

# Ideas in British Policing



## Policing the night-time economy

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### Introduction

Over the last decade the regulation, management and policing of the night-time economy have emerged as crucial components of urban public policy. The criminogenic impact of this alcohol-based economy on levels of violent crime and anti-social behaviour can ruin lives, blight communities and stain the physical environment as well as undermine the two key pillars of the Government's 'law and order' agenda. There is a pressing need to tackle the crime and disorder problems generated within this commercially-driven economic sphere. This paper explores the nature and extent of the policing response to the night-time economy. It considers the

relationships between those agencies tasked with overseeing street level governance and security, and identifies a range of strategies adopted by police and community safety partners, that aim to prevent, deter and manage outbreaks of alcohol-related violence and disorder.

### Urban regeneration and the alcohol industry

The night-time economy (NTE) has become a key indicator of urban prosperity, attracting investment, creating employment and regenerating civic spaces. Founded on massive corporate investment and facilitated by an entrepreneurial ethic within local government, the growth of the night-time economy

represents the colonisation of large tracts of after-dark urban space by the alcohol industry. The change in the make-up of many urban centres has been remarkable, as the commercial and civic remnants from past economic eras have been transformed into 'themed' and 'designer' (often large scale) entertainment venues (Hough and Hunter, 2008). As a consequence, a dense proliferation of youth-orientated, licensed premises can now be found within many town and city centres, attracting unprecedented numbers of hormonally-charged consumers every weekend evening, with over 75,000 people descending on larger urban entertainment districts (Hobbs, 2003).

The commercial imperative to shift ever greater units of alcohol has fostered a culture of intoxication, whereby a dangerous cocktail of 'binge' drinking and aggressive hedonism has become a staple characteristic of socially prescribed behaviour within many licenced premises.

The challenges of asserting order and ensuring safety among the night-time populous are increased by the profit maximisation techniques of the alcohol industry. Once they are compressed inside establishments, the thirst for alcohol among the crowds of revellers is often catered for by cheap drinks and alcohol promotions (e.g.

'Happy Hours'), an array of high strength alcoholic drinks and longer and later serving times. Significantly, the commercial imperative to shift ever greater units of alcohol has fostered a culture of intoxication, whereby a dangerous cocktail of 'binge' drinking and aggressive hedonism has become a staple characteristic of socially prescribed behaviour within many licensed premises. The marketing of transgression by the alcohol industry has encouraged this culture, giving rise to a social ambience inside many licensed premises in which drunken demeanour and disorderly conduct become normalised. All too often this ritualised behaviour generates tension and conflict among strangers and acquaintances, resulting in interpersonal violence, criminal damage and anti-social behaviour.

The findings of a large number of studies link violent incidents with alcohol consumption and the night-time economy (see Finney, 2004). For example, the 240% increase in the capacity of Manchester city centre's licensed premises between 1998 and 2001, occurred almost concurrently with a 225% rise in the number of city centre assaults (Home Office, 2001a).

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At the national level, the 2006/7 British Crime Survey found there were over one million violent crimes in which the victim believed the offender to be under the influence of alcohol, equating to 46% of all violent crime (Nicholas *et al*, 2007). Moreover, government research has also found that one in five of all violent incidents now occur in or around pubs or clubs (cited in DCMS, 2007). The clustering of these incidents in areas with a high density of licensed premises and at times when people are trying to secure transport home, places enormous stresses upon the police and other emergency services. Senior Accident and Emergency staff estimate that 60% of admissions on a Friday and Saturday night are alcohol-related (Alcohol Harm Reduction Group 2003, cited in Foster, 2008). Clearly the night-time economy has become a key site for violence and disorder, raising urgent policy questions for central and local government, but also strategic and operational choices for local police managers.

The ethos of partnership needs to be applied to policing the night-time economy as much, if not more so, than other areas of police work.

