A Hard Day’s Night:
An Exploration into Community Safety and Crime Reduction in Gloucestershire’s Night-Time Economy

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ABSTRACT

The phrase ‘night-time economy’ (NTE) refers to all economic activity that takes place during 6:00pm – 6:00am. Its recent development has introduced the growth of profitable recreational activity and hedonism. However, the NTE environment has also introduced a range of negative concepts. To explore and understand this phenomenon in more depth, this thesis has been scaled to focus upon issues of crime and associated disorder in Gloucestershire’s NTE. Within this also includes investigation around concepts of fear and safety, community policing, multi-agency working and active crime reduction initiatives at a local level.

A mixed methods approach was utilised to undertake this research. 459 survey responses were obtained from members of the public, and 31 from local business representatives. In addition, 12 semi-structured interviews were conducted with key stakeholders. The key findings found that the most popular issues of concern in Gloucestershire’s NTE are anti-social behaviour and violence. The biggest cause of crime was overwhelmingly noted to be the consumption and misuse of alcohol.

Awareness of local current crime reduction initiatives by public and business respondents was poor, with only a few being able to comment on their levels of effectiveness for increasing safety and decreasing crime and associated behaviour. Those who did comment on their high levels of effectiveness noted principles such as efficient communication of information, well-established and formulated framework, and good credibility.

To target the negative aspects of the NTE, it has been suggested that a greater emphasis upon multi-agency working is required. This will allow for greater efficiency in dealing with incidents and tackling their root cause. Additionally, it would help with implementation of various other schemes, initiatives or tactics, such as the introduction of a welfare bus, or use of breathalysing kits. However, this is only beneficial if all agencies are willing to cooperate.
DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award.

The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

Signed: ..............................................................................................................................

Date: 1st May 2018
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .................................................................................................................. ii
DECLARATION ........................................................................................................ iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ......................................................................................... iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS ............................................................................................ v
LIST OF TABLES ....................................................................................................... viii
LIST OF FIGURES ................................................................................................... viii
INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................... 1
  Content and Focus:................................................................................................. 1
  Aims and Objectives:............................................................................................. 2
LITERATURE REVIEW ............................................................................................ 4
  Night-Time Economy: ......................................................................................... 4
  The Modern NTE: ................................................................................................. 6
  The Licensing Act: ............................................................................................... 7
  Main Issues in the NTE: ....................................................................................... 9
    Alcohol as a Major Factor ................................................................................ 9
    Alcohol Misuse and Consequential Behaviour ............................................... 10
    Alcohol-Related Crime ................................................................................... 11
    Drugs ................................................................................................................ 13
    Other NTE Issues ............................................................................................. 14
    Impact on Emergency Services ....................................................................... 15
  Safety and Fear of Crime in the NTE: ............................................................... 15
    Is It as Bad as It Seems? .................................................................................. 16
  Policing the NTE: .............................................................................................. 17
    Community Policing ....................................................................................... 17
    Crime Prevention ............................................................................................. 20
    Crime Reduction ............................................................................................. 21
  What Works in the NTE: ..................................................................................... 24
  Gloucestershire: ................................................................................................. 30
    Crime and Disorder Statistics ......................................................................... 30
    Cheltenham ..................................................................................................... 31
    Gloucester ....................................................................................................... 32
    Gloucestershire Constabulary .......................................................................... 32
    OPCC – ‘Safer Days and Nights for All’ .......................................................... 34
    Late Night Levy .............................................................................................. 35
    Business Improvement District (BID) .............................................................. 36
    Purple Flag ..................................................................................................... 37
    Initiatives Operating in Gloucestershire’s NTE ............................................... 38
  Conclusion: ......................................................................................................... 39
METHODOLOGY .................................................................................................... 42
  Introduction: ....................................................................................................... 42
  Philosophy of Research: ...................................................................................... 42
  Mixed Methods Research: .................................................................................. 45
    The General Public .......................................................................................... 48
    Businesses ...................................................................................................... 49
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Problem Oriented Suggestions:</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare Bus</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breathalysing</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Tests</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Comments</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Policing and the NTE</strong></td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Efforts</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness of Efforts</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact and Visibility of the Force</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvements</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section Summary</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONCLUSION</strong></td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommendations</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIBLIOGRAPHY</strong></td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APPENDICES</strong></td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A – Initiatives operating in Gloucestershire’s NTE</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheltenham Night Safe</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Community Patrol</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittville Patrol</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheltenham Guardians</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester City Safe</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester NightSafe</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#AskAngela</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street Pastors</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B – Public survey</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C – Business survey</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D – Key stakeholder interview questions</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix E – Interview participants and their anonymised labels</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 - Operational crime reduction initiatives and/or schemes in Gloucestershire's NTE .......... 38
Table 2 - Types of crime and/or behaviour respondents thought to be the biggest problem during the hours of 6:00pm - 6:00am across Gloucestershire .......................................................... 67
Table 3 – Respondents views as to the biggest causes of crime during the hours of 6:00pm - 6:00am across Gloucestershire .......................................................... 69
Table 4 - Frequency and percentages of how effective members of the public believe Cheltenham crime reduction schemes to be .......................................................... 84
Table 5 - Frequency and percentage of how effective members of the public believe Gloucester crime reduction schemes to be .......................................................... 85
Table 6 - Frequency of effectiveness of Cheltenham crime reduction schemes as chosen by business respondents ........................................................................................................ 86
Table 7 - Frequency of effectiveness of Gloucester crime reduction schemes as chosen by business respondents ........................................................................................................ 86
Table 8 - Frequency and percentage values of how effective business respondents believe the police to be in Cheltenham ........................................................................................................ 112
Table 9 - Frequency and percentage values of how effective business respondents believe the police to be in Gloucester ........................................................................................................ 112

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 - Pie chart illustrating how safe members of the public felt in their retrospective location. 58
Figure 2 - Bar chart illustrating how safe members of the public felt during their last visit to Cheltenham town centre ........................................................................................................ 59
Figure 3 - Bar chart illustrating how safe members of the public felt during their last visit to Gloucester city centre ........................................................................................................ 59
Figure 4 - Pie chart illustrating how safe business representatives feel whilst working in Cheltenham town centre during 6:00pm - 6:00am ........................................................................................................ 60
Figure 5 - Pie chart illustrating how safe business representatives feel whilst working in Gloucester city centre during 6:00pm - 6:00am ........................................................................................................ 61
Figure 6 - Clustered bar chart illustrating what members of the public believe to be the biggest crime, or related behaviour in both Gloucester and Cheltenham between the hours of 6:00pm - 6:00am ........................................................................................................ 68
Figure 7 - Clustered bar chart illustrating what members of the public believe to be the biggest cause of crime in both Cheltenham and Gloucester between 6:00pm - 6:00am ........................................................................................................ 70
Figure 8 – Bar chart illustrating the frequency of business representatives who chose what they believed to be the biggest problem for their business in Cheltenham during 6:00pm - 6:00am ........................................................................................................ 71
Figure 9 - Bar chart illustrating the frequency of business representatives who chose what they believed to be the biggest cause of crime in Cheltenham during 6:00pm - 6:00am ........................................................................................................ 73
Figure 10 - Bar chart illustrating the frequency of business representatives who chose what they believed to be the biggest problem for their business in Gloucester during 6:00pm - 6:00am ........................................................................................................ 74
Figure 11 - Bar chart illustrating the frequency of business representatives who chose what they believed to be the biggest cause of crime in Gloucester during 6:00pm - 6:00am ........................................................................................................ 74
INTRODUCTION

Content and Focus:

The night-time economy (NTE) is a phenomenon that has attracted much attention and growth in recent years. It has been promoted to be encapsulated in enjoyment, freedom and fun. Blackshaw (2013:352) explains that as a result, it “...beckons potential customers, promising them pleasure, exciting experiences and a sense of community that is lacking from the humdrum rhythms of everyday life.” As a result, policymakers, academics, government officials, law enforcement agencies, urban planners, private investors, and people alike are attracted to the attention and advantageous profit it holds.

However, this NTE hedonism is also one riddled with a variety of concerns and issues surrounding fear and safety. In addition, it has also presented a heightened risk of crime and associated disorder to towns and cities. Thus, one of the reasons why so many are attracted to the NTE experience is also why some are so uncomfortable with it. “The consumers of night-time leisure are disproportionately young; consequently, they are typically boisterous... Their conduct is unpredictable and sometimes unruly” (Furedi, 2015:10). As a result, “over the last decade the regulation, management and policing of the night-time economy have emerged as crucial components of urban public policy” (Lister, 2009:1). By and large, the stereotypical image of the night-time city is an alcohol-dominated landscape which “…has had a profound impact on communities by being accompanied by a dramatic increase of violence in town and city centres” (Levine et al., 2012:924).
To tackle these issues, the development of community policing and collaborative multi-agency partnerships has been necessary. This is due to extensive research and evidence which has proven that many of the problems presented in the NTE require the deployment and inclusion of various agencies and members. Amongst these include local councils, licensees, voluntary organisations, ambulance staff and police officers. Rosenbaum and Schuck (2012:228) argue that these “...partnerships are expected to be more inclusive and responsive to community prioritie...
crime and associated disorder in the night-time economy. By examining all these factors, the hope is that what works best concerning crime reduction activity will be established, and community efforts to tackle such issues can be improved.

There are three research objectives to fulfil these aims. These include identifying the crimes and related issues that are of concern to those using and working within the NTE in Gloucestershire. Secondly, discovering the ways in which the police and other stakeholders have used initiatives, interventions and strategies to tackle these issues in Gloucestershire. And finally, identifying the most significant requirements and lessons of best practice for consideration when designing initiatives that will promote a safe, low-crime NTE in Gloucestershire.
LITERATURE REVIEW

Night-Time Economy:

The concept of a ‘night-time economy’ (NTE) is a recent development not just in the UK, but across the world. Despite this fact, there is no standardised definition across academic literature as to what it entails, nor is there much ‘hard data’ that exists to define it, or to collate, interpret and apply it to a multitude of places (VisitEngland, 2012:7). However, Nelson et al. (2010:107) note that in its simplest form, the NTE “...refers to all economic activities during night-time hours.” A range of sources additionally connect the term to the leisure and entertainment industries, and the consumption of alcohol during the evening and early hours of the morning. This is in reference to the expansion in the numbers of bars and clubs operating with extended licenses into the early hours of the morning, between 6:00pm and 6:00am.

By 1974, “…average British households had more than double the amount [of money] available to spend on things other than necessities compared to what they had in the immediate post-war period” (Stokes et al., 2013:131). This increase in disposable income for UK families aligned with the growth of retail warehouses and retail parks in the 1970s. However, this also meant that footfall across city centres declined - producing a commercial decline. According to Thomas and Bromley (2000:1405), this was “characterised by long-term vacancies, lower-status stores replacing market leaders, the emergence of charity shops and the development of a general air of dilapidation, all features which are most evident in locations
peripheral to the centres.” The NTE became a venture to explore and invest in, as most tended to flee the city after 5:00pm. Even though theatres and cinemas were previously open during the evenings, city centres began to be re-modelled extensively around entertainment, leisure and recreation. This was due not only to an increase in income but also through a desire to expand these services to engage women, students, homosexuals and new counter-cultures (Eldridge, 2010:185).

Additionally, Hobbs et al. (2003) noted how structural changes in the entertainment industry in combination with a relaxation of liquor licensing laws resulted in dramatic increases in night-time entertainment and the consumption of alcohol. In 1997, Heath and Stickland proposed this move was towards the concept of the ‘24-hour city’.

“The future of high streets is not just about retail. People care about high streets because they are the centres of their community. Government wants to see vibrant, viable high streets where people live, shop, use services, and spend their leisure time, including in an evening and night-time economy” (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2013:13).

The expansion of NTE activities across the UK has enabled relations and friendships to blossom and socialising to occur during non-work hours. For younger people, Winlow (2010:341-342) argues the NTE offers a “partial suspension of normative behaviours [which] exhorts a powerful allure to many young people as this ‘anything goes’ culture offers young consumers the ability to explore social behaviours that would otherwise lie just out of reach.” In addition, Hobbs et al. (2003:36) claim “in cultural terms, it provides an accepted means of altering the mundane, pressurized, regimented, and unattractive world of daylight
comportment...” This is applicable to all individuals regardless of age, gender, class and ethnicity.

**The Modern NTE:**

In 2015, Furedi (2015:2) acknowledged that the UK night-time economy was worth a total of £66 billion, employed 1.3 million people, and accounted for nearly 6% of the UK’s GDP. Due to its vast nature, Hollands (2009:249) distinguished between two types of night-time entertainment during the modern UK NTE. Firstly, the mainstream ‘night out’ often owned by large international companies is one that “…cater[s] to much of the hedonistic rituals…” with themed bars, replicated in multiple cities. This ‘night out’ is one that targets a ‘demographic ghetto’ of 18–24-year olds - with students forming a particularly high target for most clubs and bars (Roberts, 2006:332). Bellis and Hughes (2011:537) comment that these entertainment venues feature “…minimal seating, loud music and late licenses.” These are considered familiar and recognisable to the consumer and are comfortable spaces to enjoy, regardless of location.

On the other hand, venues such as traditional pubs and alehouses – or residual community spaces “…have been left to decline or have been eroded, due to the changing priorities of nightlife operators and consumer tastes.” This is supported by evidence from the British Beer and Pub Association (2016) who discovered in 2015 there were only 50,800 traditional pubs open in the UK – this is compared to 67,800 in 1982. Pratten (2007:617) acknowledges that many of these traditional venues have been adapted and “…transformed from predominantly male, working-class drinking dens into entertainment centres designed to appeal to particular sectors of
the market.” Thus again, becoming those that are branded and recognisable to the consumer. Hollands (2009:249) explains that individuals still using the traditional public houses have a tenancy to follow previous tradition of being male and from a lower working-class background. Therefore, these individuals use traditional public houses as they were originally used – “…as havens of masculine working-class culture, reflecting masculine values of toughness and sensuality, and freedom from the constraints of factory [alongside other manual labouring] life” (Argyle, 1994:106).

