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Working Paper 133: Evaluation of the Cardiff Night-Time
Economy Co-ordinator (NTEC) Post

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Evaluation of the Cardiff Night-Time Economy Co-ordinator (NTEC) Post

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Preface

This evaluation of the role of Night-Time Economy Co-ordinator (NTEC) for Cardiff was a requirement of funding for the NTEC post, which Cardiff Community Safety Partnership (subsequently, 'Safer Capital') received from the Home Office Tackling Violent Crime Programme (HOTVCP). This post was funded out of this programme in recognition of the particular problems of alcohol-related violence against the person and public disorder that have accompanied the rapid expansion of the night-time economy in Cardiff and the pressures this has placed on public health and safety in the City. The regulatory deficit created by this expansion, given the limited police resources available for controlling the consumption of alcohol, provided the initial rationale for the NTEC post. The post and the evaluation commenced in December 2007, the period of funding for the NTEC post from the HOTVCP ran until March 2009. This evaluation covers activities undertaken by the post-holder in seeking to address the regulatory deficit during this period.

The evaluation had an action-research element built into it, insofar as the evaluator was invited to participate in the steering group for work undertaken by the NTEC and to help define the core objectives of this post for the duration of its funding from the HOTVCP. Four objectives were agreed amongst the steering group, which also included representatives of the regional Home Office who had commissioned both the NTEC post and its evaluation. They were:

1. Creation of a unified measurement of performance and enforcement arm for the regulation of the night-time economy (NTE);
2. Engage local authority service areas with an identifiable role in preventing or reducing violence in the NTE;
3. Establish a late-night transport system that is easily accessible and clearly sign-posted for clientele; and
4. Enhance the surveillance capacity for reducing violence in the NTE.

The conjecture underpinning these four objectives was that the regulatory deficit confronting Safer Capital could be reduced in a relatively short period of time by improving intelligence and surveillance on the concentration of violence and disorder in particular places ('hot-spots') and times ('hot-times') and by targeting measures to reduce the situational opportunities for such behaviour in these places and at these times by tasking all those agencies thought to have a role in situational crime reduction.

It was agreed that the principal focus of the evaluation would be on the *process* of defining such objectives and assessing the progress of the NTEC in putting them into action; specifically, the possibilities for, and barriers to, co-ordinating the multiplicity of agencies whom the steering group believed could make a contribution to the reduction of violence and disorder in Cardiff's NTE. As such, the focus of this evaluation has not been on the *outcomes* of multi-agency interventions on patterns of alcohol-related violence and disorder, although some inferences about this are included in Section 6 (and Appendices three, four and five).

Relative to the ambition of the core objectives defined for the role, the NTEC post-holder achieved significant progress, managing to persuade officers in Cardiff Council's City Centre Management department of the indispensability of the post for a city whose night-life has expanded so rapidly around alcohol-based leisure and entertainment and with all the attendant problems for public health and safety. The ambition to address some of the key deficits of regulation encountered by conventional law enforcement approaches to reducing alcohol-related violence and disorder, by enrolling such local authority service areas as waste management, licensing and transport and highways, was imaginative but encountered significant resistance reflecting generic problems of the 'partnership approach' to the reduction of crime and disorder. As such, there are generic lessons from the Cardiff experience for the definition, powers and responsibilities of the NTEC post in other night-time economies.

The findings and recommendations from this evaluation suggest there is real value in investing in the NTEC post as a means of overcoming the challenge of 'silo mentalities' in the public administration of complex problems like alcohol-related crime and disorder. In brief, this entails granting the NTEC post the necessary powers for co-ordinating responsible authorities in community safety partnerships to undertake specific operations aimed at the short-term remediation of problems of violence and disorder and for planning reductions in these problems in the medium-to-long-term. To fulfil this potential it is recommended that the post be mainstreamed and located within the City Centre Management department in keeping with the City's nationally commended programme of neighbourhood management.

It remains for me to thank other members of the steering group for the NTEC post and to all the respondents who generously gave their time to participate in the evaluation.

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SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. MAIN FINDINGS

Origins of the night-time economy co-ordinator post in Cardiff University

1. The night-time economy of licensed venues for eating, drinking and dancing in Cardiff City Centre has expanded into a significant market, which had an estimated annual turnover of £400m by 2010, was attracting an estimated 40,000 patrons on average weekend evenings, triple this for major sporting and entertainment events hosted by the City's international arts and sporting arenas, and attracted a substantial tourist population with a yearly average occupancy rate of 70% for the City's 3,500 hotel rooms (paras 1.1. and 1.2.).
2. The success of this economy has placed a considerable pressure on police services in the city centre, with an average complement of 12 officers in the Cardiff After Dark patrol resulting in a ratio of 1 officer per 3300 patrons (para 1.4).

The problem of alcohol-related violence in Cardiff's night-time economy

3. Innovations in the use of accident and emergency data to record incidents of alcohol-related violence have been used to identify key hotspots and times for this problem. Of the 1687 incidents recorded in 2007/8, 40% occurred in the two main locations for licensed premises: St. Mary's Street and Greyfriars Road. These locations accounted for 35% of the 1489 incidents recorded in 2008/9 (para 1.5).
4. This data also reveals a distinctive distribution of incidents with a peak occurring on weekend evenings between 11.00 – 03.00hrs. Other research conducted on the problem of alcohol-related street crime suggests that a significant proportion of incidents are place-based, occurring in the street on crowded thoroughfares, outside fast-food outlets and in transport termini, especially taxi ranks (para 1.6.).

The regulatory deficit in Cardiff night-time economy

5. Previous research on the problem of alcohol-related street crime in Cardiff identified a need for 'strategic management of the late-night economy' in which tried and tested interventions against problems associated with particular venues could be complemented by measures targeting particular places and the markets in alcohol-based leisure and entertainment (paras 1.8 – 1.10).
6. Given the limited resources for street policing, the need for additional approaches to regulating the consumption of alcohol was a key factor behind the appointment of the night-time economy co-ordinator (para 1.11).

Objectives of the NTEC post

7. The objectives set for the NTEC post-holder during the period of Home Office funding reflected a concern to improve public protection for consumers and workers in the late-night economy whilst supporting the substantial economic benefits of this economy for income and employment generation in the City, facilitating the entertainment and leisure opportunities available to responsible drinkers and avoiding any unintended consequences of prohibitive regulations, in particular the malign deflection of problem drinking into residential suburbs and private drinking venues ('shebeens') (para 1.12).
8. The basic conjecture behind these objectives was that improved intelligence on the pattern of alcohol-related violence and disorder, identifying 'hot-spots' and 'hot-times', allied with interventions that targeted problematic venues and places, could accomplish significant reductions in a relatively short period of time. To this end, the NTEC post holder aimed at improving the collation of intelligence, engaging various local authority services perceived to have a role in reducing alcohol-related crime and disorder, establishing a convenient and well-marshalled transport system into and out of the main night-spots in the City and enhancing surveillance of street-based violence and disorder (paras 1.13 and 1.14).

Defining the brief for the NTEC post

9. The post of night-time economy co-ordinator is an innovative role in public administration which, by definition, cuts across many different service areas. As such, the evaluation contained an action-research element involving the definition of the 'brief' for this role (para 3.1.).
10. It was agreed that, for the initial Home Office-funded phase of the research, the brief should be restricted to a focus on the 'licit' economy in late-night eating, drinking and dancing, whilst acknowledging existing research on the interrelationships between this economy and various illicit services associated with the markets in narcotics, vice and gambling (para 3.2. – 3.3.).
11. Within the licit economy it is possible to distinguish two basic types of co-ordination. Firstly, the co-ordination of various 'front-line' activities, such as qualitative intelligence-gathering and responses to the situational opportunities for alcohol-related violence. Secondly, the 'strategic management' of these problems, for example, through the cultivation of a more diverse economy of shopping, drinking, eating and dancing, the attraction of a broader demographic of patrons and the promotion of greater 'self-regulation' in the licensed trade (paras 3.4. – 3.20).

Regulatory powers and sanctions

12. The NTEC post-holder had no formal authority to task other responsible authorities or levy sanctions against particular individuals, venues or places, much less any authority in planning land-use for licensed eating, drinking or dancing. The emphasis was consequently on how effective the post-holder could be in engaging those authorities with relevant powers to prosecute

- problematic individuals, sanction particular venues or deploy enforcement operations in particular places (para 4.1.).
13. In Cardiff the NTEC was, however, equipped with resources for disrupting situational opportunities for alcohol-related crime and disorder, for example through temporary road closures and taxi marshalling schemes (para 4.2.).
 14. It is possible, through reference to developments in the strategic management of other late-night economies, to envisage the contribution that the NTEC could make to reducing incidents of crime and disorder associated with particular individuals, venues, places and markets. This potential contribution can be further clarified through reference to the range of powers available for prosecution, cautioning, administrative penalisation, licensing and taxing and the self-regulation of problematic traders in the licensed economy (paras 4.5. – 4.15)

Problem-solving and skills set

15. The evaluation was also concerned with establishing the appropriate skills set for the NTEC post-holder and, in doing so, drew upon best practice in crime reduction through problem-solving. This practice regards crime reduction as a rational process of ‘Scanning’ the problem in question (using various sources of qualitative and quantitative intelligence), ‘Analysing’ this intelligence (employing tried and tested techniques to diagnose the key factors causing problems), designing ‘Responses’ that can provide some remediation of these problems and ‘Assessing’ the impact of these problems (the ‘SARA’ approach, para 5.4.).
16. This problem-solving approach can further clarify the role of the NTEC, which could be restricted to intelligence gathering for scanning and analysing problems of alcohol-related crime and disorder related to particular individuals, venues and places and/or the implementation and assessment of particular operational responses. Alternatively, the role can be broadened to encompass the collation and analysis of problems associated with particular markets in alcohol, such as the cultivation of various ‘quarters’ or precincts in the night-time economy which are geared towards different kinds of clientele (such as high volume ‘vertical’ drinking or ‘slow’ eating venues) (para 5.1. – 5.3.).
17. The core skills set developed by the Cardiff NTEC was related to the disruption of alcohol-related crime and disorder in particular venues and places but, through initiatives such as ‘Thirst Class’, the role included attempts at promoting greater self-regulation amongst licensees. The NTEC post-holder also demonstrated a facility for working with colleagues in the City Centre Management department on the cultivation of an ‘evening economy’ that could better diffuse problems associated with high-volume alcohol consumption (paras 5.8. – 5.10).
18. The strategic management role could also encompass responsibilities for understanding the impact of different markets in displacing or deflecting alcohol-related crime and disorder and how intelligence on these markets could be used to deliberately deflect these problems into less harmful places and times or onto less vulnerable populations (para. 5.13 – 5.15.).

Impact assessment of the NTEC post

19. The evaluation focussed on the process of co-ordinating measures to reduce alcohol-related violence and disorder in the night-time economy and identified certain challenges and opportunities. The principal challenge to this co-ordination was a basic disconnection between the concentration of problems in the late night-time and early morning (with peak incidents of violence and disorder recorded between 11.00 and 03.00hrs) and the deployment of services by responsible authorities in the day time and early evening (para 6.1.).
20. The other key challenge to effective co-ordination was the clash of occupational cultures and working practices amongst responsible authorities, the 'silo mentalities' or 'departmentalism' that is a familiar criticism of public administration and a renowned problem of the partnership approach to community safety. Problems of engaging some local authority services were also exacerbated by cultural conflicts and misunderstandings over the different rhythms of the licensed trade and the decision-making procedures of local government. In effect, these problems inhibited achievement of the first objective established for the post, 'the creation of a unified measurement of performance and enforcement arm for the regulation of the night-time economy' (para 6.2.).
21. Even so, in the relatively brief period of Home Office funding for the NTEC post, significant progress was made on the other three objectives set for this period of funding, although the sustainability of key interventions, such as the temporary road closures and taxi marshalling schemes, is questionable given their precarious funding (para 6.3.)
22. In terms of the impact of the NTEC post-holder's work on trends in alcohol-related violence and disorder, data supplied by the chief analyst of Safer Capital presents a mixed picture suggesting a statistically significant relationship between the introduction of place-based interventions and reductions in incidents of violence and disorder on St. Mary's Street but a statistically insignificant relationship between these interventions and patterns of violence and disorder in Greyfriars Road (para 6.5.).
23. This outcome evaluation must, however, be treated with some caution as the data only refer to incidents known to the authorities, which could be affected by reporting and recording practices. Furthermore, it wasn't possible to explore the effect of these measures on the displacement and deflection of alcohol-related violence and disorder, although the collation and interpretation of such intelligence provides a further justification for the 'strategic management' brief for this post (paras 6.6. – 6.8.).

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

The main recommendations of the evaluation are as follows.

1. To better meet the duty of section 17 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, it is recommended that the crime and disorder implications of the night-time economy are addressed by a neighbourhood management team for the city centre and that the night-time economy co-ordinator be given an operational brief within this team for ensuring that senior management commitments on public health and safety are reflected in the tasking decisions of middle managers and the actions of front-line personnel associated with this team (paras 7.1 and 7.2).
2. In recognition of the role that markets in alcohol-based leisure and entertainment can play both in fuelling and reducing interpersonal violence and disorder, it is recommended that consideration be given to developing a strategic management role for the night-time economy co-ordinator as the post matures, as the city centre management team cultivate more diverse markets for licensed eating, drinking and dancing in different 'quarters' of the city centre and as any relationships with illicit markets in narcotics, vice and gambling are identified (paras 7.5. – 7.7.).
3. In recognition of the effects which city centre markets could have in deflecting problems of crime and disorder into residential suburbs and private drinking venues, it is recommended that consideration be given to developing a city-wide brief for public health and safety in the night-time economy in which the city centre night-time economy co-ordinator liaises with colleagues in other neighbourhood management teams (paras 7.8 – 7.11).

1. INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND

Origins of the night-time economy co-ordinator (NTEC) post

- 1.1. Leisure and entertainment venues licensed to sell alcohol in Cardiff City Centre have expanded rapidly over the past decade. It is estimated that an ordinary weekend night can attract upwards of 40,000 consumers into the City Centre and this figure can be tripled by crowds attending major sporting and entertainment events regularly held in the City's large arena, such as the Millennium Stadium, St. David's Hall and Cardiff International Arena. Currently, it is estimated that the annual turnover of licensed premises in the City's night-time economy is £400million¹.
- 1.2. Commercial data suggests that occupancy levels in the City's 3,500 hotel rooms remain high all year round, averaging 70% for most weekends. This data confirms perceptions of the City's night-time economy as a major commuter destination for entertainment and leisure².
- 1.3. The particularity of Cardiff's licit³ night-time economy is also in its highly concentrated geography, with licensed venues located primarily in St. Mary's Street, Greyfriars Road and their immediate hinterland⁴. More accurate data from footfall cameras located in one of the main night-spots in the City, Greyfriars Road, recorded an average of 20,000 patrons on weekend nights in 2009⁵.
- 1.4. Taken together, the increased volume and concentration of consumers, many of whom are occasional commuters, often with limited knowledge of the City, generates various opportunities for the escalation of routine disputes into serious incidents of violence and disorder, whilst overstretching the ability of the Cardiff 'After Dark' police patrol to respond to calls for assistance. It is estimated that, on an ordinary weekend night, the ratio of patrol officers to consumers in the City Centre is 1:3300 (with a complement of 12 officers policing 40,000 consumers).

¹ Personal correspondence with the City Centre Management team of Cardiff County Council.

² Personal correspondence with the City Centre Management team of Cardiff County Council.

³ For the purposes of this evaluation the night-time economy was defined as the 'licit' activities of drinking, dancing and eating in venues licensed to sell alcohol. The interaction of these activities with 'illicit' activities, such as trafficking in proscribed drugs, sexual and gambling services is beyond the remit of this evaluation, although their implications for the brief for the NTEC role are considered in sections 3 and 7 of the report.

⁴ Although this geography is becoming more complex and challenging with the emergence of new 'scenes' associated with licensed premises in the St. David's II shopping complex and the growth of night-spots in the suburbs following the liberalisation of opening times for public houses and bars.

⁵ Personal correspondence with Safer Capital.

The problem of alcohol-related violence in Cardiff NTE

- 1.5. The alcohol-fuelled escalation of routine disputes, such as struggles over taxi fares, navigation of crowded pedestrian thoroughfares, arguments with door supervisors over access to favoured venues and so forth, into acts of actual and grievous bodily harm⁶ have, for a number of years, been monitored through the innovative use of Accident and Emergency data, as well as police recorded statistics, by the Violence Research Group at Cardiff University (Sivarajasingam, et al, 2002; Warburton and Shepherd, 2006; Shepherd, 2007). Using this data the chief analyst of Safer Capital calculates that in the year 2007/8 there were 1687 incidents of violence against the person in the City Centre known to the authorities and 40% of these were notified as having occurred in the two main concentrations of licensed venues in the City Centre, St. Mary's Street and Greyfriars Road. This overall incidence for the City Centre decreased by 12% in 2008/9 to 1489 incidents and St. Mary's Street and Greyfriars Road accounted for 35% of this total. This data analysis also reveals a distinctive and familiar distribution of incidents, which reach a peak on weekends between 11.00pm and 03.00hrs (see Appendix 3).
- 1.6. The particular conditions for alcohol-related violence in Cardiff were also the subject of a previous Home Office research project on Tackling Alcohol-Related Street Crime (TASC), which was funded out of the Home Office's Targeted Policing Initiative (Maguire and Nettleton, 2003). The TASC report identified the concentration of alcohol-related violence on Friday and Saturday nights in the city centre. It noted that half of incidents known to the police occurred in, or in the immediate vicinity of, licensed premises and predominantly involved young males as both perpetrators and victims (Maguire and Nettleton, 2003: v).
- 1.7. This quantitative data on trends in alcohol-related violence, coupled with qualitative insights from police, paramedics, door supervisors, bar staff, designated premises supervisors and other workers in the City's night-time economy gave 'Safer Capital' (the statutory community safety partnership for the City) concern over the scale of the problem and the limited capacity of the police to respond effectively without support from other agencies and without greater investment in preventive measures.

⁶ Although Safer Capital use alcohol-related violence against the person as a composite category referring to no less than 33 notifiable offences, the overwhelming proportion of offences reported to the police and recorded in accident and emergency data refer to 'assault occasioning actual bodily harm', 'harassment causing alarm and distress', 'common assault', 'wounding with intent to cause grievous bodily harm' and 'wounding or infliction of grievous bodily harm with or without a weapon'. In these terms, the principal concern of Safer Capital, and focus of the NTEC's work, is the reduction of incidents of ABH and GBH. The relationship of alcohol to these incidents is also a matter of judgment rather than unequivocal empirical measurement, but it is rare for such incidents to occur in conditions where the consumption of alcohol has not been present. More generally, the importance of alcohol consumption as a precursor of violence against the person is well established in the research literature (Plant, Plant and Thornton, 2002).