### Public and private policing partnerships

Like most other contemporary urban settings, policing arrangements in the night-time economy span public and private agencies of social control. The public spaces of drinking circuits are overseen by teams of police

officers and community support officers as well as various forms of municipal policing, such as CCTV operators, street wardens and taxi marshals. By contrast, the private spaces of pubs and clubs are policed by commercial agents in the muscular form of 'bouncers', or licensed premise door supervisors, whose collective presence in the night-time economy dwarves that of the police, with over one thousand people working in large city centres each weekend evening. The division of labour within this security network raises important questions about the nature and extent of cooperation, coordination and oversight if the efforts of different agencies are to be harnessed in the interests of furthering public safety. As such, the ethos of partnership, as re-emphasised within the drive for 'citizen-focused policing' (Home Office, 2004), needs to be applied to policing the night-time economy as much, if not more so, than other areas of police work.

Of uppermost importance here is the response of police to door supervisors, who not only do the majority of 'hands on' policing in the night-time economy, but have traditionally been criticised for using physical force to assert control within licensed premises. Attempts to improve the professionalism and accountability of door supervisors have been helped by the recent introduction of a mandatory licensing scheme, which requires all 'contracted' private security personnel to undergo training and a full criminal record check. Nonetheless, compliance with this

licensing scheme, administered and enforced by the Security Industry Authority (SIA), is arguably an arbitrary indicator of effective regulation, not least because it is likely to be least effective where most needed (Hobbs *et al*, 2003). Moreover, it is troubling that the licensing requirement does not stretch to incorporate security companies, particularly as many have traditionally exploited transient labour, operated with one foot in the black market, but also, more ominously, been penetrated by organised crime groups (Morris, 1998). It is therefore important that the police retain a close interest in the door trade not only to learn of the probity and practices of locally-operating security companies, but also of those individuals framing the doorways of pubs and clubs.

Police officers working within divisional or force licensing units often assume responsibility for cultivating relations with, and thus gathering information about, the local door trade. But perhaps this important task ought to be formalised within a more specialised role structure by establishing 'door supervisor liaison officers'.

Whilst police officers regularly accompany regional Inspectors from the Security Industry Authority on intelligence-led 'compliance' visits to licensed premises, arguably the former rather than the latter are logistically

better placed to implement, and enforce, a locally attuned form of monitoring and oversight. To some extent police officers working within divisional or force licensing units often assume responsibility for cultivating relations with, and thus gathering information about, the local door trade. But perhaps this important task ought to be formalised within a more specialised role structure by establishing 'door supervisor liaison officers' – a development which would be akin to the creation of 'football intelligence units' within police forces during the 1980's and 1990's. Equally, this development would map on to policy proposals that envisage police operating in concert with, or to some extent 'steering' the activities of, other providers of policing and security (Home Office, 2001b). It would therefore accrue benefits not only of crime reduction and detection, but also of control and oversight. The focus ought to be on developing public-private partnerships with security companies operating at the more professional end of the marketplace. Where such partnerships do prosper then crime-related information and intelligence tends to flow more easily between police and door supervisors. Furthermore, regular contact between police and door companies and their security staff is likely to help professionalise the sector whilst simultaneously strengthening those mechanisms of legal accountability which they are subject to (Hobbs *et al*, 2003).

## A multi-agency approach to tackling night-time disorder

The task of tackling the crime and disorder problems generated within the night-time economy requires a broader approach than the police alone can provide. Increasingly, the resources and powers of multiple agencies and authorities are mobilised to develop a holistic and integrated approach within a pre-defined or designated area. Consequently, local or 'micro-level' responses combine problem-solving, preventative strategies with proactive and reactive law enforcement initiatives. For example, improvements to night-time transport services (both public and private sector) aimed at helping greater numbers of people get out of entertainment districts (and so out of danger) more quickly, sit alongside so-called police crackdowns on public drunkenness aimed at controlling and deterring unruly individuals. The multi-agency approach was a crucial aspect of the Home Office funded, Alcohol Misuse Enforcement Campaigns (AMEC) of 2004 and 2005, in which local authorities, Trading Standards and local police initiated a range of targeted interventions in order to produce a safer night-time environment (see Police Standards Unit, 2006).

Multi-agency approaches to 'policing' the night-time economy increasingly equate to more than merely controlling the night-time populous, they are equally concerned with regulating the 'nature of things' in specific locations, including the number,

density and operating conditions of licensed premises (see Box 1). This goal is often articulated in terms of 'managing the night-time economy', highlighting the way that policing has become subsumed within a broader array of community safety strategies and urban planning policies. Let us consider these responses more fully and the types of intervention they generate.