**The Licensing Act:**

Although a range of up-market and quiet wine and café bars have opened across the UK, the main consensus is that “Britain’s developing night-time economy would not be characterised by museums, theatres, restaurants and art galleries but by bars and nightclubs serving up mass intoxication, bacchanalian excess and persistently high levels of violence and disorder” (Winlow, 2010:336). Consequently, although there are a range of leisure pursuits and activities to part-take in during the NTE, the primary commodity during the hours of 6:00pm and 6:00am remains to be alcohol.

The need to control the alcohol industry is not a recent concern. Bellis and Hughes (2011:537) note that “legislation preventing licensees from serving alcohol to the point of drunkenness dates back to 1604; fines for being drunk were introduced in 1606, and legislation governing opening hours was first implemented in 1618.” This legislation has “…historically been viewed as a social problem to be contained by licensing, policing and the management of supply” (Talbot, 2006:159). In response
to the numerous and complex licensing schemes, in 2003 the Licensing Act was introduced into England and Wales. This Act provides a single integrated scheme for premises that are used for the sale or supply of alcohol, and those that provide entertainment and late-night refreshment. The aims of the act include preventing public nuisance, and crime and associated disorder; alongside increasing public safety, and protecting children from harm (Licensing Act 2003).

Two mutually opposing approaches have informed this policy formulation. Roberts (2006:334) notes that the first compliments neo-liberalism – with the expansion of economic growth, the free market and ‘healthy’ competition between businesses. Winlow and Hall (2006:75) adopt a Marxist approach to expand this point, and argue that “…leisure no longer fulfils the mere function of periodic refreshment but has become a crucial profit-making cog in consumer capitalism’s machine…” This is due to the fact that the Act permits flexible opening hours for licensed premises – including potential for it to be open 24 hours a day, 7 days a week; enforcing Health and Stickland’s forecast of a ‘24 hour city’. Contrary, the second approach nods towards regulation and sustainability of the urban environment. Thus, licenses are subject to consideration with due respect to local residents and businesses. Responsibility for issuing such licenses now resides with local authorities who took over this power from magistrates. Nevertheless, the Act is considered necessary and important, as the Police and Crime Committee (2016:6) commented: “licensing is a mechanism to help minimise crime and disorder in the NTE.” The crucial factor lies within how efficient and effective communication and multi-agency working is during the NTE.
Main Issues in the NTE:

Alcohol as a Major Factor

The Department of Health (2016:4) note that to keep health risks from alcohol to a low level, it is recommended that it is safest to not drink more than 14 units a week and spread this evenly over 3 or more days. However, the big phenomenon to address with alcohol consumption is the misuse of these guidelines through binge drinking and preloading. NHS Choices (2016) define binge drinking as “…drinking lots of alcohol in a short space of time or drinking to get drunk.” Whereas alcohol preloading is defined as “…the consumption of alcohol at a domestic residence prior to attending licensed premises” (Foster and Ferguson, 2014:213). Binge drinking and preloading are often found entwined as the Department of Health (2016:2) argue that many people do not drink, yet alcohol is a large part of their social lives. Research conducted by Ally et al., (2016:1571) found that during their study of Great Britain’s ‘preloading’ drinking habits between 2009-2011, the highest risk of units consumed were during sociable get-togethers (23.3%) with friends (24.3%) as opposed to consuming with family members (14.6%), work colleagues (21.5%) or alone (9.5%). “Most started between 5:00pm and 10:00pm (73.6%)” (Ally et al., 2016:1571).

The issue of alcohol misuse is one greatly linked to consumption by University students. Gill (2002:115) found that individuals who progress to higher education show an increase in alcohol consumption relative to their peers in the general population. This is supported by research which shows “among drinkers aged 16 to 24 years, 37.3% reported binge drinking on their heaviest drinking day in 2016.
compared with just 10.3% of drinkers aged above the age of 65 years” (Office for National Statistics, 2017:4). When asked why they drink alcohol, a study undertaken by Alcohol Research UK (2010:3) reported that students said they were “...most likely to do so for positive social reasons such as socialising or celebrating with friends and because it made them feel good and generally enhanced their experience.” This is in place of an accompaniment to other activities such as having a meal with an alcoholic beverage while seated at a table (Institute of Alcohol Studies, 2013:10).

**Alcohol Misuse and Consequential Behaviour**

A consistent relationship is found between the misuse of alcohol, misdemeanour and disorder, and crime. This is where the unswervingly negative perception that surrounds the NTE emanates. To obtain an understanding as to why this is so common, it is crucial to note that alcohol is a key driver for emotional intensities. Devilly *et al.*, (2017:131) discovered that when examining the effects of pre-loading and binge drinking, studies have found people who drink more alcohol over the course of the night are 2.5 times more likely to be involved in violent exchanges. Many explanations for this link have been suggested, these include “…the pharmacological effects of alcohol, the psychology of the individual offender, the situations alcohol is consumed in, and the social acceptability of certain behaviours when intoxicated” (CSEW, 2015:2).
**Alcohol-Related Crime**

Although the relationship between alcohol, disputes and violence is evidential, there is, in fact, no legal term to encompass ‘alcohol-related crime’; however, it is a phrase popularly found within literature. The Institute of Alcohol Studies (2013:4) note that instead, crimes and associated disorder that fall under this remit are either alcohol-defined offences such as drink driving; or, offences in which consumption of alcohol has contributed to their outcome – for example, assault, criminal damage, breach of the peace, or anti-social behaviour. In the Data Hub for police recorded crime, there is a field open to explain aggravating circumstances and/or factors to an offence which often helps indicate whether alcohol was a contributing factor.

Calculating the exact number of alcohol-related crimes and associated disorder will always be partial sighted. Many critics have debated the use of statistics to explain and link alcohol and crime and/or violent behaviour. This is due to inconsistency issues – especially concerning the fact that there is no universal agreement or definition of ‘alcohol-related’ or ‘alcohol-fuelled’ crime. Incidents may not always be reported to the police, or police representatives may deal with them but not report them. Similarly, Newton and Hirschfield (2009:9) argued that apart from licensing authority records, there is no consistent format for the collection of data surrounding violence in or around licensed venues in the NTE. This is due to the fact that it is not found to be the responsibility of any single agency. Therefore, this “impairs any attempt to gain a strategic overview of the timing and location of the availability of alcohol, the proximity of the various outlets to each other and how
these related to land use and demographics and to crime and disorder” (Newton and Hirschfield, 2009:10).

One way in which policymakers and practitioners attempt to examine the issues of alcohol-related and alcohol-fuelled crime is through evidence obtained for Crime Survey for England and Wales. Their 2013/2014 study is the most recent published study by this organisation to specifically examine the effect of alcohol misuse and violence. In 2013/2014, out of a total number of 1,327,000 violent incidents, 53% were alcohol-related (CSEW, 2015:3). At 67%, the most likely character to commit alcohol-related violent crime during the NTE is a male, aged between 16-24. This is closely followed by a male aged between 25-34 at 66%. In comparison, victims stated that 49% of women aged between 16-24 committed violent acts whilst under the influence of alcohol; compared to 36% of 25-34 year olds (CSEW, 2015:14). Additionally, alcohol-related violent incidents were most commonly found between strangers (64%) compared to that between acquaintances (52%) and domestic violence incidents (36%) (CSEW, 2015:7). Most of these incidents between strangers are a one-off brawl rather than present on a repeated basis (Maguire et al., 2017:422).

Data from the 2013/2014 CSEW (2015:9) also found that violent incidents were more likely to involve alcohol during the weekend, with 70% occurring between 6:00pm Friday night and 6:00am Monday morning. However, 93% of all alcohol-related violent incidents were located at a pub or a club (CSEW, 2015:12). The other most common locations for alcohol-related violence in the NTE were a public space location (70%), or in the street (51%) (CSEW, 2015:12).
The ending of fixed closing times for bars, pubs and clubs under the 2003 Licensing Act was intended to “...break down peaks in crime and disorder experienced as drinking establishments simultaneously closed and streets filled with intoxicated revellers” (Bellis and Hughes, 2011:539). Nevertheless, in 2016, Public Health Survey conducted a study on the NTE and public perceptions. The survey had over 30,000 respondents who were located in the North West of England, yet the findings “...showed that nearly half of all respondents avoided the town centre at night because of the drunken behaviour of others and half felt that action was needed to tackle alcohol issues in their area...” (Public Health England, 2016:75).

Instead, academics have argued that the Licensing Act has alternatively projected a range of wider issues. Skogan (2012:183) notes that “unlike many crimes, disorder is visible to all, and unlike many serious crimes, disorder can be observed on a frequent, even daily basis; both of these features help magnify its consequences.” Similarly, Foster et al. (2009:115) claim this disorder has “…brought alcohol-related issues sharper into focus and a number of powerful lobby groups have emerged.” Moral panics in the media have drawn attention towards the idea of a ‘binge drinking Britain’. “Such headlines are rarely positive; young people’s activities are frequently portrayed as distasteful, dangerous or threatening and as signalling a decline in moral standards” (Furlong, 2009:241).

**Drugs**

Evidence suggests that illicit drug and polydrug use is another large phenomenon to tackle in the NTE. In particular, it was noted that in the 1990s, the increase in illegal drug use accompanied binge drinking amongst clubbers (Blackshaw, 2013:352).
Ecstasy, ketamine, LSD and cocaine all became popular ‘club drugs’. However, their popularity has declined over the years due to refined zero-tolerance drugs policies and tighter regulations around bar and club entry. Measures such as sniffer dogs and airport-style searches have also meant that there is a decrease in potential profit of selling club drugs. Nevertheless, research suggests it is still a large problem in the NTE. This is due to clubbers being far more likely “…to buy drugs from their friends and acquaintances, especially before going into clubs, rather than from professional dealers inside venues” (Daly, 2016). As a result, in 2003, Deehan and Saville (2003:2) found that over a third of respondents were using drugs on the night they were interviewed.

Other NTE Issues

Aside from alcohol-related disorder, drug consumption and violence, the NTE has also introduced other crime and public health issues. Hadfield and Newton (2010:1) argue these include but are not limited to: “…transport and road safety, emergency health care, sexual health and abuse, violence by door staff, public nuisance, street fouling and neighbourhood disturbance.” Criminal damage and vandalism are other additional issues of concern in most NTE environments. Some of these issues are intertwined into alcohol-related disorder and violence or can alternatively be a by-product. For example, Tilley and Sidebottom (2017:530) note street urination may be related not only to a lack of public toilets but also excessive alcohol consumption. Thus, “…alcohol is still the most important drug in the night-time economy” (Blackshaw, 2013:352).
Impact on Emergency Services

The combination of all these potential problems to arise out of the NTE puts incredible strain on public and emergency services. DrinkAware (2017b) noted that “around 35,620 people were admitted to hospital because of the toxic effect of alcohol in England in 2013/14.” Therefore, as a result, the Institute of Alcohol Studies (2017) found that over half (53%) of police time, 37% of ambulance time, and 25% of A&E consultants time was spent dealing with alcohol-related incidents. Thus, although economic figures related to the expansion of Britain’s NTE may sound impressive, “...problems with the night-time economy have been extensively discussed and extend beyond the well-cited rise of binge drinking” (Eldridge, 2010:188).

Safety and Fear of Crime in the NTE:

Although evidence suggests there are a range of negative consequences of the NTE environment, an external contributing factor to the pessimism of the NTE derives from ‘fear of crime’. The ‘fear of crime’ is a concept that has been thoroughly researched for a number of years. Entwining this with fear of the night and darkness creates an environment that many are afraid of entering. John Howard Society of Alberta (1999) stated that the ‘fear of crime’ is usually an anticipation of victimisation, rather than a fear of actual victimisation. This is amplified at night because “we traditionally approach the night as a time zone that is riddled with ambiguity. Perceptions of the ‘hours of darkness’ as a time of danger, fear, crime and sin seem to be persistent and deeply embedded...” (Hobbs, 2003:44). These may have been influenced by reports of community-level crime, recent global news
stories, or previous individual experiences (Henson and Reyns, 2015:94).

Theoretically, ‘fear of crime’ is linked to the vulnerability perspective. This describes how “…the most fearful people are those who rate their probability of victimisation as high…” (Fisher and Lab, 2010:393). Assuming this perspective, many researchers have commented that females are more fearful due to their physical vulnerabilities – especially in regard to sexual assaults during the NTE. This is due to the fact that “…women are socialised to perceive themselves as weaker than men and thus feel a powerlessness to resist attack…” (Fisher and Lab, 2010:392). Similarly, the elderly often feel vulnerable when entering the NTE due to a previous lack of participation, and physically diminished strength and mobility. However, in terms of those most likely to be genuinely victimised, it continues to be young men during the evenings and night-time. Thus, “it is not that women (or older people) have a misplaced sense of risk and therefore an irrational level of fear. Instead women/older people are more sensitive to the consequences of victimisation than men/younger people, and less able to control its occurrence” (Jackson, 2009:5).

Is It as Bad as It Seems?

Evidence to suggest that the NTE is something to be worried about is inconsistent. For example, ONS (2015:3) highlighted that as a total trend, “between the 1995 and the 2013/14 surveys, the number of violent crime incidents has fallen from 3.8 million in 1995 to 1.3 million in 2013/14.” This supports previous figures and evidence obtained for the 2003 Licensing Act. Additionally, ONS (2017:3) also found that “the proportion of adults who said they drink alcohol is at its lowest level since 2005” and in 2016 only 26.8% of adults (7.8 million out of 29 million) admitted to
‘binging’ on alcohol during their heaviest drinking day (ONS, 2017:4). Therefore, “far from the image of drunken youth lying in a gutter, the ‘urban resistance’ re-imagines city centres as desirable places to live, work and play. The mixed-use, mixed-tenure communities envisaged by the proponents of the urban resistance are marked by a sense of social diversity, narrative sociality, inclusiveness and, ultimately, economic and social sustainability” (Eldridge 2010:183).

