Drinker's Effect on the Social Environment: A Conceptual Framework for Studying Alcohol's Harm to Others', *Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health*.7: 1855-71.

Robinson, S. and Bugler, C. (2010) *The General Lifestyle Survey 2008: Smoking and Drinking Among Adults, 2008*. Newport: Office for National Statistics.

Robinson, S. and Harris, H. (2011) *Smoking and Drinking Among Adults, 2009. A Report on the 2009 General Lifestyle Survey*. London: Office for National Statistics.

Roche, A. M., Bywood, P., Freeman T., Pidd, K., Borlagdan, J., Trifonoff, A. (2009) *The Social Context of Alcohol Use in Australia*. Adelaide: National Centre for Education and Training on Addiction.

Roche, A., Bywood, P., Borlagdan, J., Lunnay, B., Freeman, T., Lawton, L., Tovell, A. and Nicholas, R. (2007) *Young People and Alcohol: The Role of Cultural Influences*. Adelaide: National Centre for Education and Training on Addiction.

Rode, S. (2003) 'MoDis – Increasing public transport use by young adults at night', *Traffic, Engineering and Control*, April: 352-4.

Rogers, R. edited by Gumuchdjian, P. (1997) *Cities for a Small Planet*. London: Faber and Faber Limited.

- Roncek, D. and Maier, P. (1991) 'Bars, Blocks, and Crimes Revisited: Linking the Theory of Routine Activities to the Empiricism of "Hot Spots,"' *Criminology*, 29: 725-753.
- Room, R. (2004) 'Disabling the public interest: alcohol strategies and policies for England', *Addiction*, 99: 1083-89.
- Room, R. and Mäkelä, K. (2000) 'Typologies of the Cultural Position of Drinking', *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*. 61: 475-83.
- Rowe, D. (2008) 'Culture, sport and the night-time economy', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 14(4): 399-415.
- Rowe, D., Stevenson, D., Tomsen, S., Bavinton, N. and Brass, K. (2008) *The City After Dark: Cultural Planning and Governance of the Night-time Economy in Parramatta*. Report for Parramatta City Council. Sydney: Centre for Cultural Research University of Western Sydney.
- Rushton, D., Hadfield, P., and Sanderson, E. (2011) *Liverpool City Council Cumulative Impact Policy Consultation*. Project Number 11048. Birmingham: M.E.L. Research and Liverpool City Council.
- Rydon, P. and Stockwell, T. (1997) 'Local Regulation and Enforcement Strategies for Licensed Premises' in M. Plant, E. Single and T. Stockwell (eds.) *Alcohol: Minimising the Hard – What Works?* London: Free Association Books.
- Saltz, R. (1997) 'Prevention where Alcohol is Sold and Consumed: Server Intervention and Responsible Beverage Service' in M. Plant, E. Single and T. Stockwell (eds.) *Alcohol: Minimising the Hard – What Works?* London: Free Association Books.
- Sampson, R. and Raudenbush, S. (1999) 'Systematic Social Observation of Public Spaces: A New Look at Disorder in Urban Neighborhoods', *American Journal of Sociology*. 105: 603-51.
- Saunders, W. (1989) 'Alcohol and Other Drugs: The Prevention Paradoxes,' *Community Health Studies*, 13: 150-155.
- Schnitzer, S., Bellis, M., Anderson, Z., Hughes, K., Calafat, A., Montse, J. and Kokkevi, A. (2010) 'Nightlife Violence: A Gender-Specific View on Risk Factors for Violence in Nightlife Settings: A Cross Sectional Study in Nine European Countries', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 25: 1094-112.
- Scribner, R. A., Mackinnon, D. P. and Dwyer, J. H. (1995) 'The Risk of Assaultive Violence and Alcohol Availability in Los Angeles County,' *American Journal of Public Health*, 85: 335- 340.
- Scott, L., Donnelly, N., Poynton, S., and Weatherburn, D. (2007) *Young adults' experience of responsible service practice in NSW: An update*. Sydney: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.

