

London Assembly Police and Crime Committee

Investigation into the impact of alcohol on policing London's Night-Time Economy

Written submissions

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Joanne McCartney AM

Chair of the Police and Crime Committee
City Hall
Queen's Walk
London, SE1 2AA

4 January 2016

MOPAC27112015-22365

Dear Joanne,

London Assembly Police and Crime Committee: investigation into the impact of alcohol on policing London's Night-Time Economy

Thank you for your letter of 27 November regarding the Police and Crime Committee's report 'The impact of alcohol on policing London's Night-Time Economy' and the invitation for MOPAC to attend the meeting of the London Assembly's Police and Crime Committee on Thursday, 14 January 2016.

Please see attached a detailed response to the four areas which you intend to explore at the meeting.

How MOPAC measures and monitors levels of alcohol-fuelled crime in London:

MOPAC do not measure and monitor levels of alcohol-fuelled crime as a matter of course. MOPAC monitor levels of violence with injury (VWI) in general as one of the core MOPAC 7 crimes; this takes the temporal and geographical analysis of this crime type into account. It is not possible to accurately monitor alcohol related crime, as the recording of alcohol use in relation to offences is via feature codes on the CRIS system. These are non-mandatory, and are therefore not reliable measures.

MOPAC have led the way in data transparency through the publication of a range of interactive data dashboards, including the 'Crime Dashboard' which monitors (VWI). These allow practitioners and the public to view and understand crime and policing data in an accessible way and can be found on the MOPAC webpage [here](http://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/mayors-office-policing-and-crime-mopac/data-and-research/crime/crime-dashboard).

(<http://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/mayors-office-policing-and-crime-mopac/data-and-research/crime/crime-dashboard>)

The dashboards allow local areas and practitioners to understand the offence types which are contributing to the VWI increase and the potential relationship with the Night Time Economy.

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This now also includes the development of the adult reoffending dashboard which will provide professionals with a broader insight into levels of drug based offences but also the offender's needs and links to alcohol. Due to the nature of the information shared, this data cannot be made public.

The London ISTV Anonymised ED Data Sharing Programme

Only 23% of people injured and treated in hospital as a result of violent assaults are also recorded by police. The remaining 77% represents a vast, largely unused, source of information, which would enhance the ability to understand the true picture of violent crime across London.

Through a successful application to the Home Office Police Innovation Fund MOPAC has developed a programme of activity to specifically meet the needs of our capital. The aim of the London ISTV Anonymised ED Data Sharing Programme is to improve public safety in London and to reduce violent crime by bringing together an innovative data sharing and analysis methodology between health services, police and community safety partners, with an extension of interventions and support within the Major Trauma Centres (MTCs) for young people who are affected by violent crime.

This programme of work has two key independent however, complementary strands working in parallel. Strand 1 is the strand which would mostly support practitioners in monitoring and understanding the link between violent crime and the late night economy within their boroughs.

Strand 1: The 'Pan-London Sharing of Information to Tackle Violence' project provides partners with tools and data to help reduce crime; reduce the number of victims; improve public confidence; inform licensing decisions and make better use of police and hospital resources.

Strand 2: An intervention/support service for youth victims presenting to Major Trauma Centres with violence related injuries: This project uses the unique opportunity of intervening when a victim of gang violence attends a Major Trauma Centre (MTC) A&E as a result of a violent assault.

MOPAC also held a 'London Information Sharing to Tackle Violence' (LISTV) workshop for practitioners and stakeholders in October 2015.

The aim of the workshop was to provide practitioners with a better understanding of how to improve both **strategic decision making** and **tactical deployment**, with a view to making London a safer place to live and work and covered:

- The features and benefits of anonymised data sharing between Emergency Departments (ED's) in reducing the number of attendances for assault at ED's participating.
- The role of the CSP's analyst in making best use of data in line with priorities set for London.

What MOPAC has done to work with partners to develop a strategy for tackling alcohol related crime, as set out in the Police and Crime Plan:

MOPAC accepts the close link between violence and alcohol, and notes that violence has been one of the MOPAC 7 crimes which have increased, as you refer to in your report, 'The impact of alcohol on policing London's Night-Time Economy'.

MOPAC sees alcohol as a key driver to crime and reoffending; our focus has therefore been on supporting local areas to address alcohol and drug based crime, through the publication of dashboards, deep dive analysis for priority VWI areas and by enabling areas to commission local alcohol and drug services by allocating £19,906,514 over 4 years to London boroughs.

In addition to this MOPAC has set itself 2 further strategic ambitions;

1. Addressing alcohol and violence with injury in our most challenging London boroughs;
2. Addressing alcohol as a driver of crime through testing new innovation - alcohol sobriety pilot.

Underpinning these two strategic ambitions was a decision for MOPAC to mainstream responses to alcohol related offending into all policy and strategy work where relevant, acknowledging that alcohol is a key driver for issues across policing and the wider criminal justice system.

The Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime (DMPC) hosted both a substance misuse and VWI MOPAC Challenge. The objective was to better understand alcohol as a driver of both crime and confidence in London and to explore what can be done with partners to tackle hazardous drinking in order to support delivery of the 20% reduction in the MOPAC 7 crimes, to increase confidence in the police by 20% and also to support the efforts of operation equinox, which is an initiative led on my the MPS to counter the issue of increased levels of VWI, which has a known link to alcohol related disorder.

These Challenges led to the identification of our most challenging VWI boroughs. MOPAC pledged to work with these boroughs to assist them in reversing the trend of increasing VWI levels via a series of Local Problem Solving Sessions where DMPC visited four of our most challenging boroughs which all had a clear link between VWI offences and the late night economy. These boroughs were Croydon, Lambeth, Southwark and Westminster. The purpose was to 'deep dive' into localised data to understand the challenges and opportunities for dealing with the late night economy and VWI at a local level; and to discuss in depth problem solving approaches across the MPS, boroughs and wider partners for our most challenging Town Centres.

The outcome of these conversations was a shared analysis of the issues and a commitment to redirect resources to address these issues.

How MOPAC has delivered on the commitments made in the Mayor's manifesto and Police and Crime plan related to alcohol and crime, including the Strategic Licensing Unit and the Compulsory Sobriety pilot:

Strategic Licensing Unit

The GLA Intelligence Unit has led on, the commitment for a strategic licensing unit having developed the 'Safe sociable London alcohol licensing analysis dashboards'. These dashboards support licensing authorities in making licensing decisions, by mapping key hotspots of disorder linked to the late night economy. MOPAC has provided support through the provision and access to data and stakeholders.

Assessing and evidencing the impact of alcohol licensing on our streets and in the towns and cities where we live requires the analysis of data from a wide range of agencies. However, for councils and police to keep on top of emerging issues, this data needs to be transformed into meaningful intelligence in a timely manner as well as being made accessible, interactive and clear.

The Indicator dashboards that Safestats have developed for the Safe Sociable London Partnership allow scanning across multiple data sources and topics while also providing sufficient detail to enable effective decisions about local strategy, policy and prioritisation with regard to tackling problem venues and associated issues.

MOPAC have also worked with the police and local authorities across London to support efforts to reduce alcohol-related crime, including by ensuring 2,600 extra officers are going into neighbourhood teams which will be working later into the night and at weekends.

MOPAC Compulsory Sobriety Pilot

MOPAC successfully delivered on the compulsory sobriety proof of concept pilot which ran from July 2014 in four boroughs (Croydon, Lambeth, Southwark and Sutton) which comprise the South London Local Justice Area. The level of its success has meant that a national roll out of the AAMR was pledged in the current governments manifesto commitments. To support this commitment MOPAC have extended the South London pilot by a further 6 months until 29 January 2016.

The aims of the pilot were:

- To test how widely courts use the AAMR, and the technical processes within the criminal justice system;
- To evidence compliance rates with the AAMR;
- To evidence the effectiveness of ‘transdermal tags’ in monitoring alcohol abstinence.

Over the 12 month pilot period, 113 AAMRs were imposed with an average length of 75 days. AAMRs were given for a range of crime types most commonly in relation to violence or drink driving related offences. The AAMR had a compliance rate of 92% over the pilot period, based on the number of cases returned to court and convicted of breaching their AAMR.

Over the 6 month extension period which is due to complete on the 29 January 2016, a further 32 AAMRs have been imposed, taking the total number of AAMRs imposed in London up to 145. We are approaching high season following the festive period, and expect to see an increased number of cases over the next couple of months.

It is MOPACs ambition to scale up this pilot across London in 2016/17.

MOPAC continues to look for innovative ways to address the challenges of the NTE; on that basis MOPAC has also supported the MPS in the piloting of breathalysers at late night establishments in Croydon. Early indications are that they are welcomed by venues because it makes it easier for them to deny entry to people who have had too much to drink reducing any possible harm and disorder.

What role, if any, MOPAC sees itself as having in supporting licensing authorities in their efforts to reduce crime and disorder through licensing arrangements:

Much of what has been detailed in this response highlights how MOPAC support licensing authorities in their efforts to reduce crime and disorder through licensing arrangements. This is done through:

DATA

MOPAC have published a range of interactive data dashboards which allow practitioners and the public to view and understand crime and policing data in an accessible way also supporting licensing authorities.

Through the London ISTV Anonymised ED Data Sharing Programme, as mentioned above, MOPAC has also developed a programme of activity to improve public safety in London and to reduce violent crime by improving the quality of anonymised violent crime data. This is also complemented by the Indicator dashboards that Safestats have developed for the Safe Sociable London Partnership, to enable effective decisions about local strategy, policy and prioritisation with regard to tackling problem venues and associated issues.

Police numbers

The DMPC has maintained the commitment to continue to protect the Met's frontline by maintaining police officer numbers high at around 32,000, and safeguarding neighbourhood policing.

Late Night Levy (LNL)

MOPAC support licensing authorities by allowing them to retain MOPAC's 70% share of the revenue generated by the implementation of a LNL to support the fight against crime and disorder which is associated with the Late Night Economy. This is providing that there is sufficient evidence that there is a requirement for a Late Night Levy, and that sufficient consultation has taken place within the borough.

The DMPC strongly endorses the idea of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) and their role in the 'place shaping' of local town centres and are often key in delivering local crime reduction solutions such as the piloting of breathalysers in Croydon as mentioned above.

Business Crime Change Board

MOPAC views licensing as one important element in a broader collaborative approach to tackling alcohol-related crime. Much of the work being done to work with partners in this area is part of the Mayor's Business Crime Strategy. The strategy sets out 12 major objectives including many that focus on the addressing issues linked to the night time economy, law enforcement and businesses and is underpinned by the Business Crime Change board (BCCB).

- The BCCB is currently conducting an investigation into issues surrounding the night time economy;
- BCCB membership includes the Association of Licensed Multiple Retailers (ALMR) which represents a significant section of the pubs, bars and clubs industry. The ALMR will be presenting alongside a number of NTE industry members at the BCCB on 11 January;

- The BCCB also supports the MPS's Operation Equinox where boroughs across the capital join forces in a coordinated crackdown to target activity against a number of licensed venues, geographic areas and fast food outlets, where violent offending disproportionately occurs.

Police and Security Initiative (PaS)

The Business Crime strategy also launched the 'Police and Security Initiative' (PaS) which brings law enforcement and the security industry together to raise standards and promote collaboration amongst partners. The security industry plays a key role in promoting public safety and reducing crime during the night time and act as extra 'eyes and ears' on the high street.

I hope this gives you a flavour of the work carried out and supported by MOPAC which responds to the topics you wish to discuss at the Police & Crime Committee on the 14 January 2016.

Yours sincerely



Helen Bailey
Chief Operating Officer
Mayor's Office for Policing And Crime

Joanne McCartney AM

Chair of the Police and Crime Committee
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11 February 2016

MOPAC26012016-22636

Dear Joanne,

London Assembly Police and Crime Committee: investigation into the impact of alcohol on policing London's Night-Time Economy

Thank you for your letter of 26 January regarding the Police and Crime Committee on '*The impact of alcohol on policing London's Night-Time Economy*.' I am pleased the Committee found it helpful for Graeme and me to attend the session.

Please see below a response to the seven areas for which you have requested further information.

The findings from MOPAC's work on understanding the increase in violence with injury (VWI) in London and how that is linked to the night-time economy.

MOPAC undertook local discussions as a follow on from a MOPAC performance challenge, where we conducted a deep dive to understand the increases in VWI offences in London. The challenge took place on 21 October 2014 and I have attached the slide pack which was used to support this meeting. It was evident from our analysis that nearly a quarter of all VWI offences took place within the top five boroughs (Lambeth, Westminster, Croydon, Newham and Southwark). What was also evident was that a majority of these offences were non-domestic. In February and March 2015, the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime (DMPC) visited four of these five boroughs in a series of Local Problem Solving sessions to 'deep dive' into localised data and understand the challenges of dealing with the late night economy and VWI issues from a local perspective.

Each of the four sessions was jointly chaired by the DMPC and the Leader of the relevant local authority. Attendance included the MPS borough commander and cluster commanders, community safety partners, representatives from local Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) and Public Health officials.

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The headline findings from this exercise are set out below.

Croydon

- Violence With Injury (VWI) in Croydon had increased by 19.7% when compared to the previous year.
- Fairfield ward was the highest volume ward for all violence including Serious Youth Violence.
- The LAS data highlighted the issues around the Town Centre in Fairfield ward. The incidents are clearly linked to the Late Night Economy with offences occurring around licenced premises and transport hubs.

Lambeth

- Non DA Violence With Injury (VWI) in Lambeth had increased by 20% when compared to the previous year.
- Lambeth, at the time of the session were the 2nd highest volume borough for Non DA VWI offences within the MPS.
- 72% of all those arrested for Non DA VWI were residents of the borough during the previous 12 months, suggesting a localised 'home grown' issue.
- Coldharbour was the highest volume VWI borough – offences are centred around Brixton station and the nearby bars and clubs.

Southwark

- Non DA Violence With Injury (VWI) in Southwark had increased by 33% when compared to the previous year. This was the highest rise of the top five VWI volume boroughs.
- Despite significant decreases in violent crime in the borough over the previous 10 years, Southwark remained the 3rd highest volume borough for Non DA VWI offences within the MPS.
- 73% of all those arrested for Non DA VWI were residents of the borough during the last 12 months. This highlights that the issue for the borough is a local one. This is also the same for victims of these offences with 70% being residents of the borough.
- The Lane ward recorded the highest volume of Non DA VWI offences during the previous 12 months; Both Peckham and South Bermondsey saw significant percentage increases of more than double the previous 12 months.

Westminster

Westminster is different to the other London boroughs and unique with regard to the scale of the challenge it faces with VWI and the management of the Night Time Economy.

- Westminster was and is currently the highest volume borough for Non DA VWI offences within the MPS.
- Non DA Violence With Injury (VWI) in Westminster had increased by 21%. This was below the London wide average increase, which is 24%.
- 41% of all those arrested for Non DA VWI were residents of the borough during the previous 12 months.
- 46% of all those arrested for Non DA VWI were residents of other London boroughs.
- 13% of all those arrested for Non DA VWI were residents of places outside of the MPS area.
- The specific driver for high levels of VWI in Westminster is the West End Stress Area (WESA). Nearly a quarter of all Non DA VWI offences took place within half a kilometre radius of this area during the hours of 21:00 and 06:00 in the previous 12 months.

Common drivers for VWI across all four boroughs were:

1. Instances that occur after school finishing hours between 15:00 – 18:00
2. Instances that are clearly linked to the Late Night Economy between 00:00 – 03:00 on a Saturday and Sunday morning.
3. A&E and MPS data highlights a concentration of offences around transport hubs, with a particular focus on hubs which are near a town centre.

These four sessions helped facilitate discussion between key partners locally and provided the required data to support local problem-solving, improvements and new courses of actions. They provide a good example of how both regional and local data from both the MPS and Local Ambulance Service (LAS), can support local partnership problem-solving. The top level issues which were to be taken forward at a local level included:

- A commitment from partners to develop multi agency town centre action plans and teams;
- A focus on funding both on targeted enforcement and consistent and effective prevention activity;
- Pro-active partnership problem solving with local partners, businesses, pub-watches and community groups to design out the borough's challenging hot spots and work together to co-design and implement effective, sustainable responses;
- Proactive measures for joint planning and work between local partners, the MPS, TfL and the BTP in preparation for the 24hour tube.

A formal update in February 2016 on the future of the Sobriety Programme.

The south London pilot was due to finish on 29 January. This has since been extended until the end of the current financial year. Discussions are ongoing with national and regional partners to ensure that we can continue to build on the success of this pilot in 2016/17. I expect to be able to provide the PCC with further information at the end of this month.

Further information on MOPAC's breathalyser pilot in the London Borough of Croydon;

The MPS piloted the use of breathalysers with security staff at night-time venues in twelve London boroughs, including Croydon. The take up was voluntary and a total of 97 devices were deployed. The pilot is part of a wider piece of work overseen by the Business Crime Change Board, which has been considering a range of different issues associated with the night time economy.

Breathalysers were provided to door staff at participating premises, where the staff used their judgment to ask patrons to take the test before granting them admission. The devices show an 'over' reading equivalent to someone having drunk between 5 and 6 pints of beer (though this can vary with the individual), which can then be used to support a decision to deny entry.

The learning from the pilot is that the use of breathalysers at the door can be a useful tactical option for some licenced premises. It is not suggested that the use of breathalysers be made mandatory as a condition of licensing but that they should be one available option.

An update on the progress made in securing agreement with each of the remaining 12 A&E departments to provide anonymised data to tackle violence and work that is being done to share anonymised data from minor injury units and walk-in centres.

As the Mayor and Deputy Mayor have set out in previous correspondence, a formal standard of data collection has now been developed and published by the Health and Social Care Information Centre (HSCIC) – known as ISB 1594. This will ensure that information sharing under the ISTV programme is consistent across the country, fully compliant with the Data Protection Act and actively supported by the Information Commissioners Office. It can be viewed at www.isb.nhs.uk/library/standard/265

The status of data sharing is an evolving picture. At the time of writing this letter, Imperial College Healthcare NHS Trust has obtained Caldicott Guardian approval to start formal sharing and The Hillingdon Hospitals NHS Foundation Trust has contacted us in order to start sharing immediately. This brings the number of Emergency Departments (EDs) sharing data with Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs), SafeStats or both to 19.

NHS England is actively supporting our drive to sign up the remaining 10 trusts. As a consequence, we have now received a positive approach from an additional two NHS Trusts and we have arranged follow-up meetings with them. MOPAC will continue to engage with the remaining EDs who have currently been identified as not sharing data with CSPs. Through the London ISTV Programme Board, the following activity is planned (or has taken place since the PCC meeting of 14 January) to further galvanise engagement:

- ISTV Emergency Department Anonymised Data Sharing Summit, 15 January 2016, featuring Professor Jonathan Shepherd and Dr Adrian Boyle, both highly distinguished experts in this field.
- Youth Violence Intervention Programme and ISTV Emergency Department Anonymised Data Sharing Conference, taking place on the 9 March.
- Continuing work of Safe Sociable London Partnership (SSLP) in the role of Violence Reduction Coordinator (VRC), commissioned by MOPAC to provide support and develop capacity for the effective sharing of anonymised data (as specified in the ISTV ISB1594 data standard) from all Type 1 Emergency Department in London.
- MOPAC officers continuing to meet with Trust leads on an individual basis and attend health led ISTV meetings.

The priority at this stage is to obtain consistent and sustainable data sharing across the capital between Emergency Departments and CSPs. The national standard ISB 1594 relates only to data sharing between EDs and CSPs. However, in London we see the potential value of widening the scope of data sharing to include minor injury units and walk-in centres and would seek to engage with these settings as part of a further phase of our programme.

Confirmation of which types of Accident and Emergency (A&E) departments are being targeted under Information Sharing to Tackle Violence arrangements.

All Emergency Departments and Major Trauma Centres in London are being targeted.

An indication about how the Violence Reduction Nurses programme is supporting the sharing of A&E department data.

The Violence Reduction Nurse (VRN) national programme funds 12 VRN nurses (or other appropriate persons) across the country. London has been allocated 4 VRNs in situ in the following Major Trauma Centres (MTCs):

1. King's College Hospital NHS Foundation Trust
2. St George's Healthcare NHS Trust
3. Imperial College Healthcare NHS Trust - St Mary's
4. Royal London Hospital, Bart's Health Trust

The role of the VRN is to implement the Information Standard to Tackle Violence (ISTV) by embedding this standard of data collection and sharing in hospitals. The VRC referred to above will work closely with them.

Information on how the implementation of the Cardiff Model across A&E departments is helping increase understanding of alcohol-fuelled crime and the response to it.

The Information Sharing to Tackle Violence (ISTV) programme is a cross-government initiative to reduce knife, gun and other violent forms of crime. Information sharing supports identification of violence hotspots and helps local police respond more effectively to a range of challenges: gang and youth violence; knife crime; and violence associated with the night time economy, including alcohol driven crime.

As part of the London ED Anonymised Data Sharing Programme, MOPAC have allocated funding to enable community and MPS analysts to look specifically at the impact of alcohol. Analysts are in the process of preparing case studies, which will be presented at the ISTV Conference on 9 March 2016. The case studies relate specifically to violent crime exacerbated by alcohol and will allow police to use the information for tasking purposes and for CSPs to work closely with relevant local authority departments to identify licensed premises that generate violence

Thank you for the opportunity to give evidence to the committee. I hope the content of this letter will help with its investigation.

Yours sincerely



Samantha Cunningham
Head of IOM, Programmes and Neighbourhoods Directorate
Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime

MOPAC CHALLENGE

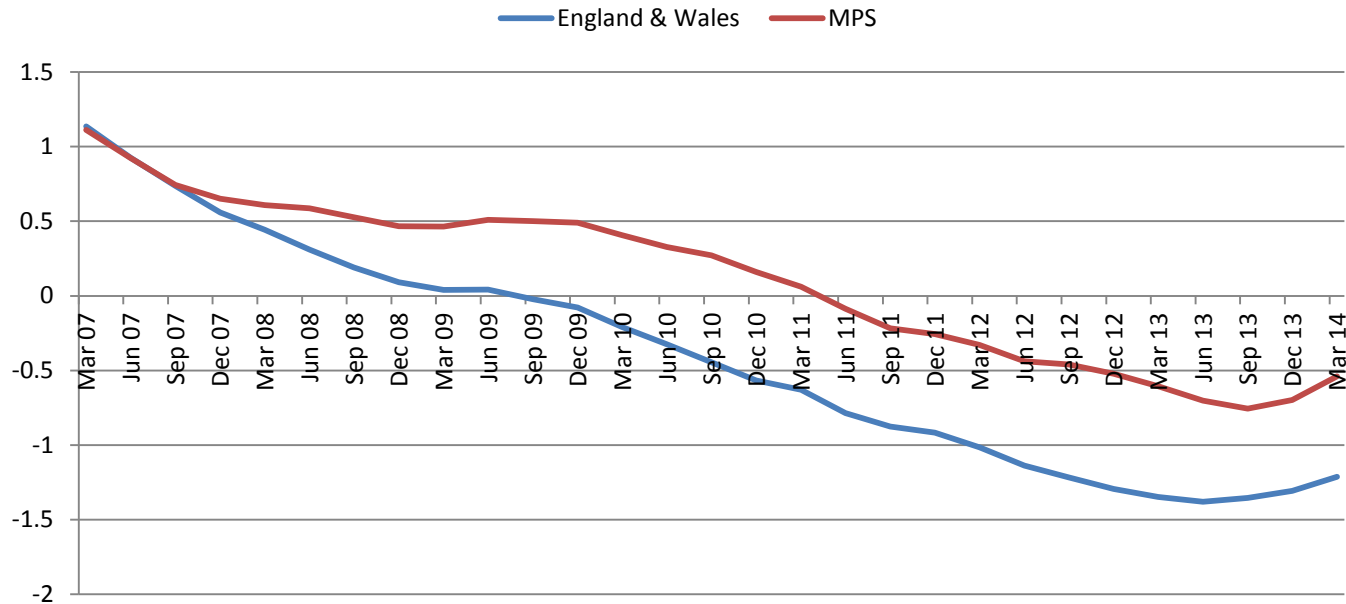
21st OCTOBER 2014

PERFORMANCE – VIOLENCE WITH INJURY

MPS PERFORMANCE

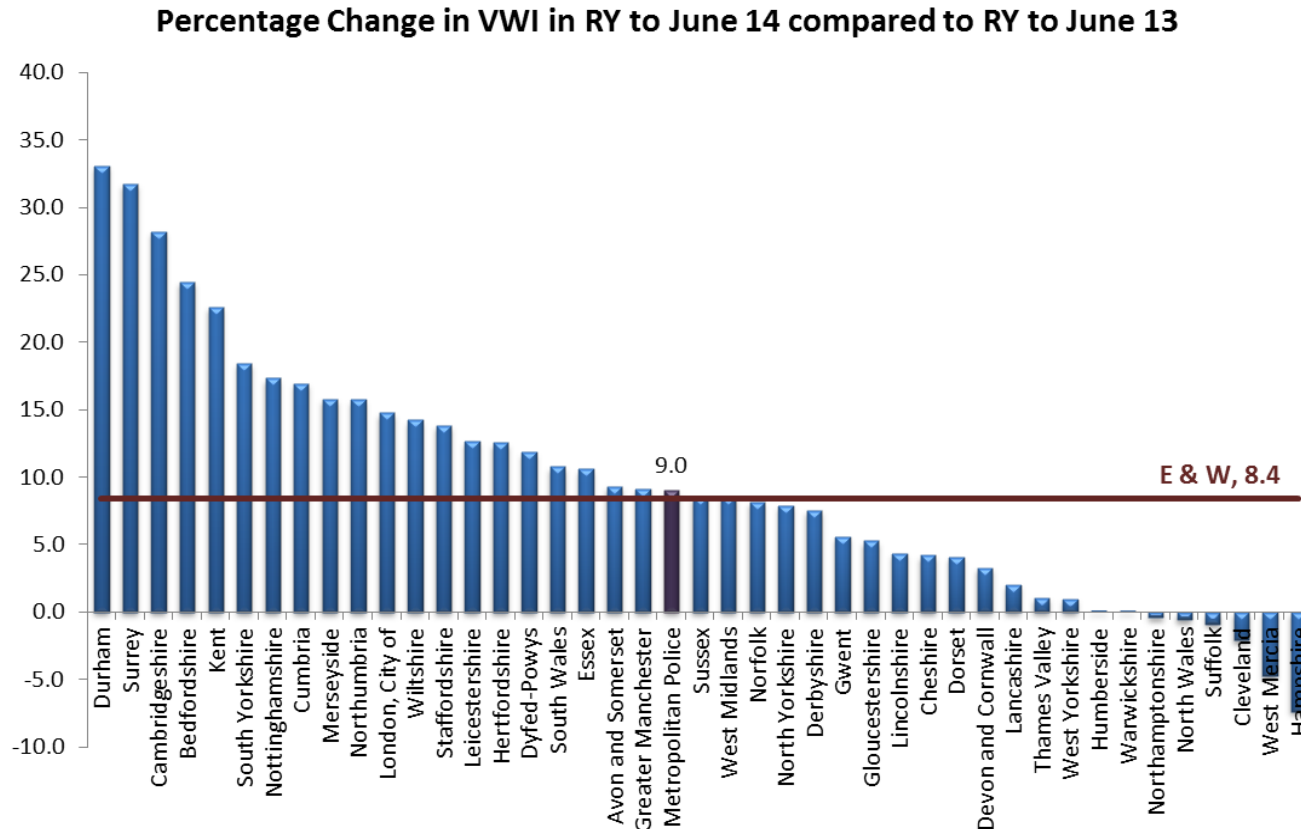
Violence with Injury has risen nationally

Aggregated VWI Volume Trends



36 of the 44 forces within England & Wales have recorded a rise in Violence with Injury offences during the most recent quarter available (January-March 2014) This again reaffirms that this is not just an issue for the MPS it is currently a national issue.

Violence with Injury has risen in 38 of the 44 forces

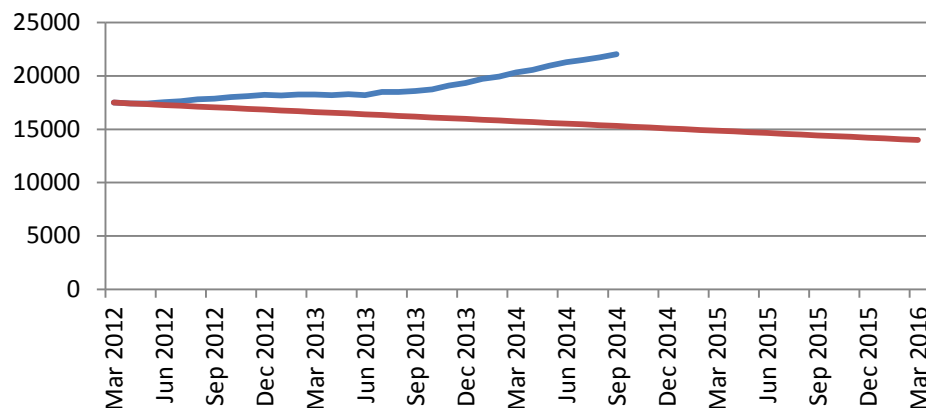


The increase in VWI recorded by the MPS has been slightly higher than the England & Wales average. However a total of 20 other forces recorded a higher increase over the most recent time period (July – June). Also of note all of the MPS most similar forces recorded an increase with Greater Manchester posting a greater rise in VWI offence volume.

MPS increase in VWI is primarily Non- Domestic Abuse related

Domestic Abuse VWI Rolling 12 month trend

— Offences — 20% Reduction Target

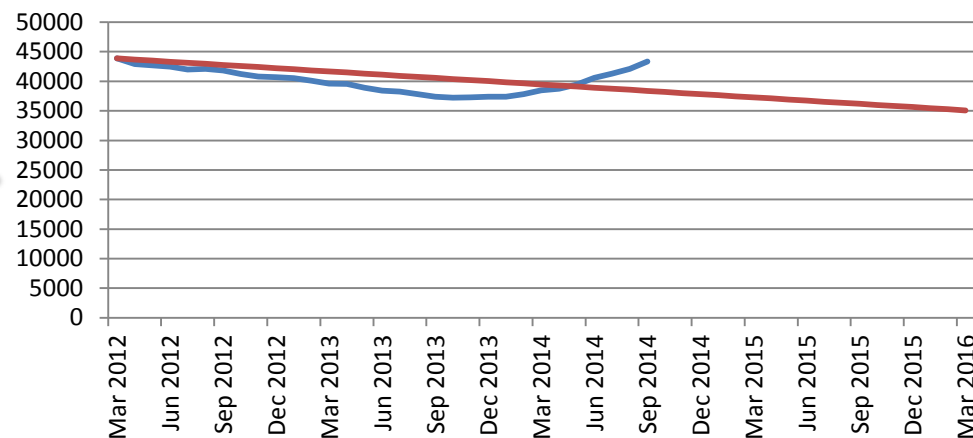


Domestic Abuse VWI offences have continued to rise since June 2012. During the most recent 12 months (Oct – Sep) offences have risen by 18% against the previous 12 month period.

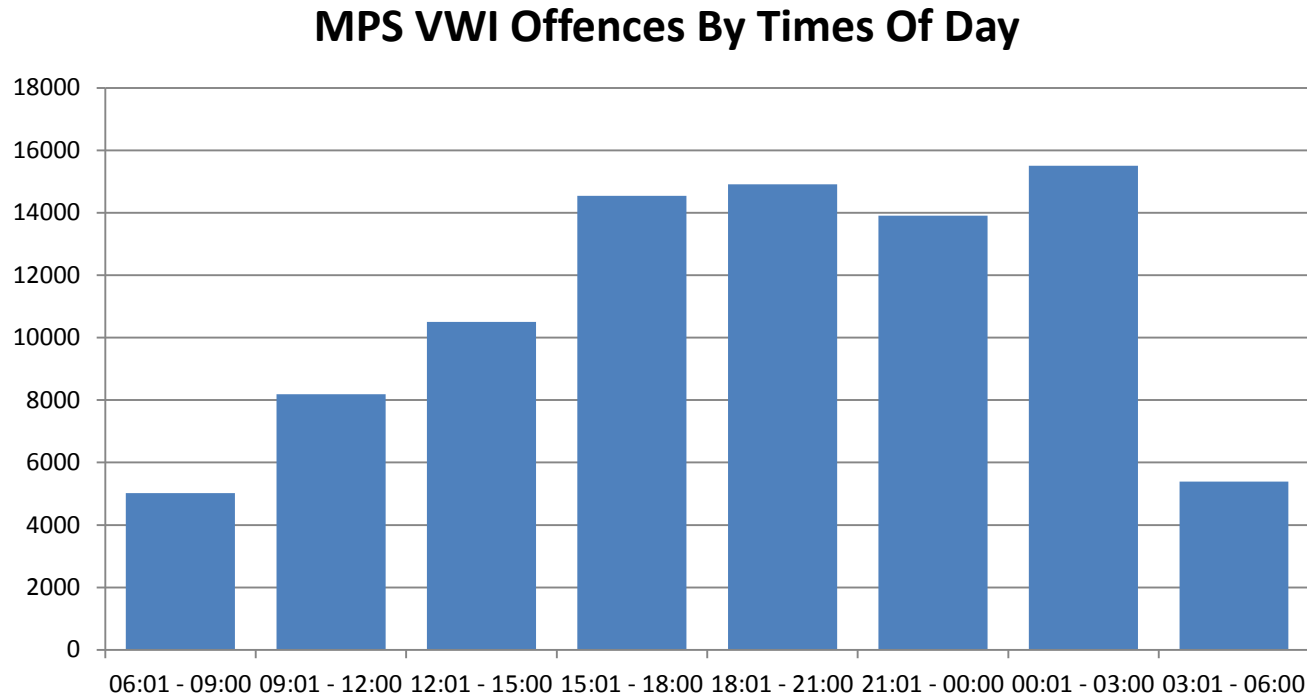
63% of the increase in overall VWI offences can be attributed to Non Domestic Abuse VWI. This goes against the notion that the recent rise has been largely due to confidence in reporting DA VWI offences.

Non Domestic Abuse VWI Rolling 12 month trend

— Offences — 20% Reduction Target

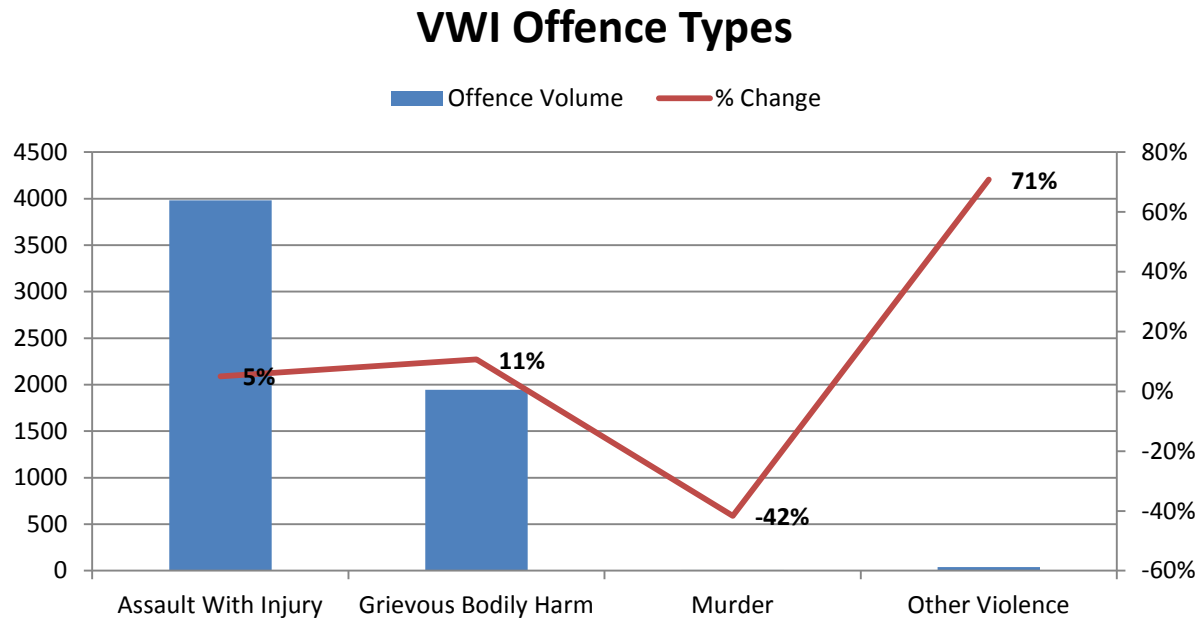


The MPS peak time for offending is during the night



We can see from the above chart that the MPS records its lowest volume of VWI offences between the hours of 03:00 and 09:00 in the morning. Offences then begin a steady rise throughout the day with offence volume peaking between the night time hours of 00:00 and 03:00. This time period will alter for individual boroughs with various factors driving the peak offence time.

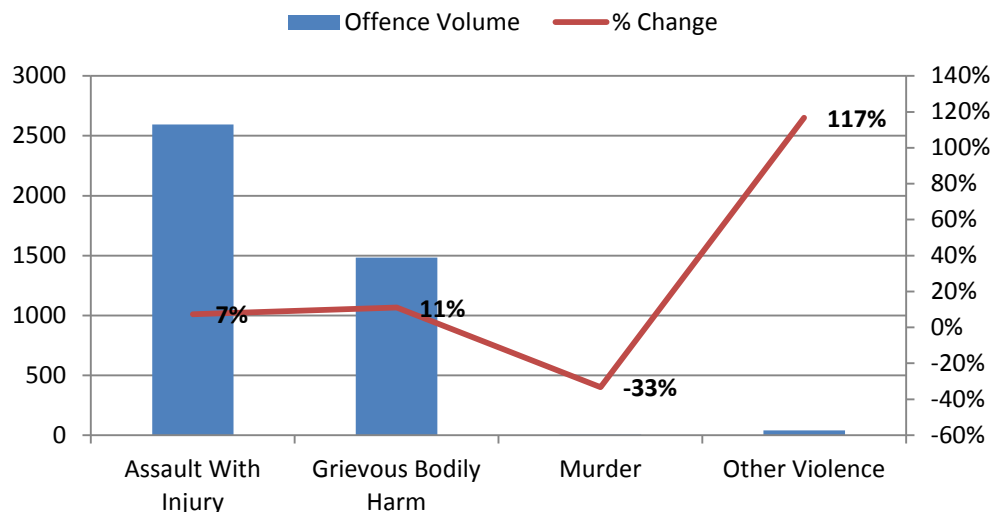
Assault with Injury is the most frequently recorded element of VWI



The above chart is based on VWI data from the most recent 9 months against the previous 9 month period. This is in order to allow for the reclassification in most serious violence that took place in April 2013. We can see that Assault With Injury (AWI) offences still make up the majority of offences (67%). The increase in both AWI and GBH offences does not suggest a worsening severity of VWI offence types with both seeing reasonably similar change.

Domestic offences are experiencing a rise in GBH

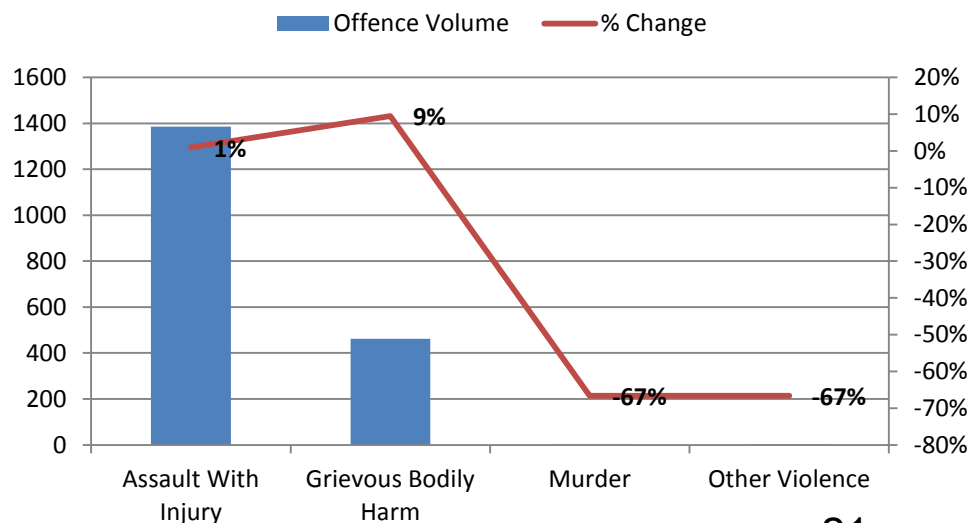
Non DA VWI Offence Types



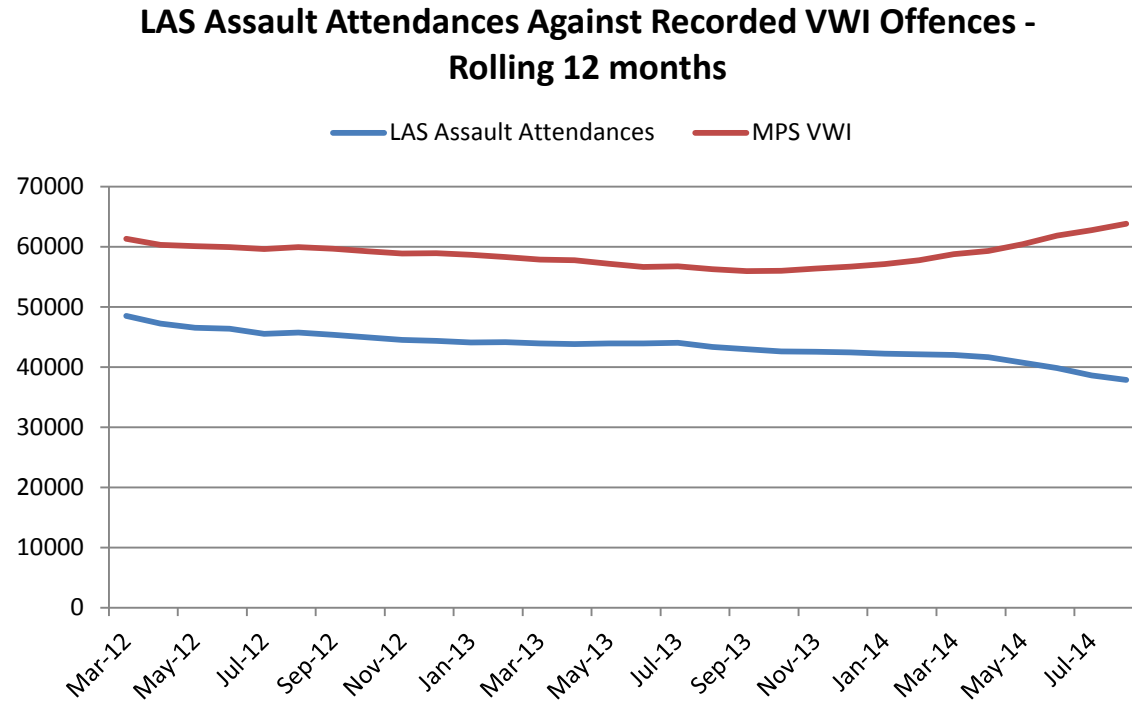
We can see from the Non Domestic Abuse VWI offence breakdown that the change in offences follows a similar picture to the overall VWI. AWI offences making up 63% of all offences and a comparable rise in both AWI and GBH offences.

Domestic Abuse VWI is showing a more significant rise in GBH offences when compared to AWI. AWI offences make up 75% of all Domestic Abuse VWI suggesting that that a large majority of Domestic offences are less severe than Non Domestic offences however this increase in GBH should be monitored moving forward.

DA VWI Offence Types



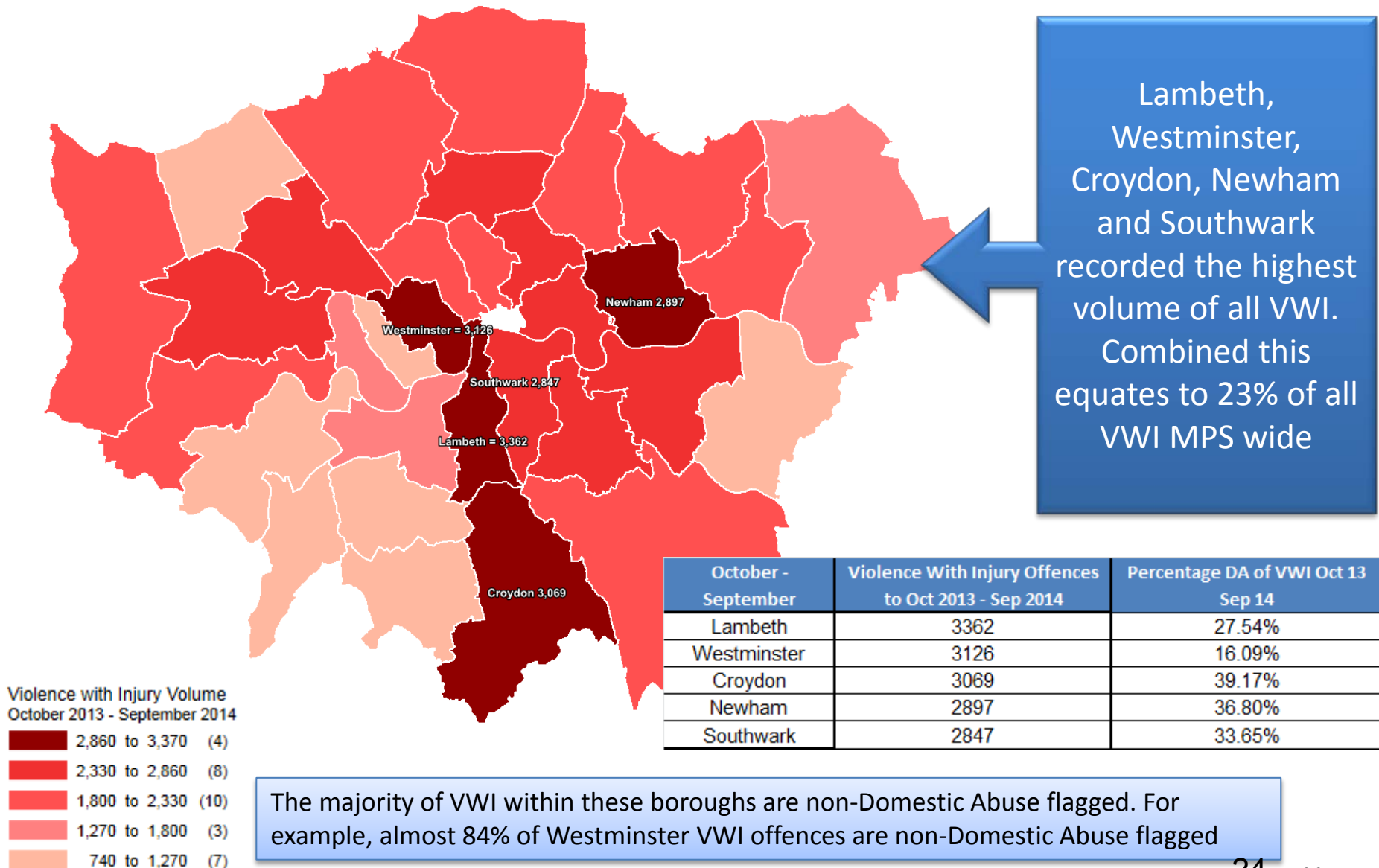
London Ambulance attendances to assaults have decreased



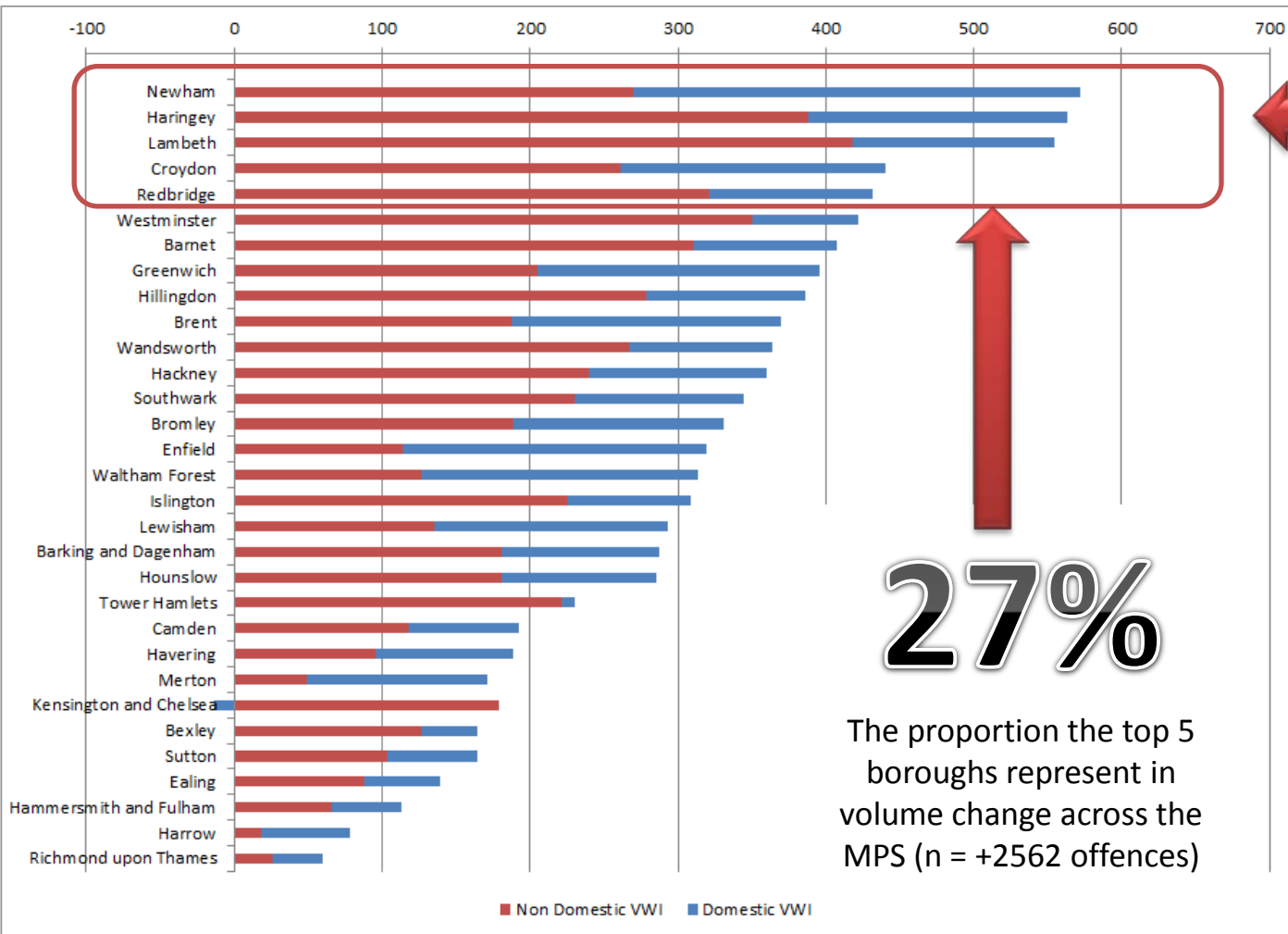
The above chart compares VWI offences recorded by the MPS against London Ambulance Service (LAS) data relating to attendances for assault. We can see that the rolling 12 month trends mirror each other up until December 2013 at which point LAS attendances begin to decrease and VWI offences increase. This could suggest an increase in VWI reporting or a drop in offences severity since this date. Or does this highlight an increasing demand issue on NHS services.

VIOLENCE WITH INJURY LOCATIONS

Almost a quarter of VWI occurs within five boroughs



Five boroughs account for over a quarter of the volume increase



The top 5 boroughs by volume change are Newham (+572), Haringey (+563), Lambeth (+555), Croydon (+440) and Redbridge (+432)

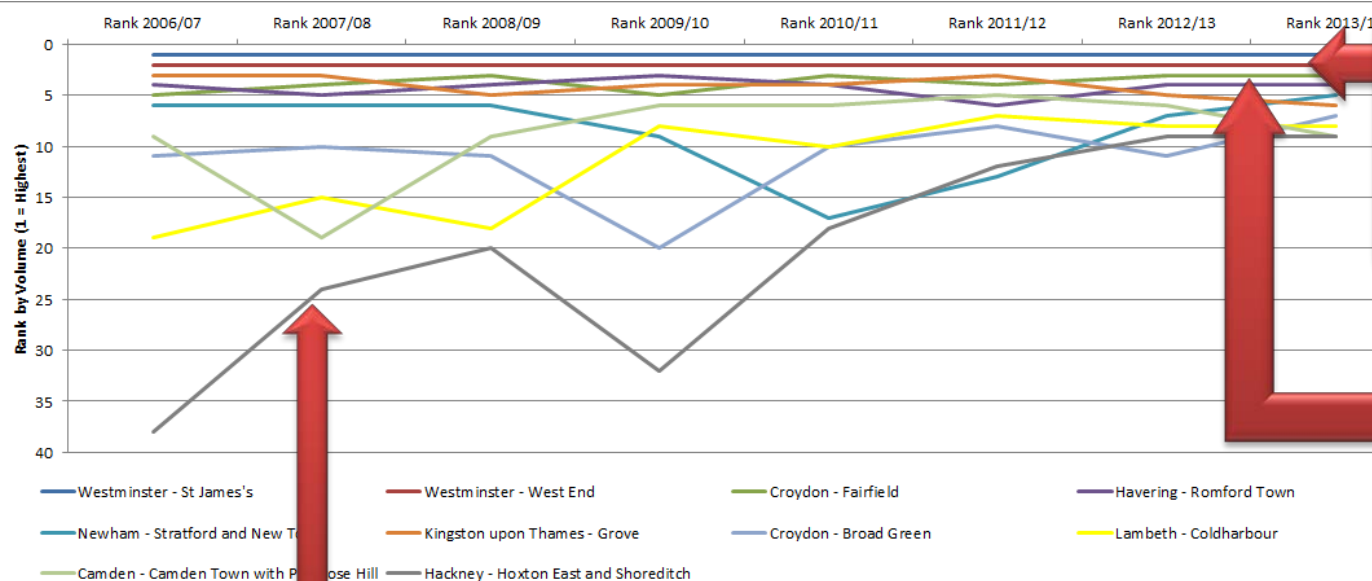
27%

The proportion the top 5 boroughs represent in volume change across the MPS (n = +2562 offences)

To understand the issue further, analyses of local areas are required

Some wards are static whilst others have seen a rise

The volume of VWI for each of the 642 wards. When ranked by volume the top 10 for the period October 2013 – September 2014 were identified as per the chart below



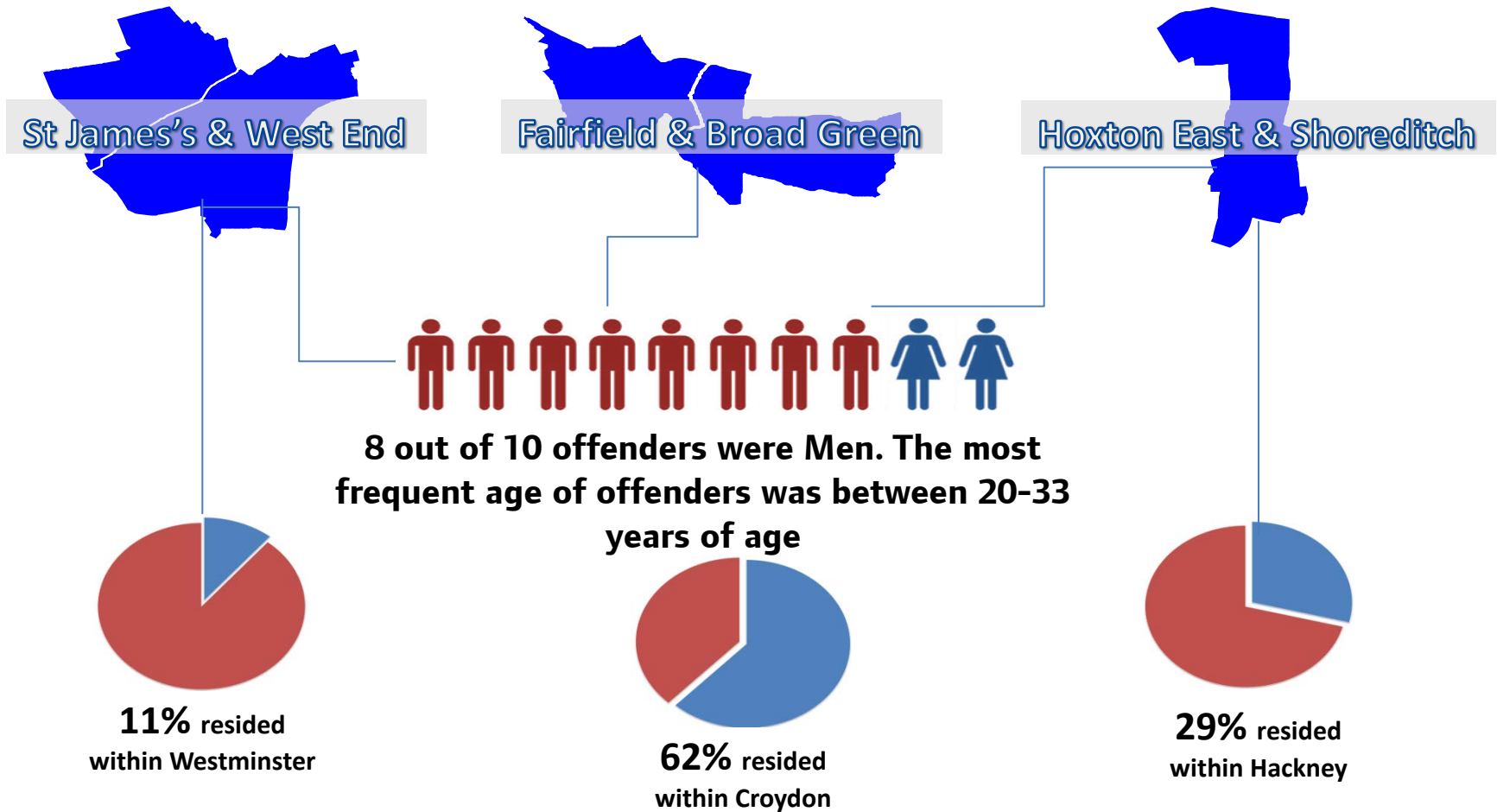
The highest volume wards of St James's and West End (Westminster) have consistently been ranked 1 & 2 respectively for the last eight years

Similarly, Fairfield (Croydon) has consistently been in the top 5, yet has fluctuated throughout these periods.

The most notable ward for increase in rank is Hoxton East & Shoreditch (Hackney), increasing from #38 across the MPS between Oct 2006 – Sep 2007 to #9 in the most recent period

Although Hoxton East & Shoreditch is notable for the rank change, volumes are relatively small with an increase of 87 offences between the 2006/07 and the 2013/14 periods. In relation to 2012/13 period, this ward has increased by 21% (n=53 offences). This is in comparison to St James's which has recorded an increase in the most recent period of 172 offences (23%) vs. 2012/13

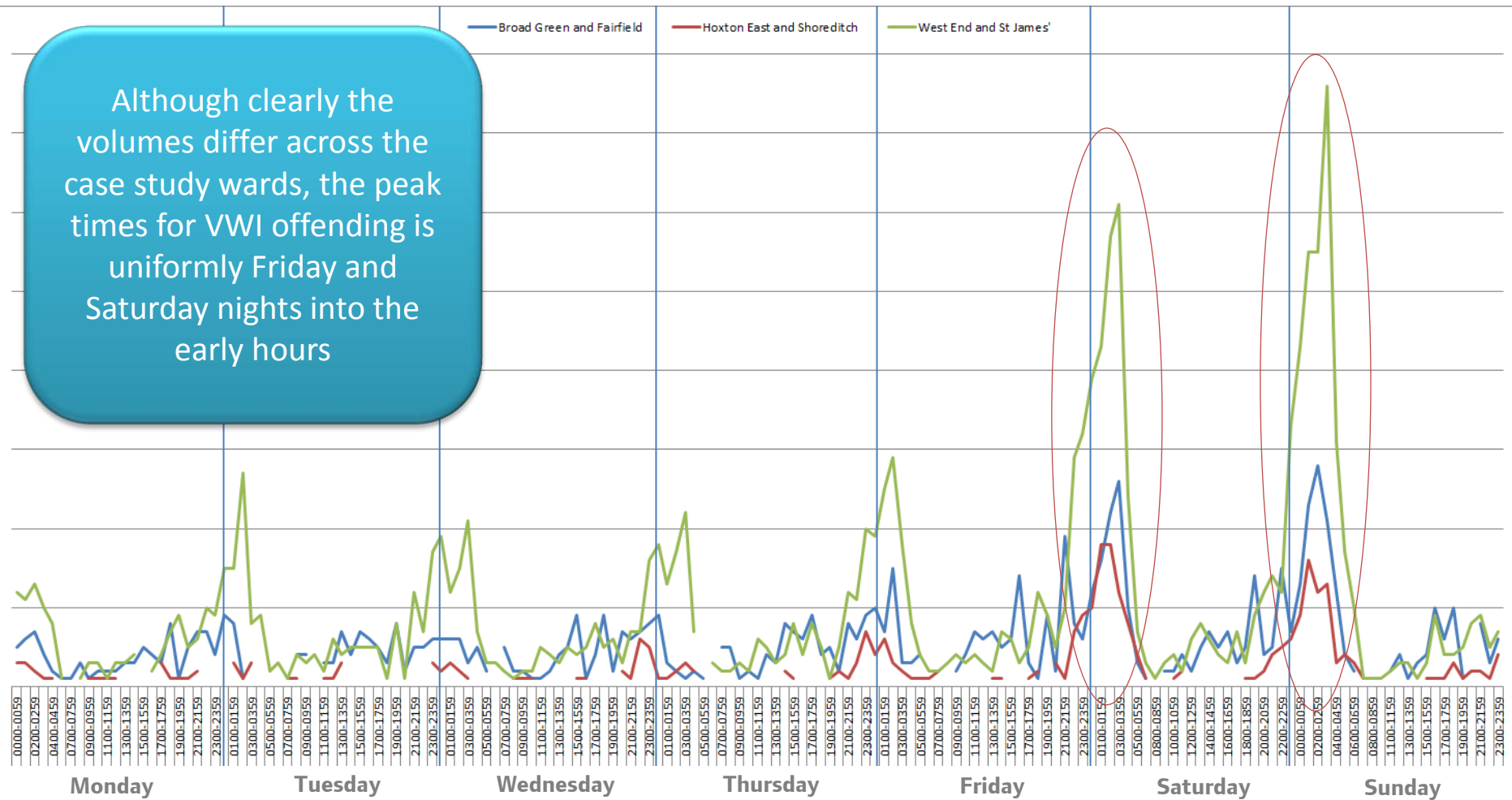
Offenders in key wards are male and non-borough residents



This highlights the importance of local policing intelligence in tackling crime within the area. As these offender cohorts would need to be addressed using different methods.

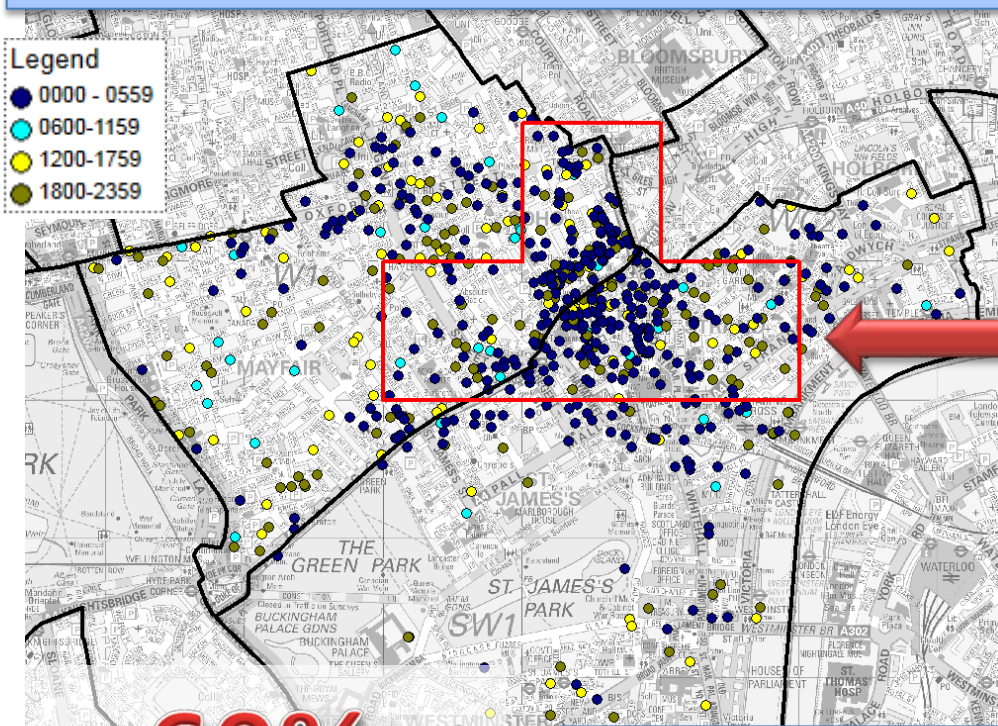
Friday and Saturday are peaks for key wards

Although clearly the volumes differ across the case study wards, the peak times for VWI offending is uniformly Friday and Saturday nights into the early hours



VWI in St James's & West End ward is linked to the Night Time Economy

These wards have consistently recorded the highest volume of VWI offences over a number of years and represent the key MPS wide hotspot for VWI offending

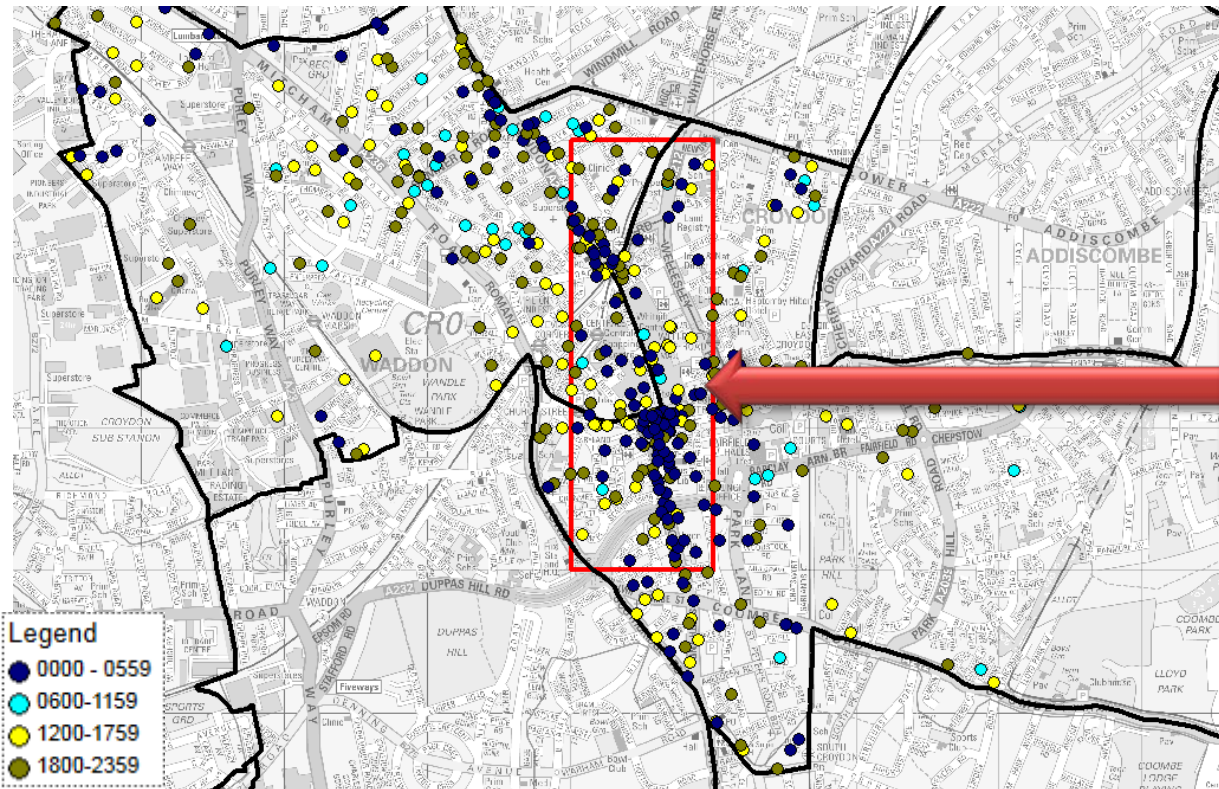


61% of all VWI in these wards occur within the area highlighted (approximately 1 sq.km). This area has a high daily footfall, transient population and vibrant night time economy with **51% of all pubs, bars or clubs** of these wards within the same small location.