**Policing the NTE:**

**Community Policing**

The UK police force and policing styles have vastly evolved throughout recent history. A notion bound by this, and one that is placed in high importance throughout this project is that of community policing. The term ‘community policing’ was first coined through Robert Peel’s Principles of Law Enforcement (1892). Peel placed vast importance upon a healthy and respected relationship between the police and the public. In fact, the seventh principle (1982) noted that “…the police are the public and the public are the police…” as although police officers were paid to carry out their duties, it was agreed that members of the public should also be responsible for their community’s welfare. In today’s academic literature, community policing is defined as “…both a philosophy and organisation strategy to allow community residents and police to work together in new ways to solve problems of crime, fear of crime, physical and social disorder and neighbourhood decay” (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990:xiii-xv). This new definition of community policing illustrates how Peel’s founding principles have shaped modern focus. The heavy emphasis upon closer rapport between the police
and members of the public is thought to be critical to maintain effective policing practice and public safety.

This theory has also shaped a recent significant change in the police’s approach to community engagement. The establishment of the role of Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) in section 38(2) of the Police Reform Act 2002 introduced the concept of a regular visible and recognisable presence in uniform to maintain and build trust within the community of which they are serving. This is not only in attempt to decrease crime and anti-social behaviour, but also improve communication and public confidence.

Although community policing encourages officers and PCSOs to build strong rapport with communities, incidents are often multi-dimensional in character, requiring one or more services to provide intelligence and support. As a result, the newer umbrella term of ‘community-led policing’ has been defined by Berry et al. (2011:1) as “…a cooperative relationship between two or more organisations to achieve a common goal.” This definition acknowledges the important role of the community in steering and conducting elements of policing activity, but also signifies the capture of partnership arrangements that exist in modern policing in both the daytime economy (DTE) and NTE.

The strong emphasis upon partnership working in England and Wales was initially sparked in the 1960s. Predominately the Cornish Committee’s report on the Prevention and Detection of Crime (Home Office, 1965) recognised the “…vital roles to be played therein by both the police and wider community” by both raising awareness and safety to members of the public, and providing future policing
recommendations (Gilling, 1997:55). One of the most important to note was the introduction of the Standing Committee on Crime Prevention based at the Home Office in 1966. Takala (2000:48) stated that “the committee brought together representatives of commerce and industry with the police and the Home Office…” Community panels were made up of representatives of local businesses, and voluntary and statutory services with the purpose of allowing them to voice their opinions on crime reduction matters, and also identify other occurring problems to the police. Not only did this shift focus, but it also raised awareness to the fact that “…no single agency can deal with, or be responsible for dealing with, complex community safety and crime problems” (Berry et al., 2011:1).

Community safety partnerships were voluntary up until 1998 when The Crime and Disorder Act was introduced. Sections 5 and 6 of this legislation made multi-agency, partnership working between the police, local authorities and health authorities statutory at a local level. Due to previous reports and recommendations, many organisations had little to change in regard to their collaborative practice. However, additionally, Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) were made compulsory to co-ordinate action on crime and disorder. Section 6 further outlined how each partnership must produce and publish formal periodic audits every three years to monitor local crime and disorder problems, and oversee plans for local crime reduction (Newburn, 2007:547). These reports are considered to provide ‘bureaucratic accountability’ so to understand the community and their concerns (Rowe, 2014:104). In 2010, CDRPs were re-named Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs) (Local Government Association, 2012:5). Although this legislation only
concerns England and Wales, it is important to note that both Scotland and Northern Ireland have similar CSPs in local council areas (Newburn, 2007:547).

Crime Prevention

A large component of community-led policing through the work of CSPs, voluntary organisations, the police and citizens is crime prevention. Thus, “…what further distinguishes crime prevention from crime control is that prevention takes place outside the confines of the formal justice system” (Welsh and Farrington, 2012:3). Similarly, this first became a top priority during 1829 for the new Metropolitan police force through Peel’s instructions (Reiner, 2010:106). One of the most formal documented definitions of crime prevention is “the anticipation, recognition, and appraisal of a crime risk and the initiation of some action to remove or reduce it” (National Crime Prevention Institute, 1986:2). There are many different crime prevention approaches, including crime prevention through environmental design, and situational crime prevention (White, 1996:98). Although they can have slight differences, all approaches have a common goal - to reduce and deter criminal activity and inhibit disorder within a local remit. Essentially they make specific locations unattractive for offenders to commit crimes.

“These interventions do not necessarily result in the arrest and incarceration of offenders, nor do they usually assist in the rehabilitation of offenders. They may not even keep offenders away. They just make the offenders less willing to choose to commit crimes at the location where these interventions are deployed” (Eck and Guerette, 2012:354).
As Johnson et al. (2014:551) explain: “...if offenders do evaluate (however briefly) the risks and rewards they perceive to be associated with a crime, it follows that, by manipulating these perceptions, crime can be made more or less likely to occur.”

The term ‘crime prevention’ can be further split into subsequent concepts and theories - many of which are interchangeable and only offer slight differences. For example, Bullock and Fielding (2017:87) defined ‘community crime prevention’ as a wide-ranging term that typically refers to “…programmes and interventions that seek to motivate citizens to work together, with or without government agencies and other organisations, to develop and implement crime prevention interventions.” It seeks to restore and promote positive relationships between communities and community safety and generate solutions to problems of crime and disorder in neighbourhoods (Bullock and Fielding, 2017:87). Gilling (1997:56) argues this is because the public are reminded that it is their responsibility (and solely not the police’s) to take sensible measures.

**Crime Reduction**

Comparably, the term ‘crime reduction’ is often found to be synonymous with crime prevention; however, there is slight difference between these two concepts. Both concepts involve a combination of actions to eliminate or minimise crime and disorder. However, the focus for crime reduction is predominately on problems that already exist and need addressing. Thus, crime reduction measures are largely reactive to decrease current issues, rather than proactive to curb potential problems like crime prevention approaches. “A crime reduction measure may have a shorter timeframe than a prevention measure because its goals may be less
ambitious, and intervention more sharply defined” (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2003). Many crime reduction measures are labelled as crime reduction initiatives or schemes. The Oxford Dictionary (2017) define an initiative as “an act or strategy intended to resolve a difficulty or improve a situation; a fresh approach to something.” This fresh approach can differ in terms of location or components depending on the setting, environment and problem at hand. Many initiatives have shifted in importance and focus throughout subsequent decades according to the priorities of criminal policy and party politics.

A prime example of a community coordinated crime reduction initiative that operates both in the DTE and NTE is Neighbourhood Watch. The scheme itself is based heavily on rational choice theory and opportunity reduction principles. The aim of such schemes continues to involve “bring[ing] neighbours together to create strong, friendly and active communities” (OurWatch, 2017). Many other initiatives employ similar principles of information sharing and community vigilance to deter problems that have occurred previously. Although the community wardens, neighbourhood wardens and street wardens found in many towns and cities do not have police powers “…they will work closely with PCSOs, exchanging information and supporting the police as best they can” (The Police Foundation, 2009:4).

However, how effective these schemes and initiatives are at preventing and reducing crime often rely on how positive public participation is (Roberts and Hastings, 2012:487). Despite its widespread scope and seemingly positive progression, Neighbourhood Watch has provided mixed results in terms of success.

In particular, Newburn (2007:568) noted that “…schemes tend to flourish in parts of
the country which have relatively low crime rates.” This is said to include villages and small towns whereby most Neighbourhood Watch schemes are found. As noted by Rosenbaum and Schuck (2012:227),

“Studies have shown that crime rates are lower in neighbourhoods where residents feel more attached to the neighbourhood, report more cohesion, feel more responsible for the events that occur in the neighbourhood, report a greater willingness to intervene when problems occur, are less prone to avoidance and social withdrawal, and participate in more crime prevention activities.”

Thus, there is no evidence of social disorganisation whereby capacity of local institutions such as families, schools and community groups has been diminished; therefore, social behaviour is regulated. Rosenbaum and Schuck (2012:227) comment that this diminished capacity of community cohesion this is a central problem to urban life, as most residents are unaware of their neighbours and so, lack community spirit. Additionally, many academics and practitioners alike have noted that the theoretical foundations of community crime prevention “...are shaky, and a great deal of empirical work has revealed that the implementation of community crime prevention policies, which requires commitment from both the police and from citizens, can be problematic” (Bullock and Fielding, 2017:88). This is due to the unrealistic expectation of time, effort and resources available from and by both parties. Thus, “the ghost of the possibility that, in the end, ‘nothing works’ continues to haunt governments in their pursuit of crime prevention” (Hope, 2002:37).
What Works in the NTE:

For many, the only way to overcome fears of the NTE is for local authorities, police and CSPs to promote and enhance safety features – especially in busy areas of activity. Brands et al. (2015:24) argue that prevention of fear is “…key to development strategies configured around pleasure and consumption; it is widely agreed that safe and enjoyable spaces will attract more consumers and spending.”

In regard to the NTE, today at a local level, solutions are being sought by many councils, licensees, and police forces across Britain to address and improve negative aspects. Roberts (2006:336) comments that other external individuals involved often include land-use planners, licensing officers, environmental protection, economic development and waste management officers, local residents and transport providers. The collective approach to tackling these issues through a multitude of organisations requires effective communication and enables a sense of pride through community working. Fagan and Hawkins (2012:248) also argue that pooling together information and resources will allow for decisions to be better informed. Additionally, services will become more cost-effective; thus, more sustainable. Still, practitioners have noted that working with residents, those who enjoy the NTE, and late-night operators can prove to be tricky, as balancing the wants and needs are often conflicting.

“Premises in the NTE accept that they have some responsibility for minimising crime and disorder in a local area. However, they often feel that they are wrongly held responsible for the behaviour of customers. This has resulted in a tension between premises, the police, and licensing authorities”

In recent years, there has been an increased emphasis on understanding the effectiveness and impact of crime reduction initiatives through community policing and multi-agency working. One of the most significant efforts in this area has come from the ‘What Works Centre for Crime Reduction’. According to Rosenbaum and Schuck (2012:226), scholars of crime prevention argue that “…programs and policies will achieve maximum effectiveness if they are built on scientific knowledge regarding the nature and causes of crime and delinquency and on the knowledge of what works, or ‘best practices’.” Utilising this idea, the centre collates and reviews crime reduction research and evidence and organises it into a toolkit for practitioners. The general approach here is underpinned by the ‘Realistic Evaluation’ methodology designed by Tilley and Pawson (1997), which sought to find out what works for whom, when and where. The evidence is presented using the EMMIE framework. EMMIE stands for Effect, Mechanism, Moderators, Implementation and Economic cost. Research is laid out to explain how the initiative works, where it works, how to implement it, how much it costs and the impact it will have on crime. Therefore, EMMIE is a rating and ranking system developed to help practitioners to access evidence-based research efficiently. Tilley (2016:307) notes that EMMIE is important to consider when developing and/or evaluating crime reduction initiatives because “resources are always limited, and decisions have to be made about how to allocate them.” Below will address some of these initiatives and ideas.

As previously noted, alcohol-related violence is a large component of the NTE which has subsequent attention brought to it. One theory of importance that has
supported a range of initiatives to tackle this issue is Tuck’s (1989:52) concept of ‘cluster’ and ‘congestion’ points within and around entertainment centres in regional areas of the UK. Tuck argued that these areas are where most alcohol-related incidents and violence occur; therefore, planning and licensing authorities should to examine these geographical locations in detail. ‘Cluster’ points are those areas where people may gather and remain for a long period of time; such as food outlets, or taxi ranks. Whereas ‘congestion’ points refer to particularly busy spots where large groups of people are moving from one area to another, and are most likely to collide; for example, outside clubs, bars or pubs. Recent moves to tackle and diffuse conflict in these areas has included the deployment of taxi marshals at taxi ranks “…ostensibly to assist passengers, but likely to also add an element of security, and where appropriate traffic control” (Nelson et al., 2010). Similarly, The Institute of Alcohol Studies (2013:10) have listed a range of factors that are often found to trigger aggression in a public drinking setting during the NTE. These include over-crowding, hostility and intimidation by security staff, and a ‘permissive’ environment that ignores anti-social behaviour and assault. Maguire et al. (2017:422) note how factors such as insufficient seating, difficult bar access, poor physical maintenance of buildings, and lack of ventilation can also all contribute towards feelings of annoyance or increase public competition for space and service - which in turn can contribute to higher emotional intensities.

Another way to remove boisterous and deviant activity during the NTE is to reduce “…the widespread availability of cheap alcohol through special promotions” (Tilley and Sidebottom, 2017:260). The summarised findings from a systematic review
based on 50 studies conducted by the What Works for Crime Reduction centre (2018b) found that “reductions in alcohol-related crime (such as, drink driving) were associated with an increase in alcohol tax or price.” More specifically, analysis of seven of the studies that had violence as an outcome found a significant decrease with higher levels of tax and pricing. Similarly, 19 studies saw traffic offences, and five studies saw other crime and misbehaviour outcomes significantly decreased when these prices were raised (What Works for Crime Reduction, 2018b). This is supported by evidence from the Home Office (2011:4), who acknowledged that “when considering individual crime types rather than overall crime, there is a larger evidence base for a link between alcohol price and violence than for other crime types. The balance of this evidence tends to support an association between increasing alcohol price and decreasing levels of violence.”

