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The Impact of the Licensing Act 2003 on Levels of Crime and Disorder: Key Findings of the Croydon Case Study, prepared for the Home Office

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ANNEX: C

**KEY FINDINGS OF THE
CROYDON CASE STUDY**

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February 2008

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Implementation of the Licensing Act

The implementation of the Licensing Act in Croydon has evidently *not* led to greatly extended licensing hours in the town. It seems that under the Act – and despite that cumulative impact policy that was applied to the town centre - most pubs and clubs were granted the capacity to open for an additional hour per night. However, premises tended to use these additional hours flexibly, and to open beyond their traditional closing times only when they were at their busiest – presumably on Friday and Saturday nights.

Many local developments and initiatives relating to the management of the NTE predated the Act. However, it was noted that the Act had supported existing initiatives and had strengthened relationships between the LA and the alcohol trade. The policing of the NTE was described as ‘robust’, both before and after the implementation of the Act and the police had built up good relationships with the licensees and would conduct regular visits and inspections with council licensing officers and trading standards officers.

Impact on crime and disorder

Police data

Police recorded crime data on violence against the person suggested a decrease in levels of alcohol-related violence post Act of 13 per cent. There were no obvious changes to the timing of peaks of violent incidents and the number of incidents was not higher for weekends than for weekdays. Further the main hot-spots of violence were the same before and after implementation with no change in the timing or location of offences of violence against the person in Croydon between the two periods.

Police recorded crime figures on criminal damage showed a slight increase in the post-implementation period. However, criminal damage incidents were much less concentrated than violent incidents in areas containing licensed premises, a link between the Licensing Act and the increase in criminal damage appears unlikely. Levels of calls to the police for disorder showed little change between the baseline

and post-implementation periods. Calls were not concentrated near licensed premises (approximately 4% in both time periods were in the cluster zone).

Stakeholders' views

The perception of the small number (four) of post-implementation interviewees from the LA and RAs, was that levels of crime and disorder in Croydon following the introduction of the Act had decreased. This was not attributed to the Act but rather considered to be part of a longer-term trend. However, more pro-active policing and management of the NTE were mentioned as possible contributory factors.

Representatives of late-night businesses who were interviewed for the evaluation voiced a range of views on whether the introduction of the Act had had a positive impact on levels of alcohol-related crime and disorder. Some respondents perceived that there had been no major change and others noted that while low-level disturbance was still common, more serious crime and disorder had declined. Staggered closing times, appeared to be limited in Croydon, although some respondents mentioned the calming effect this was having with fewer people congregating on the streets. However, it was also widely recognised that alcohol-related crime and disorder remained a significant problem in Croydon.

Residents' views

The Licensing Act did not appear to have made a big – positive or negative - impact on the behaviour and perceptions of Croydon residents who were surveyed for the evaluation. For example, the number of respondents visiting the city centre was not significantly higher in the post-implementation period than in the baseline period; and there were no significant differences in the proportions of respondents who felt unsafe in the city centre in the evening, in the reasons they gave for feeling unsafe, and in the numbers who saw people being drunk and rowdy as a problem in the city centre. However, there were some more positive indications. For example, significantly fewer post-implementation respondents felt that drunk and rowdy behaviour had become *more* of a problem in the past 12 months. And 38 per cent of post-implementation respondents thought that alcohol-related crime had increased since the introduction of the Act – significantly fewer than had thought it would increase when they were asked in the baseline period (53%).

Diversification

The issue of diversification was discussed with representatives of the responsible authorities, although only limited developments would be likely in a 12 month period.

Croydon had a cumulative impact (CI) policy in place, which covered the town centre and this was being used to help manage the type of premises that opened in the area and to generate a more diverse mixture of premises. This had reportedly resulted in a broader mix of people visiting the town centre area earlier in the evening, but less so later on. However, findings from the residents' survey suggest that the goal of diversification may have some way to go. The main reasons given for visiting the town centre – namely to visit pubs and clubs - remained the same in both interview periods.

Acknowledgements

This report was commissioned by the Home Office as part of a larger evaluation of the 2003 Licensing Act.

The research that contributed to this report involved many different organisation. The bulk of the empirical work in the site was mounted by the Applied Criminology Centre (ACC), University of Huddersfield: Dr. Rachel Armitage, Professor Alex Hirschfield, Leanne Monchuk, Dr Andrew Newton, Michelle Rogerson and Dr Aidan Wilcox and this is reflected in the authorship of this report. The ACC fieldworkers in Croydon were Esther Beale, James Roe, Eleanor Hukin and Paul Matthews. The role of the Institute for Criminal Policy Research was to draw this work together with that of other researchers, to create a synthesis report for the site. The original site report is available from the ACC.

We should acknowledge the contribution of others who were involved in the evaluation, notably the staff of BMRB especially Matthew Brown, Bruce Hayward and Matthew Sexton who managed the survey of residents in the five areas and to all the researchers at Cragg Ross Dawson, especially Tim Porter and Ben Toombs, who conducted the in-depth interviews in the case-study sites, and Home Office researchers who assembled a range of data both in the case study sites and nationally. We are grateful both to the research team at the Home Office who designed and oversaw the evaluation process: Alana Diamond, Catherine Nicol, Jonathan Smith, Corrine Charles, Beth Daws, Laura Brasnett, Sian Moley, Lucy Fletcher, Sharon Ross and Emily Diment.

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1 INTRODUCTION

This report sets out the key findings of research into the impact of the Licensing Act 2003 in Croydon.

The Licensing Act 2003

The Licensing Act 2003, which came into effect on 24 November 2005, abolished set licensing hours in England and Wales. Opening hours of premises are now set locally by local authorities through the conditions of individual licenses. The aim of the legislation was to liberalise a rigid system whilst reducing the problems of rapid-drinking and disorder associated with a standard closing time. It was hoped that in the longer term, the Act would help bring about a drinking culture which attached less value to rapid-drinking and drunkenness as ends in themselves. The Act also sought to provide licensing authorities with new powers to deal with problematic premises and to encourage closer partnership between the range of authorities who tackle problems of alcohol-related crime and disorder.

The Act has been the subject of much controversy. Although the aim of the Act was specifically to address problems associated with late-night drinking, there was a great deal of political and media concern in the run-up to implementation about the impact that it would actually have. It was feared that premises would be open 24 hours a day, leading to heavier drinking and higher overall levels of consumption. There were worries both about the public health impact of the new licensing regime and its effects on crime and disorder.

Evaluation methodology

The Home Office role with respect to the Licensing Act relates largely to problems of alcohol-related crime and disorder. In 2005 the Department put into place a programme for evaluating the Act's impact on crime and disorder. The programme included British Crime Survey analysis, a survey of 30 police forces, and five detailed case studies – of which the Croydon study is one.

All five case studies had a variety of components; these are described in Box 1.1.

Box 1.1: Components of research in Croydon

1. Police recorded crime data

Collation and analysis of time-stamped police recorded crime data for the period November 2003 to November 2006 on:

- violence against the person
- criminal damage
- sexual assaults.

Spatial and temporal analysis of recorded crime data was conducted by the Applied Criminology Centre of the University of Huddersfield (ACC).

2. Calls to the police for disorder

Review, also by ACC, of calls to the police for disorder from December 2005 to November 2006.

3. Penalty notices for disorder

Collation of data on numbers of penalty notices for disorder (PNDs) issued in the period April 2004 to March 2007 was analysed by researchers from the Home Office.

4. Health data

Collation and analysis of health data, also by ACC, for the period November 2003 to December 2006 (Friday and Saturday nights only) comprising:

- numbers of ambulance call-outs
- assaults recorded by the ambulance service.

5. Residents' survey

A telephone survey of Croydon residents conducted in two waves by the British Market Research Bureau (BMRB):

- Baseline survey conducted in February to June 2005 with a total of 690 respondents (including a separate boost sample of 142 people aged 18 to 30).
- Post-implementation survey conducted in February to May 2007 with a total of 807 respondents (including 204 in the boost sample).

6. Observation

17 Visits to licensed premises undertaken by ACC in one baseline period (November 2005) and 23 in two post-implementation periods (January to March 2006 and January 2007).

7. Interviews with licensees, managers and staff of licensed premises

12 qualitative, semi-structured interviews conducted by ACC in January to March

2006, with 3 licensees, 3 managers, 2 members of bar staff and 4 door supervisors

13 qualitative, semi-structured interviews conducted by ACC in January 2007
2006, with 6 licensees, 3 managers, 1 members of bar staff and 3 door supervisors

8. Interviews with licensees and representatives from night time economy businesses

36 qualitative, semi-structured interviews with owners and licensees and representatives from a range of late-night businesses (pubs, clubs, restaurants, take-aways, an off-licence and a taxi company) in two phases:

- Baseline phase, October to November 2005 (15 interviews)
- Post-implementation phase, October 2006 to January 2007 (21 interviews).

These interviews were undertaken by Cragg, Ross and Dawson (CRD).

9. Interviews with authority representatives

15 qualitative, semi-structured interviews with representatives of the licensing authority and the 'responsible authorities' (police, fire service, and local authority planning, social services, environmental health, trading standards and health and safety departments), the licensing solicitor, the town centre manager, and a representative of the Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership. Interviews were conducted in two phases:

- Around the time of implementation of the Licensing Act, October to December 2005 (11 interviews)
- Post-implementation, November 2006 to February 2007 (3 interviews)

These interviews were undertaken by the Home Office.

The context of the Croydon case study

Croydon is a commuter town situated to the south of London with a population of over 330,000 residents (The Office for National Statistics, 2005 mid year estimates) and a resident workforce of 150,000. In the Indices of Deprivation 2004, Croydon was ranked at 140 out of 354 local authorities in England, where 1 was the most deprived area and 354 the least deprived¹.

Croydon's night-time economy and some of the problems associated with this are briefly described below.