### Box 1: Licensed premises information database, Cardiff

South Wales Police collates information about licensed premises on a force-wide database, including details of the conditions attached to a 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 present for disorder. 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 deployment strategies and other forms of preventative action (UCL Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science, 2006).

## Policing and community safety responses

Policing and community safety strategies within the night-time economy focus on four inter-related targets:

- Consumers (victims and offenders)
- Commercial operators (on-licensed trade and off-licensed trades)
- Licensed premises
- Drinking circuits or 'entertainment districts'

Categorising the specific focus of remedial strategies, in this way, between those which focus on ‘people’ and those that focus on ‘places’ helps to identify the different avenues by which ‘the problem’ might be approached and thereby prevented (see Stanko and Hales’ paper in this Ideas series, 2009). The first two categories seek to recognise that it is consumer behaviour, taking place within a commercial environment, which leads to many of the harms that occur within this economy. As such, prevention and enforcement strategies might usefully focus on both the supply and demand side of the market. The second two categories seek to manage specific environments by manipulating situational or social factors. Hence, these interventions focus both on the enclosed private spaces of licensed premises and open public spaces. Examples, therefore,

include CCTV surveillance of highly localised criminogenic hot spots, or, more widely, dispersal orders sanctioned to cover whole entertainment districts (see Box 2).

Prevention-orientated strategies seek to ensure that alcohol is both served and drunk ‘responsibly’, but also that people behave in a lawful way once they have consumed alcohol (see Box 3 overleaf). Hence, it is not merely people’s behaviour that is being targeted but also their attitudes towards alcohol consumption. This problem-solving approach is implicit within the various educational and marketing campaigns alerting the public to the health and safety risks of ‘binge drinking’ (e.g. the Home Office and Department of Health jointly funded initiative, ‘Know Your Limits’). These initiatives recognise that it is the particular way people use alcohol which is

#### Box 2: Dispersal Order, Middlesbrough town centre

In April 2005 a three month dispersal order was introduced within the town centre to tackle alcohol-related violence and anti-social behaviour. Authorised by the police and local council, the order allowed police to disperse groups of two or more people from a designated area where their presence or behaviour was felt to be causing alarm, harassment or intimidation. Dispersal powers can also be used in a preventative capacity, enabling police and community support officers to disperse people prior to an outbreak of criminality or anti-social behaviour. The dispersal order coincided with the May Bank holiday weekends, when traditionally the town centre attracted large numbers of drinkers, resulting in increased levels of disorder. Police used the dispersal order to exclude proactively groups of drunkards from the town centre for 24 hours. It was introduced alongside a range of other enforcement and preventative measures, including additional police patrols as well as operations both at on and off-licensed premises aimed at penalising those found to be serving alcohol to people under the legal drinking age or those in an inebriated state (see Crawford and Lister, 2007).

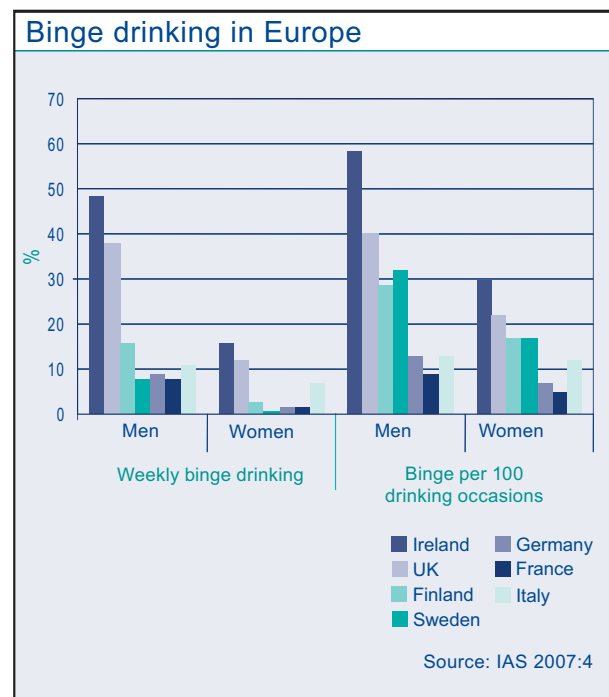
**Box 3: Anti-Binge Drinking Campaign, Lewisham**