However, for many tourists and residents alike, the supply of alcohol, and availability of drinks offers is what attracts them to major towns and cities at night. Therefore, “…problems late at night would not necessarily be solved by simple prohibitions on alcohol” (Eldridge, 2010:188). One way to control this excessive alcohol consumption and gain customers is for bars and clubs to use special promotions but only during specific time periods throughout the evening. This is a tactic adopted by several chain restaurants and bars nationwide, who are found to have ‘happy hours’ between 5:00pm-7:00pm. This ensures that customers will contribute towards the economy, but as these hours are early in the evening, many will take advantage of them whilst dining.
Although there are often security personnel and door staff present during the NTE, another blanket of security commonly found both in public and private settings is CCTV. CCTV can be used to aid crime prevention and detect crimes and offenders. It is considered a popular security measure by members of the public, as Ball et al. (2012:255) commented “…the presence of CCTV provides reassurance to the public and makes people less fearful about becoming a victim of crime, and attitude surveys have shown that people report that they would feel safer if CCTV were installed.” However as previously stated, its genuine effectiveness is open to dispute. The What Works for Crime Reduction centre (2018c) studied the impact CCTV coverage had on crime and various sub-categories within that. Through their systematic review, they found that over 41 studies examined, CCTV could and did reduce crime. ONS (2017a:7) discovered that “…just under four-fifths of vehicle-related thefts took place during the evening or night (6:00pm to 6:00am) …”. Similarly, approximately three-fifths take place during the evening or night (6:00pm to 6:00am) (ONS, 2017b:10). Although this was true for vehicle and property crime, it did not necessarily help to reduce violent crime. Therefore, Ball et al. (2012:257) note that “…police officers are only too aware that CCTV is not a panacea to the crime problem” as CCTV is only warranted a positive crime prevention method when the public are aware that they are in an area under surveillance (Miller et al., 2017:253). Instead, it is better supported alongside other interventions such as improved lighting, fencing, and security personnel (What Works for Crime Reduction, 2018c).
To combat public nuisance and street fouling, policy changes have sought to criminalise particular behaviours. These include the dropping of litter (including glass), street drinking, urinating in public and nuisance noise. For example, Section 13 of The Criminal Justice Act 2001 established restrictions on alcohol consumption in public places through Designated Public Place Orders (DPPOs). “DPPO powers enable local authorities to designate places where restrictions on public drinking apply” (Home Office, 2009:3). However, this Act does not make it a criminal offence to consume alcohol within a designed area. Instead, an offence is only committed “if the individual refuses to comply with a constable’s request to refrain from drinking” (Home Office, 2009:3). The Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014 was later introduced to expand law enforcement powers in reducing anti-social behaviour. The Act replaced Anti-Social Behavioural Orders (as seen since 1998) with Criminal Behaviour Orders (CBOs). As outlined, CBOs are issued if “…the court is satisfied, beyond reasonable doubt that the offender has engaged in behaviour that caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to any person” and if the court decides “…the order will help in preventing the offender from engaging in such behaviour.” However, it has been argued that if facilities such as public toilets, or bins are not readily available, charges related to anti-social behaviour or public order are often dropped (Gardener and Anderson, 2005:230).

Finally, within his research Bradley (1998) found that “research into public expectations of policing in the UK has previously highlighted a strong preference for a highly visible police presence” (cited in What Works for Crime Reduction, 2018a). This helps to improve public confidence in the police. Conversely, this is only
effective in reducing crime and disorder if visible police patrols cover popular crime hotspots.

**Gloucestershire:**

This project concerns Gloucestershire and its NTE. As a county, Gloucestershire encompasses one city and 33 towns and has an estimated total population of 623,129. 128,488 people were considered to reside in Gloucester, compared to 117,530 in Cheltenham, with the remaining numbers located in the Cotswolds, the Forest of Dean, Stroud and Tewkesbury (InformGloucestershire, 2016:1). Gloucestershire is home to the University of Gloucestershire which holds three campuses in Cheltenham and one in Gloucester. In 2016 it was recorded that the total number of undergraduate students studying at the University of Gloucestershire was 6,170 (WhatUni, 2016). For the purpose of this project, the two locations to be focused upon in Gloucestershire are Gloucester and Cheltenham. These two areas have been scaled and chosen as they have the largest NTE activity across the county.

**Crime and Disorder Statistics**

To obtain an idea of the main issues of concern in both Gloucester and Cheltenham, statistics from Police.uk have been examined. It is worth acknowledging that these statistics cover both the DTE and NTE – however, they give an indication of common offences across the county. From the period of March 2017 – February 2018, anti-social behaviour was the highest recorded crime type across Gloucester city centre (37.6%). This was followed by violence and sexual offences (19%), and
shoplifting (13.5%) (Police.uk, 2018a). Similarly, for Cheltenham town centre anti-social behaviour was also recorded as being the most popular crime type, with 1665 incidents being recorded during this time period (45.2%). Again, this is followed by violence and sexual offences (16%) and shoplifting (11%) (Police.uk, 2018b).

Reports of public order offences were higher in Gloucester city centre than that in Cheltenham. However, there were more reports of criminal damage and arson in Cheltenham town centre (227) compared to in Gloucester (217). Drugs as a crime type were both recorded as being quite low in both Cheltenham town centre (1.2%) and Gloucester city centre (1.6%) during this time period.

Additional research conducted by Martin and Hobson (2017:8) in Cheltenham found that amongst the major areas of concern relating to licensing practice included the sale of exceptionally cheap alcohol, the sale of significant amounts of high strength alcohol, and inadequate measures to ensure no sales are made to underage drinkers. “13 out of 19 people interviewed said alcohol-related behaviours were driving antisocial behaviour” (Martin and Hobson, 2017:8). This evidence supports the statistics explained above.

Cheltenham

Cheltenham is a regency spa town, located on the edge of the Cotswolds. It hosts a range of cultural events and activities such as the Cheltenham Literature, Jazz, Music and Science Festivals; and is also home to the Cheltenham Racecourse, famous for the annual Festival Week every March. Cheltenham possesses a range of night-time entertainment and leisure pursuits including various restaurants, bars and clubs, alongside a Cineworld cinema, Everyman Theatre, Hollywood Bowl and
Mini Golf which all thrive during the night-time economy. Although open to all, the key users of the Cheltenham night-time economy during weekdays continue to be students; whereas weekends tend to attract residents and tourists.

**Gloucester**

Gloucester is a city and district located in Gloucestershire. It is home to Gloucester Cathedral, Gloucester historic docks, and music and entertainment venue - the Guildhall. Gloucester also has a cinema, bars and an art gallery within its City. The University of Gloucestershire has one campus in the City; however, the student population living in Gloucester is significantly lower to that in Cheltenham.

**Gloucestershire Constabulary**

Gloucestershire Constabulary cover and protect the area and place a particular focus on neighbourhood policing (GloucestershirePolice, 2017). Each district has their own neighbourhood policing teams, overlooked by Inspectors. Cheltenham is currently divided into 14 distinct neighbourhood policing teams, whereas Gloucester is split into 12. These teams are made up of PCSOs, PCs and Sergeants.

Although the concept of community policing has grown in strength over subsequent years, it has recently become restricted due to financial cuts to the UK police force. An announcement towards the end of 2017 declared that there would be no further increase in national funding from the Government in regard to policing. In their report, Johnson and Politowski (2016:20) noted that reductions in the police workforce totalled 37,400 from March 2010 to March 2015; averaging to a loss of 7,480 police members per year in the UK. This steady decline of police personnel is
consistent across the entire workforce; affecting both designated officers, police staff and police officers. Continuing budget cuts and freezes previous to this have resulted in a decrease of just over 6% of police officers from March 2015 to March 2017 in Gloucestershire. This is the second largest loss across the UK, with Gwent having just over an 8% loss (102 officers) (Home Office, 2016:9-10). The Police and Crime Committee (2016:6) contended “following the introduction of 24hour licensing, there has been a ‘pushback’ of demand, meaning that the police are in demand for a longer period, later into the night.” Not only are resources stretched per county, but on certain occasions extra resources may be required from other districts. This can have a knock-on effect across multiple geographical areas.

As a result, the Government has given permission to local Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) to increase local policing taxation costs. Gloucestershire PCC (2017c) stated that “the Constabulary’s budget has been cut by around £32m in the last seven years” and continues to be one of the lowest funded forces across the UK. Therefore, in February 2018 it was unanimously decided that a 5.6% increase in the Police precept is necessary. “Taking into account rising inflation and the pay increase already agreed by the Government, it will give the Constabulary an extra £1.7m to invest” (Gloucestershire PCC, 2018a). This decision was concluded using an online public survey and various discussions with Gloucestershire County Council’s Police and Crime Panel. Gloucestershire’s PCC Martin Surl stated:

“I have felt for some time that neighbourhood policing has been allowed to slide down the list of police priorities. And whilst there may be perfectly understandable reasons for that, in holding the Constabulary to account, I
have always stressed the need for strong links with our communities”  
(Gloucestershire OPCC, 2018a).

**OPCC – ‘Safer Days and Nights for All’**

Gloucestershire’s PCC has six Police and Crime Plan priorities. The key priority and focus related to this project is ‘*Safer Days and Nights for All*’. The requirements of this priority include better management of the NTE in Gloucestershire – alongside a reduction of alcohol-related crime, disorder and fear. In conjunction is the wish to widen the appeal of the night-time economy to a range of different individuals.

“We want nights that offer a variety of entertainment to a wide range and mix of people that does not rely on excess alcohol consumption and will also encourage people with disabilities to take part” (Gloucestershire PCC, 2017a). Laycock (2017:530) argues that if a city has agreed upon a 24-hour operation, inevitably it will bring a heightened risk of violence, vandalism and street urination with competitive deals from various bars and clubs. Therefore, it must be equipped with a plan of action and a number of preventative measures. A range of initiatives have been deployed in Gloucester, Cheltenham and the surrounding areas to tackle these problems, and to meet the requirements of the ‘*Safer Days and Nights for All*’ priority. This is in support of an enhanced emphasis on multi-agency working within the NTE. As a result of this, it was noted in the Police and Crime Plan Delivery Plans (Gloucestershire PCC 2017b:32) that Gloucestershire county has “...lower levels of night-time economy related violent crime compared to existing levels and compared to most similar forces.”
**Late Night Levy**

One of the most prominent regulatory economic powers in the NTE is the Late Night Levy. “The Late Night Levy is a discretionary power which Local Councils in England and Wales can use to charge licensed premises opening late at night a levy (or tax) to cover costs associated with managing the late night economy” (CAMRA, 2017). These taxes were considered a positive aspect to introduce to contribute to the additional funding of the police, licensing and local authorities, and were charged to premises operating between midnight and 6:00am. The Late Night Levy originally became available nationwide in October 2012; however it was not introduced into Cheltenham until April 2014. Adopted under the ‘Safer Days and Nights for All’ priority, it is believed the levy was supportive as Cheltenham has one of the most active night-time economies in the region (Gloucestershire PCC, 2017).

The Levy supported and funded a series of projects in and around Cheltenham including body-worn cameras and the management and running of particular crime reduction schemes. In March 2017 the Levy was removed from Cheltenham. The British Beer and Pub Association noted that the levy had many flaws; amongst those was the fact that only 30% of the Levy revenue was allocated to local councils, with the other 70% to the police. In effect, many businesses did not experience direct benefits as the police funds were spent in other areas of jurisdiction. Additionally, they argued that many traditional public houses which provided a responsible drinking environment were often punished as they closed earlier to avoid the Levy (BBPA, 2017:3).
Business Improvement District (BID)

As a replacement to the Late Night Levy, BID’s were introduced to provide similar services and funding. The Department for Communities and Local Government (2014) describe a BID as “…a defined area in which a levy is charged on all business rate payers in addition to the business rates bill. This levy is used to develop projects which will benefit businesses in the local area.” BIDs are voted in democratically. If the majority of businesses agree to its implementation everyone must pay the levy. Unlike the Late Night Levy, BID’s support the wants and needs of businesses who run both in the DTE and NTE – creating a larger pool of funds. Also, the money raised is managed by the businesses themselves, thus, eradicating the issue of it being spent unfairly. Examples of services this levy funds include cleaning streets, providing security, and streetscape enhancements. Cheltenham introduced the BID in August 2016, and it will now be in operation until 2021 – a review for renewal will then go ahead if appropriate (CheltenhamBID, 2017a). In the business plan for 2016-2021, the key project proposals for Cheltenham are marketing and promotion of businesses, business support, increased town centre events, greater parking and accessibility and public realm improvements (CheltenhamBID, 2017b). Gloucester also introduced their BID during Summer 2017. Their key action points across the city include improved safety and security, street cleanliness, improvements to the physical and environmental environment, area marketing and promotion, supporting and promoting business owners, business cost reduction, and increased networking opportunities (GloucesterBID, 2017).
Purple Flag

In November 2016, Cheltenham received Purple Flag status. This has been shortly followed by Gloucester who also achieved the accreditation in June 2018. Purple Flag status is a UK based accreditation supported and ran by the Association of Town and City Management (ATCM); a not-for-profit organisation that has an aim of ensuring towns and cities reach their full potential. Purple Flag is given to towns and cities that “…surpass the standards of excellence in managing the evening and night time economy” (ATCM, 2017a). Cheltenham Borough Council (2017) exclaimed that this award demonstrates “…a vibrant and diverse mix of dining, entertainment and culture while promoting the safety and well-being of visitors and local residents” – especially during the hours of 6:00pm and 6:00am. To achieve this reward, an inter-agency NTE strategy was formed. It is noted that “the strategy now provides a reference point for all partner agencies when implementing their own initiatives in matters relating to the evening economy, ensuring a consistent and continuing effect on the social, economic and environmental well-being of Cheltenham…” (ATCM, 2017b). At the end of January 2018, it was announced that Cheltenham had retained their Purple Flag status. The NTE coordinator for Cheltenham commented: “this would not be possible without the commitment of statutory bodies; such as the Police and the Council, the licensed and hospitality trade, the University of Gloucestershire Students’ Union and voluntary groups such as the Street Pastors and Cheltenham Guardians” (Marketing Cheltenham, 2018).
Initiatives Operating in Gloucestershire’s NTE

The crime reduction initiatives operating across Gloucester and Cheltenham’s NTEs are all primarily concerned with increasing safety and reducing crime and associated behaviour. However, their specific aims and targets slightly differ according to their purpose.

For purpose of this research on Gloucestershire’s NTE, the schemes to be examined within this project that are active in Cheltenham are Cheltenham Safe (Night Safe), Cheltenham Guardians, Student Community Patrol, and Pittville Patrol. For Gloucester’s NTE, the initiatives to be explored are Gloucester City Safe, and Gloucester Night Safe. Finally, #AskAngela and the Street Pastors are another two schemes operating in both areas that will also be studied.