The regulatory deficit in Cardiff NTE

- 1.8. The TASC report identified the need, ‘to engage major players in both the public and private sectors in broader dialogue about the “strategic management” of the late-night economy’ (Maguire and Nettleton, 2003: vii). The existence of a regulatory deficit in the City Centre, produced by the scale of alcohol-related violence and disorder relative to available police resources has been a key theme of this dialogue.
- 1.9. Tackling this deficit, in a stringent economic climate with increasing pressures on public finances, provided the original rationale for the appointment of a night-time economy co-ordinator. The opportunity to appoint such a post was made available by the Home Office Tackling Violent Crime Programme (HOTVCP).
- 1.10. Home Office and inter-departmental research has identified excessive alcohol consumption (‘binge drinking’), as promoted by fierce competition amongst bars and clubs in city centres, as a major condition of various offences of violence against the person (HM Government, 2007). Key findings from the research into alcohol-related violence at night had also, however, identified the high proportion of incidents occurring in the streets around taxi ranks and other transport termini, fast food outlets and in congested thoroughfares between these locations and licensed premises (Finney, 2004).
- 1.11. Increasing recognition of the need to tackle this street- or ‘place’-based violence⁷, in addition to maintaining work with licensed premises to reduce venue-based violence, provided a major justification for the establishment of the NTEC post.

Objectives of the NTEC post

- 1.12. The emphasis placed on ‘co-ordination’ reflected the concern to tackle this regulatory deficit through more effective use of existing resources and services. The context for defining the brief of the NTEC also included:
 - The protection of employment opportunities and income generated by the Cardiff NTE;

⁷ Hadfield and Measham (2009) make a useful distinction between ‘person-specific’, ‘venue-specific’ and ‘place-based’ types of intervention to reduce the problems of crime, disorder and public nuisance that are associated with nightlife. Whereas person-specific interventions target certain individuals and venue-specific interventions target particular licensed premises, ‘place-based’ interventions are concerned with the control of populations in public areas such as thoroughfares, parks, shopping malls, transport termini and so forth. Whilst the concept of ‘place-based’ interventions is more analytically precise, practitioners tended to use the notions of ‘street-based’ or ‘open-space’ to refer to problems in these non-venue specific locations.

- The rights of law-abiding, responsible, patrons to enjoy access to licensed entertainment;
- Limitations on the resources available for increased investment in policing; and
- Predictable, if unintended, consequences of more prohibitive regimes for controlling the supply of alcohol and the operating hours of licensed premises (such as the 'malign deflection' of alcohol consumption away from commercial centres into residential districts and unregulated private drinking establishments or 'shebeens').

1.13. Through consultation with the steering group for the NTEC post, four objectives for the post were defined:

- Creation of a unified measurement of performance and enforcement arm for the regulation of the night-time economy (NTE);
- Engagement of local authority service areas with an identifiable role in preventing or reducing violence in the NTE;
- Establishment of a late-night transport system that is easily accessible and clearly sign-posted for clientele; and
- Enhancement of the surveillance capacity for reducing violence in the NTE.

1.14. The conjecture behind these objectives was that the capacity to respond to problems of alcohol-related violence and disorder could be significantly enhanced in a relatively short period of time through:

- Improved intelligence on the concentration of these problems in particular places and at certain times;
- Improved surveillance of these places to inform the swift and targeted response of limited police resources; and
- The use of other local authority services to reduce the mundane routines and situational opportunities that can escalate violence against the person (such as queue-jumping at un-marshalled taxi ranks and fast food outlets, crowding on narrow, congested, thoroughfares and the accumulation of waste, particularly glass bottles, which can facilitate violence or generally signal environments conducive to disorder).

2. THE EVALUATION STUDY

Objectives of the evaluation

- 2.1. Progress on implementing the objectives agreed for the NTEC post provided the focus for the evaluation study. In these terms the evaluation was principally a study of the *process* of 'co-ordinating' the night-time economy rather than an impact assessment of the outcomes of work undertaken by the NTEC on the incidence and distribution of alcohol-related violence.
- 2.2. Specifically, the objectives of the evaluation were:
 - To identify the formal and informal powers and resources available to the NTE coordinator for regulating compliance with community safety priorities;
 - To identify the regulatory mechanisms that facilitate or hinder such compliance;
 - To clarify which other authorities are responsible for regulating compliance with community safety priorities in Cardiff's night-time economy and how the post of coordinator can support these authorities;
 - To clarify the problem-solving skills required by night-time economy coordinators in regulating compliance with community safety priorities;
 - To identify the strategic and operational aspects of coordinating community safety in night-time economies and their implications for the future development of the office of NTE coordinator.

Research questions and strategy

- 2.3. The evaluation adopted a qualitative research strategy, which sought to build theoretical insight into conceptions of the night-time economy and into the challenges of its co-ordination.
- 2.4. Specifically, the evaluation was interested in what responsible authorities understood the night-time economy to mean, how they defined it for the purposes of its co-ordination, and what, in turn, they understood the purpose and challenges of this co-ordination to be.
- 2.5. To this end, the orientation of the evaluation was interpretative, seeking an understanding of how different conceptions of the night-time economy and of its co-ordination prioritise certain regulatory approaches

and privilege particular notions of who and what the night-time economy is for.

- 2.6. A corollary of this research strategy is that the night-time economy is not regarded as an obvious object of measurement but as a contested concept that can mean different things to those who govern it, as well as to those who work and consume within it.
- 2.7. This interpretative dimension has important implications for addressing the research objectives; for acknowledging the range of problem-solving skills, regulatory mechanisms and powers that constitute the work of the night-time economy co-ordinator, the strategic and operational aspects of this work and the appropriate range of responsible authorities to be involved in this work.

Research design

- 2.8. The evaluation adopted a case study design as it was interested in the particular qualities of regulating the night-time economy in Cardiff as conceived by the authorities responsible for its regulation. As noted in the preface, a key justification for this evaluation was the belief that Cardiff has very particular problems of alcohol-related violence and disorder as a consequence of the rapid expansion of its nightlife and its status as a regional, national and international venue for entertainment, leisure and sporting events which exert considerable pressures on local government and police services.
- 2.9. Case studies are apposite research designs for evaluations that are more concerned with contextual insight into a particular night-time economy than generalising about a representative sample of night-time economies.
- 2.10. Even so, it is argued that case studies can support generalisations to theoretical understanding, if not to populations (Yin, 2003). As such, a case study design was chosen as a means of facilitating recognition and understanding of the particularities of regulating Cardiff nightlife whilst also enabling the production of theoretical insights that could be of broader interest and applicability for the Home Office Tackling Violent Crime Programme.

Research methods

- 2.11. To facilitate contextualised insight into social problems, case studies often employ a range of data collection methods. Semi-structured interviews with key informants about the regulation of the night-time economy in Cardiff were a principal method of investigation. Respondents were sampled through a combination of positional analysis (identifying key post-holders in responsible authorities in Safer Capital, the

multi-agency community safety partnership who appointed the night-time economy co-ordinator and commissioned the evaluation of the NTEC's work) and snowballing (in which these respondents referred the evaluator onto other key respondents). Interviews were conducted with representatives of the Cardiff After Dark police patrol; alcohol licensing officers from the police and local authority; officers from relevant local authority service directorates, including waste management, traffic and highways and city centre management; officers from British Transport Police; and representatives of the licensed trade. Several interviews were conducted with the night-time economy co-ordinator post-holder during the period of funding from the Home Office Tackling Violent Crime Programme.

- 2.12. Findings from these interviews were also complemented by the evaluator's participation in, and observation of, quarterly meetings of the 'Violent Crime Task Group' of Safer Capital, to which the night-time economy co-ordinator reported.
- 2.13. This sub-group also received quarterly reports on patterns of violence against the person and disorder identified from police and accident and emergency data. Content analyses of these reports and other documentary sources (including previous research reports into alcohol-related street crime in Cardiff) were used to further contextualise the work of the night-time economy co-ordinator and to infer relationships between key initiatives implemented by the NTEC and any perceived trends in alcohol-related violence.
- 2.14. Finally, the evaluator undertook several observations of these key initiatives in action, including the marshalling of taxi ranks, temporary road closures, extension of CCTV surveillance and the establishment of a digital radio network connecting the night-time economy co-ordinator with police patrols, door staff and emergency services. These observations also facilitated numerous 'conversations with a purpose' which the evaluator undertook with door staff of licensed premises, taxi marshals, taxi drivers, bar staff, police officers and those monitoring CCTV surveillance in Cardiff City Centre.

Analytical strategy

- 2.15. The analytical strategy employed to make sense of this qualitative data was 'adaptive', entailing the definition of theoretical propositions about multi-agency crime prevention work and the allied challenges of 'co-ordinating' preventive measures and the revision of these propositions in the light of findings from the studies respondents, documentary sources and Safer Capital's own analyses of crime trends (for example the problem of 'departmentalism' in public administration and the role of occupational cultures in resisting partnership working, see 3.9., 6.2., and Appendices Two and Five, and the prospects for negotiating these

problems through innovations in neighbourhood management, see, Section 7).

- 2.16. Earlier drafts of research reports and findings from this evaluation were sent to key respondents including the NTEC post-holder and the tasking manager of Safer Capital for validation and to maintain a constructive dialogue over the purposes of the NTEC post. Findings were also shared with colleagues in the Regeneration Institute at Cardiff University and with members of the Centre for Crime, Law and Justice at Cardiff University. This final report is the culmination of this validation⁸ from respondents and other informed parties with expertise on the night-time economy and its associated health and safety problems.

⁸ Although, beyond matters of record, the interpretation placed upon these findings remains that of the author alone.

3. DEFINING THE BRIEF FOR THE NTEC POST

Defining the night-time economy

- 3.1. The NTEC post is an innovative role in public administration and so a significant part of the evaluation was an action-oriented involvement of the evaluator in discussions with members of the steering committee for the post over the scope and role, 'the brief' (as it was described in these meetings), of the night-time economy co-ordinator.
- 3.2. A common definition of the night-time economy, adopted in the definition of objectives for the Cardiff NTEC, is consumption in the legal on and off-trade in licensed leisure and entertainment ('drinking, dancing and eating', as one respondent described it).
- 3.3. A more encompassing definition could, however, have included the consumption of illicit activities, such as unlicensed gambling, prostitution and narcotics and their interrelationship with the licensed economy of dancing, drinking and eating (Hadfield and Measham, 2009; Measham and Moore, 2009; Sanders, 2009)⁹.
- 3.4. A broader definition still, would redress the analytical and policy pre-occupation with consumers in the night-time economy, by including the activities of producers in generating problems of alcohol-related violence. Examples of this include drinks promotion campaigns run by corporations in the alcohol industry and town planning decisions that encourage alcohol-related entertainment as a strategy for regenerating the economic fortunes of city centres. In other words, it would focus on the dynamics of the market in alcohol (Hobbs et al, 2005; Roberts, 2009)¹⁰.

⁹ The steering group elected to restrict a notion of what constitutes the night-time economy, for the purposes of its co-ordination, to that of licensed drinking, dancing and eating. It was argued that co-ordinating regulation of the licit economy would be challenging enough for the pilot phase of this new role. It was accepted, however, that subsequently the role could be developed to encompass a focus on illicit services and their interrelationship with the licensed economy.

¹⁰ Hobbs et al (2005) have gone as far as to suggest that policy responses to alcohol-related violence in the night-time economy are themselves 'violent hypocrisy' as they displace responsibility onto consumers whilst ignoring the culpability of the drinks industry and local authority regeneration plans for pushing cheap liquor in cramped, 'vertical drinking', venues designed to maximise profits through encouraging high volume alcohol consumption or 'bingeing' (see also, Plant, Plant and Thornton, 2002). The implication of this critique for policy reform is a deliberate strategy of planning-out vertical drinking venues, re-imposing limitations on the supply of alcohol through more restrictive licensing hours and prohibition of irresponsible drinks promotions, whilst reducing demand for alcohol by increasing its cost (both by setting minimum retail prices per unit of alcohol and by increasing the taxation of alcohol). The implication of these options for the role of the night-time economy co-ordinator is considered further in section 7, below. The weight of opinion in the steering group for the NTEC post was to protect the employment and income generation associated with the licensed trade in the short-term, whilst reducing dependence on the licensed trade in the

Mechanisms for regulating the night-time economy

- 3.5. Defining the brief for the NTEC also depends on the range of regulatory mechanisms identified as relevant for responding to problems of violence and disorder. One approach is to focus on co-ordination of the various legislative powers and sanctions that are relevant for tackling crime and disorder in the night-time economy in England and Wales (see Appendix One¹¹).
- 3.6. A complementary approach is to regard regulation as a 'negotiated relationship between regulators and traders [in particular economies]' (Gill, 2000: 14). In these terms regulation is regarded as a dynamic, always evolving, relationship between the regulators and the regulated. Co-ordination thus entails a process of learning about the intended and unintended consequences of certain regulatory mechanisms, especially those of sanctions, in better negotiating this relationship for the achievement of certain ends (such as the reduction of alcohol-related violence without compromising the income and employment generated by the licensed economy).
- 3.7. Once the analytical focus is shifted from legislative powers and sanctions to the relationship amongst (and between) regulators and regulated, it becomes possible to think about a broader range of mechanisms and to build understanding of their consequences in reducing, further exacerbating or having a negligible effect upon alcohol-related violence.
- 3.8. For example, one attempt to conceptualise this negotiated relationship focuses on the spectrum of mechanisms, from enforcement of criminal laws through to various non-enforcement measures, which could be used to regulate illicit¹² as well as licit markets (See Appendix Two)¹³. This

medium-term, specifically through development of an 'evening economy' (circa 16.00 – 20.00hrs) of extended retail shopping, use of restaurants and cinemas and other cultural facilities by a broader demographic of young families, day time economy workers and consumers 'dwelling' in the city centre. There was particular optimism amongst some respondents for planning this mixed economy in Cardiff given the anticipated multi-million pound redevelopment of the St. David's II retail and entertainment complex.

¹¹ Hadfield, Lister and Traynor (2009: 469) provide a useful summary of legislative powers and sanctions underpinning enforcement mechanisms available to responsible authorities for 'person-based, place-based and venue-based' regulation of the night-time economy and these are reproduced in Appendix One (see also n3, above).

¹² At first glance it seems perverse to speak of the 'regulation', as contrasted with the outright dismantling and closure, of illicit markets. However, it is precisely because problems, like 'polydrug use in the night-time economy' (Measham and Moore, 2009), escape remediation through criminal law enforcement alone that other mechanisms for their reduction, if not prevention (even decriminalisation), have attracted increased interest.

¹³ For an application of this idea to tackling the organisation of serious crimes, see Edwards and Gill (2002). The emphasis is very much on those mechanisms that *could* be used, as this conceptual framework is offered as a thought experiment indicating the possible range of

conceptual framework reveals a number of dilemmas which, it is suggested, clarify the problem of co-ordination in the night-time economy.

- 3.9. First amongst these is the dilemma of multi-agency working. Central to the very justification of the NTEC post in Cardiff was a recognition of the limited capacity of the police to regulate the problem of alcohol-related violence through deterrent police patrols and prosecution of those apprehended for offences of violence against the person (e.g. s.18 and s.47 of the Offences Against the Person Act 1861 on Grievous and Actual Bodily Harm) or for affray, harassment, disorder or 'anti-social behaviour' (see 1.4, above). Hence the perceived need to co-ordinate the involvement of other regulatory agencies with additional powers and resources to reduce this problem. Whilst multi-agency approaches reduce dependence on the limited capacities of the police service, they generate renowned problems of inter-organisational competition (Crawford, 1997: 94ff; Hughes, 2007: 54-80). Specifically, limits to resources for police operations require the enrolment of other responsible authorities that often have occupational cultures and working practices that are unfamiliar or unsympathetic to one another and this significantly complicates interventions¹⁴. Negotiating relationships between multiple regulators is, therefore, a core justification of the NTEC post¹⁵.
- 3.10. A second dilemma relates to the limits that all regulatory agencies encounter in exercising command and control over those they would regulate. Much public policy on tackling alcohol-related violence is premised on the assumption that responsible authorities can command order if only equipped with the requisite powers and sanctions, as epitomised in the frenetic legislative activity either side of the Licensing Act 2003 (see Appendix One).

measures available for negotiating relationships between regulators and regulated and not an empirical description of what is, necessarily, happening in relations between regulators and regulated in any one particular place and period.

¹⁴ The term frequently used by officers in public administration to describe this problem is that of 'silo mentalities'. An exemplary instance of this discovered through this evaluation was the response from a waste management officer in the local authority to a request from Safer Capital to schedule late-night street cleaning operations in order to remove litter and waste associated with the licensed trade and with fast-food outlets. This officer argued, 'The problem of alcohol-related violence in the night-time economy is ... alcohol and violence, not waste management.'

¹⁵ The range of relevant regulatory agencies for reducing alcohol-related violence is discussed in greater detail in Section 4 (below), but relevant legislative powers and sanctions (Appendix One) and the conceptual framework for understanding negotiated relationships between regulators and regulated (Appendix Two) suggest these include, in addition to the police, those agencies responsible for alcohol licensing, highways and traffic management, waste management, City Centre management, health and safety and fire services (this list can, of course, be extended further depending on how the night-time economy is being defined, to include city and regional planners, local economic strategists and those responsible for local cultural, media and sports policies).

- 3.11. The research literature on regulation questions this basic assumption, emphasising a more complex, inter-dependent, relationship amongst regulators and regulated (Baldwin et al, 1998; Gill, 2000: 13-18). Just as the police encounter limits to their capacity to patrol upwards of 40,000 consumers in the licensed night-time economy in Cardiff, so the police and Council licensing authorities have to operate with a skeleton staff in visiting 'hot-spot' venues, agreeing action plans for improved management and, if need be, exercising powers for reviewing licenses to supply alcohol. Resources for conducting test-purchasing operations against on and off-licensed premises suspected of supplying alcohol to under-age drinkers are equally stretched¹⁶.
- 3.12. Insofar as the scale of consumption in the licensed night-time economy overwhelms the enforcement capacities of the police, licensing authorities, health and safety executive and other regulatory agencies, further remediation of alcohol-related violence implies experimentation with various non-enforcement approaches where traders can escape sanctions altogether. Through guile, persuasion and, especially, through the offer of positive rewards to compliant traders, the NTEC may be able to cultivate greater 'self-regulation' amongst licensed premises and consumers¹⁷.
- 3.13. Failure to cultivate self-regulation or deploy sufficient resources for enforcing legislative powers and sanctions implies accommodation and collusion. In relation to the night-time economy this entails an acceptance that alcohol-related violence and disorder cannot be eradicated without

¹⁶ It is claimed that effective targeting of limited policing and licensing enforcement powers has been enabled by Safer Capital's innovative 'traffic light system', which on a monthly basis 'red flags' venues associated with high rates of alcohol-related violence and disorder (as recorded both in police and Accident and Emergency data), 'amber flags' venues attracting an increase in such incidents (relative to previous months' returns) and 'green flags' those venues which have successfully reduced incidents associated with their premises (Moore, 2006). Even so, much of the problem of alcohol-related violence and disorder is not related to specific premises but to the market in off and on-sales, often to underage drinkers who then consume alcohol in the street and other public places. The problem of 'pre-loading' (where consumers binge drink at home or *en route* to licensed premises arriving in an inebriated state) has been identified as a particular problem of alcohol-related crime and disorder across the country (House of Commons Health Committee, 2009).