¹ <http://neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/NeighbourhoodProfileSearch.do?areaId=276750>

Croydon's night-time economy (NTE)

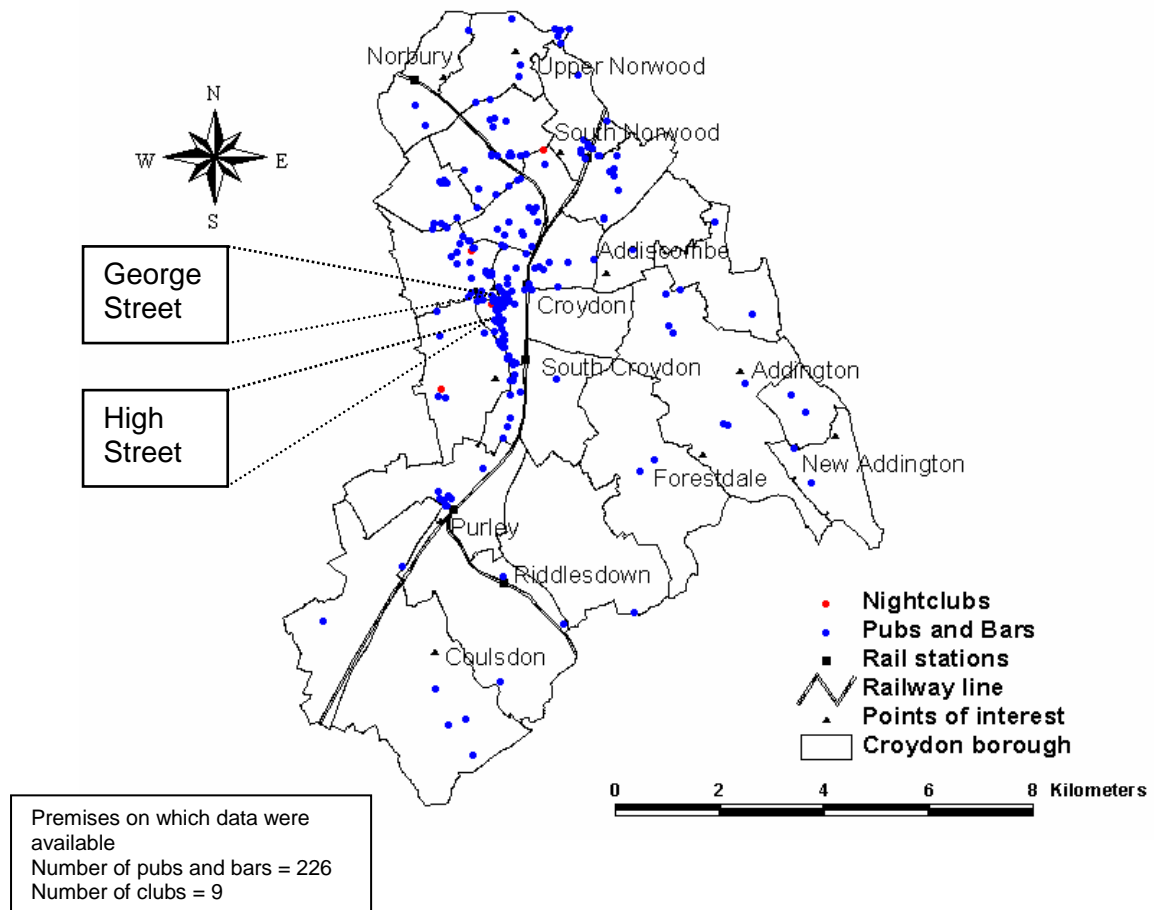
The main drinking area in Croydon is the High Street (known, locally as the strip). Some venues are bars which retain their atmosphere and clientele throughout the day and evening; others are more traditional pubs which attract older customers during the day and week (especially lunchtime) and market themselves at younger people at the weekend. Other individual venues include a few lounge-style 'feeder' bars whose customers come relatively early in the evening and move on, a traditional pub with no late licence and a bar/club with a regular clientele focusing on live music. There are also a few shops, restaurants and takeaways on the street. All these, however, are outnumbered by the large number of high-energy, high-capacity establishments aimed at the young (18 to 25 years). Before the Licensing Act 2003 came into effect, the licensed premises on Croydon High Street all generally held Public Entertainment Licenses (PELs) and were open until 2am at weekends.

The streets, just off the High Street, have many fewer licensed premises and do not seem to be part of the High Street circuit. For example, George Street, a major dual carriageway and tram line between the station and the High Street, consists of more traditional pubs as well as several shops and takeaways. Most premises here are aimed at office-based customers and shut by 10pm (pre Act) with people moving to the High Street after-hours on route back to the station. At time of fieldwork observations, there were 226 pubs and bars and nine night clubs in the area. (see Figure 1 for a map of the case study area).

Croydon NTE attracts a large number of both locals and people from other parts of London and the South East. Travel in and out of the area is relatively easy with several trains, buses, trams and many taxis being available throughout the evening and night-time period.

Night-time economy

Figure 1 Location of pubs, bars and nightclubs in Croydon



Alcohol-related violence and disorder

Like the other case study areas included in the Licensing Act evaluation, Croydon's centre is a small, clearly defined area with a high density of licensed premises and other late-night businesses to which people come from some distance to spend a whole evening, often moving between venues.

Non-drinkers and families are heavily outnumbered in these areas at peak times, partly because there is little of interest to them (the great majority of businesses are targeted exclusively or primarily at people for whom drinking is the main focus of the evening), and partly because the atmosphere which results from this emphasis is not attractive to them.

Many business owners and managers in Croydon, who were interviewed by CRD in late 2005, thought Croydon had a bad public reputation for drunken disorder, and although opinions about how far this reputation is still deserved varied, few denied that problems do exist. For many, this reputation was based on, or cemented by, riots in summer 2004 which took place after an England football match. This incident was mentioned by a large number of respondents, either as an example of how bad Croydon could be or as a recognised low point from which there could only be improvement.

Disturbances (and violence in particular) were said primarily to involve groups of young men under the age of 30. Many, however, were adamant that trouble could come from a range of quarters. Overall, most thought that problems were getting marginally better. Bar and pub managers tended to feel that the current situation was acceptable, although a few thought Croydon was still in crisis.

The structure of the report

Following this introduction, there are five chapters to the report. Chapter 2 examines local measures to manage the night-time economy that are largely independent of the Licensing Act 2003. This is followed, in Chapter 3, by discussion of the development and content of local policy under the Licensing Act. Section 4 then looks at the implementation of local policy under the Act. Chapters 5 and 6 consider evidence for the Act's impact on crime and disorder in recorded crime figures (Chapter 5) and residents' and stakeholders' perceptions (Chapter 6).

2 TACKLING ALCOHOL-RELATED CRIME AND DISORDER

This report is primarily concerned with the implementation and repercussions of the Licensing Act 2003 with regard to crime and disorder in Croydon. However, implementation of local policy under the Act occurs in a context partly shaped by other measures aimed at managing and addressing problems associated with the consumption of alcohol and the night-time economy. The scope of these other measures (in place at baseline and/or ongoing measures) is briefly considered below.

Tackling alcohol-related crime and disorder: summary

Such measures undertaken in Croydon include the following:

The “Pubwatch and Clubwatch” scheme, allowing regular communication between the alcohol trade, police and LA to discuss and find solutions for any problems relating to violence and disorder on licensed premises.

Croydon Radio Against Crime (CRAC) system for immediate communication with police to report any problems.

The “Best Bar None” scheme to reward responsible management, including exemplary security and crime prevention measures.

The “Think safe, Drink Safe” scheme to promote the safe consumption of alcohol. This included a taxi-marshalling scheme run by local authority wardens funded by the council.

From April 2005 Security Industry Authority (SIA) registration came into force for all door staff and almost all premises use digital CCTV systems.

“Alcohol Free Zones” (AFZ) in the town centre, incorporating East and West Croydon train stations to reduce the opportunity for individuals to use empty glass bottles as weapons and to provide the police with the means to address street drinking.

The implementation of Alcohol Misuse Enforcement Campaigns (AMECs), involving various elements of high-visibility, multi-agency enforcement, including increased use of penalty notices for disorder, test purchase operations at on- and off-licences, and the use of dispersal orders for tackling anti-social behaviour.

Multi-agency action

A *night-time economy steering group* had been running in Croydon for six or seven years to address issues relating to Croydon's growing night-time economy. The group, comprising of representatives from the local authority, licensing authority (LA), the police and town centre managers met quarterly to review various objectives in relation to licensing policy, most specifically those dealing with disorder.

In addition a '*Gold Group*' including representatives from environmental health, noise pollution, planning, the local authority, the police and the fire service would convene at short notice on the basis of any intelligence about potentially troublesome premises.

Enforcement

Interviewees from Croydon police described their policing of the NTE as 'robust', both before and after the implementation of the Act. Prior to the Act coming into force in November 2005, the police had built up good relationships with the licensees and would conduct regular visits and 'walk-throughs' of premises to provide re-assurance to customers and to ensure licensees were acting responsibly. Some of these visits took place jointly with the council licensing officers. These inspection visits continued after the Act was implemented, although with the more focused aim of checking that licensees were abiding by the conditions on their licenses. As before, some of these visits were conducted jointly with council licensing officers and trading standards officers.

Croydon had been operating Alcohol Free Zones since 2002. These were introduced under the Criminal Justice Act (2001) and allowed Local Authorities to designate public places as 'alcohol free'. In Croydon the zones incorporated East and West Croydon train stations and were being used to reduce the opportunity for individuals to use empty glass bottles as weapons and to provide the police with the means to address street drinking.

A significant amount of the work detailed above was conducted under the remit of the Home Office sponsored Alcohol Misuse Enforcement Campaigns (AMECs). These aimed to tackle the crime and disorder associated with the night time economy and they involved various elements of high-visibility, multi-agency enforcement, including increased use of penalty notices for disorder (see below), test purchase operations at on- and off-licences to help to tackle under-age drinking, the use of dispersal orders tackling anti-social behaviour, and accompanying publicity.

AMECs were implemented in Croydon from November 2005 to January 2006 and May to June 2006. As the first AMEC was undertaken around the time of implementation of the Licensing Act 2003, it is difficult to disentangle the initial impact of changes introduced under the Act from the possible impact of the AMEC.

Penalty notices for disorder (PNDs) were introduced by the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 and came into effect in April 2004. They are a tool for tackling low level offending and anti-social behaviour, including drunken and rowdy behaviour². Figures on PNDs issued in Croydon which were collated for the Licensing Act evaluation, show a considerable fall in the number issued after the introduction of the Licensing Act, which then begins to rise again after June 2006.

Other key measures involving licensed premises

Croydon had been operating a Pubwatch and Clubwatch scheme for some years prior to the Act. This involved monthly meetings between licensees, police and council officials. Most of the bar and club managers interviewed by CRD in the baseline period were members of the scheme, and had a range of views on its value and efficacy. For some these meetings were an important forum for promoting and facilitating communication between licensees and the police in order to address crime and disorder issues. However, others felt that the communication flow was one-way with little input permitted from licensees.

Related to the Pubwatch scheme, most licensees have access to an open-net radio system (CRAC) which connects premises with each other as well as with the police. Licensees can use this system for general communication but also to warn each other about specific problematic groups and to call the police when serious problems arise. Most CRD interviewees thought this system worked well in Croydon.

The “Best Bar None” scheme is a responsible management scheme run in partnership between licensees and the police. It comprises an annual competition to reward good practice and at the time of the interviews (November 2005) it had been running in Croydon for three years. Licensees who wished to be part of the scheme submitted an application form and had their management practices examined and assessed, including, for example, the security and crime prevention measures in place. Not all the CRD interviewees mentioned this scheme but those who did

² They are frequently used to target problems of drunken, rowdy behaviour. PNDs can be issued by the police and in a limited capacity by community support officers and other accredited persons.

appreciated the opportunity to review and improve their safety and operational procedures on an annual basis.