Table 1 - Operational crime reduction initiatives and/or schemes in Gloucestershire’s NTE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scheme/Initiative</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cheltenham Safe (Night Safe)</td>
<td>A not-for-profit Business Crime Reduction Partnership (BCRP) that works in liaison with several partners with the aim of gathering and sharing intelligence across local businesses and the police to reduce crime and disorder in Cheltenham.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheltenham Guardians</td>
<td>The Guardians focus their efforts on welfare, safeguarding and the India Protocol which specifically focuses upon lone-female safeguarding in Cheltenham’s NTE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Community Patrol</td>
<td>A scheme run by the University of Gloucestershire with the aim of supporting students and members of the public during the NTE in Cheltenham town centre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittville Patrol</td>
<td>A scheme run by the University of Gloucestershire with the aim of supporting students and members of the public during the NTE in the Pittville area of Cheltenham.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester City Safe</td>
<td>A not-for-profit BCRP with the aim of gathering and sharing intelligence across local businesses and the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheme</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester Night Safe</td>
<td>A multi-agency based scheme with the aim of addressing any concerns or issues presented in the NTE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#AskAngela</td>
<td>An initiative to assist anyone who feels uncomfortable or threatened in a bar, club or pub.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street Pastors</td>
<td>A scheme popularly found across the UK. Their aim is to aid and support vulnerable people during the NTE.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Full descriptions of all of these schemes are presented and explained in Appendix A.

**Conclusion:**

The growth and development of the NTE owe some of its success to the regeneration of towns and cities after the decline and fragmentation of the city centre. It has helped to bring people and investment to previously desolated areas and increased the economy greatly by offering a large number of new jobs, leisure for people to enjoy, and new ventures to explore.

“Licensed premises provide local employment, and economic investment and regeneration. However, these environments are associated with intense drinking and higher-levels of acute alcohol-related harm, including aggression, violence and antisocial behaviour”


Planning the use of a town centre at night requires a detailed understanding of supply, demand, environmental characteristics, cultural resources and behaviours that can occur in such locations. As a result, Kolind et al. (2016:354) explains that whilst the financial success of the NTE has stimulated further demand for its deregulation, it continues to be heavily influenced by concerns for tighter
regulation, social control and zoning due to moral panics surrounding violence and disorder. Drunkenness is tolerated as a primary activity in the NTE, with alcohol consumption financing the majority of night-life venues and activity (Bellis and Hughes, 2011:542). Therefore, although the NTE provides a number of positive factors, it “...can also include risks and costs for public health including: crime and fear of crime, ambulance, accident and emergency and hospital costs, street cleaning around licensed premises and late-night fast-food takeaways, sale of alcohol to underage or intoxicated persons, and noise and light pollution” (Public Health England, 2016:75).

Multi-agency working and partnerships have become a major force in preventing and sustaining disorder and crime reduction work, alongside inventing initiatives to help local businesses and residents. The redevelopment of these strategies by practitioners and those alike help to produce higher quality evaluation designs that will further advance crime prevention knowledge and practice (Welsh and Farrington, 2012:5). As explained, the development of the What Works for Crime Reduction centre has sought to synthesise this evidence on interventions and operational practices across the UK, to help with local prioritisation and implementation decisions (Laycock and Mallender, 2015:657). Thus, figuring out what works, where and for whom. This evidence has been utilised to implement a series of crime reduction and prevention methods in NTE’s across the UK. Amongst these include environmental design techniques, and situational crime prevention measures such as improving CCTV coverage, or swapping glasses for plastic cups in licensed venues (Alliance Against Crime, 2010:31).
From the evidence portrayed, it is clear to see there is a lot of work being conducted across Gloucestershire to tackle such issues explained in the NTE. Purple Flag has been accredited to both Cheltenham and Gloucester, thus illustrating both areas are safe to visit and enjoy. However, from the crime and disorder statistics gathered, evidence suggests there are still issues surrounding anti-social behaviour, violence and sexual offences and shoplifting in Gloucester and Cheltenham. Whether this is due to the impact of police resource constraint and budget cuts is questionable. Similarly, how effective these crime reduction schemes are is open to debate. Yet the recent investment in neighbourhood policing in Gloucestershire conveys optimism to tackle these problems. To get a clearer understanding of the current issues surrounding crime and associated disorder, safety, policing, and the operational crime reduction initiatives across Gloucestershire, the next section will explore the methodology for this research.
METHODOLOGY

Introduction:

The aim of this research project is to identify crimes and related issues that are of concern to those using and working within the night-time economy in Cheltenham and Gloucester. Another intention of this project is to examine the ways in which the police and other key stakeholders have used initiatives and interventions to tackle particular issues in the NTE. By exploring both of these factors, requirements and lessons of best practice will emerge to help inform potential future initiatives. Therefore, the aim of the data collection for this project was to obtain perspectives, opinions and views on issues of crime and associated disorder, fear, safety, and reduction initiatives that have relevance to the NTE. To obtain this multi-dimensional understanding, this project employed a mixed methods approach. The research involved three participant groups: the general public, business representatives, and key stakeholders. The research was conducted between November 2017 and January 2018.

Philosophy of Research:

The most appropriate paradigm to adopt to undertake this project is constructionism, with a relativist ontology. Constructionism aims to uncover meaning and in-depth understandings of social reality. Crotty (1998:42) defines it as “...the view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world”. Epistemologically, this forms how we
know what we know. Humans interpret all aspects of their social world – it has no inherent structure (Denscombe, 2010:119). Therefore, even if phenomena have latent universal meaning, we adopt, create and embed our own meanings too depending on factors such as culture, age and gender. An additional strand of constructionism that will be utilised in this project is social constructionism. Social constructionism revolves around the idea that we are born into a world already full of collective meaning. However, we invest more significance and emotion into particular concepts we care more about. Crotty (1998:9) argued that in this case, we often encounter phenomenon and react to it like our ancestors have done previously. Therefore, knowledge and reality are constructed through social interactions and prominent discourse. By continuously building knowledge and sharing different types of information, the social world can inform, educate and even improve circumstances for multiple communities across the world.

The theoretical perspective to be adopted will be the phenomenology sub-category of interpretivism. Generally, interpretivism argues that research should seek sense of the social world to build in-depth knowledge. Hence, “the knowledge we have about reality is something that is produced, rather than being discovered. Only through interpreting the world do we come to know anything about it” (Denscombe, 2010:119). However, phenomenology focuses more specifically into people’s subjective experiences and interpretations of the world. Therefore considering “…how individuals make sense of the world around them…” (Bryman, 2012:13). It is evident to see how this supports social constructionism. Through interactions between people, “…habitual repetition can be reproduced without
much effort…” (Walker, 2015:37). This store of knowledge is collated for future generations to build upon and innovate through future experiences and social interaction.

This paradigm supports the project aims in a series of ways. Firstly, gaining perceptions from different members of the community including both the public and key stakeholders has allowed for different perspectives and views to be voiced and compared in this project. These views and opinions have been built through interpretation and meaning; signifying that answers are not organised within the parameters of ‘true’ or ‘false’ but instead regarded as a reflection of what each individual believes is important. This echoes Sarantakos’ assumption that constructionism supports no objective reality, nor absolute truths (2013:38). These reflections are built from cultural normalities, and their own individual previous experiences – whether that be in a work environment, or home setting. Secondly, constructionists and social constructionists alike would argue that collective care and raised concern is a result of problem-solving and advancing social interaction. This is something that is central to community development and resolving issues through multi-agency working. If a large amount of time and effort is invested in solving a problem or specific crime and understanding the underlying issues, more meaning is attached by the agent. Even if individuals are part of the same institution or group, they may still have different perspectives on how to improve relations and scenarios – all of which are of value to this research. This is due to the fact that there is no single truth: “…each one’s way of making sense of the world is as valid and worthy of respect as any other…” (Crotty, 1998:58). Obtaining all these
different perspectives can greatly strengthen the research and final outcome; thus, fulfil the final research aim – especially in terms of finding out what works, where, and for whom.

**Mixed Methods Research:**

This project is about establishing what has been found to work in this environment. To do this, both understanding of how crime and disorder is affecting a community and of what is being done to address this is required.

In this instance, the groups identified as holding a stake in this were the public, businesses and key stakeholders. However, because of their different degrees of knowledge of and involvement in this area, there is not one most suitable way of gaining their views. Therefore, the insight required can be drawn from quantitative and qualitative approaches.

The public and the businesses were best placed to provide insight on safety, crimes and related issues that are of concern to those using and working within the NTE in Gloucestershire. Achieving insight on a small number of quantifiable variables from a large population is best achieved through a quantitative survey. As a method, questionnaires are the most suitable because “…data can be collected from many people at relatively low cost and, depending on the survey design, relatively quickly” (Bachman and Schutt, 2016). This permits more responses from a larger percentage of the population so that more accurate generalisations can be made. However, limitations of this data collection method include the fact that “…[respondents] motivations may lead to a reluctance to answer honestly, and their limited
knowledge may lead to a misunderstanding or lack of information for answering the question(s)” (Cargan, 2007:117). Thus, the information obtained could be misinterpreted and incomplete.

Key stakeholders, such as licensees, police representatives and members from local crime reduction schemes were best place to provide insight on initiatives, interventions and strategies to tackle these issues. Crowther (2007:117) recognises how responses from questionnaire and survey style research is “…not particularly good at capturing the subjective experience of respondents.” Therefore, gaining this degree of detail is best achieved through qualitative in-depth interviews structured around the key areas of inquiry. Interviews allow for “…a different form of input from the person being interviewed, actively encouraging participants to share their experiences on issues which are important to them which may not have been on the radar of the interviewers” (Wincup, 2017:98). This is especially true of those in a semi-structured format as certain answers can be probed further, whilst the data can still be compared, contrasted and coded into statistical data (Grix, 2010:128). However, they are time-consuming to complete and require more effort and resources to organise.

Traditionally, academics have explored concepts of crime and associated behaviour solely through quantitative methods. However, more recently it has been argued that the combination of two different types of data used within the same project provides a greater understanding and depth compared to either one alone (Wincup, 2017:11). This is due to the fact that qualitative studies can contribute to an understanding of the context in which crime and associated disorder occurs through
providing rich and detailed information to flesh out the bare skeleton provided by quantitative data (Coleman and Moynihan, 1996:133). “If the data gathered using the different methods offer similar conclusions, criminologists can be more confident that the conclusions offered are valid in the sense that they are plausible and credible” (Wincup, 2017:11). As a result, this project employs a mixed methods approach.

The term ‘mixed methods research’ encompasses a large spectrum of techniques and is broadly defined as “…an approach to knowledge (theory and practice) that attempts to consider multiple viewpoints, perspectives, positions, and standpoints…” (Johnson et al., 2007:113). For this project, mixed methods research applies directly to the methodology - combining different types of research methods within a single project “it is not a matter of particular methods being intrinsically ‘good’ or ‘bad’; it is a matter of how useful they are in terms of the specific issue that is being investigated” (Denscombe, 2014:173).

Quantitative and qualitative data can be drawn together to obtain the interpretations and understandings required. This is advantageous as Creswell and Clark (2017:14) argue that “quantitative research is weak in understanding the context… [Whereas] qualitative research is seen as deficient because of the personal interpretations made by the researcher…” However, some researchers have found that “…findings from different methods do not corroborate one another” (Denscombe, 2014:187). This is something to treat with caution. However, to overcome this, I have used an explanatory sequential mixed method design. By first obtaining results from the quantitative research, qualitative methods have been
used to help explain the quantitative results in more depth (Creswell, 2014:6). Although this can take a greater amount of time to complete, it is necessary to resolve discrepancies and obtain the results needed for this study. It has also helped to address and answer multiple questions at different levels; and the potential is there for academics in the future to produce multiple written publications from this single study (Creswell and Clark, 2017:15). Below will explore each audience and their role in obtaining the research.

The General Public

A self-administered questionnaire containing predominately closed questionnaires was designed and made available online using Google Forms platform. A copy of this is displayed in Appendix B. Members of the public were invited to complete this short questionnaire in order to gain their perceptions on crime, anti-social behaviour, safety, fear and their awareness of active crime reduction schemes and initiatives.

Respondents for this survey were found using a convenience sampling technique. This convenience data “…is simply available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility” (Bryman, 2012:201). The use of Google Forms to create an online survey was agreed to be the best method for obtaining these results as it is easy to use and accessible to every person who has access to a mobile phone, or a computer. Members of the public were approached in shopping districts and across the town centres of both cities and invited to undertake the online questionnaire. Additionally, the questionnaire was advertised on various social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Linkedin, for those who have ever visited either Cheltenham
and/or Gloucester to cast their views. These two means of participant recruitment helped ensure that responses were obtained from a wider population.

Amongst a series of closed questions, a Likert scale was used within this questionnaire as a captured measurement of “…attitudes, perceptions, positions, feelings, thoughts, or points of view of research participants” (Salkind, 2010:629). This type of scale was also coded to help with analysis. However, critics argue that the Likert scale only gives participants limited answering options and the space between each choice is not equidistant.

**Businesses**

Similarly, a second Google Forms survey was circulated to businesses (including bars, clubs, eateries and other leisure and entertainment companies) in Cheltenham town centre and Gloucester city centre. This is displayed in Appendix C. The aim of this survey was to gain understanding of issues concerning the businesses, along with their views on police presence, their awareness of the reduction schemes and the effectiveness they believe they hold. Some of these businesses also had links to particular crime reduction schemes in Gloucestershire – thus provided insight in to how these operate.

To obtain respondents for these questionnaires, purposive and snowballing techniques were used. Davis *et al.,* (2011:72) states these “…are used to focus on specific groups or categories and select units on predefined characteristics.” Researchers visited local businesses and invited them to complete the survey and circulated the Google Forms link via social media platforms. In addition, the survey
was sent in an attachment via email to a number of businesses. One of the major advantages of getting business representatives to fill in these surveys in person allows for rapport to be built between the participant and the researcher so that more detailed information can be obtained – this is especially relevant when discussing personal or sensitive topics as presented in this research project. On the other hand, email surveys “...may help the respondent feel more at ease in answering sensitive questions since privacy is virtually assured” (Vito et al., 2008:138). However, some academics contest that email surveys often have a low response rate as most people will either forget or ignore such emails. Nevertheless, due to time constraint emailing the survey was considered to be supplementary in achieving a higher number of responses.