60%
Of recorded VWI occurs
between Fri and Sun.
Offending on these days is
more likely between 22:00
and 03:59

These wards have over 650 pubs, bars and clubs
West End has 184 of these types of venue per sq.km and St James's has 82 per sq.km

VWI in Fairfield and Broad Green wards is concentrated in a small area



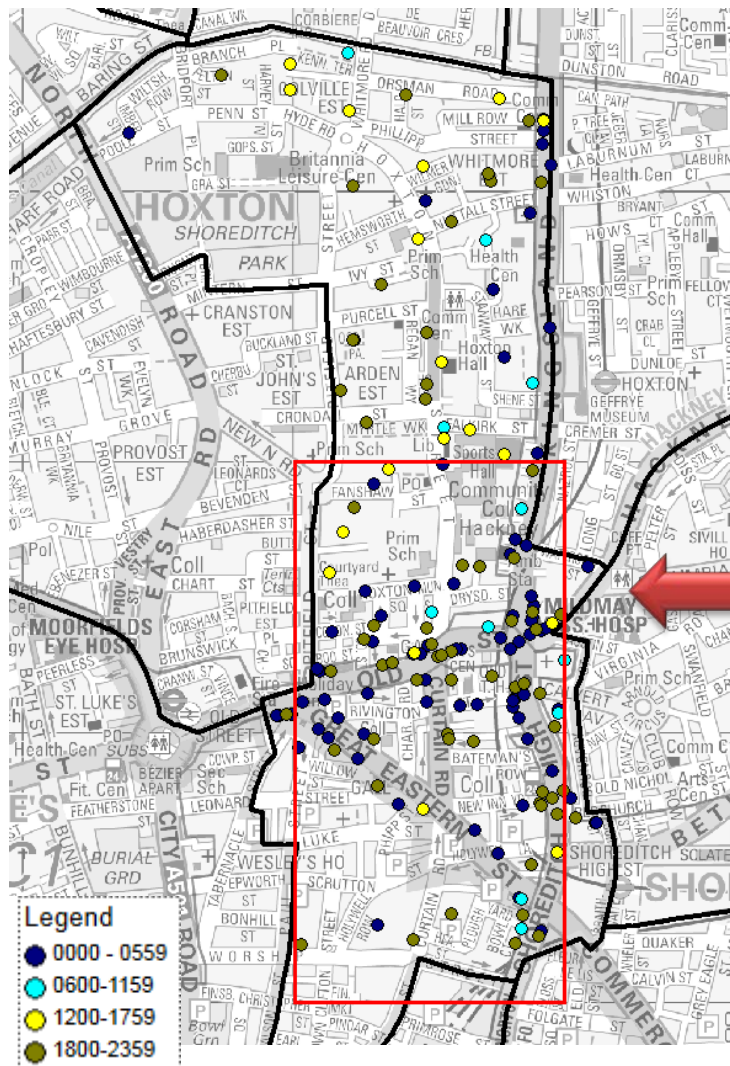
51% of all VWI in Croydon Town Centre occurs in an area of **just 0.7 sq.km**. Of these, half occur after midnight but before 6 am.

These wards have a total of 78 pubs, bars and clubs. This is equivalent to approximately 22 per sq.km. However, further analysis identifies that 59% of these are within the same area as the concentration of VWI

56% of recorded VWI occurs between Fri and Sun. Unlike with the West End, offending peaks on these days between 00:00 and 04:59

Old Street and Shoreditch are key areas of concentration

Although this ward is not within the top 5, the clear increase in VWI offending in recent years from #38 for Oct 06-Sep 07 in comparison to joint #9 in the most recent period



69%

Of recorded VWI occurs between Fri and Sun. The relatively new Night Time Economy within this area is believed to be key in the increase in offending.

76% of VWI offending is within the southern section of this ward, particularly in the area of Old Street and Shoreditch High Street. 81% of the pubs, bars and clubs in this ward are also within this 0.5 sq.km area.

64%

Of recorded VWI occurs between 0000 and 0559 within the highlighted area

Joanne McCartney AM
Chair of the Police and Crime Committee
City Hall
Queen's Walk
London, SE1 2AA

24 February 2016

MOPAC24022016 - 22822

Dear Joanne,

London Assembly Police and Crime Committee: investigation into the impact of alcohol on policing London's Night-Time Economy

I am writing further to my last letter of the 9 February and my commitment to provide you with an update on the next steps for the MOPAC Sobriety pilot.

I am pleased to now be in a position to formally do this, and to also share with you the findings from the 12 month South London pilot.

As you know, on the 31 July 2014, the Mayor launched the first pilot in the UK that allowed courts to enforce sobriety among offenders, where alcohol was a contributing factor of their offence, through the compulsory use of ankle tags.

This delivers a pledge in the 2012 manifesto and follows on from successful lobbying of Government for new sentencing powers in a bid to tackle alcohol related crime and disorder in the capital.

The year-long pilot begun in the South London Local Justice Area, covering Croydon, Lambeth, Southwark and Sutton and was a tremendous success, with the AAMR having an impressive compliance rate of 92% over the pilot period. To date 158 AAMRs have been imposed within the South London Justice Area.

The AAMR has been used in response to a wide range of offences associated with alcohol and the night time economy, from common assault to criminal damage and from threatening behaviour to repeat drink driving; and often, as part of a package sanctions.

As a result of the successes of the pilot, central government pledged to make sobriety orders available to all courts in England and Wales, enforced through alcohol monitoring tags. I am sure you will all join MOPAC in welcoming this commitment.

This information is embargoed until the 25 February; however I can confirm that the MOPAC are pleased that we can support the government in the delivery of this commitment, and have been working with the MoJ with the view to expanding the implementation of the requirement across London. The expansion will commence on the 1 April 2016, and the AAMR will be implemented throughout the nine London Local Justice Areas through a phased approach. By January 2017, it is envisaged that the AAMR will be available to courts across London.

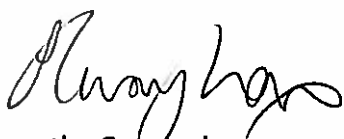
The Mayor will jointly announce this decision with the Justice Secretary, Michael Gove, tomorrow, on the 25 February.

At the same time as announcing the expansion of the pilot, MOPAC will be publishing the process review of the original South London pilot, which I have included with this letter, and which will also be posted [here](#). It describes a very successful pilot that has generated some important learning and insights that will inform our approach, as we scale up.

MOPAC want to build onto these learnings and insights in the design and implementation of the 12 month pan-London pilot which will provide the required scale and time to undertake reoffending analysis. We are confident that the pan-London pilot will allow for a full AAMR impact evaluation to support ongoing learning and use of the AAMR not only regionally but nationally.

Please do contact the Sobriety Programme Manager, Naomi Simpson at naomi.simpson@mopac.london.gov.uk or on 0207 983 5662 if you have any questions at this stage.

Yours sincerely



Samantha Cunningham
Head of IOM, Programmes and Neighbourhoods Directorate
Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime

Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement

A process review of the proof of concept pilot

Melissa Pepper and Dr. Paul Dawson
MOPAC Evidence and Insight Unit

February 2016



M O P A C

MAYOR OF LONDON

OFFICE FOR POLICING AND CRIME **34**



Continuous Alcohol Monitoring tag – image courtesy of Alcohol Monitoring Systems Inc.

Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement

A process review of the proof of concept pilot – summary

As part of his 2012 manifesto pledge to introduce ‘compulsory sobriety for drunken offenders’, the Mayor of London successfully lobbied for legislation to allow for the introduction of the Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement (AAMR). The new sentencing power, introduced as part of the Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders (LASPO) Act 2012 allows courts to impose a requirement that an offender abstain from alcohol for a fixed time period of up to 120 days and be regularly tested, via a transdermal alcohol monitoring device in the form of a ‘tag’ fitted around the ankle, as part of a Community or Suspended Sentence Order.

From July 2014, the Mayor’s Office for Policing And Crime (MOPAC) conducted a 12 month proof of concept pilot in four boroughs (Croydon, Lambeth, Southwark and Sutton) which comprise the South London Local Justice Area. The aims of the pilot were:

- To test how widely courts use the AAMR, and the technical processes within the criminal justice system.
- To evidence compliance rates with the AAMR.
- To evidence the effectiveness of ‘transdermal tags’ in monitoring alcohol abstinence.

Utilising a range of methods including stakeholder and offender surveys, interviews with stakeholders and MOPAC officers, and analysis of performance monitoring data, this process review sets out learning from the 12 month (31 July 2014 – 30 July 2015) AAMR proof of concept pilot and helps to build the evidence base to inform discussions around further roll out of the AAMR across London and beyond.

Basics around the AAMR and those sentenced to wear the alcohol tag

Over the 12 month pilot period, 113 AAMRs were imposed with an average length of 75 days. AAMRs were given for a range of crime types most commonly in relation to violence or drink driving related offences. Almost three quarters (73%, n=82) of AAMRs resulted from Croydon Magistrates’ or Crown Court. There were over 6,500 monitored days in the pilot period during which over 298,000 alcohol readings were taken (at an average of over 2,600 readings per AAMR or approximately 45 per monitored day). In theory, the technology should take around 48 readings per individual per day (depending on time of tag fitting and removal) thus indicating that the technology underpinning the AAMR is working as intended.

The AAMR had a compliance rate of 92% over the pilot period, based on the number of cases returned to court and convicted of breaching their AAMR (n=9/113). Of these nine cases, five had their AAMR revoked and therefore failed to complete. The remaining four subsequently went on to complete their AAMR following their return to court. Current compliance with the AAMR appears higher than for some other orders, however direct 'like-for-like' comparisons should be treated with caution due to varying offence types, offender characteristics, processes of dealing with breach, and lengths of orders.

As expected, the AAMR cohort did not present an extensive criminal background with an average of eight guilty sanctions, six guilty court occasions, and an average Offender Group Reconviction Scale version 3 (OGRS3 2 year) score of 35% (placing them at a low risk of reconviction). In terms of offending histories, the AAMR offenders broadly align more to the general offending population in the UK, particularly those who receive community sentences.

Understanding and implementing the AAMR

The AAMR was designed and implemented well from the outset, something that had a positive knock on effect throughout the course of the programme. Whether it be the strong governance structure, clear documented tools and information, training, effective partnership involvement throughout design and implementation, or the dedicated MOPAC team (including a project manager with 'in the field' experience) – the positive AAMR implementation cannot be over stated.

All AAMR practitioners and offenders held a firm understanding of the AAMR's aims and ways of working. However, some NPS/CRC interviewees felt that more information on the AAMR could have been provided to a range of groups to the benefit of the programme. To illustrate, to defence solicitors (as it was perceived they were often unaware of the requirement), the public (to improve knowledge or as a preventative measure) or to allow offenders an opportunity to see the alcohol tag and monitoring equipment in court, in addition to the written information they receive.

Using the AAMR

The AAMR was largely welcomed by respondents as '*another tool in the box*' of community sentences, offering an innovative and tailored response to alcohol related offending, and filling a gap in sentencing for alcohol related offences committed by non-dependent offenders. There were some reservations around narrow pilot eligibility criteria for offenders to receive the AAMR, and the requirement for total abstinence in certain cases. However, interviewees felt that a period of abstinence on the AAMR had the potential to give offenders a 'pause' in drinking, time to reflect on alcohol consumption and its impact on offending behaviour, relationships and work, and an opportunity to break the cycle of routine drinking. Some NPS and CRC interviewees gave examples of how they had tailored products around the AAMR to support offenders further and use the opportunity as a

‘teachable moment’, including letters sent at the end of the AAMR and literature/advice around alcohol consumption going forward. Whilst the AAMR was considered to be a punitive response for the purposes of the pilot, these possible rehabilitative elements were highlighted by some NPS/CRC and judiciary interviewees as a welcome unintended consequence. Offenders surveyed were largely unhappy about the appearance and ‘wearability’ of the tag, however overall were positive they could complete the order.

Concluding thoughts

Whilst it is too soon at present to robustly evaluate the impact of the AAMR on offending behaviour or costs, this process evaluation generates learning on the pilot through the views and experiences of stakeholders involved in design and implementation, and the offenders themselves who were sentenced to wear the alcohol tag. Insights from the pilot year indicate the importance of effective design and implementation. However, consideration should be given to the sustainability of this level of project management should the scheme be expanded.

Wider roll out of the AAMR would provide a larger sample size and opportunities to explore the impact on offending behaviour, costs and wider possible benefits including health, community and economic outcomes. In light of plans in the 2015 Conservative Party Manifesto to make sobriety orders more widely available, and the extension of the AAMR pilot for a further six months to January 2016, this timely report offers useful insights to inform any expansion of the scheme and can be used as a blueprint for future evaluation efforts in this area.

Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement

A process review of the proof of concept pilot

Introduction

As part of his 2012 manifesto pledge to introduce ‘*compulsory sobriety for drunken offenders*’, the Mayor of London successfully lobbied for legislation to allow for the introduction of the Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement (AAMR). Included as part of the Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders (LASPO) Act 2012¹, the AAMR is a new sentencing power which allows courts to impose a requirement as part of a Community or Suspended Sentence Order² that an offender abstain from alcohol for a fixed time period of up to 120 days and be regularly tested, via a transdermal alcohol monitoring device in the form of a ‘tag’ fitted around the ankle which detects consumption of alcohol through sweat (for the purpose of the pilot the tags do not monitor offender location or movement). The technological innovation has a focus on tackling alcohol related offending – and in this way the drive to introduce the AAMR in London was particularly timely. Much has been written about the heavy contribution alcohol makes within violent crime, wider offending and public disorder in the UK, with London disproportionately impacted. The total cost of alcohol-related harm to society is estimated to be £21 billion, with alcohol recognised as a major cause of attendance at Accident and Emergency and hospital admissions (Public Health England, 2014a).

The 2013/14 Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) estimated that over half (53%, n=704,000) of the 1.3 million violent incidents against adults in England and Wales included an offender perceived to be under the influence of alcohol. Whilst the volume of incidents has fallen – something that sits comfortably within the overall decrease in crime England and Wales has seen since the mid-1990s – the proportion of violent incidents in which the offender has been perceived to be under the influence of alcohol has remained remarkably stable over the previous ten years³ indicating a longstanding resistant association between alcohol and violence. The CSEW also provides further insights, indicating that alcohol related violent incidents were more likely to occur between strangers, at weekends, during the evening/night, and within a public space, with victims also more likely to receive greater injuries (ONS, 2015). In terms of police data within England and Wales, after a period of decline in violence with injury (a decrease of 27% in

¹ Section 76 of the LASPO Act 2012 sets out a number of conditions around the AAMR including that the offender is not dependent on alcohol, that consumption of alcohol is an element of the offence or contributed to the commission of the offence for which the order is to be imposed, and that monitoring by electronic means or by other means of testing are in place.

² Referred to collectively as a Community Based Order.

³ In the CSEW 2004/05 the proportion of violent incidents where the offender was perceived by the victim to be under the influence of alcohol was also 53%.

financial year 2014/15 compared to financial year 2004/05), more recently this type of offending has increased (16% in financial year 2014/15 compared to the same period the previous year) with 40 of the 44 forces within England and Wales recording a rise in violence with injury⁴.

Focussing upon London, violence with injury has risen by 19% (financial year 2014/15 compared to the same period the previous year). Furthermore, internal Mayor's Office for Policing And Crime (MOPAC) analysis indicates the majority (76%) of the increase within London can be attributed to non-domestic abuse violence with injury, with Friday and Saturday evenings/nights being peak times in key geographic areas - something that clearly suggests an association with the night-time economy (rolling 12 months to January 2015). Indeed, London experiences disproportionate levels of alcohol related crime, with the highest rate per 1,000 population (9) compared to other English regions (ranging from 4 to 5) (Public Health England, 2014b). Wider data also contributes to the picture - a fifth (20%) of Londoners think that people being drunk or rowdy in public places is a problem (MOPAC Public Attitude Survey (PAS), quarter 1 2015/16), a trend that has remained largely stable over the previous year⁵.

Outside of the focus on violence, alcohol is shown to contribute to a range of crime types (e.g., see McSweeney, 2015) including criminal damage and road casualties. Indeed, despite substantial year on year decreases with current figures the lowest on record, the total number of casualties of all severities in drink drive accidents in Great Britain in 2013 was 8,270, of which 1,340 were killed or seriously injured. Around 14 per cent of all deaths in reported road traffic accidents in 2013 involved at least one driver over the drink drive limit (Department for Transport, 2015a). Furthermore, according to the CSEW, around 6.2 per cent of drivers in 2014/15 said they had driven whilst over the legal alcohol limit at least once in the last 12 months, broadly unchanged over recent years (Department for Transport, 2015b).

The AAMR proof of concept pilot started on 31 July 2014 with a high profile launch by the Mayor of London at Croydon Magistrates' Court attracting considerable regional, national and international press coverage. The pilot ran for 12 months⁶ in the boroughs of Croydon, Lambeth, Southwark and Sutton (which comprise the South London Local Justice Area (LJA)) and aimed to target between 100 and 150 offenders. The aims of the pilot were:

⁴ Police recording practices impact significantly on crime figures, and it is thought that incidents of violence are more open to subjective judgements about recording and thus more prone to changes in police practice. An inspection conducted by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) on crime data integrity published in August 2014 highlighted issues regarding the classification of crimes across all forces in England and Wales, and the Office for National Statistics state that the renewed focus on standards has particularly affected violence related crime recording.

⁵ The PAS explores the views of residents across London around crime, ASB and policing issues via face to face interviews with over 12,800 respondents per year. In quarter 1 2014/15 18% of Londoners thought that people being drunk or rowdy in public places was a problem.

⁶ The pilot has been extended for a further 6 months to January 2016 to allow further time to consider the future use of the AAMR. While performance data will continue to be monitored, the process evaluation and all information contained in this report cover the initial 12 month pilot period only.

- To test how widely courts use the AAMR, and the technical processes within the criminal justice system.
- To evidence compliance rates with the AAMR.
- To evidence the effectiveness of 'transdermal tags' in monitoring alcohol abstinence.

For the purposes of eligibility to receive the AAMR, offenders had to commit an offence for which consumption of alcohol was a contributing factor, reside within one of the four pilot boroughs, and not be dependent on alcohol⁷. Although not limited by crime type, MOPAC recommended that offences linked to domestic violence were excluded from the AAMR⁸. The Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime (DMPC) agreed a budget of up to £260,000 for the proof of concept pilot to cover monitoring equipment and overall project delivery costs.

The AAMR is an evidence based innovation inspired by a similar approach from South Dakota, USA which reported reductions in re-arrest of Driving Under the Influence (DUI) offenders (see Loudenburg et al, 2010; Kilmer and Humphreys, 2013), but operated in accordance with UK legislation⁹. The specific innovation is the first compulsory sobriety scheme of its kind in Europe¹⁰ and forms a key part of the MOPAC response to tackling and reducing the volume of alcohol related crime within London.

Evidence based policy making - indicative insights

The MOPAC Evidence and Insight team - a team of social scientists based within MOPAC - were commissioned to conduct research on the AAMR innovation to generate learning¹¹. The research aims were to:

- Describe and assess the set up and implementation of the pilot.
- Monitor the basic performance data behind the AAMR.
- Assess the technical performance of transdermal devices.

⁷ The NPS use the Alcohol Use Disorder Identification Test (AUDIT) tool to assess whether the offender is suitable for an AAMR i.e. drinking at non-dependent levels (scoring below 20 on the AUDIT tool). Factors such as the offender's living situation and personal circumstances should also be taken into consideration prior to proposing the AAMR.

⁸ During development of the pilot, there were concerns over domestic abuse cases being made subject to an AAMR, before it had been fully tested. This was in relation to potential consequences, such as the abstinence of alcohol creating additional risks for the victim and diverting attention away from specific interventions that are designed to tackle offending behaviour. This position is only applicable for the period of the pilot. Full details of the AAMR, eligibility and suitability criteria, and how it works in practice are available at <http://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/AAMR%20toolkit%20FINAL.pdf>.

⁹ One of the key differences between the use of sobriety technology in the USA and UK is the manner in which it is enforced. The US system allows for immediate detention following breach whereas the primary legislation which governs breach action in England and Wales is the Criminal Justice Act 2003 which outlines that an offender is usually returned to court for breach action after a first breach notice has been served and the offender has failed to comply for a second time.

¹⁰ Transdermal technology and criminal justice responses with sobriety conditions have been used (or are planned to be used) elsewhere in the UK (e.g. Northamptonshire, Dover, Cheshire, Glasgow, the Home Office Conditional Cautions with Sobriety Requirements pilot), however the AAMR is the first to use the technology in a compulsory, punitive setting.

¹¹ Research outputs (i.e. the interim and final evaluation reports) were peer reviewed by external independent academics. The MOPAC Evidence and insight team were not involved in developing or implementing the AAMR in any way.

- Assess (as far as possible) the effect of the pilot on offenders, crime, costs and the relevant criminal justice agencies.

Building upon an interim review published in March 2015, this report outlines the implementation of the AAMR over the initial 12 month pilot period through the views and experiences of stakeholders involved in pilot delivery, and offenders sentenced to wear the alcohol tag itself, and presents learning to inform any future roll out of the technology.

Since the start of the pilot, wider conversations around the use of sobriety orders and alcohol monitoring technology have continued, most notably featuring in the 2015 Conservative Party Manifesto (Conservative Party, 2015: 59). The pilot itself has also been extended for a further six months to January 2016 (although the process evaluation covers the initial 12 month pilot period only), placing this timely report in an essential position to inform any expansion of the scheme.

Methods

Given the length of the AAMR pilot (12 months), and expected throughput of offenders (100 to 150), it was not possible to robustly evaluate (e.g., randomise or generate a comparison group) the impact of the AAMR on offending behaviour, costs or working practices of stakeholders¹². The most appropriate research was a *process evaluation* to generate learning and develop insights that may influence how future schemes or expansions are implemented. Echoing Dawson and Williams (2009) reflections on the challenges of conducting policing and criminal justice evaluations, this study selected the most feasible robust design approach while stressing the caveats of what the research can and cannot say.

A range of methods were used to triangulate learning and address the main research objectives of the pilot (see **appendix one** for a full evaluation timeline, and survey and interview details). This includes:

- **Training/awareness raising feedback survey:** Fifty five stakeholders (National Probation Services (NPS), Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRC), and judiciary) completed a brief paper survey designed to capture early AAMR understanding and perceptions as part of four initial training/awareness raising events hosted by MOPAC at the outset of the pilot.
- **Stakeholder surveys:** Three online surveys exploring understanding and experiences of the AAMR were conducted with stakeholders across the pilot period. The AAMR project manager emailed a survey link to approximately 55 and 75

¹² The Ministry of Justice define a proven re-offence as any offence committed in a one year follow-up period and receiving a court conviction, caution, reprimand or warning in the one year follow-up or a further six month waiting period (Ministry of Justice, 2012).

stakeholders at the start, mid-point and end of the pilot¹³. A reminder email was sent approximately two weeks later and verbal reminders were given in Local Implementation Group and Programme Board meetings. In an attempt to improve response rates (particularly over the summer leave period) a slightly more experimental approach was taken when disseminating the final survey with a personalised invitation to take part including quotations from the AAMR offender cohort to motivate interest. There were 58 responses to surveys in total, with 18 respondents completing more than one survey throughout the pilot period. It was not possible to observe changes over time, therefore survey responses have been collated and overall themes drawn out.

- **MOPAC and stakeholder interviews:** 35 semi-structured interviews exploring views, understanding and experiences of the AAMR in greater depth were conducted with 26 MOPAC officers and stakeholders across the pilot period¹⁴. It is highly likely that there was some overlap between survey respondents and interviewees.
- **Offender surveys:** Surveys exploring understanding and experiences of the AAMR, first impressions of the tag, and perceptions of what life might be/was like while wearing the tag were conducted with 44 (out of a possible 113, or 39%) offenders at the time of fitting their tag and 27 (out of a possible 94, or 29%) during tag removal. Surveys were designed by the researchers and given to the offender for self-completion by the EMS officer fitting/removing the tag. Although not without limitations, this was the most practical approach available for obtaining innovative and insightful data on offender views. Completing the survey was not compulsory and some individuals chose not to take part¹⁵.
- **Performance monitoring data:** A range of performance data was gathered, including recorded crime, PAS and other emergency services to set the backdrop to the work, on offenders who received the AAMR (e.g., borough of offence and residence, average length of the requirement), and technical data on the tag itself. Police National Computer (PNC) data was also explored to gain insights into the criminal background (or not) of the AAMR offenders.

¹³ Questions differed slightly in each survey to reflect the stage of the pilot. Previous respondents were not required to answer all questions in later surveys. There was no obligation to take part in surveys therefore respondents were self-selecting. Copies of all surveys are available on request. The number of survey recipients varied at each stage of the pilot due to some staff changes/additions.

¹⁴ Potential interviewees were identified with the AAMR project manager and contacted via email by the researchers. There was no obligation to take part in interviews therefore participants were self-selecting. Some interviewees took part in more than one interview at a different stage of the pilot (see appendix one for further details). The majority of interviews were face to face however, due to availability, three were conducted on the telephone. Detailed notes were taken in each interview and analysed to draw out key themes.

¹⁵ Offender surveys are continuing throughout the pilot extension period, however will now be sent by EMS staff via text message directly to offenders for self-completion at time of tag fitting and removal. Texting offenders such details is an innovative communication method that may be amenable for future research.

Given the size of the research cohort (in stakeholder survey and interviews, and offender surveys), some caution should be used when considering results. Fieldwork data set out in this report only reflect the views of those who took part in surveys and interviews.

Results

The report organises learning gleaned into the following themes:

- **Places:** including contextual data about the pilot boroughs and a brief analysis of recorded police, PAS and other emergency service data.
- **People:** presenting headline performance data on the actual AAMR cohort over the twelve months of the pilot including technical aspects, compliance levels, and criminal history.
- **Process:** exploring the roll out of the pilot, how it is being used, and its influence, through the views and experiences of stakeholders and offenders.

Places

This section briefly outlines the four AAMR pilot boroughs that comprise the South London LJA, providing some context around alcohol related crime and disorder and how the pilot boroughs compare to other parts of London. This gives some insights into where may be suitable for any expansion of the pilot.

Appendix two presents a range of alcohol related crime indicators and ranks each by borough. The indicators are:

- Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) recorded crime where a feature code has been added to indicate that a suspect has been drinking alcohol.
- Drink driving arrests.
- Alcohol related crime per 1,000 population.
- Incidents of night time violence and disorder recorded by ambulance, British Transport Police (BTP) and Transport for London (TfL) bus drivers.
- Londoners' perceptions of people being drunk or rowdy in public places from the PAS.

In terms of the pilot boroughs, Southwark is placed in the top ten on all indicators (three in the top five) with the exception of drink driving arrests where it is ranked twelfth. Lambeth ranks in the top ten boroughs on three indicators, most notably second highest in London for alcohol related crime per 1,000 population and incidents of night time violence and disorder recorded by ambulance, BTP and bus drivers. Turning to the remaining pilot

boroughs, Sutton (placed at a low level across the indicators except drink driving where it ranks fourth) and Croydon (placed low across indicators except night-time violence where it ranks fifth) would appear to have a less evidenced alcohol issue compared to the other pilot sites, however this indicates how different areas can use the AAMR to target their own local alcohol related problem. Looking elsewhere in the data, Westminster, Camden, Hackney and Newham all rank consistently high across the indicators (e.g., ranked in the top 10 in at least 4 out of 5 indicators) suggesting alcohol related need in other boroughs should the scheme be expanded.

The evaluation attempted to explore the 'pool' of cases that were both eligible and suitable to receive an AAMR in order to better understand demand and potentially missed opportunities to impose the requirement. **Appendix three** presents data on Total Notifiable Offences (TNOs)¹⁶ and arrests in AAMR pilot boroughs where an alcohol feature code was present¹⁷.

Although offering some interesting contextual information, data caveats limited the usefulness of this analysis therefore the AAMR project manager conducted a manual review of all Community Based Orders imposed with qualifying offences within the South London LJA between 1 February and 31 March 2015¹⁸. This indicated that of the **170 offenders** that received a Community Based Order for an AAMR qualifying offence within the South London LJA, around a fifth (21%, n=35/170) were deemed eligible for an AAMR within the confines of the pilot (i.e., alcohol was a contributing factor of the offence, the offender resided within one of the pilot boroughs and was not alcohol dependent, the Order did not contain an Alcohol Treatment Requirement (ATR), and offences were not domestic violence related). **Two thirds (n=23/35) of eligible cases went on to receive Community Based Orders with an AAMR.**

It was not possible to ascertain whether lifestyle factors (e.g., alcohol dependency, medical conditions or source of electricity at residence) may have precluded the remaining twelve offenders from receiving an AAMR, however opportunities may have been missed in these cases. The pool of eligible and suitable cases would increase if pilot restrictions (especially geographical boundaries) were removed in any future expansion.

¹⁶ Total Notifiable Offences (TNO) is a count of all offences which are statutorily notifiable to the Home Office.

¹⁷ 'MF', suspect/accused had been drinking prior to committing offence or 'GA', alcohol consumed at scene by suspect/accused. Feature codes are not mandatory and therefore it is likely that this data, in part, reflects individual officer recording practices and may considerably underestimate the scale of alcohol related offending.

¹⁸ For the purposes of the manual review a qualifying offence was defined as driving with excess alcohol, assaults (e.g., common assault, assault by beating, actual bodily harm or assault on a police constable), criminal damage, public order offences, and other offences such as resisting or obstructing a police constable.

Key learning

Data indicates that all of the pilot boroughs present levels of alcohol related need, in particular Southwark and Lambeth. Other London boroughs (e.g. Westminster, Camden, Hackney and Newham) rank consistently high across data indicators suggesting alcohol related need in other parts of London should the scheme be expanded.

A two month 'snapshot' review of all Community Based Orders imposed within the South London LJA indicates that two thirds (n=23/35) of eligible cases went on to receive Community Based Orders with an AAMR. Opportunities to use the AAMR *may* have been missed in around a third of eligible cases (n=12/35, however reasons for not imposing an AAMR may have been valid, for example, if the offender was alcohol dependent).

People

This section presents performance data for the cohort of offenders sentenced to an AAMR within the twelve months of the pilot.

Basics around the AAMR

In total, **113** AAMRs were imposed over the twelve months of the pilot (see **appendix four**)¹⁹. Ninety four were completed or terminated within the twelve month pilot, increasing to 107 as at 15 October 2015 (including six that were removed by the court in the interest of justice e.g., alcohol dependency or issues with the offender's place of residence). Overall, the AAMR had a compliance rate of 92% over the twelve months of the pilot, based on the number of cases (n=9) returned to court and convicted of breaching their AAMR as a proportion of all cases imposed²⁰. Of these, five had their AAMR revoked and therefore failed to complete²¹. The remaining four subsequently went on to complete their AAMR following their return to court. Five of the nine cases convicted of breach were Community Based Orders with a standalone requirement of an AAMR. The remaining four cases were Orders with multiple requirements, one of which was an AAMR²². An alternative method of considering compliance is via positive completions (i.e., those which expire

¹⁹ 113 AAMRs were imposed on 111 unique individuals. Two offenders were placed on the AAMR for two separate offences. As of 24 November 2015, 135 AAMRs had been imposed.

²⁰ Measuring compliance with Community Orders is complex with no consistent definition (Cattell et al, 2014a). For the purposes of the pilot, compliance with the AAMR requirement (as opposed to the whole Community Based Order which may contain more than one requirement) was measured by the number of offenders returned to court and convicted of breach (e.g., consumption of alcohol, tampering with the AAMR monitoring equipment, or a refusal to allow monitoring to take place), rather than a single failure to comply for which legislation directs an NPS/CRC Responsible Officer to issue a breach notice letter/warning of breach action. Other ways of looking at compliance include successful completions of orders (i.e., positive completions - those which expire normally without being revoked for breach/failure to comply or for a further offence, or which are terminated early by the court for good progress) and initiation of enforcement action (i.e., breach notice letter) by the probation service. See appendix 5 for all compliance data.

²¹ An AAMR was revoked where the court deemed the breach (including consumption of alcohol (2 cases), consumption of alcohol and tampering with the monitoring equipment (1 case) or refusing to be tagged (2 cases)) of the requirement so serious that continuation of the requirement was not considered appropriate.

²² In all four cases there were only two requirements - AAMR and Unpaid Work.

normally without being revoked for breach/failure to comply or for a further offence, or which are terminated early by the court for good progress). This gives a completion rate of 95% (based on the number of positive AAMR completions (n=96) as a proportion of all AAMRs completed/terminated (n=101, this figure excludes the six AAMRs that were removed in the interest of justice). See **appendix five** for further details.

Of the 101 AAMRs completed/terminated (excluding the six that were removed in the interest of justice), almost three-quarters (74% or 75 cases), remained totally compliant (i.e., the tag did not record any confirmed drinking or tamper events) throughout the duration of their AAMR. The remaining 26 cases failed to comply at least once (i.e., recorded a drinking event and/or tamper event). In accordance with wider legislation applicable to all community sentences (schedule 8 and 12 of the Criminal Justice Act 2003), an offender is usually returned to court for breach action after a first breach notice has been served and the offender has failed to comply for a second time. **Appendix six** sets out the enforcement timeline to which all Community Based Orders are subject, which states that cases should be listed before a magistrate court within twenty days of an offender's second failure to comply. The majority (n=6/9) of AAMR breach prosecutions were conducted within the required time parameters (20 days of the offender's second failure to comply), with an average of 16 days. The remaining three cases fell slightly outside of the twenty day marker (with 21, 23 and 24 days respectively) due to delays in the enforcement process.

Current compliance with the AAMR (92%) is higher than other orders, however it should be noted that direct 'like-for-like' comparisons between compliance rates of different orders should be treated with caution due to varying offence types, offender characteristics, processes of dealing with breach, and lengths of orders²³. Furthermore, the current study is based on a small number of offenders over a short time period. However, to contextualise, further analysis by the NPS in 2014 estimated a compliance rate of Community Based Orders managed by the NPS and CRC of approximately 61% (based on the projected number of cases and proportion of enforcement referrals (39%)). Just over three quarters (79%) of offenders in the Offender Management Community Cohort Study ended their Community Orders in a 'positive manner' with the majority of these (70%) expiring normally and the remainder (9%) completed early for good progress (Cattell et al, 2014a). Indicators of offender compliance in terms of the proportion of orders and licences successfully completed (including recalls) (i.e., those that expire normally without being revoked for breach/failure to comply or a further offence, or which are terminated early by the court for good progress) was 84% in London in financial year 2014/15, higher than the national rate (79%), with some variation by requirement type (e.g., the completion rate for Community Payback in London was 82% but slightly lower for Alcohol Treatment Requirements (80%)

²³ The LASPO Act 2012 allows courts to impose a requirement that an offender abstain from alcohol for a maximum of 120 days. In comparison, the maximum period of a curfew is 12 months, while an Unpaid Work requirement can be imposed for a maximum of 300 hours.

and Drug Rehabilitation Requirements/Drug Testing and Treatment Orders (67%)) (Ministry of Justice, 2015a).

AAMR lengths ranged between 28 and 120 days with an average of 75 days. Over half (61%, n=69) of AAMRs were part of a Community Based Order containing multiple requirements (e.g., Supervision, Unpaid Work, Curfew etc.) with the remainder (n=44) sentenced as a standalone requirement. The majority of AAMRs (83%, n=94) were given as part of a Community Order (the remaining 19 were part of a Suspended Sentence Order). In terms of the technology, there were over **6,500** monitored days in the pilot period during which over **298,000** alcohol readings were taken (an average of over 2,600 readings per order or approximately 45 per monitored day). In theory, the technology should take around 48 readings per individual per day (depending on time of tag fitting and removal) therefore this indicates that the technology underpinning the AAMR is working as intended. Previous research (e.g. Dougherty et al, 2012; Leffingwell et al, 2013) has also indicated correlations between transdermal alcohol readings and other forms of alcohol measurement including breath tests, self report and observations in a laboratory setting²⁴. Alcohol tags should be fitted within 24 hours of sentencing (on the same day if notification is received from the court before 4pm) at a time slot agreed with the offender. In the majority (89%, n=101) of cases, the court notified EMS of the order either on the day of (n=89) or day following (n=12) the sentence. Of these, most (82%, n=83) were tagged either on the day (n=45) or within one day (n=38) of notification²⁵.

The 113 AAMRs were ordered in relation to 128 offences. Almost two thirds of these (63%, n=80) were violence (n=41) or drink drive (n=39) related offences. The range of crime types for which AAMRs were ordered listed in **appendix seven** indicates that sentencers chose to use the requirement across a variety of offences. In-depth analysis of case notes and NPS national management information data (from the nDelius system) conducted by the project manager indicated that around a quarter (24%, n=27) of all AAMR cases were linked to the night-time economy (e.g., committed after 8pm and involving some sort of 'commercial' aspect such as a bar, pub, late night food retailer, cab driver etc.). Croydon was the most 'active' of the four boroughs throughout the pilot with almost three quarters (73%, n=82) of AAMRs resulting from Croydon Magistrates' (n=77) or Crown Court (n=5) (see **appendix eight**).

²⁴ It is not possible to know whether all instances of alcohol consumption were detected in the pilot, however, the tag provides continuous 24/7 alcohol monitoring, uses electrochemical fuel cell technology that is also used in commercially available breath testing devices, and by testing wearer's sweat every 30 minutes, can detect if someone has consumed a small, medium or large amount of alcohol. The tag stores and records test results every 30 minutes which are referred to as transdermal alcohol concentration (TAC) readings. TAC readings can range from .000 (no alcohol detected) to .487 (x 6 UK drink drive limit) and are mapped to reports for probation that indicate compliance or non-compliance. Specific confirmation criteria are applied to TAC readings/alerts when they are above .020 for three consecutive readings or an hour and a half. The criteria that is used to determine if a subject has consumed alcohol provides for safeguards to prevent false positives that may be associated with ambient alcohol (e.g. cosmetics, work environments, alcohol based products etc.). The tag will also flag up tamper/removal attempts and mechanical issues such as low batteries or other maintenance related issues. During the pilot there was one tag that needed to be replaced and five multiconnect units (the modem that transmits the data) that required replacement due to connectivity issues. The tag stores up to 60 consecutive days of test results while activated, therefore data was secure in these cases. AMS is currently redesigning the base station to include more robust connectivity options.

²⁵ The most common reason for not fitting a tag within 24 hours of notification was due to a 'no access visit' i.e., the offender was not at the property when they said they would be, or the tag fitter was unable to gain access to the property.

Discussions between the AAMR project manager and staff at Camberwell Green Magistrates Court in addition to points raised in research interviews indicated that reasons for the disparity between the volume of AAMRs ordered at this court compared to Croydon may include geographical restrictions of the pilot, staff turnover, the impact of Transforming Rehabilitation, the suitability of offenders (e.g., a judiciary interviewee felt that those sentenced at Camberwell Green often had chaotic or complex lifestyles that precluded them from receiving an AAMR), and motivation of probation and judiciary staff to use the AAMR.

Demographics and criminal background

In terms of basic demographics of the offenders who received the AAMR, the majority were male (88%, n=98/111) and white²⁶ (66%, n=73/111), with an average age of 33 years (ranging between 18 and 63 years. Over half (59%, n = 66/111) were aged between 18 and 34 years).

Appendix nine presents headline PNC data on 102 offenders sentenced to the AAMR in the twelve month pilot period²⁷. In terms of formal criminal history – the AAMR group present with a cumulative total of 1337 arrests, with an average of 13 arrests each (ranging from 1 to 88); a total of 771 guilty sanctions²⁸, at an average of 8 each (ranging from 1 to 58) and a total of 612 guilty court occasions, at an average of 6 occasions each²⁹ (ranging from 1 to 55). This includes the offence for which they received the AAMR. The majority of the group hold between one and ten (80%, n=82) and 11 and 20 (13%, n=13) guilty sanctions, although there is a lengthy ‘tail’ when exploring overall sanctions (see **appendix ten**) that indicates a minority of AAMR offenders do present with more prolific levels of crime (e.g., 3 offenders have between 21 and 30, and 4 have more than 30 guilty sanctions). Indeed, one fifth of the AAMR cohort (21%) demonstrated a level of criminal versatility – that is they hold guilty sanctions in four or more different offence types.

As a group, their average age of first arrest was 24 years of age, with slightly older average age of first sanction and guilty occasion at court (25 and 26 years respectively). One third (34%, n=35) received the AAMR for their first guilty court occasion. The remainder had at least one other guilty court occasion with almost a third (30%, n=31) having five or more in their history (see **appendix eleven**).

The Offender Group Reconviction Scale version 3 (OGRS3) scores for the AAMR cohort were calculated at the point of receiving the AAMR. OGRS uses static factors, such as age at sentence, gender, offence committed and criminal history to predict the likelihood of

²⁶ Including ‘White: British/English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish’, ‘White European’, ‘White Irish’ and ‘White Other’.

²⁷ PNC records for all 111 unique individuals sentenced to the AAMR in the twelve month pilot period were requested. Data was returned for 102 offenders. PNC analysis in this report is based on 102 records only.

²⁸ This is the number of guilty sanctions (including convictions, cautions, warnings and reprimands) including both court and non-court sanctions.

²⁹ The number of unique court occasions where the outcome was a guilty verdict. Several sanctions could be sentenced within the same court occasion.

proven reoffending within a given time (e.g., either one or two years after starting their Community Order. This research reports the two year score). Offenders with a higher OGRS score are at greater risk of reoffending and more likely to breach their Community Orders. For example, 11% of offenders included in the Offender Management Community Cohort Study with a very low risk of reoffending (based on OGRS scores) breached, compared to over a third (34%) of those with a very high risk of reoffending (Cattell et al, 2014a).

As a group, the average OGRS3 score was 35% (ranging from 6 to 82) placing the AAMR cohort as a whole at low risk of reconviction. Three quarters of the group would be defined as low (38%, n=39) or very low risk (39%, n=40) although a minority would be identified as medium (18%, n=18) or high (5%, n=5) risk of reconviction (see **appendix twelve**). To place this in a wider context - as expected, in terms of offending history the AAMR cohort present far less than high demand offending populations and broadly align more to the general offending population in the UK, particularly those who receive community sentences (Farrington, 2005; Dawson and Cuppleditch, 2007, Ministry of Justice 2015b, 2010; Blakeborough and Richardson, 2012)

Key learning

113 AAMRs were imposed over the twelve month pilot period, the majority of which were given as part of a Community Order, with an average length of 75 days. Offenders receiving the AAMR were largely male and white, with an average age of 33 years. AAMRs were most commonly given in relation to violence or drink driving related offences.

94 AAMRs were completed/terminated in the pilot period, increasing to 107 as at 15th October 2015. The AAMR had a compliance rate of 92% over the twelve month pilot period, based on the number of cases (n=9) returned to court and convicted of breaching their AAMR as a proportion of all cases imposed.

There were over 6,500 monitored days in the pilot period during which over 298,000 alcohol readings were taken (at an average of over 2,600 readings per AAMR or approximately 45 per monitored day), indicating that the technology underpinning the AAMR is working as intended.

As expected, the AAMR cohort does not have an extensive criminal background, with an average of 8 sanctions and 6 guilty court occasions each, and an average OGRS score of 35%, although there is a minority that present more prolific histories. As a cohort, in terms of offending histories, the AAMR offenders present far less than high demand offending populations and broadly align more to the general offending population in the UK, particularly those who receive community sentences.

The AAMR process

Drawing from the methods outlined earlier (training/awareness raising feedback surveys, stakeholder surveys and interviews, and offender surveys), this section discusses the AAMR pilot process under four themes: *setting up and getting going*, *delivering the AAMR*, *influence of the AAMR*, and *sustainability: insights from the pilot year*. Given the size of the research cohort, some caution should be used when considering results³⁰.

Setting up and getting going

Stakeholders and offenders generally have a good understanding of the AAMR, however there are opportunities for wider publicity...

All respondents to the stakeholder surveys indicated that they understood the aims and objectives of the AAMR (n=40/40 respondents rated their understanding as a '5', '6', or '7' with '7' being the maximum - 'very well') The majority stated that they understood the eligibility and exclusion criteria for offenders to receive the AAMR (n=38/40), that they had been provided with enough information to use the AAMR in their role (n=36/40), and knew where to get more information about the AAMR (n=33/40). This was proportionately higher than views given in the initial training/awareness survey (conducted throughout June and July 2014 - n=47/54, n=42/54, n=40/48 and n=38/52 respectively).

Training/awareness raising sessions were generally well received, however around a quarter of respondents to the training/awareness raising feedback survey expressed dissatisfaction with some feeling that the sessions were delivered too quickly (n=13/53). A small number of respondents to the stakeholder surveys and NPS/CRC interviewees also highlighted some reliance on self-learning and information from colleagues, that the slow initial uptake of AAMRs may have led to staff 'skill fade' following training, the importance of face to face sessions due to limited time available to read training materials, and that not all NPS/CRC officers are aware of the AAMR. Despite this, on the whole, respondents to the stakeholder surveys were largely satisfied with the training, awareness raising and communication they had received about the AAMR (n=31/40, a further 5 were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 2 had not received any, while the remaining 2 were fairly or very dissatisfied). The majority of survey responses (n=45/58) also indicated that stakeholders were very or fairly satisfied with the communication they had received from MOPAC around the AAMR.

Interviewees also largely spoke positively about the training, awareness raising and communications received from MOPAC in terms of it being clear, straightforward and

³⁰ Due to the low response rate to individual surveys, responses to all three surveys have been collated (n=58) and overall themes drawn out. Eighteen respondents completed more than one survey throughout the pilot period, therefore response numbers sometimes reflect the number of surveys completed, rather than the number of individual respondents. Survey respondents who had responded to previous surveys were not required to answer all questions in later surveys therefore response numbers differ depending on question.

The AAMR project manager...has been a very useful and accessible source of information, clarification and advice (NPS survey respondent)

leaving them well informed to carry out their role in the AAMR pilot. NPS/CRC partners who were unable to attend training sessions or became involved later in the pilot due to staff changes or sick leave valued additional onsite one to one training from the project manager, indicating the need for ongoing training opportunities.

There were some mixed views from judiciary respondents around AAMR training, awareness raising and communications. While those who responded to the survey were generally satisfied and some interviewees commented that there had been considerably more information on the AAMR compared to other community sentencing options (with one suggesting that 'a couple of sides of A4' of information and guidance would suffice), others felt that there hadn't been enough training, awareness raising and communications and that more mention should be made of the AAMR in sentencing guidelines/the sentencing judiciary kit. Some NPS/CRC interviewees also felt that more information on the AAMR should have been provided to defence solicitors, who are often unaware of the requirement and eligibility and exclusion criteria. Furthermore, wider publicity in general (to the public as well as professionals) on the AAMR would have been useful, perhaps even serving as a preventative measure to would-be recipients of the tag. Indeed throughout the surveys, respondents consistently ranked prevention of alcohol related crime as the most important goal for the AAMR³¹.

All (n=44) offenders who completed a survey during their tag fitting understood why they had received the order, how the equipment works, what they must do to comply with the AAMR, thought that the information they had received was useful, and stated that they knew how to get more information. During their tag removal the majority of offenders (n=18/27) agreed that it was easy to contact somebody to get more information about the AAMR if they needed to (n=6/27 disagreed with this). Some offenders gave freetext comments in their surveys that the staff fitting or removing their tag were friendly and informative.

This generally positive understanding of the AAMR was likely the result of a determined effort by MOPAC to design, implement and communicate effectively from the outset of the pilot and throughout. To illustrate, the implementation was supported by training/awareness raising sessions (held both centrally at City Hall and in pilot boroughs), on site one to one training, a suite of specially designed products (e.g., a toolkit, leaflet, posters), the recruitment of a dedicated project manager and regular, bespoke

³¹ Survey respondents were asked to rank what they considered to be the most important goals of the AAMR from a set list of 11 options. The full list (in order of importance according to survey respondents were): To prevent people committing alcohol related crime; To improve public safety; To improve public confidence in the ability of the criminal justice system to tackle alcohol related crime; To reduce the cost of alcohol related crime to statutory services (e.g., police, health); To prevent people committing crime in general; To change attitudes about the use of alcohol and acceptability of behaviour; To prevent people drinking excessive amounts of alcohol; To punish offenders; To support people to reduce the amount of alcohol they drink; To speed up the process of dealing with alcohol related offenders in the criminal justice system; To support people to tackle problems in their lives.

communications (e.g., 'seasonal' messages to remind stakeholders of the AAMR at Christmas) – all of which received broad support from respondents. For example, the AAMR toolkit³² (which set out the aims and objectives of the pilot, ways of working and roles/responsibilities of partner agencies) was well received by stakeholders surveyed who felt it was useful (n=35/39), however some MOPAC staff and stakeholders reflected it would have been more beneficial to have launched it earlier (i.e., it was launched after the initial training although before official pilot start). The majority of stakeholders who stated they had seen the AAMR information leaflet and poster (**see appendix thirteen**) found them useful³³.

Regular communications from the project manager and a quick response to questions was important to interviewees and this was often raised as a successful part of the pilot. Some interviewees commented that the pilot may not have run as smoothly as it did without a knowledgeable and responsive project manager who could quickly deal with any issues as they arose³⁴. In respect of the offenders, the majority who responded to a survey at tag removal reported positively on information they received including a guidance document (n= 27/27), questions and answer sheet (n=20/27) and signposting advice (n= 19/27).

Response from project manager when information requests come through is very professional and swift (CRC survey respondent)

The findings above around understanding and implementation of the AAMR are encouraging. Previous research suggests that clear training, guidance documents and monitoring instructions are a key part of ensuring a programme is delivered with integrity, enabling it to have the best opportunity to be effective (Dawson and Stanko, 2013). Indeed, insights from the Home Office Sobriety Conditional Cautions scheme highlighted a general lack of stakeholder understanding of the process which contributed to substantial implementation issues experienced by the majority of pilot sites (Home Office, 2013). It is fair to state that MOPAC recognised this, with the interviewed MOPAC staff themselves highlighting the importance of clearly mapping out processes and roles in the set up and delivery of the pilot.

Key learning

Both practitioners and offenders surveyed and interviewed held a firm understanding of the AAMR's aims and ways of working – likely attributable to the range of bespoke products MOPAC delivered to ensure integrity of the approach, and regular communication between practitioners and the AAMR project manager.

However, publicity of the AAMR could have been more widespread to ensure that legal professionals (in particular, defence solicitors) and the general public were aware of the new technology.

Given the AAMR is a multi-agency approach, the importance of team work in pilot design and development, securing buy-in from partners (particularly NPS and CRC colleagues who were instrumental in the delivery of the AAMR) and ensuring they took ownership of the process from the start, was recognised by MOPAC staff as critical – with one commenting ‘there would have been no pilot’ without this.

Good communication between agencies and partners has improved the process. There is willingness for the project to succeed between partner agencies
(MPS survey respondent)

Stakeholders interviewed and surveyed generally felt that engagement had worked well, with some survey responses even indicating that the AAMR pilot had enabled them to develop relationships with new partners or improve those with existing partners (n=30/58 and n=32/58 respectively). Although the MPS engaged with the pilot, officers took on less of a role than anticipated at the outset³⁵, however as an organisation that is considerably affected by alcohol related crime it would be useful to explore their role, and that of other partners (e.g., local authorities) further, in the event of any expansion of the AAMR. An MPS licensing officer who responded to the stakeholder survey felt that the AAMR scheme could benefit from police involvement as officers could provide further information which “*may help join up the dots and assist the courts and probation service decision to give an AAMR....It could be that the individual is coming to notice in other areas of policing and it would be useful to have a full picture when making assessments on crime prevention strategies*”. Some respondents to the stakeholder survey highlighted other partners who may benefit from being involved including alcohol assessors (who could consider the AAMR when an individual is found unsuitable to receive treatment for dependency), Community Payback managers, and health and substance misuse professionals.

The planning and implementation that went into the front end of the project paid off in the end as the service delivery went really well
(AMS survey respondent)

The working relationship between MOPAC and the equipment providers (AMS/EMS) appeared to be strong from the outset and largely worked well between

EMS and delivery stakeholders, some of whom commented in interviews on a speedy response from EMS following queries. However, a small number of NPS/CRC interviewees highlighted occasions early on in the pilot where reports from EMS went to the wrong mailbox and that transmission of information from the court to EMS experienced some initial ‘teething problems’. Learning from these incidents seemed to be taken on board and

³⁵ Initially it was anticipated that the MPS would ensure the influence of alcohol in an offence was highlighted via a flag or marker on the MG5 (case summary) form. Logistically it proved difficult to capture this information, as MG5s are not stored centrally (therefore making it impossible to dip sample to explore content) and flags not used consistently. Attempts were made to understand what prompted an AAMR assessment (e.g., through information on the MG5, via a Pre-Sentence Report (PSR) interview etc.) via a questionnaire to be completed by the NPS court officer, however this largely proved unsuccessful. As such, it was difficult to ascertain how consistently alcohol was flagged on the MG5 or the influence this did or did not have on the identification of eligible cases to receive an AAMR.

efforts made on the part of MOPAC and EMS to ensure that processes were more streamlined. This was supported by the experiences of the offenders surveyed, most of whom (n=42/44) stated that the process of receiving the alcohol tag (from sentence to having it fitted) was straightforward.

Failing to communicate and engage with partners early to ensure they understand the aims of the programme and their role within it has been shown to contribute to implementation failure

You need people with enthusiasm for the AAMR and a good overall manager to "get people on board with it"
(CRC survey respondent)

(Maguire, 2004). Indeed, early and ongoing engagement and buy in with partners and good working relationships has been identified as essential factors in the development and running of other schemes (e.g., see Blakeborough and Richardson, 2012). The AAMR governance structure, including monthly Local Implementation Groups focusing on operational delivery, quarterly Programme Boards setting the strategic direction, and internal project meetings, is likely to have played a key role in engaging stakeholders from the outset and throughout, however a small number commented that this seemed to slow down slightly towards the latter stages of the pilot. Equipment provider (AMS/EMS) interviewees also emphasised the importance of their own governance structure, which allowed them to regularly review and learn from pilot implementation. Furthermore, an important aspect in this strong communication (and wider delivery) was the establishment of a dedicated project team within MOPAC, which included a full-time AAMR project manager seconded from the NPS, who appeared to play a pivotal role in encouraging buy-in from partners, communicating, and supporting the delivery of the AAMR 'on the ground'. With a strong background in electronic monitoring and enforcement and a range of appropriate tools, the project manager had a firm understanding of working patterns, and well established contacts within HMCTS and the NPS/CRC. Indeed, both MOPAC staff and stakeholders (within freetext comments from the survey and interviews) consistently highlighted the importance of these roles - one particular benefit being the 'in the field' practical experience of the project manager. On a wider point, with the AAMR being rolled out during significant changes to offender management as part of the Transforming Rehabilitation agenda, effective engagement with partners in this challenging climate could be viewed as a noteworthy success of the pilot.

Key learning

Engagement between MOPAC, the equipment provider and delivery stakeholders worked well throughout the pilot. A strong governance structure including regular implementation and programme oversight meetings from the outset and throughout is likely to have played a key role in this.

The establishment of a dedicated MOPAC team including the appointment of a project manager with practical 'in the field' experience and established relationships 'on the ground' appears to have been a pivotal aspect of the effective roll out and implementation of the AAMR.

Identifying and addressing challenges

It is expected that pilot schemes change during their lifespan as key learning emerges (Dawson and Stanko, 2013) and the AAMR pilot was no exception. Notable challenges identified throughout the pilot period included geographical restrictions of the pilot areas and the immediacy of contact with the offender after a failure to comply. MOPAC and partners made a variety of amendments throughout the pilot in response to these challenges including: allowing the AAMR to be used in Crown Courts in the South London LJA, as a punitive requirement after breach, and with offenders who commit offences outside of the four pilot boroughs (but within London, reside in one of the pilot boroughs and are sentenced in the South London LJA). In addition, responsibility for initiating first contact with an offender when non-compliance is detected moved to EMS (rather than NPS/CRC) reducing the likelihood of delays due to the Monday to Friday working patterns of NPS/CRC officers (EMS operates a 24 hours a day, 7 days a week service).

Identifying challenges and refining the AAMR model in response again demonstrates the importance of the central AAMR team, in particular the dedicated project manager who had well-established relationships with stakeholders.

Positive opinions about using the AAMR....

NPS/CRC and judiciary stakeholders surveyed and interviewed were largely positive about the AAMR technology, perhaps supported by previous experience of other forms of electronic monitoring equipment (i.e., curfew tags). NPS/CRC and judiciary interviewees largely welcomed the AAMR, referring to it as *'another tool in the toolbox'*, *'armoury'* or *'arsenal'* and *'another string to the bow'* which offered an alternative community sentencing option (particularly to Unpaid Work (UPW)) with a punitive element, of which there are reasonably few. They highlighted the benefits of the AAMR as a tailored, targeted and innovative response that accurately monitored alcohol intake and allows offenders to go about their daily life (e.g., employment, care responsibilities etc.) with minimal disruption.

Another punishment requirement for low serious offenders so takes some of the burden off UPW
(NPS survey respondent)

Some NPS/CRC interviewees felt that the AAMR contributed to filling a gap in sentencing for alcohol related offences committed by non-dependent offenders, a cohort who were sometimes *'lumped together'* with dependent drinkers (who may present different criminogenic and lifestyle needs) on an Alcohol Treatment Requirement (ATR). Indeed, almost two thirds of survey responses (n=38/58) indicated that the AAMR was a useful additional tool. Survey responses also indicated support for a wider roll out of the AAMR across London (n=52/58) and nationally (n=51/58), echoed by interviewees, however some stakeholders highlighted in other parts of surveys and interviews that there needed to be further work to fully understand the impact of the AAMR on costs and offending behaviour.

Over half (n=33/58) of stakeholder survey responses stated that the AAMR would be more successful when delivered in combination with other requirements, however, a member of the judiciary interviewed warned against ‘crowding’ too many in to one sentence, which may ‘set an offender up to fail’³⁶. In a similar vein, a senior probation officer felt that issuing another punitive requirement such as UPW alongside an AAMR, in some cases, seemed excessive. However, a number of NPS/CRC interviewees spoke about possible benefits of the AAMR alongside a supervision requirement for certain offenders. They felt that the purpose of the requirement and readings from monitoring graphs could be a good focus of conversation around levels of alcohol consumption, and impact on behaviour and general lifestyle. In all AAMR cases, offenders receive Identification and Brief Advice (IBA), and signposting to support services if required, from their Responsible Officer within the NPS/CRC. IBAs are shown to lead to one in eight people reducing their alcohol consumption to within a level which is recognised as safe or low risk, and evidence suggests that they are more effective for harmful and hazardous drinkers than dependent drinkers (Andrews, 2010; Blakeborough and Richardson, 2012; see also Raistrick et al, 2006)³⁷.

When asked in later surveys whether views about the AAMR had changed since the start of the pilot, no respondents said they had got worse with the majority stating ‘got better’ (n=24/39) or no change (n=15/39, as they had not dealt with cases or were awaiting results of research). Those who stated it had got better related this to compliance, the technology and monitoring, feedback from staff and service users, partnership, engagement and communications, and having another option to manage alcohol misusing offenders.

Some reservations about eligibility criteria and requirement of total abstinence ...

Some judiciary and NPS/CRC interviewees commented that the AAMR was ‘missed’ as a sentencing option on some occasions, highlighting the need for continued communication and reminders both centrally and ‘on the ground’. A judiciary interviewee felt that sentencers sometimes get into

I may possibly have dealt with one or two cases where AAMR may have been a possible disposal but it does not feature as a significant element in my sentencing armoury in practice as the conditions seem to suit only a very limited range of offences (Judiciary survey respondent)

‘comfort zones’ and may need to be prompted to consider other options. A magistrate survey respondent highlighted the importance of probation colleagues stating that they should support the judiciary by “...considering AAMRs when writing reports so that sentencers can consider whether an AAMR is appropriate and suitable as part of a sentence”. Some NPS/CRC and judiciary interviewees were surprised that the AAMR hadn’t

³⁶ In their study of key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London, Gyateng et al (2010) also noted that the likelihood of breach increased significantly with the number of requirements imposed on an offender.

³⁷ An IBA typically involves identification using a validated screening tool to identify ‘risky’ drinking, and brief advice aimed at encouraging a risky drinker to reduce their consumption to lower risk levels.

been used more throughout the pilot period and queried if the ‘right type’ of cases were coming through the courts, whether pilot boundaries were overly restrictive, and the impact of frequently updated measures, acts and requirements in general which can sometimes be overwhelming for delivery stakeholders. A perceived narrow eligibility criteria for the AAMR pilot and suitability of the offender assessment tool (AUDIT) was also raised in the freetext comments of some survey responses.

Two NPS/CRC interviewees speculated that the judiciary sometimes feel that requiring a person to abstain from alcohol is too punitive and that a more proportionate response would be to use the technology to enforce a reduction (rather than abstinence) of alcohol intake³⁸. An interview with a district judge corroborated these views; however another judiciary interviewee disagreed, stating that a shorter period of enforced abstinence was preferable to a longer spell of reduced alcohol intake.

Responses to breach in the USA³⁹ were discussed by judiciary and MOPAC interviewees with some commenting that the pilot had indicated that the response to breach in the UK context was adequate, however another (from the judiciary) felt that the speed of breach process for all Community Based Orders (not exclusively the AAMR) was problematic.

Key learning

The AAMR has been largely welcomed by respondents as ‘*another tool in the box*’ of community sentences, offering an innovative and tailored response to alcohol related offending, filling a gap in sentencing for alcohol related offences committed by non-dependent offenders. However, there are some reservations around narrow pilot eligibility criteria and the requirement for total abstinence in certain cases.

Continued communication is important to ensure that delivery stakeholders continue to recommend and use the AAMR as a sentencing option.

Influence of the AAMR

As outlined in the methodology section, the research was not able to robustly evaluate the impact of the AAMR on offender behaviour, stakeholder workload or costs. However, it is possible to present some staff and offender insights around the levels of influence the AAMR may have.

³⁸ The LASPO Act 2012 also allows the court to specify that an offender cannot drink more than a specified amount of alcohol, thus allowing for the possibility of minimal drinking rather than abstinence.

³⁹ One of the key differences between the use of sobriety technology in the USA and UK is the manner in which it is enforced. The US system allows for immediate detention following breach whereas the primary legislation which governs breach action in England and Wales is the Criminal Justice Act 2003 which outlines that an offender is usually returned to court for breach action after a first breach notice has been served and the offender has failed to comply for a second time.

The majority (n=41/44) of offenders surveyed were very or fairly confident that they would successfully complete the AAMR (i.e., not drink alcohol) at the point of tag fitting. Offenders who completed a survey at the time of their fitting were largely unhappy about the appearance and 'wearability' of the alcohol tag. The majority felt that the tag was bulky (n=39/44) while over half (n=27/44) stated that the tag was not comfortable to wear. Indeed, almost two thirds (n=28/44) disagreed with the statement '*the alcohol tag is better than I thought it would be*'. On the whole, views were largely similar at the time of tag removal: almost all (n=26/27) stated that the tag was bulky and two-thirds (n=17/27) that the tag was not comfortable to wear. A similar proportion (n=18/27) disagreed with the statement '*the alcohol tag is better than I thought it would be*'. In freetext fields on the survey, some offenders referred to the size of the tag, that it disturbed their sleep and limited their clothing choices, and concerns about not being able to bath while wearing it⁴⁰. Some NPS/CRC and judiciary interviewees and survey respondents also saw this as a negative of the AAMR, raising health and safety concerns for offenders with an active or very visible job or lifestyle wearing the tag. Interviewees felt that more information about the AAMR should be provided to offenders at court so they are aware of the tag size and what is required of them.

It's big and ugly. I'm also not happy about the bathing arrangements
(Offender survey respondent)

...The tag is very big and uncomfortable to wear in bed
(Offender survey respondent)

Despite this, most (n=31/44) offenders surveyed reported that they were generally not worried about wearing the alcohol tag at the point of fitting, although there was some concern around what their friends and family (n=28/44) or strangers (n=23/44) would think of the tag. On the whole, views were similar when the tag was removed: the majority (n=21/27) were not worried about wearing the tag, however many were concerned about the views of friends and family (n=19/27) and strangers (n=18/27). Research on the ethics of electronic monitoring of offenders presents different views around stigmatisation effects of wearing a tag, including that it can both hinder development because the offender feels socially excluded and disadvantaged, but also that it may foster a sense of repentance or have a deterrent effect (see Billow, 2014).

Offenders were asked for their views on the effect of the AAMR on different parts of their life including family, relationship with partner, children and friends, work, education, health, and attitudes to the police, at time of tag fitting and reflecting back after removal (**appendix fourteen**)⁴¹. Small numbers make results difficult to interpret, however at tag

⁴⁰ The AAMR tag must not be submerged in water therefore offenders cannot bath while wearing it, however can shower. AMS are currently in the process of testing a new tag strap and buckle designed to be more comfortable for the wearer.

⁴¹ A number of 'life areas' set out in the survey – in particular 'relationship with children', 'education' and 'ability to comply with other orders/programmes' – were not applicable for some survey respondents.

fitting few (between 2 and 9) respondents felt that the AAMR would make any of the 'aspects of life statements' outlined in the survey worse, with the largest proportion usually stating 'no change' or 'make better' depending on the statement. Most notably at tag fitting, over half (n=25/44) felt the AAMR would make their health better (n=17/44 stated 'no change'. Health benefits were also the most frequently mentioned theme in the limited number of freetext comments captured in offender surveys) while almost half (n=20/44) stated that the AAMR would make family life in general better (n=16/44 stated 'no change'). Respondents were more likely to report 'no change' to relationships with friends (n=26/44), work (n=20/44), attitudes to the police (n=27/44) and probation/offender manager (n=25/44).

At tag removal, the largest proportion of survey respondents mostly commented that the AAMR had 'no change' on the different parts of their life outlined. Similar to the survey conducted at tag fitting, those who responded to the tag removal survey were most likely to report life areas that were 'made better' by being on the AAMR as 'family life in general' (n=10/27) and 'health' (n=13/27). At tag removal, survey respondents were asked to rate their experience of being on the AAMR from '1' being 'very negative' to '7' being very positive. Almost half (n=13/27) of respondents rated their experience at the more positive end of the scale (between '5' and '7'). Six respondents felt that their experience was 'very negative' (ranking '1').

I have stopped binge drinking for the long term and I have seen how good life can be without drinking
(Offender survey respondent)

Commenting more generally about the potential effect of the AAMR, most offenders surveyed felt that it would be useful in terms of stopping people committing crime (n=29/44) and helping people to drink less alcohol in the long term (n=29/44) at the

point of tag fitting. Responses to these questions were similar when the tag was removed (n=18/27 in terms of stopping people committing crime and n=19/27 in terms of drinking less alcohol).

Stakeholders had mixed views about the usefulness of the AAMR as a way to tackle offending (n=21/52 in the training/awareness survey disagreed that the AAMR was a useful way to tackle

alcohol related offending), and the majority (n=31/58) of responses to the stakeholder survey were unsure whether the AAMR would stop people committing crime in the long term. However, almost two thirds (n=36/58) agreed that being on the AAMR would help people to drink less alcohol in the long term and play a more positive role in society (n=35/58), while almost three quarters (n=42/58) thought that it would help people in other areas of their lives (e.g., work, family, health). Although reporting no impact on re-arrest rates, Blakeborough and Richardson's (2012) evaluation of the Home Office Alcohol Arrest Referral pilot, found statistically significant reductions in alcohol consumption

It can be a precursor to helping people address their alcohol misuse...which they may have not considered before
(CRC survey respondent)

between the time of offenders receiving brief alcohol interventions in a criminal justice setting and the follow up period (for those who were able to be contacted). Although the authors were not able to determine whether changes were a result of the pilot, impressions from offenders were that the intervention may have prompted reflections on drinking behaviour and identified motivational levers.