¹⁷ An exemplar of this being a proposal the NTEC made to introduce an awards scheme, entitled 'Thirst CLASS' (**C**ardiff **L**ate-night licensed premises **A**ward for **S**afety and **S**ecurity) for those premises with the least recorded incidents of violence against the person. The basic idea behind this award scheme is that premises will be interested in competing for awards as a means of self-promotion to gain an edge in the market for custom. Typically, however, it was the corporate end of the licensed trade which expressed an interest in competing for such awards rather than smaller venues already suffering from limited economies of scale (for employing adequate bar staff and door supervisors) which often led to relatively uncontrolled venues and allied health and safety problems as proprietors struggled to compete for custom. Measures aimed at promoting self-regulation amongst consumers include media campaigns encouraging responsible drinking.

recourse to more draconian constraints on alcohol supply and consumption such as the radical reduction (if not destruction) of the market itself (see 3.4n6, above), which in turn threatens the considerable economic benefits of the licensed trade¹⁸. Insofar as these economic benefits are thought to be too critical to be jeopardised, regulators are in the position of accommodating, rather than eradicating, the associated health and safety problems of the licensed trade¹⁹.

- 3.14. Other non-enforcement mechanisms imply important challenges for the NTEC post-holder. Specifically, the avoidance of 'regulatory capture' in which, in endeavouring to forge co-operative relationships and foster self-regulation, co-ordinators 'go native' by forging too close and empathetic a relationship with licensees and other traders in the night-time economy, thereby undermining the authority for negotiating, and ultimately enforcing, compliance with accepted standards.
- 3.15. An extreme form of regulatory capture is where regulators and traders become one and the same; where traders assume ownership and control of regulatory processes in the service of their own particular interests and against those of their market competitors. Although there are clear benefits in employing NTEC post-holders with 'insider knowledge' of how local night-time economies operate and how self-regulation can be better negotiated, post-holders are vulnerable to charges of favouritism and partiality in the absence of adequate oversight and accountability, particularly when they are drawn from the very economies they are then

¹⁸ By the early 2000s it was estimated that the licensed trade had an annual turnover of £23bn accounting for 3% of the UK's Gross Domestic Product and between 5-15% of local GDP, particularly in post-industrial cities that chose to rapidly liberalise regulation of the licensed trade to boost local labour markets (Hobbs et al, 2005: 163). By the turn of the century it was estimated the licensed trade employed over 1 million workers and was responsible for 1 in 5 of all new jobs created in the UK labour force (Home Office, 2000: 25).

¹⁹ The broader point being that planning safer, healthier, yet sufficiently lucrative night-time economies entails political and moral, not just technical, judgements about the level of risk to public health and safety that authorities responsible for these economies are willing to bear. In turn, this raises questions about the political accountability of responsible authorities to local electorates. The Licensing Act 2003 shifted responsibility for decisions on granting alcohol licences from the courts to local authority licensing committees strengthening, in theory, the relationship between licensing decisions, the electorate and their local representatives sitting on these committees. However, the Licensing Act 2003 also introduced a presumption in favour of granting alcohol licenses unless a convincing case could be made against a particular applicant. Respondents from police licensing suggested this new system had actually weakened the rigour with which licensing applications were tried in the magistrates' courts (see also, Hadfield, 2006: 175-213), whilst increasing the cost and resources of mounting effective objections to license applications. In addition licensing decisions are concerned with particular venues not with the planning of local economies. Whereas Cumulative Impact Polices, Alcohol Disorder Zones and Business Improvement Districts provide some measures for planning licensed activity, there remains no clearly identifiable forum in which local citizens can debate and question the kind of civic economy and culture they want for their localities. A more ambitious vision for the office of night-time economy co-ordinator, forming part of a City Centre Management directorate within the local council could provide a more identifiable focus for better planning of licensed economies and oversight and scrutiny of these planning strategies.

charged with regulating. Protecting NTEC post-holders, and the community safety partnerships to which they report, from such charges, reiterates the importance of strengthening the political accountability of multi-agency work (Edwards and Hughes, 2002: 9-10).

- 3.16. Dilemmas of partnership and command and control emphasise the complexity of negotiating relationships between regulators and regulated. In these terms 'co-ordination' entails more than a simple administrative exercise in 'joining-up' the right agencies and resources to tackle multifaceted problems like alcohol-related violence. Rather, it implies sensitivity toward conflicts of interest between the economic, health and safety aspects of a market that now accounts for a significant proportion of GDP (and local business tax revenues) but is generating significant problems for public health and protection.
- 3.17. The core brief for the NTEC is to negotiate these interests in such a way as to accomplish sufficient self-regulation, or trader compliance, in a context of limited resources for the enforcement of legislative powers and sanctions²⁰.

Minimal and Maximal Roles for the NTEC post

- 3.18. Decisions about the licit and illicit activities that are taken to constitute the night-time economy and the range of enforcement and non-enforcement mechanisms identified for negotiating its regulation imply minimal and maximal roles for the NTEC in negotiating competing interests in the night-time economy.
- 3.19. A minimalist role could focus on intelligence gathering for other authorities responsible for enforcing legislative powers and sanctions and could be limited to involvement in specific operations for reducing alcohol-related violence and disorder in the licensed economy²¹.
- 3.20. A maximal role would focus more on the strategic management of the licensed economy, informing decisions about land-use planning (the volume, location and operating conditions of different kinds of licensed

²⁰ Defining the brief of the NTEC in these terms acknowledges the controversial quality of the post and this is a necessary prerequisite of discussing the regulatory powers and responsibilities of the post-holder (see Section 4) and the skills set needed to exercise them (Section 5).

²¹ For example, undertaking street patrols to collect intelligence on licensed premises' compliance with waste management regulations, taxi drivers' compliance with regulated ranks and transport termini, undertaking test purchasing operations against off-licensed traders suspected of supplying alcohol to underage consumers, routine inspections of door supervisors' registration under s.3-6 of the Private Security Industry Act 2001, which requires private security personnel to carry an up-to-date license to practice, liaison with police and council licensing authorities to take particular licensees to review and so on.

bars, clubs and restaurants etc.), the location and operating conditions of off-licensed retailers, the supply and marshalling of public and private transport into and out of nightlife hotspots, the scheduling of street cleansing and refuse collection services to coincide with peak activity and so forth. Part of this strategic management role could also entail analysis of the interrelationship of licit and illicit markets in order to inform the planned reduction of the latter²².

- 3.21. In the absence of a statutory duty defining the NTEC brief and standardising the post's role and responsibilities there is likely to be significant variation from one locality to another. Such discretion may be apposite given substantial variations in the contexts, size and dynamics of particular night-time economies and political judgements about the costs of regulation and risks to public health and safety relative to the economic benefits of the licensed economy in particular localities.
- 3.22. In these terms, the objectives defined for the Cardiff NTEC (see 1.13, above) defined the role more in terms of the maximal, strategic management, brief than the minimalist, front line, operations officer. Whilst oriented more towards the regulation of the licit markets in drinking, dancing and eating, work undertaken by the Cardiff NTEC encompassed a range of enforcement measures through to efforts at cultivating greater self-regulation. These are discussed in section four, below, along with their implications for the powers and responsibilities that can be accorded to the NTEC post.

²² Renowned examples of this interrelationship being the role of door supervisors as gatekeepers to the illicit drugs trade within licensed premises (Hobbs et al, 2001), the increasingly blurred boundaries between the licensed trade and the sex industry in lap-dancing venues (Hadfield and Measham, 2009: 34-5) and the suggestion that lap-dancing venues can be vehicles for prostitution and human trafficking (Doward, 2008).

4. REGULATORY POWERS AND SANCTIONS

- 4.1. The NTEC possessed no formal powers for tasking responsible authorities or sanctioning particular individuals or venues, hence a premium was placed on how effective the post-holder could be in engaging those authorities with relevant powers. In these terms, much of the role entailed effective 'brokerage' in getting relevant services to co-operate and act jointly.
- 4.2. In Cardiff, the NTEC was provided resources for disrupting the situational opportunities for alcohol-related violence, in particular grants in support of road closures and the employment of taxi marshals or 'ambassadors'.
- 4.3. The co-ordinating role of the NTEC needs to be understood in relation to the range of person, venue and place-based regulations of alcohol-related violence and disorder and the markets for alcohol-based leisure and entertainment (see Appendix Two).
- 4.4. By sitting outside any one service area, the NTEC has the potential to cut across and join-up those services needed at particular moments to tackle distinct problems of violence and disorder. Realising this potential may, however, entail the provision of powers to NTEC post-holders to task middle managers within responsible authorities in keeping with the community safety strategies agreed by senior representatives of these authorities²³.

Person-based powers and sanctions

- 4.5. The use of person-based sanctions, such as anti-social behaviour orders (ASBO's), penalty notices for disorder (PND's) and drink banning orders (DBO's), were not within the power of the NTEC during the period of funding for this post from the HOTVCP. There was limited interest amongst the steering group or the NTEC for issuing ASBO's and DBO's. It

²³ The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 placed a statutory duty on constabularies and local authorities at the district level in England and Wales to establish multi-agency partnerships for the reduction of crime and disorder. Subsequently, health authorities, fire services, police authorities and probation services have been made responsible for joining these partnerships and formulating annual plans for reducing crime and disorder. These plans are informed by strategic assessments identifying emerging crime trends and informing the targeting of limited resources for crime reduction. This presumes joint action by these authorities in addition to rhetorical agreements for co-operation amongst senior managers and to effect this action, it is suggested that middle managers are key to tasking their front-line staff in accordance with the strategic assessments and priorities of district community safety partnerships. Getting middle managers from the different responsible authorities to communicate with one another in this joint tasking is, itself, a key task of co-ordination and a major justification for the NTEC post.

was felt these were relatively blunt instruments for achieving significant and sustainable reductions in alcohol-related violence.

Venue-based powers and sanctions

- 4.6. Whilst there has been significant progress in identifying and reducing hot-spots of venue-based violence and disorder, employing intelligence from police and health data (see n16., above) to identify problem venues and formulate appropriate action plans, the majority of the problem known to the authorities occurs on the streets (whilst patrons are in transit from one venue to another or seeking entry or egress from the city centre²⁴).
- 4.7. In relation to the reduction of venue-based problems, the NTEC had no formal powers for tasking enforcement agencies (licensing authorities, the police, waste management or highways departments), only informal powers of leverage and persuasion (such as advising problem venues on avoiding punitive action from licensing authorities, environmental and health protection or highways enforcement agencies through agreeing action plans to reduce problems of violence and disorder associated with their premises).
- 4.8. As noted above (see n14), informal powers of persuasion and ‘brokerage’ amongst the responsible authorities are limited in the face of implacable opposition from middle managers who may be sceptical about the responsibility of their services for community safety issues. If responsible authorities do not wish to grant formal powers to the NTEC for tasking public services, there needs to be a more efficient means of expediting decisions by senior managers, the communication of these to middle managers and thence the deployment of service personnel (e.g. late-night street cleansing services, health and safety inspections, the deployment of traffic police and so on).

Place-based powers and sanctions

- 4.9. A principal responsibility of the NTEC has been to implement measures for reducing street-based violence and disorder. This has been effected through a focus on reducing the situational opportunities for violence and disorder by marshalling taxi ranks, control of taxi services, a programme of road closures and temporary pedestrianisation of popular streets for entertainment venues in the city centre, through improved waste management and street cleansing, through improved closed circuit television surveillance of these locations and by the development of a digital radio communications network linking taxi marshals/ambassadors, police officers and door supervisors with the NTEC and with those

²⁴ See Section 6, below, on patterns of alcohol-related violence against the person during the period of the HOTVCP funding of the post.

monitoring CCTV surveillance (in order to anticipate fights and/or intervene to prevent their escalation).

- 4.10. In the absence of formal powers to task responsible authorities to deliver on these measures, however, the NTEC expressed a certain frustration both with the 'silo mentalities' of certain responsible authorities and with a general problem of getting public services to operate outside of normal working hours. It was felt this was indicative of a rhetorical commitment to partnership working amongst senior management in authorities responsible for community safety but a failure to translate this into practical action and routine, joined-up, working practices amongst front-line personnel. A dramatic example of this being the granting of licenses for late-night alcohol sales to a number of retail outlets located in renowned hot-spots for violence and disorder. It was acknowledged by key respondents from Safer Capital that this licensing approach to the off-sales sector contradicted their attempts to better regulate the consumption of alcohol within licensed bars, clubs and restaurants and within 'designated public places' in the city centre²⁵.
- 4.11. Even so, the programme of pedestrianisation, temporary road closures and marshalling of taxi ranks coincided with statistically significant reductions in incidents of alcohol-related violence against the person and disorder known to the authorities in the St. Mary's Street area of the City. This suggests there is some evidence in support of the contribution the NTEC post can make to reducing opportunities for incidents of alcohol-related violence through the co-ordination of place-based measures. It should be emphasised, however, that during the period covered by the evaluation, these measures were provided through a time-limited grant from South Wales Police, rather than through tasking of mainstream services in the police or in other relevant services such as highways and transport.

Market-oriented powers and sanctions

- 4.12. If additional grants cannot be found to sustain these place-based measures and if they cannot be mainstreamed into the budgets of public services facing substantial cutbacks in core grants, measures aimed at altering, if not restricting or reducing, the markets in alcohol-based leisure and entertainment become more important.

²⁵ For example, the NTEC had supported the case made by the community safety partnership for a designated public places order covering the city centre, prohibiting the consumption of alcohol on the streets and empowering the police to confiscate alcohol from patrons entering the city centre via its main transport termini. In addition to the granting of this order, local by-laws had been introduced requiring licensed premises to purvey alcohol in polycarbonate receptacles to reduce the opportunities for the use of broken glasses in personal assaults. At the same time, however, a number of licenses were granted to retail outlets in the city centre for off-sales of alcohol in glass bottles.

- 4.13. As suggested in Appendix Two, there are at least three options for reducing alcohol-related violence and disorder through manipulating the markets in licensed eating, drinking and dancing:
- Markets can be disrupted through the use of ‘cumulative impact policies’ designed to limit access to already ‘saturated’ markets;
 - Markets can be reduced through licensing and taxation measures designed to increase the unit costs of alcohol and/or enforce minimum unit costs for both the on-trade and off-licensed sales of alcohol; and
 - Markets can be qualitatively altered through reward schemes that alter the self-regulation of licensees by accrediting those with a record of providing safer leisure and entertainment and/or through measures designed to alter the demographic profile of consumers in these markets.
- 4.14. During the period of the evaluation, the NTEC and the steering group for the post favoured powers to promote greater self-regulation rather than sanctions aimed at restricting the market or reducing it through more stringent licensing and taxation. This was in keeping with the concern to improve public health and safety without jeopardising the significant economic benefits of alcohol-based entertainment and leisure in the City Centre. Two specific interventions were pursued by the NTEC:
- The establishment of a ‘Thirst Class’ awards scheme, accrediting particular enterprises for their record of negligible incidents of violence or disorder and, more positively, their promotion of high quality standards of customer service and satisfaction; and
 - Work with town planners to cultivate an ‘evening economy’ (spanning the 16.00 to 20.00hrs period) that encourages a broader demographic mix of consumers (including families and day-time workers) ‘dwelling’ in the City Centre to patronise the restaurants, retail outlets, galleries, museums and cafes in addition to licensed premises.
- 4.15. The assumption behind these measures was that licensed premises wanting to compete for the custom of this more mixed clientele would alter their business models, reducing their dependence on high-volume alcohol consumption. It was also assumed that encouraging a more diverse patronage of the City Centre would facilitate informal social controls on drunk and disorderly patrons or at least limit the cultural milieu conducive to such behaviour.
- 4.16. In summary, if the brief for the NTEC is broadly defined, to encompass strategic management, the role requires the provision of relevant powers to task responsible authorities in accordance with the portfolio of person-, venue- and place-based measures that are chosen as relevant for problems of alcohol-related violence and disorder in particular localities.

The strategic management brief also implies responsibilities for involvement in neighbourhood management and local service boards charged with anticipating and shaping the relationships between economic development, health and public safety, because it is at this level of local governance that a detailed understanding of the factors driving patterns of alcohol-related violence need to be fed into discussions about the restriction, reduction or alteration of the markets in alcohol sales.

- 4.17. Judgements about balancing the economic benefits of the night-time economy against its consequences for public health and safety are ultimately political, entailing calculations about the level of risk to health and safety that responsible authorities are prepared to bear in order to leverage employment growth and income generation out of licensed eating, drinking and dancing. Envisaged as a strategic manager with responsibility for collating and interpreting intelligence on patterns of alcohol consumption and their relationship to patterns of crime and disorder, the NTEC can play an important role in equipping the political leadership of local service boards with a more robust evidence base on which to make such calculations. For the NTEC to effectively co-ordinate responses to, as well as the scanning and analysis of, problems of public protection in the night-time economy, the role requires more authority to task responsible authorities and/or advise neighbourhood management teams of the need to task responsible authorities.

5. PROBLEM-SOLVING AND SKILLS SET

- 5.1. In essence, the role of the night-time economy co-ordinator is one of problem-solving but, again, the conception of the problem relates to the brief defined for this role.
- 5.2. A minimal brief would envisage the NTEC as someone providing qualitative intelligence on patterns of alcohol-related crime and disorder in particular venues or places (for example, through cultivating key informants such as door supervisors, bar workers, taxi drivers, street pastors and other 'sentinels' of night life). This minimal brief might involve the recruitment of key workers into specific operations aimed at reducing crime and disorder associated with particular problem venues or places.
- 5.3. Conversely, the maximal brief would envisage a very different set of skills associated with strategic management decisions about maximising the economic benefits of the night-time economy whilst minimising its threats to public health and safety. This brief would involve the collation and interpretation of intelligence on patterns of alcohol consumption and their relationship to patterns of crime and disorder across the night-time economy (whether defined, in turn, in the relatively narrow terms of the licit markets in eating, drinking and dancing or the more expansive terms of their relationship to the illicit markets in narcotics, vice and gambling).