**Key Stakeholders**

The face-to-face semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders aimed to uncover recipients’ views on crime and related issues, alongside giving an insider perspective on how particular crime reduction initiatives operate and their impact on the community. A purposive sampling technique was used to obtain the sample for this group. A list of potential interview participants had been attained from the Gloucestershire Police Liaison and Development Officer at the Police and Crime Commissioner’s office. However, as the data was being collected, an accumulation of new information about other important and involved individuals emerged – giving way to a snowball sample (Babbie, 2012:208). A copy of the interview transcript can be found in Appendix D.
Semi-structured interviews place great “...emphasis upon cooperation with research subjects and an emphasis upon the native’s perspective...” which is of great importance to social scientists (Hughes, 2002:210). Furthermore, conducting them face-to-face allows the researcher to make note not just of conversation, but also non-verbal communication techniques such as body language, facial expressions and gestures. This enriches the data with extra components to add specific detail. However, “critics of this type of research point out that studies are usually small-scale and not generalizable beyond the case researched” (Grix, 2010:121). This is a valid point to raise, as only a small minority of the population would have been sampled for interviews. Nevertheless, for my project they prevailed as the most suitable method as the research is only based upon Gloucestershire – rather than nationwide. Likewise, the data obtained will be worth the time and effort at cost.

**Analysis:**

Two types of data analysis were utilised to examine the multiple data sets.

Similar analysis techniques were used on the data obtained from the public and business surveys as the results were quantitative. The close-ended answers from each survey were coded into a numerical format required for input on to IBM SPSS Software. Pallant (2016:12) notes how the level of measurement of the variable can differ. For example, there may be nominal, ordinal or continuous scales. The majority of the scales used in this research were nominal – this is because the “...variables are categorised, rather than measured in the strict sense” (Brace *et al.*, 2016:3). Brace *et al.*, (2016:3) further explains nominal data has no intrinsic ranking – thus has limited use as it can only be counted or can measure frequency. However, this was suitable
as the research is focused upon obtaining views and opinions based on topics that have been placed into categories to be quantitatively measured. For example, types of crime or associated behaviour were categorised for members of the public to chose from as to which they believed was the biggest problem in the NTE. However, questions with a Likert scale style answer were ordinal. Ordinal scales convey order, indicating “...that one value is greater than or less than another, so differences between ranks do not have meaning” (Privitera, 2013:96). The value of these variables represented categories with intrinsic ranking, thus was most suitable.

Once all the data had been inputted into IBM SPSS, statistics were generated to show frequencies and percentages, alongside descriptive statistics and multiple response tables to gain insight into the relationships between different variables and answers from respondents. The remaining open-ended answer responses left on the surveys were collated and organised into common themes.

In regard to the interview data, for it to be analysed it first needed to be transcribed in full. Thematic analysis was then chosen to be the most appropriate and suitable method to extract important and key themes from the dataset. Braun and Clarke (2006:79) define thematic analysis as “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail.” This process is not simple, nor systematic but instead often moves back and forth between stages to rethink certain aspects and highlight additional themes (King and Horrocks, 2010:152). To begin this type of analysis, the researcher must be aware of preliminary themes presented in the dataset. These were noted throughout the literature review, background knowledge and the
questionnaire results obtained before the interviews. Strauss (1987) also argued that particular terms or codes may also come from sociologically constructed codes or invivo codes used by those in the field. Many academics have noted that these ‘themes’ in the transcription are a product of a pattern of repetition; while “…an issue raised just once (however powerfully) should not be called a theme, although it may still play a part in the analysis” (King and Horrocks, 2010:149). Thematic analysis does require “…more involvement and interpretation from the researcher” (Guest et al., 2011:10). Therefore, a number of critics have argued that results can be misinterpreted and encompass problems of “…latent content, data fragmentation and de-contextualisation (Longhurst et al., 2008:93). Elements of this data are extracted, understood and prioritised at the researcher’s discretion. Therefore, sections of data can be fragmented and misinterpreted – resulting in subjective findings (Smith and Firth, 2011:54). However, Ritchie and Lewis (2003:237) argue that this can be overcome by ensuring extraction of data is clear, labelling is precise and analysis is thorough. This reviewing, refining and defining stage is a crucial phase during the thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006:93). Once this is complete, a detailed analysis of each theme took place to explain and link concepts in relation to the main aims and objectives of the research project.

**Additional Factors:**

**Ethical Considerations**

A number of ethical considerations arose during the project’s design. As a result, appropriate steps have been taken inlight of these respects. It is important to acknowledge that previous experiences of crime and safety may be a sensitive topic
for some – especially regarding members of the public, and business members. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that securing informed consent from participants, and ensuring confidentiality and anonymity remain a top priority. The names of all those who took part in the study have been removed so that participants cannot be identified. However, the participant’s group (i.e. ‘member of the public’, or ‘business questionnaire respondent’) has been included so that the reader can grasp greater understanding. Similarly, the names of key stakeholders have not been included; however, their job titles have been retained, but have been appropriately edited to preserve anonymity where necessary. This is beneficial to the research to uncover relationships and explain links. Additionally, Wincup (2017:49) noted that within any research project concerns surrounding harm, consent, deception, privacy and confidentiality are important to consider and address. Therefore, all participants ahead of being asked whether they consent to participating in the study were told what the research is about, who is funding it, why it is being undertaken, why they have been invited to take part, how the data will be recorded and stored, the extent to which it will remain confidential, and the risks and benefits of the study.
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction:

This chapter aims to explore the results and findings of the research obtained for this project. Alongside these findings is thematic discussion of the topics and concepts identified by public, business and stakeholder respondents. This will discuss similarities and differences, alongside previous research and evidence found throughout the literature review. Potential recommendations and improvements have also been suggested within this chapter as a result of the combined findings.

Description of Data Collected:

Public Surveys

The survey received a total of 459 completed responses. 71% of those who completed the questionnaire were between the ages of 18-24, however, the remaining 29% represented all other age groups listed. More respondents who completed the questionnaire chose to answer the questions related to Cheltenham’s NTE (77%) compared to that of Gloucester’s (23%).

Cheltenham:

When asked ‘how often do you visit Cheltenham town centre between the hours of 6pm – 6am?’ 36% chose the ‘several times a week’ box. This was followed by 23% who said, ‘once a week’, and 22% choosing ‘less often’. The least popular response to this question was ‘once a fortnight’. The most popular answer as to the main reason why they visit the town centre during these hours was for a ‘bar/pub/club’
at 43% of responses. 23% chose the ‘food and/or eating out’ option, and 16% said it was employment related. The least popular answer to this question was ‘shopping’ – of which only two people chose. This may be due to the fact that most shops in Cheltenham town centre either close at 6:00pm, or before.

Gloucester:

When asked ‘how often do you visit Gloucester town centre between the hours of 6pm – 6am?’ most respondents (39%) chose the ‘less often’ option box. This was followed by 20% of respondents who said, ‘once a fortnight’, and 15% who chose ‘once a week’. The main reason for those visiting the town centre during these hours was also for the ‘bar/pub/club’ option at 25% of respondents. Other popular answers included ‘food and/or eating out’ (21%) and ‘entertainment facilities’ such as bowling or cinema at 18%. Again, only a small percentage chose the ‘shopping’ option even though Gloucester Quays outlet is a popular shopping destination in Gloucestershire, and open until 8:00pm weekdays (Gloucester Quays, 2018).

Business Surveys:

The business survey gained 31 responses from business representatives from either Gloucester and/or Cheltenham. Out of the 31 participants, 19 respondents chose to answer questions about Cheltenham’s NTE, whereas the remaining 12 answered for Gloucester’s NTE.

Key Stakeholders:

Twelve interviews were conducted with key stakeholders. Eight participants had experience of Cheltenham’s NTE, and two had experience of Gloucester’s NTE. The
remaining two participants had experience of both NTE’s and so were able to compare similarities and differences between various questions. A suitably anonymised table of interview participants and their roles is displayed in Appendix E.

**CRIME AND SAFETY AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE’S NTE**

**Public Surveys:**

To obtain perspectives on safety, participants were asked ‘on a scale of 1-5, how safe did you feel in Cheltenham [or] Gloucester town centre? [1 being very unsafe and 5 being very safe]’. Collectively between the two towns, the most popular response from participants was to choose ‘4’ – indicating they felt safe. This option was selected by 43.5% of respondents. The second most popular was ‘5’, with 25.5% of votes. Only six participants chose the option in that they felt very unsafe in their retrospectively chosen location.
To analyse further, the results obtained for each location have been separated. For Cheltenham, ‘4’ was the most popular option chosen with 175/353 respondents stating they felt safe. Similarly for Gloucester, ‘4’ was also the most popular with 33/105 respondents choosing that option. However, as you can see from the bar charts below, there is a greater percentage of respondents who reported low feelings of safety in Gloucester than in Cheltenham. Option ‘3’ was chosen 29 times, and option ‘2’ chosen 19 times for Gloucester. On the contrary, for Cheltenham 19% (67 participants) chose option ‘3’, and ‘2’ was chosen by 12 people.
Figure 2 - Bar chart illustrating how safe members of the public felt during their last visit to Cheltenham town centre

On a scale of 1-5, how safe did you feel in Cheltenham town centre? [1 being very unsafe, and 5 being very safe]

Figure 3 - Bar chart illustrating how safe members of the public felt during their last visit to Gloucester city centre

On a scale of 1-5, how safe did you feel in Gloucester town centre? [1 being very unsafe, and 5 being very safe]
**Business Surveys:**

Similarly, all respondents for the business survey were also asked ‘on a scale of 1-5, how safe do you feel working in Gloucester/Cheltenham centre during the hours of 6pm – 6am? [1 being very unsafe, and 5 being very safe].’

For the Cheltenham respondents, eight of them chose ‘4’ on the Likert scale, indicating they felt safe in Cheltenham town centre. This was followed by seven respondents who chose ‘5’, illustrating they feel very safe. Only two respondents chose ‘2’ on the Likert scale – with the remaining two respondents choosing either ‘3’ or ‘1’, with feelings of either indifference or very unsafe. The pie chart below shows the percentage breakdown.

*Figure 4 - Pie chart illustrating how safe business representatives feel whilst working in Cheltenham town centre during 6:00pm - 6:00am*
The majority of respondents representing Gloucester businesses scored a ‘4’ on safety – illustrating that five respondents felt safe during the hours of 6pm and 6am in Gloucester city centre. The next popular response was ‘5’ (very safe) with seven respondents choosing this option. The remaining four respondents scored either a ‘2’ or ‘3’ on the Likert scale in terms of safety; showcasing that they feel either unsafe or indifferent. No respondents chose option ‘1’ (feeling very unsafe).

*Figure 5 - Pie chart illustrating how safe business representatives feel whilst working in Gloucester city centre during 6:00pm - 6:00am*
Key Stakeholder Interviews:

Out of the 12 respondents interviewed, the general consensus was that both Cheltenham and Gloucester were safe places to visit during the hours of 6pm and 6am.

When asked about Cheltenham town centre, six of the ten respondents were confident in commenting that it was a safe place to be during the evenings and night-time. Three stakeholders followed this comment with the explanation that Purple Flag would not have been awarded to the town if it was not safe during the evening and night-time hours. The remaining four respondents did not say it was unsafe, but instead used additional adjectives to explain such as: “I think it is relatively safe” [I4], “I think it depends on kind of different nights... generally I would like to think it is safe” [I7], and “I do to a point...” [I11]. I10’s answer did not contain a ‘yes’ or ‘no’, but instead said it relied on multiple factors such as being in a larger group of people or the time of year.

Shifting the focus to Gloucester, fewer respondents appeared to be enthusiastic about its safety during the evenings and night-time. Although the four respondents who had experience of Gloucester’s NTE commented that it was safe, their tone was tentative. Also, the responses from the two interviewees who had experience of both NTE’s appeared to be unsure of their answer. They also made comments such as “Gloucester is a safe place to be as long as you stick to the main sort of circuit” [I8], and “…it’s a slightly different animal...” [I2].
A few respondents who were answering for Cheltenham and/or Gloucester recognised that there was often a caveat on safety during the evenings and night-time. They largely related this to the consumption of alcohol, and how it can distort normal behaviour. Examples of these comments include: “Obviously the later you get in the evening, the more drunk people get and the more potential there is for people to get into trouble” [I12], and “…wherever you have alcohol and a large number of people, you’re going to get issues” [I11].

**Feeling Safe:**

All respondents were probed to answer whether there was anything in particular that made them feel safe when visiting Cheltenham or Gloucester town centre during the NTE. The main theme to emerge from all of the public, business and key stakeholder data sets was heavy police and/or security presence. The business respondents in particular placed a heavy emphasis on the positive work of door staff either in or near their venues, alongside the relationship they have with the police and police presence.

Both the business and public participants highlighted that good lighting, well-lit streets and the presence of other people made them feel safe during the NTE in Gloucestershire. Examples of these quotes include “not being alone,” “knowing the customers as they’re regulars,” and the “community feel in Cheltenham.”

Good CCTV coverage and a wide variation of active crime reduction schemes were noted as positive safety measures across the county by a range of public and stakeholder respondents. As previously stated in the literature review, Ball et al.
(2012:255) found that previous attitude surveys show that these visible security measures make people feel safer and more comfortable in their environment. Thus, members of the public are less likely to be fearful of crime and feel reassured that somebody is watching. Key stakeholders in particular stated that these multi-agency partnerships during the NTE made Gloucestershire attractive. It was agreed that they work well at reducing problems and increasing safety as I1 explains

“...they’ve all got the same basic ideology in that they want the place safe...”

“...it’s amazing when you look into it actually how much is going on and how much is being done... I would be surprised if there’s any other towns or cities round here that are doing more than us” [I1].