As part of the pilot, the AAMR is considered to be a punitive response to alcohol related offending, however both NPS/CRC and judiciary interviewees highlighted possible rehabilitative elements as a welcome unintended

It is a useful tool that allows people a time of reflection regarding their drinking and to see changes that this brings about
(CRC survey respondent)

consequence. Although unsuitable for alcohol dependent offenders and, for the purposes of the pilot, unlikely to be used extensively with ‘hardened career criminals’ thus limiting the likely impact on offending behaviour, interviewees felt that a period of abstinence on the AAMR had the potential to give offenders a ‘pause’ in drinking, time to reflect on alcohol consumption and its impact on offending behaviour, relationships and work, and an

It has given me the opportunity to work with people with alcohol issues in a different way - it provides a period where they are not drinking and gives them the opportunity to see the difference this can make - this gives me something to build on
(CRC survey respondent)

opportunity to break the cycle of routine drinking. Even if not sustainable in the longer term, some felt that the duration of the AAMR at least may give respite to families, communities, local police and health providers, and allow offenders to focus on

other areas of their life. Some NPS and CRC interviewees gave examples of how they had tailored products around the AAMR to support offenders further and use the opportunity as a ‘teachable moment’, including letters sent at the end of the AAMR and literature/advice around alcohol consumption going forward. Positive relationships between an offender and Offender Manager and tailoring discussions to individual needs may reduce the likelihood of an offender breaching their Community Order (Cattell et al, 2014b), however some research suggests more mixed results about the impact of relationships (see McSweeney et al, 2013).

On costs and stakeholder workload...

Although attempts were made in surveys and interviews to collect data around time taken to assess, prepare, induct, enforce and manage AAMRs in comparison to other requirements, respondents often found this difficult to quantify due to the varying nature of cases and workloads.

There was limited evidence to draw conclusions about the effect of the AAMR on stakeholder workload, with different parts of the fieldwork presenting mixed views. Early indications from conversations with a small number (n=3) of NPS/CRC staff presented at interim report stage in **appendix fifteen** suggested that while time required to assess, prepare, induct and enforce the AAMR were largely comparable to other requirements, day to day management of the AAMR required considerably fewer NPS/CRC staff hours (around 3 hours per case) compared to other requirements including UPW, supervision and curfews (between 15 and 25 hours). However, on reflection, one of the stakeholders who took part in these early conversations said in an interview at mid-point of the pilot that it was perhaps taking slightly longer. This was due to managing the AAMR email box and in some cases where NPS/CRC officers introduced their own processes such as writing letters to offenders at the end of their AAMR to advise around changes in alcohol tolerance levels and drinking patterns in the future. It was clear from the stakeholder survey that the AAMR had not reduced workloads (n=30/58 disagreed with the statement 'the AAMR has reduced my workload') and most responses disagreed (n=23/58) that offenders were dealt with any more quickly on the AAMR compared to other requirements. A small number of freetext comments in stakeholder surveys suggested that AAMR assessments and inductions took slightly longer. However, interviews with NPS and CRC stakeholders indicated that, although the AAMR did introduce new work (some elements of which may initially take slightly longer while getting to grips with new language, processes and technology etc.), this was not particularly onerous or prohibitive, and in most cases largely similar to other requirements (although it was acknowledged that this could change as caseloads increase).

The AAMR had no impact on the workload of judiciary interviewees as it required similar resources to other community sentences. One judiciary interviewee speculated that the AAMR had the potential to reduce workloads as repeat alcohol offenders may be less likely to return to court, at least for the duration of their order. NPS/CRC staff require '*time and space*' to ensure a case is eligible and an offender suitable to receive an AAMR. This was an issue frequently iterated by an interviewee from the NPS who felt that, to date, NPS/CRC staff had been allowed this with no pressure from the judiciary to conduct '*quick time*' assessments, and was keen that this should continue if the AAMR is rolled out more widely. A full cost benefit analysis of the AAMR could be explored when more cases are available and a longer time period has elapsed to consider implications for reoffending and wider impact on health and other partners.

Key learning

Offenders surveyed were largely unhappy about the appearance and ‘wearability’ of the tag, however overall were positive they could complete the order. Some felt that there might be health benefits from being on the AAMR.

Interviewees felt that a period of abstinence on the AAMR had the potential to give offenders a ‘pause’ in drinking, time to reflect on alcohol consumption and its impact on offending behaviour, relationships and work, and an opportunity to break the cycle of routine drinking. Some NPS and CRC interviewees gave examples of how they had tailored products around the AAMR to support offenders further and use the opportunity as a ‘teachable moment’, including letters sent at the end of the AAMR and literature/advice around alcohol consumption going forward.

There was limited evidence to draw conclusions about the effect of the AAMR on stakeholder workload, with different parts of the fieldwork indicating mixed views with some stakeholders commenting that assessments and inductions may take slightly longer (e.g., while getting to grips with new language, processes and technology etc.). However, this was not felt to be particularly onerous or prohibitive and in most cases largely similar to other requirements.

Sustainability: insights from the pilot year

In both surveys and interviews, stakeholders shared their reflections on the pilot year and ‘lessons learned’ that they felt should be considered in any plans to expand the AAMR (although some highlighted the need for more in-depth evaluation to fully understand the impact on costs and offending behaviour). Key insights included:

- **A clear operating model:** Clarity around scope and expected delivery was important in the AAMR scheme and the MOPAC team worked hard to ensure this was maintained throughout the pilot. Any future schemes should establish clear, documented processes and channels of communication, outline roles for key partners, and provide training and guidance material for delivery stakeholders and sentencers. This should be supported by solid governance arrangements that encourage continuous learning and improvement. A MOPAC interviewee emphasised the value of ‘keeping it simple’, avoiding unnecessary or complicated processes.
- **Engagement with partners:** MOPAC staff interviewed emphasised the importance of strong partnership working from the outset and throughout the

AAMR pilot, highlighting the need for engagement at the 'right' organisational level (i.e., enthusiastic decision makers who can 'champion' the work), securing buy in (rather than just consensus), and involving partners in project design (not just expecting them to deliver). Good relationships with equipment providers are also pivotal. This was strong throughout the MOPAC pilot with clear and open communication which assisted with continuous review and service improvement as the scheme progressed. A survey respondent from the MPS suggested that there could be a greater role for partnership work with the police going forward, both in terms of identifying offenders who may be suitable to receive an AAMR and sharing information.

- **Dedicated staff:** The role of the AAMR project manager was frequently mentioned by stakeholders throughout the evaluation as a positive feature, with some suggesting that the pilot may not have run as smoothly without his continued communication and quick response to questions. From a MOPAC perspective, the 'on the ground' experience and well established contacts of the project manager seconded from the NPS were invaluable. Stakeholders interviewed and surveyed also highlighted the importance of a dedicated person in each partner agency who can promote the AAMR, problem solve and answer questions. The value of a single point of contact (SPOC) was also recognised in Home Office findings around the Sobriety Conditional Cautions scheme (Home Office, 2013). Issues around sustainability of these resources and 'scalability' of the pilot should be considered if the scheme is expanded.
- **Delivering the AAMR:** Good quality assessment and induction, along with clear guidance around eligibility and suitability, and effective communication between partners, (particularly the courts, tag fitters and NPS/CRC) were identified by stakeholders surveyed and interviewed as essential factors in the AAMR pilot. Continued communication both centrally and 'on the ground' (e.g., between NPS/CRC and sentencers) is important as the AAMR 'beds in' to ensure that it is not missed as a sentencing option.
- **A 'teachable moment' with offenders:** Some NPS/CRC officers interviewed spoke about opportunities for the AAMR to be used as a 'teachable moment' and outlined processes they had developed including advice to offenders (face to face or via letter) around changes in tolerance levels following a period abstinence and relationships with alcohol going forward. Billow (2014) argues that, when combined with other crime prevention measures including education, electronic monitoring has the potential to impact on rehabilitation. Although a punitive measure for the purposes of the pilot, the technology may present wider opportunities around addressing offending and other negative behaviour.

- **More information for offenders at court:** A number of NPS/CRC interviewees felt that more information about the AAMR should be made available to offenders in court, including examples of the alcohol tag and monitoring equipment, so individuals have a better understanding of what will happen during tag fitting.
- **Opportunities for wider use of the technology:** As the scheme progressed, some partners reflected on the pilot boundaries, suggesting that there were potentially more innovative uses for the AAMR beyond current restrictions. This included domestic violence cases (as part of a package of measures to address offending behaviour⁴²), wider responses to drink driving offences, and to support dependent drinkers as part of their treatment programme (although not via abstinence). Kilmer and Humphreys (2013) also recognised the opportunities for exploring wider uses of sobriety schemes, perhaps in line with treatment for dependent drinkers. A judiciary interviewee was interested in further work to explore the length of time on a tag required in order to see positive changes in behaviour. The South Dakota Model found greater reductions in future offending compared to control groups for participants with at least 90 consecutive days of alcohol testing (although there were still lower rates of future offences compared to matched controls with participants with at least 30 days) (Loudenburg et al, 2010). It would be interesting to explore this further in a UK context.

⁴² Kilmer and Humphreys (2013) reported a 9% decrease in domestic violence arrests as part of the 24/7 Sobriety Program in South Dakota.

Concluding thoughts

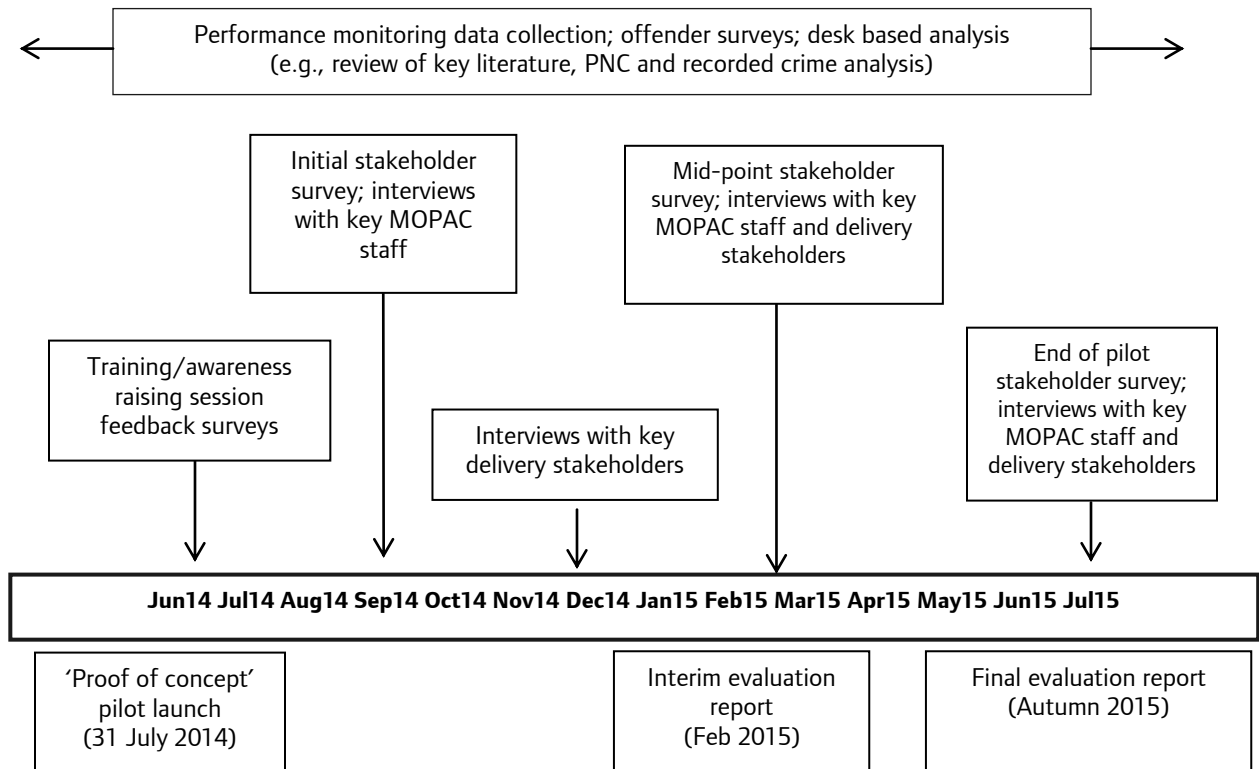
This report helps to build the evidence base to inform discussions around the AAMR work to date, and also to inform any roll out of the AAMR across London and beyond. Whilst it is too soon at present to robustly evaluate the impact of the AAMR on offending behaviour or costs, this process evaluation generates learning on the proof of concept pilot through the views and experiences of stakeholders involved in design and implementation, and the offenders themselves who were sentenced to wear the alcohol tag.

The AAMR has been generally welcomed by delivery stakeholders as an additional community sentence option that offers an innovative and tailored response to alcohol related offending. Learning generated from the pilot year presents a positive message in terms of offender compliance, the technology working as expected, and programme implementation, with a strong understanding of the aims of the pilot and how the AAMR works in practice amongst both offenders receiving the sentence and stakeholders involved in its delivery. However, the fieldwork identified offender and stakeholder concerns about the appearance and ‘wearability’ of the alcohol tag, while some stakeholders highlighted the importance of ongoing communication to ensure that sentencers continue to use the AAMR as a sentencing option. Clear communication and consistent engagement with stakeholders from the outset of the pilot and throughout, and a project manager with ‘on the ground’ experience and well established contacts has meant that MOPAC has been able to identify challenges and amend the model accordingly throughout the pilot. There is considerable evidence that highlights the value of effective implementation and the sheer challenge when implementing innovation (Dawson and Stanko, 2013). In this context, the positive findings around AAMR implementation cannot be over stated. However, consideration should be given to the sustainability of this level of project management should the scheme be expanded.

This report contributes to a currently limited British research evidence base around interventions to address alcohol related offending in a criminal justice context (McSweeney, 2015; McSweeney et al, 2009). Wider roll out of the AAMR would provide a larger sample size and opportunities to explore innovative approaches to selecting those individuals to receive the sentence (e.g., randomisation). Future studies could generate a valid counterfactual to enable confident conclusions, and explore the impact of the AAMR on offending behaviour, costs and wider possible benefits including health, community and economic outcomes. In light of plans in the 2015 Conservative Party Manifesto to make sobriety orders more widely available, and the extension of the AAMR pilot for a further six months to January 2016, this timely report offers useful insights to inform any expansion of the scheme. Awareness about the use of sobriety orders and the technology that underpin them in a UK context is still developing. This process evaluation of the AAMR proof of concept pilot is a basis on which to build knowledge, and can be used as a blueprint for future evaluation efforts in this area.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Evaluation timeline, survey and interview details



Survey details

Survey type	No. of respondents	Respondent details
Start of pilot (September 2014)	19	14 x National Probation Service (NPS) and Community Rehabilitation Company (CRC) 5 x Alcohol Monitoring Services Ltd (AMS - manufacturer of the transdermal alcohol monitoring equipment) and Electronic Monitoring Services (EMS – responsible for fitting, removing and maintaining the equipment)
Mid-point of pilot (March 2015)	24	9 x Judge/Magistrate 9 x NPS and CRC 2 x AMS and EMS 2 x Her Majesty's Courts and Tribunal Service (HMCTS - legal advisors)

		1 x Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) 1 x Local Authority Nine respondents stated that they had completed a previous survey. Surveys were anonymous; as such it was not possible to track responses.
End of pilot (August 2015)	15	11 x NPS and CRC 2 x AMS and EMS 1 x MPS 1 x Local Authority Nine respondents stated that they had completed a previous survey. Surveys were anonymous; as such it was not possible to track responses.

Interview details

Interview type	No. of interviews	Interviewee details
Start of pilot (September 2014 – January 2015)	7	3 x MOPAC officers 2 x Judge/Magistrate 2 x NPS and CRC
Mid-point of pilot (April - May 2015)	9	4 x NPS and CRC 3 x MOPAC officers (also interviewed at start of pilot) 2 x Judge/Magistrate (one had been interviewed at start of pilot)
End of pilot (July - September 2015)	19	10 x NPS and CRC (two had been interviewed at start of pilot) 3 x AMS and EMS 3 x Judge/Magistrate (one had been interviewed at start of pilot) 2 x MOPAC officers (also interviewed at start and mid-point of pilot) 1 x HMCTS

Appendix 2: Alcohol related crime indicators by borough

Borough	Total Notifiable Offences (TNOs) with feature code MF ('suspect/accused has been drinking prior to committing offence') and GA ('alcohol consumed at scene by suspect/accused') recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service (Rolling 12 months to January 2015)		Drink driving arrests (positive breath test, refusing to provide a breath test) recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service (Rolling 12 months to January 2015)		Public Health England Local Alcohol Profiles for England alcohol related recorded crime (2012/13)		Incidents of night time violence and disorder recorded by Ambulance, British Transport Police and TFL bus drivers (January - December 2014)		Respondents to MPS PAS who think that people being drunk or rowdy in public places is a problem? (Rolling 12 months to quarter 2 2014/15)	
	Volume	Rank	Volume	Rank	Crude rate per 1,000 population	Rank	Volume	Rank	% of respondents answering 'problem'	Rank
Barking and Dagenham	786	11	321	2	10.53	7	470	20	35	2
Barnet	997	8	207	13	7.0	25	416	23	10	28
Bexley	654	18	174	20	5.8	31	292	28	7	32
Brent	703	15	213	11	9.3	16	680	10	14	21
Bromley	704	14	351	1	6.7	26	422	22	10	28
Camden	802	9	183	18	10.28	9	812	7	24	8
Croydon	649	20	190	17	9.2	17	821	5	18	14
Ealing	1049	5	290	5	9.9	14	575	14	28	6
Enfield	540	24	157	24	8.1	22	503	17	14	21
Greenwich	742	13	251	7	9.2	17	594	13	17	17
Hackney	794	10	113	28	10.63	4	753	8	30	5
Hammersmith and Fulham	676	16	166	22	10.16	10	349	25	19	12
Haringey	593	22	205	14	10.0	12	726	9	17	17
Harrow	293	31	140	25	6.6	28	264	29	10	28
Havering	615	21	168	21	7.5	23	381	24	18	14
Hillingdon	1139	3	195	15	8.6	19	507	15	13	25
Hounslow	1249	2	192	16	9.8	15	501	18	25	7
Islington	1006	7	93	29	10.92	3	632	11	20	11
Kensington and Chelsea	538	25	21	30	8.5	21	308	27	19	12
Kingston upon Thames	433	28	319	3	6.1	30	261	30	14	21
Lambeth	403	29	161	23	11.02	2	1016	2	23	9
Lewisham	574	23	182	19	10.1	11	605	12	14	21
Merton	476	27	0	31	6.7	26	314	26	15	20
Newham	1019	6	127	27	10.59	4	962	4	40	1
Redbridge	650	19	217	10	8.6	19	464	21	18	14
Richmond upon Thames	260	32	0	32	5.6	32	196	32	9	31
Southwark	1128	4	208	12	10.55	4	1002	3	23	9
Sutton	538	25	304	4	6.5	29	254	31	13	25
Tower Hamlets	747	12	132	26	10.53	7	816	6	34	3
Waltham Forest	675	17	220	9	10.0	12	491	19	16	19
Wandsworth	353	30	262	6	7.3	24	506	16	13	25
Westminster	1553	1	244	8	14.42	1	1348	1	31	4

Notes on appendix 2

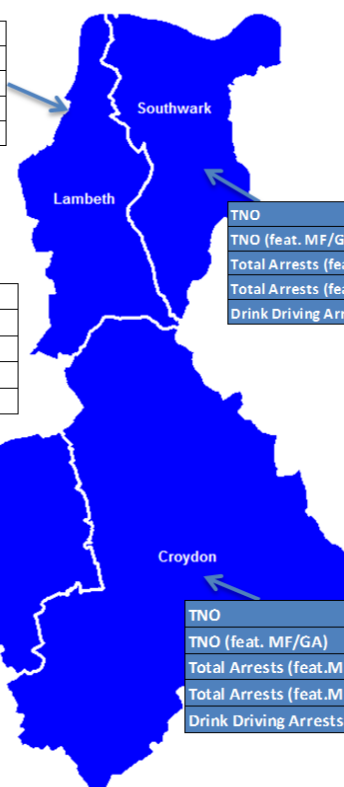
- The MF and GA feature codes are not mandatory therefore this data, in part, may reflect recording practices/use of the feature code by officers (which can differ by borough), rather than an accurate picture of alcohol related offending.
- Recorded drink driving arrests may be skewed by police activity/operations in different boroughs.
- Public Health England alcohol related recorded crime (based on the Home Office's former 'key offence' categories), all ages, persons, crude rate per 1,000 population. Office for National Statistics 2011 mid-year populations. Attributable fractions for alcohol for each crime category were applied where available, based on survey data on arrestees who tested positive for alcohol by the UK Prime Minister's Strategy Unit.
- Night time violence and disorder recorded by Ambulance, British Transport Police (BTP) and Transport for London (TfL) bus drivers includes incidents between 7pm and 7am covering/merging the following data sets: BTP recorded incidents at a station coded as violence or disorder; Ambulance call outs to assault; TFL Bus driver reported violence and disorder; London Fire Brigade deliberate fires (comparatively small numbers).

Appendix 3: TNOs and arrests in AAMR pilot boroughs, 1 August 2014 to 31 July 2015

TNO	105,284
TNO (feat. MF/GA)	2,697
Total Arrests (feat.MF/GA) - Residing only 1	787
Total Arrests (feat.MF/GA) - Residing and Committed 2	406
Drink Driving Arrests 3	732

TNO	33,709
TNO (feat. MF/GA)	446
Total Arrests (feat.MF/GA) - Residing only 1	149
Total Arrests (feat.MF/GA) - Residing and Committed 2	68
Drink Driving Arrests 3	153

TNO	11,045
TNO (feat. MF/GA)	643
Total Arrests (feat.MF/GA) - Residing only 1	205
Total Arrests (feat.MF/GA) - Residing and Committed 2	139
Drink Driving Arrests 3	219



TNO	30,910
TNO (feat. MF/GA)	1,100
Total Arrests (feat.MF/GA) - Residing only 1	207
Total Arrests (feat.MF/GA) - Residing and Committed 2	109
Drink Driving Arrests 3	168

TNO	29,620
TNO (feat. MF/GA)	508
Total Arrests (feat.MF/GA) - Residing only 1	226
Total Arrests (feat.MF/GA) - Residing and Committed 2	90
Drink Driving Arrests 3	192

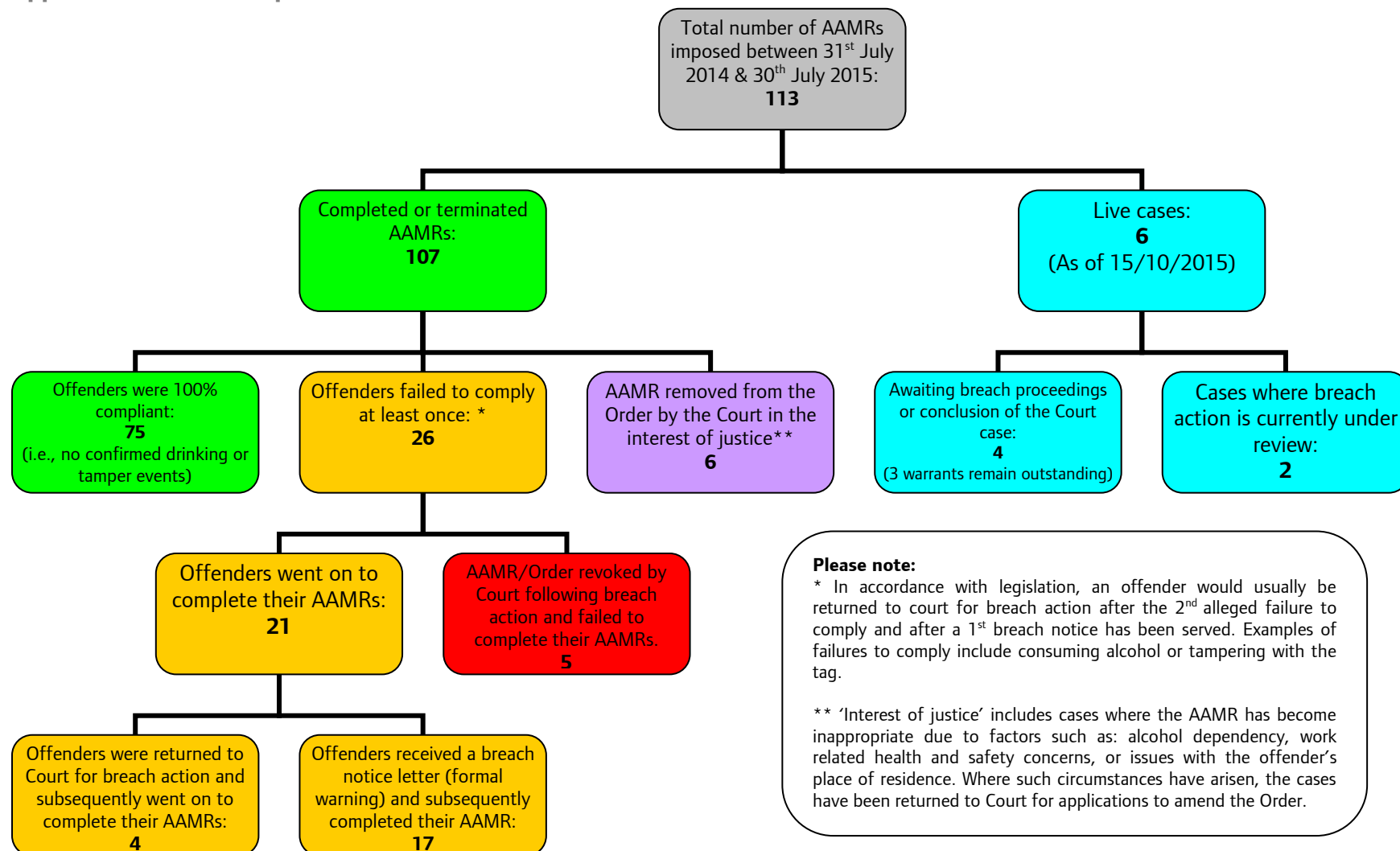
Notes on appendix 3

- MF feature code = Suspect/accused had been drinking prior to committing offence.
- GA feature code = Alcohol consumed at scene by suspect/accused.
- Feature codes are not mandatory therefore this data, in part, may reflect recording practices/use of the feature code by officers (which can differ by borough), rather than an accurate picture of alcohol related offending.
- 1 = Where arrested individual resides in one of the four pilot boroughs and committed an offence within the MPS. This number excludes domestic abuse related offences.
- 2 = Where an arrested individual resides and committed an offence in one of the four pilot boroughs.
- 3 = Positive breath test/ refusal of breath test.

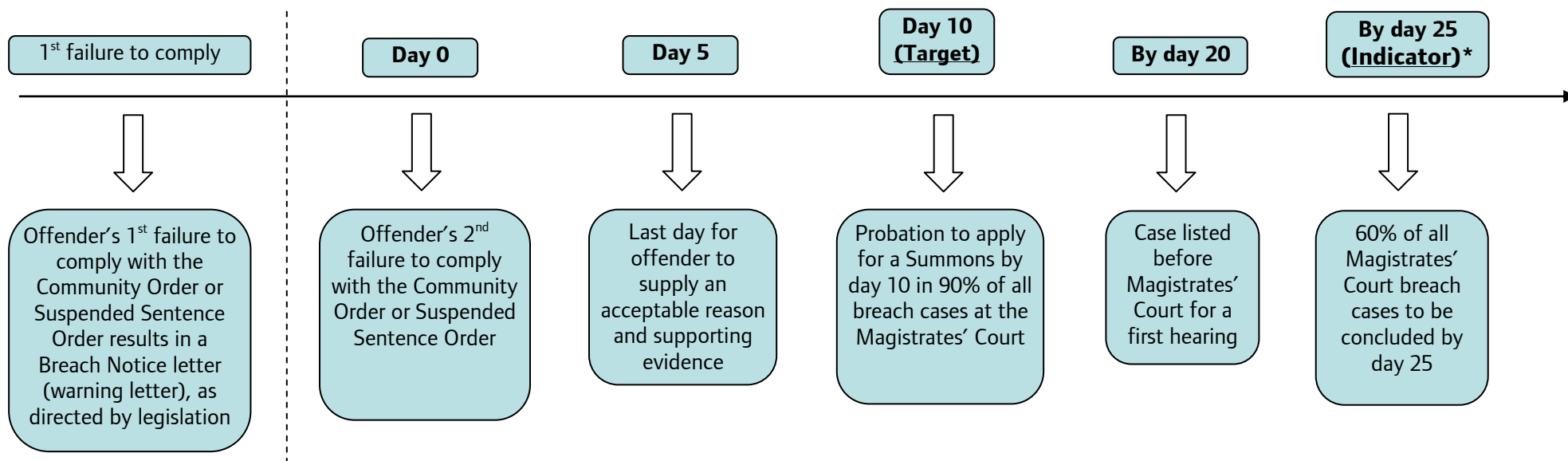
Appendix 4: Headline performance data on AAMRs imposed, 31 July 2014 to 30 July 2015

Headline performance data on AAMRs imposed, 31 July 2014 – 30 July 2015		
Total number of AAMRs	113	
Number of AAMRs completed/terminated	94 <i>(this increased to 107 as at 15/10/15)</i>	
Compliance	92% <i>Based on the number of cases (9) returned to court and convicted of breaching the AAMR as a proportion of all AAMRs imposed to date (113).</i> <i>See appendix 5 for further details</i>	
Arresting borough <i>(In 2 cases the arresting borough was unknown)</i>	Croydon	57
	Lambeth	19
	Southwark	14
	Sutton	21
Borough of residence	Croydon	56
	Lambeth	15
	Southwark	15
	Sutton	27
Sentencing court	Croydon	82
	Camberwell Green	31
Community Based Order with a standalone requirement of an AAMR	44	
Community Based Order with multiple requirements one of which is an AAMR	69	
Community Orders	94	
Suspended Sentence Orders	19	
Average length of AAMR	75 days	
Range of length of AAMR	Upper	120 days
	Lower	28 days
Reason for ending AAMR <i>(data to 15/10/15)</i>	Completed	96
	Revoked following breach	5
	Removed in the interest of justice (see appendix 5)	6
Total monitored days	6,584	
Total readings taken	298,004	

Appendix 5: AAMR compliance (data to 15 October 2015)



Appendix 6: Enforcement timeline for Community Based Orders



Please note: High risk cases are prioritised and enforcement proceedings may be initiated by an application for a warrant before a court following, in some circumstances, a single failure to comply.

**This is a historical indicator but is often still observed by the NPS in order to ensure expedience with breach proceedings.*

Appendix 7: Offence types for which an AAMR was ordered, 31 July 2014 to 30 July 2015

Offence types		Number of offences for which AAMR was ordered⁴³
Driving	Driving with excess alcohol	35
	Failure to provide specimen for analysis	2
	Being in charge of a motor vehicle while unfit through drink or drugs	1
	Failing to stop after an accident	1
Violence	Assault by beating or common assault	29
	Assault on a Police Constable	11
	Resisting/obstructing a Police Constable	1
Disorderly behaviour/harassment	Threatening words and behaviour	13
	Causing a nuisance/disturbance without reasonable excuse on NHS premises	1
	Drunk and disorderly conduct	3
	Racially aggravated harassment or harassment	7
Damage/theft	Criminal damage	9
	Theft	4
	Burglary	3
	Aggravated taking of a vehicle	1
Possession – linked to the above offences, not standalone	Possession of an offensive weapon (in combination with an offence listed above)	1
	Possession of a bladed article (in combination with an offence listed above)	3
	Possession of cannabis (in combination with an offence listed above)	1
Other	Offensive/indecent/obscene/menacing message	1
	Breach of an Anti-Social Behaviour Order (ASBO)	1
Total		128

⁴³ Some cases involved multiple offences.

Appendix 8: Month by month breakdown of AAMRs issued by court

Court	Aug 14⁴⁴	Sep 14	Oct 14	Nov 14	Dec 14	Jan 15	Feb 15	Mar 15	Apr 15	May 15	Jun 15	Jul 15	Total
Croydon Magistrates' Court	5	6	4	2	4	12	3	14	5	8	8	6	77
Croydon Crown Court	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	5
Camberwell Green Magistrates' Court	0	2	4	5	3	3	3	3	5	0	2	1	31
Total	5	8	8	7	7	16	7	17	11	8	11	8	113

⁴⁴ August figures include one AAMR given on 31 July 2014.

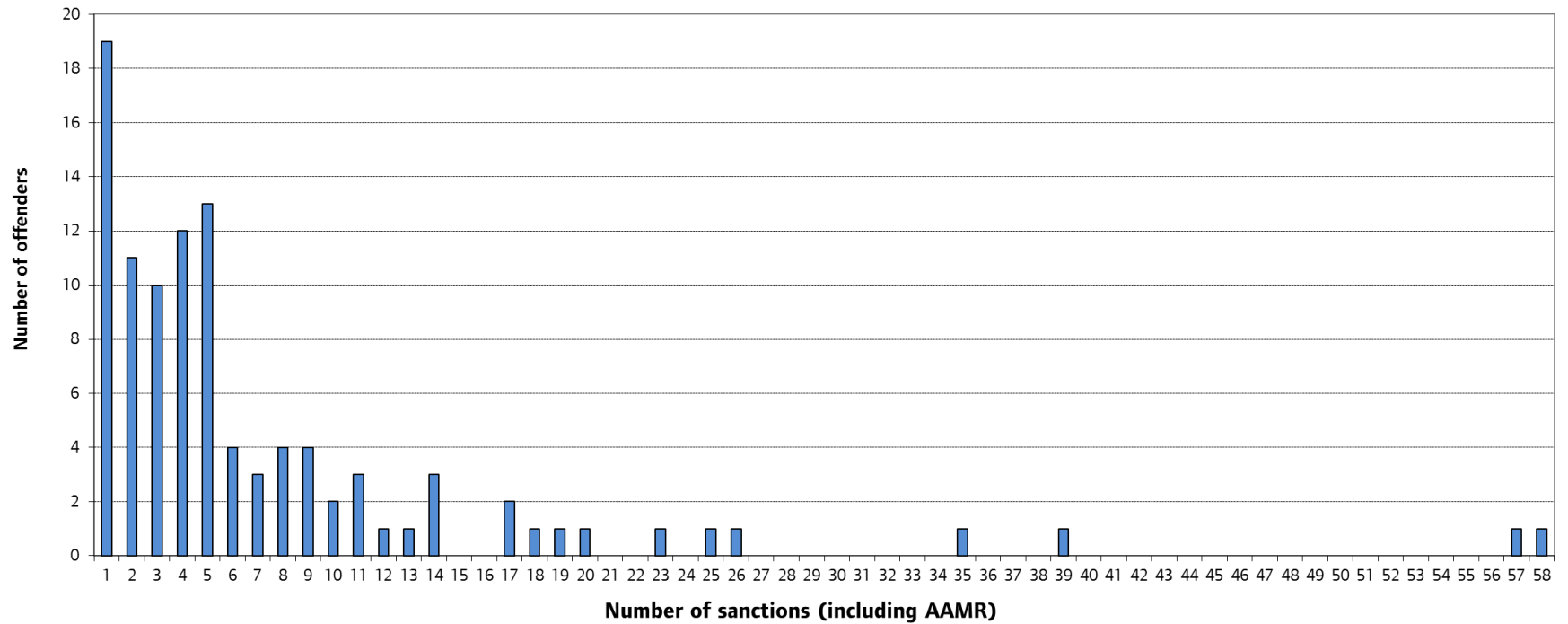
Appendix 9: Headline PNC data on offenders sentenced to the AAMR, 31 July 2014 to 30 July 2015⁴⁵

Headline PNC data on offenders sentenced to the AAMR, 31 July 2014 – 30 July 2015 ⁴⁶		
Arrests		
(The number of offence entries on PNC for an individual. This includes any outcome for the offence, guilty or not, and multiple arrests on the same occasion)		
Total number of arrests for AAMR cohort	1337	
Average number of arrests	13	
Range of number of arrests	Upper	88
	Lower	1
Average age of first arrest	24	
Age range of first arrest	Upper	54
	Lower	11
Sanctions		
(The number of guilty entries on PNC. This includes court and non-court sanctions)		
Total number of sanctions for AAMR cohort	771	
Average number of sanctions	8	
Range of number of sanctions	Upper	58
	Lower	1
Average age of first sanction	25	
Age range of first sanction	Upper	54
	Lower	11
Criminal versatility	21% have sanctions for 4 or more offence types	
Guilty sanction occasions at court		
(The number of court occasions where the outcome was a guilty verdict. Several offences could be tried at one court occasion)		
Total number of guilty sanction occasions at court for AAMR cohort	612	
Average number of guilty sanction occasions at court	6	
Range of number of guilty sanction occasions at court	Upper	55
	Lower	1
Average age of first guilty sanction occasion at court	26	
Age range of first guilty sanction occasion at court	Upper	54
	Lower	12

⁴⁵ Based on PNC records returned for 102 offenders

⁴⁶ Based on PNC records returned for 102 offenders

Appendix 10: Total number of sanctions (including AAMR) of offenders on the AAMR

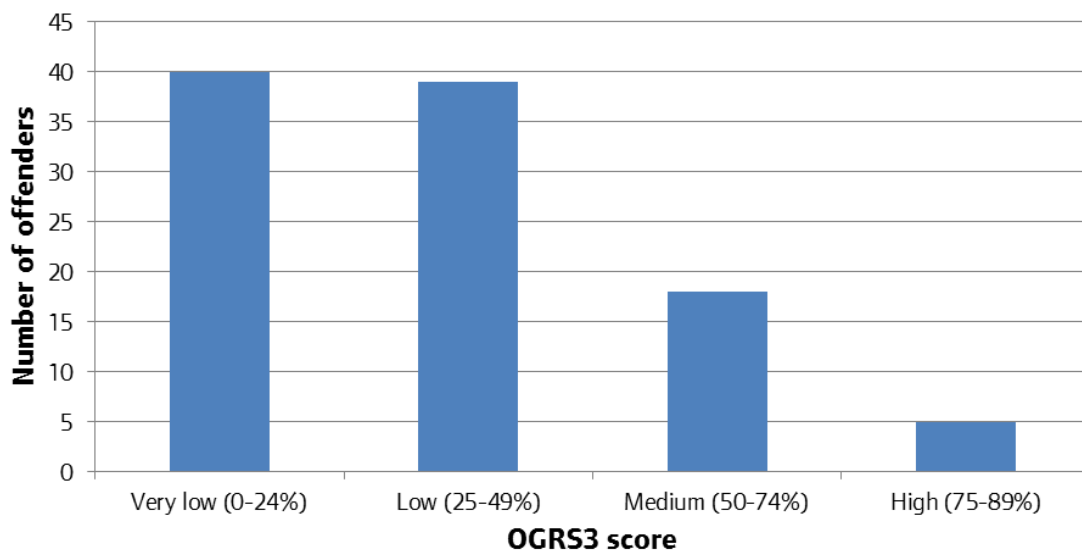


Appendix 11: Total number of previous guilty court occasions of offenders on the AAMR

Number of previous guilty court occasions	Count of AAMR cohort	%
0	35	34
1	13	13
2	13	13
3	7	7
4	3	3
5 or more	31	30
Total	102	100

Appendix 12: OGRS3 scores for offenders on the AAMR

OGRS3 score	No. of AAMR offenders	%
Very low (0-24%)	40	39
Low (25-49%)	39	38
Medium (50-74%)	18	18
High (75-89%)	5	5
Total	102	100



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OFFICE FOR POLICING AND CRIME

COMPULSORY SOBRIETY PILOT

The offender's consumption of alcohol was a contributing factor in the offence;



The offence took place in – AND the offender resides in – Lambeth, Southwark, Croydon or Sutton;



The offender is not alcohol dependent.



CONSIDER USING THE ALCOHOL ABSTINENCE MONITORING REQUIREMENT

From July 2014, **AAMR** (Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement) will be trialled across the South London Justice Area – Croydon, Lambeth, Southwark and Sutton.

If offenders are found guilty of an offence where alcohol was a significant factor in the crime, they can be tagged with a transdermal tag and monitored by probation.

To find out more visit London.gov.uk/mopac/sobrietypilot

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH

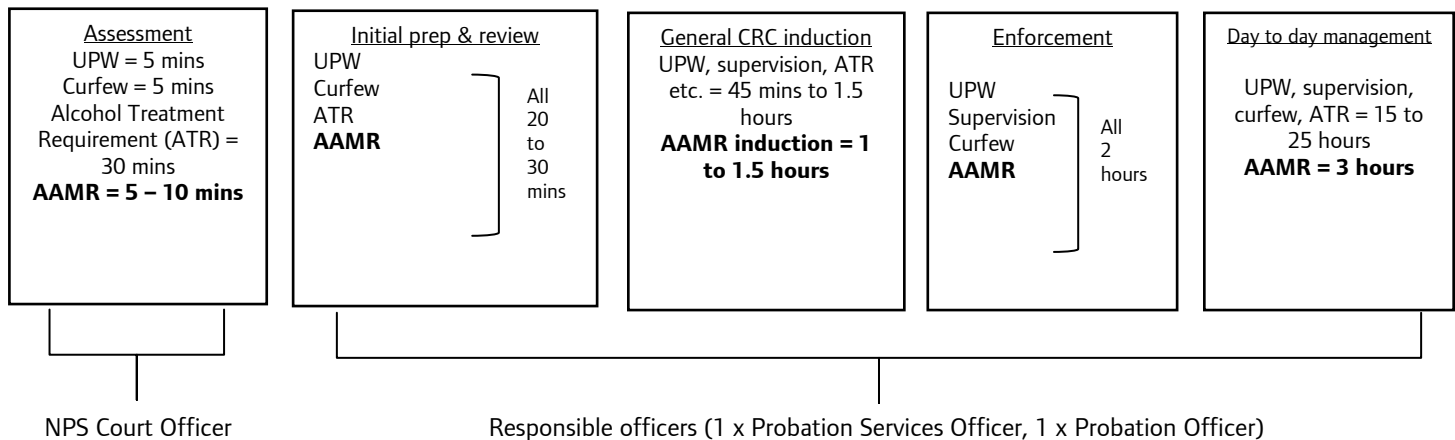


london.gov.uk/mopac/sobrietypilot

Appendix 14: Offender views on effect of AAMR on their life at time of tag fitting and removal (tag fitting n = 44; tag removal n = 27)

	Better		Worse		No change		N/A	
	Tag fitting	Tag removal	Tag fitting	Tag removal	Tag fitting	Tag removal	Tag fitting	Tag removal
Family life in general	20	10	6	5	16	12	2	0
Relationship with partner	14	5	6	6	13	12	11	4
Relationship with children	11	6	4	2	12	7	17	12
Relationship with friends	10	6	7	7	26	11	1	3
Work	11	7	9	5	20	9	4	6
Education	4	5	3	3	16	10	21	9
Health	25	13	2	6	17	8	0	0
Attitudes to the police	11	6	3	3	27	15	3	3
Attitudes to probation/offender manager	11	9	3	2	25	14	5	2
Ability to comply with other orders/programmes	N/A	7	N/A	0	N/A	10	N/A	10

Appendix 15: Hours required to implement a selection of requirements under a Community Based Order based on conversations with a small number of NPS/CRC staff at mid-point of pilot



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22nd December 2015

Joanne McCartney AM
Chair, Police and Crime Committee
Greater London Assembly
City Hall
The Queen's Walk
London, SE1 2AA

Dear Joanne,

Thank you for your letter of 11th December and for the opportunity to appear in front of the Police and Crime Committee to represent the trade perspective on the impact of alcohol on policing London's night-time economy. I found it a very interesting session and just wanted to follow up with the further information promised on a few issues and some additional points in a few areas.

Tackling drunkenness

The issue of tackling drunkenness and disorder was raised during the session and I just wanted to highlight that this is something that the trade is looking at and indeed something that BBPA started a new poster campaign on earlier in the year, to raise awareness of the fact that it is against the law to serve someone that is drunk or to buy a drink for a drunk friend. We worked with the Home Office and with National Pubwatch and Drinkaware to create the resources and guidance for pubs which can be found on our website here - <http://www.beerandpub.com/campaigns/servingdrunks>

This was initially targeted at the Government's twenty Local Alcohol Action Areas, but we have made the resources available free to download and are distributing them to member companies and through local Pubwatch schemes to display in the pub or to use in staff training.

Local schemes making use of breathalysers on the door was also mentioned. Although we are aware that a number of areas have voluntary schemes in place and some premises have chosen to take part, we would be against making it mandatory to take part in such schemes through use of licensing conditions. Such an approach would not be suitable for the vast majority of pubs and used improperly, such measures risk alienating customers, turning pubs into fortresses and just encouraging people to drink at home instead.

Drinkaware – 'Club Hosts' project

I mentioned the Drinkaware 'Club Hosts' project which was originally piloted in Nottingham as part of a programme of activity designed to reduce the negative impact of what they have termed 'Drunken Nights Out' and is now being further tested in the South-West and Scotland. The concept is to have specially trained staff who work in bars and clubs to reduce drunken anti-social behaviour and help keep people safe.

In Nottingham, alongside this activity, Drinkaware have developed an advertising campaign to tackle sexual harassment in clubs, highlighting the message that behaviour that's unacceptable sober is just as unacceptable when drunk seek to change the social norms around a night out.

<https://www.drinkaware.co.uk/press-office/drinkaware-club-hosts-pilot-launches-in-south-west-england>

Safezones

I also mentioned that there are a number of 'SafeZone/Safe Space' projects operating around the country. These are generally buses or spaces in a town/City centre where trained volunteers offer support, first aid and help to get home safely to people who have drunk too much on a night out.

The Edinburgh SafeZone bus is based in the centre of the City on Friday and Saturday nights. The project aims to relieve the pressure on the emergency services by dealing with minor incidents, thereby enabling them to respond to more urgent requests. Their analysis suggests that for every £1 spent on the project the social return was £9.34.

The project has received funding from the Scottish Government as well as the Scottish Government Alcohol Industry Partnership (which included industry partners and which our Scottish association are a part of). SafeZone buses also operate in Glasgow and Dundee. There is some links to further information below and I have also attached an information sheet about the Edinburgh project.

<http://safezoneedinburgh.org/about/>

<http://news.scotland.gov.uk/News/Launch-of-SafeZone-Bus-17cf.aspx>

Local and national partnership schemes

As I mentioned, there are a number of partnership schemes operating around the country with support and involvement from the trade which have been extremely effective in improving the relationships between the Police, local authorities and licensed trade and helping to reduce crime and disorder, raise operating standards and make the night-time economy safer for all. These schemes include [Pubwatch](#), [Best Bar None](#), [Community Alcohol Partnerships](#) and [Purple Flag](#). There is a very good summary of these schemes and what they all do along with some information about their impact in a booklet produced by the Social Responsibility Alliance, an umbrella group bringing together all of the partnership schemes to help target the right support to local areas that need it.

<http://www.portmangroup.org.uk/docs/default-source/alcohol-and-local-areas/-local-alcohol-partnerships-.pdf>

In terms of additional evidence on impact, there are a number of useful statistics and case studies in the above booklet and there is ongoing work to improve the evaluation process for some of the schemes and improve the available data.

Nationally, BBPA work in partnership with a number of organisations on a range of guidance and initiatives to help our member pubs and the wider industry operate responsibly. For example, we have recently worked recently worked with the National Police Chiefs Council to revise our guidance 'Managing Safety in Licensed Premises' to incorporate further information on risks around terrorism.

There is a wealth of support, guidance and best practice available on responsible retailing and managing safety and as well as the work our member companies do in disseminating this, the partnership schemes provide a useful network to get this out there. It would be great to have the Committees support in endorsing the partnership approach as the best first option ahead of additional regulation and restrictions to tackling issues in the night time economy.

Use of crime and health data

As the Cardiff model was mentioned in the session I just wanted to highlight that we believe that the use of health data as part of the licensing process needs to be approached with caution. Whilst A&E and ambulance data has been used effectively in some areas to help target enforcement and partnership efforts, we would highlight the importance of not using it in isolation to make decisions regarding renewing or granting licences. Health harms and their causes are often complex and difficult to connect with individual premises.

When consulting on whether to make health a relevant consideration for Cumulative Impact Policies under the UK Alcohol Strategy in 2013, the Government ultimately concluded that there are too many complexities when trying to use data in this way and risks unfairly penalising premises which operate in an entirely responsible manner.

In addition, I would highlight that a concern from many of our member pubs is the risk of being penalised e.g. having their licence reviewed or revoked, if they report crimes which are close to their premises. This experience in some areas has led to a poor relationship developing between the trade and police and is clearly not beneficial for anyone in terms of joint working to tackle crime and disorder.

Cost of alcohol related harm

The issue of the cost of alcohol related harm set against the contribution of the industry was raised at the session and I just wanted to pick up on a couple of points. In terms of contribution, the beer and pubs sector as a whole supports almost 900,000 jobs and adds over £21 billion to the UK economy alongside the social contribution and value of community cohesion that pubs bring.

There has been much attention focused on the '£21 billion' figure of alcohol related harm which has been used by some to justify further restrictions on the licensed trade. However, it is important to remember that this figure is not an estimate of the costs that could be saved by policy interventions aimed at reducing alcohol-related harm and it is not an estimate of the impact of alcohol related harm on public finances overall.

The industry is fully supportive of addressing alcohol related harm and reducing it as much as possible but we believe it is important to balance the measures pursued against the impact on the licensed trade. If too many restrictions are put in place this affects the economic and social contribution that the industry brings and could therefore bring about a net negative impact on the London economy and public finances overall.

Late Night Levy and the burden on pubs

With regard the Late Night Levy, BBPA has consistently raised concerns regarding the number of local authorities across the country introducing Late Night Levies without first exploring all the partnership options available or recognising that such levies can damage the local economy and businesses within it. We would hope that whilst the Levy remains an option for licensing authorities within London, the Committee might consider highlighting other alternatives available such as Business Improvement Districts as a first option before turning to the Levy.

The pub sector is already particularly heavily taxed and regulated. Recent research by Oxford Economics for the BBPA highlights that pubs pay one third of their turnover in tax and have the second highest business rates bill of 67 sectors.¹

Although it has been argued that the Levy is designed to raise funds to tackle issues in the local area, 70% of funds raised must go to the Police with only 30% being retained by the local authority. There is therefore no guarantee that the levy funds will be used to address issues locally. In addition, the levy must be applied to all pubs in the area and therefore becomes an additional tax burden on pubs, including small marginal businesses who may only open later on weekends and/or certain days of the year which are unlikely to contribute significantly to alcohol related disorder. Levy contributions are decided by rateable value and the as the majority of pubs fall into band B, pubs in areas where levies are introduced will be taxed an extra £750 a year, which could be a significant cost for a small business.

¹ Pubs carrying huge tax burden from business rates, new report shows <http://www.beerandpub.com/news/pubs-carrying-huge-tax-burden-from-business-rates-new-report-shows>

I hope that this is useful but please do let me know if there is any additional information that we can provide.

Best wishes,

D. Blench

Daisy Blench
Policy Manager - Alcohol Policy and Responsibility
British Beer & Pub Association



SafeZone Edinburgh provides immediate support, advice, first aid and help to get home safely to anyone needing assistance. We act without judgement and our goal is to help keep Edinburgh stay safe, during the night-time economy. The project is run by the charity Working on Wheels Scotland and is delivered within a specially adapted single decker bus. Our bus is staffed completely by compassionate, highly trained volunteers whose sole purpose is to help.

WHO DO WE HELP?

We help anyone in a vulnerable position. We have helped people who were lost, alone and needed help getting home, had accidents and injuries, consumed too much alcohol, taken drugs, needing emotional and mental health support.

WE'RE HERE TO HELP!

- The bus operates on a Friday and Saturday night 10pm until 4am on Cathedral Lane (opposite the Omni Centre)
- Our support vehicle acts as an ambulance and drives around the city centre to collect and find vulnerable people needing help and transport them back to the SafeZone Bus
- We are able to respond to phone calls for help! **Call the bus on 079 2070 6568**
- Our volunteers provide support and first aid if needed
- We can help people to get home or to a safe location
- We offer non-judgmental support
- We can help reduce the pressures put on Police Officers, Paramedics and Accident & Emergency staff
- Our bus has a range of facilities; a private treatment room, high level first aid equipment plug sockets to charge phones so people get in touch with family or friends and a seating area for those who just need a wee sit down
- Most of our visitors are able to safely leave after just 45 minutes on the bus

HELP US KEEP EDINBURGH SAFE:

- Inform your patrons of SafeZone and our location so they can leave your premises safely
- Call us to collect any vulnerable or at risk individuals and get them straight to the SafeZone bus so they can get immediate help
- Use your social media to boost our presence and create a safe environment in your venue and the city
- Request one of collection cans for your venue, and support us with fundraising!

I JUST WANTED TO MAKE YOU AWARE THAT WE TRIED OUT THE SAFEZONE BUS THIS MORNING FOR A FEMALE WHO HAD A COUPLE OF JAGERBOMBS MORE THAN SHE SHOULD HAVE AND I WAS VERY IMPRESSED. THEY ARRIVED WITHIN FIVE MINUTES, COLLECTED THE GIRL + FRIEND AND TOOK THEM TO THE MAIN BUS. STAFF WERE FRIENDLY AND HELPFUL. GREAT IDEA!

General Manager, WhyNot nightclub, June 2015

SafeZone Edinburgh is run and delivered by Working on Wheels Scotland, 4 Drum Street, Edinburgh, EH17 8QG. Contact us via: www.safezoneedinburgh.org/contact-us/ or 0131 664 2308 on weekdays

ACS Submission: Alcohol and its impact on policing London's Night-Time Economy

ACS (the Association of Convenience Stores) welcomes the opportunity to respond to the London Assembly Police and Crime Committee's inquiry into alcohol and its impact on policing London's Night-Time Economy. ACS represents 33,500 local shops across the UK, and in London, there are 6,551 convenience stores employing over 51,000 people¹.

Retailers have a considerable interest in the regulatory and voluntary framework surrounding the sale of alcohol with 88% of stores holding an alcohol licence². Alcohol sales in the UK convenience market, on average, account for 13.8% of total sales³. Retailers take their responsibility for the sale of alcohol very seriously and have proactively engaged with partnerships and age verification schemes including 'Challenge 25', Community Alcohol Partnerships and the Retail of Alcohol Standards Group's responsible retailing best practice guide.

ACS has limited data on the late night economy in London and the impact that convenience stores have on the night time economy. However we have outlined our position to the London Assembly on the general principles to reduce alcohol-related harm. ACS is keen to work with London agencies to help them engage and work with convenience retailers.

ACS has answered the relevant consultation question below:

What are licensing authorities doing to prevent alcohol-fuelled crime and anti-social behaviour, and what more could help them carry out their duty?

Licensing authorities already have the power to prevent alcohol-fuelled crime by removing licences from irresponsible retailers who breach licensing conditions. The best practice guidance produced by the Retail of Alcohol Standards Group (RASG) sets out the extensive legislative framework that the retail industry must adhere to sell alcohol, including: age restricted sales, pricing, promotion of alcohol, home delivery and local engagement.

Unfortunately licensing authorities often fail to use the full suite of existing powers. ACS strongly believes that enforcement action should be focused on removing their alcohol licences from irresponsible retailers. We believe that the quality, not volume, of retailers will have the greatest bearing on reducing alcohol harm.

Non Duty Paid Alcohol

Non-duty paid alcohol remains a significant issue which costs the Exchequer £1.2 billion⁴ a year. Non-duty paid alcohol is often the forgotten issue in the alcohol policy debate but a strong correlation exists between retailers selling non-duty paid alcohol and breaching other licensing conditions. Therefore, tackling alcohol duty fraud by removing licences from

¹ [ACS Local Shop Report 2015](#)

² [ACS Local Shop Report 2015](#)

³ [ACS Local Shop Report 2015](#)

⁴ HMRC Measuring Tax Gaps 2015 Edition

retailers will not only reduce alcohol-related harm caused by counterfeit and non-duty alcohol but also reduce associated alcohol-related harm. We would like to see licensing authorities take more action in this space.

Availability

There has been extensive debate about restricting the availability of premises to reduce alcohol harm. We do not believe limiting the number of off-trade premises through Cumulative Impact Policies will reduce alcohol-related harm. Despite claims that a cap on the number of off trade premises would affect the level of alcohol harm no causal link has been established⁵. Limiting licences only deters new stores from opening and protects businesses operating irresponsibly. ACS believes that to prevent alcohol-related harm, the agencies must focus on the quality and compliance of retailers in the market and not on the volume.

The introduction of CIP policies will also have serious implications for investment on high streets at a time when vacancy rates across the UK remain stubbornly high at 12.7%⁶. It will also limit communities' ability to access a range of other essential services offered by local shops such as bill payment services (53%), Post Office (20%), and free to use cash machines (38%). ACS' Community Barometer⁷ identifies that convenience stores are in the top three businesses on high streets that have the most positive impact on communities.

We urge the London Assembly to consider the wider implications of CIPs and whether evidence can be produced to link individual premises with alcohol harm. For reference we have included a case study from a store in Scotland which has been impacted by 'overprovision policies' that have been introduced in some areas⁸.

Industry led initiatives

Non Duty Paid Alcohol

ACS is working with HMRC by chairing the Joint Alcohol Anti-Fraud Taskforce Illicit Trade at Retail Level Working Group to encourage local authorities to use their existing licensing powers to remove licences from retailers involved with duty fraud. As part of the Working Group, ACS is currently updating its guidance for convenience retailers on 'Tackling Alcohol Fraud'⁹ which we continue to promote to retailers. The guide includes information on how to spot duty-fraud, the penalties for participating in duty fraud and how to report suspected duty fraud in their area.

We also commend the work that Islington Council has done to tackle this problem and we would like to see other London councils using their framework and approach.

Retail Alcohol Standard Group (RASG)

⁵ Alcohol Concern's/ University of West England Report: [One on Every Corner](#) states in its methodological qualification that it does not prove a cause and effect of alcohol harm and availability. Also lack of reliable health data and exclusion of regions undermines the report's assertions.

⁶ [Local Data Company 2015](#)

⁷ [ACS Community Barometer 2015](#)

⁸ [Scoffresh Overprovision Case Study](#)

⁹ [ACS Tackling Alcohol Duty Fraud Guide](#)

RASG is made up of the UK's leading alcohol retailers. As part of the Government's Responsibility Deal, the group committed to producing best practice guidance for the sale of alcohol in England and Wales. The guidance sets out legislative compliance necessary the industry must comply with. The guidance¹⁰ also includes the self-regulatory measures that retailers can take such as engagement with local authorities, instore signage and staff training.

ACS is a member of RASG and we have committed to promoting the guidance to our members and encouraging its take up. The guidance has been communicated across our membership and promoted at industry events such as our Responsible Retailing Forums in March 2015 and November 2015. This guidance will be reviewed annually in conjunction with the Home Office to ensure it remains up-to-date and addresses the latest challenges in the alcohol harm debate.

Community Alcohol Partnerships

The retail industry funds Community Alcohol Partnerships (CAPs), which are locally based projects that aim to tackle underage alcohol sales and the associated anti-social behaviour. CAPs take a partnership approach to bring together local retailers, licensees, trading standards, police, health services, education providers and other stakeholders. There are currently 88 CAP schemes in operation which have been developed over 8 years. There are quantifiable benefits¹¹ from CAPs showing a reduction in anti-social behaviour and underage sales.

'Reducing the Strength' Schemes

Over recent years there has been a proliferation of 'Reducing the Strength' schemes, including the establishment of 33¹² 'schemes in London boroughs. Whilst some of our members have set up and led these schemes, others are reluctant to engage because of the competition risks and legal implications.

A number of our members have engaged with 'Reducing the Strength' schemes across the country, including East of England Co-Op who played a fundamental role in supporting the scheme in Ipswich. However, we urge the London councils to consider carefully the legal and practical issues related to these schemes. Badly managed schemes can put retailers at risk of breaching competition law. For example, if a local authority organises a meeting with retailers and they share their business strategy by agreeing not to sell certain products, the retailers have breached competition law. We have advised our members to assess 'Reducing the Strength Schemes' on a case by case basis depending on their proposed targets.

We believe 'Reducing the Strength' schemes should only be used by local authorities if they take an inclusive approach and targeted action to address a specific problem in a particular area. ACS produced retailer guidance¹³ on 'Reducing the Strength' schemes which is designed to help convenience stores understand the competition risks when considering joining a scheme. If councils do wish to establish a scheme to tackle street drinking, we urge

¹⁰ [RASG: Guidance for the responsible retailing of alcohol in England and Wales](#)

¹¹ [Community Alcohol Partnership Progress Report 2015](#)

¹² BBPA Internal Figures

¹³ [ACS Reducing the Strength Guidance](#)

them to follow the guidance from the Local Government Association¹⁴ and the Competition and Markets Authority¹⁵ in order to establish a legal scheme.

For more information on this submission, please contact Julie Byers, ACS Public Affairs Executive at Julie.Byers@acs.org.uk or call 01252 515001.

¹⁴ [LGA Reducing the Strength Scheme Guidance](#)

¹⁵ [CMA High Strength Alcohol Schemes Guidance](#)

Clapham Submission to London Assembly Investigation: Crime and the 'Night Time Economy'

I am writing in response to the London Assembly investigation into the effects of late night licensing on crime and measures undertaken to mitigate matters. This submission cover the perspective of Clapham. For a number of years I have been represented the concerns of residents at public meetings with Lambeth Council and the local police and have worked closely with Kate Hoey MP on the issues.

Clapham in Context

Clapham's economy has been defined as a 'leisure economy' with numerous business being off a licensed nature, whether restaurants, cafes, pubs and bars. For the most part this has operated in harmony with residents because of its localised and inter-dependent character: people in Clapham (and indeed beyond) may for example go to café for a glass of wine or snack before seeing a film in the local cinema and then progressing to have a meal in a restaurant. This can be considered the 'Evening Economy' which comprises the overwhelming majority of economic activity in Clapham and which operates up to Midnight.

At weekends beyond that time are open a relatively limited number of bars and a night club but which stays open until 04:00. These venues cater largely for outsiders and is geared towards 'vertical drinking' – high capacity premises whose main purpose is serving mass drinking. The profile of those who come to late night venues in Clapham is of a recent graduate or student demographic with little affinity or correlation with the area or the 'Evening Economy' mixture of cafes and restaurants. The activity at this time is geared to binge drinking and though the term 'Night Time Economy' has been deployed, it is an inaccurate conflation of late night bars and club activity with the core restaurant/café culture that has direct economic benefits for the area. The two are separate entities. For the past ten years Lambeth Council liberally expanded late night licensing across the borough with no thought as to potential negative impact on residents and areas despite the very foreseeable consequences in terms of noise and crime. No sensible or feasible safeguards were put in place, instead licences were quickly approved with no conditions attached. This has been a disgraceful abrogation of responsibility by the local authority for which residents have had to pay the price. In 2012 Inspector Alastair Pocock noted of crime in Clapham: **“66% of offences on Saturdays and 73.7% on Sundays were related to licensed premises. From the above data, it is clear that the period of greatest concern in Clapham High Street is that which corresponds to the night-time economy”**

The result is that in Clapham at weekends after midnight the character of the area changes into a menacing mixture of mass drunkenness, substantial anti-social behaviour and serious crime (including sexual assaults). Effectively what Clapham sees is an 'Evening Economy' up until Midnight and then from Midnight to 6am disorder which creates a toxic and unsafe environment for both revellers and residents in particular (who are suffering deeply from the problems of noise and fouling of doorways and streets) from which only a few venues benefit. Clapham Town ward has in recent times had the highest amount of alcohol-related offences in the whole of Greater London.

The misery inflicted on residents is of a deep and unpalatable nature. Residents who live in side streets off Clapham High Street often contend with drunken revellers urinating or vomiting against their doors. People are kept awake by drunks yelling as they stagger to use illegal taxis in side streets or who are just loitering. In the morning they have to side step broken bottles, pools of vomit and even human faeces; some residents I spoke to have seen needles and pellets containing laughing gas. These streets are a sanitation hazard; but it is the psychological effects on residents that is most troubling. They feel unsafe walking to their doors beyond midnight having to dodge congregating drunks who are intimidating and abusive if challenged. In meeting on late night disorder in Clapham one woman spoke of how, when asking someone not to urinate against her door, was urinate upon.

Fear and disturbed sleep leave their psychological mark in the form of stress and anxiety which in turn has negative physical health affects in addition to residents having to see their outside environment soiled.

This anti-social behaviour arising from late night licensing has caused many to leave Clapham as it erodes a sense of peoples' personal space. It is a breach of peoples' Human Rights to have to suffer in this way. The problems of Clapham are not just limited to the problems for residents: the reputation of Clapham is now suffering which in turn discourages families from coming to the area, so that the restaurant/café corpus that forms the 'Evening Economy' is being disadvantaged by the problems caused by late night licensing. Clapham is thus blighted by drunken disorder that has societal and economic damage. The issues cannot be exaggerated and Clapham stands as an example of licensing policy going wrong.

Lambeth Council and Policing Policy

Residents and responsible local businesses have been badly let down by Lambeth Council whose gross negligence in expanding late night licensing without bothering to implement safeguarding measures to prevent problems arising is indefensible and a breach of its legal and moral duty to uphold residents' human rights.

The Council has a hopelessly unrealistic view of late night licensing as being part of the 'Night Time Economy' and hence being of direct economic benefit to Clapham. The reality is that the late night disorder has no economic benefit whatsoever to Clapham as the kind of venues which generate mass

drunkenness have no real economic links to the mainstream 'evening economy' venues on which Clapham's economy is based. Street cleaning - particularly down residential side streets is totally inadequate, despite residents with Kate Hoey MP having met with councillors and council officers on site to show the problems. The Council has just expanded licensing and left it to residents to clean up the mess.

Residents have similarly been let down by the failure of the local police to tackle the anti-social behaviour which, if unchecked, leads on to escalatory incidents taken place. The police have not engaged properly with local residents in contrast to the closer relationships forged with the councils and late night venues. This means that both council and policing policy is based on prioritising the interests of late night venues and their clients rather than local communities. The approach of policing has been to address the safety of late night revellers whilst not challenging their behaviour. Yet this approach simply embeds the central problem which is mass drinking caused by unworkable licensing.

Street urination for example is a major problem for residents, as is littering, yet (according to an FOI made of Lambeth Council) only 1 person in two years has received a fixed penalty notice for urinating.

Whilst other councils are piloting initiatives such as hydrophobic coating which throws back urine onto someone relieving themselves in the street, Lambeth Council has done nothing to mitigate impact upon residents of this anti-social behaviour and environmental crime. Yet if people feel able to cause noise and foul peoples' doorways in side streets, then in turn they will feel no reticence in say taking drugs, so attracting drug dealing. There is no such thing as 'safe' mass drunkenness or 'trivial' anti-social behaviour. It is unsightly and intimidating, particularly for females residents going home – and ultimately unsafe.

Police failure to tackle anti-social behaviour down side streets is matched by Lambeth Council's indifference to residents and reluctance to acknowledge the problems. Yet this simply sustains and problems of mass drunkenness that leads to more crime.

Evidence Avoidance

Lambeth Council officers have attended public meetings whereby they repeat a claim that it is very 'difficult' to take action against problem venues because of the sheer concentration of premises and that to review a license could cost the Council money because of the risks of losing or a decision being appealed. Council officers have stated that residents need to let them know of problems so that they can plan action.