Over the 2007 Christmas period Lewisham Drug and Alcohol Strategy Team in partnership with police and voluntary sector agencies launched a harm minimisation initiative aimed at tackling 'binge drinking' and related problems of violence, anti-social behaviour, unplanned pregnancies and Sexually Transmitted Diseases. The 'Don't Binge and Cringe' campaign involved information packs and 'goody bags', including water bottles, lollipops, condoms, transport information and safety advice, being distributed to people as they left pubs and clubs. Those responsible for implementing the campaign felt it had conveyed to young people the risks of heavy drinking, although its 'success' has not been independently evaluated (Lewisham Council, 2007).

**Managing the night-time populous**  
Attempts to 'manage' the behaviours of consumers within the night-time economy have been bolstered by the introduction of a range of preventative and enforcement-orientated controls and powers (see Box 4 overleaf). These policing tools, many of which are drawn from the anti-social behaviour agenda, have a preventative logic that operates through processes of surveillance, identification and exclusion. Private security personnel have long acted in this way, for instance, door supervisors barring entry to licensed premises to potential or known troublemakers. This pre-emptive style of intervention contrasts with traditional police approaches which have tended to be concerned with identifying an offender's

largely responsible for the ensuing negative outcomes. This observation is supported by comparative international studies which show that although alcohol consumption patterns in the UK are not the highest among European Union countries, as a proportion of all drinking occasions 'binge drinking' was the highest in Ireland and the UK (see Table 1 opposite and also Hemström, Leifman, and Ramstedt, 2001). The social and cultural drivers to this extreme approach to alcohol consumption, of course, lie mostly beyond the levers of policing and community safety. As a consequence, commentators suggest, a pragmatic approach aimed at 'managing' the extent of problem has evolved among local practitioners (Parker, 2007).

Table 1



#### Box 4: Recent legislative powers relevant to tackling crime and disorder in the night-time economy

- **Anti-Social Behaviour Orders**, introduced initially by s.1 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, these orders have been used widely to exclude persons from public space, including night-time drinking areas;
- **Penalty Notices for Disorder**, s.1 of the Criminal Justice Act 2001 (subsequently extended under the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003) allows police to issue so-called 'on-the-spot fines' for a range of drunken and disorderly type offences;
- **Designated Public Places Orders**, s.13 of the Criminal Justice Act 2001 allows local authorities to identify specific places in which the consumption of alcohol is prohibited, supported by confiscation and fixed penalty notice powers;
- **Dispersal Orders**, s.30-36 of the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 allows authorities to designate a specific location a 'dispersal zone' for up to six months from which two or more persons can be dispersed by police; and
- **Drinking Banning Orders**, s.1-14 of the Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006 allows a civil order to be imposed on those with a history of alcohol-related violence in order to exclude them from licensed premises;
- **Alcohol Disorder Zones**, s.15-20 of the Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006 allows local authorities to designate with the consent of the police a specific locality as an Alcohol Disorder Zone, in which a monthly levy can be placed on licensees in order to negate the crime and disorder impact of their businesses; and
- **Directions to Leave a Locality**, s. 27 of the Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006 allows police to request persons over the age of sixteen leave a given locality for up to 48 hours.

moral culpability for a given action (i.e. crime detection). The prioritisation of crime prevention via the identification of risk, often based on an individual's intelligence profile or offence history, has led to the growth of techniques of anticipatory engagement and exclusion both from public and private spaces (e.g. town centres and licensed premises). For instance, in several police forces the use of Interim Banning Orders against individuals arrested for an 'alcohol-related offence' has become increasingly widespread. As these orders can be issued by police or local licensing committees on behalf of 'Pubwatch' members they circumvent the requirement for a court hearing. Individuals subject to

such an interim order are excluded from each licensed premise that is affiliated to the local Pubwatch scheme. The danger, however, is that so-called 'trouble-makers' banned from highly controlled environments are displaced to places where their behaviour is less visible, less regulated and therefore potentially more threatening to local communities (Crawford and Lister, 2007).