- Selmini, R. and Nobili, G. (2009) 'Italy' in P. Hadfield (ed.) *Nightlife and Crime: Social Order and Governance in International Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp: 139-52.
- Shelton, N. and Savell, E. (2011) 'The geography of binge drinking: The role of alcohol-related knowledge, behaviours and attitudes. Results from the Health Survey for England 2007', *Health & Place*, 17, 784-92.
- Shepherd, J. P. (1990) 'Violent Crime in Bristol: an Accident and Emergency Department Perspective,' *British Journal of Criminology*, 30: 289-305.
- Shepherd, J. P. (1994) 'Violent Crime: the Role of Alcohol and New Approaches to the Prevention of Injury,' *Alcohol and Alcoholism*, 29, 5-10.
- Shepherd, J. (2007) *The Cardiff Model/Effective NHS Contributions to Violence Prevention*. Cardiff: Cardiff University.
- Shepherd, J. P. and Brickley, M. (1996) 'The Relationship Between Alcohol Intoxication, Stressors and Injury in Urban Violence,' *British Journal of Criminology*, 36/4: 546-564.
- Shepherd, J. and Lises, C. (1998) 'Towards Multi-Agency Violence Prevention and Victim Support,' *British Journal of Criminology*, 38/3: 351-370.
- Sherman, L., Gartin, P. and Buerger, M. (1989) 'Hot Spots of Predatory Crime: Routine Activities and the Criminology of Place,' *Criminology*, 27: 27-55.
- Sherman, L., Gottfredson, D., Mackenzie, D., Eck, J., Reuter, P., and Bushway, S (1997) *Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising*, Washington DC, US Department of Justice.
- Shults, R., Elder, R, Sleet, D., Nichols, J., and Alao, M., *et al.* (2001) 'Reviews of evidence regarding interventions to reduce alcohol-impaired driving', *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 21(Suppl. 4), 66–88.
- Sivarajasingham, V., Shephard, J. and Matthews, K. (2003) 'Effect of urban closed circuit television on assault injury and violence detection', *Injury Prevention*, 9(4): 312 - 316.
- Sivarajasingam, V., Shepherd, J.P., Matthews, K. and Jones, S. (2003) 'Violence-related Injury Data in England and Wales: An Alternative Data Source on Violence,' *British Journal of Criminology*, 43/1: 223-227.
- Skogan, W.G. and Maxfield, M. (1981) *Coping with Crime: Individual and Neighborhood Reactions*, Beverly Hills: CA: Sage.
- Smith A., Hodgson R., Bridgeman K., and Shepherd J. (2003) 'A Randomized Control Trial of a Brief Intervention after Alcohol-Related Facial Injury', *Addiction*.98: 43-52.
- Smith, H. (2003) *Getting There: Reducing Crime on Public Transport*, Crime Reduction Directorate: London: NACRO.

- Smith, K., Wiggers, J., Considine, R., Daly, J. and Collins, T. (2001) 'Police knowledge and attitudes regarding crime, the responsible service of alcohol and a proactive alcohol policing strategy', *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 20, 181-91.
- Smith, L. and Foxcroft, D. (2009) *Drinking in the UK: An Exploration of Trends*. York: The Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Smithson, H. and Armitage, R. (2007) 'What Role for Street Wardens?', *Community Safety Journal*, 6(2): 22-30.
- Stafford, J., Pettersson, G. and Neath, S. (2007) *Personal Security Issues for Taxi and Private Hire Vehicle Drivers* (Final Report to the Department for Transport (DfT) Accessibility and Equalities Unit). London: DfT.
- Stevenson, R., Lind, D. and Weatherburn, D. (1999) 'The relationship between alcohol sales and assault in New South Wales, Australia', *Addiction*, 94(3): 397-410.
- Stevenson, R. J., Lind, B. and Weatherburn, D. (1999) 'The Relationship between Alcohol Sales and Assault in New South Wales, Australia,' *Addiction*, 94: 397-410.
- Stockwell, T. (1997a) 'Regulation of the licensed drinking environment: a major opportunity for crime prevention', in R. Homel (ed.) *Crime Prevention Studies: Vol 7. Policing for Prevention: Reducing Crime, Public Intoxication and Injury*. Monsey, N.Y.: Criminal Justice Press.
- Stockwell, T. (1997b) 'Liquor Outlets and Prevention Policy: the Need for Light in Dark Corners,' *Addiction*, 92/8: 925-930.
- Stockwell, T. (2001) 'Responsible Alcohol Service: Lessons from Evaluations of Server Training and Policing Initiatives', *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 1001, 20: 257-65.
- Stockwell, T. (2011) 'Commentary on Kypri *et al.* (2011): Fighting the good fight against alcohol-related violence: one bar or one hour at a time?', *Addiction*, 106: 311-2.
- Stockwell, T. and Chikritzhs, T. (2009) 'Do relaxed trading hours for bars and clubs mean more relaxed drinking? A review of international research on the impacts of changes to permitted hours of drinking' *Crime Prevention and Community Safety*, 11/3: 153-70.
- Stockwell, T. and Gruenewald, P. (2003) 'Controls on the physical availability of alcohol', in Heather, N. and Stockwell, T. (eds.) *The Essential Handbook of Treatment and Prevention of Alcohol Problems*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. pp. 213-234.
- Stockwell, T., Gruenewald, P., Toumbourou, J., and Loxley, W. (2006) 'Recommendations for New Directions in the Prevention of Risky Substance Use and Related Harms' in T. Stockwell, P. Gruenewald, J. Toumbourou, and W. Loxley, (eds.) *Preventing Harmful Substance Use: The Evidence Base for Policy and Practice*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. pp. 443-464.