Applying the 'SARA' approach

- 5.4. These different skills sets can be elaborated in relation to the 'SARA' approach to problem-solving (Bullock and Tilley, 2003) in which community safety work is envisaged as a rational exercise in:
 - 'Scanning' the problem in question, utilising different kinds of qualitative and quantitative intelligence from a broad spectrum of key informants;
 - 'Analysing' this intelligence through the use of relevant social scientific expertise and practitioner knowledge about the factors that can generate particular patterns of crime and disorder;
 - 'Responding' to these patterns, employing scientific and practitioner 'know-how' about what works or has worked in reducing these patterns, for example through various person-, venue- and placed-based interventions or measures aimed at restricting, reducing or altering the markets for licit and/or illicit goods and services; and
 - 'Assessing' the outcomes of these and any processes affecting their implementation and impact.

Scanning problems of alcohol-related crime and disorder

- 5.6. As previously noted, Cardiff has been the pilot case for using accident and emergency data to build more robust measures of trends in alcohol-related violence against the person (on the presumption that many victims of grievous and actual bodily harm who present themselves for medical care may not have reported these incidents to the police for fear of self-incrimination, given that victims of alcohol-related violence are often involved in these incidents as perpetrators). In Cardiff there has been considerable investment in designing admission forms to accident and emergency wards to record details of personal assaults in ways which facilitate cross-referencing with police data (in particular, details on the timing and location of incidents defined in accordance with police categories).
- 5.7. The Cardiff NTEC also placed a premium on qualitative intelligence gleaned from 'sentinels'. The NTEC also provided qualitative intelligence through routine observations of the various night-time economy 'scenes' which were made during regular patrols around night life hotspots.
- 5.8. In these terms, the NTEC post-holder is in a position to collate these quantitative and qualitative sources of intelligence for solving problems associated with particular people, places and venues but also in support of the strategic management of the night-time economy, were the brief for the role to be defined in these more encompassing terms. For example, the assessment of any correlation between measures aimed at altering the market s in licensed eating, drinking and dancing and alterations in crime and disorder trends²⁶.

Analysing problems of alcohol-related crime and disorder

- 5.9. Weekly briefing meetings, in which the NTEC met with other key actors, such as police and local authority licensing officers, the police superintendent responsible for the night-time patrols and representatives of other relevant services, provided a key forum for exchanging intelligence on key incidents and problems. The briefing meetings also acted as a forum for identifying particular venues that could be targeted for remedial action plans (including advice on door supervision, control of the numbers of patrons admitted to

²⁶ There are, for example, proposals to cultivate distinctive precincts or 'quarters' of the City Centre geared towards different kinds of clientele, such as a 'Café Quarter' encouraging a diverse clientele of families and different age cohorts of those interested in patronising the evening economy of retail outlets, upmarket cafes and such like and a restaurant quarter geared towards mid- and upmarket eating establishments as contrasted with 'vertical drinking bars' primarily geared towards the consumption of alcohol. Whether the planning and development of these quarters has an impact on depressing overall incidents of alcohol-related violence and/or deflecting these incidents into smaller, more easily policed 'hot-spots' requires the collation and analysis of trend data along with qualitative insights into the changing culture of consumption in these quarters.

these venues, adequate bar staffing, the control of *al fresco* dining and drinking etc.). They also provided an opportunity for identifying problematic places and flashpoints for alcohol-related violence, such as poorly-lit, under-supervised, thoroughfares connecting the principal scenes or concentrations of licensed venues (for example the routes connecting the bars on Greyfriars Road with those on St. Mary's Street and routes connecting these places with key transport termini, such as the central railway station and the planned mini-bus park in Churchill Way).

- 5.10. The NTEC was familiar with analytical techniques for diagnosing problems associated with particular venues and places, such as the 'problem analysis triangle'²⁷. Broadening the brief for the post to encompass strategic management will also require a familiarity with analytical concepts drawn from urban planning and design, such as regulations promoting diverse land use, 'cultural entrepreneurship' and an 'inclusive ambience' (Roberts, 2009: 501-2).

Responding to problems of alcohol-related crime and disorder

- 5.11. Details of the particular responses to patterns of alcohol-related crime and disorder implemented by the Cardiff NTEC are provided in Appendix Five. The predominant focus of these responses was on reducing the situational opportunities for alcohol-related crime and disorder, including: action plans for 'red-flagged' venues with elevated incidents of violence and disorder, marshalled taxi ranks, road closure schemes, enhanced CCTV surveillance and digital radio communication between police patrols, door supervisors, the NTEC and those involved in monitoring CCTV cameras.
- 5.12. Again, however, should the brief for the NTEC be broadened to encompass strategic management, then concepts from urban planning and design and the regulation of markets imply other kinds of responses to reducing alcohol-related crime and disorder. For example measures to restrict, reduce or alter the markets in licensed eating, drinking and dancing entailing admixtures of licensing, taxing and the promotion of self-regulation (see 4.10 – 4.15, above).

²⁷ The problem analysis triangle (PAT) is taken from routine activities theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979), which focuses on the place-based routines that bring together motivated offenders and suitable targets for victimisation in the absence of capable guardians to enable the commission of criminal offences and consequently informs thinking about practical, situational, measures that can alter these routines (for example through reducing the vulnerability of targets, reducing the supply of motivated offenders and/or enhancing guardianship). Many of the measures implemented by the NTEC (see Appendix Five and 5.11, below) were informed by this analytical technique. Another key analytical influence was the 'broken windows thesis' (Wilson and Kelling, 1982), which postulates that urban blight (such as the detritus of fast food outlets and discarded bottles) signals uncontrolled places that are conducive to criminal offending. This concept underpinned the NTEC's, unsuccessful, campaign for late-night street cleansing.

Assessing the impact of responses to alcohol-related crime and disorder

- 5.13. Problem-solving implies some assessment of the impact of policy responses, which is then fed back into subsequent rounds of scanning, analysis and the adaptation of further responses. The generic importance of this has been recognised by analysts who depict crime prevention as a form of ‘arms race’ between preventers and offenders who innovate ways of circumventing preventive measures, in turn provoking further responses, and so on (Ekblom, 1997). The metaphor of an arms race is particularly apposite in relation to alcohol-related problems of health and safety in the night-time economy. Fierce competition for custom produces very dynamic markets in which small and medium-sized enterprises innovate with ‘criminogenic’²⁸ business models as they struggle with tight profit margins. Another key example of this arms race relates to the phenomenon of ‘pre-loading’²⁹.
- 5.14. A facility for assessing the intended and unintended impact of responses is relevant both for relatively minimal and maximal definitions of the NTEC brief. The required skills set alters as the brief shifts from the impact of measures targeted at specific people, venues and places to a concern with the crime displacement and deflection effects of a crime reduction programme on the incidence, prevalence and concentration of alcohol-related crime and disorder throughout the night-time economy in question (see also, n32, below).
- 5.15. The SARA approach to problem-solving also provides a means of clarifying the relatively minimal or maximal brief for the NTEC role. If the role is defined in terms of strategic management, the expectation would be for the post-holder to manage each stage of scanning, analysis, response and assessment. Alternatively, the role could be restricted to that of an intelligence officer responsible for scanning and analysing problems of alcohol-related crime and disorder or to an operations officer responsible for co-ordinating measures targeted at particular individuals, venues and places or in assessing their intended/unintended consequences. Decisions regarding the definition of the NTEC role will, in part, reflect the availability of expertise in these tasks in particular localities.
- 5.16. Even in community safety partnerships that have the capacity for intelligence analysis, resources for contracting-in evaluation expertise (for example from

²⁸ ‘Criminogenic’ meaning practices which are liable to generate criminal offences, for example small proprietors overcrowding customers into understaffed and poorly supervised venues as a means of maximising profits whilst minimising costs, in particular staff salaries, producing environments conducive to interpersonal violence as patrons become frustrated at slow service and agitated in congested drinking conditions.

²⁹ ‘Pre-loading’ is a term used to describe the practice of customers consuming relatively cheap alcohol at home or *en route* to licensed venues, often arriving at these venues in an inebriated condition. The problem of pre-loading further emphasises the limitations of concentrating preventive effort on particular venues or places, when it is the *market* in off-licensed sales of under-priced alcohol that is a principal precursor of alcohol-related violence against the person.

universities and/or consultancies) and partners able to co-ordinate particular responses to alcohol-related crime and disorder, there remains a need for a post that ensures the overall process of problem-solving is managed. The process of partnership working itself needs to be managed if familiar problems afflicting multi-agency work are to be avoided, in particular the breakdown of joint working amongst front-line personnel and middle managers within partner organisations, even where the senior managers of these organisations have a commitment to joint working. Co-ordinators co-ordinate, but can only do so with the requisite authority.

6. IMPACT ASSESSMENT

- 6.1. The evaluation concentrated on the processes of co-ordinating agencies and measures relevant for the reduction of violence and disorder and, in these terms, it revealed the significant challenges encountered by the NTEC in altering well-established occupational cultures and working practices. Specifically, there is a challenge of getting public services accustomed to shift patterns in the conventional working week (09.00 – 17.00hrs, Monday to Friday) to govern night-time economies that operate from late-evening until early-morning and particularly at weekends.
- 6.2. Conflicts and misunderstandings between different public sector working cultures, the 'silo mentalities' or 'departmentalism' that characterises much public administration (see Appendix Five), and between these and commercial sector cultures remain a significant challenge. In particular, tensions exist between the drive to expedite rapid interventions and changes in work patterns found in the commercial sector and the duties that public sector organisations have for more time-consuming processes of bureaucratic, financial and politically accountable decision-making.
- 6.3. Whilst these familiar problems of partnership working in community safety frustrated progress towards the accomplishment of the first objective for the post, that of 'creating a unified measurement of performance and enforcement arm for the regulation of the night-time economy', the self-assessment undertaken by the NTEC (see Appendix Five) noted progress on the other objectives, of engaging some local authority service areas with an identifiable role in preventing or reducing violence in the NTE, establishing a late-night transport system that is easily accessible and enhancing the surveillance capacity for reducing alcohol-related violence in the City Centre. The principal concern in relation to these latter objectives was their sustainability given pressures on public funding for measures such as road closure schemes and marshalling services and a concern not to place even greater pressure on the tight profit margins of licensed premises struggling to compete in the markets for licensed eating, drinking and dancing. Alternative sources of funding for sustaining these interventions, such as a proposal to fund them out of a contribution from the annual license fee that taxi drivers have to pay, were resisted, in this instance both by the taxi licensing authorities and representatives of taxi drivers in the City³⁰. As a consequence, the sustainability of these situational measures is dependent

³⁰ The background to this resistance being a rapid liberalisation of the taxi licensing regime in the City, which had led to a doubling of licensed taxi drivers and allied complaints about the significant pressures this had placed on the economic viability of this employment.

efactors³¹.

- 6.4. Although the focus of the evaluation was on processes of co-ordination, some outcome evaluation of the post was attempted by cross-referencing trend data on incidents of violence against the person and disorder with the time-line of key measures introduced by the NTEC (see Appendices Three, Four and Five).
- 6.5. Findings from this outcome evaluation were mixed. There is a statistically significant relationship between the decline in incidents of violence and disorder in St. Mary's Street and the introduction of opportunity reducing measures. Qualitative interviews with key workers involved in the night-time economy suggested the road closure and taxi marshalling measures had been successful in reducing incidents of violence and disorder in this hot-spot. Findings for the impact of such measures in the other hot-spot, Greyfriars Road, are more equivocal. Reductions in incidents of violence and disorder following the implementation of additional road closures were not found to be statistically significant (see Appendix Four).
- 6.6. Of course, the lack of statistically significant reductions in violence and disorder may be an artefact of reporting and recording practices underpinning this data. There may, however, have been statistically significant reductions in levels of violence and disorder on Greyfriars Road on the nights that road closures and taxi marshalling *were* in place but these have been masked, in monthly aggregated statistics, by increases in violence on other nights.
- 6.7. This ambivalence over the available statistical data could be partly addressed by more detailed collation and analysis of information on incidents by day and time, whereas, due to understandable constraints on resources for such data analysis, they are currently aggregated on a monthly basis, which in turn provides a limited basis for inferring any correlation, much less causal, relationship between the introduction of measures for situational crime and disorder reduction and actual patterns of violence and disorder in the City Centre.
- 6.8. An outcome evaluation of the impact of the NTEC post is also limited by the absence of data on patterns of violence and disorder in the hinterland of those locations targeted by these situational measures. Specifically, there is a limited basis for analysing the crime displacement or deflection³² effects of

³¹ For example the road closure programme and marshalling of taxi ranks in Greyfriars Road have been part-funded out of contributions from two of the large corporate-owned bars in this location.

³² Crime displacement refers to the familiar criticism that situational measures simply shift crime problems to adjacent venues or places without reducing the overall incidence or prevalence of these problems. The less familiar concept of deflection is used by crime reduction analysts to refer to the possibility that situational measures may have a positive effect in reducing the harm, prevalence

and/or intensity of particular crime problems by shifting them into less damaging venues, places or markets or onto less vulnerable populations, such as the deflection of alcohol-related violence and disorder away from residential areas or family-oriented 'quarters' of the city (Pease, 1994: 676-7; see also, n26, above). It is equally plausible, however, that such deflection can be malign in shifting crime problems into other venues, places or markets where their impact will be more harmful, as in crackdowns on known hotspots that deflect alcohol-related violence away from the commercial centre of the City and into licensed venues in residential suburbs or into even less regulated private drinking venues or 'shebeens' (see 7.8 and 7.10, below). In turn, the scanning and analysis of such deflection effects further emphasises the importance of strategic management of the night-time economy.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- 7.1. Departmentalism is a renowned problem of putting enlightened rhetoric about the 'partnership approach' to community safety into practice. Even where there is a strong commitment to partnership amongst the senior management of partner organisations, this commitment is often subverted by the antipathy of middle-managers and front-line personnel. Such antipathy has also played a significant role in subverting section 17 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, which places a duty on all local authorities to consider the crime and disorder implications of their service provision. Acting on this duty in relation to crime and disorder in the night-time economy implies the appropriate deployment of local authority services for public health and safety when and where they are most acutely needed, which according to Safer Capital's own data, is in the late-night to early-morning period in which incidents of interpersonal violence and disorder are at their peak.
- 7.2. The innovative office of night-time economy co-ordinator provides a mechanism for ensuring this statutory duty is met by connecting senior management commitments to the tasking decisions of middle managers and the actions of front-line personnel. Elsewhere in the city, Safer Capital has pursued this approach to joined-up government through its nationally acclaimed Neighbourhood Management programme. The obvious institutional location for the NTEC is in the management of the city centre 'neighbourhood', along with officers who have responsibility for the management of day-time commerce and who share an interest in managing an 'evening economy' in ways that deliver public protection whilst supporting the growth of these economies.
- 7.3. Within this neighbourhood management, however, a distinction exists between the strategic and operational management of the night-time economy and the different challenges for co-ordinating policy responses to problems that follow from this distinction.
- 7.4. If the brief for the NTEC is defined in operational terms, the post becomes a middle-management role, ensuring that front-line personnel are tasked to exercise their prosecutorial, cautionary, administrative, licensing and taxing powers against particular individuals and venues or in the management of particular places or 'quarters' of the city centre. In the absence of a more collegiate culture of partnership working at this operational level, the NTEC requires tasking powers.
- 7.5. If, however, the brief of the NTEC is defined in more strategic terms, it becomes a role in planning sustainable reductions in problems associated with the night-time economy, cultivating a greater diversity in licensed markets for eating, drinking and dancing in different quarters of the city

and collating the necessary intelligence to assess their impact on trends in public health and safety, including any relationships to illicit markets. In these terms, strategic management entails the regulation of populations of workers and consumers in the night-time economy rather than targeted interventions against particular individuals, venues or places; it entails the regulation of the markets in alcohol-based leisure and entertainment in the city centre.

- 7.6. The capacity of the NTEC to facilitate and enhance intelligence-led approaches to the reduction of violence is an important justification for investing in this role. Crime analysts are over-stretched, even in a relatively well-supported partnership such as Safer Capital. It is recommended therefore that the collation and interpretation of quantitative and qualitative data on alcohol-related violence (e.g. police records, accident and emergency data, qualitative intelligence from key informants and various 'sentinels' in the night-time economy, such as door supervisors, bar staff, premise managers, taxi marshals, taxi drivers, street pastors etc.) be recognised as a core duty of the NTEC, as the one officer in a position to regularly compile intelligence from such a breadth of sources and feed this into the weekly tasking meetings. To this end, the work of co-ordination should encompass the full breadth of problem-solving skills from scanning and analysis through to implementation of responses and assessment.
- 7.7. Matters of strategic co-ordination entail planning reductions in alcohol-related violence whose achievement cannot be expected to be instantaneous and which are accomplished through regulations affecting whole populations (of consumers, workers, licensees and responsible authorities) and therefore take time to accomplish, particularly in the face of predictable resistance. A key example is the regulation of off-licenses. Clearly, operations to reduce alcohol-related violence through Designated Public Places Orders and through conditions on licensed premises (such as the use of polycarbonate drink receptacles) are undermined by the granting of licenses to retailers to sell alcohol in glass bottles at anytime of the night within known hot-spots of alcohol-related violence. The regulation of the off-trade in alcohol sales is increasingly recognised as key, not only to reducing the significant proportion of street-based alcohol-related violence in city centres, but also in the suburbs and especially amongst under-age drinkers. A strategic approach to reducing alcohol-related violence would proceed through a review of the location and licensing conditions of particular retail outlets. It may entail reductions in the times particular outlets are permitted to sell alcohol. Identifying hot-spots and hot-times of alcohol-related violence, establishing the relationship of alcohol sales to these patterns of violence and marshalling the appropriate authorities to control, reduce, perhaps prohibit such sales exemplifies the kind of strategic management role that the NTEC could perform.