While there were no specific agreements about drinks promotions in Croydon, the Crime Reduction Strategy noted a plan to introduce a code of practice by December 2005 to prevent the sale of cheap alcoholic drinks via 'happy hours' and other drink promotions that encourage binge drinking. The police and Licensing Authority also provided advice to licensees on the management of such promotions through the Pubwatch and Best Bar None schemes.

The CRD baseline interviews indicate that most bars and clubs, which open after 11pm, use security staff accredited by the Security Industry Authority (SIA). Door staff at different venues often come from the same agency, and maintain good relations with one another. Venues also tend to have internal CCTV systems – some of which are sophisticated arrangements with numerous digital cameras and hard-disk recorders. Other measures in place at baseline to minimise disorder on the street included a marshall who controls the taxi rank, to manage dispersal at pub and club closing times.

3 LOCAL POLICY UNDER THE LICENSING ACT 2003

This chapter describes the development of local licensing policy under the Licensing Act 2003, and the content of that policy as set out in Croydon's statement of Licensing Policy.

Local policy under the Licensing Act: summary

The licensing authority (LA) sits within the Croydon Council's Environmental Culture and Sports Services Department. The responsible authorities (RAs), which must be consulted on all licence applications, are police, fire service, and local authority planning, social services, environmental health, trading standards and health and safety departments.

A working group was set up comprising of representatives from the LA, planning department, police and the council licensing solicitor. One of their main roles was to draft the LA's statement of licensing policy. As a result of this, most RAs in Croydon had a chance to make comments on the Licensing Policy.

In the run-up to implementation of the Act, the Croydon LA made sure that all licencees and owners of late-night food outlets were aware of the Act and the need to submit an application.

Croydon City Council published its 'Statement of Licensing Policy' (SLP) in December 2004, setting out how the LA will carry out the licensing functions defined by the Act.

Under the Act, the LA may adopt a special policy to address the issue of the 'cumulative impact' of large numbers of licensed premises in particular areas. Croydon's SLP specifies that the town centre has been designated a Saturation Zone. This introduces a rebuttable presumption that certain types of new licence applications for premises within the Saturation Zone will be refused.

The development of local policy

Within Croydon Council, the licensing authority (LA) sits within the Environmental Culture and Sports Services Department. This department included environmental health (including noise pollution) and trading standards. Prior to the Act, the department also had responsibility for licensing of commercial premises (including restaurants and entertainment).

Section 5 of the Licensing Act 2003 imposes a statutory duty on licensing authorities to produce and keep under review a Statement of Licensing Policy. The purpose of the policy statement is to set out how the licensing authority intends to carry out its licensing functions and thereby promote the licensing objectives of:

- Prevention of crime and disorder;
- Public safety;
- Prevention of public nuisance;
- Protection of children from harm.

The Act specifies responsible authorities (RAs) who must be consulted for each licence application. Croydon RAs are the police, fire service, and local authority planning, social services, environmental health, trading standards and health and safety departments. The LA and RAs met throughout the transitional period to discuss licensing issues. However, it was reported that these meetings should have happened more frequently and that they were not always constructive. Further, not all RAs received a copy of each application so the LA sent the police a daily list of all the applications they had received, so the police could then check that they had also received a copy.

The problem would be if they sent the application to the council but didn't send it to us. The council will then say 'well we haven't had any representations from anywhere, therefore there can't be a problem, therefore we'll grant the license'. (Police respondent)

According to interviews with LA and RA respondents, the LA had worked hard to ensure that all relevant licensees were aware of the Act and their need to submit an application. It was reported that this was particularly important for owners of late-night food outlets which had not previously been licensed under the London Local Authorities Act.

Also, in preparation for receiving a large number of applications, the LA had developed templates to speed up the production of new licenses for those applying for conversions:

So I did, in the early days when, February, March time, I did templates. So I did a template for all the different types of licence or certificate that we might have, with all the embedded restrictions on. So all you would have to do is put in the personal details if you like. So all the conversions were dealt with by the officers, because the template was there for them, if it was a conversion, the conditions for the type of premises, be it an off licence or a restaurant, were all there." [representative from LA]

And in terms of supporting the RAs, training was provided for the fire department, covering their role and responsibilities under the Act.

It was also clear from the Home Office interviews – both those conducted around the time of implementation and the post-implementation interviews - that dealing with licence applications had imposed considerable demands on all the agencies involved. Some interviewees reported that they were able to recruit additional staff to deal with the application procedure: the police recruited one extra member of staff and the LA recruited four new staff members.

The representative from the LA raised concerns about the cost of these additional staff and the fact that these costs would not be recovered.

...Croydon is no exception to this, our set up costs have not been covered. We've not recovered our set up costs by the fee structure, so we're operating at a loss. Operating at a loss in 2004/5 and we'll be operating at a loss in 2005/6... And it's primarily staff costs associated with implementing this [Act] (LA respondent).

The various RAs took different approaches to processing applications but all noted the time-consuming nature of the work. For example the fire service reported that a more thorough check was done for those applications requesting a variation in the type of entertainment on offer (such as live music or dancing) as this would potentially lead to an increase in the number of people visiting the premises.

The representative from environmental health (noise pollution) stressed that each application was dealt with individually and if the team had any concerns, they would visit the premises. The police representative noted that the high volume of work during the transitional period had prevented them from conducting as many premises visits as normal.

The other dramatic effect that it had because we were so busy during the day that we didn't get out nearly enough to be able to see and keep control over the licensed premises... The licensing sergeant is no good in the office, he needs to be out with the licensed premises, needs to be constantly having to be in their face, so that they remain totally focussed towards the police. [Police respondent]

The Statement of Licensing Policy

In essence, Croydon's Statement of Licensing Policy details the process by which applications for new licences and for variations to existing licences will be dealt with.

Section 4 of the Statement looks at the impact of licensed activities and notes that when considering the imposition of conditions to licenses:

The Council will primarily focus on the direct impact of the activities taking place at licensed premises on members of the public living, working or engaged in normal activity in the area concerned (para.4.9).

With respect to the licensing objective of minimising crime and disorder, it is noted that issues to be addressed by licence applicants include:

- Effective and responsible management and supervision of the premises, including associated open areas
- Participation in responsible management schemes such as 'Best Bar None' accreditation scheme
- Training and supervision of those employed to prevent incidents of crime and disorder
- Adoption of existing and future best practice guidance such as the National Alcohol Harm Reduction Toolkit and codes of practice relating to drinks' promotions
- Employment of licensed door supervisors and other appropriately trained staff
- Use of accredited 'proof of age' documentation for entry to premises as measure to reduce underage drinking
- Provision of toughened or plastic glasses
- Provision of litter bins and security measures such as lighting and CCTV outside pubs.
- Managing the departure of customers

Section 10 of the policy contains a brief 'general enforcement statement' which includes the need to concentrate resources on 'problem and high-risk premises':

Using the principle of risk assessment and targeting, the Council will work closely with Croydon Borough Police and the London Fire and Emergency Planning Authority to establish protocols that provide an efficient deployment of Police, Fire and Council Officers engaged in enforcing licensing law and inspecting licensed premises. This should ensure that resources are more effectively concentrated on problem and high-risk premises (para. 10.2).

Cumulative impact policy

Guidance issued under the Licensing Act states that the licensing authority may, in appropriate circumstances, adopt a special policy to address the issue of the 'cumulative impact' of large numbers of licensed premises in particular areas. Croydon's Statement of Licensing Policy specifies that, in line with this policy on cumulative impact, the town centre area has been designated a Saturation Zone (encompassing the key drinking areas identified above).

This introduces a rebuttable presumption that certain types of licence application (involving the sale or supply of alcohol) for premises within the Saturation Zone will be refused. Whilst the policy stressed that each individual application would be determined on its merits, favourable consideration was to be given to more diverse types of premises, i.e. for an older clientele/over 21's, live music, restaurants, etc, including applications resulting from the proposals of the Cultural Strategy for a 'cultural quarter' within the designated town centre area.

However, since that policy was put together (18 months prior to the Act's implementation) there had reportedly been a large reduction in the number of licensed premises in the town centre; for example through closures for commercial reasons as well as a result of the strict management of problem premises by the police. Those interviewed by the Home Office researchers, including the police, council and health and safety departments all agreed that the CI policy was no longer strictly necessary but that it could be useful in terms of encouraging diversity in the night-time economy.

4 THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LOCAL POLICY UNDER THE LICENSING ACT 2003

This chapter looks at how licensing policy has been implemented in Croydon following the introduction of the Licensing Act 2003. Three aspects to implementation are considered here: first, the extent to which additional licensing hours have been applied for, granted and used; secondly, enforcement activity under the Act; thirdly, multi-agency working under the Act.

Implementation of local policy under the Licensing Act: summary

Of 169 premises on which data are available, 23 per cent applied for no additional licensing hours under the Act, 50 per cent applied for between one and eight additional hours per week, and 27 per cent applied for nine or more additional hours per week.

Most pubs and clubs in Croydon were granted the capacity to open for one additional hour, with all premises closed by 3am. These extensions tended to be used only on relatively busy nights – likely to be Friday and Saturday nights.

A range of conditions were added to licenses which had extended trading hours. For late-opening bars and pubs, these were based on the types of conditions attached to Public Entertainment Licenses (PELs) under the old legislation.

The Licensing Act did not fundamentally alter the enforcement role of the police and other statutory authorities. The new powers designated under the Act were considered to re-enforce existing policies rather than acting as a catalyst for the development of any new policies or initiatives.

Business representatives noted more attention by police to issues of underage drinking and drunkenness but overall they felt there had been no great change in enforcement activity.

Among LA and RA representatives, perceptions about multi-agency working under the Act were mixed with some respondents noting continued and strong partnership activity and others feeling that action tended to be slow. However, all noted improved relationships with the alcohol trade as a result of the Act.

Applications for additional licensing hours

At the time of data collection stage of the evaluation there were no comprehensive data on the numbers of additional licensing hours applied for by Croydon premises

under the Licensing Act. However, ACC acquired data on licence applications by a total of 169 premises. This was the number of premises for which address details and other minimum operational data were available via the Licensing Authority. Based on the assumption that, among these premises, the pubs had previously closed at 11 p.m. and the clubs at 2 a.m., ACC calculated that:

- 23 per cent of the premises applied for no additional hours
- 50 per cent of the premises applied for between one and eight additional hours per week
- 27 per cent applied for nine or more additional hours per week.

The above figures are supported by a finding of the baseline interviews conducted by CRD with late-night businesses: most of these had applied for additional hours – typically one or two hours per night.