- Stockwell, T., Jinhui, Z., Chikritzhs, T., and Greenfield, T. (2008) 'What did you drink yesterday? Public health relevance of a recent recall method used in the 2004 Australian National Drug Strategy Household Survey', *Addiction*, 103/6: 919-28.
- Stockwell, T., Lang, E. and Rydon, P. (1993) 'High Risk Drinking Settings: The Association of Serving and Promotional Practices with Harmful Drinking,' *Addiction*, 88: 1519-1526.
- Stockwell, T., Single, E., Hawks, D. and Rehm, J. (1997) 'Sharpening the focus of alcohol policy from aggregate consumption to harm and risk reduction', *Addiction Research*, 5: 1-9.
- Stockwell, T., Somerford, P. and E. Lang (1991) 'The Measurement of Harmful Outcomes Following Drinking on Licensed Premises,' *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 10: 99-106.
- Stockwell, T., Somerford, P. and Lang, E. (1992) 'The relationship between license type and alcohol-related problems attributed to licensed premises in Perth, Western Australia', *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 53(5), 495-98.
- Talbot, D. (2007) *Regulating the Night: Race, Culture and Exclusion in the Making of the Night-time Economy*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Tallon, A. and Bromley, R. (2004) 'Exploring the attractions of city centre living: evidence and policy implications in British cities', *Geoforum*, 35(6): 771-87.
- Taylor, I. (1998) 'New York/Manchester: Zero Tolerance or Reclaim the Streets?' *City*, 8: 139-148.
- Taylor, I. (1999) *Crime in Context*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Taylor, S. and Gammon, C. (1976) 'Aggressive Behaviour of Intoxicated Subjects: The Effect of Third-party Intervention,' *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 37: 917-30.
- TBR and MAKE (2010) *NightMix: Indexed Change in West End Stress Area Business Numbers, 2005 to 2009*. Newcastle: TBR Economic Research and Business Intelligence.
- Thaler, R. and Sunstein, C. (2009) *Nudge: Improving Decisions about Health, Wealth and Happiness*. London: Penguin.
- Thom B. and Bayley M. (2007) *Multi-Component Programmes: An Approach to Prevent and Reduce Alcohol-related Harm*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation Trust.
- Thomas, C. and Bromley, R. (2000) 'City-centre Revitalisation: Problems of Fragmentation and Fear in the Evening and Night-time Economy', *Urban Studies*, 37: 1403-29.
- Tierney, J. and Hobbs, D. (2003) *Alcohol-Related Crime and Disorder Data: Guidance for Local Partnerships*, London: Home Office Online Report 08/03

Tiesdell, S. and Slater, A. (2003) *Managing Urban Vitality: Spatial and Temporal Control in the Evening and Night Time Economy Report for the RICS Foundation*. December, Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen.

Tiesdall S. and Slater A. (2006) 'Calling time: managing activities in space and time in the evening/night-time economy', *Planning, Theory and Practice*. 7(2): 137-57.

Tomsen, S. (1997) 'A Top Night: Social Protest, Masculinity and the Culture of Drinking Violence', *British Journal of Criminology*, 37/1: 90-102.

Tomsen, S. (2010) 'Violence, Danger and Security in the Night Time Economy', Power point presentation, School of Social Sciences University of Western Sydney.

Tomsen, S., Homel, R. and Thommeny, J. (1991) 'The Causes of Public Violence: Situational "Versus" Other Factors in Drinking-Related Assaults,' in D. Chappell, P. Grabosky and H. Strang (eds.) *Australian Violence: Contemporary Perspectives*, Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.