- 7.8. Strategic management also has implications for the kind of intelligence that needs to be gathered and interpreted to inform such responses and, in turn, assess their impact. Whereas the co-ordination of operations is organised around weekly, if not real-time, intelligence, the co-ordination of strategies aimed at altering the incidence, prevalence and concentration of alcohol-related violence across the city and sustaining reductions over time needs to be organised around aggregate and time-series data. In turn, this requires the archiving of intelligence on the time and location of incidents in databases that enable the NTEC to establish changes in incidence, prevalence and concentration over the past quarter, 6 months and then annually. Safer Capital has begun to develop this intelligence capacity and, through this, has revealed the changing distribution of alcohol-related violence as hot-spots are emerging in the suburbs away from the traditional focus of the night-time economy in the city centre. A key justification for the NTEC role is that this officer ought to be in a position to step back from weekly operational duties to interpret, even anticipate, city-wide trends and the key factors that could be driving these trends (such as the proliferation of under-regulated off-licenses in the suburbs and the growth of 'micro-night-spots' or clusters of late-opening bars and public houses in residential districts).
- 7.9. As problems of alcohol-related violence in the suburbs increase, these will further exacerbate the regulatory deficit, particularly given current pressures on public expenditure and on the levels of service that responsible authorities in the Safer Capital partnership will be able to support. In these conditions, investment in a night-time economy co-ordinator makes sense as a cost-effective means of enhancing crime reduction.
- 7.10. In summary, as noted in the preface, the initial impetus behind the appointment of a night-time economy co-ordinator was to address this regulatory deficit whilst protecting the benefits, increased employment and income-generation arising from the expansion of the night-time economy in Cardiff. One option, currently gaining favour in Scotland and elsewhere in the UK, is to reduce alcohol-related violence through stricter licensing laws prohibiting the sale of alcohol at certain times, in certain places and through promotions that encourage excessive consumption. It remains to be seen what impact this prohibition will have on the boost to employment and wealth creation that night-time economies have provided.
- 7.11. In Cardiff, available intelligence suggests that much alcohol-related violence occurs in open-space, increasingly in suburbs, amongst people who have 'pre-loaded' on alcohol purchased not from licensed premises but from super-markets and other retail outlets selling alcohol at substantially reduced prices that significantly under-cut the prices of the

on-trade. As a consequence, stricter regulations aimed primarily at licensed premises may jeopardise the employment and income generating benefits of this economy without accomplishing significant reductions in alcohol-related violence. Further, trends in alcohol-related leisure may well alter in conditions of economic recession and pressures on disposable income for alcohol consumption. Qualitative intelligence suggests there is evidence of a growth in unlicensed, under/non-policed drinking clubs ('shebeens') in residential neighbourhoods selling cut-price alcohol to consumers struggling to afford to patronise licensed premises, whilst it is currently estimated that five licensed premises per week are closing in the UK given the collapse in trade. Night-time economies are characterised by such dynamic, constantly shifting, patterns of consumption, precisely because of the pressures on licensees struggling to compete with the off-trade and illegal trade in alcohol as well as with each other. There is clearly a demand for a post which facilitates the collation of such strategic intelligence, liaising with colleagues in the City's other neighbourhood management teams to facilitate a smarter, more cost-effective, regulation of an economy which, for all its problems, remains a significant driver of economic growth. The NTEC post, suitably empowered, can fulfil this remit.

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APPENDIX ONE

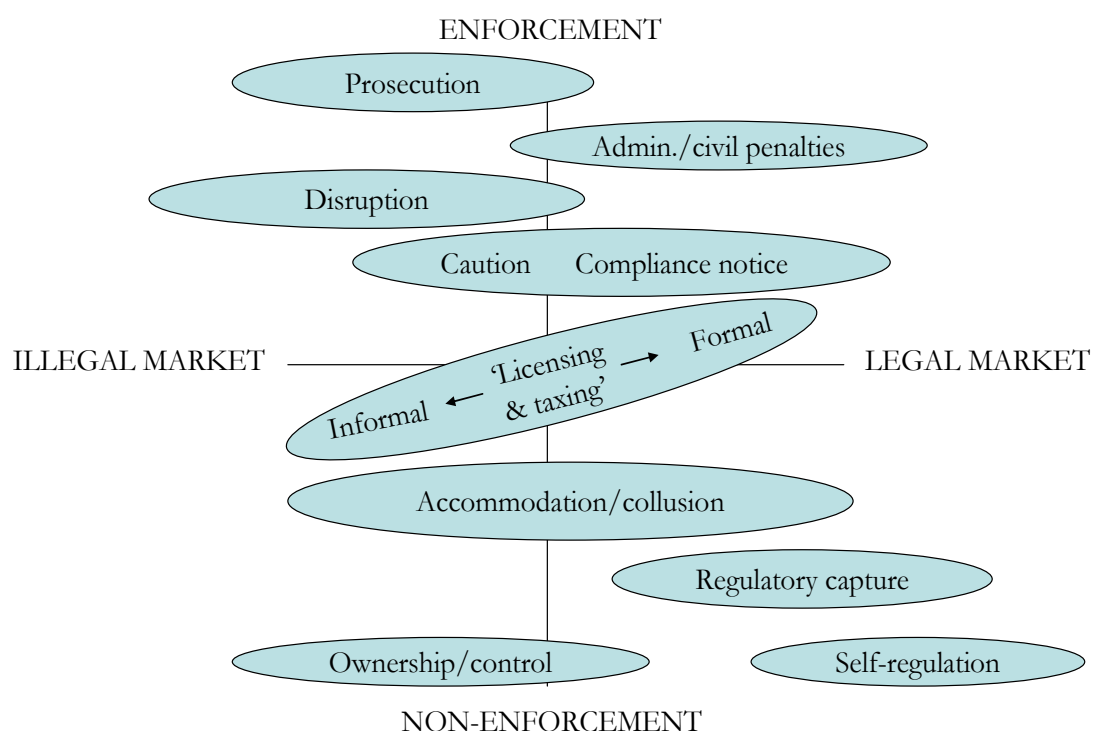
Table A1.1. Legislative Powers and Sanctions Relevant to Tackling Crime and Disorder in the Night-Time Economy in England and Wales

<i>Nature</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Enabling legislation</i>	<i>Power/Sanction</i>
Person-based	Anti-Social Behaviour Orders	Crime and Disorder Act 1998 s.1	Civil orders widely used to exclude persons from public space, including night-time drinking areas
	Penalty Notices for Disorder	Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 S.1	Summary fines which police and accredited persons can issue for a range of low-level disorder offences, often associated with alcohol consumption
	Drink Banning Orders	Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006 s.1-14	A civil order excluding 'risky' individuals from licensed premises within a defined geographical area
Place-based	Directions to Leave a Locality	Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006 s.27	Police can require persons to leave a specified locality if that person is judged likely to contribute to alcohol-related crime and disorder
	Dispersal Orders	Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 s.30-36	Police can exclude groups of two or more persons from a designated area, where their behaviour or presence is likely to be perceived by others as anti-social
	Designated Public Places Orders	Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 s.13	Allows councils to identify public places in which the consumption of alcohol is prohibited and can be confiscated by the police
	Cumulative Impact Policies	Guidance accompanying the Licensing Act 2003	Allows for a refutable presumption against the granting of new Premises Licenses, or variations to licenses so as to extend opening hours, within a given area
	Alcohol Disorder Zones	Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006 s.15-20	Allows licensing authorities to design an action plan to remedy alcohol-related problems within a specified area
Venue-based	Licensing Conditions	Licensing Act 2003	Allows licensing authorities to specify how premises will be run, including the required introduction of various crime prevention measures
	Licence Review	Licensing Act 2003 s.51	Allows a responsible authority or an 'interested party' to request a review of the licence conditions
	Licensing Enforcement Powers	Licensing Act 2003 Pt. 7	Restates the offences of supplying alcohol to a) under-age drinkers and b) those deemed to be drunk, and allows authorities to check compliance by test-purchases
	Closure Powers	Licensing Act 2003 Pt. 8	Allows police to close temporarily certain premises, or all premises in a specific area, where there is actual or anticipated disorder, or to abate noise-related nuisance

Source: Hadfield, Lister and Traynor (2009: 469)

APPENDIX TWO

Figure A2.1. Regulation in Licit and Illicit Markets



Source: Adapted from Gill (2000: 15) and Edwards and Gill (2002: 212)

This conceptual framework for understanding the regulation of trade in licit and illicit markets is premised on the idea that regulation is a social relationship that needs to be negotiated through a mixture of enforcement and alternatives to sanctions. A key implication of this premise is that reducing behaviour deemed problematic and harmful is unlikely to be accomplished through investment in practices of command and control alone, especially where resources for enforcement are economically, politically and/or culturally limited.

This premise can be elaborated in terms of a theoretical range of regulatory practices from prosecution through to varieties of non-enforcement, such as the promotion of self-regulation. The elliptical illustration of these practices, in Figure A2.1., is meant to suggest that some practices will be more apposite or prevalent in the regulation of illicit markets and others more appropriate in licit markets; the actual mixture of practices used ought to be influenced by an understanding of the need to negotiate relationships between regulators and regulated given the

limitations to command and control. The targets, measures and relationships of regulatory practices relevant to the reduction of alcohol-related crime and disorder are illustrated in Table A2.1.

Prosecution

Entailing the conventional enforcement of criminal law, prosecuting individual offenders for relevant offences which, in the context of the night-time economy include various contraventions of the Offences Against the Person Act 1861, Public Order Act 1986 and Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003.

Administrative and Civil Penalties

The use of administrative and civil penalties broadens the powers that can be used to control problematic behaviour. Typically these powers include the use of summary fines, such as penalty notices for disorder, and health and safety regulations to penalise licensed premises for overcrowding.

Disruption

Use of various measures to reduce the opportunities for commissioning offences against the criminal law and contraventions of civil laws, including health and safety regulations. Typically these measures focus on manipulating the situational environments in which inter-personal violence can occur, such as the marshalling of queuing at taxi ranks, the pedestrianisation of thoroughfares to ease congestion and bottlenecks on street corners, narrow pathways etc., and regular street cleansing to remove discarded bottles and other possible facilitators of personal assault.

Caution and Compliance Notice

Entails measures aimed at encouraging compliance with the licensing conditions placed on premises after initial offences, without incurring the cost of using powers of prosecution, penalties or disruption. Typically, such measures include action plans for particular premises, identified as 'hot-spots' of inter-personal violence, agreed with police and local authority licensing authorities.

Licensing and Taxing

Which shapes the behaviour of populations through the use of various incentives and financial penalties, most notably the increased taxation of alcoholic beverages, conditions on licensed properties prohibiting 'irresponsible' drink promotions, prohibitions on the hours alcoholic beverages can be bought and consumed, the withdrawal of licenses to purvey alcohol, the imposition of minimum per-unit prices for the sale of alcohol and the licensing of door supervisors through the Security Industry Agency.

Accommodation and Collusion

Sacrificing the use of enforcement powers, where they cannot be adequately resourced, and tolerating problematic behaviour where its other benefits are perceived to outweigh its costs (e.g. the benefits of alcohol-based economies for wealth creation and employment relative to their associated costs for public health and safety).

Regulatory 'capture'

Where, in an attempt to enhance the capacity for governing certain markets, non-state, non-publicly accountable, actors are enrolled into regulatory 'partnerships' which subsequently become captured and used for private interests (e.g. disabling and discrediting market competitors).

Ownership and Control

Where the capture of public powers by private interests becomes so pervasive that regulators and regulated become indistinguishable; certain market actors acquire control of the entire regulation of a market and are able to determine who gets access to the market and on what grounds they can operate (e.g. the corruption and control of public officials by criminal organisations, cartels, corporations etc.). A renowned example of this was the involvement of door supervisors as 'gatekeepers' for illicit drug dealing in clubs and bars (Hobbs et al, 2000).

Self-regulation

The idea of self-regulation has become increasingly significant in the regulation of alcohol-based consumption at night, including measures aimed at encouraging consumers to regulate their own behaviour in realising self-interests (e.g. more enjoyable, healthier or at least less damaging consumption patterns). Typically, these have involved media campaigns that promote sensible drinking and highlight the vulnerabilities associated with binge drinking, such as assault, sexually-transmitted diseases and the cultural opprobrium of others (the 'prat factor').

Understanding alcohol-related violence and disorder as a relationship that takes place in the context of particular markets broadens the analytical framework for explaining patterns of crime in terms of the activities of whole populations of producers and consumers in the night-time economy not just the behaviour of particular people, places and venues. In turn, this analytical framework suggests a role for planning the operation of licit markets, particularly in ways that promote self-regulation, whilst anticipating and reducing the scope and allied harms of illicit markets. This shifts attention beyond the conventional policy focus of criminal justice and situational crime prevention interventions against individual people, places and venues toward a policy concern with the manipulation of markets and the kinds of business models for trading alcohol which prevail in night-time economies. The proposition here is that certain markets and the business models they stimulate can be criminogenic (in creating and escalating the conditions for alcohol-related violence), whilst the cultivation of other kinds of markets in alcohol and allied retail, entertainment and leisure activities can alter cultures of alcohol consumption and the antecedent conditions for related crime and disorder. Whilst much of the work undertaken by the Cardiff NTEC remained focussed on enforcement measures aimed at individuals, venues and places, it also encompassed innovations in planning alterations to the market in alcohol in the City Centre, specifically through the cultivation of an 'evening economy' seeking to attract a broader demographic of consumers to a variety of more controlled environments and cultures of alcohol consumption including restaurants, cafeterias and waitress-served bars.

Table A2.1. Regulatory Practices Relevant to Alcohol-Related Crime and Disorder Reduction in England and Wales

Practice	Target	Mechanism	Relationship of Regulators and Regulated
Prosecution of criminal law	Individuals	Offences Against the Person Act 1861 (s.47, Actual Bodily Harm, s. 18 Grievous Bodily Harm); Public Order Act 1986 (s. 3 Affray, s. 5 Harassment).	Responsible authorities control behaviour through arrest and punishment and the deterrent effect of criminal law enforcement.
	Venues	Licensing enforcement powers (Pt. 7 Licensing Act 2003);	Responsible authorities control venues through punishment of supplying alcohol to underage and/or intoxicated consumers
Administrative and Civil Penalties	Individuals	Penalty Notices for Disorder (s.1. Police and Criminal Justice Act 2001); Drink Banning Orders (s.1-14. Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006); Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (s.1. Crime and Disorder Act 1998)	Responsible authorities control behaviour through summary fines for disorderly conduct and use of civil orders to exclude individuals from particular licensed premises and/or from designated places at certain times.
	Venues	Health and safety laws [check]; Highways and traffic Act [check]; Environmental protection laws [check]	Responsible authorities control the management of licensed venues through fines for contravening health and safety laws (e.g. maximum limits on patrons accommodated in particular venues), highways laws (e.g. use of unlicensed 'street furniture' for extending drinking, dancing and eating out from venues into public thoroughfares); and environmental protection laws (e.g. the disposal of refuse, such as glass bottles, which can be used to facilitate inter-personal violence).
Cautioning	Individuals	Police warnings of prosecution or civil penalties for criminal and disorderly behaviour.	Responsible authorities control behaviour through threat of arrest.
	Venues	Action plans for reducing violent and disorderly conduct associated with particular licensed premises.	Responsible authorities control the management of licensed venues through advising improvements in health and safety conditions allied to the threat of reviewing license conditions or, ultimately, withdrawing the license to supply alcohol.

Table A2.1. Continued ...

Practice	Target	Mechanism	Relationship of Regulators and Regulated
Disruption	Individuals	<i>In situ</i> advice and counselling from city ambassadors and street pastors	Responsible authorities provide advice to consumers enabling them to avoid violence and other threats to personal health and safety. Such pastoral work can also diffuse interpersonal conflicts before they escalate further. City ambassadors and street pastors can also act as as sentinels providing intelligence and early-warnings about the behaviour of particular individuals and groups to emergency services and other security actors (including door supervisors, police patrols, and transport personnel).
	Places	Use of Designated Public Places Orders (s. 13 Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001); Dispersal Orders (s. 30-36 Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003) and Directions to Leave a Locality (s.27 Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006). Marshalling of taxi ranks; Pedestrianisation of thoroughfares; Removal and reorganisation of ‘street furniture’;	Responsible authorities control the behaviour of all consumers in a designated geographical area through the prohibition of alcohol consumption outside of licensed venues in these particular places (streets, parks, neighbourhoods etc.). Responsible authorities control the behaviour of inebriated groups by dispersing them away from hot-spots of violence or by directing particular individuals to leave a place. Responsible authorities reduce situational opportunities for alcohol-related violence and disorder by altering the routine activities of workers and consumers in the night-time economy; their transport into and out of nightlife hotspots, their movement through thoroughfares connecting different kinds of licensed venue (restaurants, bars, nightclubs), fast food outlets, off-licensed outlets and transport termini.
	Markets	Cumulative Impact Policies (Guidance accompanying Licensing Act 2003); Alcohol Disorder Zones (s.15-20 Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006).	Responsible authorities control the supply of alcohol in particular local markets that are already ‘saturated’ with licensees and/or attract elevated levels of violence and disorder, through denying applications for new licenses or altering the conditions of existing licenses, for example varying opening hours.

Table A2.1. Continued ...