Responses to applications for additional hours

The extent to which additional hours *applied for* by licensed premises were *granted* by the licensing authority is difficult to determine from the available information. However, few licensees and premises managers interviewed by CRD reported any problems in obtaining the extended licences they had applied for. It was reported by respondents that the process had been tightly controlled by Croydon Council, which let it be known that it wanted all pubs and bars to close by 3am; the great majority of licensees abided by this and were successful in their applications.

Post implementation interviews conducted by the Home Office with licensing and responsible authority (LA and RA) representatives indicated that there was extensive consultation and negotiation between the police and licensees about what kind of license variation would and would not be acceptable. Generally, the police advised licensees to apply for conversions with a view to applying for a variation further down the line, once the Act was bedded in, as noted below.

We advised people to go for conversions at the time and then to see how the licensing act was actually going to fall into place and then, if necessary, in 12 months time or after the World Cup had been...then we suggested that if they wanted to go for variation that wasn't too outrageous, we would certainly consider it at that time. (RA respondent)

The success of this approach was reportedly due the strong relationship already in place between the police and licensees.

We got away with that process and that structure and that approach purely because of the iron grip we had on it in the first place. And it just followed that people wanted to negotiate rather than really trying to expand the envelope in terms of new hours.” (RA2 Croy)

This was reinforced by the fact that, at the time of the interviews, no premises had been taken to review by the police (see *Enforcement* below).

Interestingly from the police point of view there are no prosecutions of licensees or licensed premises, I understand at the moment and indeed no requests to review. (RA respondent)

The ACC researchers visited a small number of premises (13) to establish, among other matters, their actual hours of business. Eight premises had applied for additional hours: six for nine or more hours per week and two for between one and eight hours. On average, these premises used 48 per cent of their additional hours.

Imposition of licence conditions

A range of conditions had been added to those licenses which had extended trading hours. For late-opening bars and pubs, the conditions were based on the types of conditions that had been attached to Public Entertainment Licenses (PELs) under the old legislation. Examples of conditions used included charging for entry (with prices increased at the weekend); no entry after a certain time (to prevent ‘bar-hopping’); the use of plastic glasses and the employment of SIA accredited door supervisors.

We had some quite strict regulations and restrictions imposed on the premises under the 1964 Act when there was a Public Entertainments Licence and what we did was we imposed a lot of those conditions...onto the new late night venues. Because you would then start to get pubs that were going to be staying open almost as late as some of the nightclubs so it was only right that they were, the same sort of conditions were imposed on them. (RA respondent)

Notwithstanding the tighter licence conditions that had apparently been introduced since the Act, post-implementation interviews conducted by CRD with business owners and licensees indicated that there were no major differences in the measures adopted by individual premises. However, one or two venues had introduced door staff as a condition of later opening hours and approaches to door security seemed to have become a little more sensitive with the emphasis on diffusing a situation rather than just ejecting someone onto the street. As in other areas, there was a much greater emphasis on tackling underage drinking than before, often through formal staff training and regular ID checks, including “Challenge 21 (or even 25) policies. This issue was seen as a key focus of the Act:

We've done a lot more in the way of risk assessments based around the licensing objectives. The entire concentration is there. We are a lot harder on identification of young people, and all the staff are trained to a much higher level now in checking ID and making sure it's the right kind of ID. Our biggest issue is probably making sure that we're not serving underage people. We operate a Challenge 25 system, so anyone who looks under 25 has to have ID. (Chain pub respondent)

One significant innovation was the introduction of a fingerprint entry and database system used by an independent bar. This was thought by management to have reduced the problem of underage drinking and petty crime by acting as a deterrent and identifying known trouble-makers.

Current licensing statistics for Croydon

At the time of writing (November 2007), the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) has recently published a statistical bulletin on licences and licence applications from across England and Wales, including breakdowns by licensing authority. The data were collected by means of a survey of all licensing authorities.³

The Croydon LA reported that as of 31 March 2007, a total of 905 premises licences – that is, licenses authorising the sale of alcohol, late-night refreshment or regulated entertainment, or any combination of these activities - were in force across the authority area. Of these, 800 authorised the sale or supply of alcohol for on and/or off-site consumption. Table 4.1 provides more details on Croydon's premises licences.

Table 4.1: Premises licences in force in the Croydon licensing authority area, as of 31 March 2007

Sale or supply of alcohol			Late-night refreshment	Any regulated entertainment	All premises licences*
On-sales only	Off-sales only	Both on- & off-sales			
250	375	175			
800			105	425	905*

* The sum of the different categories of licence is more than the total of premises licences because most licences authorise a combination of activities.

³ All the survey findings can be found at www.dcms.gov.uk/reference_library/rands/statistics/alcohol_entertainment_licensing_statistics.htm

Across Croydon, six premises had 24-hour licences in March 2007. Four of these were hotel bars open for guests only, one was a supermarket; and the remaining one was recorded as 'other'.

Over the first full financial year since implementation of the Licensing Act – from April 2006 to March 2007 - a total of 67 new premises licences were applied for in Croydon. Sixty-two of these applications were granted, and the remaining five refused. Over the same period, 32 applications were made to vary premises licences: that is, to change the terms of the licence, for example with respect to opening hours, licensable activities or licence conditions.

Enforcement under the Licensing Act

There was no marked change in Croydon, in enforcement activity after the Act. This was perceived by RA and LA respondents to be a result of the robust enforcement and the long-term focus on reducing alcohol-related crime and disorder that existed before the Act. Also of note was that the full range of powers available under the Act (such as the review process) had not been used by the respondents at the time of the interviews. The limited number of premises that were granted extended hours and the infrequency with which these hours have been used will also have played a role in this. However, the new powers designated under the Act were perceived by respondents as being a good tool for managing premises, which would rather comply with police demands or close voluntarily than be taken to review or be issued with a closure notice.

Responses of licensees to enforcement after the Act

Interviews with licensees and business owners conducted by CRD in the post-implementation period suggested that all were positive about policing activities during the football World Cup (June, 2006). However, since that time some respondents felt that the police presence had declined and that Croydon had used up its share of police resources or that longer opening hours were stretching resources too thinly:

The problem is that licensing hours have been extended and it's carrying on through the night. The police do tend to be out at 2.00am but they [drinkers] are out even later and the police have already gone home. A lot of clubs close at 3am, and there are no police.

However, others noted that the Act's emphasis on reducing drunkenness and underage drinking had led to increased attention from the police:

The Licensing Act has clamped down on drunkenness and awareness of all that stuff. And the police are a little bit more on the ball as well. But to an extent they have to be more realistic because they keep coming in here and saying the trouble is caused because we are serving people who are drunk. Now at 2am in Croydon, you go into anywhere and 90% of the people are going to be drunk. (Chain pub respondent)

Overall, the licensees relationships with the police (and other RAs) were widely said to be good and constructive; indeed few felt that the police were unreasonable or intrusive.

Partnership working under the Licensing Act

Among the respondents to the Home Office post-implementation interviews, there were mixed feelings about the impact of the Act on partnership working, and the levels of partnership working more generally, in Croydon.

Interviewees from the CDRP and Licensing Authority (LA) reported high levels of partnership working prior to the Act and that had continued post implementation. For example, Croydon's Night Time Economy Steering Group (mentioned above) had been in place prior to the Act and had co-ordinated issues relating to the NTE such as the SIA accreditation of door supervisors, admission charges for licensed premises, and the provision of taxi marshals.

In all honesty I think it is the same as it was before but it was very, very strong before...it is fair to say that we get on extremely well and work well with our police licensing colleagues." (RA respondent)

Interviewees from the police agreed that the Act had not had a significant impact on partnership working, although police respondents perceived that there was still a lot of room for improvement, particularly in terms of the time it took to take action on some issues:

We [the police] are all about action and they're all about being seen to have meetings. (RA2 Croy)

It was also reported that some of the RAs were much less involved in the licensing process than others (e.g. social; services), although it was appreciated that this was likely to be because of the already high workloads of those involved.

There was a good working relationship in Croydon between the police and the licensed trade. This was seen as being vitally important in the successful

management of the NTE and this relationship was perceived to have further improved in the run up to the Act.

I think the interesting thing in terms of the new Act was that in the run up to that, and in the run up to anything that various premises might be doing that is slightly different they now consult us much more early about the impact of what they might want to do...they'll ring us up quite early and any issues that come out...are dealt with at a very early stage. (RA2 Croy)

5 ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF THE LICENSING ACT ON CRIME AND DISORDER (1): POLICE AND HEALTH DATA

This chapter assesses the impact, if any, of the Licensing Act on levels of alcohol-related crime and disorder, as evidenced by police recorded crime data on violence against the person and criminal damage,⁴ and numbers of calls to the police for disorder. The data were analysed at different levels: macro (entire study area), meso (near to licensed premises) and micro (at or inside licensed premises). The spatial analysis, which made use of a Geographical Information System (GIS), was carried out in order to assess whether the Act had impacted on crime and disorder in specific locations – especially areas around licensed premises and temporal analysis was used to attribute any changes to licensing hours.⁵

In addition to police data, some health data were also collected for the evaluation and are briefly discussed in the final part of the chapter. All the data reviewed in this chapter were collated and analysed by ACC.

Police data on crime and disorder: summary

Analysis of police recorded crime data from before and after implementation of the Licensing Act produced the following findings:

The post-implementation period saw a decrease in incidents of violence against the person. The monthly average of 560 incidents in the baseline period decreased to 485 in the post-implementation period – a reduction of 13 per cent over all.

There were no obvious changes to the timing of peaks of violent incidents post implementation and the number of incidents was not higher for weekends than for weekdays. The decline in number of incidents was fairly consistent across days of the week.

In the baseline period, 12 per cent of violent offences occurred in the 'cluster area' containing the highest concentration of licensed premises, and 15 per cent within 50m buffer zones around premises. These figures decreased slightly to 11 per cent and 13 per cent respectively after implementation.

⁴ Sexual offences data were also collected for the evaluation, but it is difficult to draw conclusions from these about any potential impact of the Licensing Act because of the small numbers of incidents (around 45 per month in both the baseline and post-implementation periods).

⁵ GIS is a computerised system for the capture, storage, retrieval, analysis and visualisation of spatial data. It allows crime to be mapped over time and space, and to be cross referenced with multiple data sources, for example licensed premises and land use. See ACC Technical Annex for more detail on methodology.

The main hot-spots of violence were the same before and after implementation with no change in the timing or location of offences of violence against the person in Croydon between the two periods.

740 violent offences were recorded in or at licensed premises during the two-year baseline period. 15 premises (seven per cent of the total) accounted for 56 per cent of these offences. In twelve months after implementation, 272 offences were recorded in or at premises; again the 'top 15' accounted for 51 per cent of them.

Criminal damage offences increased slightly (1%) after implementation of the Act. There was an average monthly figure of 406 incidents in the baseline period compared to 409 post-implementation.