Town Centres Limited (2001) *West End Entertainment Impact Study: Final Report, 2001*, London: City of Westminster.

TfL (Transport for London) (2011) *London's 'Safer Travel at Night' Initiative –Latest Figures* (press release, 23 May 2011)<http://www.suzylamplugh.org/2011/05/londons-safer-travel-at-night-initiative-latest-figures-released/> accessed 20 June 2011.

Travers, (T.) (2001) *Managing the Balance: Quality of Life in the Centre of London*, London: Westminster Property Owners Association.

Trimbos Instituut (2010) *Handbook: Healthy Nightlife Toolbox (HNT)*. Utrecht: Trimbos Instituut.

Tuck, M. (1989) *Drinking and Disorder: A Study of Non-Metropolitan Violence*, Home Office Research Study No. 108, London: HMSO.

UCL Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science (2006) *Tackling Violent Crime Programme : Good Practice Guide*. London: UCL. Available at: <http://www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/tvcp/tvcp02jdigoodpractice.pdf>

UKATT (UK Alcohol Treatment Trial Team) (2005) 'Cost effectiveness of treatment for alcohol problems: findings of the randomized UK alcohol treatment trial (UKATT)', *British Medical Journal*; 331:544-48.

Urban Task Force (1999) *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, London: E&FN Spon.

Valentine, G., Holloway, S., and Jayne, M. (2010) 'Contemporary Cultures of Abstinence and the Night-time Economy: Muslim Attitudes towards Alcohol and the Implications for Social Cohesion', *Environment and Planning A*, 42, 8–22.

Valentine, G., Holloway, S., Jayne, M., (2011) *Drinking Places: Social Geographies of Consumption*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Vingilis, E., McLeod, A., Seeley, J., Mann, R., Beirness, D., Compton, C. (2005) 'Road safety impact of extended drinking hours in Ontario', *Accident Analysis and Prevention*, 37: 549-56.

Vingilis, E., McLeod, A., Stoduto, G., Seeley, J., and Mann, R. (2007) 'Impact of extended drinking hours in Ontario on motor-vehicle collision and non-motor-vehicle collision injuries', *Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*, 68(6): 905-911.

Wagenaar, A., Gehan, J., Jones-Webb, R., Toomey, T., Forster, J., Wolfson, M., and Murray, D. (1999) 'Communities mobilizing for change on alcohol: lessons and results from a 15-community randomized trial,' *Journal of Community Psychology*, 27, 315-26.

Wagenaar, A., Murray, D., Gehan, J., Wolfson, M., Forster, J., Toomey, T., Perry, C., and Jones-Webb, R., (2000a) 'Communities mobilising for change on alcohol: outcomes from a randomized community trial,' *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 61, 85–94.

Wagenaar, A., Murray, D., and Toomey, T., (2000b) 'Communities mobilizing for change on alcohol (CMCA): effects of a randomized trial on arrest and traffic crashes', *Addiction*, 95, 209-17.

Wagenaar, A., Toomey, T., and Erickson, D. (2005) 'Preventing youth access to alcohol: outcomes from a multi-community time-series trial', *Addiction*, 100, 335-45.

Waller, S., Thom, B., Harris, S. and Kelly, M. (1998) 'Perceptions of Alcohol-related Attendances in Accident and Emergency Departments in England: A National Survey,' *Alcohol & Alcoholism*, 33/4: 354-361.

Wallin E., Gripenberg J., Andréasson S. (2005) 'Overserving at licensed premises in Stockholm: effects of a community action program', *J Stud Alcohol*, 64: 270–7.

Wallin E., Norstrom T., Andreasson S. (2003) 'Alcohol prevention targeting licensed premises: a study of effects on violence', *J Stud Alcohol*, 64: 270–7.

Warburton, A. and Shepherd, J. (2000) Effectiveness of toughened glassware in terms of reducing injury in bars: a randomised controlled trial. *Injury Prevention*, 6, 36-40.

Warburton A. and Shepherd J. (2004) 'Development, Utilisation and Importance of A&E Derived Assault Data in Violence Management', *Emergency Medicine Journal*, 21: 473-77.

Warburton, A. and Shepherd, J. (2004) *An Evaluation of the Effectiveness of New Policies Designed to Prevent and Manage Violence through an Interagency Approach (a Final Report for WORD)*, Cardiff: Cardiff Violence Research Group.