Practice	Target	Mechanism	Relationship of Regulators and Regulated
Licensing and Taxing	Individuals	<p>Monitoring door supervisors' compliance with annual registration with the Security Industry Authority (SIA).</p> <p>Taxi drivers</p> <p>City ambassadors, taxi marshals</p>	<p>Responsible authorities reduce opportunities for alcohol-related violence by monitoring the standards of door supervision for entry into licensed venues and the controlled expulsion of violent, aggressive patrons.</p> <p>Responsible authorities also license other key workers in the night-time economy, whose practices can escalate or diffuse alcohol-related violence and disorder. Decisions over the number of licenses granted to taxi drivers can have a major impact on consumers' egress from night spots and the orderly marshalling of taxi ranks (too few taxis accentuates competition amongst patrons for fares out of nightspots, which can escalate into violent confrontations, too many generates competition amongst taxi drivers for business which can lead to illegal pick-ups and ranking in un-marshalled termini).</p>
	Venues	<p>Licensing Conditions (Licensing Act 2003);</p> <p>License Review (s.51 Licensing Act 2003)</p> <p>Closure powers (Pt.8 Licensing Act 2003)</p> <p>Alcohol Disorder Zones (s.15-20 Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006).</p>	<p>Regulators control licensed venue management through defining detailed operating conditions in (e.g. prohibition of 'irresponsible drinks promotions), including adoption of certain crime prevention measures;</p> <p>Regulators command licensees to adhere to licensing conditions and to adhere to revised conditions. Regulators withdraw a license to supply alcohol.</p> <p>Regulators temporarily close particular venues to diffuse or prevent anticipated violence and disorder.</p> <p>Regulators Levy additional tax on particular venues in the designated zone to support crime and disorder reduction measures.</p>

	Markets	Alcohol Disorder Zones (s.15-20 Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006). Minimum unit costs of alcohol; taxation of alcohol sales	Regulators levying this tax, and alterations in its level, use it to depress or inflate the market for alcohol consumption in particular localities. Regulators reduce alcohol-related crime and disorder through increasing the costs of alcohol consumption, enforcing minimum unit costs, prohibiting 'irresponsible' drinks promotions and increasing the general taxation rates for supplying alcohol.
Accommodation and Collusion	Individuals	-	Regulators accommodate a certain level of alcohol-related violence amongst individual consumers and in particular venues, regarding this as the price to be paid for the income and employment benefits associated with the night-time economy. Effectively, public health and safety costs are traded-off against perceived economic benefits.
	Venues	-	
Regulatory 'Capture'	Individuals	-	Particular regulators foster collaborative relationships with certain proprietors and venues and more punitive relationships with others, whether intentionally, for pecuniary or other benefits, or unintentionally by reproducing common knowledge and prejudices about problematic venues.
	Venues	-	
Ownership and Control	Individuals	-	The distinction between regulators and regulated is collapsed as some proprietors in the night-time economy assume the role of regulator and use this to benefit their market interests whilst penalising the competition.
	Venues	-	
Self-Regulation	Individuals	Consumers and workers, particularly bar workers, in the night-time economy control the purchase or sale of alcohol to particular patrons.	Self-regulation amongst consumers is encouraged through publicity campaigns emphasising the harms of volume alcohol consumption.
	Venues	Licensed premises innovate ways of reducing alcohol-related violence through techniques for reducing irresponsible consumption (e.g. waiter service only or marshalled purchase of alcohol over the counter).	Self-regulation is cultivated through venues adopting a more mixed business model, emphasising food, live entertainment etc., in which higher returns can be achieved through stricter controls on alcohol consumption.
	Places	Particular 'precincts' in the night-time economy, such as those geared towards servicing the 18-30yr cohort of high volume consumers of alcohol; those retail and leisure zones cultivating a more mixed demographic of consumers such as 'early-evening' economies; those areas encouraging family	Self-regulation is cultivated through a more mixed demographic of the elderly, middle-aged and young and of families as well as groups of young adult patrons, and through more congenial uses of public space to foster more powerful informal controls on anti-social behaviour.

		entertainment, street theatre etc.	
	Markets	<p>Business Improvement Districts (BIDs, Local Government Act 2003)</p> <p>'Thirst Class' accreditation</p>	<p>Licensees establish a BID, agree to be bound by common operating standards and self-fund measures aimed at creating a safer trading environment through a levy met by each member of the BID. The licensees, rather than regulatory authorities control the establishment and implementation of these measures (which can include funding of taxi marshals, city ambassadors, additional CCTV surveillance, and communications networks between venues).</p> <p>Competition amongst licensed premises for market share is cultivated through an accreditation scheme that rewards those premises with consistently low incidents of alcohol-related violence against the person. Such an award scheme can be used to 'kite mark' certain premises a reliable and safe venues for leisure and entertainment. This market competition depresses the demand for, and economic viability of, venues operating with business models that are conducive to crime and disorder (e.g. poorly staffed, vertical drinking establishments offering irresponsible drinks promotions).</p>



**Analysis of Occurrences
Cardiff City Centre**

10th March 2009

Owners - Adam Edwards

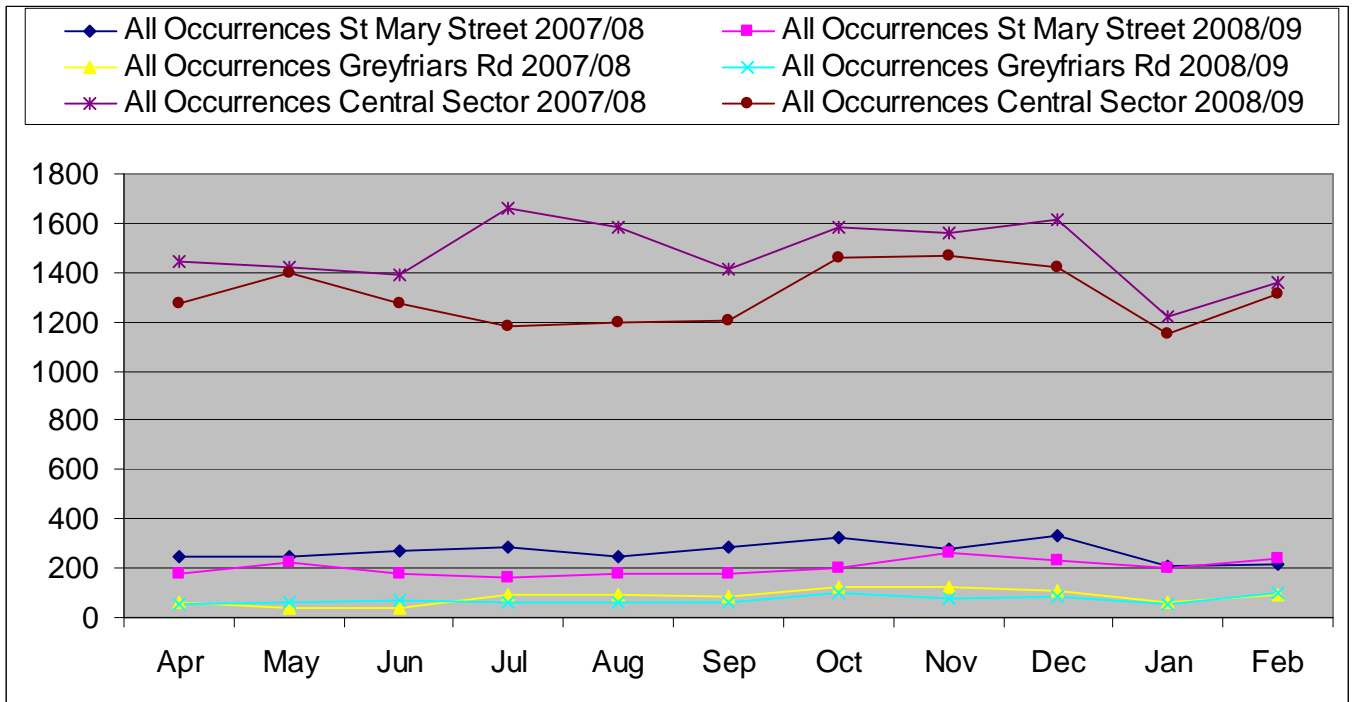
Author - *Peter KING Partnership Analyst*

Analysis has been carried out into occurrences within the City Centre. The following table shows the number of occurrences in relation to the City centre as a whole and St Mary Street & Greyfriars Rd and compares them to the same period last year

		Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Total
All Occurrences St Mary Street	2007/08	246	248	269	289	248	284	322	280	336	207	214	2943
	2008/09	181	221	179	164	181	177	199	261	233	198	237	2231
All Occurrences Greyfriars Rd	2007/08	59	38	42	92	94	86	120	122	107	61	91	912
	2008/09	55	59	73	63	62	58	97	74	85	52	98	776
All Occurrences Central Sector	2007/08	1441	1420	1392	1660	1585	1416	1583	1561	1614	1220	1356	16248
	2008/09	1278	1398	1273	1183	1195	1206	1459	1465	1424	1152	1311	14344
ASB Occurrences Central Sector	2007/08	267	274	254	294	274	261	302	258	283	196	212	2875
	2008/09	204	225	182	184	208	258	300	293	299	235	254	2642
ASB Occurrences St Mary St	2007/08	38	40	66	57	55	57	79	53	58	34	26	563
	2008/09	34	36	24	39	37	42	36	57	56	58	56	475
ASB Occurrences Greyfriars Rd	2007/08	10	7	7	13	17	11	16	22	16	9	15	143
	2008/09	14	15	18	7	10	7	19	16	19	11	14	150
Violence Against Person Offences Central Sector	2007/08	125	133	124	173	145	149	210	140	208	130	150	1687
	2008/09	116	129	125	142	139	140	157	150	137	122	132	1489
Violence Against Person Offences St Mary St	2007/08	38	32	45	40	43	50	60	49	72	43	35	507
	2008/09	37	39	28	24	33	32	45	35	24	44	50	391
Violence Against Person Offences Greyfriars Rd	2007/08	12	4	5	21	12	19	32	14	22	6	12	159
	2008/09	9	19	4	13	2	12	9	14	17	9	14	122

It will be noted from the above comparison chart that all categories have shown a decrease with the exception of ASB in Greyfriars Rd which has shown a slight increase. The following charts were created using the above data .

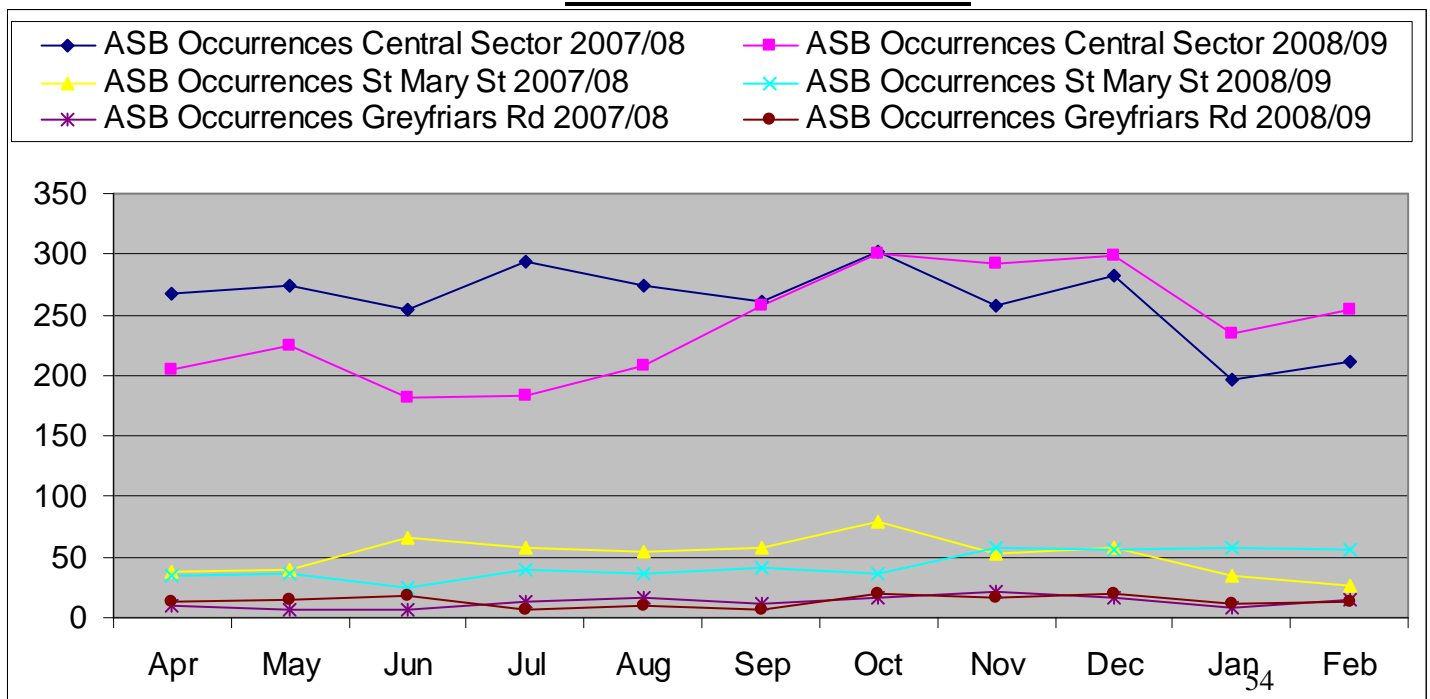
ALL OCCURRENCES



This chart shows that there are two main peaks within the City centre these are May and October to December. It will also be noted that whilst occurrences, in St Mary St follows a similar pattern to the city centre as a whole, Greyfriars Rd has remained fairly constant showing increases in October, December and February.

It will also be noted that whilst the number of occurrences has decreased, the monthly pattern has remained very similar for the last 6 months.

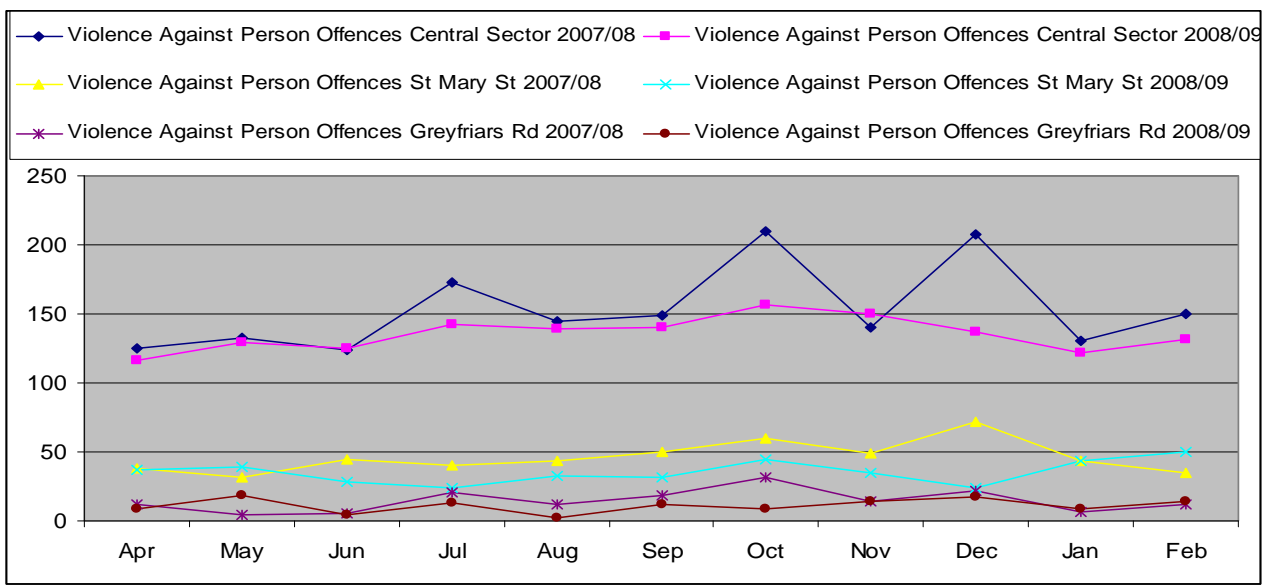
ANTI SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR



From this chart it will be seen that since significant lows in June & July there has been a steady increase in Anti Social behaviour occurrences until October when it remained constant before decreasing in January within the City centre as a whole. The significant increase in October, November & December have not been reflected in St Mary St. it will be noted that whilst the totals for Greyfriars Rd are low they have remained constant.

It will be noted that the incidents of ASB within Greyfriars Road has shown a very similar pattern to last year.

VIOLENCE AGAINST PERSON



This chart shows that Violence Against the person Offences have this year (2008/09) remained fairly constant throughout the year unlike the fluctuating pattern of last year (2007/08). The decrease in crime levels should be noted and with the exceptions of May & February crime levels in St Mary St have remained on a par or below those of 2007/08. With the exception of May the offences in Greyfriars Road have also remained on a par or below those of 2007/08.

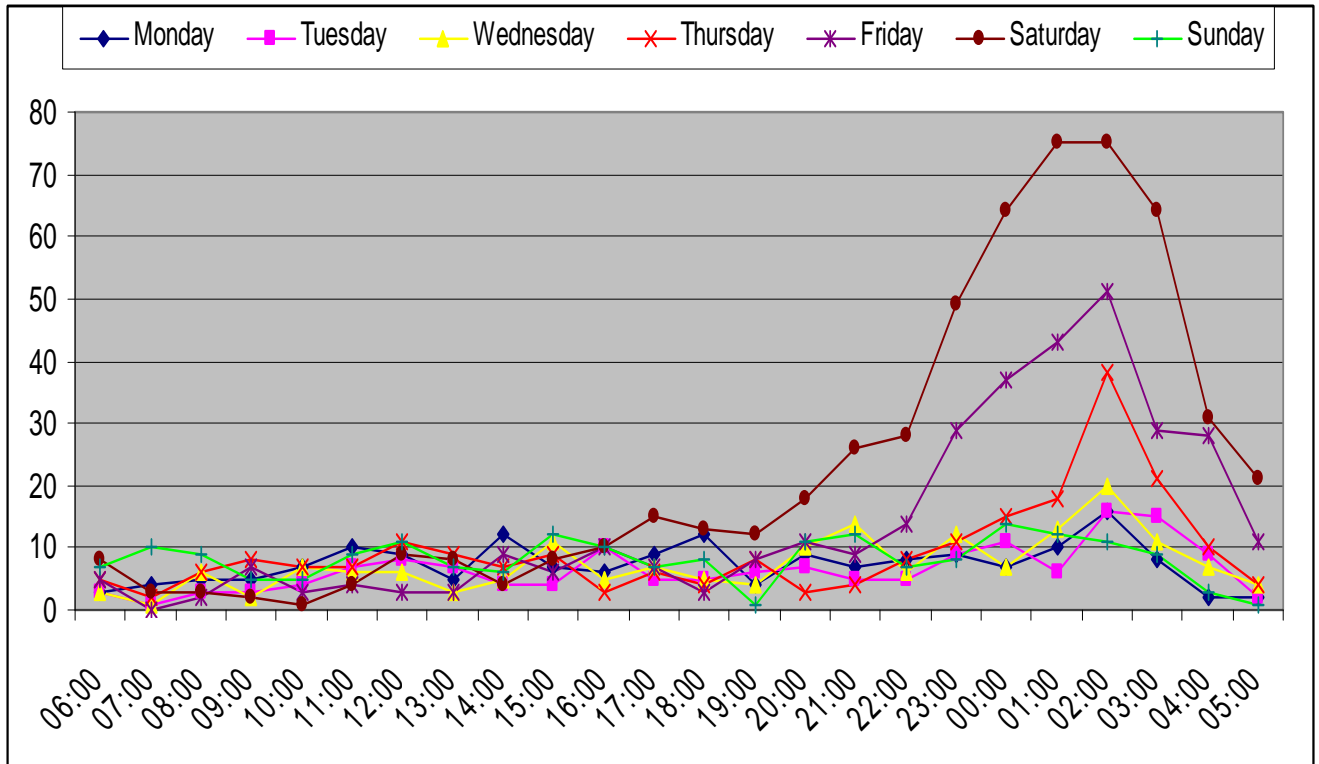
In order to identify whether or not Greyfriars Rd is becoming more of a problem area the next chart was developed which shows the incident to crime ratio in respect of violence against the person offences. i.e. the number of incidents per crime

		Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Total
St Mary St Crime/Incident ratio	2007/08	6.5	7.8	6.0	7.2	5.8	5.7	5.4	5.7	4.7	4.8	6.1	5.8
	2008/09	4.9	5.7	6.4	6.8	5.5	5.5	4.4	7.5	9.7	4.5	4.7	5.7
Greyfriars Rd Crime/Incident ratio	2007/08	4.9	9.5	8.4	4.4	7.8	4.5	3.8	8.7	4.9	10.2	7.6	5.7
	2008/09	6.1	3.1	18.3	4.8	31.0	4.8	10.8	5.3	5.0	5.8	7.0	6.4
City Centre Crime/Incident ratio	2007/08	11.5	10.7	11.2	9.6	10.9	9.5	7.5	11.2	7.8	9.4	9.0	9.6
	2008/09	11.0	10.8	10.2	8.3	8.6	8.6	9.3	9.8	10.4	9.4	9.9	9.6