Criminal damage was much less concentrated around licensed premises than violence. In both the baseline and post-implementation periods, 4 per cent of offences occurred in the licensed premises 'cluster area', and around seven per cent in the 50m buffer zones around licensed premises.

Data on calls to the police for disorder show a fall of five per cent between baseline and post-implementation periods. The average monthly figure for the baseline period was 1,006, compared to 958 after implementation. Calls were not concentrated near licensed premises (approximately 4% in both time periods), approximately 10% in both time periods were in the 50 - 100m and the 100-150m.

The monthly distribution of ambulance service recorded assaults showed fluctuations occurring throughout the year. However, the period between March and July 2006 was characterised by reductions in assaults compared with the baseline (179 average baseline to 136 post implementation). This was followed by an increase in assaults between August 2006 and October 2006 (90 to 148).

There were some similarities in how ambulance assaults and weekend violence against the person offences changed by hour of the evening/night. Both fell between 11.00 pm and 11.59pm and in each hour between 1.00am and 3.59am. Assaults and violence against the person both increased between 10.00pm and 10.59pm and between 4.00am and 4.49am, although increases in assaults were far greater than those seen for violence against the person offences.

Levels of violence – macro analysis (entire case study area)

Violence against the person is a diverse crime category which includes offences such as murder, wounding and common assault. Numbers of recorded offences of violence were analysed for a two-year pre-implementation period of December 2003 to November 2005, and a one-year post-implementation period of December 2005 to December 2006. It should be noted that changes to the recording of violence against

the person offences since April 2005, particularly in relation to less serious wounding, common assault and serious violence, e.g. threats to kill, may influence the results of this analysis.⁶ Moreover police powers for dealing with violent offences have been extended, for example through powers to issue Penalty Notices for Disorder (PNDs), and the availability of these powers may result in the recording of offences which previously would have been dealt with informally.

Across Croydon, levels of violence against the person declined in the post-implementation period compared to the baseline period. In the average baseline period there were a total of 6723 offences; the figure then dropped to 5821 in the post-implementation period– a decrease of 13 per cent. The average monthly figure for the baseline period was 562, compared to 473 for the post-implementation period. Table 5.1 shows that with the exception of July and December, for each month of the post implementation period there were reductions in violence against the person compared to the corresponding months in the baseline period.

Table 5.1 Violence against the person monthly crime counts in Croydon (December 2003 to December 2006)

	Year				Post implementation percentage change (monthly average) ¹
	2003	2004	2005	2006	
January		561	566	481	-14.6
February		531	500	412	-20.1
March		550	600	478	-16.9
April		570	606	504	-14.3
May		596	588	520	-12.2
June		653	545	474	-20.9
July		596	544	572	0.4
August		675	515	554	-6.9
September		581	513	484	-11.5
October		598	525	436	-22.4
November		572	466	393	-24.3
December	458	535	513	369	3.3

¹Note: The baseline period is an average of the two year period 2004/2005

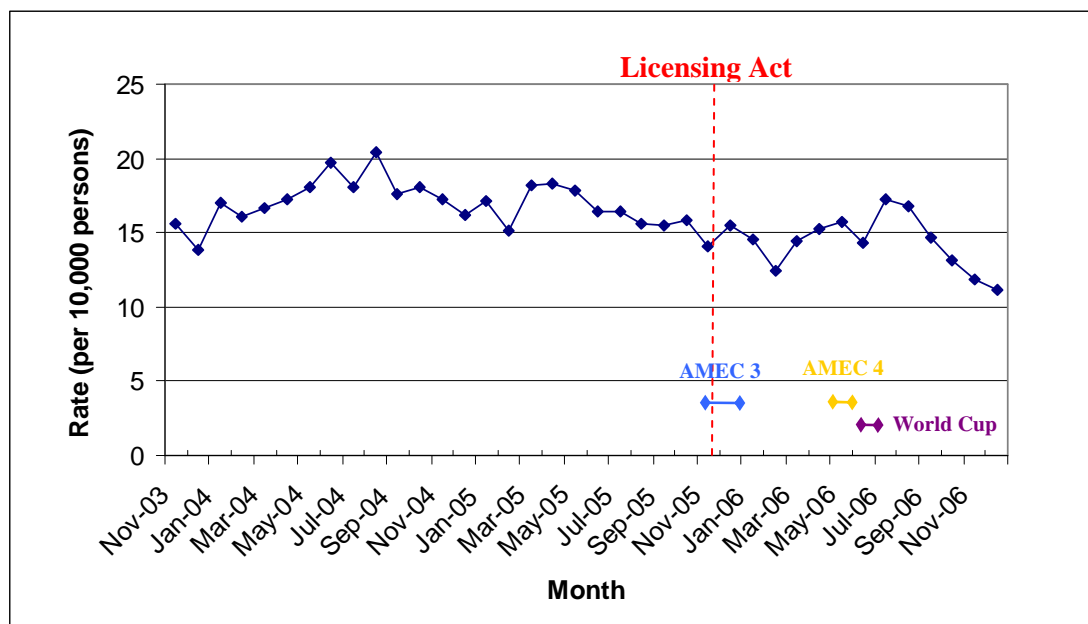
Statistical tests were run to determine whether changes in levels of violence were significant.⁷ There was a significant reduction in violence against the person offences

⁶ Hence, for example, national recorded crime figures show increases in levels of less serious wounding and common assault from 2004 to 2006, but the British Crime Survey shows a decline in these offences over the same period.

in the second six months of the baseline period, and both the first and second six months of the post implementation periods.

Figure 5.1 presents the monthly rates of violence against the person in Croydon (per 10,000 persons) across the baseline and post implementation periods plotted against the introduction of the Act and the timing of other relevant initiatives and events in Croydon. The graph shows that after rising from January 2004 to a peak in September that year, violence against the person was already displaying a downward trend when the Act was introduced. Therefore reductions in violence may be attributable to factors other than the Act. The AMECs periods did not seem to correspond with reductions in violence against the person. The World Cup in 2006 coincided with an increase in violence against the person offences, which may explain why this was one of only two months which did not show a decrease compared to the baseline period.

Figure 5.1 Violence against the person crime rate in Croydon and local initiatives (November 2003 to December 2006)



⁷ Independent sample t tests were used for this analysis, and were run on weekly crime counts in the baseline and post implementation periods. Due to potential seasonal fluctuations that may hide important changes that could only be observed in the first six months or second six months periods, each year was subdivided into a half year period. Weekly values were used as opposed to monthly values as this increases the sample size and reduced the standard error, thus making the test more robust.

Serious and less serious violent crime for the entire case study area

Violence against the person offences were examined at the macro, meso level and micro level. However, changes to the recording process of more serious violence against the person offences (for example 'threats to kill') since April 2005 may influence the results of this analysis. Additionally, lower level offences including other offences against the person (less serious violence) are likely to be influenced by police activity (e.g. the use of PNDs) more so than more serious violence. For this reason the average baseline and post implementation violence against the person offences were separated into more serious and other violence against the person offences.

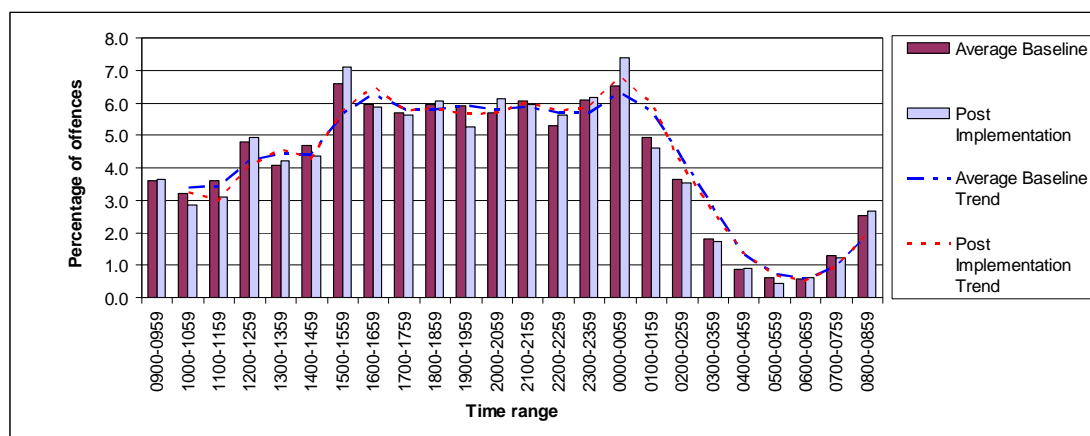
Analysis of figures for the most serious violence against the person offences, which include murder, attempted murder, manslaughter and wounding, revealed a decrease from 207 offences per year in the baseline period (the average figure for the two baseline years) to 114 offences in the post-implementation year (percentage change of - 45%).⁸ In both periods, offences of serious violence made up around two-three per cent of all violent offences.

Daily, weekly and annual distribution of violent offences

There is a lengthy time period where offences of violence against the person remain fairly constant, and at a high level, both in the baseline and post implementation periods; from approximately 3.00pm until 00.59am, with peaks at both these times. The only period when there is a noticeable reduction in offences is from 3.00am until 8.59am. The number of offences of violence against the person decreased in the early hours in every one hour time interval in the post implementation period. Overall, the distribution of violence against the person across times of the day has retained a similar pattern in the post implementation period and there is no evidence to suggest that there has been a shift in the occurrence of violence against the person to later times in the day post Act.

⁸ Because the numbers of serious violence offences are small, geographical analysis of these data was not undertaken.

Figure 5.2 Proportional changes to violence against the person offences by time of day in Croydon (average baseline and post implementation periods)



Data on violent offences were analysed separately for Friday and Saturday nights only – the nights on which premises may have been more likely to use additional licensing hours. Croydon registered decreases between baseline and post implementation in both weekday (3,578 to 3,184 recorded offences) and weekend violence (3,154 to 2,637 recorded offences). In 11 of 12 months in Croydon there were reductions in weekend violence against the person. May saw the greatest decrease followed by October then November. There were eight months when both weekday and weekend violence against the person fell but weekend offences fell the most (by 16% overall). Croydon saw falls in violence against the person between 11am and 3am both during the week (527 to 491) and at weekends (905 to 764), although the magnitude of the change was greatest during the weekend.

Levels of violence – meso analysis (near to licensed premises)

The areas closest to licensed premises (0-50m zone) accounted for the greatest proportion of violence against the person offences in the baseline period (15%). In the post implementation period, the zone 50-100m from licensed premises contained the greatest proportion of offences (15%). However, when comparing the two periods, the actual differences in proportions of offences in each of the areas is small; 13.5 to 14.7 per cent in the 50-100m zone. There is no evidence to suggest therefore that there was any considerable change over time in the location of violence against the person offences in relation to licensed premises.