Yet residents at public meetings have spoken of numerous times when they have reported issues only for these reports to not be passed on. One major problem has been noise of those queuing to enter one particular night club in Clapham High Street. The club is open very late and processes crowds

queueing in the High Street rather than inside the venue, with long barriers erected along the High Street. This not only impedes pedestrian flow in a public space, but it causes a major noise nuisance with a crescendo of noise reverberating around after midnight which can be heard by residents. The problems were raised with Lambeth Council with a request for noise monitoring on the grounds the problems created were in breach of the Council's Licensing Statement objectives of preventing public nuisance. The Council officer – a senior enforcement manager – abjectly refused to instigate noise monitoring, absurdly arguing that the noise could be caused by people walking by rather than the large trail of crowds queueing. This is a perfect example of 'evidence avoidance' whereby Lambeth Council refuses to gather evidence even where it can be obtained easily in order to avoid taking action. Hence the Council's claim at public meetings of the 'difficulty' of taking action is hollow. Conversely the claim about 'risk' in reviewing licences is also shallow: the Council has an artificially high threshold whereby only action totally devoid of any risk of legal challenge is permissible: in other words a formula which precludes most scenarios. As such late night venues which cause problems effectively act with impunity. Lambeth Council officers who quote legislation – such as the Environmental Protection Act 1990 – are then reticent to reply when challenged and asked to specifically demonstrate how the Council is 'prevented' from taking action. The Council has a bluff assertion of risk aversion – as though it is being cautious – to disguise gross negligence and a default willingness to concede away residents' peace of mind and their human rights. Other local authorities, who operate under exactly the same legal framework as Lambeth are able to take action against clubs whose queueing system and processing of crowds is causing a noise nuisance – such as Kensington and Chelsea. It is not 'lack of power' that afflicts Lambeth, but lack of will and a suspicious policy of leniency to certain venues.

This is underpinned by an unwillingness by the Council to properly engage with residents. The leader of Lambeth Council Lib Peck for example has never walked down the residential side streets of Clapham at night to feel and sense the problem experienced by others. When public meetings have been set up (largely through the efforts of Kate Hoey MP and local residents rather than the Council pro-actively working with the community); council officers and lead councillors make promises about further engagement and new 'initiatives' that are quietly dropped. In particular, pledges to engage more fully with residents are never followed up. Councillor Jane Edbrooke, the Cabinet Member for Community Safety for example spoke of workshops on licensing to which local residents would be invited. Nothing has happened. Meanwhile one of Lambeth's lead council officers on enforcement, having stated he would meet with residents, has now stonewalled. This alas is a familiar pattern from the Council, a fusion of false promises, bluff arguments and then evasiveness.

Saturation Zone Abandoned

Lambeth Council in 2012 introduced a Saturation Zone for Clapham High Street, after years of delaying, in response to pleas from the local police. Inspector Alastair Pocock remarked:

“The identified problems and clear evidence of crime, violence, disorder and nuisance in the defined area of Clapham High Street, affects directly the cumulative impact of licensed premises on the promotion of the licensing objectives. The area has become saturated with licensed premises and the concomitant characteristics are present: high levels of bad behaviour in public places, particularly at night, including criminal, dangerous and anti-social behaviour associated with excessive drinking of alcohol; the fouling of doorways, alleyways and streets, which in addition to being anti-social, has consequences for public safety and health (Public Safety and Public Nuisance); the perceptions of residents that conditions in parts of the area threaten their personal safety; numbers of pedestrians on footways which in places are insufficient to accommodate them safely; traffic congestion late at night caused by the dropping-off and picking-up of people visiting licensed premises (Public Nuisance); high volumes of litter generated by fast food outlets and licensed premises flyers which creates an atmosphere of unwelcoming disorder”.

Yet despite objections from residents, in September 2015 Lambeth Council granted a new licence, ignoring the well-justified concerns of residents and local councillors. Lambeth Council is strongly in favour of more late night licensing and after having introduced a Saturation Zone reluctantly, has decided simply to ignore its policy. Many more applications for licensing extensions are now taking place and being rubber-stamped by the Council’s Licensing Committee, despite the gross problems caused.

Clapham Hub – The Polluted Pay The Polluter Profits

For some years a local church on Clapham High Street has been paid by Lambeth Council to have a ‘safe space’ for those who have got drunk and are incapable. Such people are then given free taxis home. Nominally this initiative – strongly supported by Clapham Police – is done on the basis that by helping drunks, the nuisance to local residents is reduced. But this is subsidized by the Council to the tune of £20,000 a year, meaning that residents who suffer misery are having to in turn pay for free taxis to those causing anti-social behaviour. Furthermore this is leading to a concentration of drunken and emotional revellers outside the church causing yet more noise for residents.

We challenge the notion that those in the Hub are more deserving than residents: someone who drinks to excess chooses to do so. The female resident who lives off Clapham High Street however has no option but to contend with the noise and intimidation down her road. There is an asymmetry whereby the Council and Police assume that drunken revellers are more impacted than residents – with no realisation that it is residents who are the real victims. In a perverse outcome a drunk who is incapable and can

urinate against someone's door with impunity can then have recourse to a free taxi whilst a resident – who pays for this service through her taxes – does not. Effectively then in Clapham the polluted pay, whilst the polluter – the drunks and venues who trade off drunkenness – profit. It is suggested that by opening churches to act as hubs, the burden on casualty wards in hospitals is eased. This has the false inference that a resident who has issues with the Clapham Hub and feels it is not working somehow wishes to 'place' the problem on the NHS: in reality it is the late night venues and revellers who are creating the problem, not the residents who are seeking to be able to sleep at night. The Clapham Hub needs to be accompanied with measures to protect residents and discourage drunkenness. A person who needs to use the Hub because he/she is too incapable should be treated but also fined. Much greater emphasis must be placed on punishing and preventing anti-social behaviour. Police should patrol side streets to prevent crime and discourage drug use and illegal taxi touts.

The fact that policing and council policies are based on a false notion of putting revellers 'safety' above the well-being of residents carries an ironic and inherent issue. By providing a safe 'sanctuary' and free taxis, the Police and Council do nothing to discourage people from the heavy binge drinking that leads them to be a vulnerable situation in the first place, so that the broader problems of mass drunkenness – and the crime issues caused – are prolonged and embedded. Policy in Clapham is not based on preventing nuisance and public disorder but by trying to mitigate some of its effects upon the people who cause it and by leaving licences untouched, with Lambeth Council operating a policy of 'evidence avoidance' in order to conveniently never be in a situation where it can review licences that cause the problems. Rather than late night venues showing they can be good neighbours, in Lambeth there is an inverse attitude whereby it is local communities and residents who must adapt to the needs of clubs. Policing has to be embracing of all needs with the primacy of upholding law and order; measures to improve safety for revellers must be matched with rigorous action to protect residents from intimidation and nuisance. Hence measures such as the Clapham Hub should not, as has done, just degenerate into a departure lounge for drunks, but be flanked with proper measures to intervene in noisy behaviour when entering/leaving the Hub and with proactive patrols in the side streets.

Funding Policing

Funding for more policing and proper street cleaning ought to come from those late night venues whose clients cause the problems. Yet Lambeth Council has refused to raise a late night levy. Though Clapham now has a Business Improvement District (BID) residents have not seen any real improvements and there is a risk that responsible 'evening economy' venues who are part of the BID will be having to pay for the costs of the clear-up that rightly should be sought from the late night clubs and bars. The consequence is that the extra policing needed has not been provided. Clapham Policing lacks real engagement with residents and is too geared to Council policies which inherently are in the interests of late night licensing rather than the Clapham community and 'evening economy'.

Night Tube and Mayoral Perceptions of Late Night Licensing

The prospect of all night weekend Tube services in Clapham offers both opportunity and risk. The opportunity lies in the ability for the Tube to shift people out of the area quickly; indeed in respect of the Night Tube and licensing the emphasis must be on removing crowds rather than adding to them.

However, the situation in Clapham is so parlous that, without a far more rigorous approach to policing and licensing, the Night Tube proposals will be unworkable. Firstly there is the problem that Clapham Common and Clapham North have narrow island platforms: these are dangerous at peak-times and therefore there is an inherent risk which is dramatically escalated if there are drunken crowds. Such people would pose a risk to themselves, other passengers and staff. I am aware, from discussions, that station staff are worried about how to manage mass drunken passengers given the nature of Clapham Common and Clapham North Tubes. It is likely that many female passengers who might use the Tube will be put off if they perceive they will have to share narrow island platforms with drunken yobs. There has to be far more security at these stations, whether BTP officers or dedicated personnel funded by late night venues. Night Tube will therefore have to be flanked by enhanced Night Buses.

The second issue is how the purpose of Night Tube is conveyed and used by late night venues and indeed the Mayor. I am deeply concerned that the Night Tube will be used to attract yet more people into Clapham which does not have the capacity to manage crowds safely or without significant detrimental impact on the environment and residents. Is the purpose of the Night Tube to act as an extrapolation of the 'evening economy' so that cinema goers can stay in a restaurant an hour or so longer, or is it to enable people to get drunk longer in a night club?

I find it astonishing that the Mayor and his adviser Danial Moylan can on the one hand oppose Heathrow Airport runway expansion, vehemently asserting that the noise pollution would be significant, yet at the same time argue for a Night Tube to 'boost' the 'night time economy' without considering the very real and far worse noise risks of drunken crowds this would entail. Both the Mayor and Mr Moylan seem to just lazily use 'Night Time Economy' as an umbrella term to imply that late night licensing is economically beneficial and hence benign with no attempt to differentiate between the 'evening economy' (restaurants, cafes, cinemas and pubs) and late night licensing (clubs and vertical drinking bars) which creates problems with no tangible economic benefit. The noise problems of drunkenness between 01:00 to 04:00 is far worse than noise issues of airports. Heathrow does not operate all-night; therefore why is late night licensing more acceptable?

The Future

Late night licensing across London has been shown to be utterly unworkable. Any notion that extending licensing would create a café culture is instantly disproved by anyone coming to Clapham at 01:00 or 02:00 on a Saturday night/Sunday morning. There is simply no way you can have mass drunkenness with a safe environment or one with no significant negative societal and economic impact on an area. No 'initiatives' or 'pilot projects' – often touted by negligent councils to mask their gross failures – will ever work because late night licensing of venues geared to binge drinkers cannot co-exist with upholding public order and protecting the environmental well-being of local communities. An environment where anti-social behaviour flourishes is inherently unsafe. A situation where someone is constantly woken up by drunks is inherently dangerous.

No changes can really happen without a full recognition of what has gone wrong in Clapham and indeed London. There is no such thing as a 'safe' Night Time Economy, any more than you can have a 'quiet' international hub airport. It is time then that the London Assembly, councils and police challenged the notion that post-midnight licensing constitutes a 'Night Time Economy' and instead recognised that what happens is not 'economic activity' but disorder. It is time then to re-orientate the culture of high streets in London towards an 'evening economy' and stop catering for binge drinkers. This must be accompanied by far more rigorous policing that recognises that where anti-social behaviour proliferates, so does crime. Street urination and fouling of peoples' doors should be punished with councils obliged to publish details of how many people have been prosecuted or fined for such activity. There should be a blanket ban on clubs near residential areas admitting people after Midnight: if clubs cannot process queues efficiently then their licences should be reviewed and proper noise monitoring undertaken by police and councils. There must be an end to the culture of 'evidence avoidance' by authorities such as Lambeth Council: officers who engage in such practice should shape up or be dismissed.

The London Assembly needs to consider the following:

- 1) A recognition that economic benefits from licensing are largely derived from pre-midnight activity in restaurants, cafes and pubs: the term 'Evening Economy' is more appropriate than 'Night Time Economy'.
- 2) Any situation where anti-social drunken behaviour can take place regularly is inherently dangerous and hence provides no economic benefit
- 3) The rights of residents to have a safe and habitable environment unburdened by constantly being woken by drunks or having pools of vomit or urine outside is an intrinsic part of their legal human rights. Councils which fail to take action to safeguard these rights are breaking the law. The right of a resident to sleep at night is greater than the right of a reveller to act disorderly.

- 4) Late night licensing has not delivered a 'café culture' but has made areas like Clapham more unsightly and dangerous. It is time that late night licensing was declared unworkable and moves made to boost the 'evening economy' which is not geared to drunkenness
- 5) Councils should be required to monitor noise where residents have raised concerns and not refuse as Lambeth Council have done.
- 6) Late night venues near or around residential areas should have a terminal cut off point of midnight for admitting people. Venues whose clients cause noise issues entering or exiting should have licences cut back.
- 7) Policing and clear-up costs for areas blighted by anti-social behaviour should be met by late night venues flanked by fines for those who cause nuisance and soil streets.
- 8) More fundamentally it is time that licensing policy was orientated towards the evening economy and upholding keeping the peace.

I urge members of the London Assembly to come to Clapham and speak to residents to hear and see first-hand the experiences they have had to suffer

Written submission from Bexley Borough Neighbourhood Watch Association

We at Bexley Borough Neighbourhood Watch have a few comments to make on this subject.

We work to help reduce crime and the fear of crime across the Borough and have enough feedback from our members to report the following.

Many older people try to avoid coming back late from Central London as they fear passing through town centres and having to pass past late night drinkers as they fear assault.

This must have a direct effect on NTE as it must mean less trips to the theatre etc. and a reduction in spending from those trying to rush home afterwards as they attempt to get home before their local pubs closing, I am sure this fear is worse on a Friday and Saturday night

Our suggestions to combat this is to keep a strong police presence and to perhaps increase the drinking age from 18 to 21.

Written submission from London resident

I feel this really a government matter! I am not against drinking in clubs & pubs as they fulfill and excellent social role.

But the government should reduce the licensing hours to more reasonable length of time to encourage people, when they wish to drink so late at night in their own or friends homes and to allow fewer private drinking club licenses in any a given area.

I do not think that a large part of the polices' budget should be spent on a few drunk people who can create so much damage , to themselves, the general public and property.

I consider it a total nonsense that the law was changed to 24hr drinking. I also think that licensing, whether full license or a temporary one, should have left in the polices' direct control and not have been given to local Borough officers.

London Borough of Tower Hamlets

Since the inception of the Licensing Act I have worked in four different local authority licensing teams in London, and have managed three of the teams. I have seen the way in which night time economies have grown and taken advantage of the changes brought about by the Act. In Clapham there was a shift from restaurants to bars open late, this facilitated a significant drinking culture with alcohol related incidents common, and occurring later into the night as licensing hours extended. The nature of night time economies varies hugely and can be very localised. Brick Lane, famous for curry has seen changes, with different operations slowly encroaching in to the curry territory. Night time economies do deliver significant advantages to areas in terms of employment and income generation, but the very nature of a night time economy operating in densely populated city leads to problems with the interface between the two, with operators and residents entrenched in opposing positions.

Night time economies are very dynamic, new ventures come and go and change as trends alter or a venue has to adjust to be profitable. The old model of bars/pubs, restaurants and nightclubs existing as separate entities has, in many areas changed, with boundaries blurred and the nature of premises varying throughout the day as they cater for differing markets. This means that conditions applied to licences to ensure that the licensing objectives are achieved have had to become more creative. In Lambeth there were problems with extreme gun and knife crime on occasions, in Tower Hamlets there are disorder problems caused by restaurants, something I have not seen elsewhere in London.

The approach taken when considering applications is to assess the measures offered by applicants in their operating schedules against the potential risks included in the application (hours applied for, location, style of operation, track record of applicant, nature of area) and the requirements of local policy and Home Office guidance to achieve compliance with the licensing objectives. Residents are also entitled to make representations about applications, in some areas residents groups are highly organised and regulars contribute.

In terms of these assessments local knowledge is vital, as there is significant variation across boroughs at ward level as to what is acceptable and indeed many licensing policies do have different approaches at this level. Saturation zones are also common in boroughs and these need to be taken into account.

Legal challenges to decision of committees are now far more common than in the early days of the licensing act, a premises that is non-complaint and subject to a review may have its licence revoked or have extra conditions imposed. If these are challenged through the courts typically a case may end up in front of a District Judge six months after the events that triggered the review. Often, after this time they are compliant, having kept their 'noses clean' during the wait for the appeal to be heard, this results in the original decision being partially overturned. This is a frustrating and expensive way of achieving compliance. It is essential that Police evidence (where part of the process) holds up, there have been well publicised instances when this has not been the case.

MOPAC could usefully engage with Borough Commanders to ensure that borough licensing teams are adequately staffed (with some boroughs adopting the late night levy it may be possible to partially fund them from this) with experienced officers. Detailed licensing knowledge is uncommon outside of dedicated licensing teams and where licensing work is passed down to neighbourhood teams it is often not carried out thoroughly, the teams lacking the knowledge and expertise to submit good quality representations. Such expertise and importantly local knowledge adds a significant amount to the licensing process and is valued by licensing sub-committees and the courts. Such teams should be maintained and staff turnover kept at a level that allows for knowledge to be passed on.

NTIA | NIGHT TIME INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

A contribution from The Night Time Industries Association to The Impact of Alcohol on Policing London's Night-Time Economy Report to: Police and Crime Committee Report of: Executive Director of Secretariat Date: 14 January 2016

Dear Committee Members,

The Night Time Industries Association (NTIA) represents several hundred venues, operators, promoters, pop up food and music festivals and businesses from the creative industries from across the United Kingdom.

The NTIA has been involved in working closely with the Mayor's Office in London with regard to the importance of a Night Time Economy Champion, that can work alongside key partners in policing, transport and housing to ensure that London can fulfill the aspiration to be a world class city, leading the way in urban planning and provision for citizens and visitors that increasingly lead a flexible life with a multitude of choices. Cities such as Paris, Berlin and Barcelona as well as New York and other Asian cities have marketed their 24-hour provision and won many as a beacon of attraction. We know also that major international companies seek to locate where their employees are attracted to the offering of the city.

"The blending of creative industries, tourism, food and night time leisure economies transformed this area into an 'international brand'" (Brick Lane) and "...cultural and creative firms share "symbolic capital" with the associated bars and independent shops..."

NESTA, quoted *Forward In To The Night*.

According to the DCLG, The Night Time Economy accounts for 10-16 per cent of a town centre's employment (more in London), while paying 1 Billion UKP in business rates in 2013/2014.

We recently brought over the Night Time Mayor of Amsterdam, Mirik Milan who has been in the position of over 5 years and worked with various stakeholders across the city to ensure communication between businesses, tourism and authorities. We also brought Lutz Leichsenring from Berlin's Club Commission that acts in a similar capacity as a group within Berlin. The outcome was extremely useful and shed light on a number of areas where the value of the night time activities – within the context of a twenty four hour cycle, whereby night and day interact and inform one another and night time business generates enormous value for daytime business generally.

NTIA | NIGHT TIME INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

It is worth reminding ourselves that the Night Time Economy generates over 66 Billion UKP per annum in revenue for the UK, while employing 8% of our workforce. As the Report has noted, there is considerable Night Time activity within London, although it is spread across 33 boroughs unevenly. While 1 in 4 young Londoners are unemployed, The Night Time Industries employs a disproportionate amount of young people; helping to motivate, promote an understanding of business, discipline and hard work and entrepreneurial endeavour. So many of the businesses within the night time are independent; bars, nightclubs, restaurants, street food vendors, as well as businesses that are part of the enormous ecosystem around it such as marketing companies, record labels, agents, managers, PR companies as well as the obvious ones such as taxi cabs and newsagents. Further, it is difficult to comprehend how our advertising agencies could work without the music that emerges from within the creative innovation of dance floors, djs, producers, clubs and bars and the continual hatching of new cultural phenomena that is there.

"Running a creative agency in the heart of London, in Shoreditch, we at Mother are acutely aware of the exciting relationship between the night time economy, creativity and innovation. Where bars, cafes, pop up festivals and nightclubs are, so too are young, dynamic, interesting entrepreneurs. Fashion without nightlife is difficult to imagine. Tech areas have expanded where new cultural quarters spring up due to night time industry. In my own field maintaining a vibrant nightlife in our neighbourhood is key to attracting and retaining inspired creative talent. It's also of course, where we have fun." Sarah Tate, Mother Advertising Agency MD

In fact, from The Beatles and Rolling Stones onwards, it is almost impossible to comprehend of our Great British exports, such as Adele, Ed Sheeran, Mark Ronson and Tinie Tempah without bars and nightclubs. Adele has broken all the records recently with her latest album in the USA – her record label XL Recordings is a dance music record label. Many of the venues she first performed at, like all our other cultural and economic exports are part of our vibrant and culturally vital Night Time Economy.

While we know and understand that this hearing is with regard to policing and alcohol within the Night Time Economy, the aforementioned needs to be contextualized because in some discussions the night time is considered purely from the perspective of "costs" to resources such as policing (although here too we shall see some evidence below that illuminates the situation) – rather than understanding the overall contribution of night time business *both economically and culturally* to London and indeed UK Plc.

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In the words of Sir Harvey Goldsmith,

“Music venues of all kinds are enormously important as the life blood for any city as the platform for the next generation of international talent.”

The night time is where we fall in love, have some of our most cherished moments, where we are inspired – it is difficult to imagine London Fashion Week without it, as all fashion is inspired and played out in this arena. Design and Tech and young entrepreneurs all are attracted to areas such as Hackney, Newham, Peckham, Lewisham, Lambeth, Southwark, Tower Hamlets, Haringay, Walthamstow, Westminster, Kensington, Camden, Islington and indeed many of our run down areas bringing in new dynamism and possibilities. When London and Britain no longer make ships, have docks and produce coal, it is our creative and cultural manufacturing that provides us with so much needed revenue and employment and what Joseph Nye coined as “soft power” internationally.

Our night time businesses also are the eyes and ears on our high streets. As Jane Jacobs noted, having areas lit up, with people and activity prevents crime and serves as a mechanism to attract productive activity with responsible professional business leaders that have a vested interest in ensuring there is as little crime as possible. We know what it looks like when high streets no longer have night time activity – it is called Detroit.

So The NTIA is very excited to work with all stakeholders and is committed to helping improve our city, for residents, businesses and visitors alike. Every week people visit London from abroad, flying in and via Eurotunnel. A significant proportion of them are coming not for Madam Tussauds and Buckingham Palace – but for Street food festivals such as Dinerama and Street Feast and clubs such as Fabric, XOYO, Bloc and Ministry of Sound. Over 300 million visits per year happen in the evening to night time activities.

So we turn to the key points for The Report to highlight some important elements for consideration by the committee in this crucial area, which has often been (we feel unfairly) presented only from the perspective of “costs” and amplifying negatives (noise and nuisance) rather than the multitude of benefits, financial, cultural and social – which enormously outweigh.

In Yarra, Southern Australia, a useful Report demonstrated that on the “Cost-Benefit” Ratio, the benefits of the Night Time Economy outweigh the costs by a ratio of 3:1:1 (Attached to email).

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A reflection of our way of life:

We saw in Paris recently, how so many rightly challenged the pernicious notion that our way of life should be stifled out and extinguished because citizens and tourists enjoy eating and drinking and dancing. This goes to the heart of our society and who we are.

Now, to The Report.

The Report

We thought it most useful to take some of the key points within The Report as a starting off point which can be addressed to reflect on and interrogate some of the assumptions contained within it.

To commence for the record, we very much understand and appreciate the enormous pressures that police authorities and councils are under today and being requested and demanded at times to deal with all manner of increasingly challenging problems (such as terrorism, pedophilia, bullying) all the while having resources cut and stations closed.

However, a worrying trend has been for the police (and at times others in health policy *campaigning*, citing “stresses on the NHS”) to motivate their claim to ‘success’ based around stats-driven approaches.

While it is now common knowledge and in the public domain that Serious Crime has drastically reduced in the UK over the past 10 years (see below), there is a different approach to any incident that occurs currently. The increasing language of “Health and Safety” and “Risk Assessment” across British society and business has provided the cultural environment where there is an expectation that all and any risk can be prevented entirely. While the news is very encouraging as to our continually decreasing crime levels, when ever there is some kind of human activity and congregation, whether that be around shopping centres (theft, muggings, petty crime) or sports stadiums, there will be incidents. However, unlike bank robberies, jewel heists, or deaths on our motorways and roads,

nobody is demanding (quite rightly) those activities be closed down, reviewed or curbed. However, a different measure is provided for the Night Time Industries – as though the acts of an *increasingly few individuals* should be the responsibility of business.

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farmers, bio-medicine or doctors were held to the same standards it would be almost impossible for them to do their work. Licensed premises are increasingly being held accountable not simply for activity *inside* their venues, but also when things happen *outside their venues, down the street and even completely different areas.*

We are extremely concerned that in the attempt to make claims against dwindling resources and to prove efficiency, some thinking around policing and stats has attempted to take all incidents reported, with the claim to "hot spots" and "spikes" in crime around the Night Time Economy and then impose further conditions, reviews and curbs on night time industry businesses.

Examples of this are plentiful, such as in Camden where a 700% reduction in crime over 2 years, was considered good, however a 12% rise (meaning still well over 680% decline) in isolated incidents down the road was presented to venues as an issue they have to be accountable for.

Further examples persist, such as in Tower Hamlets, the continual reference to "Anti Social Behaviour" fears, were used by licensing police officers to turn down Temporary Entertainment Notices for a Street Art Fair, that wanted to trade between 12 midday and 6pm.

The impact of this language and some of the way the alcohol discussion is presented we give comments on below.

As a precursor, it is worth noting as The NTIA Report *Forward In To The Night* shows (attached) that much of the narrative around night time has historically been negative.

"The night has always served as a focus for moral anxieties and social insecurities..." however "recorded crime has been falling and is currently 38% lower than in the year 2002-2003

"Fear of the Night", Professor Furedi, *Forward In To The Night* Report <http://www.ntia.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Forward-into-the-Night-Report.pdf?567959&2ab4c8>

Further, it was notable that Sir Bernard Hogan-Howe in a speech at The RA in 2015 said that while money was to be made by councils from bars and clubs, if we want to reduce crime up to 50% need to be closed. This notion if extended to logical conclusion would be to have a curfew at 10pm and then nothing (outdoors) would occur.

The NTIA has noted that in many instances at Pub Watch meetings (where licensees, managers and police meet regularly) across the capital and around the UK police are

increasingly using the terms “alcohol” with “harm” in one phrase, ie “alcohol harm”. This continual linking of terms is part of a new approach to the discussion of alcohol – as is the relatively new term “Anti Social Behaviour” (ASB) to describe all manner of different activities.

3. Background 3.1 The Police and Crime Committee is currently investigating the impact of alcohol on policing London’s night-time economy. The investigation will consider the levels of alcohol-fuelled crime and anti-social behaviour in London, and the demand it places on policing. The Committee will also discuss how the provisions in the Licensing Act 2003 are being applied across London, and what role the Mayor’s Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) has in helping to tackle alcohol-fuelled crime.

1 Direct costs of alcohol use to the government in England, including the NHS, police, criminal justice system and welfare system taken together amount to a gross cost of 3.9 Billion UKP per annum

2 Revenues from alcohol taxation in England amount to 10.4 Billion UKP per annum, leaving an annual net benefit to the government of 6.5 Billion UKP per annum.

3 The estimated cost of alcohol-related violent crime is nearly 1 Billion UK Per annum. Other ‘alcohol-related crimes’ including drink-driving add a further 627 Million UKP leaving a total cost to the police and criminal justice system at 1.6 Billion UKP.

4 The net cost to the state of alcohol therefore is *minus* 6.5 Billion UKP per year....drinkers subsidise non-drinkers to the order of 6.5 Billion UKP per year.

Alcohol And The Public Purse Institute of Economic Affairs Paper 63 http://www.iea.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/files/DP_Alcohol%20and%20the%20public%20purse_63_amended2_web.pdf

Drinking has decreased significantly in the UK – especially among the young

We draw the Committee’s attention to the significant work produced by Christopher Snowden *Drinking Fast and Slow* which explores the crime figures, Accident & Emergency Levels and what was feared and what actually has happened over the last ten years (attached). We believe it is worth quoting the summarised points in their entirety as they bear so much weight and heavily on the discussion and considerations of the committee hearing. The section on crime has been boldened as is critical.

key points are:

- Introduced in 2005, the Licensing Act allowed more flexibility in pub, bar and nightclub opening times for the possibility of '24 hour drinking'.
- It was widely predicted that the relaxation of licensing laws would lead to higher rates of alcohol consumption, more binge-drinking, more violent crime and more alcohol-related attendances to Accident and Emergency departments. In the event, none of this occurred
- Per capita alcohol consumption has been rising for many years but peaked in 2004 and has fallen by 17 per cent since the Licensing Act was introduced. This is the largest reduction in UK drinking rates since the 1930s.
- Rates of 'binge-drinking' have declined amongst all age groups since 2005 with the biggest fall occurring amongst the 16-24 age group.
- Violent crime declined in the first year of the new licensing regime and has fallen in most years. Since 2004/05 the rate of violent crime has fallen by 40 per cent, public order offences have fallen by 9 per cent, domestic violence has fallen by 28 per cent and the number of incidents of criminal damage has fallen by 48 per cent. There has been a rise in violent crime between 3am and 6am but this has been offset by a larger decline at the old closing time (11pm-midnight and 2am to 3am).
- The weight of evidence from Accident and Emergency departments suggests that there was either no change or a slight decline in alcohol-related admissions after the Licensing Act was introduced. Alcohol-related hospital admissions have continued to rise, albeit at a slower pace than before the Act was introduced, but there has been no rise in the rate of alcohol-related mortality. There was also a statistically significant decline in late night traffic accidents following the enactment of the Act.
- The evidence from England and Wales contradicts the 'availability theory' of alcohol, which dictates that longer opening hours lead to more drinking, more drunkenness and more alcohol-related harm. The British experience since 2005 shows that longer opening hours do not necessarily create greater demand.
- There is little evidence that the Licensing Act led to the creation of a continental café culture, as some proponents of liberalisation had hoped, but the primary objectives of diversifying the night-time economy, allowing greater freedom of

choice and improving public order have largely been met. By relaxing the licensing laws, the government allowed consumers to pursue their preferences more effectively. In practice, this resulted in relatively modest extensions in opening hours, not '24 hour drinking'. By allowing a greater degree of self-regulation, the Licensing Act benefited consumers without creating the disastrous consequences that were widely predicted.

With such good news all round, one would have expected immense hurrahs and cheers from all quarters.

When we speak with older police officers, they joke with us how Fridays used to be "Friday fight night" in London and across Britain.

Today, 27 % of young people describe themselves as "teetotal" and all categories (except for middle aged women drinking at home) consume far less alcohol. People are more likely to be taking photos of their non-alcohol infused cocktails while enjoying international street food than going to a bar with friends without experiencing what once not so long ago plagued British and London streets.

Despite all of this, there is a recent push to present night time economy and culture as somehow dominated by crime and ASB. The figures simply do not demonstrate this and stack up.

Terminology: "Alcohol-fuelled crime"

The term "alcohol-fuelled crime" is a thorny and tricky one, originating with a piece of research by an economist Leontaridi, that then has become a phrase repeated often in various contexts.

There is no category in English Law for alcohol-related or "fuelled" crime and yet it has become increasingly popular for police and licensing officers to continually use these terms.

Under English Law there are crimes, such as theft, burglary, vandalism, physical attacks such as Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH) and Actual Bodily Harm (ABH) – although even these latter terms are being redefined as "Violence With Injury" (VWI). Increasingly solicitors and police have recorded that pushes and shoves are also being categorized in the Violence With Injury heading.

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There are also categories for being “drunk and disorderly” – the illegal part is the disorderly, not the drunk part. It is not illegal to be drunk, however it is illegal to serve people alcohol in a licensed premises if one believes them to be overly intoxicated / drunk.

As there are no specific categories of crime designated, what tends to happen is that in reports written up questions are asked as to the circumstances of the incident. If alcohol is mentioned, it will be recorded as “alcohol-related” or “alcohol-fuelled”. However, this is very unscientific; one example is the London journalist who was mugged on the way home from the opera and was asked if he had consumed any alcohol. “Yes, I had a glass of champagne,” he responded. It then became another statistic in the “alcohol related crime” figures.

One of the biggest problems with the “crime statistics” however is that *they are not ever evaluated on the basis of the number of attendees to an area, nor indeed the increased number of attendees.*

One of the biggest contributors to so-called “crime spikes” is mobile phone losses.

Mobile phone losses comprise the largest category of “spikes” in crime surrounding the night time. When somebody loses their phone for what ever reason, they often want to claim it back on insurance. In order to do so, they have to get a crime reference number. To get a crime reference number, so that the insurers will honor their claim, they have to report it to the police and they have to say where they lost the phone. So, a venue is named – whether this is the place it has been lost or not. Then, the “crime stats/ spikes” increase due to quite often people losing their phones in any number of places. This has placed enormous pressures on night time businesses who are told “crime figures are up” due to mobile phone loss reporting to insurers. However, if we ask the British public if this is considered to be a serious crime and to what extent it requires (m)any of our resources, we know from our own work that they do not believe it is or should be an area to focus on. It should especially not be used to then provide an argument to limit and reduce night time licenses, activity and business, on the spurious grounds of “reducing crime”.

“Last Drink”

Another worrying and problematic development is that police officers are now regularly asking people that have committed a crime where they consumed their “last drink”. As though this somehow can shed any light on any incident.

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with the newspaper photos that aimed to depict Britain as being full of drunkards on New Years Eve, rather than the hundreds of thousands of ordinary decent citizens and visitors that had fun, celebrated and went home without incident, the question as to where the “last drink” was consumed implies that the venues are somehow culpable for individual behavior. It ignores the fact that again, millions of people go out in the UK and across London every week without incident and enjoy themselves, form new friendships, relax, get inspired and go home – and instead simplistically pushes a narrative that crime “spikes” are up and that venues are responsible.

In no other walk of life is an institution held responsible, not a school, a family, a police station, City Hall, jewelers when there are armed robberies or anywhere else, in the same fashion that night time economy operators and particularly licensed premises are. Venues, many now with numerous security personnel, increasingly with CCTV cameras, often being forced in to having ID Scanners for ID admittance and some even pressurized with breathalysers before entering amidst attempts to have dogs also at some venues means the cost – and the psychological pain as well as ongoing management implications of being concerned about anything happening inside and outside the venue has become extremely problematic.

If an individual takes it upon him or herself to hit someone, steal something or do any other illegal act – the act is defined in law and it should be they that are held accountable (thankfully the numbers have all decreased) rather than bringing “stats” to pub watch meetings and continually pressurizing licensed premises to somehow be accountable for any and all eventualities.

‘Crime statistics are often used to demonstrate the detrimental impact that venues are having on a particular area. Often these figures are used in a highly biased and logically flawed way. Night clubs are blamed for incidents which they have no evidential connection to, merely because they happened to be the venue in which the perpetrator had a drink. This not only unfairly demonises venues, but also fails to engage effectively with the real causes of crime’.

Luke Gittos, Solicitor, Hughmans

So, when we are told that there are “crime spikes” in certain areas or “hot spots” of crime surrounding Night Time Economy activity – it takes no account of per thousands, or tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands attendees and percentage rates. Also, reading these incidents as being the “fault” or “responsibility” of the Night Time

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Economy, industry and businesses – rather than the actions of individuals committing crimes is misguided. Responsibility for actions are with the individuals.

Some useful data see: “Reducing Mobile Phone Theft and Improving Security” The Home Office

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/390901/HO_Mobile_theft_paper_Dec_14_WEB.PDF

3.2

In London, alcohol consumption supports a night-time economy worth millions of pounds. The Mayor is committed to growing the night-time economy: he recently proposed the creation of a “Night Mayor” for London to “bring together night-time businesses, local authorities and the emergency services to ensure that night-time activity can thrive”.¹ However, alcohol consumption has a number of negative consequences for the individual, the economy, and the community, including crime and the fear of crime.

When we talk about alcohol today, few talk about the several thousands of years of culture, births, weddings, celebrations of all kind and enjoying it together. Invariably the discussion quickly goes to “alcohol harm”.

There are numerous positive consequences of alcohol – sharing our way of life, relaxing together and most health studies have demonstrated that alcohol improves life expectancy and benefits.

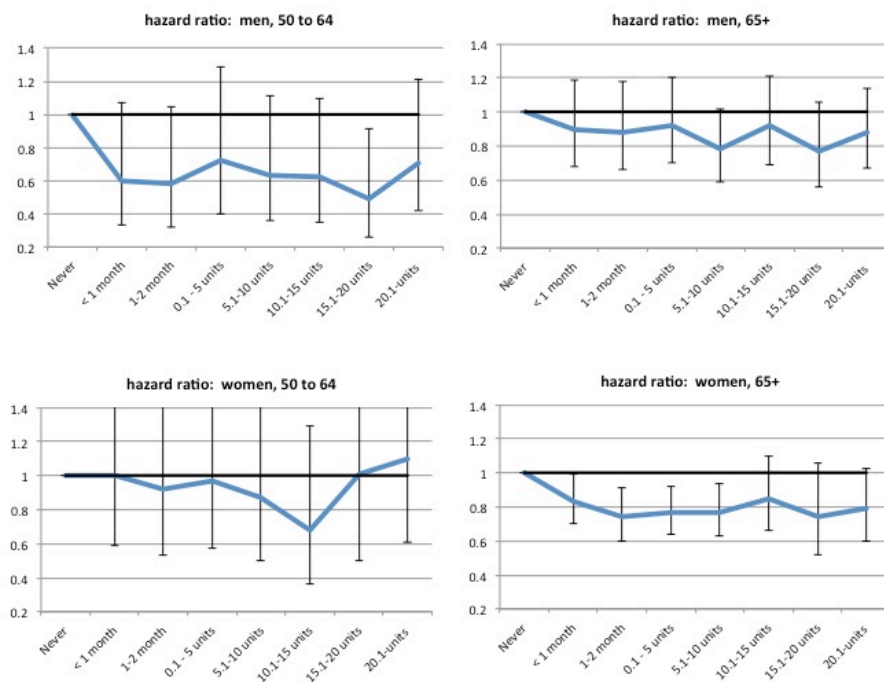
However, originating in health policy *campaigning* circles and similar to discussions around salt, sugar and tobacco, alcohol has been presented by some as being problematic. Yet if we look at the vast body of work it all points to moderate drinking being beneficial (see below).

The recent “advice” of further reducing levels of drinking for males from 21 units to 14 (it was 56 not so long ago and in France there are still no limits) has been widely criticised. Particularly because while promoting a fearful reaction and presenting cancer of a liver as a risk, it ignored all of the significant work that has demonstrated moderate drinkers live longer and healthier than teetotalers, while habitual abusers of alcohol (of which there are far less today) do worse.

See

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David Spiegelhalter who has written widely on this and explains the flawed report that was referred to in the most recent work using the tables below:



Hazard ratios in different age/sex groups, for different weekly alcohol consumption. Baseline group are 'never-drinkers'. Data from Health Survey for England.

The graphs suggest the following points:

- All groups consuming less than 20 units a week experienced lower mortality rates than the lifelong teetotalers.
- The confidence intervals are very wide. This is because there were few teetotalers and so not many deaths - for example the entire comparison for 50-64 year-olds is based on 17 deaths in the male baseline group, and 19 deaths in the females. This is completely inadequate to draw any firm conclusions, since there is large uncertainty about what the true underlying relative risks are.
- the All the observed data are compatible with the kind of 10 to 20% protection that has been previously suggested.

'significant' protective effects are implausibly large (greater than 20% reduction in risk). This is because in an underpowered study, only implausibly extreme observations can ever achieve 'significance'

- The authors have reported the few groups with 'significant effects' (ie where the interval excludes 1), and claimed the other groups showed 'little to no' effect. This is a classic statistical error, and produces very misleading conclusions, as even casual inspection of the graphs clearly shows.

So a more appropriate headline would have been "*Study supports a moderate protective effect of alcohol*".

Perhaps more worryingly, Snowden reports that the Chief Medical Officer is purposely misleading and scaring the British public and continues:

"The reality is that there is no safe drinking level. Being teetotal offers protection against a few cancers but drinking offers protection from other diseases, including heart disease and stroke. So what do you want to be 'safe' from - cancer or heart disease? You have to choose.

There is significant evidence of a "J Shaped Curve" where teetotalers live shorter lives than moderate drinkers, with heavy abusive drinkers at the higher end."

<http://velvetgloveironfist.blogspot.co.uk/2015/02/dont-worry-drinking-is-still-good-for.html>

For the economy

For the economy there are enormously positive impacts, with Brits paying 40% of taxation while only consuming 12% for instance on beer duty. In employment, revenue, national insurance and business rates, as well as some Business Improvement District payments and certain Late Night Levies, the sale and consumption of alcohol is part of our way of life and generates enormous revenues and income.

While we have shown evidence of how crime has reduced, even while some have had a shrill approach to discussing the night time, the idea that the *fear of crime* can be resolved by night time legislation is extremely problematic.

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Under English law we deal with crimes and punishments. However, the attempt to calibrate or understand what various different demographics and members of the public might “think” or “feel” about crime generally is entirely unscientific and varies enormously. However, as much research has pointed to over the recent years, our *perception* and *fears* and anxieties around crime have rapidly increased due to wider sociological issues with regard to more isolation and atomization of society than ever before. A yardstick for ‘fears of crime’ cannot be a measure of things.

Once again though, the statistics all demonstrate a very good story of

decreasing crime and stabilising A & E Levels over the 10 years since the Licensing Act 2003 came out in 2005.

3.3 The number of crimes in which alcohol is a factor is higher in London than other parts of England and Wales. MOPAC states that “London experiences a disproportionate level of crime [linked to 1 The Mayor of London, London’s grassroots music venues plan, October 2015 2 GLA Economics, Alcohol consumption in the night-time economy, September 2012 alcohol] because of the number of night-time economy spots [...] the Metropolitan Police Service has to manage much of the disorder and violence that stems from public drunkenness.”³ Much of the cost of tackling this falls onto public services. The Institute of Alcohol Studies recently surveyed over 4,000 police officers, ambulance staff, and other front line workers nationally, for views on the impact that alcohol has on the emergency services. It estimates that up to 80 per cent of weekend arrests are alcohol-related, and just over half of all violent crime is committed while drunk. In respect of policing, the survey found, for example, that police officers spent on average half of their time dealing with alcohol-related casework; and 92 per cent felt that policing the night-time economy had a large or very large impact upon workload.

As the figures we have presented demonstrate, the crime figures have reduced year on year over 10 years.

While we appreciate the concern around resources – it is also the case that A & E Levels have reduced marginally too.

It may well be that “80% of weekend arrests” are alcohol related – however 27% of young people are teetotal and

British people and Londoners are drinking less than at any other point in our records of history. Crime is down as is drinking. We need to have a conversation in British society and across London about resources, NHS, policing and paying for it. However, it is neither sensible nor acceptable to blame the Night Time Economy, Industries or indeed 'alcohol' for these questions. Most of the story has been one success after another.

3.4 The investigation aims to: • Examine how alcohol-fuelled crime and anti-social behaviour affects the demand placed on policing in London; • Examine the role of the Mayor, MOPAC, the MPS, and other partners in helping to reduce alcohol-fuelled crime and anti-social behaviour in London; and • Examine what more the Mayor, MOPAC, the MPS, and other partners could do to reduce alcohol-fuelled crime and anti-social behaviour in London. 4. Issues for Consideration 4.1 The meeting will be used to examine the level of alcohol-fuelled crime and anti-social behaviour in London, and the demand it places on policing. The Committee will also discuss how the Licensing Act 2003 is applied across London.

As we have pointed out at the start, the term "alcohol-fuelled crime" is misleading. We should deal with crime in the context of what occurs and how it is classified under English Law.

"Anti Social Behaviour" over recent years has come to mean so many different things, from talking loudly, to wearing clothes strangely and a host of other various behaviours that are all clustered together under a generic catch-all term. It benefits us little providing nominal insights. Equally, the increasing

tendency to have "zones" across London where various activities are seen as not acceptable, from handing out flyers, to drinking, being homeless or simply standing around – with new PSPO's (Public Space Protection Orders) as well as the insistence that venues have ever more militarized style security has led to an ambience and environment that does not favour fun, cosmopolitan style relaxed engagement. We would all benefit from clarity with crime figures, based on the amounts of traffic and visitors attending so that there is a proportional understanding and representation, not simply one presented as "spikes" or "hot spots" based on mobile phone thefts and other issues that become aggregated in to a presentation of "crime".

Street pastors have worked well in some boroughs and areas, working with BID's (Business Improvement Districts) has also seen some additional benefits.

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However, the role of Night Time Economy Champion / Mayor, will be able to work in true partnership with the police, housing and transport – and shine a light and pave the way for the future of our city and cities up and down the country that want to maximise the benefits of the Night Time Economy and minimise the costs.

Finally...

While I cannot be with you on Thursday 14th, I look forward to our meeting together soon and sincerely hope that the points we have highlighted here are given adequate consideration.

If the continued pressures around licensing and policing on venues is amplified further around false notions of alcohol and crime being 'out of control' or a 'burden on our resources' when in fact it has all decreased significantly, then the 50% decline of music venues that we have seen over the last 10 years will accelerate – and there may not be very many places that can afford to take the risk of even opening. It will mean a loss of jobs and extinguishing of our precious and highly valued and internationally acclaimed culture. It will hit hard in the pocket and at the bank. We should take note too that each weekend many are voting with their feet, to go to places where one can enjoy a relaxed environment of eating, drinking, dancing, socializing throughout the night such as Lisbon, Barcelona, Berlin and Paris.

While we should all work together in *true partnership* with all stakeholders together, working out how best to have our city operate, grow and manage, we cannot afford to allow understandable concerns about reduced resources on the one hand, along with certain campaigners presentation of one of our oldest cultural activities on the other, suffocate our night time industries and cities. That will be a terrible moment for London and Britain.

Alan D Miller NTIA Chairman
alan@ntia.co.uk

Yarra's Night Time Economy

Benefit / Cost Assessment



PROJECT UNDERTAKEN FOR
YARRA CITY COUNCIL

April 2013

Benefit Cost Assessment of Yarra's Night Time Economy

This project has been conducted by REMPLAN

Project Team

Matthew Nichol
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Hui Shi
Economist

April 2013

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DISCLAIMER

All figures and data presented in this document are based on data sourced from the Australia Bureau of Statistics (ABS), and other government agencies. Yarra City Council has provided some background information in relation to the night time economy in the region. Using ABS datasets, the regional economic modelling software REMPLAN, developed by REMPLAN has been applied to generate industrial economic data estimates. This document is provided in good faith with every effort made to provide accurate data and apply comprehensive knowledge. However, REMPLAN does not guarantee the accuracy of data nor the conclusions drawn from this information. A decision to pursue any actions based on information presented in the report is wholly the responsibility of the party concerned. REMPLAN advises any party to conduct detailed feasibility studies and seek professional advice before proceeding with any action and accepts no responsibility for the consequences of pursuing any of the findings or actions discussed in the document.

RESOURCES

All modelling has been undertaken using REMPLAN[™] software that has been authored by Principal Research Fellow (ret.), Ian Pinge, at La Trobe University Bendigo.

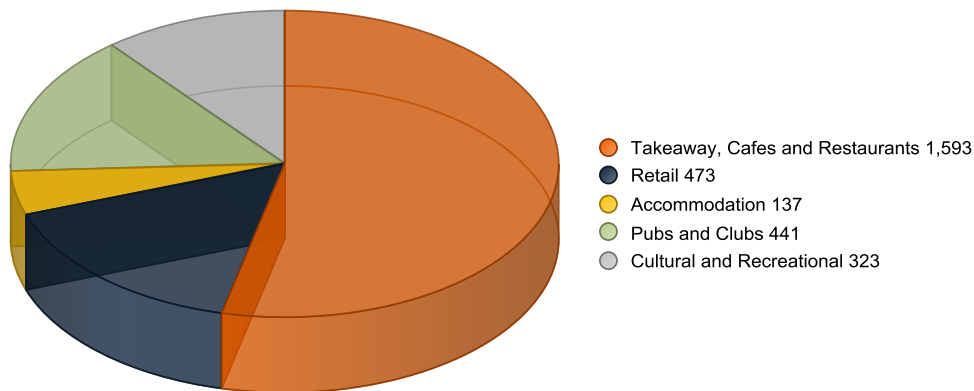
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Summary of Findings

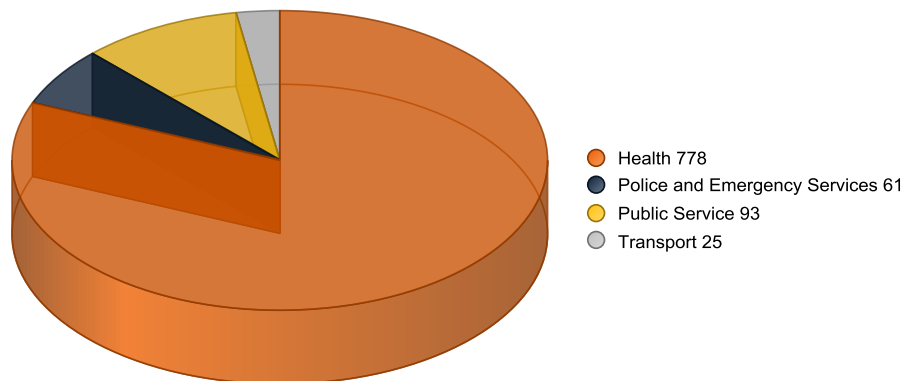
The City of Yarra is renowned for its dynamic night life spread across several precincts, principally Collingwood and Fitzroy (Smith, Gertrude, Brunswick and Johnston Streets) and Richmond (Victoria, Church and Swan Streets). However, the nature and intensity of this activity have negative social externalities upon the local community through noise, litter and matters of public nuisance.

It is estimated that Yarra City's Night Time economy supports 2,967 jobs.



The direct economic output generated by the 2,976 NTE workers is estimated at \$333.14 Million per annum, or \$112,282 per worker. The NTE generates demand for goods and services within Yarra City and it is estimated that these flow-on impacts generate a further \$156.941 Million. The 2,976 people employed in the NTE, and the workers in the supplying businesses spend some of their wages and salaries in the local economy and these flow-on consumption benefits are estimated at a further \$175.108 Million. The total output associated with the NTE in the City of Yarra, including all direct and flow-on effects is estimated at up to \$665.187 million.

There are various costs and negative impacts associated with night time activities such as health, noise and the policing of anti-social and criminal behaviour. It is estimated that 957 people are employed to service and manage Yarra City's NTE across the following sectors:



The direct output generated by the 957 people servicing the NTE is estimated at \$120.017 Million, or \$125,410 per worker.

At the margin it is estimated that the NTE delivers net benefits to the Yarra City economy across all measures:

Employment

Benefit: 2,967 Jobs

Cost: 957 Jobs

Benefit Cost Ratio: 3.1 : 1

Output

Benefit: \$333.1 Million

Cost: \$120.1 Million

Benefit Cost Ratio: 2.8 : 1

Wages & Salaries

Benefit: \$96.2 Million

Cost: \$60.2 Million

Benefit Cost Ratio: 1.6 : 1

Value-Added

Benefit: \$150.5 Million

Cost: \$75.2 Million

Benefit Cost Ratio: 2.0 : 1

The lower marginal benefit in relation to wages and salaries reflects the relatively lower wages received by people working in retail, cafes, restaurants and pubs, industries that are characterised by part-time and casual employment. This compares with the people working on the cost side on the equation in health, government, and police and emergency services. These sectors typically employ workers with formal skills and qualifications and pay higher wages reflecting these requirements.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Purpose and aim

Yarra City Council commenced a night time economy' (NTE) project in 2012, this cost / benefit assessment has been undertaken to support this. A recent paper¹ prepared by the Council discusses the current services and infrastructure supporting Yarra's night time economy with the aim of enhancing the functionality of these activities and the liveability of surrounding local areas:

"The City of Yarra is renowned for its dynamic night life spread across several precincts, principally Collingwood and Fitzroy (Smith, Gertrude, Brunswick and Johnston Streets) and Richmond (Victoria, Church and Swan Streets)."

"However, the nature and intensity of this activity have negative social externalities upon the local community through noise, litter and matters of public nuisance."

In the context of the above statement, the aim of this report is to:

- Establish data sources and a framework for measuring the NTE;
- Deliver a first assessment of the economic costs and benefits associated with the Yarra (LGA) NTE.

The benefits of the NTE in this report are estimated in terms of:

- Output / Revenue (\$ M)
- Employment (Jobs)
- Wages & Salaries (\$ M)
- Value-added (\$ M)

The costs of the NTE are estimated in terms of the estimated proportion of industry sector output that is specifically associated with servicing or managing the NTE.

Cost / benefit analysis in this report was undertaken using REMPLAN – economic modelling and planning system². This study applies REMPLAN economic data for the defined regions of the City of Yarra Local Government Area (LGA) and disaggregates to destination zones within the municipality where the night time activities are located. REMPLAN incorporates data sourced from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2011 Census, 2008/2009 ABS National Input / Output Tables, and ABS Gross State Product (June 2012).

1.2 Regions

City of Yarra is a local government area in the inner eastern and northern suburbs of Melbourne, close to Melbourne's CBD. It includes the suburbs of Abbotsford, Alphington (part), Burnley, North Carlton, Clifton Hill, Collingwood, Cremorne, Fairfield (part), Fitzroy, North Fitzroy, Princes Hill and Richmond. Yarra is home to approximately 80,000 people³ and has some of Melbourne's best shopping streets,

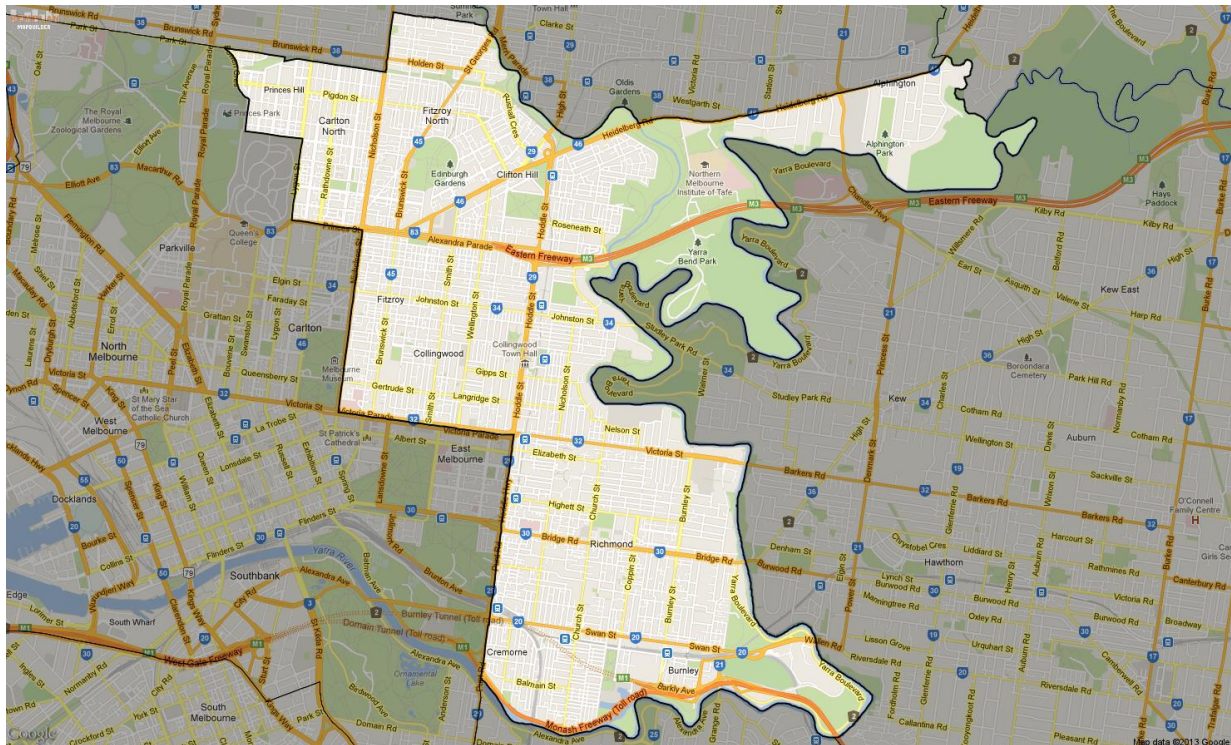
¹ Discussion Paper: 'Our Night Time Economy, City of Yarra'

² www.remplan.com.au

³ <http://remplan.co/Y14d42>

including Bridge Road and Swan and Victoria Streets in Richmond, Brunswick and Gertrude streets in Fitzroy and Smith Street in Collingwood.

Map 1-1 City of Yarra (LGA)



1.3 Methodology

The following methodological approach has been applied to estimate the contributions of the NTE to the Yarra City economy:

- Define the characteristics of the NTE in terms of the industry sectors that benefit from servicing customers from 5pm through to 9am
- Identify negative externalities associated with the NTE and define the industry sectors that respond to and manage these issues
- Within the Yarra City local government area define the major NTE precincts
- Apply place of work employment data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2011 Census to estimate the number of people employed in industries that have an exposure to the NTE in the respective precincts, and for the local government area overall
- Estimate the proportion of these jobs that specifically service the NTE based on the ratio of retail jobs to food / beverage / entertainment jobs; *a precinct with a high proportion of retail jobs is assumed to have a strong Day Time Economy (DTE) relative to its NTE, and vice versa*
- Assess the direct and indirect benefits for the Yarra City economy based on the total number of jobs supported specifically by the NTE

- Of the total number of people working in industries that respond to and manage the negative externalities associated with the NTE, estimate the likely proportion that specifically service the NTE based on the proportionate contributions of the NTE to the overall Yarra City economy
- Estimate benefit / cost ratios for the NTE in terms of output, employment, wages and salaries and value-added.

It is important to note that the analysis presented in this report is based on desktop analysis and secondary data. There is an opportunity to complement and further validate this study with primary research.

2 An Overview of Night Time Economy

2.1 What is the Night Time Economy

The term of “Night Time Economy” captures certain social and business activities in the period of “the night”. Many non-hospitality and non-entertainment related economic activities also take place at night, including cleaning services, education, government services, retailing, baking and other forms of food preparation, and logistics activities.

The emergence of the Night Time Economy (NTE) as an idea within planning and urban governance dates from Britain in the early 1990s (Bianchini 1995⁴). Academic and policy research from around the world suggests that many cities over the past two decades have deliberately fostered NTEs as a renewal strategy, often in combination with ‘cultural planning’ or ‘creative cities’ strategies.

The night activities within cities have positive impacts as a time of socialisation and encounter (Lovatt and O’Connor 1995⁵). These studies focused on the liberating, consumer-oriented and urban planning aspects of the NTE. However, negative impacts associated with activity after dark in relation to sociology, criminology and health have also been explored.

For analysis purposes in this report, the benefits and costs will be estimated separately. Activities associated with the NTE below will, in most instances, be considered a benefit to the economy and community. These activities include:

- Drink-led activities
- Food-led activities
- Gaming venues
- Retailing (Post 6pm)
- Accommodation
- Performance venues
- Film, theatre, live music opera, etc.
- Cultural institutions
- Sporting and leisure
- Brothels and sex establishments

Meanwhile, those activities after dark having adverse impacts or negative externalities for the community are defined as:

- Public Order and Safety Services
- Hospitals
- Local Authority Administration
- Road Passenger Transport
- Rail (and light rail) Passenger Transport

⁴ Bianchini, F. (1995) Night cultures, night economies, *planning practice and research*, 10(2): 121-126.

⁵ Lovatt, A. and J. O’Connor (1995) Cities and the night-time economy, *planning practice and research*, 10(2): 127-134.

For this study the Night Time Economy (NTE) has been defined as commercial activities operating from 5pm through to 9am.

2.2 Yarra's Night Time Economy

2.2.1 An overview

The City of Yarra is considered as the heart and soul of Melbourne, having strong appeal for those wishing to live, work or visit the area. People are motivated by its diversity, lifestyle and business opportunities. The vibrant night life is one of the key attractions for new residents. Some feedback gathered by the Yarra City Council in their recent paper⁶:

"Vibrant mixture, improving continually, close to rail stations and trams (Victoria St), pubs and restaurants, Abbotsford convent, close to CBD (shops, theatres), easy access to number of cinemas, close to Carlton, Richmond, Northcote etc."

"Bars, cafes, nightlife, proximity to city, lots of public transport options, great shopping, interesting people etc."

"All the things I hoped for myself, wife and adult girls - walking everywhere, sense of community, cultural and age diversity; smaller shopping more frequently; retiring one car. We can retire to quiet and amenity of comfortable apartment then 50 steps later the "life" and buzz is at our doorstep."

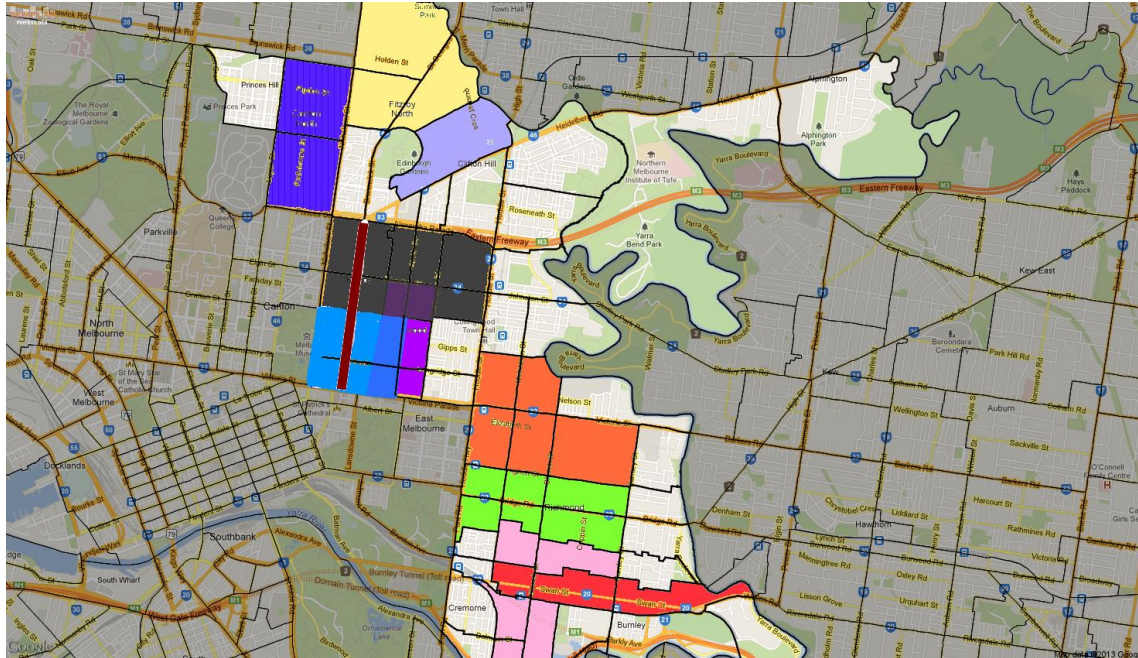
Popular night activities in Yarra include visiting bars and fine dining through to cheap eateries, participating in recreation, youth and cultural activities such as outdoor cinema, sports events, libraries and galleries. There are also tertiary educational institutes, supermarkets, convenience stores, gyms, yoga and dance studios, and hairdressers operating at night.

⁶ Discussion Paper on Our Night Time Economy, City of Yarra.

2.2.2 Night Time Economy (NTE) Precincts

The following map divides City of Yarra into destination zones. The main NTE precincts as defined by the Council are highlighted.

Map 2-1 Destination Zones with main NTE areas



The main night time activities after 6pm are located in the following areas:

- **Swan Street** includes good value eateries, take away food premises and a number of pubs iconic to Richmond including the Corner Hotel, a popular venue for live music in Melbourne. Often a destination prior to, and following a sports event at AAMI Stadium or the MCG and for other major events held at Rod Laver Arena
- **Bridge Road** includes endless restaurants of various cuisines, intermingled with several stylish bars and pubs, and like Swan Street, also a destination visited as part of a sports game or major event
- **Victoria Street** is the heart of Vietnamese food of high quality and low prices
- **Gertrude Street** has a number of cocktail bars, fine dining restaurants as well as a handful of late night venues spread throughout the small strip of the street
- **Smith Street** offers numerous restaurants including the famous duck restaurant through to several well-known bars in Yarra and late night venues famous to Yarra
- **Johnston Street, Fitzroy** is the heart of Melbourne's Spanish precinct, with many tapas bars, in addition entertainment options such as burlesque and flamenco dancing, and also a few late night music and dancing options
- **Brunswick Street** paralleled with Smith Street, offers endless cheap and fine dining options, the famous Vegie Bar, book shops, live music, late night take away options and several late night venues.

In addition, **Queens Parade** at Clifton Hill, **Rathdowne and Nicholson Streets** in North Carlton, **St Georges Road** in North Fitzroy, **Church Street** in Richmond, and **Johnston Street** in Collingwood also offer a variety of night activities.

3 Methodology

For the respective NTE precincts detailed above, place of work employment data from 2011 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), Census of Population and Housing has been applied to build profiles of employment in NTE economy related industries.