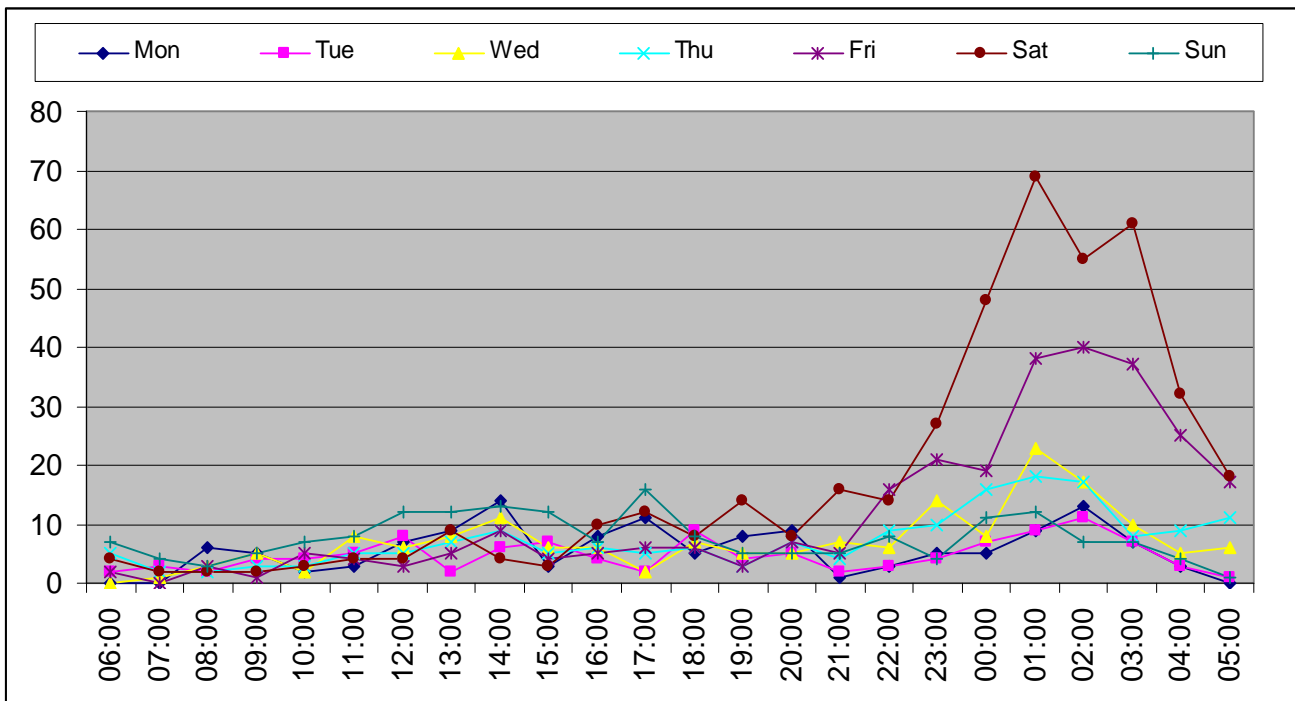
When this table is examined it will be seen that the ratios for the City Centre and St Mary Street have remained constant however for Greyfriars Rd the ratio has increased from 5.7 to 6.4 which would lead to the belief that there is less violent crime occurring within Greyfriars Rd this year.

The next set of charts will examine the times/days that offences of Violence against the person are committed. Each day will run from 6am to 6am i.e. 6am Monday to 6am Tuesday this will give a picture of the night time activity.

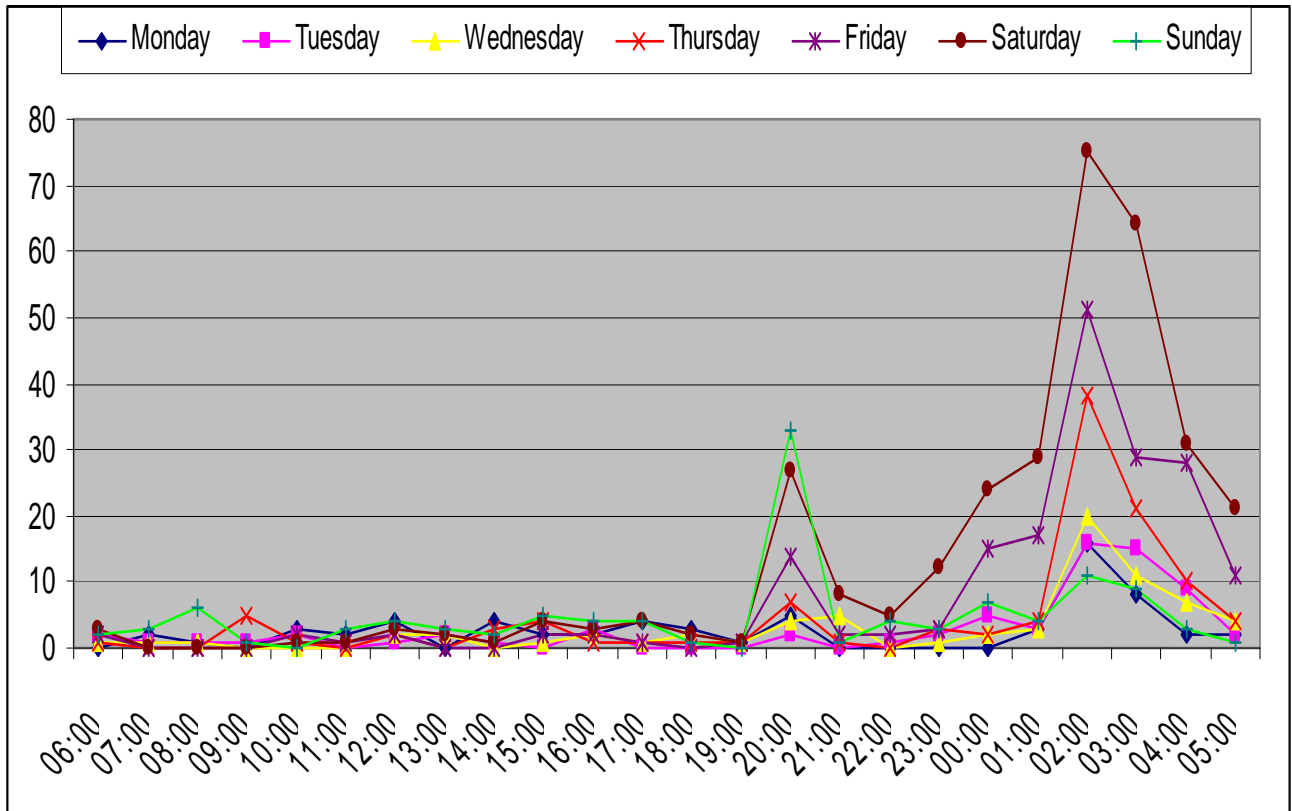
CITY CENTRE VIOLENCE AGAINST PERSON 2007/08



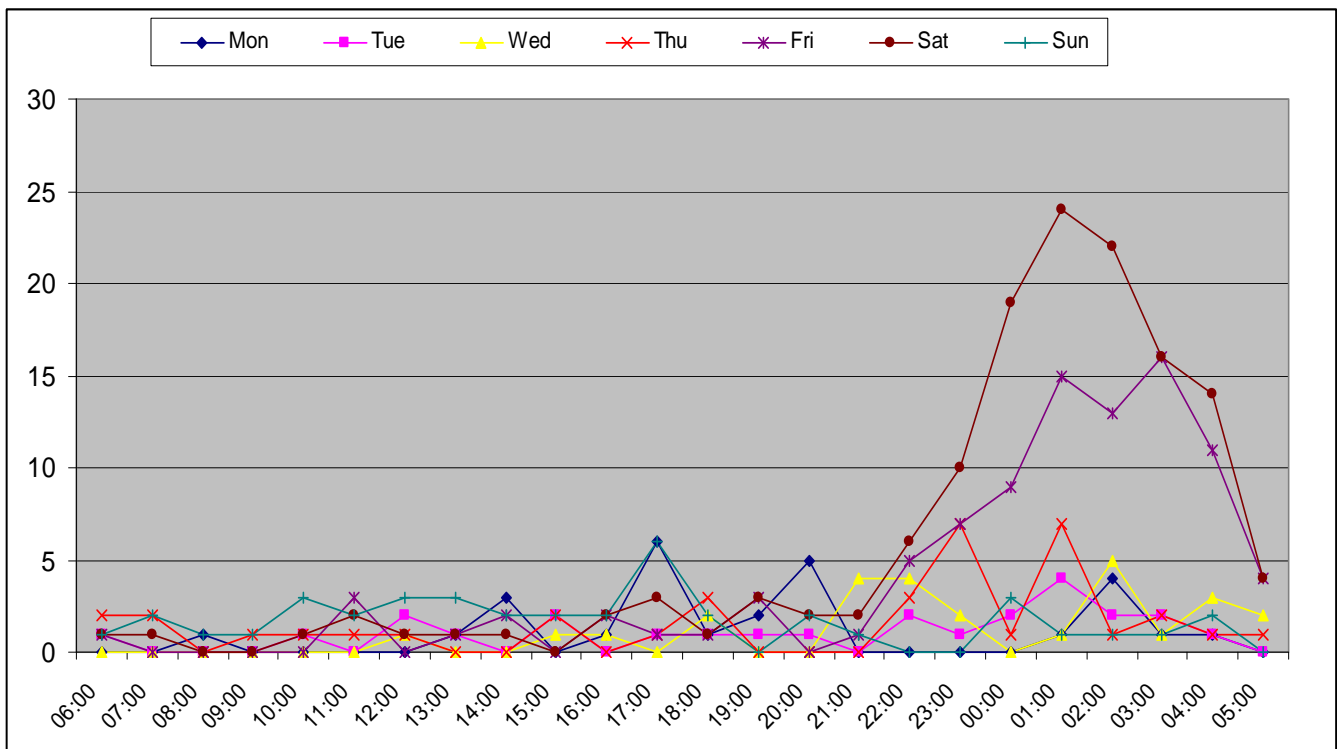
CITY CENTRE VIOLENCE AGAINST PERSON 2008/09



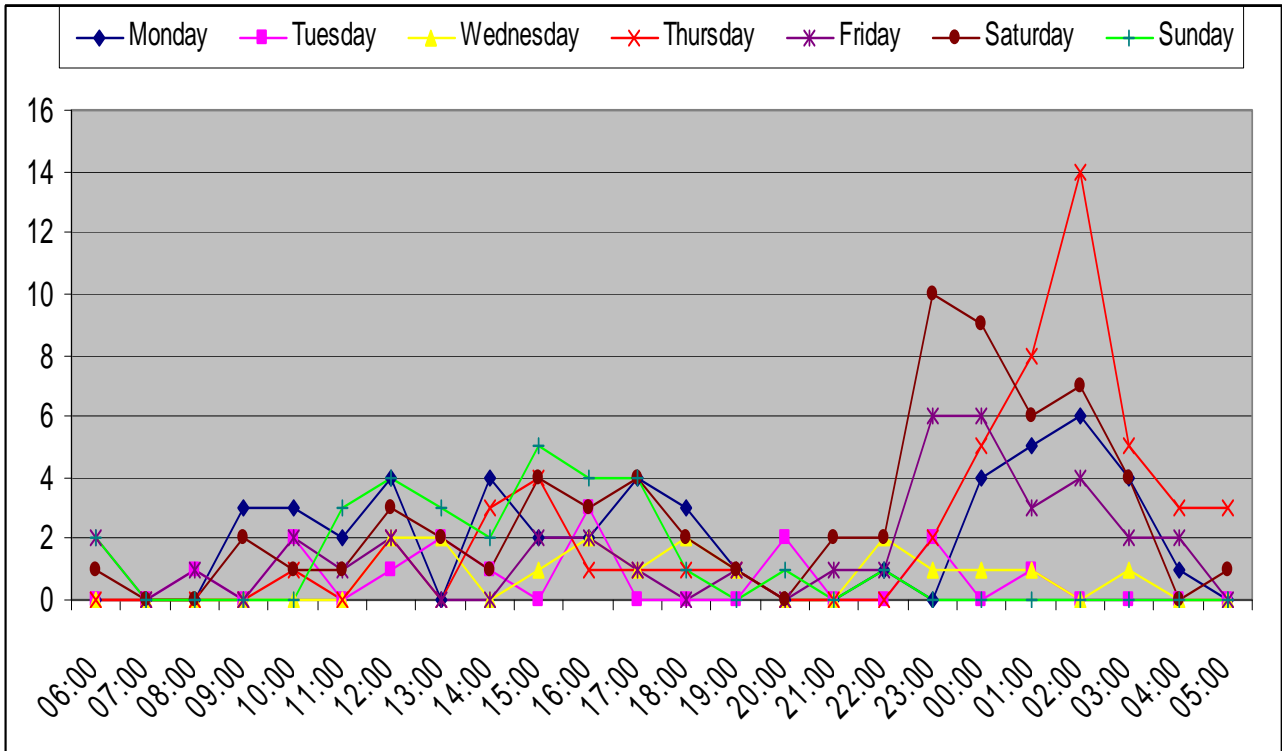
ST MARY STREET VIOLENCE AGAINST PERSON 2007/08



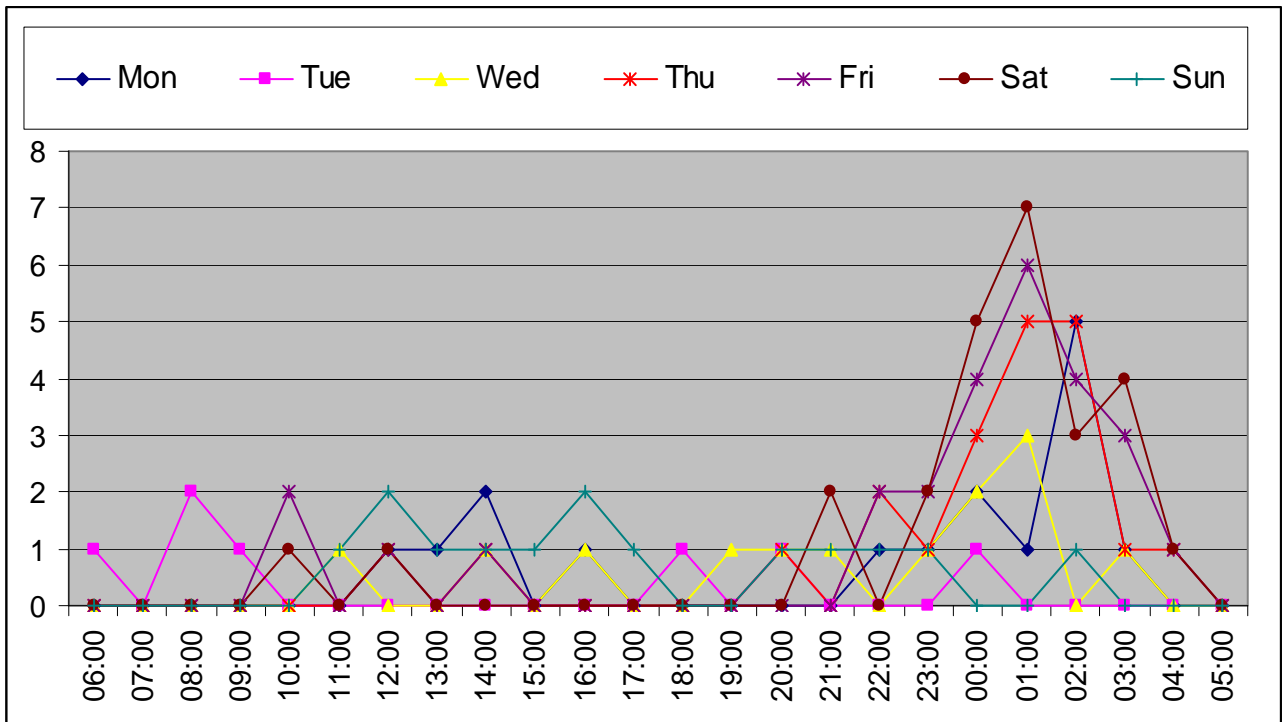
ST MARY STREET VIOLENCE AGAINST PERSON 2008/09



GREYFRIARS RD VIOLENCE AGAINST PERSON 2007/08



GREYFRIARS RD VIOLENCE AGAINST PERSON 2008/09



It will be noted from these charts that the number of incident occurring at the three location have decreased significantly on a Thursday night. It will also be noticeable that the peak periods have spread this is what would be expected due to the increase in people drinking before attending the City Centre.

Synopsis

When the above information is analysed the following points were noted;-

- All Occurrences within City Centre have decreased by 11.7%
- All Occurrences within Greyfriars Rd have decreased by 14.9%
- All Occurrences within St Mary Street have decreased by 24.2%
- Occurrences of Anti-Social Behaviour within the City Centre have decreased by 8.1%
- Occurrences of Anti-Social Behaviour within St Mary Street have decreased by 15.6%
- Occurrences of Anti-Social Behaviour within Greyfriars Rd have increased by 4.9%
- Crimes of Violence Against The Person within the City Centre have decreased by 11.7%
- Crimes of Violence Against The Person within St Mary Street have decreased by 22.9%
- Crimes of Violence Against The Person within Greyfriars Rd have decreased by 23.3%
- The Crime/Incident ratios for the City Centre and St Mary Street have remained constant.
- The Crime/Incident ratios for Greyriars Rd the ratio has increased from 5.7 to 6.4 which would show that there is less violent crime occurring within Greyfriars Rd this year.
- Time Range charts show significant decreases in number of crimes/ Occurrences being reported.
- Time Range chart shows a significant change in the time ranges for a Thursday i.e. Thursday no longer busiest night in Greyfriars Rd
- Time range chart shows that the peak times are more spread over a peak period.
- In comparison to last year July & August are no longer the hotspot months and are now together with January the months with the lowest totals for all occurrences.
- The time range charts also show a significant change in the times that incidents are occurring in Greyfriars Rd.