“...you’ve got PCSO’s out, you’ve got Student Community Patrol. When they [students] leave the town centre, you’ve also got Pittville Patrol on the way up to Pittville site and obviously you’ve got the Night Safe scheme which we are a part of as well; which links all door staff. You’ve got PCSO’s, Neighbourhood Police Officers, CCTV up in command Alpha to Charlie – you’ve got loads of people on there and of course you’ve got the Night Pastors as well, and the Guardians on days where they go on...” [I7].

Even though stakeholders were confident in stating that Gloucestershire is a safe place to visit during the evenings and night-time, many explained this was due to their work towards achieving Purple Flag. Contrary, the public only addressed a couple of the schemes mentioned by I7 such as Cheltenham Guardians and the Street Pastors. This is important as it could illustrate the public’s lack of awareness of crime reduction schemes across the county.
Feeling Unsafe:

Similarly, all respondents were probed to answer whether there was anything in particular that made them feel unsafe when visiting Cheltenham or Gloucester town centre during the NTE. There was at least one comment from all respondent groups who stated that violence during the NTE was a concern. This is alongside the presence of intoxicated persons due to drug or alcohol consumption. For example, 4 business respondents made comments such as “drunk violence” and “people who have been out drinking.” 14 from the key stakeholder’s interviews noted that although they don’t go out during the NTE very often, they feel ominous towards it as there are “…more reports of incidents of violence, or incidents in the early hours of the morning…” However, the respondent acknowledges that this may not necessarily be an increase in crime and disorder but instead a trend in increased reporting patterns in the media.

Poor lighting and badly lit streets was a popular theme that ran throughout all responses. This also supports Hobbs’ (2003:44) research from the literature review, whereby he stated that humans approach darkness and night-time as a zone “…riddled with ambiguity.” Being unable to see clearly is an inherent apprehension as humans fear the unknown, or what cannot be seen.

Lack of police presence was another major factor of unease during the NTE for public and business respondents. The public and business respondents also noted themes such as gangs and groups of loud and intimidating people, and the homeless. Gloucester’s public survey participants noted there were a large number of “odd people” in the town centre which made them feel unsafe – these included
“strange people shouting in streets,” and “nasty people around.” Whereas a couple of Cheltenham respondents stated that in the past they have heard strangers saying misogynistic comments which have made them feel unsafe – this was in relation to Festival Week.

**MAIN ISSUES OF CONCERN DURING THE NTE**

**Public Surveys:**

To obtain insight for this topic, respondents were asked ‘from the following options, what type of crime or behaviour do you think is the biggest problem in Cheltenham town centre during the hours of 6:00pm – 6:00am?’ The given options were ‘anti-social behaviour’, ‘shoplifting and theft’, ‘violent offences’, ‘criminal damage’, or ‘drug offences’. There was also an ‘other’ option whereby respondents could add their own responses. Overwhelmingly across the two towns, anti-social behaviour was considered to be the biggest problem during the NTE.
Table 2 - Types of crime and/or behaviour respondents thought to be the biggest problem during the hours of
6:00pm - 6:00am across Gloucestershire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-social behaviour</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>64.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoplifting and theft</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent offences</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal damage</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug offences</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>98.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>System</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although anti-social behaviour was considered the biggest problem across Gloucestershire, the percentage as to which differed from Cheltenham respondents to Gloucester. For Cheltenham, 67.5% believed it was the biggest problem in the town centre during NTE hours; whereas only 52.4% respondents voted the same for in Gloucester. Criminal damage was also considered by participants to be more of an issue in Cheltenham compared to Gloucester. However, it appears that Gloucester respondents believe the town has a larger issue with drug offences compared to that of Cheltenham. This was similarly the case with shoplifting and theft too.
In the ‘other’ category on the survey, respondents across both data sets stated issues such as sexual assaults and related offences, homelessness, knife crime, and alcohol-related incidents such as the spiking of drinks and intimidating behaviour were all issues of concern during Gloucestershire’s NTE.

Respondents were then prompted to answer, ‘from the following options, what would you say the biggest cause of crime is in Cheltenham town centre during the same hours?’ The options to choose from were either ‘poverty’, ‘drugs’, ‘alcohol’, ‘unemployment’ or ‘too few police.’ Similarly, there was an ‘other’ option whereby respondents could raise other problems. Across the entire dataset – covering both
Cheltenham and Gloucester’s responses, the most popular response to this question was alcohol at 51.4%. Drugs and poverty were the second and third most commonly chosen causes of crime. This is shown in the table below.

Table 3 – Respondents views as to the biggest causes of crime during the hours of 6:00pm - 6:00am across Gloucestershire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid Poverty</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too few police</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>99.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing System</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Across the two surveys, other comments left referred to all of the above issues, a combination of two or more of these issues, and a lack of youth activities.

When exploring the difference in the answers to this question, it was discovered that although alcohol was considered the biggest cause of crime and associated disorder across Gloucestershire, it appeared to be more prevalent in Cheltenham. Among Cheltenham’s respondents, 56.8% stated alcohol was the biggest cause of crime in the town centre. Contrary, only 32% of Gloucester respondents chose the same answer. Instead, drugs scored higher for Gloucester respondents at 28.2%
compared to 11.9% for Cheltenham. The clustered bar chart below shows further differences across both locations.

*Figure 7 - Clustered bar chart illustrating what members of the public believe to be the biggest cause of crime in both Cheltenham and Gloucester between 6:00pm - 6:00am*

**Business surveys:**

**Cheltenham:**

Business respondents were asked ‘from the following options, what type of crime or behaviour is the biggest problem for your business in Cheltenham between 6:00pm and 6:00am?’ The given options were ‘anti-social behaviour’, ‘shoplifting and theft’, ‘violent offences’, ‘criminal damage’, ‘drug offences’, ‘these crimes do not cause a problem for my business’, and ‘I don’t know’. The most popular option
chosen was ‘anti-social behaviour’, alongside ‘drug offences’. However, none of the Cheltenham respondents chose the answer of ‘criminal damage’ for this question.

*Figure 8 – Bar chart illustrating the frequency of business representatives who chose what they believed to be the biggest problem for their business in Cheltenham during 6:00pm - 6:00am*

Respondents were then prompted to answer whether their business has been affected by any of the crimes mentioned in the previous question. Ten responses were obtained for this question – five were made in relation to alcohol consumption and violence. These include: “*drunk and irrational behaviour resulting in violence (physical and verbal),*” “*working in a bar, people’s reactions after drinking alcohol differ and often lead to one or more of the previous offences,*” “*violence, drugs, anti-social behaviour - fights between guys fuelled by alcohol/drugs,*” and “*fights that break out due to intoxication.*” Additionally, four
responses to this question were made in relation to the use of drugs. These include “part of current drinking culture is to take drugs while on a night out,” “drug use in toilets and behaviour affected by drugs,” and “there is a high level of drug taking in Cheltenham.”

To assess what business representatives believed to be the biggest causes of crime during the NTE in their given location, respondents were asked to choose between answers of either ‘poverty’, ‘drugs’, ‘alcohol’, ‘unemployment’ or ‘too few police.’ Again, there was also an ‘other’ option whereby respondents could raise other problems. Alcohol and drugs were considered the biggest causes of crime by Cheltenham business respondents, with only poverty and too few police being chosen once each. One respondent commented “all of above” here.
The biggest causes of crime in Cheltenham town centre during 6:00pm and 6:00am

Gloucester:
The same questions were asked to participants who completed the study for Gloucester’s NTE. When asked what respondents thought to be the biggest problem for businesses in Gloucester, none of the respondents chose the option of ‘shoplifting and theft’, or ‘don’t know’ for this question. Drugs scored higher as being a major cause of crime in Gloucester’s NTE with alcohol coming second. Additional responses left by respondents included ‘men’ and ‘both drugs and consumption of alcohol on the street’. Poverty and unemployment were two options not chosen by any participants in answering this question. Below shows bar charts for both questions and their answers.
Figure 10 - Bar chart illustrating the frequency of business representatives who chose what they believed to be the biggest problem for their business in Gloucester during 6:00pm - 6:00am.

Figure 11 - Bar chart illustrating the frequency of business representatives who chose what they believed to be the biggest cause of crime in Gloucester during 6:00pm - 6:00am.
Key Stakeholder Interviews:

Key stakeholders were also asked what they thought the main issues of concern during Gloucestershire’s NTE were. One of the main issues addressed encompassed ‘alcohol-related crime’, including violence (including affrays and assaults), criminal damage and vandalism, and anti-social behaviour. Other themes to ascend included sexual offences, the supply and use of illicit drugs, the use of weapons, and geographical location; alongside police cuts and resource reductions, and the increase of homelessness across town centres. Although these categories have been separated from the topic of ‘alcohol-related crime’, it is important to recognise that some of these themes are influenced by the consumption of alcohol. All of these will all be considered in depth below, alongside the impacts they have on members of the public and local businesses.

Alcohol and Alcohol-Related Crime

All twelve respondents made reference to the fact that alcohol consumption and misuse was a big issue in the NTE – both in Gloucester and Cheltenham. This was in reference to different types of behaviour, including altercations and violence. Many referred to the culture of pre-loading and the availability of cheap alcohol as a major factor within this. Quotes featured include:

“It’s a fact of life that if you mix people and alcohol, no matter how well things are managed, you will get issues... you will get assaults, you will get drunkenness...” [I1].

“I think it literally is alcohol. It’s just an excess of alcohol and then little things flare up which, if you know, you weren’t intoxicated, then those things they would’ve just been dismissed and walked away from. But because they’re... well I’m not going to
say drunk, but because they’re fairly heavy intoxicated, then maybe just want to push the point and it does escalate rapidly” [12].

I12 explains the impact this has on the emergency services:

“There’s a bigger drain on the NHS trying to sort out the people that are getting drunk and having squabbles and need treatment. There’s a bigger drain on the police resources and the fact that we need to be down, certainly on Eastgate Street in Gloucester, to try to make sure people don’t... I’m not saying get beaten to death but don’t get injured, hurt, or you know, get into trouble.”

Another sub-topic to emerge was the issue of criminal damage and vandalism. This was mentioned by five respondents who were actively engaged either in Cheltenham’s and Gloucester’s NTE. I12 explained that in Gloucester it can often be a regular occurrence - “all the other shops and things that are in the neighbourhood... suffer damage to their windows, doors... ATIK which is one of the bigger nightclubs, they would quite often replace up to 8 toilet seats of an evening.”

This has a huge impact upon local businesses as I7 explains: “…the litter side of things, the damage side of things are probably one of the longer lasting effects and at more cost money wise to local businesses, to people who live there so... yeah.”

Similarly, anti-social behaviour was a popular sub-topic mentioned in reference to the consumption of alcohol. Eight respondents noted the impact it has, especially for residents living in and around town centres:

“...I mean I live in the town centre and I can completely understand when people get hacked off when people are screaming and shouting down the road... [alongside] hearing people outside your home or seeing all the litter in the morning” [17].
Likewise, although legislation has been enforced to tackle these issues, two respondents noted how public urination is a problem in the NTE, and how this often has a negative impact upon businesses and owners who have to clean it the following day. This suggests that the legislation and/or punishment prescribed for such actions is not effective enough to address these problems. This was previously noted by Gardener and Anderson (2005:230) who stated that charges are often dropped if facilities are not readily available to members of the public. This illustrates that perhaps the problem lies within the placement and availability of these facilities, rather than the punishment of such activity. Nevertheless, three stakeholder respondents did state that town cleansing in Cheltenham was efficiently completed before the morning.

Geographical Location

Stakeholders also highlighted how environmental characteristics either contributed to, or helped to control crime and associated disorder during the NTE. One of the most prominently mentioned issues was the condensed geographical layout of Gloucester’s NTE zone. All of the NTE venues in Gloucester including bars, clubs, pubs and late-night takeaways are all located on Eastgate Street. Many respondents claimed that Gloucester’s condensed NTE location either made them feel unsafe, or recognised that people would feel unsafe because of this area. This was previously noted in the literature review by Maguire, Brookman and Robinson (2017:422) who emphasised that increased public competition for space and service can often contribute towards heightened tensions and conflict. Interviewee’s I2 and I9 argued how significant this is in Gloucestershire:
“...at a point in the night everybody sort of transcends on to Eastgate Street. So you then have less than a square mile of pub, club, kebab shop, late night eatery, within you know, what? half a mile? So what you find then is you have a huge amount of footfall in a condensed area and unfortunately as it has always been, when you have lots and lots of people and lots and lots of alcohol, in a very reduced kind of locality, you sometimes get friction and tensions and conflict. And even though you get conflict and you get all the rest of it in Cheltenham as well as you do anywhere else in the NTE, Gloucester’s main difference is its condensed in a real tight area” [12].

“...concentration of NTE users in one small place leads to more anti-social behaviour; so more fights...” [19].

Contrary, a couple of respondents such as I2 noted that Cheltenham was a safe place to visit during 6:00pm-6:00am as “Cheltenham has a very widespread – geographically spread NTE, and the atmosphere that we normally come across in Cheltenham compared to Gloucester is one of the lot more harmonious...” However, I3 who is actively engaged in Gloucester’s NTE stated that “…because it is such a small area, when incidents happen people are more likely to see it and people are more likely to be aware of it as well.” Therefore, arguing that the issue is not necessarily related to more incidents happening in Gloucester’s NTE, but instead as the location frame is reduced, more people are aware of them. Therefore, this breeds poor perceptions of Gloucester’s NTE, compare to that of Cheltenham’s. Nevertheless, I1 exclaimed that although the layout of Cheltenham covers a wider geographical area, “it probably presents more difficulties in trying to ‘police’ it...”

Perceptions were something that I6 thought needed addressing in order to either introduce or re-introduce members of the public and visitors back into Gloucestershire’s NTE. “If someone has it in their head that a place isn’t safe to visit,
regardless of the fact they’ve never been there, it’s very hard to change that perception, you know, to show that actually, it isn’t an unsafe place…”

Drug Use

Drug use, both in isolation and in combination with excessive alcohol, was also noted by three respondents to be a cause for concern. As previously stated in the literature review, drug use was a large phenomenon in the NTE in the 1990s. However, only 25% of respondents raised it as an issue. This potentially shows how much less of a problem stakeholders believe it to be in the modern NTE. This is supported by evidence from Police.uk (2018a) and (2018b) that shows that ‘drugs’ has a significantly lower recorded percentage of cases in both Gloucester city centre and Cheltenham town centre compared to offences such as public order, violence and sexual offences, and criminal damage.