3.1 Swan Street

Map 3-1 Swan Street NTE DZs

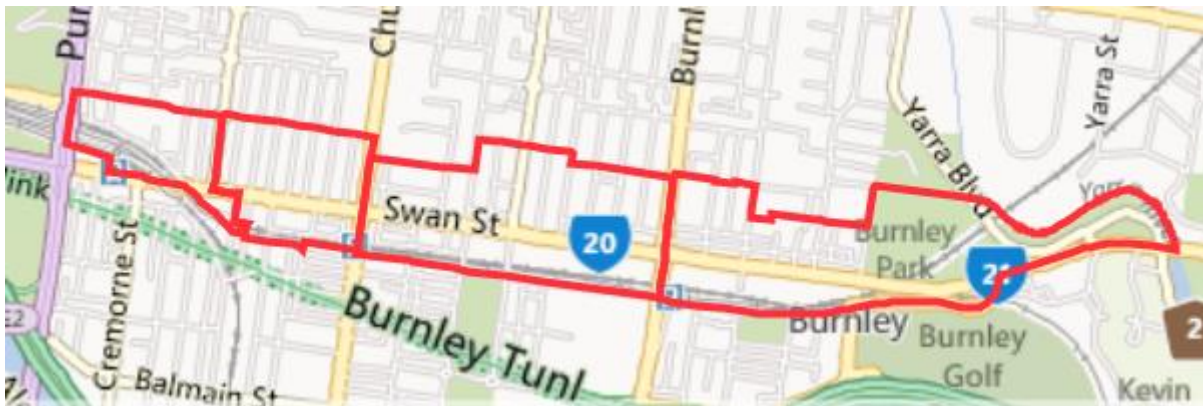
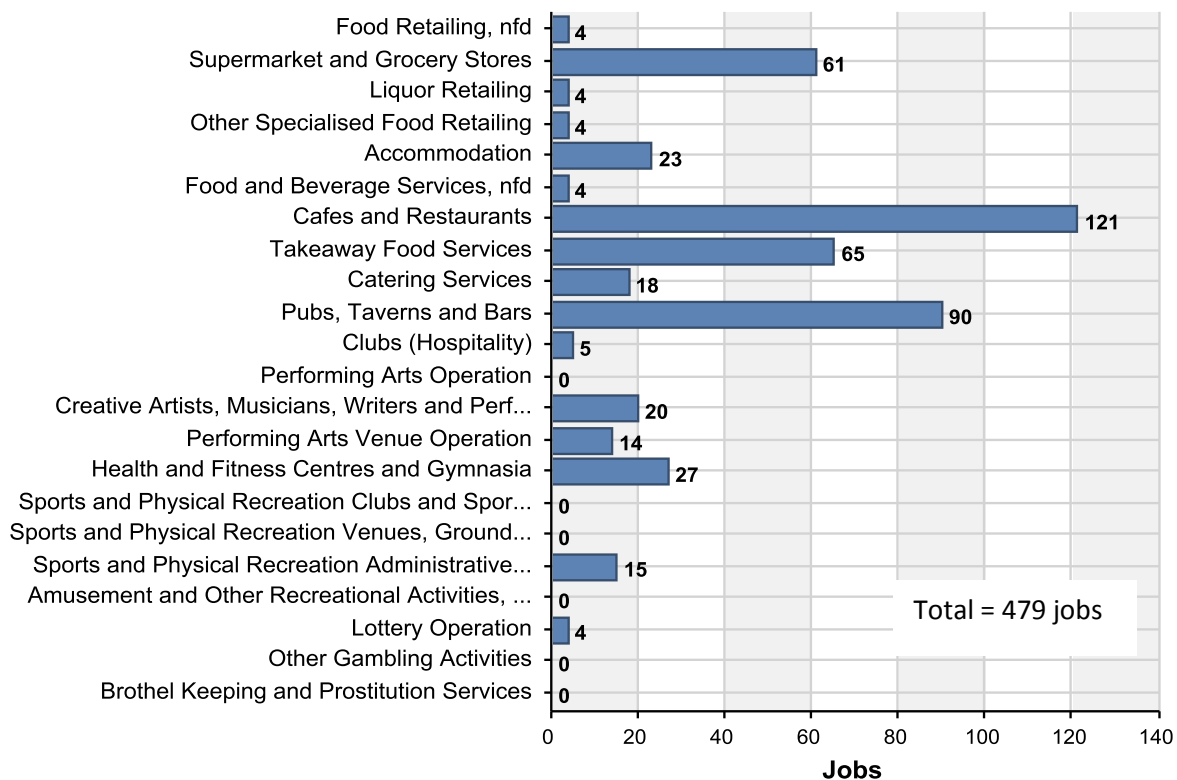


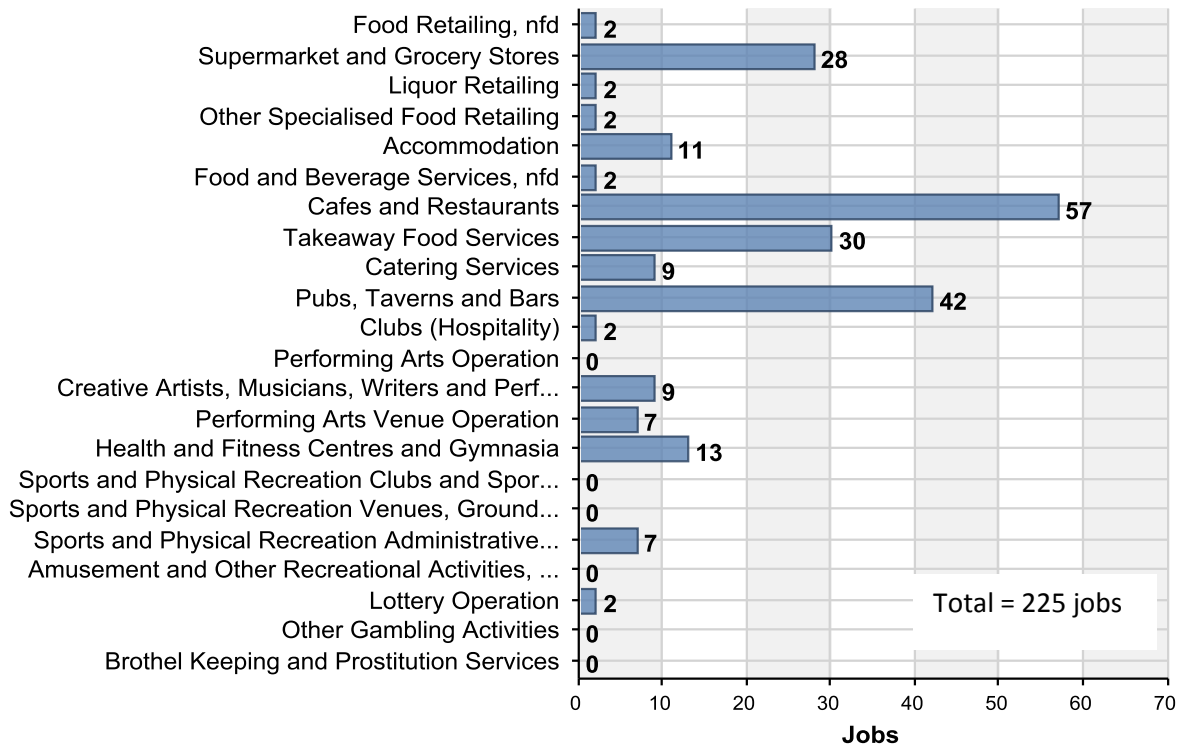
Figure 3-1 Employment in Swan Street Precinct



It is estimated that 479 people work in the Swan Street precinct in industry sectors that have an expose to the Night Time Economy (NTE). These industries do not however operate exclusively at night and so to varying degrees also service the Day Time Economy (DTE).

Based on the strength employment in retail trade in the precinct (considered to be an indicator of a strong DTE) relative to employment in accommodation & food services and art and recreational services (indicators of a strong NTE), estimates have been generated of the proportion of the 479 jobs in figure 3-1 that specifically service the NTE.

Figure 3-2 NTE-Specific Employment in Swan Street Precinct



Of the 479 people working in the Swan Street precinct in industry sectors that have an expose to the NTE, it is estimated that 225 jobs (47 percent) specifically service the NTE. This represents 8.3 percent of total jobs in the Swan Street precinct.

3.2 Bridge Road

Map 3-2 Bridge Road NTE DZs

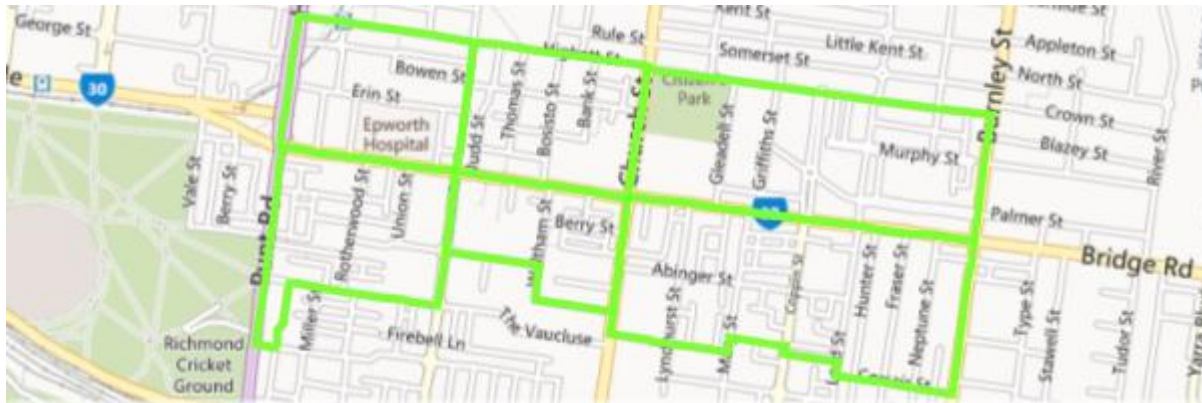


Figure 3-3 Employment in Bridge Road Precinct

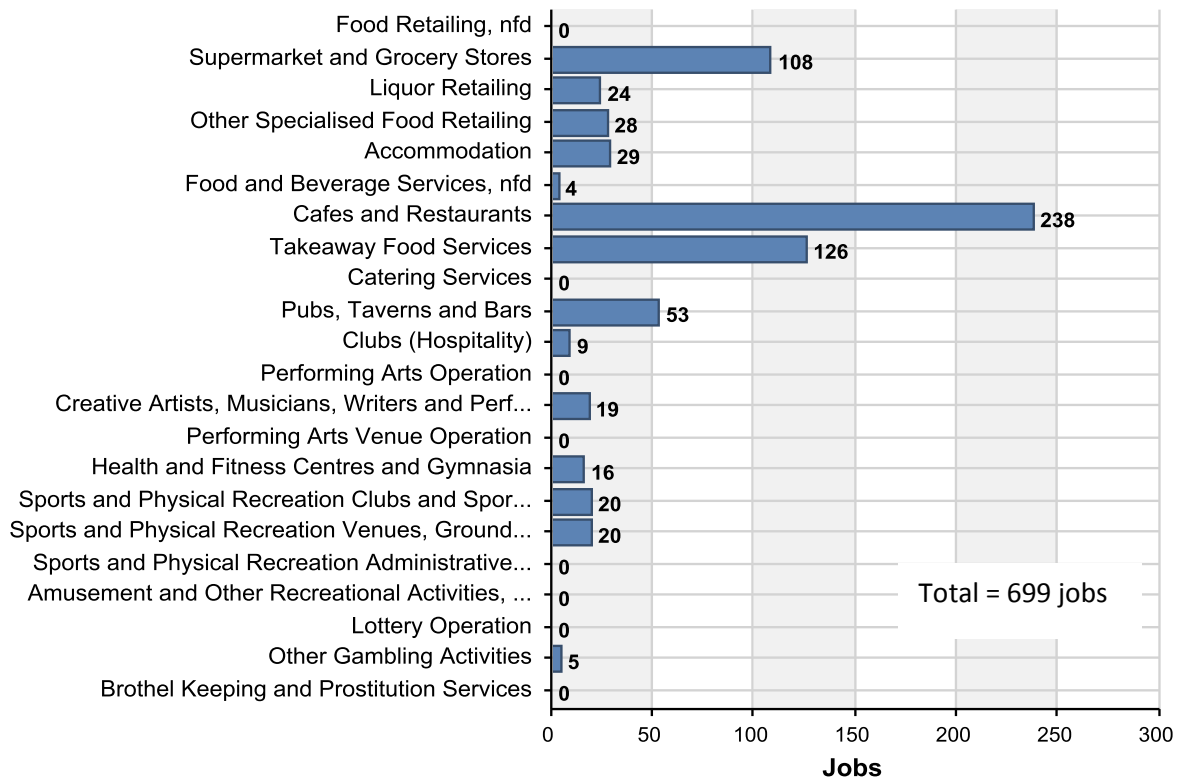
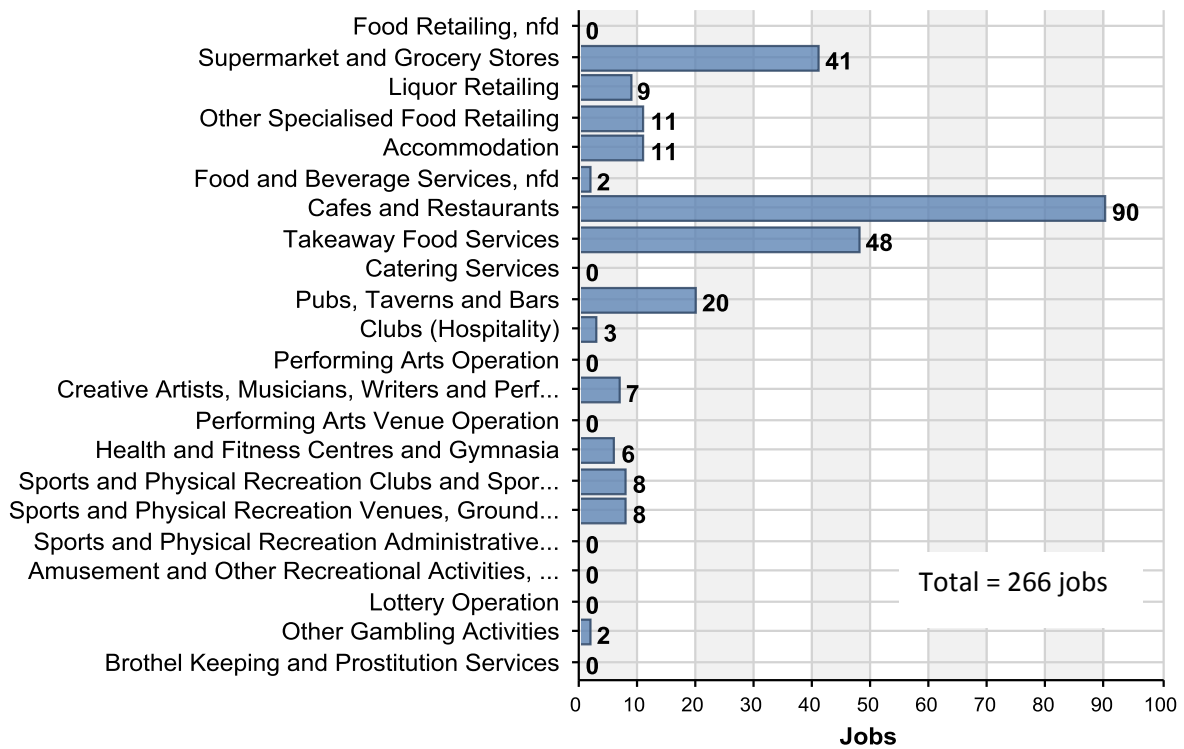


Figure 3-4 NTE-Specific Employment in Bridge Road Precinct



Of the 699 people working in the Bridge Road precinct in industry sectors that have an expose to the NTE, it is estimated that 266 jobs (38 percent) specifically service the NTE. This represents 4.0 percent of total jobs in the Bridge Road precinct.

3.3 Victoria Street

Map 3-3 Victoria Street NTE DZs



Figure 3-5 Employment in Victoria Street Precinct

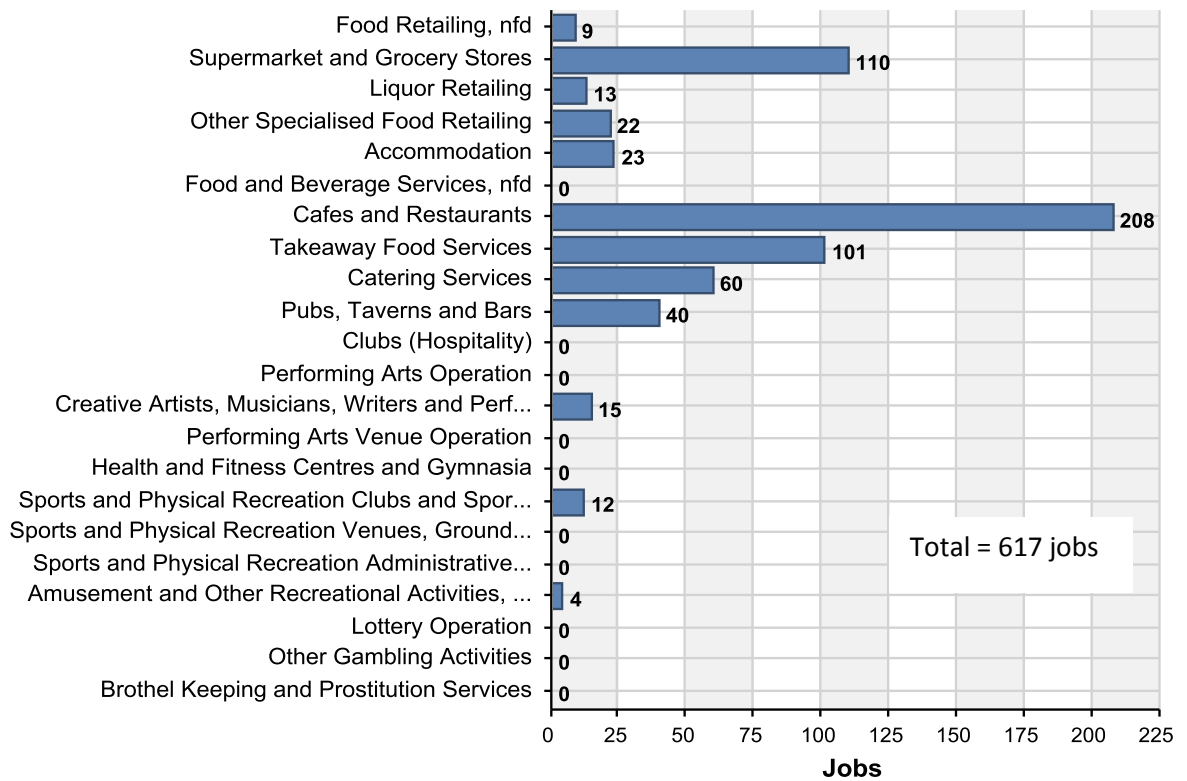
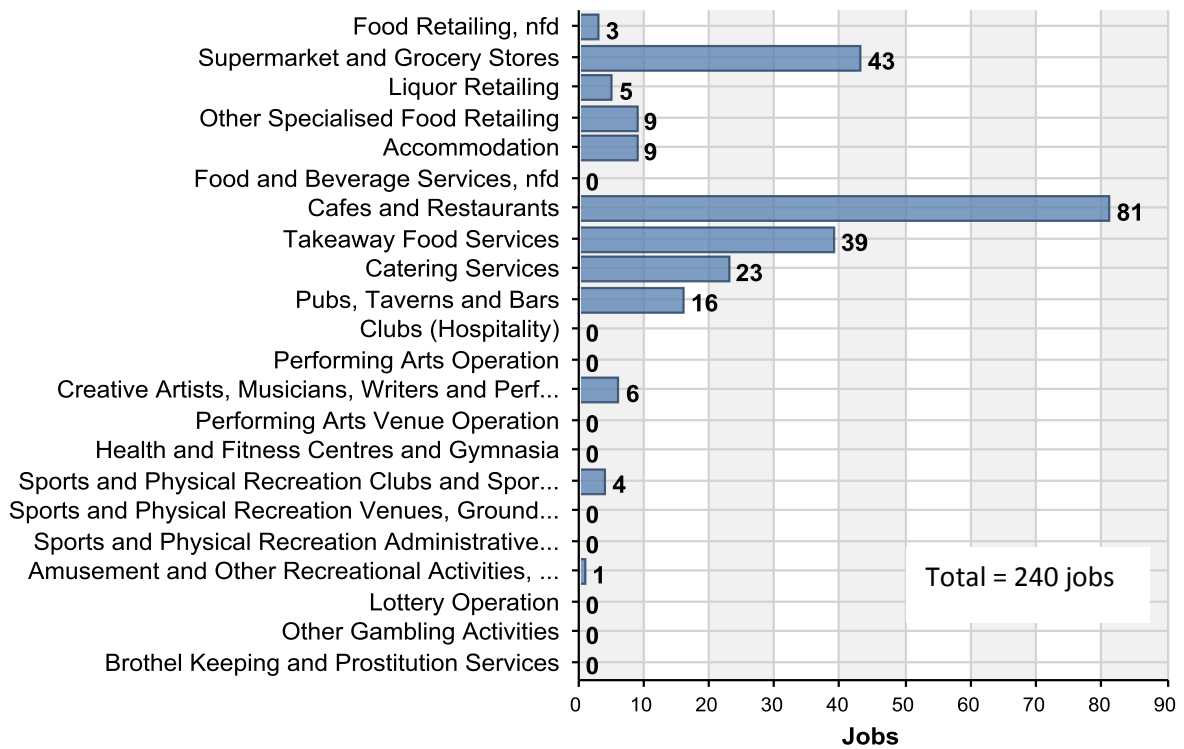


Figure 3-6 NTE-Specific Employment in Victoria Street Precinct



Of the 617 people working in the Victoria Street precinct in industry sectors that have an expose to the NTE, it is estimated that 240 jobs (39 percent) specifically service the NTE. This represents 4.7 percent of total jobs in the Victoria Street precinct.

3.4 Gertrude Street

Map 3-4 Gertrude Street NTE DZs

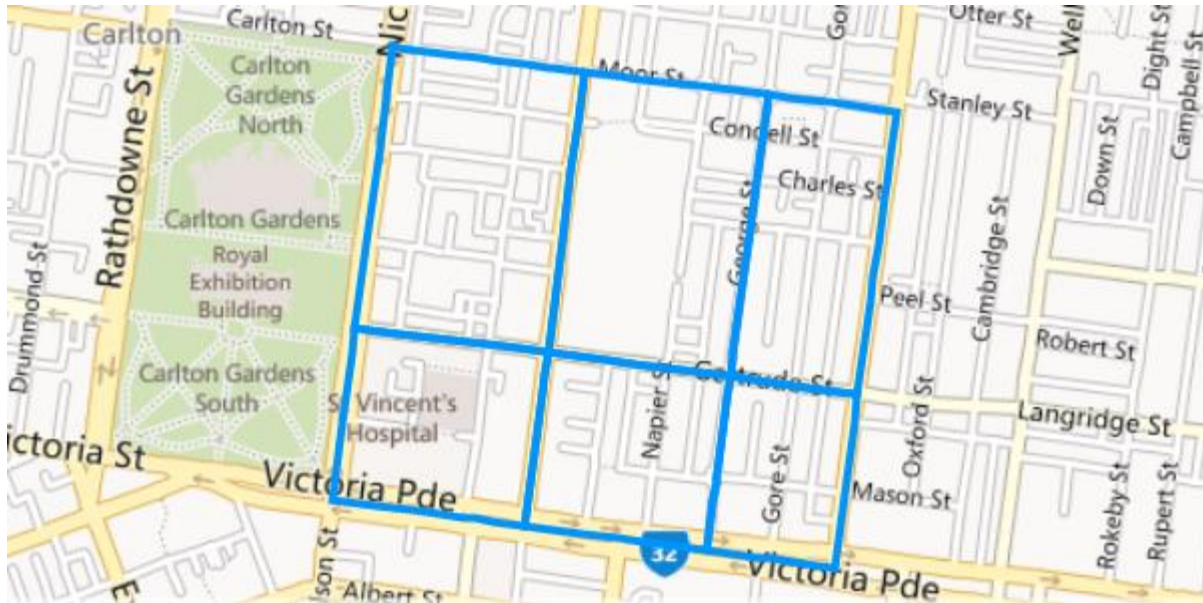


Figure 3-7 Employment in Gertrude Street Precinct

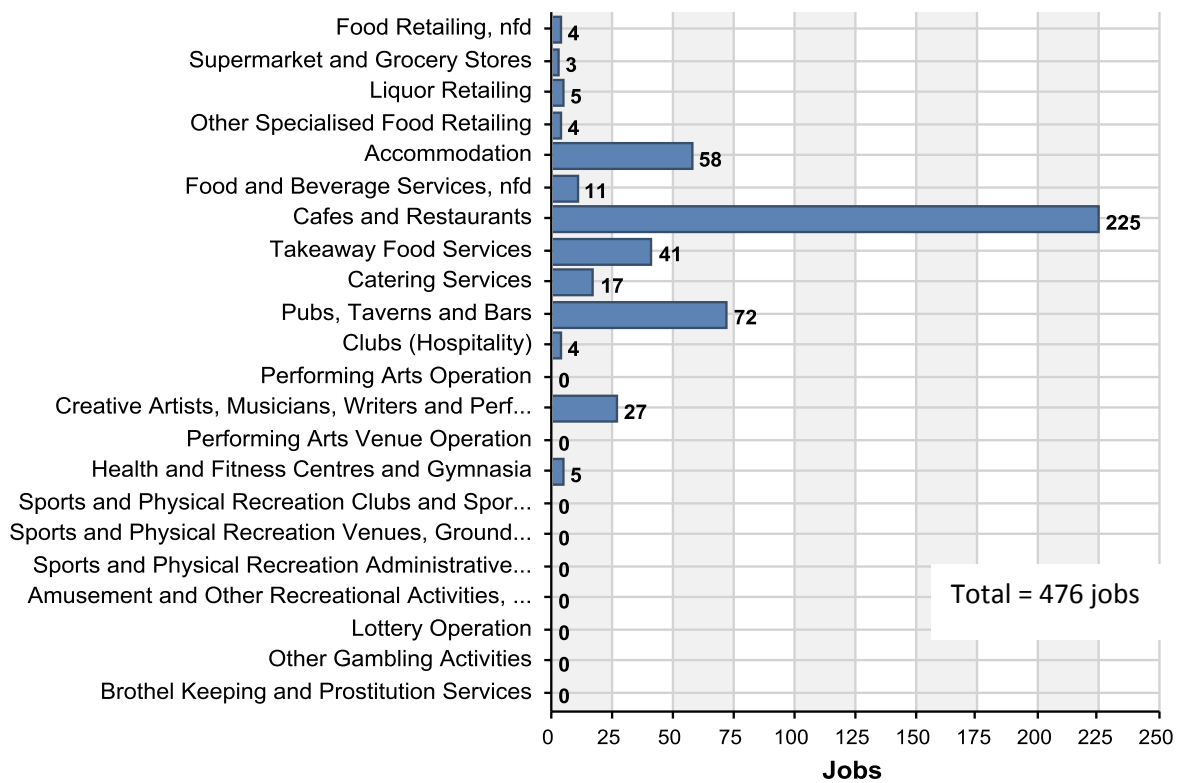
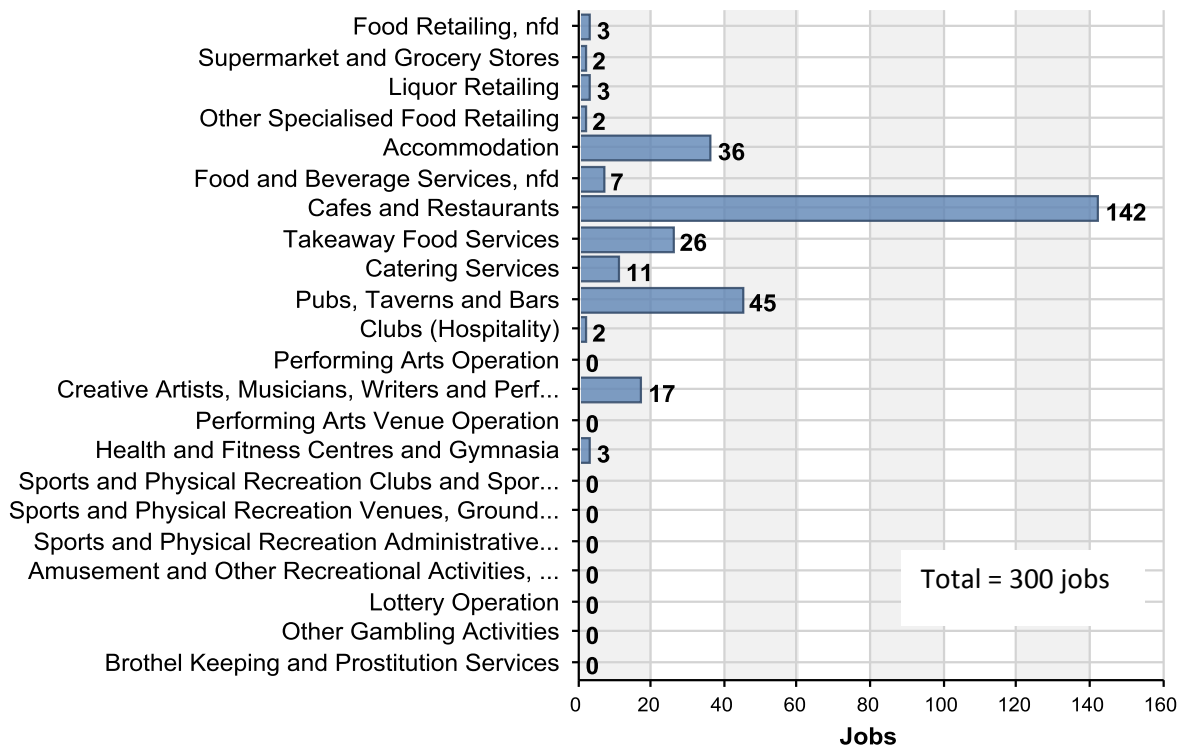


Figure 3-8 NTE-Specific Employment in Gertrude Street Precinct



Of the 476 people working in the Gertrude Street precinct in industry sectors that have an exposure to the NTE, it is estimated that 300 jobs (63 percent) specifically service the NTE. This represents 4.0 percent of total jobs in the Gertrude Street precinct.

3.5 Smith Street

Map 3-5 Smith Street NTE DZs



Figure 3-9 Employment in Smith Street Precinct

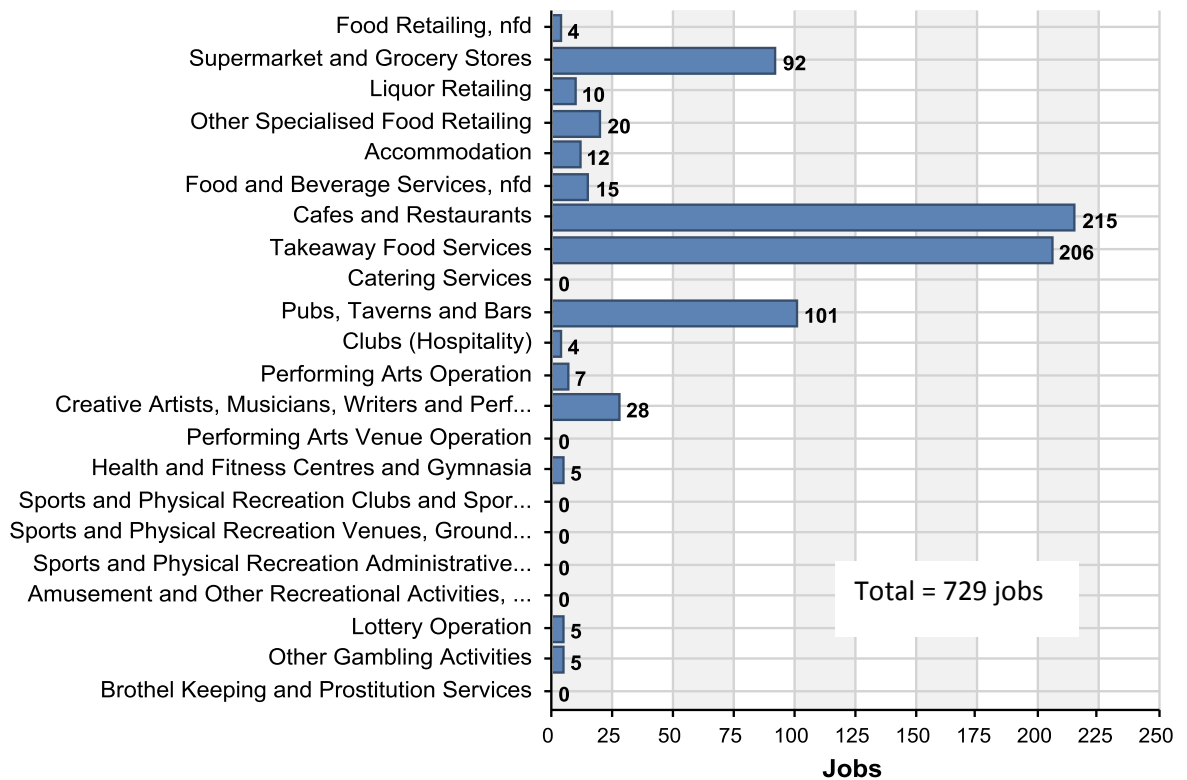
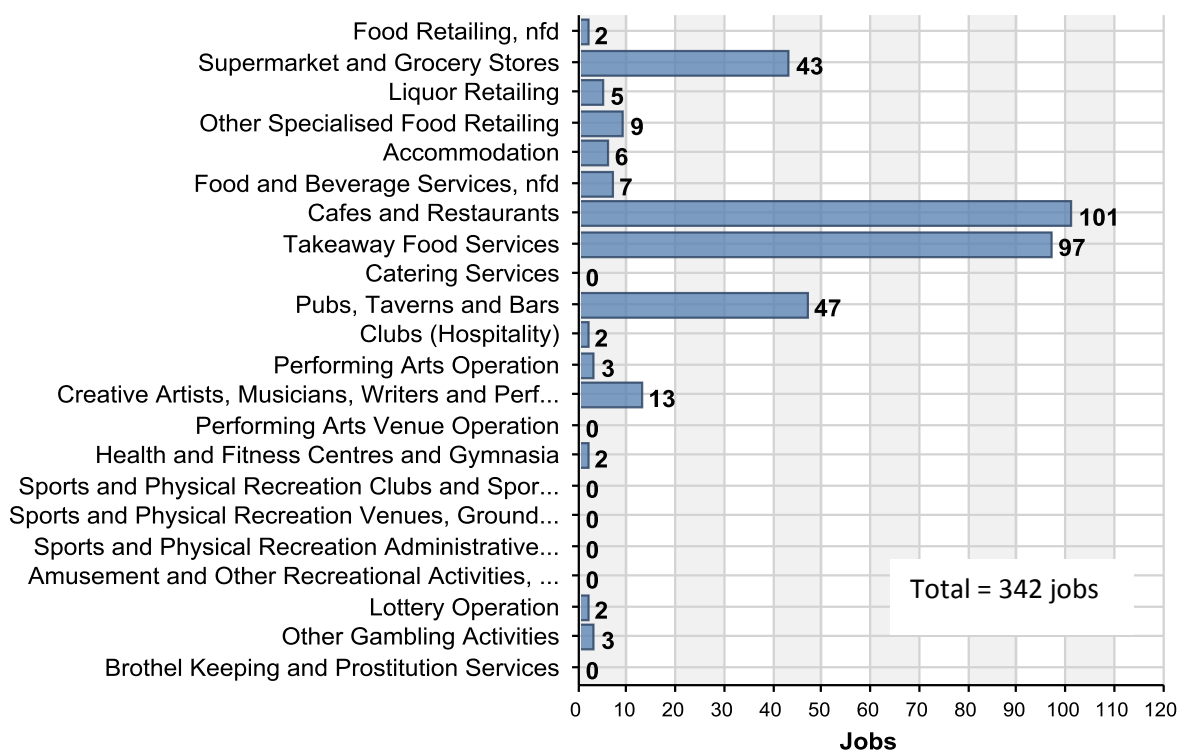


Figure 3-10 NTE-Specific Employment in Smith Street Precinct



Of the 729 people working in the Smith Street precinct in industry sectors that have an expose to the NTE, it is estimated that 342 jobs (47 percent) specifically service the NTE. This represents 7.8 percent of total jobs in the Smith Street precinct.

3.6 Johnston Street

Map 3-6 Johnston Street NTE DZs

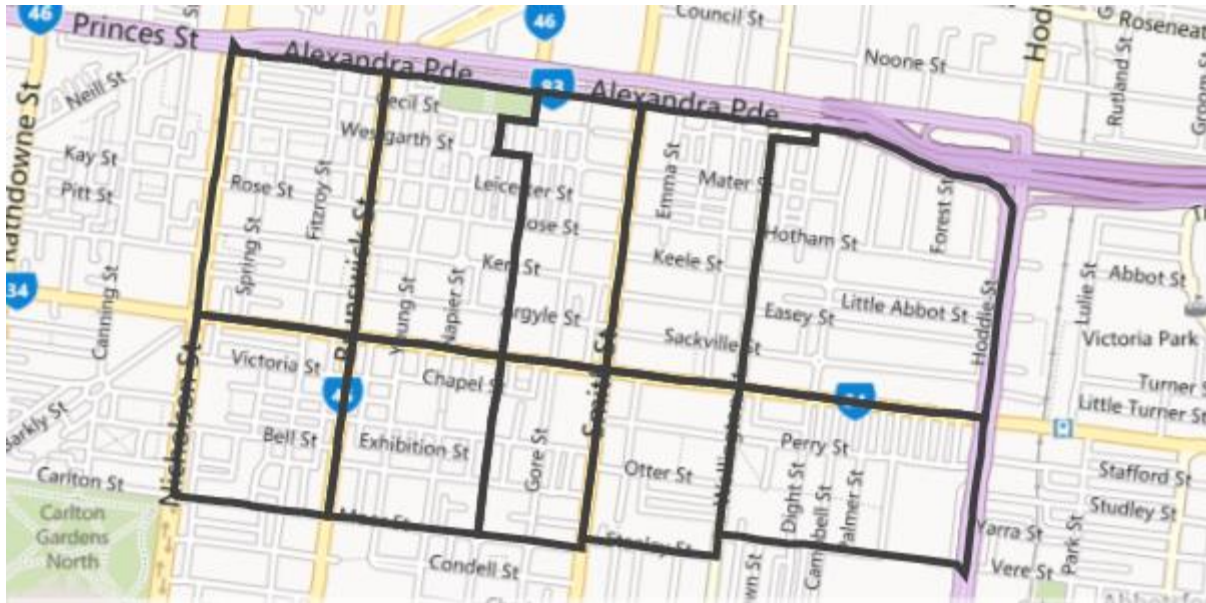


Figure 3-11 Employment in Johnston Street Precinct

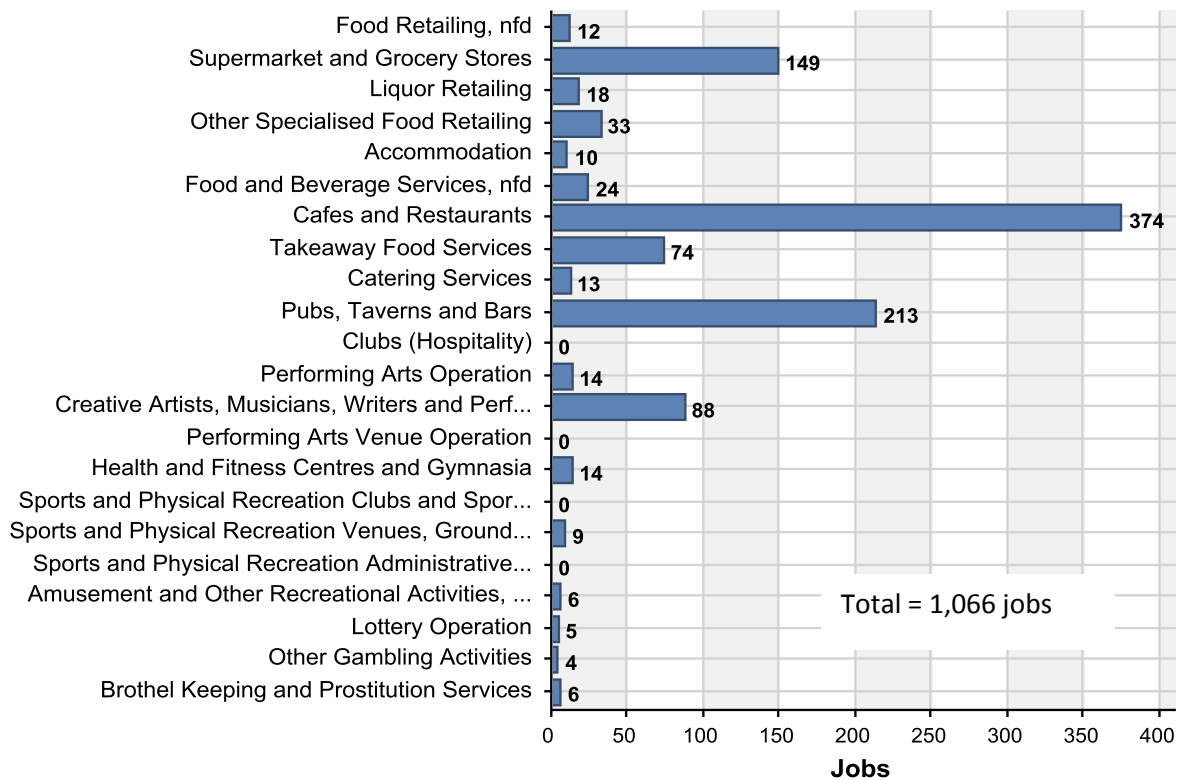
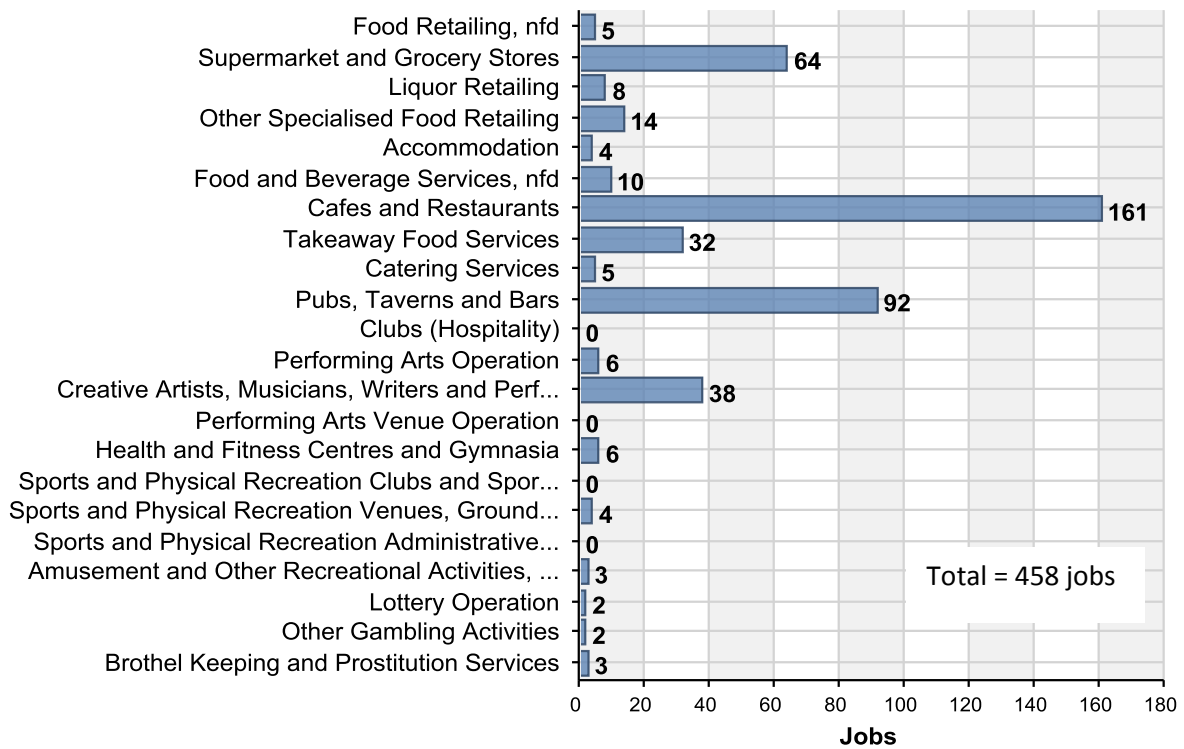


Figure 3-12 NTE-Specific Employment in Johnston Street Precinct



Of the 1,066 people working in the Johnston Street precinct in industry sectors that have an exposure to the NTE, it is estimated that 458 jobs (43 percent) specifically service the NTE. This represents 7.1 percent of total jobs in the Johnston Street precinct.

3.7 Brunswick Street

Map 3-7 Brunswick Street NTE DZs

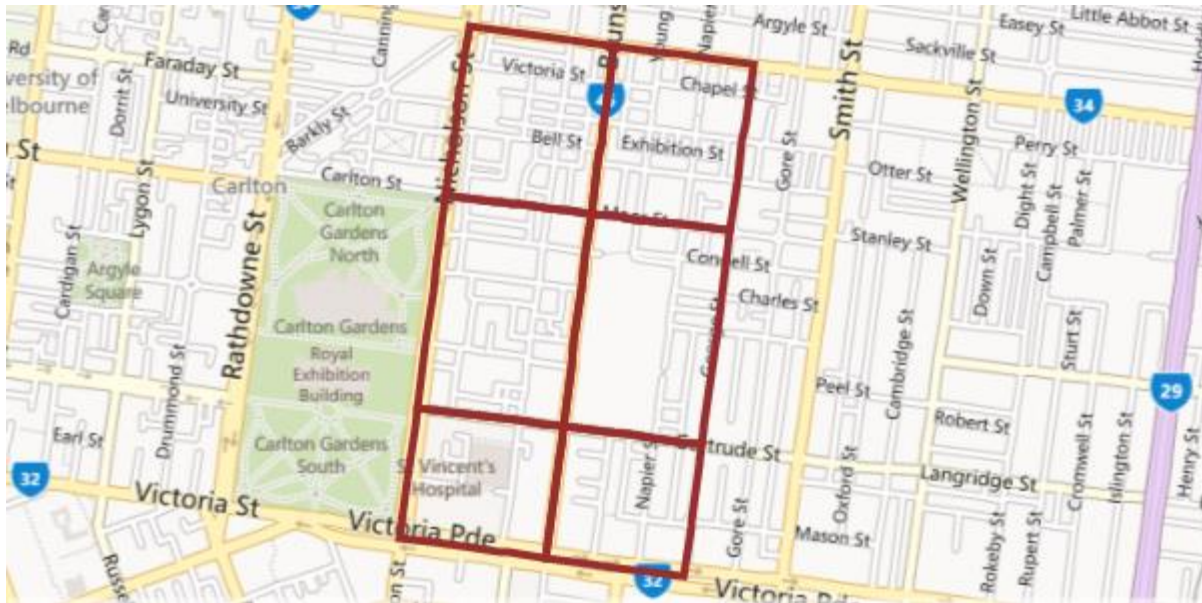


Figure 3-13 Employment in Brunswick Street Precinct

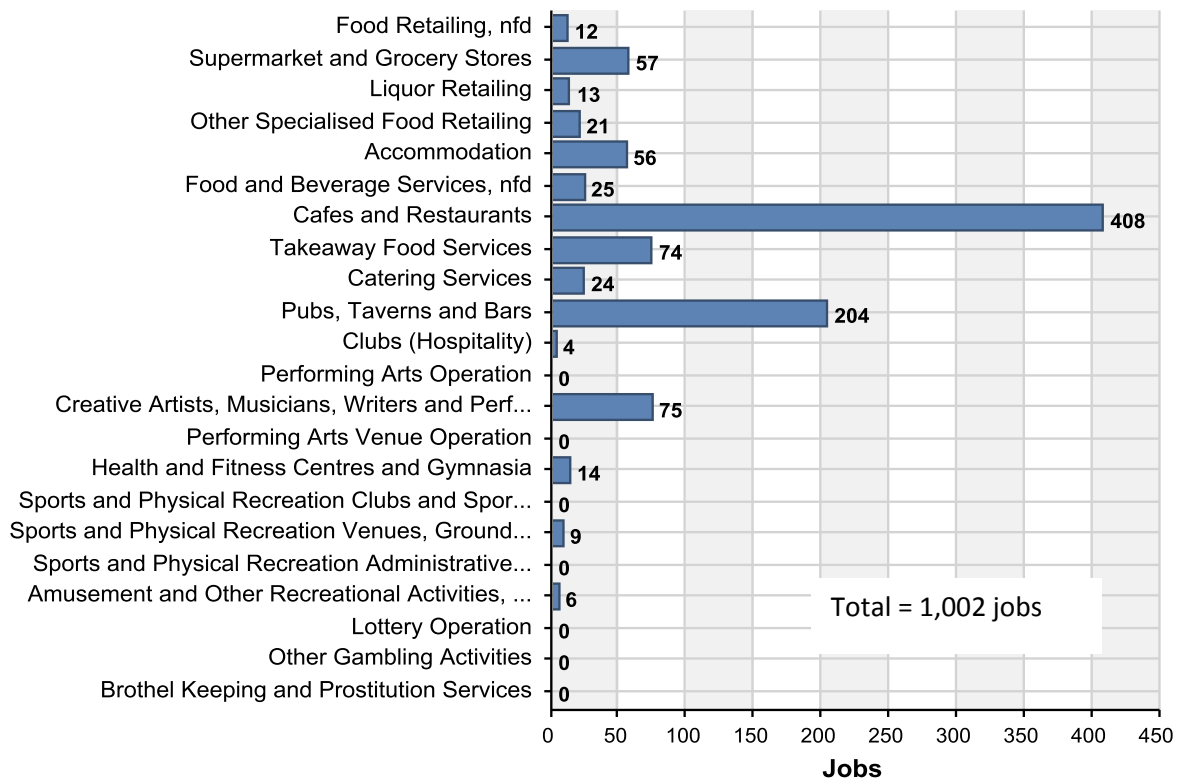
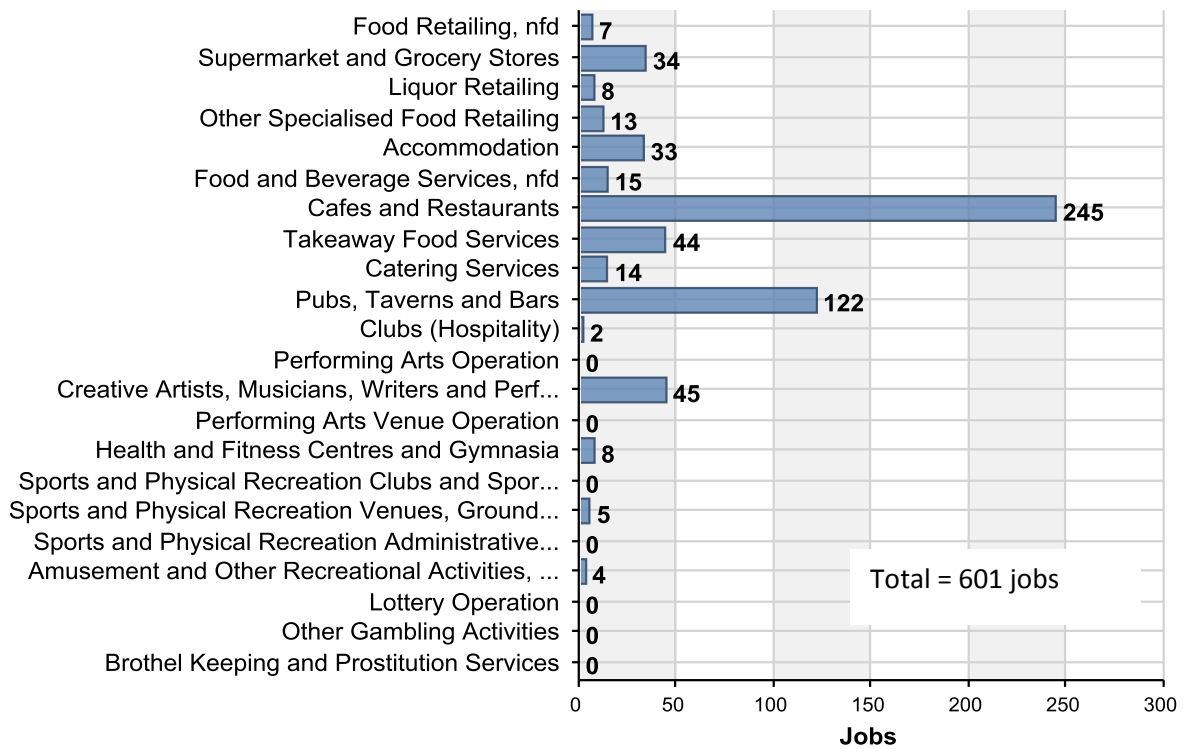


Figure 3-14 NTE-Specific Employment in Brunswick Street Precinct



Of the 1,002 people working in the Johnston Street precinct in industry sectors that have an expose to the NTE, it is estimated that 601 jobs (60 percent) specifically service the NTE. This represents 7.5 percent of total jobs in the Johnston Street precinct.

4 Cost Benefit Assessment of Yarra's NTE

4.1 Benefits

Across the City of Yarra NTE precincts detailed in section 3, as well as Queens Parade at Clifton Hill, Rathdowne and Nicholson Streets in North Carlton, St Georges Road in North Fitzroy, Church Street in Richmond, and Johnston Street in Collingwood, the total number of people employed in industries with exposure to the NTE is estimated at 5,049 jobs. *It is important to note that where precincts overlap, the number of jobs has only been counted once.*

Figure 4-1 Employment in City of Yarra Across All Precincts

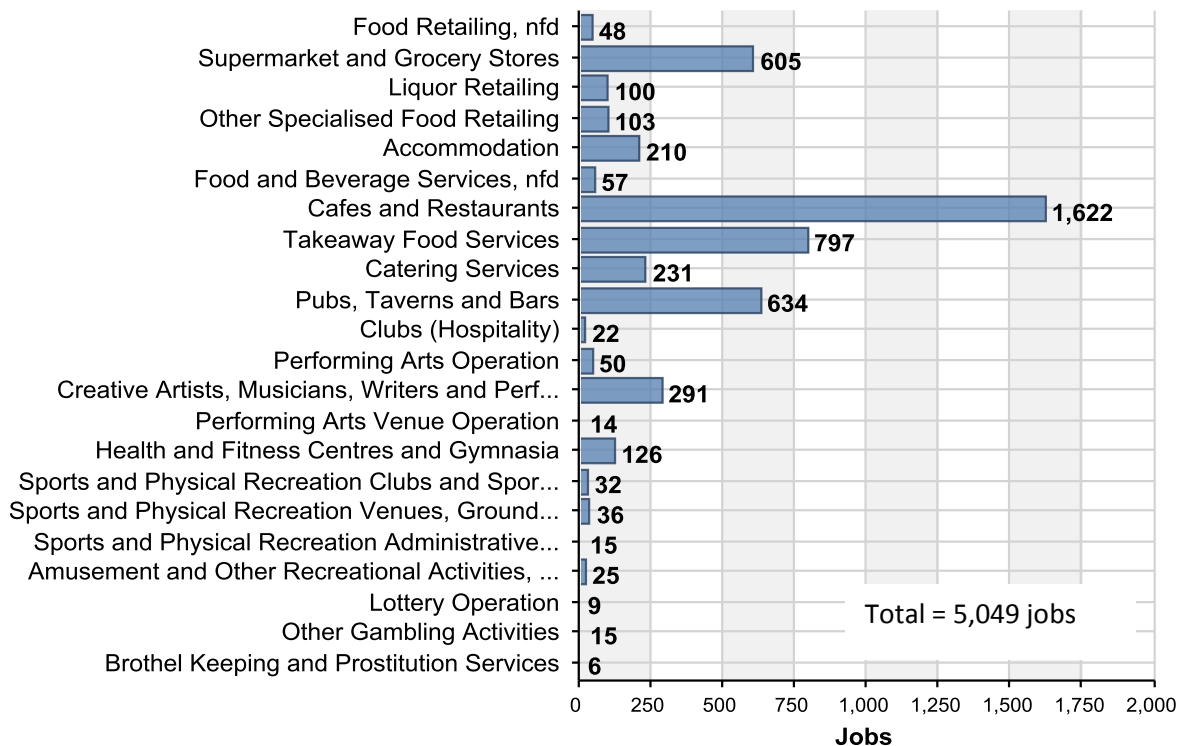
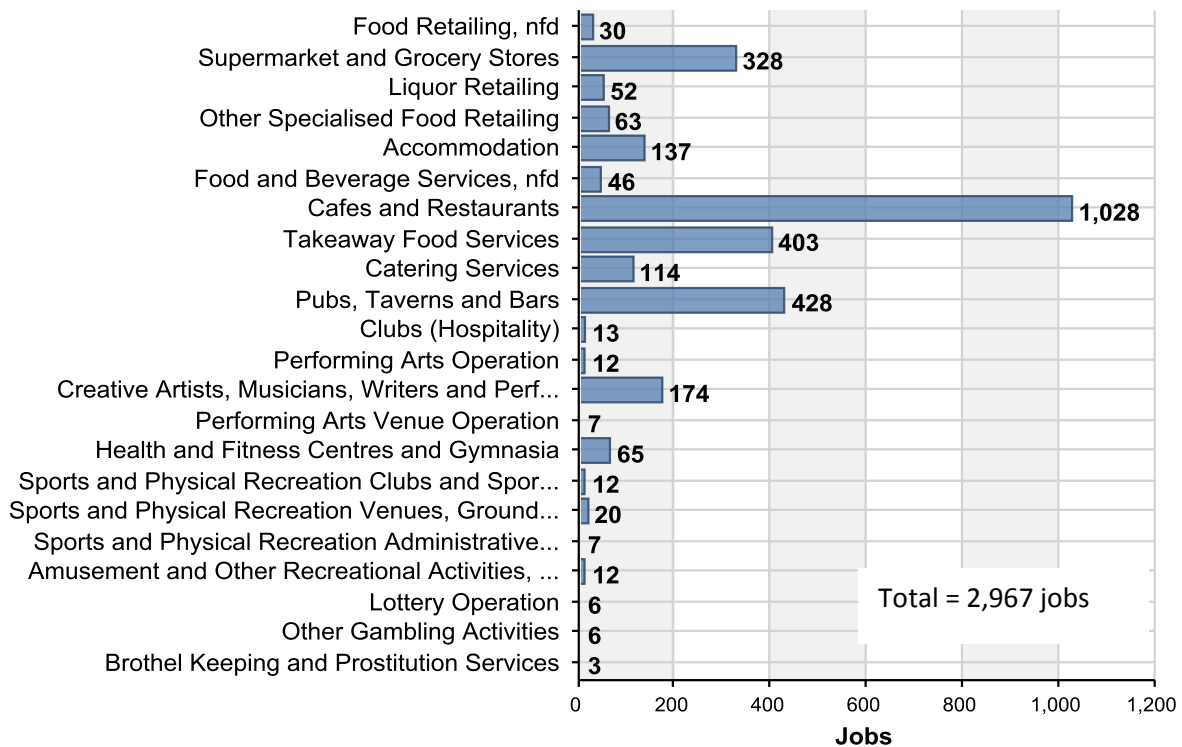


Figure 4-2 NTE-Specific Employment in City of Yarra

Of the 5,049 people working in the City of Yarra precincts in industry sectors that have an expose to the NTE, it is estimated that 2,967 jobs (59 percent) specifically service the NTE. This represents 8.4 percent of total jobs across the precincts.

The direct economic output generated by the NTE workers is estimated at \$333.14 Million per annum, or \$112,282 per worker. Once flow-on impact industrial⁷ and consumption⁸ impacts are taken into consideration the estimated contributions to the City of Yarra are higher again. The economic modelling results presented below have been generated by applying the direct NTE jobs to the REMPLAN⁹ model of the City of Yarra economy. The results are presented in terms of output¹⁰, employment¹¹, wages & salaries and value-added¹².

⁷ The increased output generated by servicing industry sectors in response to the direct change in output and demand.

⁸ As output increases, so too does employment and wages and salaries paid to local employees. Part of this additional income to households is used for consumption in the local economy which leads to further increases in demand and output

⁹ Regional economic modelling and planning system: www.remplan.com.au

¹⁰ Output data represents the gross revenue generated by businesses/organisations in each of the industry sectors in a defined region. Gross revenue is also referred to as total sales or total income.

¹¹ Employment data represents the number of people employed by businesses / organisations in each of the industry sectors. Employment data presented in this report is destination of work data. This employment represents total numbers of employees without any conversions to full-time equivalence. Retail jobs for instance represent typical employment profiles for that sector, i.e. some full time, some part time and some casual.

¹² Value-Added data represents the marginal economic value that is added by each industry sector in a defined region. Value-Added can be calculated by subtracting local expenditure and expenditure on regional imports from the output generated by an industry sector, or alternatively, by adding the Wages & Salaries paid to local employees, the gross operating surplus and taxes on products and production. Value-Added by industry sector is the major element in the calculation of Gross Regional Product.

4.1.1 Economic Modelling Results

Figure 4-3 Economic Modelling Results, Benefits

Impact Summary	Direct Effect	Industrial Flow On Effect	Consumption Flow On Effect	Total	Type 1 Multiplier	Type 2 Multiplier
Output (\$M)	\$333.138	\$156.941	\$175.108	\$665.187	1.471	1.997
Employment (Jobs)	2,967	537	714	4,218	1.181	1.422
Wages and Salaries (\$M)	\$96.174	\$37.462	\$42.759	\$176.395	1.390	1.834
Value-Added (\$M)	\$150.449	\$65.298	\$95.402	\$311.149	1.434	2.068

From the direct output of the Night Time Economy (NTE) of \$333.138 Million it is estimated that the demand for intermediate goods and services sourced from within the City of Yarra economy is valued at \$156.941 Million. These industrial effects include multiple rounds of flow-on effects, as servicing sectors' output creates further demand for local goods and services.

The direct and indirect output generated by the NTE support local jobs and the payment of wages and salaries to employees. A proportion of these wages and salaries are typically spent on consumption and a proportion of this expenditure is captured in the local economy. The consumption effects under this scenario are estimated at \$175.108 Million.

Total output associated with the NTE in the City of Yarra, including all direct, industrial and consumption effects, is estimated at up to \$665.187 Million. This represents a Type 2 Output multiplier of 1.997. That is, for every direct dollar generated by the NTE, a further \$0.99 is generated once flow-on industrial and consumption effects are taken into consideration.

The direct output generated by the NTE represents 1.86 percent of the total output generated in the City of Yarra. The industries that make the greatest contributions to the City of Yarra economy in terms of output are manufacturing (15.6 percent), professional, scientific and technical services (13.6 percent) and financial and insurance services (11.6 percent); *sectors that for this study are considered part of the Day Time Economy (DTE).*

4.2 Costs

There are various costs and negative impacts associated with night time activities such as health, noise and the policing of anti-social and criminal behaviour. Some of these negative 'side effects' or externalities are difficult to evaluate:

- Health, social and economic costs of excessive drinking and use of illicit drugs
- Noise and its impacts on residents ...*sleep, wellbeing, performance at work*
- Insurance and investments implications of anti-social and criminal behavior in an area

For the purpose of this study we have applied an approach that focuses on the relative role of the NTE in the context of the broader local economy and community, and the industry sectors that respond to the service the negative externalities associated with the NTE.

4.2.1 Public Service Costs

The City of Yarra and other government agencies bear a number of costs in relation to planning and managing the NTE.

- Administration
- Culture & Events
- Parks
- Community facilities
- Planning and urban design
- Transport and traffic management
- Cleaning and environment
- Safety
- Economic development
- Parking

4.2.2 Health Costs

Alcohol related activities, drugs, fights or accidents associated with the NTE lead to more hospital admissions. According to the Department of Health's report 'Reducing the alcohol and drug toll – Victoria's plan 2013 – 2017'¹³, in 2011 there were 26,000 alcohol and drug related emergency department presentations and over 290,000 hospital bed-days used to treat illness from alcohol and drugs. Admission rates for alcohol-related conditions – mainly alcohol dependence, acute intoxication and liver disease – have climbed for more than a decade across age groups. In 2010–11, there were nearly 7,000 alcohol-related ambulance call-outs, over 5,000 prescription-drug call-outs and nearly 2,000 heroin call-outs.

Within the City of Yarra there are a number of public and private hospitals and medical centres. The two major hospitals, St. Vincent's Hospital and Epworth Hospital are close to the city's main NTE hubs in Fitzroy and Richmond and have emergency departments (EDs). Epworth Hospital in Richmond has the largest private hospital emergency department in Victoria.

¹³ [http://docs.health.vic.gov.au/docs/doc/1D4BF7FF3C551C4DCA257AFD00707A93/\\$FILE/Reducing-AOD-toll.pdf](http://docs.health.vic.gov.au/docs/doc/1D4BF7FF3C551C4DCA257AFD00707A93/$FILE/Reducing-AOD-toll.pdf)

4.2.3 Policing Cost

Victoria's Alcohol Action Plan 2008-2013 estimated that between 41 and 70 per cent of violent crimes in Australia are committed under the influence of alcohol. During 2005-06 there were 24,157 Victorian offenders processed for assault. Twenty-six per cent of the assaults occurred during high alcohol hours (Friday or Saturday night) and a further eight percent during medium alcohol hours (Sunday through Thursday)¹⁴.

Victoria Police data shows that nearly two-thirds of assaults in Victoria between 8pm Friday to 6am Saturday and 8pm Saturday to 6am Sunday were alcohol-related. This is reflected in a recent survey by Yarra City Council where 17 percent of respondents reported feeling unsafe because of alcohol and drug related anti-social behaviour¹⁵.

4.2.4 Transport Costs

There are many transport options in the City of Yarra:

- Private Transport (including the passengers that are carried)
- Train
- Walk
- Bicycle
- Tram
- Bus
- Taxi

In relation to public transport, as the costs are covered by the revenue received from fare payers, it can be argued that only the proportion of publicly delivered transport services subsidised by government should apply to the assessment of NTE costs. Apply the same rationale, private transport, taxis, walking and cycling should also be excluded as they do not place a substantial burden on the public purse.

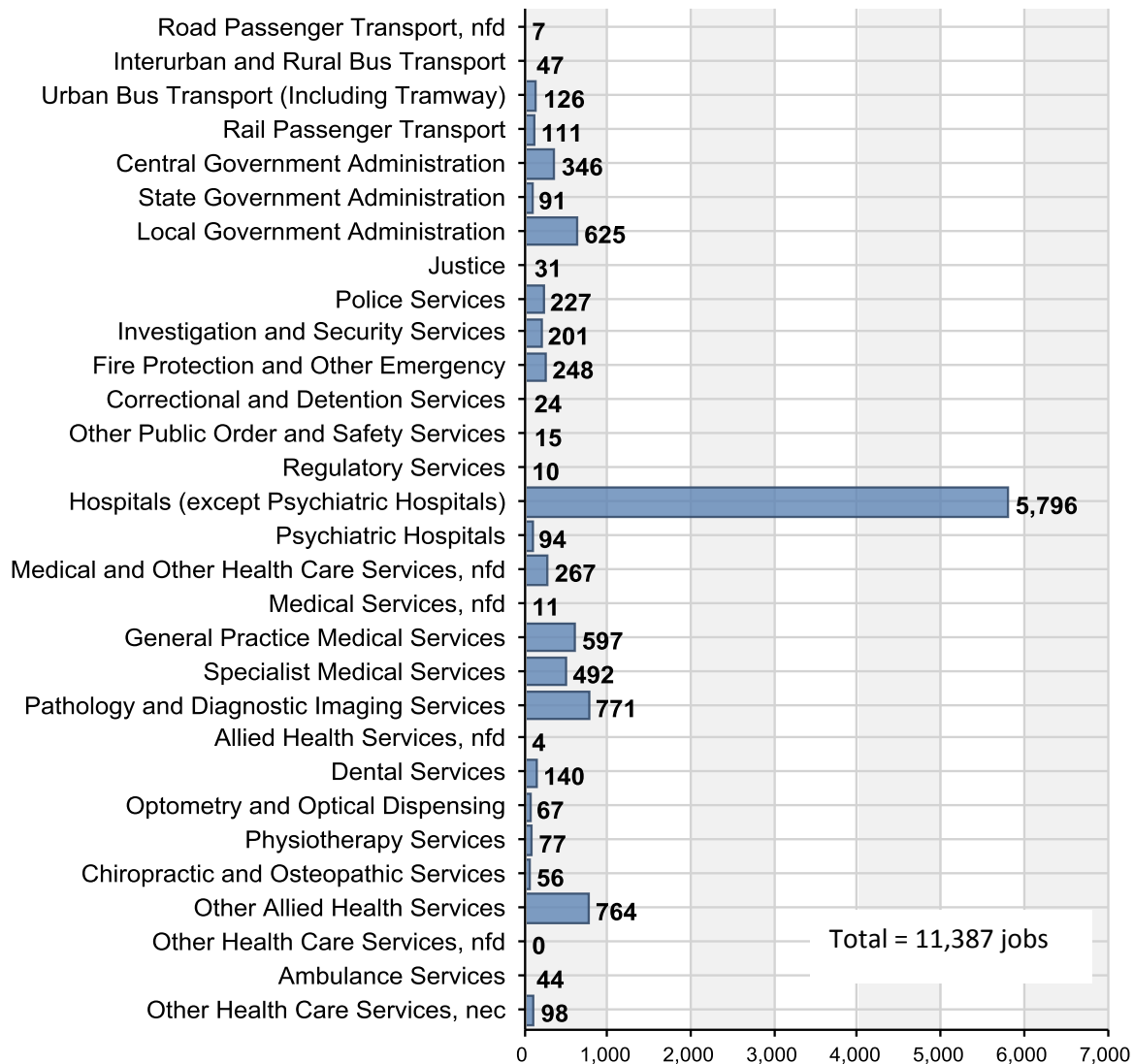
4.3 Cost Estimates

The NTE supports 2,967 jobs, which represents 8.4 percent of total jobs across the precincts defined in map 2-1, and 4.4 percent of jobs across the entire City of Yarra local government area. The NTE precincts combined with the various events staged in the City of Yarra deliver economic benefits to neighbouring municipalities. Likewise, many of costs of the NTE are also borne outside of the City of Yarra. These external benefits and costs are outside the scope of this study. In relation to public service costs, health costs, policing costs and transport costs, the industry sectors delivering these services employ the following numbers of people in the City of Yarra.