Compared to other case study areas, the cluster area contained relatively few violence against the person offences (11.5% baseline, and 10.6% post implementation). This is likely to be due to the fact that the cluster area (in this case

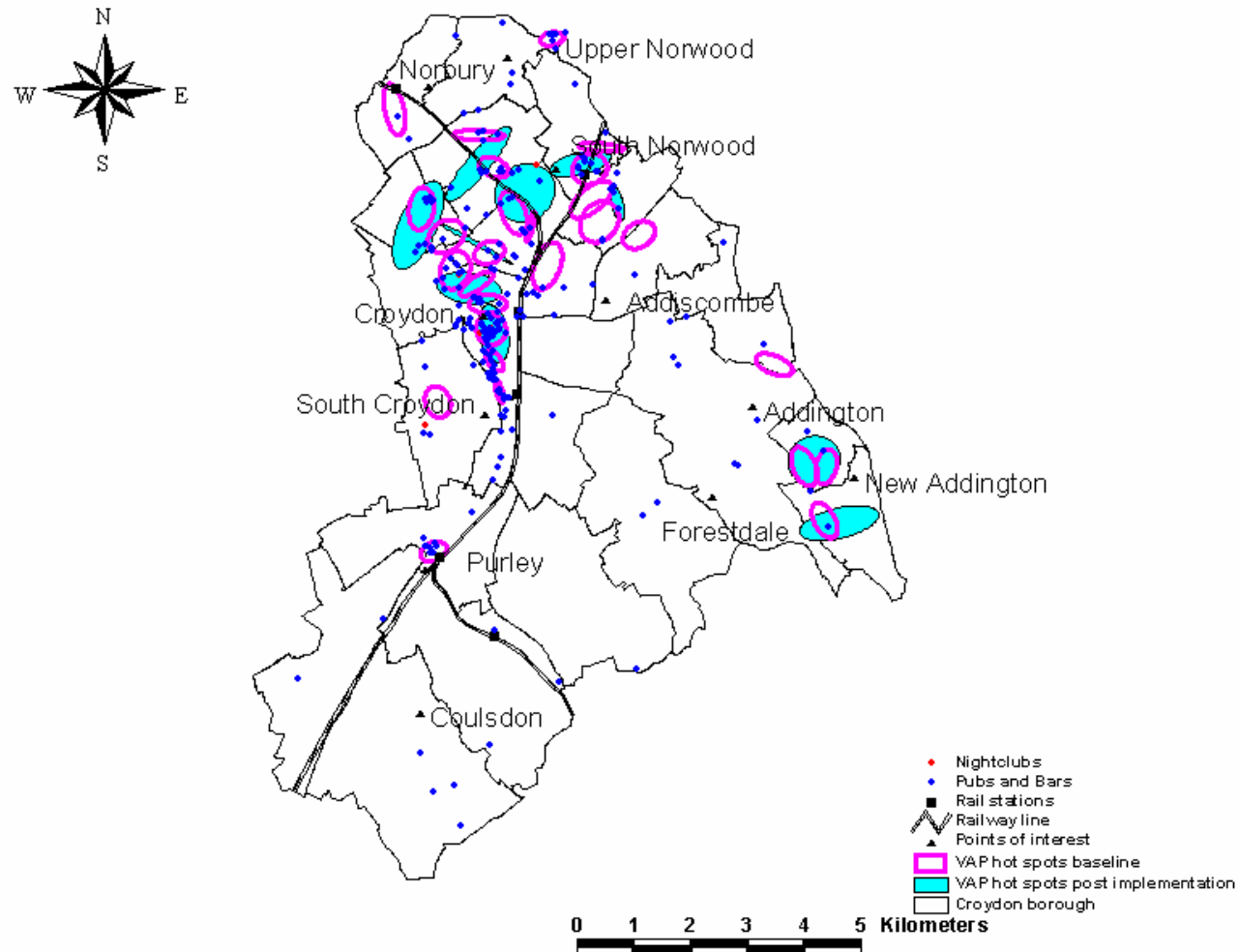
Croydon town centre) accounts for a far smaller proportion of the whole case study area (in this case Croydon borough) than in the other areas.

Changes to the daily distribution of violence against the person were not distributed evenly across the Croydon area. Nor was there a discernible pattern to the changes that did occur post implementation. Most were only minor – less than one percentage point. Of the larger changes, there was some reduction in offences of violence against the person between 1.00am and 1.59am for the cluster area (4%) and from 0-50m from premises (4%), while there was an increase for the same areas between 3.00pm and 3.59pm.

There was little change in the overall geographical distribution of offences. “Hot-spots” are mapped in Figure 5.3, in which the purple ellipses represent the baseline hot spots and the blue ones the post implementation period. These do not account for the timing of the offences, but consider the overall concentration of offending over the 12 month period. It can be seen that the hot spots remained relatively stable between the baseline and post implementation periods, and are concentrated around the major urban areas, particularly Croydon itself, and South Norwood. Some areas which were hot spots in the baseline period are no longer apparent, for example to the north of Addington, although it should be stressed that overall there is no real evidence of a shift in the location of hot spots between the two periods.

The spatio-temporal distribution of violent offences remained broadly consistent in the baseline and post-implementation periods. In the period 9.00pm to 11.00pm the focus of offending is around Croydon, Addington and South Norwood, with little change in density between baseline and post implementation. From 11.00pm to 1.00am, the overall concentration of offences increases, and in the post implementation period there is a small increase in density near Addington, also occurring in the 1.00am to 3.00am period. Between 3.00am to 5.00am the number of offences declines considerably in both periods, although post implementation there is a small increase in density in South Croydon. Taken together, these data suggest little change in the timing or location of offences of violence against the person in Croydon between the baseline and post implementation periods.

Figure 5.3 Violence against the person hot spots (NNHC) in Croydon (average baseline and post implementation periods)



Levels of violence – micro analysis (at or inside licensed premises)

At the micro level, 740 violent offences were recorded in or at licensed premises during the two-year baseline period (the sum of two years' data). Over 60 per cent of offences occurred at less than eight per cent of premises, indeed just one premise was responsible for 13 per cent of all offences. The top fifteen premises (6.5% of all premises) accounted for over half (56 per cent) of all offences of violence against the person. At 40 per cent of premises, there were no recorded offences. Eight of the top fifteen premises in the baseline also appeared in the top fifteen in the post implementation period.

At post implementation, 272 violent offences were recorded in or at licensed premises. Again the top fifteen (6.4 per cent of all premises) accounted for over half (51%) of all offences of violence against the person. As with the baseline, 40 per cent of premises had no recorded offences. The top three premises in both periods were the same, and accounted for 25 per cent of all offences in both periods. Five of the premises that were in the baseline top 15 that did not appear in the top 15 post implementation were closed for all or part of the post implementation period.

Table 5.2: Violence against the person offences recorded at Croydon's 'top 15' licensed premises – baseline period

<i>Venue</i>	<i>No. of offences*</i>	<i>Cumulative no. offences*</i>	<i>% offences**</i>	<i>Cumulative % offences**</i>
A	95	95	13	12
B	48	143	7	19
C	45	188	6	25
D	32	220	4	30
E	27	247	4	33
F	27	274	4	37
G	27	301	4	41
H	18	319	2	43
I	17	336	2	45
J	14	350	2	47
K	14	364	2	49
L	14	378	2	51
M	13	391	2	53
N	12	403	2	55
O	12	415	2	56

*Sum of two years' data

**Percentage of all offences recorded in or at premises

Venues shaded in blue were in 'top fifteen' in both baseline and post-implementation periods.

Table 5.3: Violence against the person offences recorded at Croydon’s ‘top 15’ licensed premises – post-implementation period

<i>Venue</i>	<i>No. of offences</i>	<i>Cumulative no. offences</i>	<i>% offences*</i>	<i>Cumulative % offences*</i>
A	35	35	13	13
C	17	52	6	19
B	16	68	6	25
G	15	83	6	31
P	9	92	3	34
M	9	99	3	37
I	7	104	2	39
K	5	109	2	41
Q	4	96	2	42
R	4	100	2	44
S	4	104	2	45
T	4	108	2	47
O	4	112	2	48
U	4	116	2	50
V	4	120	2	51

*Percentage of all offences recorded in or at premises

Venues shaded in blue were in ‘top fifteen’ in both baseline and post-implementation periods.

In Chapter Four of this report, the available data on numbers of additional licensing hours applied for under the Licensing Act are discussed. It is noted here that premises have tended to use any additional licensing hours flexibly: that is, they close at any time up to their ‘official’ closing time, depending on how busy they are. This, and the lack of comprehensive data on hours applied for and granted by the licensing authority, makes it difficult to identify any impact of additional licensing hours *used* on the levels of violence associated with premises.

Table 5.4 examines crime by the additional hours premises *used*, at premises visited by ACC fieldworkers. There was a reduction in the overall number of offences post implementation compared to baseline (from 79 to 49). In terms of the percentage of offences, the 30 per cent of premises *using* no additional hours accounted for 14 per cent of offences in the baseline period, rising to 18 per cent post implementation. Those *using* between one and five hours decreased their share of offences from 47 per cent to 33 per cent while the share of those *using* six or more hours increased from 40 to 49 per cent. In other words there was a reduction post implementation in terms of violence against the person offences for those premises *using* one to five hours, while all other premises increased their share. Due to the data structures it is not simple to compare the time of day or day of week of crime directly with the time of day or day of week when premises extended their hours.

Table 5.4: Estimated additional hours *used* per week by premises visited by ACC fieldworkers and violence against the person offences

Additional hours (used)	Number of premises	Percentage of violence against the person	
		Average baseline (N)	Post implementation (N)
0	4	14 (11)	18 (9)
1-5	6	47 (37)	33 (16)
6+	2	39 (31)	49 (24)
Total	12	100	100

Criminal damage

Criminal damage includes crimes such as arson, damage and vandalism to buildings, vehicles and other property and threat or possession with intent to commit criminal damage. The criminal damage figures are analysed for the same pre- and post-implementation periods (December 2003 to November 2005, and December 2005 to December 2006) as the violence figures.

Macro level

Recorded criminal damage offences in Croydon showed a baseline average of 4,870. In the post implementation period there was a slight (1%) increase (4,908). This equates to an average of 406 criminal damage offences per month in the baseline period and 409 offences per month during the implementation period. Statistical t tests found that the decreases across the two baseline periods were statistically significant but this was not carried through to the post implementation period.

The daily distribution of criminal damage offences was similar in the baseline and post implementation periods. The number of offences tended to increase gradually throughout the morning, peaking between 5.00pm and 11.59pm before gradually declining until 8.00am the following morning. There were decreases of over 10 per cent in the post implementation period, compared to baseline, between the hours of 12.00pm and 12.59pm and 5.00pm and 5.59pm and similar increases during the hours of 9.00am to 9.59am, 4.00am to 5.59am and 7.00am to 7.59am. Many of these changes may simply be due to natural variations in crime rates between years, and it is notable that there were no large changes in rates of criminal damage in the hours which would be covered by extended licensing.