While some preventative policing strategies focus on subjecting individuals to control, others focus on regulating activity within a specific location. As such, places as well as people are increasingly situated within hierarchical categories of risk in order to



manage and contain the threat of crime and disorder through differentiated strategies of control.

Crime mapping plays an increasingly prominent role within modern policing enabling, for instance, the intelligence-led deployment of patrols to ‘hot-spots’ and ‘flash-points’. Yet, scale is important when identifying areas as being ‘high-risk’. The introduction of Alcohol Disorder Zones (ADZs), for instance, has been met with limited enthusiasm by community safety partners because of the potential to define an area in terms of its high crime rate. Labelling a drinking circuit, or an entire town centre, as a hot-spot for disorder sends out clear messages about the nature of risk in such places. The outcome could be detrimental to the goal of crime and disorder reduction because, firstly, it may deter ‘law-abiding’ people from visiting the area who may contribute to levels of informal social control, and secondly, it could have a ‘honey-pot’ effect thereby attracting into the locality those individuals who have a penchant for engaging in disorderly behaviour.

If the rationale for Alcohol Disorder Zones is to lever resources from the private sector to fund additional services (policing or otherwise) within an area then their use is likely to be usurped by the emergence of Business Improvement Districts (such as can be found operating in Nottingham city centre) that generate funding from businesses to improve

the local trading environment, but crucially are business-led partnerships and operate largely in a democratic and non-stigmatizing manner.

### Managing the night-time economy

The shift towards proactive policing has brought the often unseen and largely unglamorous administrative work of police licensing officers to the forefront of efforts to ensure public safety in the night-time economy. Focusing on the operating practices of licensed premises, but also on the wider commercial composition of the night-time economy, their role offers a more problem-solving and less symptom-orientated approach than is typically afforded by ‘response policing’. The recent changes in licensing procedures have handed police an important role as ‘potential objectors’ to local licensing applications and, therefore, to the spatial development of licensed premises. Understandably, applications are more likely to be opposed where there is a clustering of licensed premises in a specific locality, as this pattern of commercial development has been widely correlated with a high cumulative impact on levels of violence and disorder

The recent changes in licensing procedures have handed police an important role as ‘potential objectors’ to local licensing applications and, therefore, to the spatial development of licensed premises.

(Hope, 1985; Tuck; 1989). The key is to demonstrate that the addition of a single licensed premise within a specific area will significantly increase the risks of victimisation by routinely bringing together in time and space a greater number of intoxicated persons. Over the longer-term such attempts to stem the market flow of licensed premises can be supported by urban planning policies that encourage a greater diversity of business use within urban entertainment districts; the aim being to attract a wider demographic profile of people into these public spaces and thus foster greater levels of informal social control. This ambition, for example, is specified for London's night-time economy within the Mayor's Culture Strategy for the Capital.

Crime prevention benefits can also accrue from interventions in licensed premises, which seek to ensure that licensees adopt 'responsible' managerial practices over admission, serving and pricing policies. Well-run premises and greater investment in the internal operating environment (for example, avoiding hot, noisy, crowded and poor seating facilities) have been shown to help reduce the likelihood of disorder (Hughes *et al*, 2007). The logic underpinning these policies is that factors within the drinking environment help to shape not only the nature of consumption but also behaviour – in other words, it is likely to be the dynamics of the consumption environment rather than deficiencies of the individual consumer that foster problematic

behaviour. The approach is also pragmatic as it is likely to be easier to adjust the physical or social environment than to effect deep-rooted changes in the social, cultural and psychological make-up of 'risky' individuals.

The introduction of 'responsible' managerial practices can be promoted either by carrot or stick approaches. Again, partnerships with the private sector are key to stimulating good practice. It is in this context, for example, that licensees have been encouraged to 'self-regulate' through the widespread promotion of reward schemes, such as the widely acclaimed 'Best Bar None' initiative (Box 5).