¹⁴ State Government of Victoria, Victoria's Alcohol Action Plan 2008-2013

¹⁵ <http://www.yarracity.vic.gov.au/DownloadDocument.ashx?DocumentID=8529>

Figure 4-4 Service Delivery Employment – City of Yarra



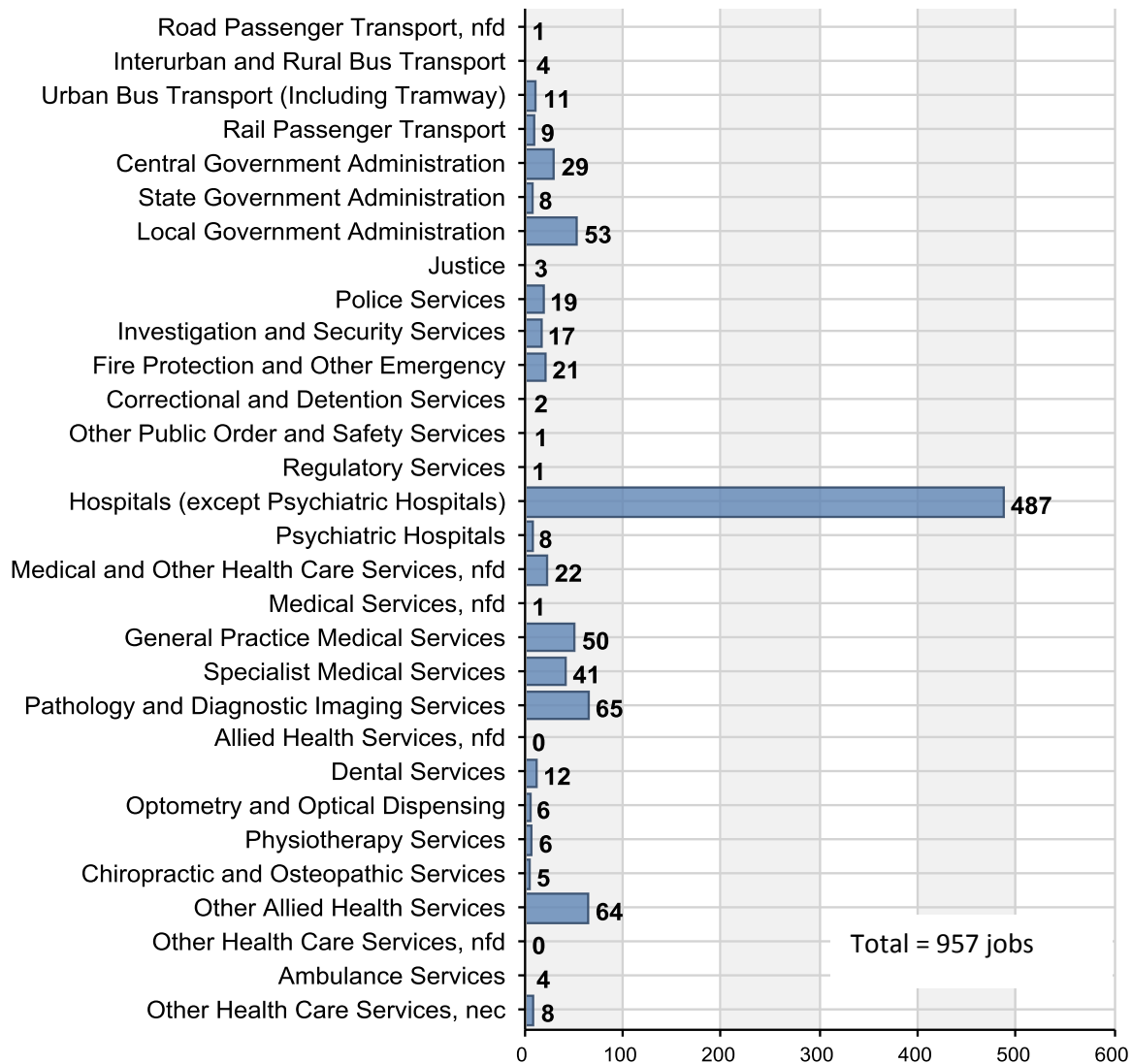
On the cost side of the equation it is estimated the industry sectors with exposure to the NTE employ 11,387 people. These industries do not however operate exclusively at night and so to varying degrees also service the Day Time Economy (DTE).

Based on the proportionate contribution of the NTE to total employment of 8.4 percent¹⁶, it is assumed that a similar proportion of total employment applies to the industries sectors on the cost side detailed above.

It could be argued that a higher percentage might apply on the cost side given that the NTE services many more people than it employs, however this characteristic applies to all industry sectors to varying degrees.

¹⁶ Within the precincts detailed in map 2-1

Figure 4-5 NTE-Specific Employment in City of Yarra (Cost Side)



Of the 11,387 people working in the City of Yarra in industry sectors that have an expose to the NTE (on the cost side), it is estimated that 957 specifically service the NTE. The estimated direct economic costs¹⁷ are detailed below.

Figure 4-6 Economic Modelling Results, Costs (Direct Only)

Impact Summary	Direct Effect
Output (\$M)	\$120.017
Employment (Jobs)	957
Wages and Salaries (\$M)	\$60.145
Value-Added (\$M)	\$75.146

¹⁷ The delivery of services in response to the negative externalities of the NTE is presented in this framework as a cost. These activities could also be viewed as a stimulus and economic benefit for the local economy.

The direct output generated by the 957 people servicing the NTE is estimated at \$120.017 Million, or \$125,410 per worker.

5 Benefit – Cost Ratios

5.1 Employment

Benefit: 2,967 Jobs

Cost: 957 Jobs

Benefit Cost Ratio: 3.1 : 1

5.2 Output

Benefit: \$333.1 Million

Cost: \$120.1 Million

Benefit Cost Ratio: 2.8 : 1

5.3 Wages & Salaries

Benefit: \$96.2 Million

Cost: \$60.2 Million

Benefit Cost Ratio: 1.6 : 1

5.4 Value-Added

Benefit: \$150.5 Million

Cost: \$75.2 Million

Benefit Cost Ratio: 2.0 : 1

Note of meeting with the Night Time Industries Association (NTIA)

4 February 2016

With Alan Miller, Chairman, NTIA

On the benefits and development of the Night-Time Economy (NTE):

- The NTE is a £70 billion industry with contributes to 8 per cent of UK employment. It also employs a disproportionate amount of young people.
- The NTE, and alcohols place in it, is important for city life and forms part of the 24-hour cycle of London's economy and cultural offer.
- It is important to remember that the NTE is not just about venues serving alcohol: it is about gyms, salons, crèches etc.
- Drinking is reducing, with more young people now teetotal. People are making more sophisticated choices about how they want to spend their time.

On measures to keep people safe in the NTE:

- A good venue should be conducting searches, taking a zero tolerance policy to issues such as drugs etc.
- Breathalysers: traditionally a method for tackling drink driving, it seems an arbitrary measure for venues. In addition, volumes of alcohol affect different people and different ways e.g. someone can have two drinks and be drunk. There is a question about what the goal would be with the use of breathalysers.
- Closing venues down to prevent crime from happening is a disproportionate way of looking at things.

On partnership working:

- From the trade perspective, the pressure on police resources is understandable but the feeling is that culpability for crime is being placed on venues.
- Cuts to policing have changed the approach the police take with venues in the NTE. It has become more restrictive.
- The trade and police have an uneasy relationship in some cases, with venues fearing being penalised e.g. having their licence reviewed or revoked, if they report crimes which are close to their premises or prosecute people.
- The trade would like to see the police recognise that both are working towards a common goal, that venues can be the 'eyes and ears' of the street that the police rely on, and that when a crime is reported, both work together in partnership, rather than seeing venues as the generator of that crime.
- A successful partnership would involve honest discussions and talking about problems without punishment.

On the Licensing Act:

- Over regulation may create a climate that dissuades people from coming into the NTE and changes the culture of 'going out'. Police Scotland's heavy regulation of the NTE has resulted in people choosing not to go out.
- Venues undertake a lot of due diligence, sometimes adhering to over 100 conditions on licences. As such, they feel they should not be punished if an incident does occur, when that diligence has been carried out.

- There are some good examples of areas working well with the trade in respect of licensing. It was suggested that this is closely linked to the personalities involved in licensing decisions e.g. borough commanders.
- The Late Night Levy is another tax on venues that are already contributing to areas through business rates and by providing funding to BIDs.

On the development of a 24-hour city:

- Some venues do have 24-hour licences but don't use them. Many opened for only an hour or two longer.
- There is reluctance from licensing authorities to grant 24-hour licences.
- The Night Tube and the creation of the "Night Ambassador" present a good opportunity for London.
- The NTIA would like to encourage the use of 24-hour licences to maximise on the opportunity that the night tube provides, and engage with the concept of a 24-hour city.
- There could be further discussion about how the NTE and growth of the NTE fits within any future London Plan.

Greater London Authority Police & Crime Committee

Call for Evidence: Investigation into the impact of alcohol on the policing of the night time economy

1 As well as being a member of Ealing Safer Neighbourhood Board I have been the secretary of Acton Pubwatch since 2010 and of West London Trades' Union Club, a registered industrial and provident society and member of Co-ops UK, since 2005. I was a councillor for the area from 1986 to 1998 and 2006 to 2014.

2 There are twenty-three pubs and four clubs in Acton. Two clubs for some reason going back to new licenses being issued in 2005 are not members of pubwatch. In the past two years one pub's licence is currently suspended, one has had its licence withdrawn, another is on temporary events notices and another is, or has been, under observation. Since 2005 five other pubs and one club have closed and their sites sold for housing in two cases and retail in three more and the club was turned into a place of worship. Owners of another pub are seeking planning permission for flats and a restaurant, although it is the oldest pub still more or less on its site (1662).

3 Acton High Street and Churchfield Road, where the majority of pubs and clubs are located or near, is a special policy area. No establishment is open for twenty-four hours but one has very generous opening times. The remainder do not have the resources to open outside what may be considered broadly *usual* hours, that is eleven to eleven or midnight. There is little trouble with customers dispersing after closure. The only pub subject to noise complaints recently I am aware of is the one subject to the planning application.

4 Ordinary customers are not generally a source of trouble but the pubs at the western end of the High Street have experienced problems with pickpockets and the ones in the middle have had problems with unauthorised persons selling the proceeds of shoplifting or other dubious goods.

5 There was a problem with customers' anti-social behaviour when dispersing in the early hours of the morning from two pubs but one has changed its entire management and the other one is the one covered by TENs. The site of the one which had its licence withdrawn may be in use for illegal activities.

6 The problem for most of the pubs is from street drinkers begging from customers outside smoking, trying to obtain drinks when visibly drunk inside and urinating, vomiting or behaving anti-socially in the vicinity, especially around the Mount and Woodlands Park. There has been a problem with English-speaking street drinkers, largely but not exclusively male, with mental health issues, since the eighties, occasionally violent but more among themselves than to the public. Until the Australian dollar weakened substantially against the pound, there was trouble with young Antipodeans, again usually males, dispersing after very late closure at the two pubs referred to above and committing acts of vandalism with property and street furniture. Since the accession of the Eastern European states many of the traditional drinkers have disappeared and have been replaced by young males of respectable appearance in some cases. I have witnessed assaults between them and had reports of assaults on other males from different racial groups. I have seen women who presumably understand the language look uncomfortable and embarrassed when shouted at while passing by. Our Lady of Lourdes RC Church and St Mary's C of E Church both exercise pastoral care for street drinkers, although St Mary's is the victim of a lot of the trouble they cause. Incidentally, I have noticed an increase in begging in all the European towns I have visited in the past three or more years.

7 Off-licenses and licensed supermarkets, many open from very early in the morning till midnight, are anecdotally reported to be the main source of supply. In addition to licensees, other businesses and individual residents have brought the matter to the attention of the council and the police. Individual councillors have raised the matter publicly since 1990. Powers are in place to curb both illegal sales and consumption in public places but they do not seem to be very effective in securing a long term solution to the problem. Police are aware of the situation and have taken remedial measures but it would take a tremendous increase in personnel to eradicate it.

8 Pubs in places outside Central Ealing are not a source of a current *alcohol-fuelled night economy problem*. With the price of beer and the smoking ban most traditional pubs are declining in trade. The matters on which evidence is invited is a problem in Central Ealing with its restaurants and other alcohol suppliers. I have seen the amount of rubbish and human waste generated at weekends. One of the surprising factors is that the problems identified by the committee's advisors seem to occur where drink is more expensive and the venues regarded as more exclusive.

9 Use of the phrase *alcohol-fuelled* is pejorative and appears to indicate the committee, or more likely, their advisors, have already formed a view. In my experience in Europe where bars are open much longer it is usually the British and Irish who are openly drunk, although I have noticed a general increase in Brussels. Locally, the most troublesome drunks are around well before most pubs open and after they close.

John Gallagher

The impact of alcohol on the Metropolitan Police Service: Briefing for the GLA Police and Crime Committee, 3rd December 2015

About the Institute of Alcohol Studies (IAS)

The core aim of the IAS is to serve the public interest on public policy issues linked to alcohol, by advocating for the use of scientific evidence in policy-making to reduce alcohol-related harm. The IAS is a company limited by guarantee, No 05661538 and registered charity, No 1112671. For more information visit www.ias.org.uk.

Summary

IAS welcomes the opportunity to take part in this inquiry. In the summer of 2015 IAS conducted a national survey of police officers, ambulance and paramedic staff, fire officers, and emergency department consultants. The results of this can be found [here](#).

Just over 1000 police officers from the Metropolitan Police Service responded to the survey, and this briefing focuses specifically on those responses, giving an up to date view of the impact of alcohol on the MET. Charts in this briefing relate to responses from MET officers only.

Headline findings:

- On average, police in the MET reported spending just over half of their time dealing with alcohol related incidents.
- Over two thirds of MET police officers have been injured by a drunken member of the public. 18% have been injured over five times.
- 66.4% of respondents reported local custody capacity as a problem either on most shifts, or every shift. This can tie up officers after making an arrest, preventing them from returning to front line duties.
- 60% of respondents reported that policing alcohol related crime has either an impact, or a significant impact, on their personal life. Respondents also reported higher levels of binge drinking than the UK population average.
- When compared to the average from the national survey, MET officers report alcohol as having slightly less of an impact on some issues.

Participant Details:

In which area of policing do you currently work?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Response team	32.5%	336
Neighbourhood team	38.7%	400
Traffic	4.0%	41
Custody	4.2%	43
Vulnerability	3.0%	31
CID	17.7%	183
Other (please specify)		174
answered question		1034
skipped question		0

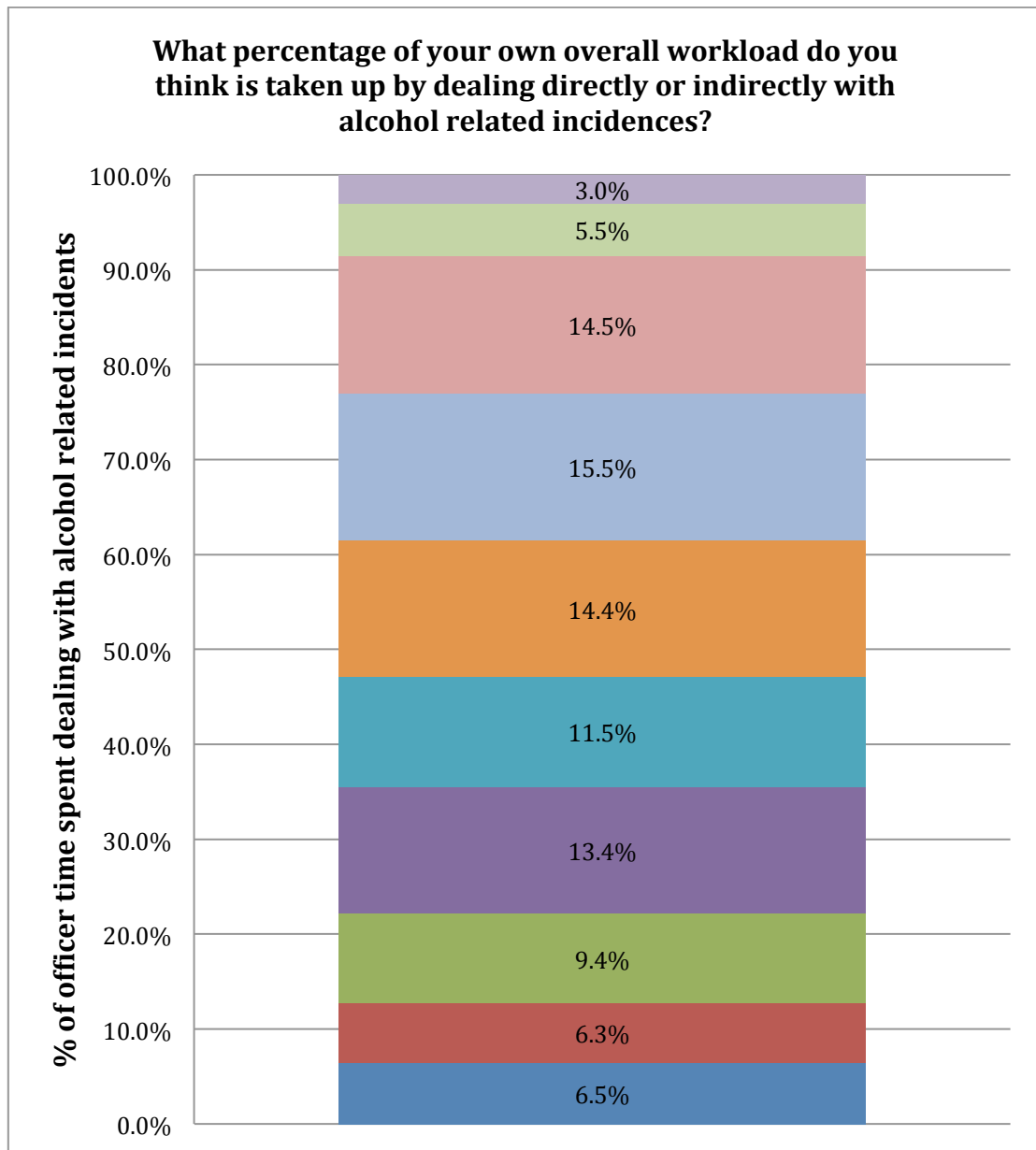
What is your current/or acting rank?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Police Constable	67.8%	701
Sergeant	19.3%	200
Inspector	4.8%	50
Chief Inspector	0.6%	6
Superintendent	0.7%	7
Chief Superintendent	0.1%	1
Special Constable	0.9%	9
Police Community Support Officer	2.8%	29
Police Staff	3.0%	31
answered question		1034
skipped question		0

Amount of time spent dealing with alcohol related incidents:

52.9% of MET respondents reported spending over half their time on alcohol related incidents.

23% of respondents reported spending 70% of their time on alcohol related incidents.

These findings are very similar to the national average within the survey.



Injuries as a result of dealing with alcohol related incidents:

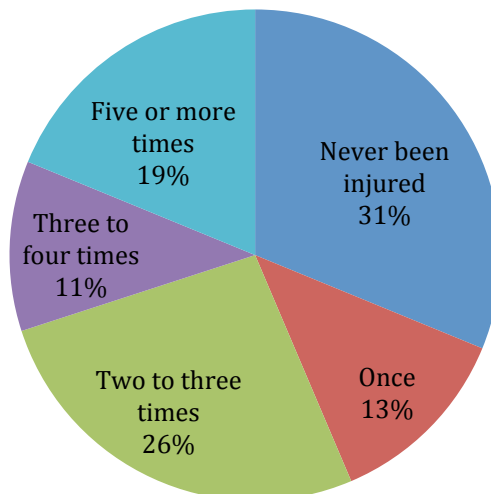
68.8% of MET respondents reported having been injured at least once

18.8% of respondents reported having been injured five times or more

31% had not been injured

These findings are slightly better than the national average, where 24% of respondents had never been injured, and 22% had been injured more than five times.

Have you ever received an injury through dealing with drunken members of the public and if so on how many separate occasions?



39% of respondents reported having been subjected to sexual harassment / sexual assault from drunken people whilst on duty. This is similar to the national average.

Officer perceptions of safety

At night:

75% of respondents felt either at risk, or very at risk, of being assaulted by a drunken member of the public in the night time economy.

6% of respondents felt either at low, or very low risk of being assaulted by a drunken member of the public in the night time economy.

During the day:

34% of respondents felt either at risk, or very at risk, of being assaulted by a drunken member of the public during the day.

29% of respondents felt either at low, or very low risk of being assaulted by a drunken member of the public in the night time economy

These responses are very similar to the national police average within the survey.

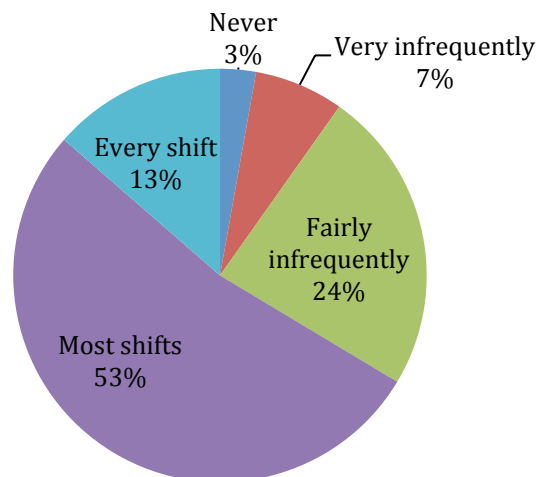
Capacity and response related issues:

92% of respondents reported that they had had to perform the job required of another blue light service when dealing with an alcohol related incident. This was the same as the national average.

66.4% of respondents reported that local custody capacity is an issue either on most shifts (53%), or every shift (13%).

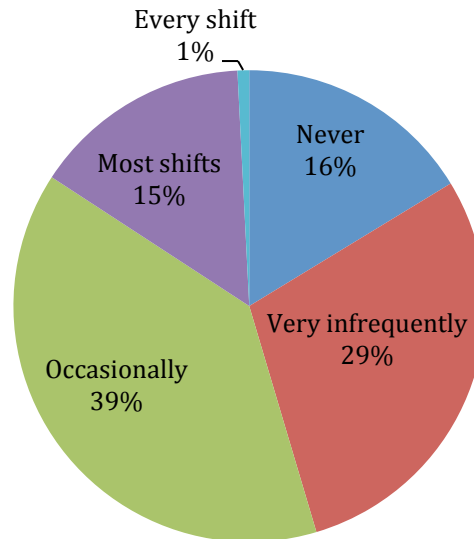
This was above the national average of 53.2%, including: most shifts (45.4%), or every shift (7.8%).

When working a night time economy shift how frequently does local custody capacity become an issue?



16% of respondents reported being regularly retained on duty at the end of shifts working in the night time economy. This was below the national average of 23.2%.

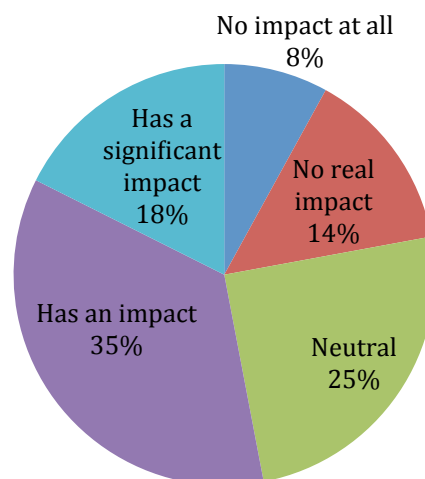
How often are you retained on duty to work additional hours on a night time economy shift?



The impact of changes in the night time economy

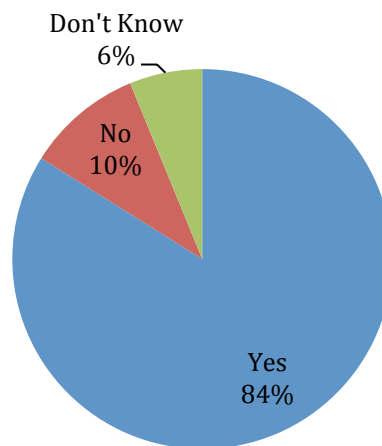
53% of respondents reported that they had had to change their shift patterns in recent years in order to better police the night time economy. This was below the national average of 64.8%.

To what extent have changes to the night time economy led to a change in your shift patterns in recent years?



84% of respondents thought that late night venues should be charged an additional amount to fund late night policing. This was similar to the national average which was 88%.

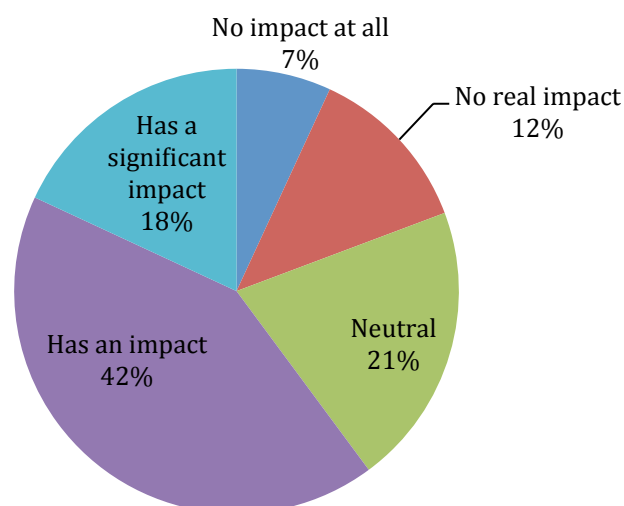
In your opinion do you think late night licensed establishments should be charged to fund additional late night policing?



Impact on personal life

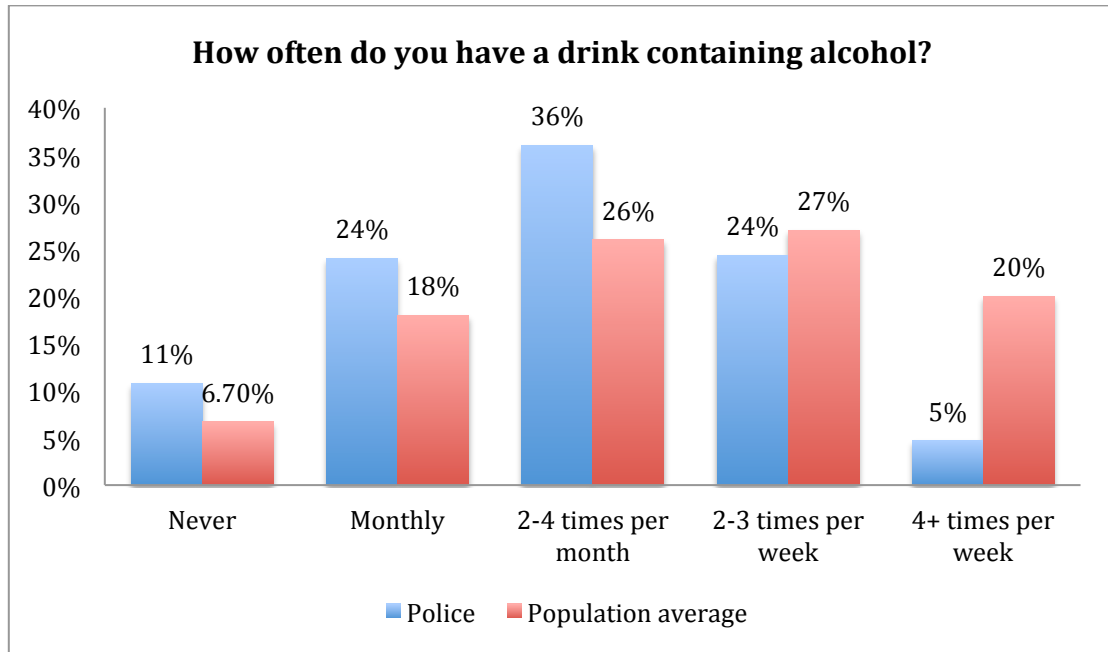
60% of respondents reported that policing alcohol related crime has either an impact, or a significant impact, on their personal life. This was below the national average of 67%.

To what extent does policing alcohol related crime and disorder in the night time economy affect your work life balance with family and friends?

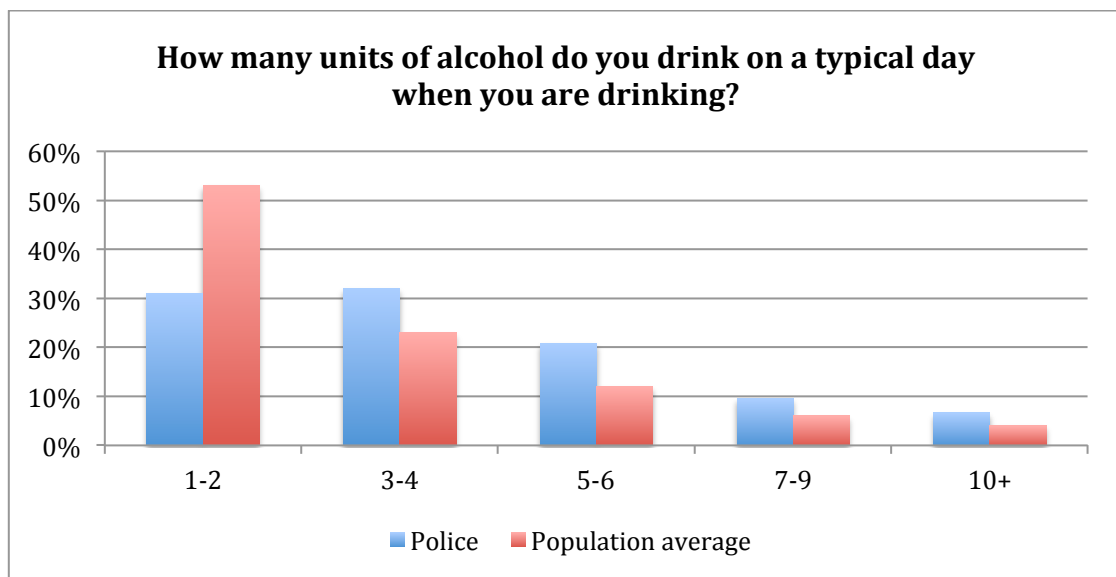


Levels of respondent's own drinking

Compared to the UK population average (not other police officers), respondents were more likely to drink monthly, or 2/3 times a month, but less likely to drink weekly.



When they did drink, MET respondents were more likely to drink higher numbers of units compared to the UK population average. These results were similar to the average for other police respondents to this survey.



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Written Submission from the London Borough of Croydon

What impact alcohol has on the Night Time Economy and policing in your borough;

The provision of alcohol at most NTE licensed premises is central to their commercial operation and brings a range of issues – both positive and negative – with it. Managed properly, pubs and clubs in the NTE provide valuable social & leisure facilities and also contribute to a vibrant and commercially successful local economy – and this can have positive knock on effects on other areas of the local economy.

Some people using the Night Time Economy are drinking far too much alcohol, which places pressures on licensed venues, police and health services. The increasing prevalence of pre-loading is also a factor whereby people are turning up at premises having already drunk significant amounts of alcohol. A number of late night venues in Croydon are using breathalysers on the door for people that they suspect of being intoxicated and this has had a positive effect on managing some of these issues locally.

Unfortunately, on occasion, the management of certain venues is allowed to slip or more likely, owners and/or managers with inadequate knowledge & experience take over particular premises and this can lead to problems. When problems occur, which will usually be linked to crime and disorder, the responsibility usually falls to the Police to deal with that at the time.

We also see the police being diverted away from some of their core business and having to manage some of the after effects of too much drink. Helping people who are injured, unwell or too drunk to look after themselves often becomes the responsibility of the police, diverting them away from other policing activity. Croydon venues have successfully engaged door security staff to try and manage issues outside of their premises and help disperse people away at closing time but NHS services could do more to help the health related burdens being placed on police in the Night Time Economy. Croydon is exploring setting up an alcohol recovery centre that would help manage these issues and free up the police but this is currently on hold due to a lack of funding being identified to run it.

The concentration and volume of licensed premises in Croydon town centre and the impact that alcohol has on crime and disorder means that a large policing presence is required to manage issues in the night time economy. This is diverting policing away from dealing with other important crimes across the borough. So, it could be argued that the effects of alcohol and the night time economy are having an adverse effect on the safety of the rest of the Borough.

The licencing team's approach to preventing crime and disorder and ensuring public safety when taking licensing decisions;

Our approach, since 2005 has been to maintain strong partnerships with the Police & the London Fire Brigade (LFB) and the other responsible authorities, hoping to ensure that all parties understand each other's respective responsibilities. The Council has sought to provide the framework to ensure Police applications, i.e. for a summary review of a premises licence or a review following a closure order, are processed within statutory timescales, that the matter is brought before the licensing sub committee and that the committee are given accurate information & advice about the matter they are considering. The low number of appeals we have received and the fact that an appeal has never been lost in the magistrates court indicates that the framework and decision making process have both worked well thus far. We have also tried to maintain effective relationships with all licensed premises in the borough. Since 2002 we have run a Best Bar None scheme and have had successful Pubwatch schemes in separate parts of the borough, the latter only reducing to the one current Pubwatch in the town centre as the number of pubs elsewhere in the borough has reduced for seemingly commercial and societal reasons.

As we know, there are four licensing objectives in the Licensing Act 2003 –

The prevention of crime and disorder

The prevention of public nuisance

Public safety and

The protection of children from harm

All relevant parties, including holders of premises licences, the Council licensing team, the Police and the other responsible authorities and the Council licensing sub committee must strive to ensure those objectives are promoted and any decision the sub committee makes must promote the objectives.

What challenges or obstacles the licensing team face in fulfilling the objectives of preventing crime and disorder and ensuring public safety; and

We think the approach to fee setting under the Licensing Act 2003 needs changing. Fees are currently prescribed and set according to business rateable value. This takes no account of the time &/or attention particular premises may take up and is also unfair when the gap % wise in turnover of certain premises against smaller premises is not reflected in the fee structure. The income from fees does not provide sufficient resources to fund enough processing & enforcement staff for a borough of this size and one with such a vibrant NTE.

An additional concern is the apparent policy decision, taken by the LFB some time ago, that they will no longer make representations on applications or seek reviews of premises licences. The LFB will use their own primary powers – and the statutory guidance to the Licensing Act 2003 encourages this – but premises licences are not being directly controlled/conditioned on public safety grounds by the LFB as a result.

The challenges highlighted in the first question around NHS engagement and the impact that this is having on policing time is also relevant here.

What more the Mayor and MOPAC could do to assist licensing teams in delivering on their responsibilities.

As above, lobbying of central Government to amend the fee setting approach in the Licensing Act 2003 would assist greatly. If local authorities were given discretion to set fees, this would mean all actual costs could be factored in.

We believe that a collaborative approach will be most successful in creating and maintaining a positive evening economy for the Borough. This means the police, Council, licensed premises and other stakeholders sharing information and working together to discuss and problem solve issues. This needs to be at both an operational and strategic level. The Mayor and MOPAC should help encourage this collaborative approach so that local partnerships are both sympathetic to businesses and manage safe and welcoming environments.

Croydon is a Borough that is starting to go through massive change. Much of the borough, including the town centre, is going through a huge regeneration process, which will bring a range of unique challenges. The Council are keen to support local businesses as much as possible through this transition and are aiming to create a more diverse evening economy and cultural offer, attracting different groups of people to the town centre. This may mean the Police, Council and partners being more conducive to different sorts of events and venues that take place/exist on the Borough. It is imperative that all partners are speaking regularly to effectively risk assess opportunities that arise that may make Croydon a more diverse place to go out in.

London Assembly Police and Crime Committee investigation into the impact of alcohol on policing London's Night-Time Economy

Submission from Lambeth Safer Neighbourhood Panel Chairs

There are 21 Ward Safer Neighbourhood Panels in Lambeth chaired by volunteer residents of the Ward. In Lambeth we have some significant Night-Time Economy hotspots and these impact significantly both on the policing and the antisocial behaviour in these areas and across the Borough. This submission can only be a broad brush of known public opinion based on our experience. One chair has asked me to record his disagreement with this response. All others are content.

How has Alcohol-fuelled behaviour changed with the introduction of 24-hour licensing?

The transfer of licensing responsibilities to Lambeth under the 2003 Act led to a significant increase both in the number of licensed premises and in the hours which were granted. This was across both on and off licensed premises, particularly in town centre areas such as Brixton and Clapham, and at Vauxhall and Waterloo. It allowed areas to operate well into the early hours with licences regularly granted to 2 am and a significant number of premises to 4 and 6 am.

Licences were granted in the past without the requirement for security staff, CCTV etc and conditions have had to be imposed later on in order to protect the customers. This policy also allowed the growth of areas of night clubs such as Vauxhall to take place.

Unlike some other Boroughs, Lambeth seemed to taken the deregulation and the ability to grant 24 hour licences under the 2003 legislation as almost a right of anyone applying for a licence to get what they wanted. The impact this has had on alcohol fuelled anti-social behaviour and violent crimes including domestic violence, hidden same sex crime and violent street crime has been dramatic.

The character of large areas of Lambeth has changed, and the impact on the largely residential streets around those areas has been significant.

What are the consequences of 24-hour licensing for Policing?

This growth in alcohol fuelled anti-social behaviour has come at a time when both policing resources and local authority resources are under significant pressure. Thus the provision for managing a large influx of people and their impact on the local area – violent behaviour, rubbish removal, street cleaning, and public toilet facilities - has been significantly reduced whilst the need for them in these areas has grown.

The hotspot areas of NTE have drawn police and other emergency services in from across the Borough reducing the impact of neighbourhood policing cover in many other wards. These areas also attract significant criminal elements who prey on inebriated people. It can now be intimidating and off-putting to some locals to walk through those areas at peak times.

What are licensing authorities doing?

Lambeth have now introduced a saturation zone in Clapham where the presumption against further alcohol licences is that they will not be granted. They have also introduced a new Licensing Policy which sets sensible policies for licensing on and off premises in different parts of the Borough. This now gives licence applicants clear expectations about hours. There are also conditions which the Police and the licensing authority expect the licensee to comply with dependent on the type of business and the place it is operating in. This new Licensing Policy is now starting to have an effect, particularly over the last 12-18 months. The number of applications for alcohol licences has decreased considerably.

However, we believe Lambeth should take some further steps and put into place additional saturation zones in Brixton and Waterloo to prevent further escalation of alcohol fuelled behaviour in these areas.

Lambeth Police working in partnership with Council officers are starting to review Licences over their terms and conditions as and when they have evidence to request a review. However given the extraordinary number of licences for a London Borough and a heavy work load over TENS etc this will take a considerable period of time to deplete any backlog.

In the areas of NTE it has taken some while for the businesses to realise they have to take some responsibility for managing the situation they have created. Business Improvement Districts (BID) have now been formed in Streatham, Vauxhall, Clapham and Brixton. In Vauxhall 2 dedicated police officers are now paid for by the BID. Results have been very positive for all concerned. In Clapham and Brixton Street Wardens are now being funded by the BIDs as a first step. We would like to see Councils press for greater funding by businesses of the infrastructure and services needed to manage the NTE, not only policing but toilets, rubbish clearance and street cleansing.

Lambeth still appear to be quite risk averse in their approach to licensing enforcement and making decisions which could restrict businesses, even when evidence of breach of the four licensing objectives is available. Given the high level of violent crime often associated with misuse we were surprised to be recently informed at a recent meeting of panel chairs with the Police that even they have been surprised by a Licensing Committee decision not to revoke a licence. Anecdotal evidence from the Police is that this would not happen in some other Boroughs.

It would be helpful if the Assembly Committee Report could highlight practice in other Boroughs which has been successful in managing NTE hotspots better.

Comments on Specific areas of NTE

Vauxhall is certainly an area where there has been an impact from night time economies and it is also a drain on unnecessary police resources.

We find it incredible that certain clubs are allowed to continue trading when they cause such disruption to the surrounding area. Despite the diplomacy of the staff in pretending everyone is good that enters the club, and the alleged efforts of the staff to minimise anti-social behaviour, any unwanted behaviour is thrown out on to the streets which then causes issues in the surrounding area.

The amount of litter, odd characters walking around Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens etc do still cause concern to residents. Residents continue to avoid the area on weekend evenings as it doesn't make us feel safe.

Clubs and bars should be required to provide better welfare facilities for guests including those who are denied entry. Staff should be trained more rigorously in how to deal with excessively inebriated (drug and alcohol) consumers. Equally the authorities should be clamping down on licence holders who are breach their licence conditions.

We remain genuinely concerned that more is not being done to address these licence holders. We are now picking up on a gradual withdrawal of people from frequenting the Vauxhall area and the demise of these establishments. That is a shame when other venues (The Vauxhall Tavern, The Eagle, Bar Piccolo) stand out as reputable businesses who have an interest in the welfare of their guests. What was once seen as bringing jobs and money into the area is now starting to be seen quite differently.

The night time economy in **Clapham** provides many jobs and Clapham High Street is thriving, unlike many other London town centres. The later opening hours in Lambeth (4-6 am) compared to neighbouring Wandsworth (2 am) causes an influx into the area in the early hours which can be quite disruptive as already drunk people move along the largely residential streets. The introduction of a drunk-tank on Clapham High Street in a church as a safe place of refuge has proved necessary. The impact on the public health emergency services as well as the numbers of police required to police the NTE has been considerable.

The effects for residents in what was before the 2003 Licensing Act a fairly quiet suburb has not been so beneficial. The "saturation zone" is constantly under attack from the big pub chains who have the financial fire power to get their own way. There have been a number of "contentious" licensing decisions over the last few years which have completely ignored local residents' wishes. Residents face increased crime, ASB, mini cab touting etc. We believe the only solution is to "row back" on licensing, with all premises closing at midnight during the week and no later than 2am Friday & Saturday.

Diana Linskey
SN Chairs Coordinator
Lambeth

How significant an issue is alcohol-related admissions linked to the night-time economy for hospitals in London?

There is an increase in the amount of minor injuries and assaults during the night time. These patients require increased resources as it is often difficult to discharge intoxicated patients who are injured or requiring observation time. Safeguarding issues may apply to these patients

How has this changed with the introduction of 24-hour licensing?

This has impacted on the Emergency Department as assaults and minor injuries attend throughout the day particularly weekends and bank holidays. Previously with restricted licencing the peak times would finish around 4am.

What impact do alcohol-related admissions linked to the Night-Time Economy have on hospitals in London?

This has caused an increase in activity and referrals to the medical team resulting in admissions to hospital. Mainly short-term admissions to an observation unit whilst treatment continues or to manage safeguarding issues.

How are NHS Trusts working with public service partners, such as the Metropolitan Police, to prevent alcohol-fuelled crime, and what more could help to support this partnership working?

Within the trust we record all sharp injury crime related incidents where we capture if alcohol was involved in the incident this is linked to safer communities' partnership working with public service partners, safeguarding and domestic violence. Symphony records this information where reports are available to run data when required. The Domestic Violence advocate provides training to our Health professionals training on domestic abuse and how to deal with a disclosure from a patient or relative when she is not on duty enabling the staff to support these patients.

The trust would like to extend this service to a seven day week plan.

What role does MOPAC have in supporting public services to prevent alcohol-fuelled crime and anti-social behaviour?

Within our ED we have a Domestic Violence advocate funded by the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime providing support to the trust Monday to Friday.

Ealing is also supported by this service Monday to Friday. The ALNS attends the frequent attenders in Waterloo monthly sponsored by Safer London. The aim is to design best models of practise to prevent alcohol-fuelled crime and anti-social behaviour in the Emergency Departments reducing alcohol admissions to the trust.

Police and Crime Committee – 3 December 2015

Transcript of Agenda Item 5 – The Impact of Alcohol of London’s Night-Time Economy

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair in the Chair): Can I welcome our guests today? It is a pleasure to have you before us. I am just going to go around and introduce everyone.

We have Janice Hart, who is the Service Director in Public Protection at the London Borough of Islington. Welcome. I was very keen to hear from Islington when I saw the piece of work we are doing because I know I have heard from the Borough Commander there some of the work you are doing. It is great to have you here. We have Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp, who is the police lead for the night-time economy in Islington from the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS). Welcome today. We have Jon Foster next, who is the Senior Research and Policy Officer at the Institute of Alcohol Studies. We are looking forward to hearing from you today. We have Daisy Blench, who is the Policy Manager – Alcohol Policy and Responsibility for the British Beer and Pub Association. Thank you for joining us today. Then we have Commander Simon Letchford, who is from the MPS and leads in this area across London. Our final guest, who has not quite arrived yet, is Christopher Snowdon, who is the Director of Lifestyle Economics at the Institute of Public Affairs.

I am going to start off the questions today and I really wanted to start off with trying to understand. Maybe I could address this to Simon to start off with. How do you actually define what ‘alcohol-fuelled/related crime’ is? How are you defining that in the MPS?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): That is really difficult. If we can answer that today, then we will have probably --

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Solved it all?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): -- achieved nirvana. The reason it is difficult is because it manifests itself in a number of different ways. It is also very subjective. If somebody has had three pints and they commit a crime, is that alcohol-fuelled violence? If they have had two and commit a crime, is it alcohol-fuelled violence? It is a really really difficult challenge.

Most of the data that we have – and Jon [Foster] will give you some really useful data – is perception data. It is about what people experience and what people feel. We think that – this is a national statistic – about 27% of all calls to police have an alcohol factor behind them. If you speak to officers, about 50% of the incidents they deal with, they think, have alcohol as a factor.

The other challenge with it is that it affects in three ways. You have crimes on licensed premises, you have crimes where the victim is under the influence of alcohol and you have crimes where the offender is under the influence of alcohol.

We have tried to do some analysis and our analysis on this is not particularly good at this stage. We do have an ‘alcohol’ flag that we use for three different types of crime but, as with all flags, its use is not fantastic. We looked at three boroughs and a month’s worth of crime data, looking at licensed premises. About 50% of crimes on those premises were associated because the victim or suspect had consumed alcohol. Of those, about half had a flag on them and so you can see the issue with flagging.

At the moment, we do not define what 'alcohol-fuelled violence' is. We flag it if it is alcohol is an issue either for the victim or for the offender or if it is on licensed premises.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Is it something that you are looking at trying to develop or are you finding it just too difficult to grasp?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Certainly through the Home Office we are talking about coming up with a definition of alcohol-fuelled violence and then a national flag and then a requirement to report back through the Home Office's reporting system. It is certainly something we are exploring.

Moving forward, what we would probably want to do is to use technology better to identify crimes so that it does not require a physical person putting a flag on it but is a way of searching data to pull out keywords, etc, which may be a more accurate way of identifying and recording alcohol-related issues.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Thank you very much. Welcome, Christopher [Snowdon]. I have already introduced you. Welcome along today. Thank you for joining us.

My next question may be to Jon and Christopher. The MPS is trying to define this issue. Is it widely understood how they operate and how they are trying to define it? Is how they are working an accepted level of practice or do you think it should be different?

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): Simon [Letchford] has identified the issue that it is very difficult to get to the bottom of with busy officers on the beat actually flagging it and reporting it accurately. There are lots of time constraint problems.

I think in terms of moving forward and what has been suggested, there are things going on with the Home Office and there are moves to have a national flag in order to standardise things. That is very welcome. Just by the nature of the issue, it is quite difficult to get to the bottom of and a little bit unclear. As Simon said, some of the perception data - which, hopefully, I can talk about a little later - gives another angle and perhaps is not definitive in itself but is useful at the same time in terms of context.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Is there any good practice in other countries, perhaps, where they flag this in a better way that is then able to be used to try to tackle the issue?

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): I am not too sure of the details but, as far as I am aware, there are similar problems in other countries. Yes, that might be something to look at, actually. That is a good point.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Nobody has necessarily cracked it. Christopher, are you aware of any examples in other countries or other things? It sounds like there is a national scheme that is going to be, hopefully, coming in when they can define it. Is that the way forward?

Christopher Snowdon (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): There have been attempts in other countries to be a bit more categorical about whether offenders are drunk at the time. The slight problem with that is that drunk offenders are actually more likely to be apprehended and so it might lead to overestimates.

The system we have in Britain in terms of national overall statistics – which is what I tend to look at – is just based on, as you have already heard, what the victims think. It always seems to be more or less 50% of crimes and that has not changed. Even though crime itself has dramatically fallen in the last 20 years, the percentage that are thought to be alcohol-related has remained remarkably similar, which is kind of odd. It seems to be that alcohol-related crime, if these statistics are correct, is going down at exactly the same rate as all other forms of crime. Whether it is car theft, robbery or whatever, everything is dropping at more or less the same rate. I do not know if there is a better way of doing it without spending a huge amount of money.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): That is the problem. It is the cost of it. I wonder whether I could bring Kevin in, then? At a borough level, we have heard that there are inconsistencies in how it is recorded. What are you doing to make sure that there is consistency in the recording using the systems you currently have?

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): In terms of Islington, what we have looked at is putting a dedicated team out, which is standardised and so it has a consistent approach to night-times, particularly at the weekends, Thursday, Friday and Saturday. We are trying to benchmark that so there is consistency and we can act consistently not just across the reporting but also when we are taking action in partnership with the venues. It is about consistency for us. We are setting standards and putting a dedicated team out and trying to have a consistent approach throughout the borough.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Have you done extra training with officers and so on?

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): Absolutely. As I said, we have a dedicated team that goes out every week. They are drawn from different areas of the organisation to bring that local knowledge as well. Over the past year, we have conducted a large amount of training, more so than we have done previously, with not just our staff but the venues as well through Pubwatches, through interaction and through developing training packages around vulnerabilities and what is expected of the venues to help us to reduce the crime, particularly violence and public nuisance.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Janice, can you outline what you are doing in your borough to make sure you fully understand the scale of alcohol-fuelled crime?

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): OK. The way that we are dealing with data is probably slightly different. We have an in-borough analysis team. With their assistance, we do take both the police and all of the council data, all of the reports and actions that we take around anti-social behaviour and noise, and then we are able to look at a much more complete picture about where the issues are.

As you probably know, we have adopted the late-night levy and so we have a patrolling team that is out, which brings us a huge amount of subjective information. The sort of information they are adding to that is, when they visit venues, whether there seems to be a high level of drunkenness, what the management capabilities are and how they are dealing with that. We also have a medic as part of that team and they are administering triage and first aid. We now have quite a good handle on people who are picked up who are drunk. Where have they come from? What is the kind of ‘pat and hat’ as to why they are there?

Then what we do is we put all of that together with Kevin’s [Blenkinsopp] assistance. Every two weeks we have a much more extensive report, which gives us the information to then go on and task and act around the

whole picture, we feel, of the data, not just the crude figures. It is also fair to say that Kevin's licensing officer is working with my team. What they do is trawl the computer-aided dispatch reports – they do a bit of what Simon [Letchford] was talking about – to look for keywords and stuff like that. What we do is have a live situation on Monday when you can look at the complete weekend and the week before that and then they will, with my team, go and investigate incidents. That drives our enforcement programme.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): That is much stronger than most boroughs with that resource you have there. Presumably it allows you to keep looking at trends and, if certain venues keep coming up, look at what action you could take.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): What I would say is that we have not added resource to do that other than with the levy team. It has just been adopted as part of people's work and just taking a different approach to how we operate.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): One of the things that I have talked about for a long time and that we have tried to get in across London is the Cardiff Model – which I am sure you are all familiar with – across accident and emergency (A&E) departments, sharing that anonymised data with local community partnerships, which are able to then help you target resources.

Do you think that implementing it right across London would help us understand alcohol-fuelled crime more as well and how we respond to it? Perhaps I will start with Janice and work around.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): I think so. We have tried in our borough. It is very difficult because we have four feeder hospitals and, even with our local hospital, it has been difficult to get that going. We certainly would, because one of the problems that we struggled to understand is how much of things like the ambulance reports and police reports relate to the domestic situation rather than the premises. Actual premises incidents are fairly low and at the minute that is our gap. We would like to see it, but we have struggled to get it working for us.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Kevin, any comments on that?

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): Yes. It is going to be a consistent approach across London. Obviously, Cardiff has a hospital and it relates to Cardiff in the majority, whereas here we have lots of hospitals, lots of boundaries, lots of boroughs and lots of issues around that. Ideally, the more information we have, it would make sense that we would be able to develop our product and our service, but it is going to be difficult to implement.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): It is a bit more complex but it could be done. Jon, your thoughts?

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): The key issue in Cardiff is that it has one night-time strip economy and one hospital, whereas here it is far more complicated. I know that [Professor] Jonathan Shepherd CBE [Director, Violence Research Group, Cardiff University], who came up with this, is aware of the problems and is doing a certain amount of work to try to look at what the barriers are. One of the key barriers seems to be buy-in from hospital staff, particularly secretaries and people admitting people to A&E, and motivating them and getting them to understand why this is really important. It is definitely something that could help turn and get over the barrier and spread things. A co-ordinated push coming from here across London would definitely help, yes.

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager - Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub

Association): I would echo some of what has been said about the complexities of perhaps introducing the Cardiff Model in London. I think from a trade prospective there are definitely some really interesting learnings from that, obviously, from the police point of view about targeting and resources but also from the trade point of view in terms of tackling issues through some of the partnership schemes that are supported by the trade. If the local Pubwatch/Best Bar None scheme or whatever knows where to target its efforts and where to look at that where those problems are occurring, then that is really helpful.

The concern we would have is just making sure that that data is used quite carefully, because we have had some concerns that that can be used as part of the licensing process when we are not always convinced that that is particularly useful in terms of saying whether a premises should have its licence renewed or conditions applied or whatever. Again, I gather that others are aware of the limitations of that. There are some interesting learnings, but we need to be cautious about how it is used.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Thank you. Simon, is it something that the MPS has looked into?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Yes, we looked into the Cardiff Model probably about four or five years ago and it is a really good model. What is quite interesting about it is that it is led by health through [Professor] Jonathan Shepherd CBE and so it is very much a health approach to alcohol harm, which is something that I would certainly support. We looked at the traffic light system that they operate with on-licence premises and we took some of that learning into London.

The challenge is the scale. You have 30,000 licensed premises in London, a significant number, and it is trying to manage all of those. It is very much based on an administrative type of process, which we do not necessarily have the time for.

However, what we have taken out - and a couple of people have already echoed it - is the partnership approach. The way you will tackle it, you will not enforce your way out of this problem. It has to be through partnership, engagement and education. An awful lot of people will go out and drink and never get involved in crime or become victims of crime, but a small group will. It is about the social norms within the groups they mix with and it is about the environment they go to.

There is definitely something we can look at around places. You have already mentioned crime data. Within London, we look at problem premises, those that constantly come up. That is a challenge for us because some of them are iconic locations. We did some work a couple of years ago in Kingston and the Club Oceana down there was an iconic location. What people would do is they would mention Club Oceana on a crime report, "I was on a bus outside Club Oceana". With the way we ran the data, it made it look like there was a really big problem at the club and it was not always easy to justify that.

The other challenge often as well is that people will drink in certain locations and then they will commit their offences further away. Often, the premises will disassociate itself but it is part of the problem. It is very much about how we engage everybody within a location, which is what Cardiff has done, to come together to problem-solve it.

Christopher Snowdon (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): I do not have much to add, really, other than to say that the published research coming out from Jonathan Shepherd's team is very interesting for me from a very selfish point of view. As a researcher, the more data the better. What I

have found particularly with a couple of things I have written about alcohol this year is that the data is just lamentable, actually. It is little more than guesswork most of the time.

Some of those problems are intractable because you are trying to judge how drunk somebody is and whether this crime would have happened if they were drunk or not. There are all sorts of problems because it is largely subjective. The figures that are routinely bandied around in terms of how many A&E attendances are due to alcohol, and even how many hospital episodes are due to alcohol, are based on almost nothing at all. The same applies, actually, to the costs. The costs we hear about in terms of health and crime are: (a) very old; and (b) based on the same kind of shaky data.

From a personal point of view, I would like to see more data, but I do appreciate that we do not want to be just spending endless amounts of money on a technocratic system and trying to get lots of data when actually a lot of the time we know what the solution is in the first place.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): On this issue, it does strike me that if we used, for example, the level at which it is not legal to drive anymore, it might be a good starting point. You would give everybody a breath test and, if they are over the legal driving limit, because that is the point at which all judgement is impaired, it would at least be perhaps a baseline when you are inputting data.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): You could do that, but that would require you to breath-test everybody. Do we just do it for suspects? Do we do it for victims as well? That is your ability to operate a vehicle. I am not sure that that would then be a lawful measurement of whether you are capable of committing a crime or being --

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): No, but if you are deciding whether to flag this as an alcohol-related crime, then having some sort of baseline for it would make sense, would it not? It seems to me that the breath test for the drink-driving level would be logical.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): I am not sure how easy that would be to do. Also, an awful lot of crimes are often reported later after the events, assaults, etc, and so victims have sobered up and suspects are sobered up. It would be quite difficult and challenging to breath-test everybody and it is an arbitrary amount.

The challenge is that we can flag lots of crimes as being alcohol-related, but that is not the answer. The answer is what we actually do on the ground. It is the prevention activity and where we operate that. If you look at where crimes are committed, most crimes are committed where the offender has the greatest chance of success. If I am going to steal something, I am going to go to an area where there are lots of people. People go to the night-time economy because there are lots of people who have money and expensive items, and who may be leaving those items lying around and are easy pickings. If I am a sexual predator, I am going to go to a nightclub where, potentially, people are vulnerable through drink and I can pick them off. It is how we operate on that --

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): I accept all of those things. I accept all of that. However, as a baseline, when you are dealing with people on the street, surely breathalysing them would be a good start. I understand all the difficulties, but on this one thing, dealing with it instantly there and then and knowing just how drunk people are would be a good guideline. I will leave it there.

Christopher Snowdon (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): It would be lovely data to have, but you have some serious practical problems here. In the case of A&E, you are dealing often

with people who are totally drunk. Presumably there would not be any legal obligation that they have to give a sample if they do not want to. It is a lot more work for often very busy staff. Therefore, although it would be nice to know how much everybody has drunk on a Friday night, really, the practical problems would be overwhelming.

Roger Evans AM: In my anecdotal experience of this – and as I live in a town centre I see a fair bit of it from my window at night – is that there are some people, almost exclusively male, who go out with the objective of ending up in a violent confrontation at the end of the evening. It is something they can talk about to their friends the day afterwards. Therefore, there is a level of repeat offending amongst some people.

Simon, can you identify those people and what can we learn from them about this problem?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): I agree with you. There is a really good bit of work that has been done by [Dr] Simon Christmas [Visiting Senior Research Fellow, King's College London] around social norms. You are absolutely right that there is a small core of people – not just men but women as well – who are going out on a Friday and Saturday night and binge-drinking and getting drunk is part of their social group. They do not see that as abnormal. They do not look at the fact that most people do not go out and get involved in a fight or get involved in some sort of disorder. There is something about how we educate and work with those individuals.

In terms of the repeat offenders, there are some opportunities there around banning orders. There are really good schemes like Banned From One Banned From All. You are from Havering, are you not?

Roger Evans AM: Yes, we have it and it works.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Yes, it works really well and so there is a consequence piece. One of the things that we have talked about as well is whether you start to challenge the people. If I go out with you and you get drunk, I get a fine because I keep buying you a drink while you are drunk; I get a fine as well. Then, you start to lose your social circle of friends because they think, “I am not going out with you because every time I go out with you I get a fine”. We have to be a bit more creative in terms of how we start to challenge the social norm that it is OK to go out, get drunk and get in a fight.

I think the second bit to it is where they are getting into those fights. Invariably, it is to do with the location. Whether it is in a taxi queue at a chicken shop, it is where people come into conflict and bump into each other where there is no – what we call – ‘capable guardian’. There is nobody controlling that space. We are working with the Security Industry Association to get them to start to take responsibility for policing the areas outside the clubs, working with the food outlets and the taxi queues to get people in a vehicle, get them away and get them home. Then they cannot get into a fight.

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager – Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): Can I just echo that on the research, which Simon mentioned? There is quite an interesting project that Drink Aware, the industry alcohol awareness charity, has started, which is essentially taking the research by [Dr] Simon Christmas and piloting two parts of the campaign. One is called Club Hosts, which is about having people within the club who are there to protect people who might be vulnerable in certain situation. Also, there is an advertising campaign in cinemas, newspapers and all kinds of media to remind people that the behaviours that are not acceptable sober are not acceptable drunk. The first phase is focusing on sexual assault and making people realise and remember that, even if they are going out with the objective to get drunk, those behaviours are never acceptable and the consequences in terms of their life could be quite dramatic. They have piloted that very successfully in Nottingham and are in the process of finalising the

results from that. They are looking at other areas at the moment where they can pilot that and potentially come up with a package that local authorities might be able to make use of and backed by the industry as well.

Tony Arbour AM: One thing arises from what the Commander was saying about norms. Don't lots of perpetrators claim that they committed an offence – I do not know; domestic violence or whatever – and say it was because they were drunk or had had a lot to drink on the basis that that somehow or other mitigates the offence? You told us right at the very beginning that it is a question of interpretation and you know and you check whether or not the victims were drunk. What about people who say they were drunk but were not?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): They can say that, but it is not a legal defence in law. Drunkenness is not an excuse. You are absolutely right. That is why we have to be really careful in our language that we do not allow them to use that excuse. Alcohol does not cause domestic violence. People who abuse their partners do not just do it when they are drunk. They do it when they are sober as well, and they do it very well because they often hide it. You are absolutely right and we should never, ever allow people to use that as an excuse.

Where it is a risk for victims is that quite often people make themselves more vulnerable through drink. We – whether we are their friends or whether we work within the industry or whether we are law enforcement or health – have a duty to try to look after them. The host scheme is something that we are really keen on. It is about encouraging clubs and pubs to look after their guests. In any other business, you would want to look after the people who spend the most money in your business. Often in licensing, the first thing they do when they have drunk too much is to throw them out and expect somebody else to pick up the pieces. Getting them to take on a more of a harm reduction and caring role is good for their business, I would suggest, and it also reduces the demand on all of the other agencies that often have to pick that up later.

Tony Arbour AM: Can I ask Chris? Based on his research, just how different is London to other urban night-time economies?

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): My research, if you are referring to the stuff about the Licensing Act, was looking nationally and the capsule synopsis is that of all the predictions that were made about it ten years ago, if you remember the doom and gloom, none of them came to pass. Alcohol consumption fell, binge-drinking fell and alcohol-related crime fell.

I did have a quick look at London to see if the statistics were going in a similar direction. Yes, basically, they are. Criminal damage is down 55% since 2004/05. If we combine aggravated bodily harm (ABH), grievous bodily harm (GBH) and assault together, they are down 22%. It is well known that crime is down in London. Obviously that is not as a result of longer opening hours, but it certainly is in spite of it and in spite of all the predictions made ten years ago. London is a constantly growing and increasingly vibrant place to live. That is very obvious. It needs to have a night-time economy to match it.

The Licensing Act did not bring about European café-style culture, as some people said it would, but it did bring about slightly more European opening hours. People often forget that a very large number of countries in the world, including quite a few in Europe, do not have licensing and do not have restrictions on opening times at all. They just close when the demand peters out. In practice, most pubs are still closing at 11.00pm or maybe midnight most of the time, but it makes sense in a city with the global reputation that London has that we do not have wartime-type licensing restrictions anymore. It has been a good thing and it has been good for the night-time economy, which has been under stress for all sorts of other reasons in recent years. It is certainly a big bonus that it has not been accompanied by the huge increase in crime and ill-health that was predicted.

Tony Arbour AM: You have described the London experience where crime has fallen rather than risen. Is that repeated in Manchester? Manchester would say that it was vibrant and was growing and had a flourishing night-time economy. Has there been the same effect that crime has fallen in Manchester, too?

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): Crime has fallen pretty much across the board. We are talking averages and so there will be some places that are different than others. They did a study specifically in Manchester looking at A&E attendances a few years ago. I do not think they found a drop as a result of the Act, but they did not find any rise.

Generally, the picture has been the same. The Licensing Act, effectively, has been an irrelevance, really. It has not made any difference either way, which of course goes against what is known as 'availability theory', which is that the more you allow people to drink and the more it is available, the more they will drink. Some people are still wedded to this.

I do not actually live in London; I live down near Brighton. At the moment, there is a supermarket trying to open up and it cannot get a licence because the policy of Brighton and Hove Council is for no more alcohol licences at all because, if you have more alcohol licences, people will drink more. This supermarket cannot open up because it is assumed for some reason that it will lead to more people drinking because it would be selling alcohol. Normally when supermarkets open up, the objection is that they are going to put all the other shops out of business. In this instance, the belief seems to be that it is going to lead to more alcohol sales. Nobody is saying that it is going to lead to more fruit and vegetable sales, which it would also sell.

It can be quite harmful to have this religious belief in availability and consumption being totally intrinsically linked.

Tony Arbour AM: Would you agree with the analysis, Jon, that London has behaved no differently from the rest of the country?

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): Broadly speaking, yes. The trends have been quite similar across the country. In fact, looking at the levels of crime dropping, they have been quite similar across other international countries. There are some intangibles and we cannot quite say why things have gone down, but the picture is improving. However, as Chris said, these positive trends probably would have happened even if we had not had a new Act and things had not changed. We cannot put too much on the Act and there are bigger things like consumer behaviour, the affordability of alcohol, what the recession has done to that, changing demographics and that kind of thing.

As much as it has been good in some ways, you also need to look at what else the Act done. The one thing that can be very clearly pinned on the Act is not 24-hour drinking because that does not really exist; however, because there is the option there to have 24-hour licences, everything has shifted back into the night. On average - and this is a national average as opposed to a London average - in the week things shut about one hour later and in the weekend it is about two hours later. That is an average and, clearly, in parts of London things go a long way behind that.

That seems to have two impacts. The first one is that at the start of the night, which is again quite a difficult one to research and put numbers to, it has opened up that window for people to drink and preload before going out. It does not seem - again, it is a difficult thing to research - that people spend any more time or money out on a Friday or Saturday night and they go out for four, five or six hours, whatever they did before. They do not spend any more money; they just do it later because there is that window to drink at home first.

Then, at the end of the night, police and other emergency services are stretched over a longer period of time. While the volume of crime they deal with has gone down, it is spread out over a much longer period of time. That has caused genuine logistical problems. I am sure that Simon [Letchford] can talk in more detail, but I know that nationally the vast majority of police forces had to rejig their shift patterns when the Act came in in order to --

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Yes, we are going to get into detail on the Act a little bit later, if that is all right.

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): Yes.

Tony Arbour AM: Daisy, is it the experience of the trade that London really is not any different from anywhere else?

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager - Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): Broadly, I would agree. There is obviously similarity to other large cities, but the main difference is London, as well as having a huge amount of people living and working here, being a massive tourist destination. From the trade perspective - and we have already touched on it - it does mean that there is always going to be that volume of different people constantly. In terms of the trends, as people have said, it is broadly the case. I think it probably makes it in some ways more of a challenge, as with other cities like Manchester, in terms of that volume and density of people. I would otherwise agree.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Can I just add an extra bit? I was reading something yesterday that clearly shows a north-south divide in terms of harm. The harm is much less or people's positive outcomes are much better in the south. There is less binge-drinking and fewer young people drinking than there are in the north. I think there is potentially a cultural difference in how we drink down in the south, effectively.

On Jon's [Foster] point about what we have seen with the 24-hour drinking, we have seen a pushback of demand and we have seen an increase in preloading. Actually, off-sales are a real challenge for us with people buying in off-licences and counterfeit alcohol.

Interestingly enough, in Havering we piloted some work with breathalysers in nightclubs. A condition of entry was that you had to blow in a breathalyser to get in. That has been reasonably well received by door staff because it gives them a reason to refuse entry. On average, if you speak to the trade, most people buy only one-and-a-half drinks when they are in a nightclub and so they do not make a huge amount of money out of alcohol sales.

In terms of the policing, if you look at some of our night-time economies such as in Westminster and Lambeth, the clubs that are opening at 6.00am in the morning to capture the people who have been out in the evening are increasing, and it does create a policing demand for us that we are not necessarily used to. Having additional police officers on a Sunday policing what is effectively a night-time economy at 11.00am in the morning is not something we have been used to previously.

Tony Arbour AM: How interesting. I did want to ask you. You mentioned Kingston. Are there hotspots that, if you like, affect the average level in terms of numbers of offences across London? I represent Kingston and so I would not want to knock Kingston in any way, but suppose the level of drink-related crime is higher in Kingston - shall we say - than in Sutton. Is the significance of that as a hotspot sufficient to lift the entire

level of drink-related crime across London? In other words, is there a substantial disparity between the hotspots and the non-hotspots?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): The answer is yes. It is the Pareto principle or the 80-20 rule, which is that 20% of the premises contribute 80% of the demand. There are certainly locations in London that contribute. Romford Town Centre is one in the east. Kingston is one in the west. There are a number in the south as well. What that enables you to do is to then target those in terms of prevention activity.