Meso level

Criminal damage appeared to be much less concentrated around licensed premises than violence against the person. In both baseline and post implementation periods,

around four per cent of criminal damage offences occurred in the licensed premises 'cluster area', and approximately 10 per cent in the 50-100m and 100-150m zones. Comparing the baseline and post implementation periods there was very little change in the proportion of criminal damage occurring in each zone.

Hot spot analysis reveals that criminal damage was concentrated around the major urban areas, particularly Croydon, South Norwood and Addington. One new hot spot around Coulsdon emerged in the post implementation period, but overall there was no evidence of a shift in the location of hot spots between the two periods.

Spatio-temporal analysis for the hours 9pm to 5am also reveal very similar patterns in the baseline and post-implementation periods, with only some minor changes. Between 9pm and 11pm the intensity of criminal damage had decreased around Croydon in the post implementation period, while it increased in Addington. From 11pm to 1am, the intensity of criminal damage declines in both the baseline and post implementation periods, with a small hot spot remaining in New Addington. From 1am to 3am, criminal damage again declines, with the hot spot around Croydon decreasing in intensity compared to the baseline. After 3am there is negligible criminal damage in either period.

Taken together, these results suggest no major change in the timing or location of criminal damage offences in Croydon between baseline and post implementation period.

Calls for disorder

Calls for disorder include calls about incidents such as disturbances in public places, disturbances in licensed premises, drunkenness and noise nuisance. Data on calls are often used as an alternative to police recorded crime data, as they can be seen as a proxy measure of the public's perceptions of crime and the need for police assistance.

Macro level

Incidents of calls for disorder show a steady (5%) decline between the baseline average (12,070) and the post implementation period (11,494). This yields monthly averages of 1,006 calls for the baseline period and 958 calls in the post implementation period. During 10 of the months of the post implementation period monthly incident counts were lower than for the corresponding months in the baseline period. Only September and November saw increases. The statistically

significant reductions found in the baseline period were not carried into the post implementation period.

There were only marginal changes in the distribution of calls for disorder throughout the day but little change to the overall pattern with calls peaking between 8.00pm and 8.59pm in both baseline and post implementation periods. There has been little change during the post implementation period in terms of the shape of the distribution, as the number of calls made each day in the post implementation period was lower than in the baseline.

Meso levels

Calls for disorder were most concentrated in the areas 0-250m away from licensed premises (around 60 per cent in both periods) and the proportion of calls reduces as distance from licensed premises increases. The cluster area with a high concentration of licensed premises accounted for around 14 per cent of Croydon's calls for disorder in both periods analysed. There was little change to the proportion of calls in each zone between the baseline and post implementation phases.

Health data

Ambulance and accident and emergency (A & E) data are regarded as potentially a rich source of data on violent crime. Research suggests that injuries which occur within the context of the NTE may not always come to the attention of police. Serious incidents of violence may be reflected in these data, permitting comparison with recorded crime data in order to increase the robustness of the findings. However, as was true of the Croydon case study, difficulties of collection and interpretation can limit the value of health data.

Two health data-sets were analysed for this study: Ambulance service call-outs; and ambulance service reports of assaults (as a sub-set of all call-outs). Both data sets were collected for a pre-implementation period of December 2003 to November 2005, and a post-implementation period of December 2005 to November 2006. Within these periods, data were collected only on attendances/call-outs on Friday and Saturday nights (10 pm to 5 am) involving patients aged 17 to 35. It was decided to limit data collection to these parameters on the grounds that this would provide a proxy measure of alcohol-related attendances.

Ambulance call-outs

From the first to the second baseline year, ambulance call-outs rose from 1,020 to 1,063: an increase of four per cent. This was followed, in the post-implementation year, by a further increase of four per cent to 1,110.

Assaults recorded by ambulance service

A total of 1,214 ambulance assaults were examined for the 38 month pre- and post-implementation period. Subsets of police recorded crime data on violence against the person were produced to accord with the days and times covered by the assaults data. Thus, violence against the person offences occurring outside of weekend nights were excluded to allow a more meaningful comparison between police recorded crime and ambulance assaults. In addition, changes in violence against the person on weekend nights were compared with overall violence against the person offences (that took place at any time) to provide a broader context for the various analyses.

Table 5.5 Violence against the person and ambulance response assault data in Croydon (December 2003 to November 2006)

Category	Mean baseline	Post implementation Dec 2005 to Nov 2006	% change mean baseline post implementation
Violence against the person	930	831	-10.6
Assaults (A&E)	378.5	369	-2.5
Ratio of violence against the person to ambulance assaults	2.4	2.2	

Caution must be exercised when comparing these datasets. The geographical areas covered by the ambulance service were not coterminous with police wards and each agency will have different interpretations of what constitutes violence against the person. Bearing these caveats in mind, there were just over twice as many (2.4) violence against the person offences recorded by the police than ambulance assaults in the baseline period (930 v 379). The ratio between the two does not change markedly over time. Weekend violence against the person fell by over ten per cent between the baseline and the post implementation period. Assaults recorded by the ambulance service also fell over this time period but to a lesser extent.

The monthly distribution of ambulance service recorded assaults revealed a somewhat mixed picture with fluctuations occurring throughout the year. However,

the period between March and July 2006 was characterised by reductions in assaults compared with the baseline (baseline average of 179 to 136 post implementation), but this was followed by an increased volume of assaults between August 2006 and October 2006 (90 to 138).

In the initial months following the implementation of the Act, there were small increases in weekend violence against the person whilst violence against the person overall showed modest reductions. From April 2006 onwards (with the exception of July 2006), both types showed reductions, particularly violence at the weekend. The interruption in the fall of violence against the person in July 2006 could be a result of the World Cup, although this was not reflected in the ambulance assaults which fell in July 2006, albeit modestly.

There were some similarities in how ambulance assaults and weekend violence against the person offences changed by hour of the evening/night. Both fell between 11.00 pm and 11.59pm (percentage change of 14%) and in each hour between 1.00am and 3.59am. Assaults and violence against the person both increased between 10.00pm and 10.59pm (115% for ambulance assaults and 5% for violence against the person offences) and between 4.00am and 4.49am (46% and 7% respectively, although increases in ambulance assaults were far greater than those seen for violence against the person offences).

6 ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF THE LICENSING ACT ON CRIME AND DISORDER (2): RESIDENTS' AND STAKEHOLDERS' PERCEPTIONS

This chapter examines residents' and stakeholders' perceptions of the impact of the Licensing Act – and particularly its impact on crime and disorder. Residents' views were obtained from BMRB's baseline and post-implementation survey. Stakeholders include the licensing authority and responsible authority respondents interviewed by the Home Office, and representatives of late-night businesses interviewed both by ACC and by CRD. (To avoid confusion, the ACC and CRD interview findings are discussed separately in this chapter.) Information on the residents' survey and the Home Office, ACC and CRD interviews is provided in Box 1.1 in Section 1.

Residents' and stakeholders' perceptions: summary

The main findings of a pre- and post-implementation survey of residents were:

There was no significant change in the number of respondents visiting the town centre between baseline and post-implementation periods. In both periods, the most popular reasons for visiting the town centre in the evening was to go to pubs, bars or clubs or 'restaurants and cafes'.

There was no significant difference in the proportions of respondents who felt unsafe (at some point) in the town centre in the evening (41 post-implementation and 46% in the baseline period), or in the reasons given for feeling unsafe.

65 per cent of post-implementation respondents said that people being drunk and rowdy was a problem in the town centre; this was not significantly different to the baseline figure. However, compared to baseline, significantly fewer respondents felt that drunk and rowdy behaviour had become *more* of a problem in the last 12 months (40% compared to 50%).

38 per cent of respondents thought that alcohol-related crime had increased since the introduction of the Act - significantly fewer than had thought it would increase when asked at baseline (53%).

LA and RA representatives interviewed after implementation of the Act, felt that levels of crime and disorder had decreased but that was attributed to a general downward trend in the area and not specifically to the changes in licensing law. It was also suggested that the key crime hotspots in Croydon had not changed since the Licensing Act.

Business representatives held similar views, with most feeling that crime and disorder had 'clamed down' or at least that there had been no dramatic increase in levels of crime and disorder. Factors cited as contributing to a reduction in problems included: policing, particularly during the World Cup in 2006, fewer people coming

into the town centre and staggered closing times having resulted in fewer people congregating on the streets at key times.

However, there was still significant concern about alcohol-related crime and disorder and the view that further multi-agency effort was required to improve the reputation of Croydon town centre.

Residents' perceptions

Both the baseline and the post-implementation survey covered the following broad topics:

- Frequency and patterns of the respondent's current usage of the night-time economy in the town centre;
- Experiences of alcohol-related disorder in the city centre and the respondent's own neighbourhood.

In addition, the baseline survey asked about the respondent's expectations and knowledge of the Licensing Act, whilst the follow-up survey asked about the respondent's perceptions of the impact of the Act

The major findings of the surveys, drawing out the key points of contrast between the baseline and post-implementation responses, are presented below.

Town centre visiting

The relevance of town centre visiting to the potential impact of the Licensing Act is that it had been hoped the Act would contribute, over time, to the diversification of the night-time economy, and thereby encourage a wider range of people to visit city and town centres. It was also hoped that a decline in levels of alcohol-related violence and disorder would make city and town centres more attractive to people who would otherwise be deterred by fear of crime.

The results of the residents' survey suggest that the Licensing Act may not (yet) have had encouraged much wider participation in the night-time economy. In the post-implementation survey, 58 per cent of respondents had visited Croydon town centre at least once in the previous 12 months. Of these, 34 per cent said they visited once

a week or more. These figures were not significantly different to those produced by the baseline survey. However, in contrast to the baseline survey, there were no significant differences by age in those who reported visiting the town centre in the past 12 months; significantly more 16-30 year-olds reported visits in the baseline survey. There were also no significant gender differences in those making weekly visits to Croydon town centre in the post implementation period, whereas more men than women reported weekly visits at baseline.

The most popular reasons given for visiting the town centre in the evening at baseline were to go to pubs, bars or clubs (26%) or cafes and restaurants (26%) and this remained more or less the same in the post implementation period (23% and 27% respectively). There was a slight increase in those visiting the cinema from 21% at baseline to 24% post Act. In particular, those aged 16 to 30 were more likely to report going to pub, clubs and bars (35%) as their main reason for visiting the town centre compared with other age groups (23% of those aged 31-44 years and 8% of the 45-65 years olds). This was similar to the baseline period.

There is no evidence that people are staying out later in the town centre following the introduction of the Act: between the baseline and post implementation periods, there are no significant differences between the times that people usually leave the city centre on a Monday to Thursday, Friday, Saturday or Sunday night.

Table 6.1 shows the reasons why those respondents who did not visit the town centre regularly or at all (defined as less than once a month) did not visit more often. The table shows a considerable degree of consistency in the responses given in the baseline and post-implementation surveys – with, for example, ‘not interested’ being the most common answer in both.