#### Box 5: 'Best Bar None' initiative, Manchester and elsewhere

Developed under the Manchester City Centre Safe programme, the 'Best Bar None' (BBN) scheme has been rolled out across many towns and cities. It has been widely promoted by the Government, and included in the recently published National Alcohol Strategy, as an effective method of fostering safe drinking environments through stimulating good management practice within licensed premises. The scheme works in two parts. Firstly, licensees are invited to apply for accreditation of their premises, which requires inspection from Best Bar None staff. Secondly, awards and incentives are offered for the best run premises, the aim being to foster competition over which is the safest place to spend an evening. (HM Government 2007).

Offering proactive inducements to conformity, schemes like the 'Best Bar None' seek to motivate forms of self-governance within licensed premises that promote safe drinking environments. The extent, however, to which 'responsible practices' can be effectively rolled-out across the whole industry is, at best, dubious, particularly as excessive drinking is aggressively marketed by sections of the alcohol industry. Where incentive schemes or self-regulating mechanisms fail, then more coercive approaches can be pursued. The Licensing Act 2003 increased the extent to which licensed premises can be forced to comply with a range of operating licensing conditions commensurate with well run and orderly premises (Box 6).

**Box 6: Examples of operating conditions imposed on licensed premises**

- Restrictions on hours of trading
- Radio links between premises staff and police
- Provision and registration of door supervisors
- Bottle bans
- Use of plastic containers and toughened glass
- Use of internal and external CCTV
- Restrictions on drinking areas
- Capacity limits (including specified standing/ seated capacities)
- Proof of age cards to be demanded
- Restrictions on drinks promotions (e.g. 'happy hours')
- A specified number of tables and chairs in so-called 'High Volume Vertical Drinking' bars
- Accredited training for bar staff
- Membership of Pubwatch scheme

Adapted from Police Standards Unit 2006

As the police are named as a 'responsible authority' within the Licensing Act, they have a key role in helping to set the operating conditions of a venue, at the licence application stage. However, the Licensing Act and the Violent Crime Reduction Act (2006) provide wider powers that allow licensing authorities to review, suspend or revoke a premises licence in the advent of repeat incidents of violence. As further stringent operating conditions can be imposed on licences at the review stage, the mere threat of formal action against licensees is often sufficient to motivate them to comply with police requests for good governance. In so doing, some police forces have signed 'memoranda of agreement' with licensees as the mechanism to obtain voluntary compliance, only proceeding to review and formal imposition of conditions where they meet recalcitrance or where voluntary actions have failed (Hadfield and Measham, forthcoming).

It is important to recognise, however, that the majority of proactive policing in this context focuses on licensed premises, often to the exclusion of the 'off-licence' sector. Although the role of this sector in alcohol-related disorder is under-researched and little understood, there has been growing concern that public displays of drunkenness and disorderly behaviour among teenagers are fuelled by off-licence sales of alcohol. Neighbourhood Policing Teams might therefore be tasked with identifying those off-

licences which are suspected of selling alcohol to underage persons and, in partnership with Trading Standards, coordinating 'test-purchasing' operations against them. There is also an argument for wider regulation of this sector. Clearly, it supplies alcohol at a far cheaper price than pubs and clubs, a variable which is strongly correlated with greater consumption (Kuo *et al*, 2004). In so doing, off-licence premises facilitate 'pre-nightlife drinking', a staple behavioural routine of many people's 'night out' that is associated with faster rates of intoxication once people begin drinking in pubs and clubs, but also greater involvement in violence and disorder later in the night (Hughes *et al*, 2008).

It is logical therefore that the 'off licence' sector ought to face similar regulatory conditions as those which apply to the 'on licence' sector, particularly in terms of pricing restrictions, conditions of sale, and new licence applications. This observation is linked to a broader debate about availability and its relationship with alcohol-related problems. In Sweden, Norway and Finland off-licensed premises are government controlled in order to restrict opening times, impose stringent sales conditions and remove the profit motivation from sales practices. Research from these countries indicates that the use of greater controls over the availability of alcohol within the off-licensed sector can help to address alcohol-related harms (see Mäkelä *et al*, 2002).