Kingston is quite interesting because, when we looked at it a couple of years ago, the demographic was a student population and you had people going out on Wednesdays. That was a demand day. You get different drivers. That is when you can start to work with the universities to try to educate young people about the risks and the dangers that they put themselves in.

Tony Arbour AM: Local wisdom says that it is related to the fact that the principal bus routes come from boring places and so --

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): For example?

Tony Arbour AM: I was just going to say that if you live in Hounslow, you can catch a bus and come into Kingston. Of course Kingston is a more exciting place than Hounslow and of course it does not cost much and they can come. However, I do not want to knock Hounslow, either.

I wonder if I can extend the area of questioning, really, to you all. Is alcohol related to high-level crime - in other words, serious crime - or by and large just simply low-level disorder? Is there any link between alcohol and high-level crime? Somebody else might like to have a go. What do you find in Islington? Were those old guys who robbed the bank drunk?

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): I am not sure if they were all Islington residents. I would say that there is a link to the lower-level disorder going on to become more significant violent crime. What we have certainly seen in Islington is that where we have been able to put a targeted resource in there, based on the intelligence that we have been able to provide - and the stats are starting to back it up but we have been running for only a year now - we have been able to target those areas to try to prevent it. We are working with the businesses to highlight when they have low-level disorder outside their premises to contact us or to contact the resource - in our case, we employ as part of the levy a private security firm - in the first instance, who will go and interact with that group, whether it be to provide some crime prevention advice or advice about their behaviour to stop them going on to become violent offenders or commit further offences later in the night.

Therefore, there is a link, if I am honest, but it is about targeting and putting the right resources into it and getting the venues to work with us to prevent that becoming crime later on. We cannot do it alone. We cannot be everywhere. There are not the resources to do that. However, working with the industry, with the closed-circuit television (CCTV) and with the Council, we are seeing an improvement.

Tony Arbour AM: Do you have Street Pastors in Islington?

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): We do not, currently. Going forward, it is something that we would like to have. As we sit here at the moment, no.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): We have had discussions with them and it is just the difficulty in getting any kind of constant presence. Part of not being able to do that is the reason around having the levy team. What we identified and our reason for wanting to adopt it was that there is this grey area. Our premises work really closely with us and we do encourage the behaviours of hosts taking responsibility in their neighbourhood but, when people have gone from them, it is difficult. That was the gap. That was the thing that the police could not fill and the businesses could not fill. That was why we introduced the team. That is the bit that is being a success, including for the businesses, which obviously do not want to pay any more money than they have to.

Tony Arbour AM: What does the MPS think of Street Pastors?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): They are a really good idea. We support them. We support a number of those schemes. We have Street Pastors, Best Bar None and Purple Flag. There are a number of schemes run by the industry that are really, really good and each of them tackles a different specific issue, whether it is underage sales, whether it is vulnerability. Having that presence on the streets to look after the vulnerable is effectively what they are trying to do. Personally, I think it is a really good thing. It is citizen engagement. It is absolutely something that we would do.

Can I just answer your question about the link with the offences? By far the biggest volume is anti-social behaviour that is linked to alcohol. The point is that alcohol is a contributory factor more often in some offences. In violent offences and sexual offences, alcohol is more of a contributing factor. Whilst the numbers are quite small, it is disproportionately represented in some crime types, which is probably slightly different in terms of the demand. If you look at it purely from a demand point of view, it is the anti-social behaviour, it is the kids drinking in the street, it is the street drinkers and it is that type of offending - and noise - that takes a lot of our time up. However, when you look at serious crime, it is disproportionate for some of those crimes.

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): If I can make a basic point about the statistics, if you are relying on victims of crime to tell you whether the offender was drunk, you are relying on the victim meeting the offender. If you have your house burgled, you probably have no idea whether the offender was drunk. If it is a case of embezzlement, internet fraud or all sorts of things, we would have no idea. Of course, with murder, the most serious crime of all, the victim is not around to give you an opinion.

Tony Arbour AM: That goes back to the point that I made originally that the perpetrator is going to say, "The reason I did it was because I had too much to drink".

Andrew Dismore AM: I represent Camden, which has a pretty vibrant and exciting night-time economy. Thousands and thousands of people come along and have a very good time and it is only a small minority who can cause problems.

I want to take up one or two of the themes that have been coming out so far and perhaps I could start with this issue of low-level crime, which is obviously the major issue. One of the things that seems to have come out is that if a police officer arrests somebody for some form of anti-social behaviour relatively early in the night, then that officer can be off the street for the rest of the evening dealing with that particular arrest and that, therefore, depletes police resources in the area whilst that is dealt with. Is there any way of overcoming that?

It is a question probably for Kevin [Blenkinsopp] as much as for Simon. Perhaps you would start, Simon, and Kevin can give us his view from the shopfront.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): What we try to do, certainly around some of the busier night-time economies, is to have dedicated teams that specifically come on later to police that environment. Officers being taken off the streets to do paperwork is always a challenge. You cannot just ignore crime because you want to focus on something later in the evening. There are other opportunities through banning orders and banning them from the town and Anti-Social Behaviour Act orders to remove them. I have not picked it up as a specific issue. I do not know whether they have at Islington at all.

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): I think there is an element of it, yes; there is some anti-social behaviour and there is the time it takes to process those individuals. However, you have to set the standards. If you are going to accept that in your night-time economy, then other people are going to follow it. Yes, there may be a demand initially for those resources, but you would hope that in time we would see that peter out. If you are causing disorder, whether it be at a low level around noise or more serious public disorder, then action will be taken against you. In Islington, again, we are actively trying to take action against those people and get the venues to assist us with that by providing statements and CCTV quickly so that we can deal with it, there is a repercussion and those standards are upheld. Overall improving the standards will in time reduce the demand.

Andrew Dismore AM: Reducing the 'temptation' is the wrong way of putting it but I do not know what a better word would be. It is to be a little more lenient earlier in the evening so as not to deplete your resources later on?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): One of the tactics that we employed last year as part of Operation Equinox, which is about tackling violent crime and the night-time economy, was to set the tone earlier on in the evening by putting out our neighbourhood officers and setting the expectations. It is exactly as Kevin says. It is about what is acceptable and what is not acceptable behaviour. What you must then do is enforce that at some point. Otherwise, if people think, "You tell us that we are not supposed to urinate in the street and then nothing ever happens", then they will all do it. There are two bits. That is where the Street Pastors are really good. It is about setting the tone and the environment, and then eventually escalating it up if you need to and enforcing that activity to reinforce the message.

Andrew Dismore AM: From your point of view, arresting somebody earlier on in the evening, even if it does tie the police officer up for some time, is a worthwhile investment?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): If it is appropriate, yes.

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): I do not think it is always going to result in an arrest. There are other measures that can be taken in terms of warnings and fixed penalty notices for certain offences. It is not always going to tie up an officer for a period of time in custody.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): It is fair to say as well that we have also moved some of our daytime resources within the Council to work during those hours. We do that supporting and fixed-penalty notice enforcement around things like urination and warning about our Designated Public Places Order (DPPO), which helps with preloading. We have another arm of our service that goes out and does that stuff earlier in the evening.

Andrew Dismore AM: That was the next thing I wanted to come to, actually. Sorry, did you want to say something?

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): Just quickly on the issue specifically of custody capacity, it was one of the questions we asked in the survey we did. Hopefully, you had some information yesterday from the survey.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Yes.

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): There were 4,000 police officers from across the country but we had over 1,000 from the MPS and so I have drilled down just on those 1,000 responses. Of those respondents, 66.4% said that either every shift or very frequently custody capacity was a problem. That is above the national average, which was 53% and so a fair bit above. It seems that custody capacity is perhaps a bit more of a problem in London than elsewhere.

Andrew Dismore AM: That is an important point. Is that because of where the custody suites are, as well as - going back to the point I was making - tying up officers' time longer if they are having to take people further away to lock them up and process them? I know we have Kentish Town, which is not entirely ideal but could fill up relatively quickly, I suspect. I am not sure about Islington. Where do you take your prisoners in Islington?

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): We have our own custody suite.

Andrew Dismore AM: You have your own custody suite, yes.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): It is purely a capacity issue. Unfortunately, policing demand is not even and so you do get peaks of demand for prisoners. We will move the prisoners around the custody estate as and when we need to. You are certainly right that places like Lambeth and Charing Cross can quite quickly fill up if you make a number of arrests for violence. A lot of the outer boroughs perhaps do not get a similar demand.

Andrew Dismore AM: Can I come on to the question of preloading, which Janice [Hart] just brought us back to and which came up earlier on? The suggestion earlier on was that people go to the supermarket, drink at home and then go out. However, one of the problems that Camden has raised with me is slightly different. It is people going to the supermarkets near the town centres and buying the alcohol there not to drink at home but, effectively, to drink in the street. Although you can try to control drinking in the street, it happens. That then leads to people being more drunk - that comes with preloading wherever they have it - and also extra litter and glass and difficulty managing the night-time economy because it has spread from the venues into the street itself as well.

Is that a problem? What are your thoughts about that?

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): It is an issue for us. We have quite a vigorous approach to it now. As I said, we have the capacity to send out officers to deal with that who are either associated with the levy or council staff. We work really closely with the businesses that tend to revolve around that. It is primarily the later nightclubs. They have a vigorous policy of not allowing people in if they have been preloading. If we have identified them, then we will let them know and that stops it.

Also, we do take action against the off-licences themselves. We have a slightly different way of dealing with licensing offences in Islington in that our first stop is a licensing panel, which is usually me, council staff and police. We have them in and we talk to them about what the issues are and get out of them an action plan to go forward. If that does not work and if they continue to sell to people who preload - because quite often they are visible from their premises, etc - then we will go through and review their licences. We have done that with several.

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): I would agree. It is difficult. We have a DPPO on the borough, but it is a large borough and there is only an amount of resources. However, certainly the neighbourhood officers, the Council and the anti-social behaviour levy team are all effectively trained or aware of the issues around preloading because it is constant in certain areas for particularly street drinking. It is a case of getting those resources out. It is a case of doing enforcement with them. Particularly around the night-time economy with the pubs and things, it is to inform us in an early intervention approach. Also, we get reports back from our private security firm, which will give us an indication if it is coming from a particular venue so that we can take the action that Janice [Hart] mentioned in the engagement stage with the panel, and then onwards for review should it happen. Hopefully, it would not get to that stage.

It is a problem. People will go out and drink and we cannot stop that happening, although we are actively trying to deal with the worst elements of it.

Andrew Dismore AM: We are going to talk about the Licensing Act in more detail later on, but there is one particular point I could raise at this stage that is not specifically to do with the Act itself but the consequences of it.

The net result if the premises are open a lot later - and I suppose the Night Tube would also fit into this - is that it effectively means that the police resources are spread over a much longer period. I am just wondering what sort of problems that causes for you in providing the police staff on the ground for, from the point you were making, 18, 19 or 20 hours rather than just for the evening.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): We have looked at the Night Tube and the potential impact. It is quite an interesting one because I suppose there is no evidence either way at the moment. You could look at it two ways. You could say that creating an opportunity for people to come and go throughout the night might --

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): No, sorry. That is getting on to the Tube.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): OK.

Andrew Dismore AM: The point I am making is not so much about this particular problem. The point I am making is about the staffing issue for you rather than the individual problems it causes. The point I am making is that, because you have 24-hour licensing and because we may have the Night Tube, it means your resources are spread for a longer period. Therefore, what implications does that have for policing resources in terms of officer numbers on the street for that longer period?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Unfortunately, it is not as simple as that because it is not an even demand across the week and it is not even across every borough, which is why some of the evidence-based approach is really really important and the demand-based approach is really important.

Specifically on the off-sales, they are two different issues, for me. You have the preloading, which is often done at home and it is buying alcohol and taking it home, and then you have the street drinking. There are slightly different tactics in terms of tackling it. For street drinking, it is very much around the low-cost, high-strength drinks and limiting them and putting them on the conditions of the licences, and not allowing people to sell individual cans of beer and not selling miniatures. There are opportunities to restrict the sorts of people who are going to go in and buy what is cheaper alcohol, get drunk and commit anti-social behaviour on the streets. The tactics have to be different and we have to be flexible enough to respond.

Andrew Dismore AM: Another point raised with me by Camden was the impact on community satisfaction as a whole with some of these problems. The suggestion is that particularly the anti-social issues – the noise, litter, vomit, urinating in public and all of those sorts of things – have a disproportionate impact on community satisfaction with how the night-time economy is managed as a whole, which then distracts attention away from reducing harm and violence and tackling the nuisance and disturbance. You have to deal with the residents in the wider area as well and the impact that that then has on satisfaction with the police more generally. I do not know if Simon wants to say something about that.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): I agree with you. My stance has always been the same. I used to be the Borough Commander at Newham and I did a lot of work around licensing there. I have always said to the trade and the industry, “We want you to be successful and we want you to employ local people and regenerate local communities because that will help to reduce crime and is a really good thing, but what we will not accept is poorly run and badly run premises that create crime, disorder and unfair demand on public services. If you do that, we will use every single power in our book to shut you down”. That is everything from enforcing the minimum wage for the staff they employ to using the Licensing Act and fire safety regulations.

I absolutely agree with you there. That is why the partnership bit is so important. It is about creating a place that people want to go to and enjoy. The night-time economy should not just be somewhere to go to drink. It has to be somewhere you go for entertainment and having a great night out with your family and friends. We all have a collective responsibility to create that environment.

Andrew Dismore AM: That is exactly the point I was making at the start of my questioning. For most people, that is what they want and that is what they get.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Absolutely.

Andrew Dismore AM: I am interested in the point you make about the police powers. How many premises have the police actually closed in the last year?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Crikey. I do not have that figure. We have 30,000. There were about 45 that we used emergency powers to close down, which we call expedited reviews.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Out of?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): There are 30,000 licensed premises but most of those do not ever come to our attention. There are 23,000 pubs and clubs. The rest are restaurants.

Andrew Dismore AM: How many have had their licences withdrawn not under emergency powers but some general objection?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): I do not have those figures to hand.

Andrew Dismore AM: Do you keep those numbers?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): We could probably get them through the local authorities.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): That would be good for our report.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Yes. That would be very useful.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Yes, we can get that for you.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): That would be useful. Lovely. In terms of premises and the issues you were just talking about where you have closed them down or not, you mentioned earlier something about how some parts of London insist on you being breathalysed before you can go into a club. There are issues with serious crimes such as knife crimes on premises. I was sent overnight from a constituent the issue of someone who was stabbed in a nightclub in north London, yet they had security staff on.

Why are they not properly searching and even using handheld devices to search people before they go in, like they are breathalysing, to make sure the people who are going in are going in to have a good time and are not out for violence or other means. Is that something you would look at in terms of your licence conditions, Janice?

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): Yes, it is a fairly standard condition and it is something that the licensing officers would be monitoring when they go out and visit. The expectation in that sort of situation, in our borough, if that did happen in a premises would be that it is telling us that the searching regime is not working properly and it would be something where we would be starting to look at enforcement.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Yes, but not every club would have some sort of search.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): Pretty much they do. All clubs --

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): Most larger clubs certainly in Islington do. I am not saying all of them but --

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): They have some sort of knife arch or other sort of handheld --

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): Yes, some sort of searching regime, whether it be a knife arch --

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Normally it is one in 50. If it is not electronic, I am told that it is one in 50 if you are lucky. I do not go out clubbing these days and I would not have a clue, but it is one in 50 or so, I am told, who actually get searched.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): One in 50 get searched? That would not be the standard we would find acceptable.

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): I would not know the statistics particularly but, if there is a particular issue and if something was to come to notice, then we would actively be looking to do something with that venue around the licensing conditions. It is hard to just go into every licenced venue – and at what point do you cut off – to say, “We are going to implement this, that and the other”. However, if there is a demand and a need, certainly around the larger bars and clubs, they will have a search regime specific to their premises.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): You would increase that and tighten that if there have been issues or just remove a licence?

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): Absolutely. We would look to talk to them first and engage with them on what the problems were. At some point, if unfortunately things were to continue, or if they were unwilling to work with us to target the crime, then we would look to do more formal action, yes.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Lovely. Thank you.

Tony Arbour AM: You mentioned that capacity was one of the difficulties, particularly in inner London. We on this side have produced papers on introducing ‘drunk tanks’, which operate in various places abroad. I wonder if Mr Snowden could tell us how effective they are and whether or not he has done any work on drunk tanks and their efficacy.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Explain what a ‘drunk tank’ is, Tony. This is obviously something that you have looked into. I am not sure where --

Tony Arbour AM: I have seen pictures of these. They seem to mimic cells. People are put in there with an instant fine and are held there until they sober up. That would be a way of dealing with the problem, would it not?

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): I think ‘Alcohol treatment centre’ is the more politically correct term --

Tony Arbour AM: Yes, but you knew what I meant.

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): I knew what you meant, but it is important to point out that they are clinical medical environments. They are not police-run. In some parts of [the United States of] America they do have that, but not in the United Kingdom (UK).

Tony Arbour AM: Yes. I am thinking of police-run.

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager – Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): The other thing, which quite a few areas seem to have been looking at lately, is safe zones, which are perhaps a step back from that when people are drunk but perhaps have not necessarily committed any crime. Quite a number of areas like Glasgow and Edinburgh have them and they are intended to take the pressure off emergency services. The Glasgow one has some quite interesting stats about the money that they save the emergency services in terms of the pressure they take off.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): We should go and see it.

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager - Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): It is supervision for people until they sober up with perhaps plasters, water and that kind of thing, rather than necessarily a policing or medical centre. I do not know whether it is something which --

Tony Arbour AM: I think we call those 'sobering centres' or something like that. The case for taking the pressure off the ambulance service and so on is self-evident. No, I am talking about someone who in the old days, "His eyes were glazed, his speech was slurred, he was drunk, your Worship". You put him in there and then you fined him.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Can I just raise a point on that? They are called 'Alcohol Recovery Centres', 'booze buses' or 'welfare centres'. The analogy I use is that, if I eat too much food and get food poisoning, I do not go to a police station and get put in a cell until I feel better; I go to hospital. If I drink too much and I am incapable, I should go to hospital because it is a medical emergency. A number of you have been around long enough. We used to have higher rates of deaths in custody for that exact reason: placing people who have been drinking in cells. Actually, I think I would not support drunk tanks on the street. There should be welfare centres where people get medical treatment because often a head injury is associated with drunkenness. That is the critical bit of getting early intervention and treatment.

The challenge for us is that what we do not want to do is to create a safety net for people who go out and binge-drink and so they think it is OK because we pick them up at the end of the night. There has to be a consequence for their behaviour. I would certainly look at what more we can do to put that consequence in so that there is a cost for them. The National Health [Service] is very reluctant about this because of the principle of 'free at the point of treatment', but it cannot be right that every Friday night someone goes out and gets drunk and then we look after them. We have to do something about trying to treat them, help them and support them so that they do not do that and so that there is a consequence.

Tony Arbour AM: I understand that that is your view but I did initially ask Mr Snowden about this. What happens elsewhere?

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): I am afraid I have not seen the evidence of it. I must admit I quite like the idea of drunk tanks myself, but I would have to go wherever the evidence leads. If it is leading to people dying, then I would not be in favour of it. Obviously, they would have had to have committed a crime first --

Tony Arbour AM: If it someone who is drunk and urinates in the street, it would be appropriate for that sort of thing?

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): That is right, yes. For a low-level crime, maybe a drunk tank would probably be a better place for them than a hospital. They likely do not face any medical emergency; they are just drunk and need to sleep it off. Putting them in a drunk tank rather than a prison cell or a hospital bed actually makes quite a bit of sense.

However, if there are unintended consequences associated with it, I would have to change my mind. I do not know.

Tony Arbour AM: Yes. I understand that there have been bad experiences with the police and that the police are risk-averse but --

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): No, I disagree with that. It is not about being risk-averse. Somebody who has drunk too much alcohol and is unconscious is a medical emergency.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Yes, exactly.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Police officers are not trained to look after drunk people to that extent. Absolutely, if somebody is urinating in the street, they are committing a crime and they should be punished for that, whether it is a fixed-penalty notice. I am all for creating an environment where we can treat them out on the street, put them in a tent or put them on a bus on the street. I absolutely support that concept. I think what I do not support is this thing that we are going to create these big tanks where we put drunk people and we leave them there until they are sober. We would not be supportive of that because of the medical risk. Absolutely, we want to work with the medical agencies because we recognise the huge demand it places on them and on us. That is my principle on the medical risk.

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): In effect, that is what the police are doing all the time on Friday and Saturday nights. They are taking people back for committing low-level offences, letting them sleep it off and usually letting them off with a caution the next day.

Andrew Dismore AM: Is this the difference between the old ideas of 'drunk and disorderly' and 'drunk and incapable'?

Tony Arbour AM: Yes, exactly right.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Absolutely. There is a big difference.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Thank you. Daisy [Blench], if you have any more information on those Glasgow and Edinburgh examples, it would be very useful for us.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): I wanted to ask Christopher because we have been talking as if boosting the night-time economy is a good thing to do. It is somewhere to take your family out and that sort of thing. However, I am just asking you now. Is it a desirable thing to do or is it just an inevitable social change?

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): It is both. It is a desirable and inevitable social change and I do not think anyone wants to roll the clock back to a time when, basically, the pubs closed at 11.00pm unless they could get away with pretending to be serving food or allowing dancing or what-have-you. It has genuinely diversified the night-time economy in a way that we appreciate when we go on holiday. We have heard about people's nights being moved back later into the night. When people go to southern Europe, they think it is wonderful that nobody goes out until 9.00pm at the earliest and they have some food and then they have a drink.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): They do not have quite the same problems of low level disorder, though?

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): They do not, no, but it would suggest that licensing is not the key to it if you have countries where they do not have any licensing restrictions at all and they do not have these problems. Surely, if we are looking to follow best

practice, we would emulate what other counties do, which in the case of France, for example, means having no tax on wine. Of course nobody is suggesting in this country that we have zero tax on wine like half of the countries in Europe do or have no licensing restrictions like several countries in Europe do. The point is that the Continental approach that everybody aspires to has clearly not come about as a result of restrictions. However, to answer your question, it is desirable and it is important, actually, for London in the 21st century to have 21st-century licensing hours.

I think it is true, as was said earlier, that it does stretch police and emergency services. I said it was irrelevant before, but one thing the Licensing Act certainly has been associated with is a big decline in violence at the old kicking-out times of 11.00pm and, to a lesser extent, 2.00am but a smaller rise between the hours of 3.00am and 6.00am.

There are pros and cons associated with that. The problem in terms of police staffing is that, yes, more hours are needed on the beat, but what is your priority? We could close all of the pubs at 6.00pm at night and the police would have less to do and there would probably be fewer alcohol-related problems, but it would not be compatible with a lively, modern city. Everything is about a certain degree of compromise.

The important thing is that violence has fallen overall. I do not think we want a situation in which everybody pours out of the pubs at 11.00pm, the police grab a few people around the scruff of the neck and throw them in the cells and everything is quiet by 1.00am.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): I think we have to look at the overall economic picture. If it actually costs us more in terms of policing, emergency services and so on than it benefits sole traders, pubs or whatever, then those are calculations that we have to make as a society.

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): It would be useful just to pick apart what we mean by 'the night-time economy'. A lot of people are starting to refer to it as 'the evening and night-time economy'.

There is some research that has not, unfortunately, yet been published; it was supposed to be out on 19 November 2015. Westminster commissioned some academics and an economic consultancy called TBR - and when you hear figures saying that the night-time economy is worth £60 million to the country, it comes from this economic consultancy - just to look at what has happened in Westminster and the stress area around Soho in the last ten years. That is not a typical area. It is hugely dense. If you put Manchester, Edinburgh and Cardiff together, it is still bigger than all of their night-time economies. It is massive. They picked apart where the economic benefits come from in the day. They have estimated that 35% of it comes from the afternoon, 45% of it comes from the evening until midnight and only 20% comes after midnight. These are provisional figures and we will have to wait for the final stuff to come out, hopefully, quite soon. When we think about demand pushing things back into the night and the effect on the police and then we talk about the need for economic growth, where that happens in the day and the timeframe has a big impact. If you are talking about the overall and minimising that spill-over and the negative impact on the police, in pure economic terms, perhaps only 20% of the growth is after midnight. What Westminster has done over the last eight to ten years is to really push restaurants even though it has a cumulative impact policy (CIP), which is supposed to cap numbers. It does not really do that but it is very good for place-shaping and for changing what premises you get there. It has had its CIP there but it has still had 40% more licensed restaurants and has gone towards this pre-midnight, restaurant-based economy.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): I am not sure who it was but somebody said that people are spending the same amount of money; they are just spending it at different times or over longer.

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): Yes.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Is the spending moving? Is it actually all the same spending and there is not an increase?

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): It is hard to say. As I said, I have seen only very top-line bits of this research. I have not seen the whole lot. However, it would be reasonable to assume that they have at least intended to move things towards a more restaurant-based, pre-midnight, evening economy in order to mitigate the post-midnight negative effects and the impact on the police. It would seem to be that they have managed that.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): See, it is really important with all of these definitions about 'alcohol-fuelled crime' and 'the night-time economy' or whatever.

Andrew Dismore AM: Soho is very much *sui generis*. It is not like the other night-time economy areas, and I am not sure that the solutions in Soho would work elsewhere. For example, there is the whole theatre trade, which then feeds into the restaurant trade in Soho both for pre-theatre eating and then afterwards. I used to be on the Licensing Committee in Westminster many years ago and I do not think you can draw generic lessons from what happened in Soho because it is so different to --

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): What they have done, though, is to have a very clear strategy, which is something that is lacking from many town centres across the country, not just in London.

Andrew Dismore AM: You could not deliver what they are doing in Soho in some of the other places because the basic trade on which it is based does not exist elsewhere and it is unlikely to.

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): It would be useful to see in other places.

Andrew Dismore AM: There is an old saying, "If you build it, they will come", but I am not entirely sure that they necessarily would.

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): It would be useful to make that distinction between the evening and post-midnight and where that economic benefit, the jobs, etc, actually come from.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Economic damage as well.

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): Exactly, yes, both sides.

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager - Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): Just to chip in on that, absolutely, I recognise that the balance is really important. However, from a pub perspective, it is worth saying that the hours that many pubs are open are not substantially longer but that little extra bit of trade is sometimes extremely important in keeping the business viable overall. Often they are not opening later at night but they might be opening for breakfast, which is not necessarily a strain on policing. Sometimes having that short amount of extra hours is maintaining their overall profitability. Therefore, while I recognise that you do want to work out where the growth areas are and balance that against

the pressures on police resources, for a lot of pubs the flexibility in licensing hours has been absolutely crucial to adapting to changing consumer habits and being able to maintain their place in local economies. They are not necessarily massively longer hours but they are helping them stay afloat in many cases.

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): They would not open longer if it was not economically beneficial for them. Nobody has forced them to open longer. Whatever the economic effect of the Licensing Act has been, it needs to be seen in the context of a very large reduction in alcohol consumption nationally and things like the smoking ban and the recession, which have all had a big impact on the licensed trade.

The benefit of the Licensing Act really, in London and elsewhere, is not so much the wider economic benefit, whatever that may be. It is just the fact that people have a bit more freedom to have a drink after 11.00pm and that people who visit this city do not see it as a laughing stock because we have extremely archaic licensing laws.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): I was just going to say that we have done a very similar thing to what Westminster has done with our licensing policy. The analysis for us was that the night-time economy was going out of kilter. What we saw consistently was the same kinds of licensing applications, all late night, many 24 hours. The analysis of the Council and the police was that it was going too far.

In the last policy revision we did, we did very similar things to what Jon [Foster] has spoken about. We have cumulative impact areas. They are important because, now, when you bring an application in those areas, you have to convince the Licensing Committee that your premises is going to be of benefit to them. That works really well and we have seen a big change in the sort of applications we get.

In terms of hours, we now have a 'suggested core hours' policy and we have been quite clear that we have lots of late-night premises and we do not really want very many more. Again, it enables councillors to assess against that when they look at applications. We have all really strongly bought into that policy - officers, Council and the police - and across the two years that it has been in place we have seen a very different place emerging and some good-quality applications that are coming to us.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): I wanted to move on to the Night Tube because it is going to be, potentially, a boost for the night-time economy. Would anybody like to start on whether or not you think that is going to have a big impact? We keep expecting things like 24-hour licensing and so on to have a big impact and then it is not quite what we expect. Do you have any views on the Night Tube?

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): It depends on what happens around it and whether the premises try to extend their hours because of it. As Simon [Letchford] started to hint towards, if it is there as a dispersal mechanism to help people get home - because a lot of the problems happen when people hang around having left around a venue - it could be very positive. However, it has the potential to have a significant impact on public services and the amount of money the local authorities have to pay to deal with alcohol-related problems, whether it is at a low level in terms of street-cleaning or whether it involves police and violence. It will be interesting to see how councils respond and what happens within the trade.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): In May 2015 it was announced that:

"... 100 police officers will patrol the Night Tube as new figures show that sexual and violent crimes are up on the Underground."

Is that your ...

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): It is not my responsibility, fortunately.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): That is true.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): The British Transport Police is responsible for policing the Tube and I know that it has a fairly comprehensive plan for the start of the Night Tube. We looked at it from the MPS point of view because a lot of them exit still in the MPS.

I suppose I am sitting on the fence still in relation to this because part of me says that getting people away from venues and reducing crowding is a good thing and it reduces confrontation, but people may use it to travel between other venues. If you look at the line that comes down through Brixton and Clapham, they may use it to travel in and out and, rather than just a way out of London, it is a way to get back in. We know that criminals are not necessarily stupid and they will recognise that there is an opportunity for them to target people coming off the Tube in the surrounding streets for property crimes and things like that --

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): That is true for buses as well.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Absolutely. We want to be alive to the potential for an increase in demand and police it appropriately. The way to do that is through visibility. If people see police officers, they are far less likely to commit crimes.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Janice, have you allocated or have you talked about allocating a number of Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs)? Do you still have PCSOs in Islington?

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): No, they would come from the police.

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): The answer is that I do not know. I do not have any control over the PCSOs. I am sure that it is a consideration for when the Night Tube comes in but, in saying that, I do not know.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Their hours of duty do not allow them to work that time of night and so it is unlikely that they will be using PCSOs.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): The fact is that every borough ought to have a plan about this, should they not? They ought to have a plan about how they are going to deal with the Night Tube, except boroughs that do not have many Tubes.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): We have started to look at a plan. We do not have that many stations in Islington that are going to be operating. What will be interesting for us is that for some of our very late venues, ones that go through to 8.00am or 9.00am, part of

their reasoning for doing that is that it is easier for people to get home. It will be interesting to see whether that shifts back.

There are also issues with illegal minicabs, which is a really big issue. The areas where that is a problem for us are, fortunately, where the Tube will be running and so at the minute it looks reasonably positive to us. Again, our resources do run through until about 7.00am anyway at the moment.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Presumably, workers who are coming from a long way out will be able to get in as well and that is a real bonus, as long as their bus routes are not scrapped, of course. That might help some companies if their people can get in more easily and so on. I think a plan for each borough sounds like a good recommendation.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Yes. The minicab issue is really crucial. We have looked at that recently here and at the Transport Committee. They may move out to the end of the Tube lines. Some of that illegal touting will get moved on.

Andrew Dismore AM: I wanted to pick up one point on the Night Tube. I represent both ends, as it were: Camden Town at one end and suburbia at the other end out in Barnet. One of the concerns I have - which is your problem, Simon - is what happens when people get off at the suburban stations at night without toilet facilities. We already have a problem with people misbehaving in people's front gardens and so forth. It is going to create an extra demand on territorial policing in outer London, is it not?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): I agree with you and that is a point we have looked at. Certainly our point of view is about what happens to these people when they get to the end. It is not all of the London Tube, is it? It is fairly limited to start with and it does not go that far out. What happens when they get off and there are no cabs? What do they do? Do they cause anti-social behaviour? Are they more vulnerable to be victims of crime? Certainly our plan was to police that in the first couple of weeks to see what the demand was.

Andrew Dismore AM: Yes. If you take the Northern line, for example, I think I am right in saying that there are no public conveniences south of Charing Cross.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Yes.

Andrew Dismore AM: On the Edgware branch, there is only one north of Camden Town. You can see there is potentially a problem if people have had eight pints before they start to go home.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): I agree with you. There is some interesting problem-solving that you can do. Certainly Camden, I think, has done it. What invariably happens when the nightclubs shut is that they push everybody out of the door, and what we have encouraged them to do is allow everybody to go to the toilet first because they found they were urinating out on the street outside and it affected the residents. It is just sensible problem-solving. If it becomes an issue, why do we not put portable toilets at the end of the lines that they can use and make it free so that people use them?

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Very good.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): I have heard about something called Havering Safe and Sound. I do not know if anybody here knows anything about that. Apparently, it won an international award for reduction of

overall crime during the night-time economy. There was a decrease of 35% in crime. Do you know anything about it?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Havering is my local borough. I know it has done an awful lot of work around working with the night-time economy in Romford. It was part of the problem-oriented policing awards. It does Banned From One Banned From All and Best Bar None. It is about adopting a lot of the good practice that is already in place. The level of violence in Romford has dropped fairly significantly over the last year.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Has that best practice been circulated?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Yes.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): It has? Is it being used?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): A lot of places do. Kingston has done some really good work on it. Most of the high-volume night-time economies such as Westminster and Lambeth have some really good schemes in.

What we are trying to push at the moment are business crime reduction partnerships as a vehicle because it is quite a crowded landscape when you look at all the different initiatives, ideas, schemes and bodies. Who do you belong to? Who do you pay? What we are trying to do is to bring them under one umbrella, which is a business crime reduction partnership. It is quite a simple process of sharing information securely between all of the businesses in that area, and being able to communicate through a radio so that they can talk to each other about problems and share information about problems. The police will have a radio so that they can respond much quicker. It is certainly something we are trying to promote in London so that where there are existing business improvement districts (BIDs) or another initiatives they come together and work more collaboratively.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Do they have a best practice sheet, a manifesto or something like that that they circulate and make sure is being implemented?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): There is good practice on the Safer London website. There is some really good best practice on the College of Policing What Works website now. We have an internal MPS website as well, which has best practice for licensing activity. We are certainly pushing the evidence-based piece because there are a lot of schemes that have been pushed out that, which when you evaluate them, are causing more problems and more damage than they solve. There is a lot of opinion-based policy as opposed to evidence-based policy.

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager - Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): In terms of the industry schemes, there has been a lot of work done recently on making sure that they are evaluating properly and providing guidance on how to implement schemes and how to evaluate their effectiveness. An industry group has pulled together all of the schemes that are industry-funded and has produced quite a lot of information for local authorities on this. I am happy to share that with the Committee if that would be useful.

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): I would be very pleased to see that as well. Having looked into this as part of a wider licensing project I have been doing, there is a huge lack of evidence that things like Best Bar None work, in terms of having evaluation. There is lots of anecdotal stuff that it helps co-operation and it gets people together around the table, but proving that it

makes a difference is very different. There are lots of rather suspicious statistics out there – like, say, since Best Bar None opened three years ago crime is down 20% – with no way of linking those things together. As has been said, in some areas they definitely do cause more harm than good.

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager – Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association):

One of the issues has been that, as mentioned earlier, data is obviously the most important thing but sometimes it has been a case of, “Let us get on with it for a while”. We know there has been a positive impact in terms of improving relationships but increasingly schemes and industry are realising that they need to be able to provide the evidence that they are effective.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): We have an academic partner. We are working with them on several evaluation schemes, one of which is about whether CIPs work. The other is going to be about our late-night levy and what impact that has. We feel the same: there is very little real research evidence to prove whether things work or not.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): It seems like a role for London Councils, perhaps, to liaise properly and make sure best practice is shared.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Thank you. Janice, when we were talking about the Night Tube earlier, you said that Islington was not really affected. I am reliably informed that there are seven Tube stations that will be open in Islington and so there probably is some work that you --

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): Yes. There are only two in our night-time economy areas; the others are in more residential areas.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Still, there will be an impact. All boroughs are going to have to work on this.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): Yes.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Let us move on to the impact of the Licensing Act. I know we have been touching on it a lot.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: We have covered quite a lot of topics here and so I am going to pick through it and see if there is much more value to add.

I was intending to ask about, after ten years, what the impact had been of the Licensing Act. A lot of you have made comments already about the 24-hour licensing arrangement but of course there are a number of other measures and tools within the Licensing Act. Janice [Hart] mentioned the CIPs. Can I just start by asking maybe Jon and Christopher [Snowdon] whether they have any comments on the other facilities, tools and abilities that the Licensing Act gave the public sector?

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): It is worth pointing out that over the last ten years the Act has been continually amended and changed. It went from the Department for Culture, Media and Sport to the Home Office and the police have more powers than they originally had, which is certainly a good thing. It does a lot to help the police but it does very little to help stop problems upstream. Particularly, we have talked about preloading and, if you look at the off-trade, it has grown almost twice as fast as the on-trade.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: Sorry, when you say 'upstream', Jon, what do you mean?

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): A lot of the things we have talked about are dealing with the problems when people get drunk but there is very little local authorities can do in terms of the off-trade and what alcohol is out there to encourage people to drink a bit less beforehand. Talking about preloading, there is very little that local authorities can do to limit the number of off-licenses in an area. There may not be a very direct link between how many there are and how drunk people get, but look at Scotland and its Act, which in some ways is very similar but has been rejigged to tackle the off-trade. If you look at all of the alcohol that is consumed, two-thirds of it is bought via the off-trade and drunk at home. Scotland's off-trade hours are from 10.00am until 10.00pm, which is not going to make a huge difference but does make it a little more difficult. If we are talking about on-route loading and people drinking out in the night-time economies, that would have a bit of an impact.

Scotland also has a ban on multi-buy sales, which it is trying to tighten up a little bit. There was one evaluation that came to the conclusion that supermarkets encouraging people to buy a bit more - putting white wine by the fish, three-for-twos and that kind of thing - increased wine consumption across Scotland by between 20% and 25%. That is quite a significant amount. Some of that will feed through into the night-time economy. It is a very hard issue to get at, the off-trade and that preloading impact, but there are things that could be done. Not here, unfortunately.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: The scope of the Licensing Act?

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): Yes.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: There is too rigid a distinction between 'this is licensed' and 'this is not' and the bulge, therefore.

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): Yes. In a similar vein, there is a lot of work around better incorporating public health into licensing and a debate around whether there should be a fifth objective, as they do have in Scotland, and quite how that would work. I do not think it would be transformative and some people from public health would be quite disappointed. It has far more of a proximal impact. There would be a big impact with policing and other areas, and certainly police and other emergency services are quite positive about what an impact public health could have.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: Christopher, do you have any comments about the other impacts of the Licensing Act as amended?

Christopher Snowdon (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): Generally, the view seems to be that it has been a big improvement for the reasons you have just heard in terms of being able to close down licensees and also giving the community more of a say in licensing hearings.

As regards preloading, it is nothing new, for a start. I was preloading 20 years ago at university and plenty of other people were as well. If it has risen in the last ten years, it will be largely down to at least two things. One, the differential --

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: Price.

Christopher Snowdon (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): Yes, price, basically. Supermarkets are able to absorb tax rises more easily than the licensed traders and the licensed

traders also have all sorts of extra taxes and regulations, minimum wages and things like this, which have meant that prices are very high. If there is more of it in London I would not be surprised because pub prices in London are much higher than they are in the rest of the country.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): I think they are.

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): Yes. You will not pay more than £5 for a pint of beer anywhere else in the country. You can do in London.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): I am sorry; I thought you were saying it the other way around. Sorry. Strike that from the record.

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): That does incentivise people to buy in the off-trade. The other thing is the smoking ban. Obviously, people can smoke at home if they want to smoke. Yes, price and regulation is what it comes down to. Nobody is going to significantly lower tax and nobody is going to get rid of the smoking ban and so these are facts we have to live with.

I certainly do not agree that we should be looking to close down off-licenses. Every now and again, the temperance lobby produces some research showing that the more off-licenses you have, the more people drink. This is obvious reverse causation. Businesses open where there is demand. The only effect you would possibly get if you started restricting the number of licenses is possibly that the price would go up slightly because there would be a lack of competition.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: Thank you. Janice, you mentioned the impact of the CIP and how local authorities are managing to use it. Are there any other powers within the Act that you found useful or any that are vestigial and do not get used?

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): First of all, I would be a bit challenging about off-licenses because cumulative impact can and does apply to them. In fact, one of our areas is only about off-licenses. Again, we have done a lot of work with applicants about looking at exactly why they want to sell alcohol and what kind of hours that happens in. It is not unusual for us now to have off-licenses that might be licensed only from 12.00pm until 8.00pm because we have had them look at when their sales are. There is not this kind of blanket approach. The thing we would say about the Licensing Act is that it does give you a lot more of an ability to take a strategic look at your borough and what is happening there. That is a real positive for us.

I think the enforcement capacity you have and the stepped approach that you can take is key. Certainly for us, we have used every freedom that has come into the Licensing Act in order to manage ours. A lot of people are very negative about the late-night levy and certainly for us that has been a real bonus. The key for us is that we run that in conjunction with businesses. We have a board that includes them and we can see after a year that their view of the levy is quite different to what it was when we started. The ability to set policy, to involve residents and the other responsible authorities in approving applications and then to take the steps that we can to resolve issues have been big things for us.

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): If I can just clarify what you have said, Islington does things very well and uses the Act to the full extent of its ability.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): Yes, and that is the problem in other places.

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): That is the problem. Most places do not.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): That is right. It is not the Act that is the problem; it is how it is used. In a lot of boroughs, there is a lot of energy put into why you cannot do things instead of why you can do things. It does drive you to work in a different way. You do need to work more in partnership and you do need to work with businesses because that is all critical.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: Janice, I know it is difficult to ask you to comment on other councils but do you think that that is about staff capacity in other councils? Obviously councils have lost 50% of their revenue.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): I do not think so.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: Is it about the awareness and willingness of councillors? I was quite struck when the Act did first come in that there were some powers within that that most councillors and communities did not realise they had, like the ability to challenge a licensed premises mid-licensing, for example. Is there a need to do more awareness work?

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): I do not think it is about capacity. We do not have any more staff now in licensing than we had pre the 2005 Act. It is just about working in a different way. In terms of involving the police, what we find is that it saves us a lot of time by working together and it probably saves resources. We speak to quite a lot of councils. There is a lot of best practice stuff that goes out and the stuff that we do is focused, but ultimately it is just about a change in approach. That is probably difficult for some places.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: Daisy, how has all this affected the trade? Has the trade adapted?

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager – Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): I very much agree about awareness of the powers that the Act includes. One of the difficulties for the trade has been that, although I agree with Chris [Snowdon] broadly that it has been a good thing, there have been so many changes to the Act since it came in that for operators to get used to those changes has been very difficult. Often, it is quite costly. There have been five major changes in the ten years it has been in operation, and that is not including any of the more minor amendments. Some of those, particularly the levy --

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: This is the late-night levy?

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager – Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): I am sorry; the late-night levy. I do appreciate that some areas like Islington have taken quite a collaborative approach and worked with the trade about where that money is spent and how it is spent, but ultimately it is another tax on business.

Our concern is always that [the late-night levy] is not targeted. It does include everyone in that local authority area regardless of whether they contribute to the problems. For pubs, they pay around a third of their turnover in tax. It is one of the most heavily taxed sectors. Particularly for small pubs who do not necessarily

contribute to those late night problems, we do see that that is adding to that burden regardless of how it is implemented in many ways. We do feel that there are better ways to raise that money if you need to, perhaps through a BID, appreciating that different areas have introduced it in different ways. The changes have been a challenge for the trade, particularly in terms of training, but we would absolutely echo calls for greater awareness of those powers.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: Does the trade generally feel it is involved enough in licensing decisions, either locally or indeed at a national level?

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager - Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): Nationally, I think we have been quite lucky in terms of having worked with those who are involved to changes to licensing within the Home Office, Simon [Letchford] and colleagues. We have a good relationship with them. In many local areas, we have very good relationships and there is good partnership working. The system, as it works, has democratised it in many ways because it allows the trade to have a voice and the local residents to have a voice.

Our concern would be that sometimes the most vocal residents in an area can have a disproportionate impact on certain decisions. It is fair that their voice is heard but you often do not hear the majority, who are perhaps happy with the contribution that premises make to the area, are happy attending that premises --

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: Tell us about it, Daisy. We all know that.

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager - Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): I know. I am preaching to you, but it would be our concern that sometimes those people who do not speak as loudly are not always heard, even if they use those premises and want them to still be there.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: Yes. You want fair treatment. Sorry, Jon, did you want to come in?

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): Just briefly on capacity, in a lot of local authorities it is an issue. They have lost licensing officers and environmental health officers to huge degrees with 50% reductions over the last few years. Part of the problem is the funding system within the Act, which is flat. Local authorities up and down the country have to charge pretty much the same fees even though Westminster is very different to Barnet, which is very different to North Yorkshire, and yet they are getting the same revenue back from the fees.

The Local Government Association (LGA) has calculated that it is £1.5 million a month across the country that local taxpayers are subsidising the trade, which is £180 million over the last ten years of the Act. In some areas they break even and can fund the necessary officer time, which is fine, but in other areas it is a big problem. From the research people I have spoken to, it is the areas that have that funding problem that then see the bigger knock-on problems in terms of having unsuitable premises operating when they should have had the capacity to shut them down.

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): The ideal situation, which will never happen, is that local authorities get all of the alcohol duty that is raised in that area. If that happened, I suspect you would see a significantly more liberal approach to licensing in general.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: It is not just a balance between liberality and repression, is it? There is doing it creatively, which is what Janice [Hart] was talking about: facilitating a night-time economy in a positive way?

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): Absolutely.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: It is not just all carrots and sticks. There is something in between.

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): If the alcohol duty was going directly to the local area --

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: It would change attitudes. That is what the whole business rate debate has at its heart in the UK at the moment. That is very interesting.

Can I just ask Kevin whether every borough in London has a designated licensing officer from the MPS, while we are talking about the capacity to manage this properly?

Sergeant Kevin Blenkinsopp (Police Lead for Night-Time Economy Islington, Metropolitan Police Service): There is a range. Every borough is different. There is no consistent policy as it stands at the moment. For example, in Islington we have three licensing officers. Other boroughs will have more and some will have less depending on their needs from a police side. I think there is some work around standardising it.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): If it helps, we have looked at this. There are inefficiencies in the way that we do it. We have a number of them that are sergeants and a number of police constables. Some have more than two or three people involved in it. What we want to do is to bring some consistency to a London-wide model for licensing.

The other area is around their training. There is no recognised police training for licensing officers and no accreditation, which would be really good for the officers. It recognises the work the officers do but also enhances when they give evidence in licensing panels or court. That consistency across London is something that we aspire to, and we could probably reduce the number because it probably is slightly disproportionate.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: The thing about consistency though, Simon, if I can just question you a bit there, is that I represent Lambeth and Southwark and even in one of my boroughs, Lambeth, my experience and sense of it is that there is a huge night-time economy in Brixton, but the people who run those businesses there are more experienced and more assertive managers. There seem to be far more problems around Clapham High Street, where there are new businesses and operations - I want to but I will not name some of them - and where there is a new generation of licensees who do not have either that experience or indeed that sense of - dare I say it - public duty. It is more about making the money. On paper it looks as though Brixton may be more of a problem, but in reality it is Clapham High Street. Surely, approaching it equally is a problem. You have to do more of a risk-assessed approach and understand the local dynamics.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): I agree with you in terms of where we deliver that activity. I am talking more about the consistency of the training, the expertise and the knowledge of the officers, and their ability then to problem-solve. Lambeth is a really good example of some pretty large-scale nightclubs or venues that will take that corporate responsibility on properly.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: Very seriously, yes.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Clapham High Street is quite interesting in that you have just rolled out Safer Clapham and you have employed the Security Industry Association marshals, which seems to be quite working quite well in trying to manage the space.

I agree with you. The businesses are changing, are they not? The traditional pub is going and it is more around a venue that serves everything from craft beer to food to cornflakes. The environment is changing because that is what consumers want, and we have to make sure that those who hold a license do it responsibly and appropriately and in a way that does not create additional demands on other people.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: Is there something about training license holders more? People are relatively easily allowed to have a license and there are a lot of really difficult management skills that come with it that are needed.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Yes, and that is a lot of what we have been doing with the industry. There are probably only a few large-scale people involved in it. It is their responsibility to do that.

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager - Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): Just to briefly chip in on that, training is a huge issue for the industry, certainly. Pub companies and pub chains tend to have all of their staff do that training, but where we find the challenge is with some of those independent pubs that are not necessarily members of ours. It is more difficult to get the message out that training is really important and to make sure they know their obligations and responsibilities.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: One of the things is looking at the effectiveness of partnerships between the industry, police and the council. Is it also a challenge there that the hard-to-reach industries are not playing a role?

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager - Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): It can be. I think one of the benefits of some of the partnership schemes like Pubwatch and, as we have mentioned, the Banned From One Banned From All approach - which is essentially what Pubwatch does, sharing information and working with the police really closely - is that they will bring together the licensees in a given area. It is less discriminatory of whether they are owned by a chain or whether they are an independent. It is just a case of bringing together all the local licensees.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: It is locality-based?

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager - Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): Yes. For us, that is quite a good way of getting to some of those licensees who are not necessarily owned by one of our member companies. We can still get out some of our guidance and social responsibility messaging around drunkenness or underage selling. That is another good network. Those partnership schemes can get to those premises.

Janice Hart (Service Director - Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): If we are going to talk about approach, if you have limited resources, probably the best place to put them is at the application stage. Certainly what we find now is that very few of our applications are receiving resident representations. It is now far more frequent that the responsible authorities are making the representations simply because they are putting more time into looking at the applications and trying to weed out those people who are not able to operate that business.

At the committee stage, we have moved our councillors away from allowing [applicants'] their legal representatives to speak for them and are asking the actual applicant to address them because then you get to really understand what they know, what they have submitted, how much of it is their work and how much of it

is somebody else's. We do get applicants who pull their application, go away, do more work on it, come back and work more closely with us and the police to get themselves in a better state before they open.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: That is a really interesting point. Lawyers are getting in the way a bit, really, because what you need is a dialogue between the community and the licensee.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): Yes, to understand the person.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: Very good. Thank you.

Roger Evans AM: We have had quite a good debate about the licensing arrangements as they currently are but I am interested in what you might change to improve the situation. Jon, I would like to start with you.

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): There is a lot that could be done without changing the Act in terms of getting people to pay attention to the guidance, the Act and the case law. For example, a lot of authorities will not quiz an applicant. There is a box on the application form where you are supposed to pay reference to the guidance at [paragraph] 8.33, and it goes through the local area and you are supposed to talk about how your business will impact on local things. Most people just leave that blank. The councillors have the opportunity to quiz, as we have heard, and they do not use it and so you get people, who should not have a license, getting through.

There is a big issue where local authorities are scared of being too assertive because they will be taken to appeal. Certainly a lot of people I have spoken to said, "We know that we could and we should do this, but we have no budget at the moment for expensive legal costs and so we will just let things through", which of course creates problem for the police when they are unsuitable premises.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: It is short-sighted.

Jon Foster (Senior Research and Policy Officer, Institute of Alcohol Studies): There are huge amounts of inconsistency in terms of case law and how it is used. Some areas, as I said, are far more assertive and other areas just do not use it.

What else would I change? The fee system I have mentioned as well. That is something that head office is in contact with the LGA about. There is a very simple solution. Taxis and street trading already have to prove that they reflect the cost of administering and so just taking the fee system from taxis or street trading and putting it into the Act would help with that.

Really, I think there is lots of stuff that could be done on a London-wide strategy in encouraging best practice around case law and what you can and you cannot do and addressing some of the misconceptions around the Act. For example, among licensing, 'the premises-by-premises approach' is a very common phrase, which is taken to mean that you have to look at each premises as if bubble-wrapped off from what else happens around it. If you look at the Court of Appeal and what it talks about, in a number of cases it says that you should take into account these dynamic interactions between that premises, what is next door and what is over the road and how these things fit together.

Some authorities that take that approach within their decisions have far more power to put a condition, to object or to look at the potential knock-on impacts, whereas authorities that are scared out of that let things through and then have more problems down the line. In the project that I have been doing on licensing, that

has been a really big theme. Local authorities just feel financially and legally outgunned by the trade in certain areas.

Christopher Snowden (Director of Lifestyle Economics, Institute of Public Affairs): A lot of what you have just said is quite true. It is a blank canvas, to a large extent. Obviously, different parts of the country implement it in hugely different ways. That was the idea: to give local communities the freedom. There are probably various technical things that people have problems with. I know I was speaking to a load of licensing people last week and they had various quibbles here and there. It is not really something I know enough about to comment on and so I will not.

Roger Evans AM: OK. What are the police asking for? I know the Commissioner has made some remarks about this. What is the MPS ideal?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): It is always dangerous for us to ask for legislation, is it not? With the late-night levy, there has not been a huge take-up. There are only eight nationally with one in London. I would like to see that refined more into the local area rather than a whole borough so that it could be far more targeted. Clarity of the split of any revenue that that raises would be helpful, as to who gets the money.

The other area we would be very keen on is having a much greater role in tackling this as a health issue and not an enforcement issue. That goes right back to a number of things I have mentioned – and the stuff they have done on smoking is really good – about changing society’s view of alcohol as being harmful if you drink it to excess, and then how you change behaviour. That will then ripple down to where we pick it up further down the chain. Certainly health and more focus around the late-night levy would be really helpful.

The last bit we are quite interested in is rather than looking at individual premises, you look at an area and there is an area collective responsibility. It is easy for premises to say, “It did not happen in my club. Therefore, it is not me”, when clearly it is their clientele. Conversely, the other licensed premises around it – whether they are food shops or whatever – can also say it is not their responsibility. It is something about trying to bring them all together and work in partnership to problem-solve it.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Thank you very much. Our final small section, Kemi is going to lead on about the role of the Mayor’s Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC).

Kemi Badenoch AM: You have touched on quite a few of the questions that I am going to ask and so, hopefully, we will just get a little more detail. First of all, what do you understand the role of the Mayor to be in tackling alcohol-fuelled crime?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): I am not sure I still agree with the term ‘alcohol-fuelled crime’ because I am not quite sure that I understand what it means. ‘Alcohol harm’ I would probably want to use.

There is a clear responsibility about co-ordination. No one agency can tackle this on its own. The demands go across all of us and so bringing them together to work more collaboratively to solve the problems. The alcohol sobriety work we are doing with the bracelet in Croydon around consequences is a good example of where the Mayor’s Office can bring that co-ordination.

Kemi Badenoch AM: I was going to ask about that and whether you thought it was going well. Do some of these things appear gimmicky in terms of their effectiveness?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): If you apply proper evidence-based research and evaluation, then you answer your own question because if it proves its worth it is worth investing in. My understanding of the alcohol bracelet is that it has changed people's behaviour in terms of reoffending and continuing to drink. That is something we should push out if it reduces demand for emergency services.

Kemi Badenoch AM: What about anything else that you think that the Mayor and MOPAC should be doing at the moment that they probably are not doing? This is a question to all of the panel. What would you like to see the Greater London Authority (GLA) doing within the Mayor and MOPAC's remit?

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager - Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): I was going to say that one of the roles for the Mayor's Office can be to shape the debate slightly differently. We have had a lot of talk today about partnership and about the ability of the trade to work with the different bodies. The announcement on the potential appointment of a Night-Time Champion is really interesting because that is the opportunity to perhaps look at it and ask what kind of night-time economy we want to see, rather than to have this sometimes narrow focus on harm. I am not saying that anyone on the panel today has that approach but that it is sometimes something that restricts our ability to tackle those issues because we do not necessarily look at where we are trying to get to but we look at the problems that exist. The ability of the Mayor's Office and the GLA could be to push towards saying, "Let us look at where we want to get to and how we get there". That helps bring about some of that partnership working and is a really important role that can be played.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): Perhaps supporting some of that research and evaluation work would be helpful. There is a lot of discussion that goes on across councils as a licensing group that is pan-London, but nobody ever really pulls together what is happening in all the different places and looks to see what the real impacts have been. That is part of the reason why we have gone down the route of trying to get an academic partner because it does concern you. You do want to know, particularly around health because that is the big thing for us in our borough. We still have a really high incidence of death and alcohol-related ill health and understanding how we can start reducing some of that is important.

Kemi Badenoch AM: It sounds like there is a general consensus that a pan-London strategy would be very useful in addressing quite a few things. I know that the Greater Manchester Devolution Agreement means that they are looking a little more joined-up not just within their local authorities but also with the NHS. Do you know of any other regions that are doing that and would it be the kind of thing that you would want to see in a London-wide strategy?

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager - Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): Nottinghamshire is doing quite a lot through the Local Alcohol Action Areas project that the Home Office announced with 20 areas of focus [on tackling alcohol related harm and diversifying the night time economy]. Greater Manchester was one of those areas. That has been quite a good project for bringing together the relevant parties and sometimes looking at a wider area where that makes sense. A few areas, rather than just having a town, a local authority area or a city, have done what comes most naturally to that area whether it is county-wide or the whole of Greater Manchester. That has been quite an interesting project for looking at some of those approaches.

Kemi Badenoch AM: Janice, how much work does MOPAC do with local boroughs to highlight what is going on in this area?

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): I do not think there is a great amount. Our own involvement would tend to just be around the fact that it knows that we do some quite progressive things. We do talk to people and they sometimes give other people our contact, but there is not a great amount that we do with MOPAC around licensing.

Kemi Badenoch AM: OK. My last question is something that I made a note of when we were talking about the 'drunk tanks'. I am not sure that that is what we would call them, but I was quite interested that you mentioned that this was a health-related issue and not an enforcement one. What percentage of people who are either 'drunk and disorderly' or 'drunk and incapable' do you think would fall into the health category and require health treatment?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): I do not know but there is some really good evaluation that has been done by a guy called Paul Evans, who is an Assistant Chief Constable up in Wiltshire, looking at welfare centres. There has been quite a lot of evaluation. What they effectively do is they triage people. They will separate out those who are likely to go on and commit criminality or have been committing criminality - the police deal with those - and those who are under the influence of alcohol to the extent that they need medical intervention. There has been some evaluation in terms of the savings these have provided to both the police and health, but the key bit is that the cost of providing it has to still be met by health and police. It is about how you can recover some of those costs.

Kemi Badenoch AM: That is probably what the thinking behind that idea was: that there must be a proportion of costs that can be recovered via the individuals themselves. Having something, whether we call it a drunk tank, a treatment centre or whatever, where the individual is paying for the police time and health time that is being used, would you like to see something like that? If not, why not?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Yes is the answer. There has to be a consequence. There are some opportunities, a bit like we do with the speed awareness courses. You get the treatment but then you get a fine, which you can offset if you go on an alcohol awareness course. The biggest challenge will always be overcoming that health will not charge for it because of the principle that health is free at the point of use. We can administer fixed penalty notices but I am not sure that is going to change their behaviour longer-term unless you make it a significant amount of money, and then it becomes --

Kemi Badenoch AM: No, it would not. The deterrent effect is probably just one of several things. In the climate we are in now, where we are constantly talking about savings and becoming more efficient, maybe finding private sponsors for things like that could be another --

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Possibly. We have certainly been talking to the Behavioural Insights Team - the 'Nudge Unit' - at the Cabinet Office to look at some ideas and some proper evidence-based approaches to try to change people's behaviour. It is how you do it. On the whole discussion about units, nobody understands units. It does not make sense. Maybe you could make it an equivalent to calories. People get that. Drinking a large glass of wine is the equivalent of half of your daily intake. All of that changes their behaviour. I definitely think there are some opportunities with the Behavioural Insights Team to look at how we can change behaviour in a way that reduces consumption and does not allow people to get into a position where they are incapable.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: Just a quick supplementary to that. I know we are concentrating on crime in the public space and so on but one of the things that has not been mentioned is what I would call 'child protection' and the number of teenagers who are underage who are drinking and who get into trouble.

Does that pose a particular challenge for the police and public services in terms of tackling it? It is not unusual, is it, for a group of 15 year-olds, inexperienced at drinking, to go over the top and get into big trouble? By definition, they are breaking the law anyway.

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): That is the harm piece again, is it not? Young people drinking alcohol underage is not only harmful to their development but puts them into situations where they become vulnerable as offenders or perpetrators. I have been interested to know – and colleagues will probably have greater knowledge on the statistics – that the number of young people drinking heavily is going down significantly, but what we are finding is that the small group who still do are drinking more. There is a small group of young people who do drink to excess and we absolutely should be doing more to try to help them and support them.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: What can you mobilise to intervene there?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): I suppose it is really about trying to find what they call ‘teachable moments’ when is the opportunity to engage with them and give them those messages and when it is really important. There is certainly an opportunity for education at that point when you can speak to young people. When they do come into contact with any of the agencies, do we have the right messages to give them? Are they receptive? I know that in Lambeth they do a lot of work with young gang offenders in that ‘teachable moment’ when they are in the cell. That is the intervention opportunity. That is when we have to look at opportunities to put intervention in at that stage.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: What about holding the parents to account?

Commander Simon Letchford (Metropolitan Police Service): Absolutely.

Janice Hart (Service Director – Public Protection, London Borough of Islington): We did a very successful piece of work that was under the Community Alcohol Partnership heading. I do not know if you have heard about that but that is the three-pronged approach where you work with businesses, you work with young people and you also work with parents around awareness of underage drinking and how you can tackle it. To our mind, if there was a fee structure that changed, that is the sort of thing that you could fund that you have had to lose now.

There is also that problem-solving approach. If the police are dealing with an issue like that, building in licensing and trading standards in our area, we then would do test purchasing and we also would be speaking to them. Then that would all come together so that we are dealing with the supplier as much as the young people.

Daisy Blench (Policy Manager - Alcohol Policy and Responsibility, British Beer and Pub Association): Just briefly on that, Community Alcohol Partnerships are a really great initiative. They are run by the Retail of Alcohol Standards Group, which is the major retailers and some of the producers. The difficulty with that core group that Simon [Letchford] mentioned is that the vast majority are not buying it themselves; they are being given it by parents or peers. The trade has done and will continue to do a lot on this issue because it does not do operators any favours to have underage selling as a big issue. We want to reduce that; eradicate it. It is that kind of group that are being given alcohol from other sources, which is a challenge.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Thank you very much. That ‘teachable moment’ is also when they are hospitalised into A&E. There is a whole issue that I have been talking about with youth workers in

A&E. I met one from St Thomas's yesterday but it is just him plus one other person to deal with all of the young people coming in with injuries and so on. If the fees change, you could look at how you could fund wider things that would support that.

That was very interesting. Thank you so much for your evidence this morning. It has been really helpful in our consideration on this issue. If there are things when you go away that you wish you had mentioned or if there is a report or Daisy - you mentioned a couple of things - or something you just want to send in to us, please do send them to our Committee staff.

Police and Crime Committee – 14 January 2016

Transcript of Agenda Item 5 – The Impact of Alcohol on Policing London's Night-Time Economy

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): We now move on to our main item of business. This is the second session that we will have looking at the impact of alcohol on London's night-time economy, with particular regard to crime and policing.

Can I welcome our guests today? We have Graeme Gordon, Interim Director of Services and Commissioning at the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC). Welcome, Graeme. We have Samantha Cunningham, Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods at MOPAC. Welcome, Samantha. We have Philip Clifford, Policy Manager at London Councils. Welcome, Philip.

I am going to start off, if I can, with just some general questions to try to set the scene. To all of you, based on your experience, how significant a challenge is alcohol-fuelled crime in London? Particularly, you could say what you believe is the impact it has, firstly, on the police and secondly, how the level of alcohol-impacted crime has changed over the last few years.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Clearly, there is a growing evidence base about the significance of alcohol as a driver of offending.

We were interested in the Institute of Alcohol Studies' survey, which the Committee itself sponsored and which came up with some really interesting headline statistics. Police officers spent, on average, half of their time dealing with alcohol-related casework. That was one finding. Three-quarters of respondents had received an injury while dealing with a drunken member of the public. That was another. Those are very significant statistics.

There are also significant national statistics. In the 2013/14 Office of National Statistics (ONS) data release, 53% of violent incidents involving adults were found to be alcohol-related. It is a significant driver of offending.

The one thing I would add in this overview is that London is disproportionately affected. If you look at the analysis undertaken by Public Health England, which took into account the level of crime linked to the drinking of alcohol in the population, the findings show that there was a rate of 11.05 per 1,000 in London affected by alcohol-related crime compared to 6.45 per 1,000 nationally.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): Almost double.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Almost double; quite a significant difference.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): Are there any reasons for that difference, other than the size of London, I suppose?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): One can conjecture. Certainly we have a very significant population here. Beyond that, it would be conjecture.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): OK. Does anybody else want to add to that opening statement?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): Just across London, there are clearly variations between boroughs. The Borough of Havering, even though it has Romford, has a very different night-time economy from central London and Westminster in particular. Again, we could conjecture that some of the crimes and spikes we see in the concentrated West End zone are simply because not only of the population but people and tourists travel from all over England and all over the world to enjoy the night-time economy there. We get clusters of hotspots across London and that shapes how boroughs perceive the challenge and how much of a burden it is for the police in terms of tackling it.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: Chair, can I just go back to Graeme? Once you had looked at the global statistics, did you then go to the next level and seek to see – it was really what Philip brought in – the variations? You can always just tick or dismiss statistics by saying, “It is higher in London”, and then people come up with the dynamics of London. Does that help to move the thing on? If you are able to then go to the next level and speak of that in terms of the location, which would have commonalities with – I do not know Newcastle and so let me just say – Newcastle or wherever, would that not give us a better understanding about the drivers or the dynamics of the relationship between alcohol, health and crime?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): That variability across London is absolutely right and is a point very well made by Philip. Sam, do you want to say a little bit about how we go down to the next level in the data?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): Yes. As we go forward we will talk a little bit more about specific crime types associated with alcohol, but one of the key indicators for us is around violence, particularly low-level disorder, which I know was talked about quite a lot at the last meeting on 3 December 2015. We have done some quite specific work about understanding particularly the increase in violence with injury (VWI) in London and how that is linked to the night-time economy.

Taking Philip’s point about the variations across London, we have looked at that down to a borough level and then down within boroughs to understand what the contributions might be. That is very interesting because you see two main things in London. You see the point that Philip was making about central London and tourists – quite frankly, a consistent problem. Then you have other areas in London that are changing in terms of their local economies and what that might mean as a contributing factor.

We did that work last summer and had some specific conversations with four boroughs in London specifically around VWI but where we were also clear that the data was telling us that there was a link to the night-time economy. We accepted that one of those would be Westminster because of the nature of central London, but we were also talking with Croydon, Lambeth and Southwark, for example, where we are seeing changes in some of the night-time economies and development in those boroughs, which changes where we see incidents with alcohol.

We do have the ability to drill down and we very regularly do that and share those products with local Community Safety Partnerships and joint licensing teams to help support them in terms of the endeavours that they are taking on.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): That was very helpful. Would it be possible that you could send us after the meeting some of the findings from that to us? That would be very helpful.

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): Absolutely.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): Thank you. Philip, in the last session we had and also today we are going to predominantly talk about the effect on policing, but it obviously has challenges for local authorities as well. Would you briefly like to outline what challenges alcohol-fuelled crime poses for local authorities?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): It is important to recognise the less-obvious forms of alcohol-fuelled crime: domestic violence, drink-driving and even – it sounds unglamorous – counterfeit alcohol sales. That takes up a lot of time with 73% of local authority trading standards and is an enormous hidden burden, I guess, of crime. The visible stuff picks up on high streets and the various hotspots, but the below-the-radar stuff – for example, domestic violence and the relationship between that – can play out and cause challenges for boroughs that are not quite so visible and do not get picked up.