In the post-implementation period, significantly more people reported that they did not visit the town centre in the evening because it was too crowded, noisy or busy (8% compared to 3%); and similar proportions in both periods (42% at baseline compared to 40%) said that *nothing* would encourage them to use the town centre more in the evening.

Table 6.1 Reasons for not visiting the town centre more often

Reason for not visiting more often	Percentage of Respondents	
	Baseline	Post-implementation
Not interested	21	22
I have children/ family/ other commitments	12	13
Better suited to young people/ I'm too old	14	12
I worry about crime or being attacked	12	11
Too many drunk/ disorderly people	11	11
I go elsewhere	9	10
I don't usually go out at night	13	9
Too crowded, noisy or busy	3	8*
Not suited to people like me	6	6
Too expensive/ can't afford to go out	2	3
Respondent has no reason to go there	4	2
The area is unsafe/ violent	4	2
Other	8	9
Unweighted N	401	481

Note: This was an open question with no prompting and responses were coded by the interviewer. Respondents could give more than one answer

Feelings of safety and perceptions of drunken and anti-social behaviour

Of all post-implementation respondents who had visited Croydon town centre in the evening in the previous 12 months (N=504), 41 per cent reported that they felt unsafe at some point, which is not significantly different to the results from the baseline survey. The top three reasons for feeling unsafe were the same in both surveys, with no significant differences in the proportions selecting each: these were gangs/groups hanging around (40% baseline and 46% post-implementation); a lot of drunk people (41 and 29); and the area was too crowded and noisy (22% and 21%).

All respondents were asked if they thought that people being drunk and rowdy was a fairly or very big problem in the town centre. Sixty-five per cent of post-implementation respondents thought this was a problem; a figure that was not significantly different to the baseline figure. There were no significant differences by age or gender in those who thought that drink and rowdy behaviour was a problem in the town centre, either between or within survey periods.

All respondents were asked whether they thought drunk and rowdy behaviour had become more or less of a problem in Croydon town centre in the previous 12 months. Compared to the baseline period, significantly fewer respondents in the post-implementation period felt that drunk and rowdy behaviour had become *more* of a problem in the previous 12 months (40% compared to 50%).

Those who had visited Croydon town centre at least once in the previous 12 months were asked what problems they had seen there; the responses are shown in Table 6.2. There were no significant differences between baseline and post implementation in the proportion of respondents giving each response and the key problems remained the same; namely rubbish in the streets, noise and disturbance by drunk people and vomit or urine in doorways and on pavements.

Table 6.2. Problems seen in Croydon town centre

Problem seen in town centre	Percentage of Respondents	
	Baseline	Post-implementation
Fast food wrappers and other rubbish in the streets	90	89
Noise or disturbance caused by people who are drunk	75	80
Vomit or urine on pavements, in doorways or on the streets	71	76
Cans, bottles or broken glass in the streets	69	71
People being verbally abused, threatened or intimidated by drunks	56	57
People being assaulted or injured by drunks or fighting between people who are drunk	49	47
Damage to property	28	22
Unweighted N	281	504

Note: All items were read out to respondents and they were asked to say 'yes' or 'no' for each item. Respondents could give more than one answer so percentages do not add up to 100.

Those respondents who did not live in Croydon town centre (N = 537) were asked if they thought people being drunk was a problem in their neighbourhood. In the post-implementation survey, 14 % said they thought people being drunk was a fairly or very big problem in their neighbourhood. This is not significantly different to the figure for the baseline period (10%).

Respondents were asked if they thought drunk and rowdy behaviour had become more or less of a problem in their neighbourhood in the previous 12 months. Thirteen per cent of post-implementation respondents said they thought it had become more of a problem, 81 per cent thought it had stayed the same and 6 per cent thought it had got worse. These figures were not significantly different to those obtained in the baseline survey.

Views of the Licensing Act

All post-implementation respondents were asked if they thought alcohol-related crime and rowdy behaviour had increased or decreased following the introduction of the Licensing Act 2003. Thirty-eight per cent thought that alcohol-related crime had increased: significantly fewer than had thought it would increase following the introduction of the Act when they were asked in the baseline period (53%). Thirty-nine per cent of post-implementation respondents thought alcohol-related crime had

stayed the same, five per cent that it had decreased, and eighteen per cent did not know. Those aged 65 and over were significantly more likely to think alcohol-related crime had increased compared to the 16-30 year olds (51% compared to 28%). There was no such difference in the baseline survey. Significantly fewer 16-30 year-olds thought alcohol-related crime had increased in the post-implementation period, compared to the percentage who anticipated that crime would increase following the introduction of the Act when asked in the baseline survey (28% compared to 54%).

Thirty-eight per cent of respondents thought that rowdy behaviour had increased since the Act – again, significantly fewer than had thought it would increase when asked in the baseline period (55%). Forty-three per cent thought rowdy behaviour had stayed the same, seven per cent that it had decreased and thirteen per cent did not know.

Post-implementation respondents were asked about the impact of the Act on their behaviour. Thirty-one per cent said they were now more likely to stay out later. Six per cent said they were more likely to visit the town centre in the evening, compared to 22 per cent who were less likely to visit. Ten per cent of respondents who had visited the town centre in the past year reported that the amount of alcohol that they consumed on a typical night out had increased a little or a lot; six per cent reported that it had decreased a little or a lot; and 85 per cent reported no change.

Eighty-eight per cent of post-implementation respondents believed that some or a lot of pubs, bars or nightclubs in Croydon were now open later in the evening. Fifty-one per cent of respondents agreed that since the introduction of the Act, rapid drinking in the run-up to last order had decreased, compared to 36 per cent who disagreed. Similarly, 45 per cent agreed that the streets were now less crowded, whereas 41 per cent disagreed with this.

Perceptions of licensing and responsible authorities

A small number (three) of post-implementation interviewees were conducted by Home Office researchers with a representative from the police, the licensing authority and the CDRP. Their perceptions were that levels of crime and disorder in Croydon following the introduction of the Act had decreased. This was not attributed to the Act but rather considered to be part of a longer-term trend. However, more pro-active

policing and management of the NTE were mentioned as possible contributory factors.

Yes, it's not been a quick-fix, it's been a long initiative such as Drink Safe, the way we deployed our resources, working with the local authority to a greater or lesser degree, a number of different options really. (RA2 Croy)

It was also noted by the police respondent that the hotspots for crime and disorder had not changed since the Act was implemented.

It's not moved, it's not, the hotspot areas haven't changed, in fact, you can overlay all our crime in one little spot which is primarily the town centre and north of the town centre...So we haven't had displacement, the town centre has always been and I suspect will almost always be the hotspot...So it's not changed apart from quite a few reductions in that area. (RA2 Croy)

As the majority of licensees in Croydon applied for a straight conversion rather than for a variation, most premises still closed at either 11pm or 2am. These restricted licence extensions, in combination with management and pro-active policing, was considered to limit the potential negative impact of the extended drinking hours.

Perceptions of business owners, managers and staff

ACC respondents

Among the small number of licensees, managers and staff of licensed premises who were interviewed (13) by ACC in two post-implementation periods (two months and 12 months after implementation), the general view was that levels of violence had remained the same after the Act, although a few licensees on the edge of the town felt that it had increased and some of the door staff interviewed felt that it had decreased.

Violence and disorder were considered to be most likely on a Friday and Saturday night and that situation had remained the same in the post implementation period. Violence and disorder also remained heavily linked with football matches since the football-related riots in Croydon in 2004.

As noted above, extensions to opening hours in Croydon had been limited, mainly to one extra hour for pubs and clubs, used at weekends. Most of the licensees were in

favour of the extended hours and felt that some staggering had resulted in less congestion in the town centre.

The relationship between the police and licensees was viewed positively and there was a general consensus that this relationship had remained strong over time. The local police licensing officer was well known and respected by both licensees and door supervisors for reducing violence and disorder by providing strict guidelines for issues such as music policies. Most door supervisors felt that the police responded quickly to reports of violence and disorder via the CRAC system and some door supervisors mentioned an improvement in their relationship with the police since the implementation of the Act.

CRD respondents

Twenty-one late-night business representatives were interviewed by CRD in the post-implementation period (October 2006 to January 2007). The general feeling was that while low-level disturbances on the street were still common, the town centre was now experiencing slightly less alcohol-related trouble than before November 2005 or at least a period of relative calm, particularly compared to the troubles experienced in 2004 during the European football championships. Generally, these improvements were not attributed to the licensing Act, rather they were thought to result from good policing, especially during the Football World Cup in 2006: and/or the fact that there had been a drop in numbers visiting the town centre:

We have dropped off a bit, particularly noticeable on Friday night, but I'm not sure that's to do with the licensing or whether its to do with how much money people have got. If you are still full in a Saturday night but not on a Friday it gives you the feeling that there's not so much spare cash floating around as there was two years ago. (Chain pub respondent)

I think Croydon has coped very well in general as a town, with policing and everything else. Particularly [during] the World Cup, which was a huge success. The measures the police took, closing the pubs an hour after England matches and reopening two hours later, no football shirts, it worked brilliantly...I think they are doing a really good job. (Chain pub respondent)

However, some did acknowledge that staggered dispersal (which was limited in Croydon) had helped to create a calmer atmosphere in the town centre and in turn this had reduced the competition for public transport and taxis:

I am happy with the new licensing laws...I have noticed that at 11pm people are not buying three or four rounds, people aren't pressurised to drink...It is much better now than it used to be when you only had 20 minutes to finish your drink. (Chain pub respondent)

I think that shutting a bit later has helped [me]. It used to be 2 o'clock, and this place would be stormed with people and they'd come from everywhere to get a cab...So that's good, leaving it longer. (taxi driver respondent)

Those who had worked or lived in Croydon for a long time (typically taxi drivers) were more pessimistic and perceived a steady decline in the area over the past few years and blamed this on the authorities for granting too many licences in too small an area or on bar managers for not being responsible enough.

Cab drivers don't really like working Friday and Saturday nights because that's when people come out of the pub at the last minute, they've drunk too much. They're dreaded times (Taxi driver respondent)

People tend to stay away [Croydon town centre] when it gets quite late because of binge drinking...You get people banging on the door at midnight trying to get in, and I don't want to get into that. (Restaurant staff respondent)

Few licensees felt their businesses had benefited financially from the Act because any gains in trade had been off-set by increased staff and security costs and/or the fact that customers have the same amount of money to spend irrespective of closing times:

People are coming out later because they've got extra time to drink in the evening. I don't think the majority are drinking any more than before. Croydon is not a rich town, so people have only got a certain amount of money (Chain pub respondent)

People still have the same amount of money to spend. If you were open 24/7, people would still come out on a Friday night at that time because they are creatures of habit. (Chain pub respondent).