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## Conclusion

I began by suggesting that violence and disorder in the night-time economy are by-products of the economic activity of the alcohol industry. Consequently, within this economic sphere the effectiveness of street level policing and community safety initiatives are closely tied to the impulses of the market. Importantly, the market in licensed premises has recently undergone significant spatial restructuring, such that the increased number of venues opening in town and city centres is inversely mirrored by the closure of increasing numbers of rural and outlying urban pubs. For this reason, the crime and disorder problems associated with the night-time economy are most acutely felt in large urban centres. This is not to suggest, however, that rural areas, and particularly market-towns, do not suffer from alcohol-related crime and disorder in public places, rather that the regularity and intensity of the problems generated appear not to be equivalent to those facing divisional commanders managing busy city centre divisions.

In this paper I have illustrated how preventative and problem-solving approaches

to 'policing' the night-time economy now extend from the streets to the drinking bars to the court rooms (Hadfield, 2006). I have advocated that police officers cultivate relationships with licensees in order to ensure premises are well-run, but also with security companies and door supervisors employed to maintain security inside licensed premises via the establishment of 'door supervisor liaison officers'. This more proactive approach can also, of course, be fostered through greater use of foot-patrol in urban entertainment districts. Too often, perhaps, the demands of reactive policing have meant that visible policing in the night-time economy has been reduced to the presence of the static riot van situated in high profile locations (see Marsh and Fox, 1992). Police managers might therefore consider re-balancing operational resources to enable more anticipatory forms of engagement with those stakeholders profiting from 'doing business' in the night-time economy.

At the same time, however it is clear that the emergence of this economy has increased demands on reactive resources, by skewing them both spatially and temporally, towards the streets and plazas of the 'night strip'. Moreover, although the implementation of the Licensing Act 2003 has not (yet) significantly impacted on levels of crime and disorder (Hough and Hunter, 2008), it has undoubtedly served to stretch police resources longer and later into the night. As these resource implications arise directly

from the consequences of economic activity, there have been calls from some police and politicians for the businesses of the night-time economy to fund the additional level of service required, the so-called 'polluter pays' principal. It is in this context that public-private partnerships in the form of Business Improvement Districts might contribute to funding additional police patrols, but also a gamut of other community safety initiatives. Although these financial arrangements potentially raise ethical concerns over impartiality (for instance, in relation to the police role in licence application, review or suspension procedures) they may offer a pragmatic solution to the difficulties of maintaining a pre-determined level of resource within the night-time environment on busy, weekend evenings.

Many of the problems generated by the night-time economy have arisen due to the rapid speed at which the alcohol industry was able to make large scale, mono-functional investments in specific localities. This largely unregulated commercial activity led to huge surges in the numbers of night-time visitors to these spaces that lacked adequate support structures to manage the criminogenic consequences (Hughes, 2007). Multi-agency responses to this economy have, ever since, been playing catch-up with these commercial developments, for instance, by seeking to secure the resources and deliver the level of integrated services necessary to provide a safe(r) night-time environment. Looking to

the future, it is imperative that local municipal partnerships formulate long-term plans for this economy, ensuring that its development is not merely left to the trends of the market. Such planning ought to consider ways of fostering more mixed usage of those spaces currently occupied by the alcohol industry, whilst recognising the tensions that exist between 'urban regeneration' and 'community safety'. In so doing, it is hoped, that the needs of commerce can be reconciled with those of the broader public interest.

### Key policing ingredients in a safer night-time economy

- Work in unison with licensees to cultivate self-policing practices and ensure good governance within licensed premises
- Generate intelligence and risk profiles of licensed premises in order to identify problematic venues, both in the 'on' and 'off' license sectors
- Facilitate professionalism and 'partnership working' among the security industry and its employees
- Identify and implement environmental crime prevention opportunities in conjunction with crime and disorder partners
- Regularly update crime and disorder maps of drinking areas in order to identify spatial and temporal patterns of localised 'crime hotspots'
- Develop profiles of the 'human ecology' of a specific drinking circuit in order to

assess cumulative impact of increases in numbers of licensed premises and avoid saturation in any single area

- Ensure an appropriate balance between the reactive and proactive deployment of resources to enable preventative and problem-solving approaches to crime and disorder problems

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