Warburton, A. and Shepherd, J. (2006) 'Tackling Alcohol-Related Violence in City Centres: Effect of Emergency Medicine and Police Intervention', *Emergency Medicine Journal*, 23:12-17.

- Warr, M. (1985) 'Fear of Rape among Urban Women,' *Problems*, 32, 238-50.
- Warr, M. (1990) 'Dangerous Situations: Social Context and Victimization,' *Social Forces*, 68: 891-907.
- Webster, R., Goodman, M., and Whalley, G. (2002) *Safer Clubbing: Guidance for licensing authorities, club managers and promoters*. London: The Home Office and London Drugs Forum in partnership with Release.
- Ward, M. and Hadfield, P. with M.E.L. Research (2010) *Report on a Drink Pattern Survey for the London Borough of Lambeth*. London: Alcohol Concern.
- Wells, S., Graham, K. and Purcell, J. (2009a) 'Policy Implications of the Widespread Practice of 'Pre-drinking' or 'Pre-gaming' Before Going to Public Drinking Establishments – Are Current Prevention Strategies Backfiring?,' *Addiction*, 104, 4-9
- Wells, S., Graham, K. and Purcell, J. (2009b) 'When the Object is to Get Drunk Pre-Drinking Matters', *Addiction*, 104, 11-12.
- Wells, S., Graham, K. and West, P. (1998) "The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly": Responses by Security Staff to Aggressive Incidents in Public Drinking Settings,' *Journal of Drug Issues*, 28/4: 817-836.
- Welsh, B. and Farrington, D. (2002) *Crime Prevention Effects of Closed Circuit Television: A Systematic Review*, Home Office Research Study 252, London: RDSO.
- Welsh, B. and Farrington, D. (2008) *Effects of Improved Street Lighting on Crime*. Campbell Systematic Reviews 2008:13 DOI: 10.4073/csr.2008.13 Oslo: The Campbell Collaboration.
- Welsh, B. and Farrington, D. (2009) *Making Public Places Safer: Surveillance and Crime Prevention*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wheater, C., Shaw, E., and Haines, B. (2005) 'TaxiSafe scheme: evaluation of taxi wardens pilot scheme 2004-2005', Manchester: Manchester Metropolitan University.
- Wikström, P.-O. (1995) 'Preventing City Centre Street Crimes,' in M. Tonry and D. P. Farrington (eds.) *Building a Safer Society: Strategic Approaches to Crime Prevention, Crime and Justice: A Review of Research, Vol. 19*, London: University of Chicago Press.
- Wilson, J.Q. and Kelling, G. (1982) 'Broken Windows' *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 29-38.
- WHO (World Health Organization) (2000a) *World Report on Violence and Health*. Geneva: WHO.
- WHO (World Health Organization) (2000b) *International Guide for Monitoring Alcohol Consumption and Related Harm*. Geneva: WHO. http://whqlibdoc.who.int/hq/2000/WHO_MSD_MSB_00.4.pdf (accessed May 2010).
- WHO (World Health Organization) (2000c) *Guidelines for Community Noise*. Geneva: WHO.

WHO (World Health Organization) (2004) *International Classification of Diseases and Health Problems, Tenth Revision (ICD-10) Diagnostic guidelines*.

WHO (World Health Organization) (2011) *Global Status Report on Alcohol and Health*. Geneva: WHO.

Working Group on Off-sales in the Community (2004) *Off-Sales in the Community*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Worpole, K. (1992) *Towns for People: Transforming Urban Life*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Worpole, K. (2003) 'Second Thoughts on the 24-Hour City: Memorandum by Ken Worpole,' *Office of the Deputy Prime Minister: Housing, Planning, Local Government and the Regions Committee-The Evening Economy and the Urban Renaissance*, EVE 33, London: The Stationery Office.

Wine and Spirit Trade Association (WSTA) et al. (2005) *Social responsibility standards for the production and sale of alcoholic drinks in the UK*, online, available from: http://www.wsta.co.uk/images/stories/social_responsibility.pdf [Accessed 28/06/2011]

Wine and Spirit Trade Association (WSTA) (2008) *White Paper on Enforcement*. London: WSTA.

Zwerling, C. and Jones, M. (1999) 'Evaluation of the effectiveness of low blood alcohol concentration laws for younger drivers', *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*; 16 (Supplement): 76-80.