Peter KING

Partnership Analyst

APPENDIX FOUR

Secondary data analysis of crime and disorder incidents known to Safer Capital

Number of Occurrences: Year on Year Figures

	Monthly Average		Significance
	07-08	08-09	
All St Mary St	268	202	.001**
All Greyfriars Rd	83	71	.119
All Central	1477	1304	.002**
ASB St Mary St	51	43	.092
ASB Greyfriars Rd	13	14	.373
ASB Central	261	240	.017
VAP St Mary Street	46	36	.013*
VAP Greyfriars Rd	14	11	.137
VAP Central	153	135	.048*

*significant at $\leq .05$, **significant at $< .01$

Number of Occurrences: Introduction of Night Time Ambassadors

	Monthly Average		Significance
	Before	After	
All St Mary St	273	213	.001**
All Greyfriars Rd	82	73	.026
All Central	1507	1323	.001**
ASB St Mary St	56	42	.018*
ASB Greyfriars Rd	13	14	.373
ASB Central	273	238	.008**
VAP St Mary Street	45	39	.09
VAP Greyfriars Rd	15	12	.187
VAP Central	150	141	.239

*significant at $\leq .05$, **significant at $< .01$

Number of Occurrences: Commencement of Major Events Management

	Monthly Average		Significance
	Before	After	
All St Mary St	268	203	.001**
All Greyfriars Rd	83	71	.119
All Central	1477	1304	.002**
ASB St Mary St	51	43	.092
ASB Greyfriars Rd	13	14	.373
ASB Central	261	240	.107
VAP St Mary Street	46	36	.012*
VAP Greyfriars Rd	14	11	.138
VAP Central	153	135	.047*

*significant at \leq .05, **significant at \leq .01

Number of Occurrences: Before and After Impact of ALL measures.

	Monthly Average		Significance
	None in Place	All In Place	
All St Mary St	273	212	.001**
All Greyfriars Rd	82	75	.32
All Central	1507	1316	.005**
ASB St Mary St	56	49	.14
ASB Greyfriars Rd	13	14	.374
ASB Central	273	264	.263
VAP St Mary Street	45	38	.073
VAP Greyfriars Rd	15	11	.16
VAP Central	150	140	.188

*significant at \leq .05, **significant at \leq .01

Number of Occurrences: Impact of Road Closures on Greyfriars Road

	Number of Nights With Roads Closed			
	0	2	3	4
	Monthly Average			
All Incidents	82	75	68	76
Anti Social Behaviour	13	13	13	14
Violence Against the Person	14	14	9	11

Time-line of Measures Against Alcohol-Related Violence Implemented by Cardiff Night-Time Economy Co-ordinator (NTEC) Dec. 2007 – Mar. 2009.

This timeline presents an overview of the key measures implemented by the Night-Time Economy Co-ordinator in relation to the following objectives that were agreed for the initial period in which the post was funded by the Home Office Tackling Violent Crime Programme:

1. Creation of a unified measurement of performance and enforcement arm for the regulation of the Night-Time Economy;
 2. Engage local authority service areas with an identifiable role in preventing or reducing violence in the NTE;
 3. Establish a late-night transport system that is easily accessible and clearly sign-posted for clientele;
 4. Enhance the surveillance capacity for reducing violence in the NTE.
- The time-line indicates the point at which specific measures were implemented and notes any comments from the NTEC on issues affecting their implementation;
 - In summary, the NTEC provides a self-assessment of key achievements and barriers to progress on each of these objectives during the period of funding from the Home Office.

- **Time-line of Measures Against Alcohol-Related Violence Implemented by Cardiff Night-Time Economy Co-ordinator Dec. 2007 – Mar. 2009**

Month/Year	Measures taken in relation to objective 1-4	Comments
12/07	<p>Appointment and preliminary meetings with Cardiff Community Safety Partnership (subsequently 'Safer Capital') partners, audit of problems of alcohol-related violence;</p> <p>Introduction of road closures on Greyfriars Road in addition to the road closures already in place in St. Mary's Street.</p> <p>Introduction of night-time ambassadors (undertaking taxi marshalling) on Greyfriars Road and St. Mary's Street.</p> <p>Taxi marshalls work shifts from 20.00 – 04.00hrs.</p> <p>Mid-December to New Year conduct of 'Operation Jingle Bells' to provide enhanced supervision of taxi ranks, congested thoroughfares and other 'hot-spots' of alcohol-related violence and disorder during the festive season.</p>	
01/08	<p>Identification of strategic objectives for reducing violent crime (objectives 1 – 4, above).</p>	<p>Minutes of the 24.01.08 meeting of the 'Violent Crime Task Group' (VCTG) of Safer Capital noted:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increase in s. 47 offences (assault occasioning actual bodily harm – ABH) in the City Centre; • St. Mary's Street and Greyfriars Road as hot-spots of street violence.; • Increase use of Penalty Notices for Disorder (PNDs) noted as positive given their role in preventing the escalation of more serious violence;

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for continuous street cleansing in the city centre during the night; • A significant increase in overall violent crime from the city (compared with the same time the previous year) but this attributed to the migration over to the new (NICHE) recording standard adopted by Cardiff BCU; • That subsequent meetings would receive a report from the night-time economy co-ordinator (NTEC).
02/08	<p>Commenced multi-agency (NTEC, Fire Service, Council Licensing, Police Licensing, Health and Safety and Environmental Protection) operations visiting all licensed premises in 'hot-spot' locations for alcohol-related violence in the city centre.</p> <p>Commencement of Countdown 2009 meetings of public safety group (bringing key local authority service areas related to public and environmental safety together with the police to plan for key events in 2009: opening of the St. David's II commercial and entertainments complex; First test of the Ashes cricket series; preparation for hosting participants in the Ryder Cup golfing tournament at Celtic Manor in summer 2010; preparations for hosting events associated with the 2012 Olympics).</p>	
03/08	Agreement with Mermaid Quay	Minutes of the 11.03.08 meeting of the VCTG contain the first report on activities

	<p>for connecting commercial CCTV systems in Cardiff Bay to central control system for CCTV hosted by South Wales Police.</p> <p>Operation combustion which considered general housekeeping (adherence to health and safety regulations, waste management conditions etc.) in addition to adherence to alcohol licensing conditions and use of door supervisors for those particular licensed premises identified by the police licensing 'traffic light system' (which flags those premises that have high rates of recorded violence associated with them).</p> <p>Commencement of reviewing licensed premises compliance with part A licences (which are legislated for in the Highways Act 1980) which grant exceptions to this statute's prohibition of 'obstructions of the highway' (such as street furniture), thereby enabling particular premises to provide al fresco dining, street café's etc.</p> <p>Commencement of major events management (e.g. sporting events, large concerts in Millennium Stadium) with additional road closures, extended times for road closures, additional taxi marshalling etc.</p>	<p>undertaken by the NTEC, which notes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proposal to extend CCTV surveillance through an additional 35 cameras in Mermaid Quay and an additional 11 cameras in the Brewery Quarter – by end of March 2008; • Operation combustion (fire, health and safety, licensing and environmental audit of licensed premises - clarify), which identified adherence to licensing conditions but problems of general housekeeping, esp. waste disposal and adherence to fire; • Environmental enforcement, specifically two operations to identify problems of waste management (unlocked bins, refuse, skips etc. providing facilitators for violence – bottles used as weapons etc.), to forward proposals to the relevant local authority service areas and recommendations for enforcement of contraventions against environmental protection laws (Environmental Protection Act 1990). In addition the report notes how the recommendation to use annual renewals of part 7A licenses (Highways Act 1980) to control the use of street furniture and include as a condition of any renewal, the provision of a glass receptacle, was rejected by the transport and highways service directorate of Cardiff Council. The report also notes the rejection by waste management services of a proposal for late-night street cleansing on the grounds of health and safety (although the report also notes that certain operators are working in the City Centre but outside the terms of their contract); • Footfall monitoring system, which records actual footfall (population
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		<p>usage of city centre streets) to identify peak times and flows so that services (e.g. waste management, policing etc.) can be provided accordingly (i.e. in relation to actual demand for services rather than established service delivery routines – ‘governing 24/7’).</p> <p>The minutes also recorded that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the majority of violence against the person offences occur in the street (minute 3, ‘Information and Analysis’), although the precise location of offences is often not recorded (either by police officers attending the scene or Accident and Emergency staff taking details from outpatients; • There had been a decrease in PNDs but due to new guidance from South Wales Police on their use; • Overall there had also been a decrease in incidents of violence against the person in the city centre from 28.7% to 23.9% of all violent crime recorded with notable decreases in the number of incidences in the hot-spot areas of St. Mary’s Street and Greyfriars Road; • Even so, the Inspector in charge of the Cardiff After Dark police patrol responsible for the City Centre, requested a review of this patrol strength and the need to increase it (confirm precise numbers).
04/08		<p>Minutes of the 29.04.08 meeting of the TVCG note a report from the NTEC that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plans to install CCTV surveillance in Mermaid Quay and the Brewery Quarter were still to be realised; • Plans to close Greyfriars Road on Thursday nights given the increased custom on that evening and on Monday nights (‘student night’) but sponsors are needed for these and for

		<p>the Friday and Saturday nights given the initial grant provided by South Wales Police was about to terminate.</p> <p>The minutes also reported that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highways had declined to contribute towards the cost of either the road closures or the employment of ambassadors (taxi marshalls); • The Chair suggested he write to the local authority requesting, 'more foot patrol officers, continuation of the Greyfriars Rd closure arrangements and continuous litter collection during the evenings and at the weekends.' • The police were aware of violence hot-spots in the city centre and endeavour to target the Cardiff After Dark patrols there, but, 'resources are limited.'. In addition certain areas such as Charles Street are not amenable to patrol by car. <p>Minutes at the meeting also noted:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'The majority of violence against the person offences are being carried out on the street, rather than in licensed premises. Thus, as always, more emphasis is needed on street violence. The licensed premises situation is under control.' (minute 3, 'Information and Analysis'); • Violence against the person remains concentrated in the City Centre (which accounts for just under a quarter of all violent crime in the City – 23.9%); • Queen Street had taken over from Wood Street in terms of high violence levels given that it was now being used as the main thoroughfare from Greyfriars Road to St. Mary's Street after midnight (as revellers migrate from the bars in Greyfriars Road to the clubs in St. Mary's Street). The police reiterated their view that there were inadequate numbers of police
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		foot patrol officers to police these streets effectively.
05/08	11 CCTV cameras installed in the Brewery Quarter and connected to an internal monitoring system (but not, as yet, to the central control room monitored by Cardiff police – this awaiting re-location of CCTV control room to the new Cardiff Basic Command Unit headquarters in the Bay – due in May 2009).	
06/08	Commencement of additional road closure and taxi marshalling on Greyfriars Road on Thursday nights following identification of this night as (if not more) popular than Friday nights. Notably this road closure is funded by a corporate nightclub chain with a venue in this location.	
08/08	Traffic control on Mill Lane. Proposal for 'Purple Flag' awards for raising standards in the NTE (which reward standards in cleansing, waste management, transport, policing and	Minutes at 12.08.08 meeting of the TVCG note a report from the NTEC that: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The footfall monitoring system had now been agreed with x2 cameras in St. Mary's Street; x1 camera in Greyfriars Road; and x1 camera in the Hayes. The anticipation is that data of peak flows of people will inform

	surveillance) – regarded as another means of making progress on objectives 1-4?	<p>service delivery for street cleansing and transport services and the deployment of ambassadors;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The music policy (R&B) and street cafes in Mill Lane have generated problems of crime and disorder. Three applications for licenses have been rejected and others held by premises in the street will not be renewed unless premises confirm to standards (check with MP); • The Hayes is now closed to traffic and control of traffic access to Mill Lane will be enforced from this month onwards. <p>Minutes from the meeting also note:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • That city centre remains a hot-spot for violence against the person and, within this, Mill Lane and Charles Street have emerged as hot-spots in addition to the more established St. Mary’s Street and Greyfriars Road; • R&B nights in Mill Lane have ceased and this is related to the significant improvement in problems of crime and disorder.
09/08	Commencement of Monday night road closure of Greyfriars Road and taxi marshalling following identification of this as an increasingly popular night (student promotions night). Funded by a corporate nightclub chain with a venue in this location.	
11/08		<p>Minutes of the 04.11.08 meeting of the TVCG noted under matters arising that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘the street cleansing situation has not improved. Collections of commercial

		<p>waste now start at 4am, whereas it was previously collected through the night. This issue will be taken to the Countdown 2009; Public Safety, Order and Enforcement group. It was felt that CCC need to adopt a window for collection, where bins will be put out/ collected/ taken in at specific times. NTEC suggested a Health and Safety audit would be beneficial, and that any outcomes could then be addressed, although it is suspected that the ultimate issue is budgetary.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighbourhood management teams have been established; • Personalised A&E data had now been made available to the Partnership’s analyst for richer detail on time and location of incidents of violence against the person; • The redevelopment of Charles Street (demolition of car park, removal of street furniture and installation of CCTV surveillance and street lighting) now complete. Problems of violence in this street thought to be associated with a combination of factors (use of Charles Street as a thoroughfare into the City Centre given the redevelopment of the Hayes and St. David’s II project coupled with growth in the number of clubs servicing the gay community, competition for a mixed clientele and possibility of associated hate crime). <p>Minutes of the meeting note a report from the NTEC that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taxi marshalling has been extended to four nights per week (check MP); • Improvements in crime and disorder problems in Mill Lane; • Issue of illegally parked cars becoming an issue and only SWP are empowered to enforce traffic regulations; • Cardiff County Council have declined
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		<p>to seek Purple Flag accreditation given concerns over cost;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Suggestion that police vehicles and ambulances parked on St. Mary's Street be removed to side roads to improve image of the area and the signals this communicates to visitors.
02/09	<p>Commencement of marshalled taxi rank in Mill Lane;</p> <p>Establishment of a 'bus bay' (parking for mini-buses of commuters into Cardiff NTE) in Churchill Way.</p> <p>Commencement of waste management operations in the city centre to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remove commercial waste bins from the highways; • Increase number of litter bins; • Cleanse streets on Friday and Saturday evenings up until 20.00hrs. 	<p>Minutes of the 03.02.09 meeting of the TVCG noted a report from the NTEC that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The programme of road closures and deployment of ambassadors had now been expanded to four nights a week, doubling the provision of a year previously; • This had resulted in significant reductions in violence in Greyfriars Road but St. Mary's Street remained a problem exacerbated by the building works (gas pipe replacements that have commenced and will be ongoing for the next quarter); • Glass and waste remain the biggest problem in the City Centre for reducing deliberate and accidental woundings; • The newly installed footfall cameras suggest there has been no massive reduction in the numbers coming in to the City Centre but rather a reduction in consumption of alcohol in licensed premises (as measured by reports of takings 'across the bar'). Rather more glass is appearing on the street as a consequence of people consuming alcohol on the street brought in from home and from off-licenses located in the City Centre; • This change in consumption patterns requires urgent action on waste management, including regular street cleansing and provision of bell bins for disposal of bottles; • Changing pattern of consumption also implies need for expanded use of Designated Public Places Orders (DPPOs) enabling the confiscation of alcohol being consumed in these

		<p>places (currently these are in place in Central Square, Bute Park and Sophia Gardens but not, as yet in any of the violence hot-spots in the City Centre);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was noted that extending DPPOs into the City Centre could be politically sensitive as all councillors likely to want orders in their electoral wards but the legislation enabling DPPOs requires particular justification for their use in specific places not blanket orders for entire areas of the city. In turn this increases the cost of using DPPOs given the costs associated with taking out multiple micro-DPPOs.
03/09	<p>Installation of new radio-links communication system, connecting all licensed premise door supervisors with NTEC, Cardiff After Dark police patrol and taxi marshalls.</p>	<p>Use of digital tetra radios enabling users to switch between single and multiple contacts connected into the radio-links system. All calls logged and digitally recorded by a call management system located in the CCTV control room.</p>

Summary Observations/Self-Assessment by NTEC

	Achievements	Barriers
<p>Objective 1: Unified measurement of performance and enforcement arm</p>	<p>Limited:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of intelligence from the 'Traffic Light System' (red-flagging and amber-flagging venues with elevated or increasing incidents of alcohol-related violence) to target specific venues and develop action plans aimed at reducing levels of crime and disorder. 	<p>Silo mentalities of local authority service directorates and their resistance to being tasked in relation to SARA-informed problem-solving.</p>
<p>Objective 2 Engagement of local authority service areas with an identifiable role in reducing violence in the NTE</p>	<p>Significant progress:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of awareness of health and safety issues arising out of the night-time economy amongst key local authority service directorates, such as highways and transport and waste management; • Support of highways and transport directorate in enforcing Part 7A (Highways Act 1980) licences against unapproved street furniture (that further restricts congested thoroughfares); • Support of traffic police in enforcing parking restrictions in congested thoroughfares; • Introduction of additional, secure, waste bins for the disposal of glass bottles and other possible facilitators of violence; • Increased health and safety inspections of waste disposal by restaurants and other licensed premises. 	<p>Ongoing challenge of achieving late-night street cleansing shifts, to remove glass bottles and other detritus from known hot-spots of alcohol-related violence and disorder.</p>

<p>Objective 3 Establishment of late-night transport system</p>	<p>Significant progress:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing marshalled taxi ranks in close proximity to the concentration of licensed premises in St. Mary's Street and Greyfriars Road; • Implementing temporary road closures and pedestrianisation schemes in these hot-spots; • Establishment of a 'bus box' (or terminus for privately hired mini-buses dropping off and collecting patrons who have commuted into the City Centre from surrounding regions) on Churchill Way; • Enforcement of traffic orders prohibiting taxis from picking up customers outside of designated and marshalled taxi ranks. 	<p>Limited availability of alternative transport in and, especially, out of the City Centre late at night (given termination of bus and train services prior to midnight);</p> <p>The NTEC did note anecdotal evidence (conversations with patrons at taxi ranks and in bars etc.) suggesting a limited demand for bus and train services and a preference for 'door-to-door' transport home late at night, especially amongst female patrons.</p> <p>Concern over the sustainability of temporary road closures and taxi marshalling given pressures on public expenditure and resistance from taxi licensing authorities in the city to introducing a surcharge or element of the annual taxi license fee for funding pedestrianisation and marshalling programmes.</p>
<p>Objective 4 Enhance the surveillance capacity for reducing violence in the NTE</p>	<p>Significant progress:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhancement of CCTV surveillance in Mermaid Quay and in the Brewery Quarter entertainment precincts; • Agreement to install infrared cameras capable of measuring the footfall and peak flow of custom through the main streets in which licensed eating, drinking and dancing is concentrated in the City Centre (providing more accurate intelligence on volume and peak custom times); • Implementation of a digital communications network 	<p>Concern over the maintenance and sustainability of the CCTV system, given pressures on public expenditure and on the profit margins of licensed premises in the City Centre (given the relatively high business rates payable in Cardiff City Centre and the net loss of this income as it is redistributed to other local authorities in Wales by the Assembly Government).</p>

	<p>linking door supervisors, City Centre police patrols, taxi marshals and the night-time economy co-ordinator with police officers monitoring the CCTV cameras in the city centre (to expedite rapid intervention before fights escalate).</p>	
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