More generally, you get areas not only geographically but also the time of evening in terms of transport, in terms of connectivity, when people coalesce after sporting events or other entertainment events. It is one of those problems that affects people visibly in terms of where the real entertainment is but, for example, you look at the licensing around pubs. Anywhere there is a pub, basically, there is the potential for something to happen. It is one of those things where local authorities find themselves challenged in a different way, not only dealing with the visible crime and the less-visible crime, but also the challenge of actually balancing the management of their night-time economy with pressure from businesses and the people who want to go out and enjoy themselves, and also the public health aspect and the public order aspect as well. They find themselves facing a wide spectrum of challenges as well as the obvious with people fighting on the streets or public disorder of other forms.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): We are going to ask questions later on about licensing and so forth. On the whole, do London Councils approach the issue of alcohol-fuelled crime as a health or a crime and disorder issue?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): It is an interesting one. We primarily look at it as a crime and disorder issue but, in that, we draw heavily on the local experiences of boroughs and we work through our networks, like the London Health and Community Safety Network, and also bilaterally with MOPAC to pick up issues as and when they arise.

It is fair to say that we do not have a strategic focus on alcohol-fuelled crime at London Councils across London, but what is interesting is the recent advice of the Chief Medical Officer about how there is, essentially, no safe limit for alcohol. How that potentially will shift the conversation nationally – and we do have a public health team that does have a public health remit and oversight – and how it would be interesting to see, having spoken to colleagues in response to this Assembly's inquiry, how that dialogue shifts within London Councils.

It is crime at the moment, usually bilaterally, but possibly a shift increasingly to public health and more complex understandings of what drives alcoholism and alcohol-fuelled crime from a public health perspective.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): I know that each borough will do things differently, but do you have a sense that community safety units based at local authorities are linking up with their public health partners?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): I think it is variable. It is not just community safety. One borough might have a very specific view about alcohol as part of a night-time economy and will very much look at it as managing that economy in a prism and everything else falls out of it. Other boroughs I have spoken to have a more licensing focus and it is very much about regulation. Others will be making the connection between licensing, community safety and public health.

I happen to have a comprehensive view. Some boroughs are better than others at joining up, but it is variable and I do not think everyone is making the connection at the moment.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): Samantha, you and Graeme were nodding at that point.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Yes. I would just add in general terms that both from a National Health Service (NHS) organisational perspective and from a Public Health England perspective as well, there is a key interest in alcohol as a causer of harm. Obviously, we are coming from a community safety aspect on this, but for a health professional it is part of that wider harm question.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): In the research that you have done, have you come across any boroughs that you think perhaps operate best practice that should be shared with others about how they internally organise and make those links?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): There is a difference as well between Graeme's point in terms of looking at the collective work between public health and broader community safety issues around the question of harm in boroughs, and how that work is progressing alongside what boroughs might be doing collectively around licensing and the night-time economy. It is one of the challenges about bringing those two things together and it is a very difficult thing to do.

There is some very good practice in boroughs, particularly, for example, I would say Westminster because it has to because of the level of demand, but it has co-located licensing teams, it has clear stress-area policies and it is clear in terms of how it is using the data and how that is driving shared operational responses on the ground. There are others that are operating in similar ways to Westminster where they have the level of demand that requires that. There are elements of best practice there.

I was also nodding because I think there are strong elements of good practice around shared budgets between public health and broader community safety initiatives around more dependent drinkers and the links between alcohol and substance misuse more generally. It is increasingly important that we do not just look at alcohol as 'the' factor that is contributing to the night-time economy or to violence, but the complex issues for the individuals in terms of alcohol and broader substance misuse are being well taken into account by some boroughs.

For example, I would draw attention to somewhere like Greenwich, where the investment around the public health team there locally is huge with regards to domestic violence, broader violence against women and girls issues and harm more generally with regards to substance misuse in its totality. There are some very good examples out there.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): Fine. We might come across that later on when we talk about licensing.

Samantha, can I ask you? MOPAC has said that alcohol is a key driver of crime and reoffending, but also it has said that it is not possible to accurately monitor alcohol-based crime. We heard in the last session that officers attending incidents do not necessarily flag on the system whether something is alcohol-related or not. How accurate an assessment do you think we have of the scale of this issue?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): The challenge around accuracy is about using multiple sources of data and combining those together to see what picture that gives us.

What we have is a number of different data sources, all of which are subjective. What we have from the police system is subjectivity in terms of the arresting officer. What we know from the Community Rehabilitation Company (CRC) and National Probation Service (NPS) - probation-based data - is that that is subject to the perception of the offender in terms of what they are saying their needs and issues are. Equally, then, we have broader surveys - the British Crime Survey, etc - that will be talking not just but predominantly from a victim's perspective with their view of the involvement of alcohol.

The challenge for us, which is what we are working on, is how we overlay all of that data to understand what trends and what picture that is giving us.

The piece that is very interesting, in my view, is that it is often easier to understand the impact after the event and look at it once somebody has been charged and is going through the criminal justice system. With the changes with Transforming Rehabilitation, the confidence that we can have in that data - as they are now doing those assessments with all offenders - it will be a relatively new source of information that we have about the prevalence of alcohol with regards to offending behaviour.

The challenge for us is to continue to work with local areas to overlay that data and to support them to do that so that it helps to drive their local responses and commissioning, and at a regional level to think about how we use some of those new data sources as they come in to make sure that that broadens our understanding.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): If I could follow up on that, there are some quite interesting statistics from that NPS/CRC source, which is the probation area. We had 26% of the people passing through probation - this is as of November 2015 - identifying themselves as having an alcohol issue, but 35% of the prolific high-harm offenders. You can see that disproportionality there. Interestingly, it was only 21% of the youth cohort of 18-to-25-year-olds. It seems to be potentially a smaller problem in that younger adult cohort than it is in the older offenders.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): OK. Is there anything, Philip, that you think local authorities could do to improve the reliability of data?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): To echo my point previously, some boroughs - Westminster, and I also mentioned Havering - have a much better grip on the data and have a much stronger sense of their economy and their management of night-time activity.

In terms of strategic cross-borough datasets, we look to the MPS and to MOPAC to square that up for any decisions, but boroughs generally have a pretty good feel for their town centres and what is going on and also in following through on some of the community interventions around domestic violence and around getting people into work to get a level of understanding - for example, with the Troubled Families programme - on a case-by-case basis of the role alcohol plays in keeping people distant from the employment market or child protection or other social issues.

When you get to the local authorities, you are talking about two different types of data. You have the sense of place and also the people. Both of those will be more or less transparent to the wider outsider inspection.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: Just to go back to Samantha, I wonder if you can help me because I was not clear when you talked about some of the data being so subjective that it was a problem. I would have thought that with good data-gathering and if you had your systems right you could actually differentiate depending on the question or depending on what it is you are wanting an answer to. I was not clear on what you meant by your last answer.

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): That is fine. One of the key points that came out of the last meeting that you had in terms of the response from Commander Letchford [MPS] was the right one from a policing data perspective and was that it is a non-mandatory field. In terms of what is flagged on the police system, it requires the arresting officer to make a judgement as to whether or not alcohol was involved in the incident. That ultimately means that it is subjective. They are taking a view as to the extent to which alcohol was present or not.

Equally, with probation data, when they sit down with an offender and ask them about a collection of their needs - what they feel as an individual might be driving or causal to their offending behaviour - ultimately the view they are getting is one from the offender as to whether or not they think alcohol does or does not play a part. As helpful as that information is, it is not necessarily complete because one offender may feel that they drink but it does not have an impact on their offending behaviour; another may be very clear that they have a level of dependency that is playing itself out in terms of their offending.

Equally, in terms of asking victims, a victim of domestic violence may perceive that alcohol does have a significant impact on the frequency of those incidents and another may see it as just something that happens in the home but is not necessarily a direct trigger of the behaviour.

My key point was that each of those elements is subject to somebody's opinion. Our job is to bring all of that together to ensure that we not cancel out but that we use all of those variations to look at it from a more cohesive perspective.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: Yes. I think I understand what you are saying. My concern is that when you are trying to get to the nub of something, especially with my experience of police services and what-have-you, so much is dismissed because we go back to the subjectivity of the officer. An officer's decision is part and parcel of their practice. Do you see what I mean? I do not see how it is a problem when it comes to this that it is an officer's subjective view that alcohol was related to this person's practice because, further down the line, it will be tested whether or not the alcohol level in the body was high or what-have-you. Do you see what I mean? It seems just a little bit clouded what you are saying, almost like the thing is overly difficult to deal with.

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): It is just because it is not a mandatory field that does not require every officer to record in it. One of the key points that was made at the last meeting was that there is not a clear definition of what would be described as alcohol being present at an incident. That does not mean that the information we have is not valuable or in any circumstances not valid. It just means that it may not necessarily be representing the whole problem and that it is not considered in a consistent way at different times of day and across different incidents.

It is still very valid information. Some of the data that we have when there have been studies done asking police officers versus utilising MPS data shows that variation and difference because we picked up a greater number of police officers saying that alcohol was present when asked as opposed to those that are flagged on the system. It is valid information and is interesting and it is important to be assessed and used, but it is not consistent because there is not that definition for a mandatory field.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: Thank you.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): One of the suggestions that we put last time to the police was that, if officers felt that alcohol was involved in an incident, they could breathalyse the person. It is standard when you have a road traffic incident. Why on earth can they not do it as a matter of course if they think alcohol is involved? Do you have a response to that?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): What I was picking up from the police was the challenge of what exactly you are doing it for and then what you do with a positive versus a negative result. In the context of road traffic accidents, it is a determinant factor in the crime itself.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): There is legislation enabling it as well.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): There is legislation, yes. I guess the question would be, if you were going to breathalyse suspects, what would be the trigger for that and what would you then do with the outcome of that?

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): At least you would know. At least you would have a database and you would have some statistics so that you could assess how much alcohol influences the level of crime. I will come on to this in a minute, but it is not only high-level crime. It is not only things like domestic violence, fights and so on. It is also about low-level disorder, people being frightened to go out on their street at night, fouling of streets and things like that. At least you would have some statistics to base your work on.

Samantha, I was going to come to MOPAC's strategic role in alcohol-fuelled crime. How would you describe MOPAC's strategic role?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): I will turn to Graeme first and then --

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Could I just give you some headlines and then we will come back to Samantha?

MOPAC has four key strategic roles. One is supporting local areas and that is through the publication of dashboards and deep-dive analyses and enabling local areas to commission alcohol and drug misuse services. Those have totalled around £20 million over the past four years for commissioning.

Secondly, it is recognising alcohol as a factor in all of the MOPAC seven priority neighbourhood crimes and making sure that our approach to alcohol is mainstreamed into our approach to tackling those crimes.

Thirdly, it is improving data-sharing between hospitals and the police to grow our understanding of what is behind levels of violence in the city.

Fourthly, it is to pilot innovations around alcohol-related crime, be that alcohol abstinence monitoring, be that the breathalysers piloted in Croydon. We may go into some more detail on those later on.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): It is interesting about this data-sharing that you mentioned because, of course, if it is data that has absolutely no validity in terms of a statistical base, what is the point in sharing it?

Anyway, MOPAC has focused quite closely on VWI in its assessment of alcohol-fuelled crime. What is the specific reason for that?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): There are two key facts there that are important to consider. What we know is that out of the MOPAC seven crimes, the one that has been increasing is VWI. We have seen in the last year a 6.5% increase in VWI, which has triggered – and rightly so – an in-depth analysis of what sits behind that and what VWI looks like in London.

One of the key things that we have been made aware of by doing that analysis is that we can see that there is a high link between alcohol, the night-time economy and VWI. Part of the focus has been – and Graeme [Gordon] made this point earlier – that we, for example, know from the British Crime Survey of 2013/14 that 53% of adults involved in crime stated that alcohol was present and that was in relation to violence incidents. Therefore, we are really clear that violence is increasing. We have done work around understanding how to break that down. It is the point I made earlier about where that is happening in London and what it is linked to. That is why we have taken a focus – not a complete focus because we have not run through all of our areas of priority and work – on understanding the links between alcohol and violence, predominantly.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): That is with domestic violence as well? Is that included?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): Yes.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Thank you. Philip, you have covered this a little bit, but what are boroughs saying is the greatest impact on them of alcohol-fuelled crime?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): Again, to look at it in terms of the public perspective, they will highlight the public disorder stuff, which upsets residents who do not partake in the night-time economy. There is a minority that spoils both the moderate drinking of alcohol and also the public environment for others and so there are place-management issues. There are also the people issues, the domestic violence and the stuff that sits below the radar. They both create their own challenges. It is the public-facing stuff – the violence in the pubs, the disorder on the streets – that creates difficulties of perception and difficulties of people's experience of place, and also the people-related crimes and the local authorities putting teams together to help people through instances of domestic violence or other kinds of crime.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): It is some of the things I mentioned earlier like residents being less confident about going outside in the evenings. It seems to me that if we are talking about the night-time economy being a good thing, then you have to assess it properly. You have to make sure that your assessment is a valid one. If you are not taking into account the fact that you might have extra street-cleaning services, that your borough police staffing schedules will be completely screwed up because you have to have more people on duty in the early hours of the morning and so on, they are all impacts. Are you financially assessing those negative impacts?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): I would say that the data is not particularly good. I know that Westminster commissioned some research in the year just gone to look at particularly the night-time economy in Westminster. One of the key points was getting a proper economic understanding of the financial benefits and also the costs of the night-time economy. Westminster was one of their primary points.

There is anecdotal evidence. With local authority budgets, they will be aware how much they spend on street cleaning and looking after licensing. However, that kind of strategic intelligence for assigning a cost to the neighbourhood disruption or looking at it more systematically is still nascent in a lot of areas. Data is one of the key bits.

Particularly, one of the struggles in the more popular areas is mapping the flow of people. If you think about the West End, people will move from one borough to another. I think you are going to come on to local stuff like the night-time levy. If that is in one borough but is not in another borough, people will be displaced. Tracking the impact across borough lines is something that is, again, pretty nascent at the moment.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Are boroughs looking at the intangibles, things like residents' confidence about the area and their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with streets being fouled?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): Certainly they are looking at managing the town centre experience. It is there for everybody. It is there for not just people who visit but a lot of people who go out in the evening who might visit from elsewhere and then we have to deal with the consequences, to be blunt. They are alive to the concerns of residents in terms of having a place that has a strong night-time economy but is also a place for the people who live there from all walks of life to enjoy, I guess.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Samantha, MOPAC's written submission says that its Crime Dashboard helps to understand the potential relationship between the night-time economy and violence. Tell us about this relationship.

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): In terms of the Dashboard, that is the starting point for what I referred to earlier in terms of the deep-dive into which areas of London may have a disproportionate impact on levels of violence and where we see that associated with the night-time economy. The Dashboard provides a regional picture of what is happening in the 32 areas around violence. Fundamentally, it is our starting point within which we would then take further analysis.

The point earlier when I said I would share the data from the findings of that work is probably the critical point. The Dashboard gives us an indication as to whether or not we have two particular boroughs or four particular boroughs that are having a disproportionate impact on increases or decreases around VWI. That gives us the trigger to go into those areas, have a local conversation and look at the data in more depth. That is exactly what was done last year around those four areas that I referred to. The Dashboard does not give you a breakdown of every borough in terms of a temporal and spatial analysis but it gives you a really clear starting point, using the same data across London, as to where we should draw our attentions and do more detailed work.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): The Mayor is promoting the night-time economy, but at the same time it is obviously the Mayor's aim to reduce violent crime and so on. Do you think that this can be done and that both of these two things can be achieved?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): One of the points that Philip [Clifford] made earlier was a really important one and something that Graeme [Gordon] referred to in terms of our strategic response was how local areas are managing their place and the people within the borough. For example, within Westminster – and I know that [the London Borough of] Islington gave evidence at the last meeting as well – there are two very good examples where it has taken that data and looked at a range of services in terms of how it manages its place.

My view is that by good partnership at a local level, by putting the resources in the right place at the right time and by using the right information, you can get a balance between managing an effective night-time economy and reducing increased levels of risk and harm. There has to be acceptance in some night-time economies – for example, in Westminster – that you will be seeing different people all of the time and that flow is really important. In other boroughs, they have a residents-based problem because they do not have such a high number of tourists. My view is that with good data and good support from regional agencies to the local as well, they have the resources that they need to make some decisions that enable them to manage their places effectively.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): I am very concerned that the information is so nebulous in some areas that you cannot make a proper assessment. This is something that MOPAC is going to have to work on with its facts and figures. Sorry, did you want to come back?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): One of the things that is important to make is the distinction between what we can understand on a regional level in terms of data and what local areas can understand. That is an important point. Philip [Clifford] made a good point earlier in terms of trading standards information, noise information and street-cleaning information. Having worked in a local area, those sources of information are extremely valuable in terms of understanding the impact of disorder, particularly low-level disorder, within the context of the night-time economy.

I agree that there is a challenge around the subjectivity of the broader data that we talked about, but we do have to be somewhat reliant upon local areas to provide that information because we would not have that from a regional perspective for 32 areas. The challenge is where the data sits and how we bring that together.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): It is also the quality of the data. That is my main point. The quality of data is so poor. I just do not know how you can really believe any assessment that you are making.

Philip, let me ask you. Do you feel that MOPAC could be doing anything else to support councils in trying to balance the night-time economy boost – if there is one – and reducing alcohol-fuelled violence?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): It is a complicated issue. There are some boroughs that are very much of the view – for example, on licensing or even on managing their night-time economies – that they have it under control and have a pretty firm grip on the partnership working that is required. I will again mention Havering. It won a Problem Oriented Partnerships award for this. They will have good relationships with the business community.

It is worth picking up also the role of businesses and the exposure that they have to alcohol-related crime. There is a very strong sense from some of the areas with more active night-time economies like Kingston. In its Business Improvement District (BID) the clubs there are very alive to the idea of getting a reputation for being a place where crime might happen and not wanting that reputation. Part of that is about bringing them into the conversation.

There are some boroughs that feel they have it under wraps. I am from a local authority membership organisation. I would not be able to get out of the room without saying about the cost pressures affecting local authorities and looking at the cost pressures around licensing. Licensing fees have not gone up for ten years and there is potentially a role that MOPAC could play in supporting an argument around freedom for funding flexibility on licensing. Also, if we took it a little further to a London-wide licensing model, there are some boroughs that would be up for that. I need to be very clear: not every borough will be in that space. There is an opportunity to understand what MOPAC would want and how far it would want to go down that route or what the offer would be, but there is potentially some flexibility around that.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): If I could just add to what Philip has said, MOPAC sees its role very much as supporting local areas to work effectively between local authorities and the police on licensing issues. We are very supportive of BIDs and the support that they can provide in this context. Members will be aware that there is a Business Crime Change Board that was implemented as part of the Mayor's Business Crime Strategy. What it can do to support businesses to look at alcohol-related issues is part of that work programme.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Just very quickly, Philip, last time we had a meeting on this we heard from retailers, who were saying that sales were not up but were just spread over a longer time period. Is that something that you recognise?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): Yes, that is something that I definitely have picked up from talking to boroughs and --

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): There is not actually an economic lift? That is the obvious --

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): From alcohol sales, do you mean? Part of it is not just to look at alcohol as the full driver of the night-time economy. You are right that there is a stretching out. Some of our concerns around the 24-hour Tube are about that. When does the cut-off point happen?

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Worries about what?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): It is just that you have a longer tail into the night and potentially it goes back to the flow of people, the displacement and the local approach that local authorities take to licensing and regulation. You will get a longer tail and a shift to areas when other places have closed down. There is a bit of mobility there and a question there and something that is worth considering.

It is partly perception. It is partly important that local authorities do not see all alcohol consumption as wrong. It is very specific overconsumption and there is something within that when you are dealing with the fallout from a small subset of people who overindulge. While there may not be a specific lift from extending the opening hours, it is part of the way that places like to see themselves as having a particular night-time economy, "You can pitch up and get a drink here", or, "We do not want to have that environment here". It is part of the wider package of managing the place and the perceptions around the area.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Thank you. Thanks very much.

Tony Arbour AM: I am very interested to raise, before going on to the specific questions I will ask, that it is a very frequent experience when you are sitting in court and there is mitigation for pretty well every criminal offence that you can imagine for counsel for the defendant to say, "I had actually had something to drink", as

though that somehow or another is some sort of mitigation. The figures you have been talking about relate to the effect of alcohol, if you like, from an objective view. You are assessing whether or not people have been drinking.

Has anybody ever thought of asking offenders what part they thought drink played in them committing an offence? I suspect that a very high number of people would do so. Do you think that that is something that should perhaps be explored? You could ask people themselves whether they think that drink was influential in them committing a crime.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): My view is that in the context of offender rehabilitation, yes, it is a question worth asking because the whole process of rehabilitation is about uncovering and challenging behaviours that contribute to patterns of offending.

Tony Arbour AM: OK. It was just a thought. I have seen it many times and there is the pat thing. They say, "Of course, it is not an alibi and it is not an excuse, but it is one of the reasons I did it", as though somehow or another drink is OK. There clearly needs to be some way in which people can be disabused. In fact, drink ought to be an aggravating thing, not something that acts as an excuse. Anyway, if I go to the specific things I have been asked to do, this is the efficacy of the 'sobriety tag'. I wonder, Samantha. Why did MOPAC think that this would be a good thing?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): It was on three levels, really. The first was around need. The second was around opportunity. The third was around evidence.

We have talked quite a lot about need today so far in terms of the links that are made between alcohol acting as a factor around crime and so that is self-evident.

In terms of opportunity, there was an opportunity through legislation to look for mandatory alcohol testing as part of the follow-up for offenders, which links to your previous question.

The final point around evidence was that there was good evidence from the United States about the impact of alcohol testing and the use of sobriety tags with regards to compliance. There was an opportunity from all of that.

The important thing about sobriety is that we needed to understand how we might impact both on the low-level disorder as well as on what we see as dependent drinkers. There is a difference between those two things in terms of what the solutions might be. We see sobriety very much as being focused on as an opportunity to tackle the lower-level disorder issues around alcohol and is not seen to be an appropriate solution for dependent drinkers.

Tony Arbour AM: You obviously think that the thing works and I guess from that that you want to extend the pilot?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): We introduced an initial pilot in July 2014, which was successful in the sense that we conducted a process evaluation and what we found from that was that the judiciary is using it - that is a really important piece - and has been very engaged in the programme. We were at the end of the initial 12-month pilot in a position where we had 113 individuals who had been tagged and we achieved a 92% compliance rate. In terms of a form of disposal, it is a good indication of the success of that.

From that point, we extended the pilot until the 29th of this month. During that time, we have continued to see the same level of success. As things stand at the moment, we have 145 people tagged for sobriety and we are still holding at a 92% compliance rate. It is a good indication, first and foremost, that it is being used and that the judiciary is seeing this as another tool in the toolbox with which to respond to the problem that we have talked about today, but certainly not seeing it as the solution to alcohol crime because it is only one factor that may be used. We are very pleased with those as process evaluation findings.

What we are really clear on is that we have not worked with enough offenders yet to be able to make any conclusions with regards to the impact of the tagging on future reoffending behaviour. Equally, the time lag in itself would not enable us at the moment to do that because it takes generally 18 months until you get conviction data on which you would have solid evidence to base such findings.

With all that taken into account, we are having very good conversations at the moment with the Ministry of Justice about how we continue the pilot and look to expand it across London. One of the things I was going to ask is if it would be possible for us to do a formal update to you in February 2016 about what the future of the sobriety programme will look like.

Tony Arbour AM: On the face of it, it is incredibly successful. Did I hear you say 98%?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): I said 92%.

Tony Arbour AM: Close but no cigar.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): Have you not tagged anyone?

Jenny Jones AM: Have you not done it as a Magistrate?

Tony Arbour AM: No. In relation to this incredibly high apparent success rate, I am not a cynic but a cynic might say that you have chosen the easy subjects. How, therefore, have you decided who the appropriate people are to be tagged?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): That is on two factors, really: eligibility and suitability to the pilot.

In terms of eligibility, it is basic facts. They have to be resident within the four boroughs in which we are running the pilots. That is really important.

The second bit is in terms of suitability. Fundamentally, it is quite a drawn-out process but there is an audit tool that is used by probation as part of developing the pre-sentence report and they put forward options and suggestions about what the judiciary might do through sentencing. By using that tool, they have to score under 20, which means that they have to demonstrate that they are not a dependent drinker and are therefore suitable for the use of the tag. They are the two ways in which the pool of individuals is selected in terms of the use of the tag.

What is interesting for me with that is that that in a sense determines what offences we are seeing coming through as a result of the sobriety. The offence itself is not something that makes you suitable; it is about your level and use of alcohol and therefore the risk that needs to be determined. Fundamentally, what we are

seeing is low-level disorder/violence, which is the type of stuff that we have talked quite a lot about, and drink-driving. They are the two main offences.

It is also worthwhile me saying that, as I said before, dependent drinkers were not included and also domestic violence was not included as part of the pilot for a number of different reasons. At this stage, because it was small scale and we were testing the process of it and the use of it, it seemed to be the right course of action.

Tony Arbour AM: Can I ask you, Philip? On the basis of what you have heard and the basis of what you know about this, is this something that you think that should be rolled out and encouraged by London Councils?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): From what I have seen of the pilot, it certainly looks like it is very interesting and would be very interesting to explore in the future. What would be even more useful for the local authorities would be to connect up the pilot to actual interventions on the ground that the local authorities could undertake. However, as it stands, from what I have seen, it looks like a very interesting and very successful pilot and I await further evaluation of the pilot in the coming months.

Tony Arbour AM: I wonder if I can throw another question, really, to all of you. What are your views on the introduction of 'drunk tanks'?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Yes. I read with interest the transcript of your last meeting in which 'drunk tanks' came up. I would tend to defer to the operational expertise of the police in how best to manage the problem of public drunkenness on an operational level. As your police witness said, there may be approaches that are different from either taking people into custody or taking people to hospital, but we would need to work through very carefully what the implications and the risks were of managing people outside a more standardised healthcare setting, I suppose.

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): Again, relying on the evidence from Westminster conducted in the last year, there has been some evidence of off-street treatment offers within the economy to allow people to cool down and to sober up. I do not know. From London Councils' view, there probably is not concrete evidence as to their efficacy or otherwise, but it is certainly an interesting idea.

Tony Arbour AM: On the face of it, it is infinitely cheaper than dragging them off to hospital, is it not? That must be good for London Councils: anything that is cheaper.

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): Yes, but the specific pilot that Westminster carried out found it not to be cheaper. The costs were marginal but it was the number of people. There was something specific around the pilot in Westminster about the location of the treatment centre and people's access to it and its use. If it is going to work, it relies on more factors than just having a 'drunk tank' or non-hospital treatment centre. People have to be able to get to it and people have to be able to use it and there is something more strategic about that.

Tony Arbour AM: Do you have a view at all on that, Samantha?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): I was just thinking about whether I should add, actually, that I was partly responsible for the commissioning of that in Westminster when I used to work there.

What was interesting about it was the challenge that Graeme referred to around fundamentally operational policing. That pilot in Westminster was predominantly health-led and there were challenges around the location, but more fundamentally there were challenges around it not acting as a honeypot. One of the challenges we had was that we had people, therefore, outside the location. We were holding individuals inside and then there was a real challenge for health professionals around whether or not the assessment of the level of risk and harm was the right one that was being made. That question of dependent drinkers is always a very important one. Actually, from a policing perspective, there was a bit of a need for them to start policing the location in terms of the number of the individuals outside. There were place-management challenges that came with that.

Having said that, it was not run for a particularly long period of time. I agree with Philip that it was almost a one-off experience. You would be needing to look at evidence in more detail.

Tony Arbour AM: It is an interesting description that it should be described as a 'honeypot'.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): I wish we had asked you to bring one of these things because I would be curious to see how it works. Can you tell me? It is transdermal and so it is measured from time to time on the person. Where is the request for information coming from and where is it stored?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): We have a provider that provides the tags to us. They have two functions, really. They have to provide the technology and they also have to provide the monitoring.

One of the things that astounded me - and I do not have the numbers in front of me, I am afraid - was that the frequency of the monitoring is incredible. It is not that one reading is taken a day. Multiple readings are taken. We are into the thousands in terms of the number of readings that have been taken over the duration of the --

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): That is what I was wondering about. It must be accumulating now.

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): Yes. I am more than happy to provide the Committee with a copy of the interim report again and to just highlight the section on the frequency of the monitoring. It is a very high frequency.

One of the things that I found interesting when I first became engaged in this is that there is no tolerance level to the tags. The only thing it would just about tolerate is if I sprayed perfume. It will not tolerate any drinking episodes at all. I personally have not been tagged - I have declined that offer - but a number of my colleagues have. One of the things that is interesting when you look at the monitoring is how quickly and how clearly one incident of drinking would show on the monitoring equipment.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): You can choose where to wear it, can you, on your wrist or your ankle?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): You wear it on your ankle, yes.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): I might try it, although I would probably hate it. How do you measure the success? No alcohol at all or what?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): It is based on abstinence. The monitoring equipment itself, as I said, does not tolerate any alcohol. Success is based on the compliance of wearing and not drinking alcohol for the duration of time that is given by the judge, ultimately.

I was asked a very interesting question yesterday in a different forum as to why we were averaging between 70 and 80 days in terms of the duration of the offender wearing the tag when actually what we had put in the original plans was over 100 days.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): It was 120.

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): That is ultimately the result of the sentence that is given. That decision is made by the judge. In terms of what success looks like, it looks like wearing the tag for the duration of time that you have been given it, not tampering with it and not drinking.

In terms of how the process works, you get given one chance and one warning, whether that be for a drinking incident or for a tampering incident. If there is another episode, then you are in breach and you return to court.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): At the moment, you have no feeling for the recidivism aspect? You have no idea about reoffending and so on?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): No. We do not have enough people on which to base assumptions, which is --

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Look, you have loads of volunteers here --

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): We would need to be over the 200 or 300 mark for that. We do not have enough people on which to base those assumptions, particularly because of how the incidents break down. If you are looking at offences as well, you have to have more on which to base those conclusions and also time. We are not in the right time period in terms of reconviction data to make those assumptions.

However, with or without a further scale-up of the pilot, we are able to look at the journey of those offenders over a longer period of time. We, again, would not be able to project from that, but we would be able to make conclusions about the impact on those individuals.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): We would be very interested to hear more about it. Is there any additional counselling for those people who wear the tags?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): In terms of alcohol?

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Yes.

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): No. The focus of it, as I said, is around not working with dependent drinkers and that is really important because it is dangerous to take this course of action with a dependent drinker. We

do have health very much engaged in the programme of work and brief alcohol interventions - like talking to them about the impact of alcohol and safe levels of alcohol, which have obviously been recently called into question - are part of the process. The local boroughs are involved and so they are aware of who has gone through this process and services are linked up in that way. However, we do not see it as being a required direct route through into more formal treatment for broader substance misuse.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Have you tried any other pilots of any kind or is there just the one pilot that you have going at the moment?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): We have done some work around the breathalysers with a very small pilot in Croydon around the use of breathalysers for door staff, but that is very small numbers and that is very new and is being led by the MPS.

From MOPAC's perspective, although it seems very small, it has been quite hard work to engage the right number of partners to support the pilot and to have the judiciary and probation engaged in the way that they are. We have focused our attentions on that because we wanted to ensure that the wrap-around process from probation and breach and the engagement in the courts is strong and that we are not just using new technology without the support of all of those broader statutory agencies. Therefore, no, we have been very focused on that one approach.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Can you tell us a little bit more about the breathalysers in clubs? That seems to be a really obvious thing to do. If you cannot get into a club because you have been drinking, then that seems --

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): It is relatively new. It has been put in place initially in Croydon. Sorry, I am just looking for the numbers. The numbers are very small in terms of those who have been tested - I think it is in the 70s in terms of the number of individuals where breathalyser equipment has been used - and so the feedback at the moment is very anecdotal from the door staff about whether that is helpful or not. The feedback has been along the lines that it makes sense and is helpful in terms of stopping the preloading issue with individuals drinking before they come into licensed premises.

We await that. It is at very initial stages and it is part of a partnership approach with businesses and with the MPS about whether they voluntarily want to engage in the use of those breathalysers.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): Philip, would you consider recommending to councils that it is part of the licensing requirements for clubs to have breathalysers on the door?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): Councils already look at requirements around having, for example, Security Industry Authority staff on the doors and closed circuit television. It sounds like a sensible thing that you would put into the toolkit when local authorities are looking to license, yes. It does sound interesting.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): It just sends out a signal that this is not a good idea before you want to go out.

You are probably not the right people to ask on this, but do you have any idea of the proportion of people who are arrested for being drunk and disorderly and who are actually convicted later? I will ask the police. Do not worry about that.

I am very curious about the tag, actually. I am looking forward to seeing one.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): Can I ask about the pilot in Croydon with breathalysers? Are you going to do some evaluation on that and, if so, what is the timescale for that?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): At the moment, that is all being worked up and this is just part of the partnership conversations between the MPS and businesses about, as Philip referred to, how door staff and the broader community could be supported in terms of some of the challenges around preloading and also something that I have been briefed on, side-loading, which I was not quite aware of until I engaged in some of these conversations.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): Side-loading? What is that?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): Side-loading is moving between licensed premises. It is a very important point. Part of the challenge around licensing is that you are looking to identify a particular premises that might be causing issues with regards to disorder. However, in areas where you have a high concentration of licensed premises, an individual's challenge would be to drink as much as possible and move as quickly as possible across as many venues as possible. Therefore, trying to pinpoint that on one particular venue as being responsible for that is, rightly, disproportionate.

This is part and parcel of the point that Graeme [Gordon] made earlier about the Business Crime Change Board and the conversations that are happening there. We need to continue to engage in partnership with licensees and businesses to understand the movement and the business implications around alcohol. It is in its very initial stages.

I am happy to get more information back to you on the breathalyser pilot if that would be helpful.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): In terms of the evaluation of the breathalyser pilot, it is important to just stress something that Sam has already said, which is that it is entirely voluntary. This is just a tool and we have gone out and said, "Do you think this will help you to manage some of your door issues?" Some premises have said, "Yes, we think it would", and they have taken it up. Others have chosen not to take it up. It will probably depend or vary quite a bit from one premises to another as to whether it feels like the right way to manage that particular issue.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): It might seem sensible, but it could cause more friction on the door for those staff members who are there.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): That is right. For some other establishments, they would just see it as a little bit too intrusive and a little bit too enforcement-heavy when there is not a problem already necessarily presenting itself.

Jenny Jones AM (Deputy Chair): You could target clubs where there is a problem. On the whole tagging thing, you have expanded the scheme without really knowing if it works yet because you do not have the

figures to say that there is not any recidivism. Was that because you just wanted to get a wider span in the number of people? Why did you expand before --

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): We needed to expand the scheme in order to be able to generate that reliable data that you are talking about. What we have done so far is the proof of concept, which is that partners are working with it and the judiciary is using it as a sentencing option. I really do not want to underestimate that it can be quite challenging getting to that point of view with an innovative approach like this. We have got to that point and that is fantastic. We now need to expand it to generate that real evidence of actual impact as opposed to simply compliance.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Could I, just before I move on to my area of questions, pick up the issue of the 8% who have drunk alcohol? Can you just remind me? You said they get a warning and then they are back in court.

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): If you have a tag and you either tamper with it or drink, for the first instance you would get a warning, which comes initially through the provider of the tag. They would flag to you that they are aware that the device has been tampered with or that there is an alcohol reading. That is then followed up by the CRC or MPS officer, depending upon where they sit within probation. If after that point there is another incident, then it is reported through to the National Probation Service, which is what would happen with any other breach of any other order, and is then formally treated as a breach. If determined appropriate by the National Probation Service, which acts as the front door around that, then you would go back to court.

Our approach is exactly in line with what would happen with any other form of disposal. If you had community payback as part of your sentence, it is exactly the same approach that would happen. If you did not turn up once, there would be a warning. If you did not turn up again, it would be a breach.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): I just wanted to be absolutely clear on that. That was helpful. Thank you.

I remember reading that MOPAC has set up a 'strategic licensing unit'. Can you tell us what that unit is and what its overall aim is?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Sure. It is not exactly a strategic licensing unit. It is a strategic licensing function. It is actually the Greater London Authority's (GLA) Intelligence Unit that has been responsible for creating that for us. What the GLA Intelligence Unit has done is to develop the Safe Sociable London [Partnership] alcohol licensing analysis dashboards. Effectively, what those are for is to allow us to map key hotspots of disorder linked to the late-night economy and, therefore, share information down to the local level to enable the best possible decisions to be made about licensing in those local areas.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): It is GLA Intelligence in City Hall that is doing this for MOPAC?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Yes.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): They are analysing data and then that data is being shared with the boroughs' Community Safety Partnerships?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): It is not just the analysis. It is also the gathering of the data from the police, the London Ambulance Service (LAS) and accident and emergency (A&E) departments to try to bring all of that data together and then disseminate it outwards for us.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): At our last meeting, Islington came and gave some very good evidence. They suggested that MOPAC could and should continue to do more to support this kind of work and that you could do more in pulling it together and helping with the analysis. Do you accept that?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): We would always like to do more. The more we can do to gather information and to help local boroughs with those licensing decisions the better. I would need to understand from Islington colleagues what their specific asks were and whether we are the right people to provide those asks, but that would be something that we would be keen on looking at.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): They particularly wanted you to pull together more what is happening in different places and to look at the real impacts - I guess some of it sounds like it is about sharing best practice, which is partly London Councils' role - as well as more data to be analysed.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Certainly for that it sounds like a bit of teamwork between us and London Councils to make sure that we can access the data from the boroughs to aggregate it and then disseminate it back out again.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): You have talked about the data that you analyse and you have talked about the police, the LAS and A&E departments. However, we know - and I have thought about this for quite a few years now and I used to when I was on the Metropolitan Police Authority (MPA) - the Cardiff Model has not been implemented in every A&E department in London. Therefore, you do not have accurate data across the capital.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): It is absolutely fair to say that we do not have complete data across the capital. We have 17 out of 29 A&E departments contributing to this --

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Just over half?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): That is from a starting point of four and so that has improved over time. We continue to work in partnership to bring partners together to promote participation. Obviously, we do not have any direct control over that. I do recognise that those A&E departments are under a lot of pressure from all kinds of directions and additional asks on those staff are not always necessarily what they feel is welcome.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): The impact it has ultimately can reduce people going into A&E departments and so it has a benefit for them as well as the wider community. The Mayor, following my questions a year ago, wrote to all chief executives of hospital trusts.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): That is correct, yes.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): What has now happened from that? He admitted to me last month that it is not good enough and that progress has not been made.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Yes. There has been a good deal of work by MOPAC to follow up that letter with those trusts and to bring people together to explain the benefits of the information sharing. We will keep on making every effort to, as it were, bring the horse to water and, hopefully, continue to grow the number of A&E departments that are making that data contribution.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): You have another 12, you are telling me, that are not doing this yet. How many are close to signing on the line?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): Could I just add to that? Graeme is absolutely right. In the last 12 months from the point at which that letter was written, as a follow-up we have done two key things in addition to forming it into a proper programme for London.

One of the challenges was that there was a requirement to share the information or a will to share the information, but it was not clear how that information was coming together and then who that information was going out to in fulfilling that function that you were talking about in terms of improving responses and the prevention piece. We applied through the Home Office Innovation Fund specifically around this piece of work and have been successful in securing just under £2 million to drive this forward. We are now ten months through that first year. We have an event in this building tomorrow, which is based around the Information Sharing to Tackle Violence model, to drive up the remainder of those A&E departments in terms of sharing the information and more broadly to talk about it in a bigger way and to think about why that information is being shared, who gets that information and what the end result is, being able to continue to reinforce that message about the opportunities for prevention and different responses as a result of that.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): You are saying that the 12 are coming in tomorrow?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): I am not sure. I do not have the attendance list in front of me. However, the purpose of that conference and the purpose of that whole programme of work is to continue to drive up the numbers that are sharing and to get closer to the 29, to support hospitals to understand what the resource implications are around this - the point that Graeme made about how much should be invested - and to also get an understanding of who will be in receipt of that information, which is obviously a key question for hospitals.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): What I would like - and maybe you have to put it in writing - is I would like to be clear on how close you are on those remaining 12 A&E departments. There must be huge parts of London where you just have no or not-so-accurate data. If we are trying to deal with this issue, which is complex, you cannot just have these black holes of data because major A&E departments are not playing ball here. The Government had signed up to it in the past as well. There has been quite a lot of pressure from the Government and regional government. I do not understand why they are not signing up. Thank you for that.

The other point, really, is that there are also minor injury units and walk-in centres as well. Are you doing work with them to see whether you can share anonymised data from them?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): Could we provide that back in the same response, if that is OK?

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): OK.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): The short answer is that my understanding is, yes, we are.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Fantastic.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): They are included, but we will confirm that.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Are you finding any other partners to be particularly difficult around this or any other challenges around this data-sharing?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): I cannot think of any specific challenges. It is --

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): What about the LAS, which you mentioned? We know that it is in a bit of a crisis, really, at the moment in London. Have there been issues there?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): We do have that through the Safer Stats programme already. That pulls together LAS data, Fire Brigade data and British Transport Police data. In that context, in terms of the question around the strategic licensing function, that has already been pulled together in a way that is possible to be analysed for support to be given to local areas.

The real challenge is the A&E department data. That is the fundamental challenge. You are absolutely right that there was a commitment made at a national level, which found itself being delivered through the Violence Reduction Nurses (VRN) programme and funding programme with that, which we are fully engaged in as well as part of this work. In terms of that response, we can give an indication about the VRN programme as well and how that is supporting this. The challenge is the health --

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Yes, that would be really helpful because this is the big piece that is missing in the jigsaw, which would really help with the analysis. Presumably it would help boroughs as well, Philip, in terms of your local Community Safety Partnerships and the work that you are doing on being able to more accurately target resources.

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): Yes.

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): Lovely. Thank you very much.

Kemi Badenoch AM: My question is around the other support that MOPAC provides for tackling this issue. I will ask about the late-night levy in a moment.

This is to Samantha and Graeme. What kinds of services have been funded through the Crime Prevention Fund and what impacts are these services having?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): Just as a top line in terms of the London Crime Prevention Fund, I am sure you are aware that it is about £18 million a year over four years and we fund between 145 and 149 projects across

London over the four-year period. Out of that funding, £19 million over four years has been allocated specifically to substance misuse projects and there are 35 of those in London covering 22 boroughs.

One of the key important pieces is that although the ring-fencing around funding was pulled away about three years ago, which used to support the drug intervention programmes, what we have been able to do through the London Crime Prevention Fund is to continue to support local areas to maintain those services and to develop and change those services in line with their local needs.

Kemi Badenoch AM: Thank you. What is MOPAC's role in supporting the take-up of the late-night levy? Are you helping boroughs to take it up? How many local authorities have adopted the late-night levy, for example, in London?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): We support those authorities that do choose to come forward to have a late-night levy by contributing the 70% of revenue that MOPAC is entitled to. We just give that back to the boroughs.

The view at MOPAC is very much that this is one tool in the toolbox that local authorities can use. You may be able to achieve the same aims through partnership working with businesses. However, if a local authority makes the decision that a late-night levy is the right thing to do, provided it has sufficient evidence that it is needed and there has been proper consultation, we will support it in implementing that.

To date, we have only one local authority that has adopted the late-night levy, which is Islington. We do know that Camden is also keen to implement it and we are waiting formal confirmation that it wants to go through that process.

Kemi Badenoch AM: You are not proactively going to boroughs and saying, "This is something that we think you should have"? The incentive is basically the 70% going back to the borough?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Yes, but it is more the other way around. If boroughs themselves feel that this is a useful thing, we will help them to go about approaching it in the right way and we will make that financial contribution back to them.

Kemi Badenoch AM: Thank you. My next question is for Philip. Why do you think the take-up has been so low across the London boroughs? What is their view of it?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): If I could just add to that, Graeme, Tower Hamlets is also thinking of looking at it and I understand that the City has implemented it as well, and so there are, I guess, three-and-a-half. Camden is potentially making a decision in April 2016.

Graeme also made a point about it being a tool in the toolbox. It is a bit of a blunt instrument. It has to apply across the whole borough. It cannot just be used to target particular premises. Also, if you are a smaller borough, it is probably not cost-effective to implement it when you do not have that many people.

However, a point came up earlier about the pressure from businesses and that is only going to become more acute. There was an article in the *[Evening] Standard* just a couple of days ago about Wetherspoons closing its doors at midnight in Islington as a response to the levy, saying that they would have to make £1,000 within the hour. They were not going to make it and so they were going to close. Wetherspoons is a massive national chain. Smaller businesses are likely to see this as just another tax. They already have to pay business rates and contribute, potentially, to the BID. As the local government funding settlement shifts more in the

direction of an increased reliance on business rate retention, this brings to the fore the efficacy or the use of the late-night levy in controlling or tackling alcohol-fuelled crime versus how much it costs businesses and how attractive that area is for a business.

Also, having spoken to boroughs, as well as those other issues, they feel that they are increasingly more confident in their own capability to license individual premises. They have gone through the process a number of times and they feel that they are more able to take charge on a premises-by-premises basis through the licensing system. Again, it is that combination. It is a bit of a blunt instrument and they feel that they have the tools up to a point with the regulation system, but also the fundamental issue is whether it drives businesses away and creates an additional pressure for not much gain further down the line.

Kemi Badenoch AM: OK. Finally, is there anything else that you think boroughs would like to see or would like help on using that Crime Prevention Fund support from MOPAC that you have not mentioned already?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): No. Some of the stuff that has come out of the drug intervention programme in Greenwich was highlighted at a recent meeting I was at. As long as - and I think MOPAC would appreciate this - we have an opportunity to use those strategic funds to pick up and champion local innovation and good practice, we can only support that. We are all facing significant funding pressures. Business-as-usual is over and anything that helps support new approaches to tackling what in relation to alcohol but also a lot of the other serious reoffending issues are quite complex problems, getting into the nub of that and developing a better understanding of the drivers of that but also supporting more sustainable solutions to that in a joined-up way, is only a good thing.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): Philip and Samantha might know, but certainly my boroughs in the past - I am not sure they do now - used to have a dedicated MPS officer who was responsible for licensing. It was their job to visit premises, to give prevention advice and to appear on a licensing panel and give any objections. Is that something that is useful? Secondly, I do not know whether you have experience as to whether all boroughs that have significant premises do have a dedicated officer or not?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): My experience is that where it works well in terms of licensing and managing the night-time economy is where all partners are fully engaged and where the approaches to licensed premises are done between both the local authority and the MPS. Both have clear functions and to bring those together is always more effective and, quite frankly, it is better for the business in terms of the communication and the response to that.

I could not say whether all boroughs have that function. I am aware that where there is a need for it, they have managed to maintain those specific licensing teams from the MPS's perspective and many of them are still co-located with local authority staff.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): Philip, do you have any --

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): I could not give you chapter and verse. I can only say anecdotally from feedback that the boroughs I have spoken to have said the MPS are very good particularly if there is a problem with a particular venue or an event. If something is happening, they close down the place very quickly. The reactive role and having police there is highly valued.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): What I would say is that we do think it is really important that we have those local links between the MPS and the boroughs that run

licensing. Quite exactly how that is configured in different boroughs is less of a concern for us, as long as it works.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: My question is around the future of MOPAC's role in tackling alcohol-fuelled crime. I suppose that then has to address mayoral commitments and strategies, how MOPAC is then able or has been able in the past to implement those and, if it has not, where we go in the future.

I have just set that scene because MOPAC has not, during its time, produced a strategy about alcohol-related crime, has it, Graeme? We have heard about your two areas of focus but – given that the Mayor said quite boldly and upfront that he was going to make sure that the Police and Crime Plan would develop an alcohol-related crime strategy for London focusing on prevention, enforcement and diversion – has MOPAC taken a narrow view in order to deal with that mayoral commitment?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): I will ask Sam [Cunningham] to come in in a minute on some of the detail around this, but I would not say that. There is not a bespoke alcohol strategy because, in consultation with Criminal Justice System partners, we came to the conclusion that it would be better to mainstream alcohol as a driver into our approach to all crime and offending. That is why it is not picked out as a separate thing. Perhaps, Sam, you could add a little more detail on that.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: You decided you were going to mainstream it and then we have here that in that mainstreaming you now have problems because the data is so subjective and you do not have mandatory fields. It all seems to me to be feeding this feeling that I have around the whole thing that it is all so difficult. It is like, "Let us take a very passive approach to this whole thing".

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): I would not describe it as a passive approach. It is challenging because it is a factor in so many different offences but what we are doing is ensuring that we pick it up as a factor in all the MOPAC 7 priority offences.

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): I would just add to that to say that it is important that we understand alcohol in the right context, dependent upon the offence and issue we are trying to deal with. That is one of the reasons why mainstreaming and seeing it as an important component in everything we do is important, just the same as drugs, substance misuse, mental health, or housing. There are a number of different components that drive offending behaviour and drive specific crime types.

Just as an example of that, we have talked a lot today about domestic abuse and the questionable links with alcohol. Alcohol may be present but, in terms of the question as to whether or not alcohol drives domestic violence, there is evidence that sits both ways. Just as an example of mainstreaming, we have had those conversations and discussions through the Violence Against Women and Girls Board that the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime [Stephen Greenhalgh] chairs and have been very clear that although it is important to understand that within the context of those offences, to see that as the driver or trigger for that offence discounts the importance of the broader pattern of violence around domestic violence and should not drive our solutions.

However, if you consider it in a different way, when we have talked about the night-time economy and the low-level disorder offences, we know and understand that alcohol is a direct trigger to those. Therefore, intervention, working with the local authorities in funding those areas and providing them with the data is the right response in that context.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: What I am trying to get a sense of is whether or not MOPAC has the right level of involvement in this issue given that in 2012 it was a mayoral commitment to – and I read again – develop “smarter solutions” and to develop a strategy that would “focus on prevention, enforcement and diversion”. What I have heard so far is what you then decided to do with partners was to take a different route altogether.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): I would not necessarily describe it as a different route altogether. It is a question of perspective. What we have done is take an offence-by-offence perspective rather than an ‘alcohol’ thematic perspective. Obviously that is open to challenge. Whatever way you choose to organise your resources and deal with different issues, there is always another way you could do that.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: We are supposed to be able to learn from the work that has gone on. In terms of the future, then, what advice or work is going on in MOPAC on mayoral commitments? Where does MOPAC go over the next four years? Is it now looking to see whether or not this is the time for a pan-London strategy, or would your advice or the work that you have done be demonstrating that the approach you have taken away from the mayoral commitment is the right way forward?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Obviously we are coming to the end of the current Police and Crime Plan period. We in MOPAC do think that we are following a good approach, but clearly we will have a new Mayor and that new Mayor will have their own views. Obviously we are here to advise that new Mayor but also to take a lead from them.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: This is a wonderful thing because it is the Mayor who is the person I suppose I should be asking these questions to: “Why have you not ensured that the manifesto promise that you made in 2012 was adhered to by your Office?”

Can I move on? A lot of the evidence and stuff that we heard from our previous meetings was about a sense that there should be more working together. Philip, I may just ask you boldly: does London Councils have the capacity as a body to enable greater working together? You major more on advisory activities, do you not?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): It would depend on the subject. We are a member-led organisation and so, a bit like MOPAC, we respond to and follow the lead and the direction given to us by our members. You can look at our deal on devolution that we have recently completed, which looks at skills, employment support and health – a bit on crime and housing – where we are very much building partnership working and delivering something. Other bits fall into the advisory category and they really depend on what has been selected by our members.

As I said at the beginning, alcohol-fuelled crime very much at the moment sits on the desks of our local borough authorities and they have not asked us to look strategically at this issue. They have not asked us to develop a particular partnership approach. As I said also, there is a national shift in conversation towards asking whether even a couple of drinks are too many and the idea that with alcohol there is no safe level of harm. That potentially could shape members’ views and potentially shape the way we work together.

I would also say that we work closely with MOPAC on developing areas of partnership working on those things which both our members and the Mayor have identified as a particular priority. We can do it but it would require our members to task us on that matter.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: Yes. I take your point. In the Assembly's report on devolution we suggested there that given the continued high volume of alcohol-fuelled crime and alcohol-fuelled violence there may be, over the longer term, merit in a role for the GLA in licensing for alcohol sales and that a London-wide framework agreed with boroughs could provide clarity to residents, businesses and everyone engaged here. Does that fit in then, you are saying, with London Councils' view?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): At the moment we have not considered the issue formally and so we would not have a pan-London agreed London Councils view. I spoke to a number of boroughs about this particular issue, as I mentioned, and some boroughs are very much saying, "We manage to look after our own licensing arrangements, we have good relationships and good partnership working and we would be reluctant to go down that route". Other boroughs could see the benefit of it, potentially, but similarly they would be looking at it as, "What value do we add locally?" They are not so clear on the value they add locally.

One borough said to me that if there was going to be a pan-London framework for alcohol licensing, then why not other forms of licensing as well, like sex clubs? Then you go down the route of, "Taxi licensing is carried out by the Mayor. Can we just allow the GLA to get on with it? However, we do not have much local control". There is always that balance. There is a balance intellectually but there is also a balance between our members and a position. We have not been asked to take a pan-London view on that at London Councils.

Len Duvall AM: Sorry, could I just clarify? The issue is not about taking powers away from the boroughs. They would still be licensing. You would take powers away from the national [framework] and have a London-wide framework for licensing. In that sense, you could have a conversation of strengthening the licensing powers of boroughs within that framework. We have a national framework for licensing. Is it not time to have a London framework and a London discussion about what that would mean? Did you understand that position?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): No. I can understand that.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: Philip, let me just put a quote out to support that. As part of the devolution agreement in Greater Manchester, local authorities, Public Health England and NHS England have agreed a shared commitment for Greater Manchester to secure a devolved ability to set its own licensing objectives and specifically a fifth local objective associated with harm to health. That is really what the Assembly's recommendation was alluding to, which is already enshrined in the Greater Manchester agreement.

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): I can say that I have worked on this particular issue around wider devolution for what feels like forever, a number of years, and the idea of London having a greater say in the wider regulation of businesses, including licensing, is something that we have discussed. You only have to look at the West End Commission - again, driven by Westminster - and the particular licensing arrangements that Westminster sits under. That is an idea that we have considered.

I would only go back to saying that we are a membership organisation. Some of the deals we have done in the particular areas we have done have taken a long time to get pan-London agreement and within this, at the moment, this particular issue is not something that we have gone out to members and asked them all to sign up to. They might do, they might all agree, but the bandwidth they currently have to consider the rollout of the current devolution deal is such that we could not take a view pan-London.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: As you say, things are changing and the whole thing is ratcheting up because we have now a health report that says, "Not a sip of drink", do we not?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): Things are changing.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: Sobriety rules.

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): It could be that the devolution of health, one of the pilot areas, unlocks those conversations. All I can say is that we are member-led and at the moment they have not taken a view particularly. Having spoken to individual officers, there is some uncertainty about whether they would be up for that or not.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: It is a strange thing, is it not? You are saying that we still have 32 little islands in London plus one, the Corporation, still doing their own things around such an important thing that affects Londoners' health, life and every day. The bodies that be are still working in isolation. Is that not what we are hearing?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): My members would see it slightly differently. They would feel that they are more connected to their place and their economy. They know the streets, they know the pubs and they feel that they are best-placed to deal with the local challenge that they see unfolding. It is probably a bit different in Westminster because it is basically the epicentre of the entire UK night-time economy and so there may be wider strategic issues there. I would not say that they do it in isolation. They have licensing managers' forums and also at London Councils we spend quite a lot of time talking to MOPAC about the wider issues of that.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: In boundary areas – say Islington, which I represent, and Camden, which my colleague represents – if you look there and you have two different approaches, it does not help the residents who live in that locality. They do not get up in the morning and say, “I live in Islington”, or, “I live in Camden”. They just get up and see the filth, the debris and the devastation there after the party and the drinkers. This is what I am saying. How do you address that?

It seems that time and time again you have to then go either to a sub-regional level or you have to go to a pan-London level. That has been recognised for Greater Manchester in a can-do way. I am struggling to understand what we need to move us in London to that can-do, pan-London approach to dealing with this issue. You cannot answer this and so it may well be that it is another mayoral promise that we are waiting for.

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): The challenge back to London Councils, clearly, is to think about how these issues are mapped systematically across London. At the moment, our approach would be to say that local authorities, local leaders, manage their places. You can cite anecdotes where either that is not working or it is working. Part of the challenge back to London Councils may be working with MOPAC to pick up on the points about data that have been raised and to think systematically over the next – I do not know – four years as part of the mayoral priorities and part of our work on how we build that picture up and see where there is a role to explore it, led by the data.

Oddly enough – and it is an anecdote – the officer in Camden responsible for this whom we have spoken to lives in Camden and can see the challenges for the borough in terms of balancing the night-time economy and attractiveness for businesses, but also has to wake up and go to work in Camden and pick his way through the streets. It is an issue that councillors are aware of but they have that balancing role between being attractive and also places where everyone can enjoy themselves.

Roger Evans AM: I was just going to say that I can see why boroughs would want to jealously preserve their rights in this area. They would be well placed to understand their own environment.

What about the growth of chain pubs across London? You have operators who are offering a similar offer in different parts of town. Is there something to be said for having a pan-London approach in those cases, where there may be a chain operator who has the same problem in several different places in town? We can perhaps learn from what a different borough has done to handle that.

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): That certainly sounds sensible, particularly – and I had not heard the phrase either – in terms of side-loading and in terms of pubs that you always –

Roger Evans AM: We called it ‘pub crawling’. It is the new word. “Let’s go side-loading tonight!”

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): Particularly if they are large chains that, as you say, cross London boroughs and if a particular pub chain, not to mention any particular chain, would have maybe a reputation for a special offer on a drink or a special availability of beer, then maybe there would be a role of tapping that and looking at it on a pan-London level. Yes, I could see that.

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): I will just add on there to the point that Graeme [Gordon] made about the Business Crime Change Board that is chaired here by the Deputy Commissioner [Craig Mackey QPM] and the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime. It does have in its membership the Association of Licensed Multiple Retailers.

One of the priorities of that Board is, with retailers specifically, to begin to build that partnership and to begin to think about whether there are things pan-London that could be taken forward and agreed with businesses to support local areas in some of those conversations. I think one of the challenges at the local level is that if you are dealing with a big chain you are not going to get agreement for one area or for one part of that chain to make a change in terms of the way that it runs its business. There are opportunities and that partnership is in its initial stages, but it is recognised that from a business perspective thinking across London in terms of big retailers is also important.

Len Duvall AM: There is a touch of, “How do we know what is really going on on the ground?”, in terms of some of the conversations and the networks that we have. I am just a bit disappointed by your answers to the questions about the future. I understand about the mayoral direction and politicians making priorities.

I regard myself as having a good network of councillors across the Labour, Conservative and other political parties, and some of the problems they are saying and coming back with and liaising with the police officers about is that there is a problem on the ground. We have a problem with off-licenses. Not all. There are responsible off-licenses and there are not responsible off-licenses. Twenty-four-hour licensing: do they really need it? Are they also a haven for other illegal activity coming to local government such as illegal cigarettes, dodgy alcohol and serving underage? There are usually joint partnership arrangements going on.

That would have been, in my time when I was a councillor, few and far between. Now it is becoming normal practice for our environmental officers and policing partnerships discussions. When we talk about future actions around that I do not get any idea from the centre that we are offering best practice or helping people think, “That is something we have to stamp out and tackle”. I take your answer about domestic violence but if we want to change and correct people’s behaviour then we really ought to be pushing every button going.

Equally, violence impacts on town centre activity. I do not want to be a killjoy. I want people to go out and enjoy themselves in a responsible way and not affect other people's business. It was only some months ago that we had Police and Crime Commissioners outside London saying, "We are going to start closing these places down because we have no policing or resources for it". In times of reduced policing resources, where does prevention come into it? Where is targeted thinking and some support from the centre to those people working hard on the ground to say, "This is what you can do"? There is actually a number of wide and varying practices with the same different resources. With all due respect to Westminster, its entire police force is dedicated to that leisure entertainment/clubs and pubs issue. It has incredible resources to do that even in difficult times when there are reductions.

I do not get a feel from you that there is any push on that. If we are facing a time of reduced resources for local councils as well as for police services, should we not be starting to press some of these buttons a bit more? I cannot quite see in the MOPAC 7 where you tell me that alcohol is taken into account. I scrolled all over these documents --

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: It is mainstreamed.

Len Duvall AM: Mainstreamed? Maybe it needs to be a bit more explicit. I just do not get that. Have I missed something in terms of your contributions? Am I being unfair to you? I do not think I am.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): One of the challenges is that this is an area where we have to work in collaboration with the boroughs. There are different things to be done at the regional strategic level and on the ground in the boroughs. I certainly would not want to give you the impression that we do not support that really important frontline work that is going on in the boroughs. We completely support it. We support it in terms of our role in oversight of the MPS and support those relationships between the MPS and the local licensing authorities. Through our work with London Councils we support anything that is contributing to a positive quality of life for Londoners. Whatever the outcome of the mayoral election, I am sure those are the kind of priorities that are going to carry on because they are permanent priorities for people who live here.

In terms of the mainstreaming, this is always a challenge with mainstreaming. In a previous job one of my roles was to be the lead officer for equalities and again we mainstreamed equalities through everything we did. The challenge was making that visible at the same time as mainstreaming it. The feedback I am taking here is perhaps we need to make it more visible as well as effectively mainstream it into our practice in terms of all the different offences that we are prioritising.

Len Duvall AM: OK. Just following up on the question, look, I am not 'Billy no-mates'. I go out and socialise. I would not say I am out every weekend clubbing it and hitting it hard. One of the issues in feedback that has come back to me via councillors is where there is a problem pub. Sometimes the police know it is a problem pub but on the ground they do not bother turning up to offer the evidence to the councillors to take the decision. That becomes a reality. There are issues about making sure that each side of the partnership does its business. Of course that is something local, but should we not be intervening more to ensure that it is part of the process that that happens?

Equally, part of the licensing law is that where we have a difficult set of circumstances, where we are working with decent landlords or corporate chains that want to make it better, they want to do it, that is fine. Where we have people who are resistant to that or change the name of the landlord because they think that will get over the problem but still do not deal with some of the problems taking place on their premises, should we not be advocating some stiffer penalties like longer closure notices to bring them into line? Should we not

be advocating something London-wide where there is a continuing problem because we do not have the resources to deal with some of that problem in the way that we might have had in the past? Should that not be part of our future thinking?

Dare I say, different Mayors have a different view of how in touch they are with what is going on on the ground. I listen to residents because that is my bread and butter. I am much closer to it. I listen to councillors and I listen to police officers who have to grapple with these issues. Is that not something we might want to be offering up and start thinking about what we need to do to – whether it is devolution or not – lobby the national Government to say, “These are the licensing laws and these are the consequences of them. With the resources we have to deal with it, we might need to change”?

What I do not see is any of that stuff coming from you, either through the police officers or from other bodies. I thought when we made the change to MOPAC that was what we were doing, that as we moved from the MPA to MOPAC we might be doing more of that. I thought London Councils was. Certainly some of the councillors I am talking to are. It might not be getting to the leaders and it might not be on their agendas but it is happening on the ground more and more.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): There are two separate issues there. One is that where members have specific instances that they are aware of where they believe that the MPS has not been playing the full role, I would urge them to come to MOPAC and let us know about it so that we can take that away and look at that in a bit more detail.

At the more strategic level, it is that question back about devolution. We are at a very interesting stage in that whole devolution debate. In terms of making changes to the licensing regime for London, it is quite important that we have a full debate about what it is we are trying to achieve. What are the outcomes we are aiming for? The Manchester example is very interesting. Greater Manchester has the whole of health devolved to it. That is a really big driver for them to say, “We need a different licensing regime. We need a different licensing regime that allows us specifically to target harm reduction in that health context”.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: Are we not supposed to be working with health?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Yes. At the moment we have five health pilots devolved in London. Again, it will be very interesting to see how those play out but that is not quite the same situation as they find themselves in in Greater Manchester.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: They have a legislative framework around them.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Yes.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: Can I just come back to the last questions around this one, then? Again, it is clarity. Are you saying that there is no way in the thinking of MOPAC at the moment that you would be looking to recommend a London-wide framework or strategy?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Is this a London-wide licensing framework?

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: Yes.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): I do not think that at this stage in the cycle it is for us to specifically come up with that as a recommendation as officers. I do not know what discussions --

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: Not from officers, from the work you have been doing: from all your pilots, from all the data you are gathering and all the intelligence. Is there any sign that that sort of approach could be supported from the work so far that you have done? I only harp on that because it was a mayoral manifesto. It would be good to stop another Mayor making a manifesto that could not be delivered.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): The deliverability of that is down to a devolution discussion with Government. We would also want to, as far as possible, have the boroughs on board with whatever we were putting forward. That needs to go into that wider discussion about devolution to London and we should see where we get with it.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: Within that wider discussion we could take on concerns like the concerns echoed by the Association of Convenience Stores. You have alluded to retailers having a problem. It has said in its written submission to us, "Unfortunately, licensing authorities often fail to use the full suite of existing powers". That could be part of a discussion looking at those boroughs that have used the full suite and those who have not and then coming together to get some sort of overall consensus about the best way forward.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Yes, you are quite right.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: That was a reasonable expression of concern from that community, which is shared by residents, I am sure.

Philip, lastly to you: you are here to, as you say, give London Councils' position. Is there anything more that you want to tell us that we could look at in terms of our recommendation about ensuring that licensing powers across London are used well, fairly and confidently?

Philip Clifford (Policy Manager, London Councils): I would only say that it is important just to reiterate that alcohol-fuelled crime is complex. Drunk driving may be not as complex as domestic violence and it may be not as complex as VWI, but there are often complex causes behind those pockets. Some of that is do with geography or to do with the personal profile of people who commit those crimes. There are complex causes. Tackling it is probably complex.

Part of the reflection I have from London Councils is that even in thinking about something as simple as who leads on alcohol crime in London Councils, it touches our public health team, it touches our night-time economy team, it touches our licensing networks and it touches our crime and community safety team. It is a very wide conversation. I would only recommend, as I am sure you are already doing, considering all these issues in the round, as well as the potential national conversation about public health. It is not a straightforward problem and it is not going to have a straightforward answer. That is reflected in some of the answers you have had here today.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: I thought that our business was about doing the complex and the difficult, not just articulating it at meetings like this but having some insights based on work done to say, "This is how we are going to move forward and do it". That answer has not been very helpful, but thank you for it.

Samantha, anything to say? We do not need to go to the complex and difficult. We have already heard that.

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): No, I was just going to add that the work that has been done in the last two years that I have been at MOPAC has been very focused on supporting local areas. The point you were making is the one that is most interesting: understanding how the question of alcohol, not just from a licensing perspective from also from the complex dependent-drinker piece, is being picked up locally. To have a map of that for London in terms of what is happening across the 32 areas would certainly be something that would be very helpful for our work. For me, that is very helpful.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: All right. Graeme, anything to add?

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): No, thank you.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): Could I ask something, then? You support local authorities. Does MOPAC do anything to get those local authorities licensing teams together to share best practice or to do anything amongst local authorities to recognise emerging trends at all? Is that something that could be done in the future?

Samantha Cunningham (Head of Service Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC): It is potentially something that could be done in the future. The only thing I would say is that there is a multitude of issues across 32 boroughs we could pull them all together to discuss. We have strong representation with London Councils through the London Heads of Community Safety Meeting, which is an important forum in terms of sharing information and often a good forum around the night-time economy and broader licensing issues. Often these sorts of issues are discussed there. There is that forum. We do not have a specific licensing one but there is that forum and, as I said before, there is the Business Crime Change Board that is also being led.

One of the things that stood out for today is how the local is engaged in that. That is a question we could take away as well. The answer to the question is that yes, we could do that. We have to think about how frequently we would do that and what we would get outside of the other mechanisms that we currently have.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): Lovely. Thank you. We have come to the end of our formal questions. Can I thank you very much? I will write to you - I do not know whether it would be Graeme or Samantha - with regards to some of the information on those pilots that you said you would provide --

Caroline Pidgeon MBE AM (Deputy Chair): The Cardiff Model as well.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): -- and the Cardiff Model.

Graeme Gordon (Interim Director of Services and Commissioning, MOPAC): Absolutely. Please do.

Joanne McCartney AM (Chair): That would be very helpful. Thank you for that. It has been a very interesting discussion and perhaps no easy solutions but we will look at this.

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