For those who raised it as an issue, there were differing opinions as to where it was most prevalent. For example, I4 stated “…Cheltenham has always been quite high up on the sort of drug issues.” Yet, this was refuted by I9 who commented: “I don’t think we have a particularly bad drug problem in Cheltenham which there is more of a drug problem I believe, in Gloucester.” I9 further links this to the socio-economic status of individuals – stating that the majority of those living in Cheltenham have a higher status compared to those from Gloucester, and so are less likely to be associated with drugs. This does support statistics found on Police.uk as there was a 0.4% difference between drugs crime reported in Gloucester compared to that in Cheltenham (2018a; 2018b).
Sexual Offences

A couple of the respondents referred to how sexual offences are a particular issue within the NTE. Interestingly, both of these respondents were representatives from schemes that dealt mainly with University students. I9 expressed that “...a live issue at the moment is sexual harassment, ladism...” but it is something the Student’s Union are attempting to tackle. I7 further explained:

“I think no matter where you go, I think it’s always going to be a concern that obviously, drink-related offences can turn into sexual offences. Whether that be actually in the town centre, whether that be – excuse the graphicness of it, but the kind of grabbing of someone’s bum. That sort of thing is still a sexual offence in a nightclub or something like that. Up to when someone takes someone home and they say ‘no’ and it still carries on. I think no matter where you are, that is always going to be an issue for town centres, small town pubs, it doesn’t matter.”

Weapons

Two respondents introduced the concept that weapons are a large issue to address in tackling crime and associated disorder. The use of weapons is linked to issues of violence and conflict, but also intimidation and threat. The extent of the escalation of problems involving weapons is explained by I7:

“Wherever drink tends to be involved obviously there’s an inflation of offending... whether you take it down to the smallest, drinking and being disorderly, shouting on the street and refusing to stop screaming and shouting; all the way up to people brawling with each other with offensive weapons. Not that it tends to happen here too often, but I mean it’s not that long ago that we had three stabbings in one night”
Similarly, a police representative [I2] noted how the use of weapons has become a concern across the UK and its NTE’s over recent years:

“...it’s not a huge issue although it has been in the press a lot recently in Gloucestershire... I think there is a young person’s culture now across the whole country that they have this sort of desire and need to carry some kind of weapon. And 9 times out of 10 if someone is carrying a weapon these days it’s going to be a knife. And we’ve had lots of incidents that have... yeah some have resulted in homicides, not necessarily related to the NTE, but we’ve had a lot of serious injuries and some homicides over the past 2 or 3 years that are in relation to knives.”

Where Are These Issues Occurring?

When discussing conflicts, tensions and fights, all respondents referred to the fact that they would often occur at points whereby there are lots of people in a condensed area. This is supported by Tuck’s (1989:2) theory of ‘cluster’ and ‘congestion’ points. Tuck (1989:2) argued that these interactions are most likely to occur, as I6 explains “…at taxi ranks, shops, takeaways and stuff like that, that’s when you tend to get those two problems – the anti-social behaviour and the alcohol.” Similarly, I10 pointed out that these types of incidents mainly occur “…near the nightclubs, pubs and that; but then obviously you can get those to disperse on to the high street.” As previously explained, a few of the respondents said that the issues they mentioned were popularly found along Eastgate Street – supporting the evidence presented above.

In terms of noise, two respondents stated the difference in levels of noise complaints from those who reside in Cheltenham compared to Gloucester. I8 argued that in Gloucester, “…I think the areas and properties around there are
probably low-cost housing, or social housing. So, you don’t normally get complaints from that. But when its Cheltenham town centre location, those properties are quite expensive…” hence, more complaints are filed. I4 further separates the residential areas in Cheltenham. Although noise complaints may be higher in Cheltenham town centre, I4 states that down the Lower High Street “…they [noise-makers] go past the poor people’s dwellings... and they’re less likely to complain, so I should imagine it is quite disruptive for residents.” However the level as to which is unclear due to the low recording rate.

Section Summary:

Overwhelmingly, the most common issue of concern noted by all parties involved in the research across Gloucestershire was anti-social behaviour. 63% of the public, and 12 business representatives in total agreed it was the main issue of concern. Statistically, this is also shown to be the most popularly found crime type in both Gloucester city centre and Cheltenham town centre on the Police.uk database (2018a; 2018b). Key stakeholders linked this behaviour to public order offences, criminal damage and vandalism, littering and violence. This was also in association with the consumption and misuse of alcohol. Similarly, both the public and business respondents agreed that ‘alcohol’ was the biggest cause of crime or associated disorder across the county. However, drug use was also considered both a major issue and a large cause of crime in both Gloucester and Cheltenham. However, according to the data obtained, this appeared to be more of an issue in Gloucester compared to Cheltenham.
Sexual offences, the use of weapons, and the geographical concentration of NTE areas were three key themes spoke about by multiple stakeholders, yet not mentioned by any public or business respondents. This may be due to there not being a given option for these choices within the surveys, or simply respondents not believing these are major issues in Gloucestershire.

**EFFECTIVENESS OF CURRENT INITIATIVES AND SCHEMES**

**Public Surveys:**

The final set of questions for members of the public were focused upon their knowledge of and views on the schemes or initiatives running in the NTE. These were applicable to either Cheltenham or Gloucester, depending on the location they chose.

**Cheltenham**

Recipients who had chosen to voice their opinions on Cheltenham’s NTE were asked for their views regarding Student Community Patrol, Cheltenham Night Safe, Cheltenham Street Pastors, Cheltenham Guardians, #AskAngela and Pittville Patrol. To obtain results for this question, for each scheme the respondent was prompted to choose the most appropriate answer.
Participants who had chosen to answer questions about Gloucester’s NTE were asked about their awareness and views on the effectiveness of Gloucester City Safe, Gloucester Night Safe, Gloucester Street Pastors and #AskAngela.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I haven’t heard of the scheme</th>
<th>I have heard of it but don’t know how effective it is</th>
<th>I have heard of it and think it is very ineffective</th>
<th>I have heard of it and think it is fairly ineffective</th>
<th>I have heard of it and think it is fairly effective</th>
<th>I have heard of it and think it is very effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Student Community Patrol</strong></td>
<td>137 (38.8%)</td>
<td>110 (31.2%)</td>
<td>2 (0.6%)</td>
<td>20 (5.7%)</td>
<td>62 (17.6%)</td>
<td>22 (6.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cheltenham Night Safe</strong></td>
<td>230 (65%)</td>
<td>57 (16.1%)</td>
<td>4 (1.1%)</td>
<td>8 (2.3%)</td>
<td>35 (9.9%)</td>
<td>20 (5.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cheltenham Street Pastors</strong></td>
<td>155 (43.9%)</td>
<td>77 (21.8%)</td>
<td>9 (2.5%)</td>
<td>16 (4.5%)</td>
<td>67 (19%)</td>
<td>29 (8.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cheltenham Guardians</strong></td>
<td>205 (58.2%)</td>
<td>48 (13.6%)</td>
<td>11 (3.1%)</td>
<td>9 (2.6%)</td>
<td>44 (12.5%)</td>
<td>35 (9.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#AskAngela</strong></td>
<td>188 (53.1%)</td>
<td>79 (22.3%)</td>
<td>4 (1.1%)</td>
<td>5 (1.4%)</td>
<td>40 (11.3%)</td>
<td>38 (10.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pittville Patrol</strong></td>
<td>221 (62.6%)</td>
<td>60 (17%)</td>
<td>3 (0.8%)</td>
<td>13 (3.7%)</td>
<td>36 (10.2%)</td>
<td>20 (5.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gloucester**

Participants who had chosen to answer questions about Gloucester’s NTE were asked about their awareness and views on the effectiveness of Gloucester City Safe, Gloucester Night Safe, Gloucester Street Pastors and #AskAngela.
Table 5 - Frequency and percentage of how effective members of the public believe Gloucester crime reduction schemes to be

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scheme</th>
<th>I haven’t heard of the scheme</th>
<th>I have heard of it but don’t know how effective it is</th>
<th>I have heard of it and think it is very ineffective</th>
<th>I have heard of it and think it is fairly ineffective</th>
<th>I have heard of it and think it is fairly effective</th>
<th>I have heard of it and think it is very effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester City Safe</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62.9%</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester Night Safe</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>74.3%</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester Street Pastors</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59%</td>
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<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#AskAngela</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44.2%</td>
<td>32.7%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Business Surveys:

The final set of questions for business representatives were focused upon their knowledge of schemes or initiatives running in the NTE. These were either applicable to Cheltenham or Gloucester, depending on the location they chose. Respondents were asked how effective they believed the initiative to be.

Cheltenham

For respondents that were answering questions about Cheltenham’s NTE, the schemes featured were Student Community Patrol, Cheltenham Night Safe, Cheltenham Street Pastors, Cheltenham Guardians, #AskAngela, and Pittville Patrol.
### Table 6 - Frequency of effectiveness of Cheltenham crime reduction schemes as chosen by business respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scheme</th>
<th>I don’t know how effective it is</th>
<th>Very ineffective</th>
<th>Fairly ineffective</th>
<th>Fairly effective</th>
<th>Very effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student Community Patrol</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheltenham Night Safe</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cheltenham Street Pastors</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheltenham Guardians</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#AskAngela</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittville Patrol</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gloucester**

For respondents that were answering questions about Gloucester’s NTE, the schemes featured were Gloucester Night Safe, Gloucester Street Pastors, #AskAngela, and Gloucester City Safe. The table below shows the frequency of answers.
Table 7 - Frequency of effectiveness of Gloucester crime reduction schemes as chosen by business respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scheme</th>
<th>I don’t know how effective it is</th>
<th>Very ineffective</th>
<th>Fairly ineffective</th>
<th>Fairly effective</th>
<th>Very effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester Night Safe</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester Street Pastors</td>
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<td>#AskAngela</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gloucester City Safe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Discussion of Schemes:**

At the end of both the public and business surveys, there was an option for respondents to leave any additional comments regarding the schemes, their operation, levels of effectiveness and potential areas for improvement. Key stakeholders were also asked about their views and opinions on other schemes that they are aware of during the NTE. This question aimed to uncover opinions and views on other schemes and whether they interact with each other – demonstrating the level of multi-agency working.

**Student Community Patrol**

When speaking about Student Community Patrol, key stakeholder I3 stated: “...obviously student patrols are very valuable to the night-time economy, and to the safety of students, and to keeping the noise down and all that sort of thing, so I think they’re valuable.” Additionally, I9, the representative from the scheme stated that alongside students, the police, student volunteers, and members of the public.
all benefit from the scheme. This was supported by I7, who explained how Student Community Patrol save the emergency services effort, time and resources when dealing with low-key incidents. This ensures that these voluntary schemes have the ability to be proactive in solving issues and problems before they could potentially be amplified:

“...if a police officer is called to something where someone was screaming and shouting, and a police officer warned them to be quiet, it would in my opinion, be a complete waste of police resources. Because if you’ve got somebody there who can do that already (i.e. Pittville Patrol or SCP) you know... all that would happen is the police come out and say ‘be quiet’...”

“If there wasn’t the SCP in town giving out flipflops perhaps they would walk all the way up to Pittville and maybe miss a patrol or walk past a patrol and them not seeing that they’re not wearing any shoes and cut their feet open. Then that adds a first aid incident and first aid report. So, kind of approaching the problem before it happens ...” [I7].

Thus, I9 clarified that the scheme is very effective at increasing safety and reducing crime and disorder due to the feedback they obtain from student patrollers and members of the public.

Cheltenham Guardians

Responses and opinions from respondents about the Cheltenham Guardians were mixed. Although the majority acknowledged their efforts in helping to increase safety and reduce crime and associated disorder, many were unsure of their exact role and remit.

I1 explained how this uncertainty initially started:
“...when they first launched they looked like... they were dressing much like police officers, and there was some confusion amongst people about who they actually were. So, we’ve had some sort of issues with that, so they tend to get involved more in incidents as sort of first responders which is more of a policing role, and I think, my own personal view is I would be happier if they concentrated more on dealing with the things much as the Street Pastors do, and leave perhaps the policing side of things to the police really... We’ve had conversations with them, and you know, it’s an on-going thing. But you know, again I get weekly reports from them and they’re doing some fantastic work and it’s all helping to make the place safer.”

This was supported by I7 and I10’s quotes regarding their uniforms:

“At first, I remember seeing them and going ‘are you a PCSO or...’ which I’m sure is probably quite a concern for police officers so... Because arguably are they going to turn around and go ‘are you police officer, I don’t like police officers’ or ‘it’s a police officer please come and help me I’ve been burgled...” [I7].

“I think the only issue really with them is that they’re dressed a lot like the police, or the car looks a bit like a paramedic car. It’s a little bit misleading...” [I10].

Additionally, one business respondent did note “I do not understand what their role is locally. They look like they are imitating the police.”

Another common theme that cropped up in multiple interviews when respondents spoke of the Guardians and their work, was their methods of advertising and publicity. I2 confirmed that as a scheme, they have a heavy social media footprint and are known to tweet and post status updates either during the night, or the next day about cases they have dealt with and supported during the NTE. The majority of respondents found this unfavourable and damaging to the reputation of Cheltenham’s NTE:
“I’m not so sure about the Guardians... the fact that they’re always shouting about what they’ve done actually makes the situation seem worse; because they over dramatise what’s happening” [14].

“...it’s a great initiative, but yeah... I mean I have been out and seen them and they obviously help people. You know, the only thing that we would differ opinions on would be the Facebook group thing; taking photos of the events.... from my personal point of view, taking pictures of people – whether the faces are blurred or not... you know, it’s just not really a route I’d go down” [17].

However, I2 spoke about how they believed that the ambiguity surrounding the Guardians was due to a lack of rapport and close working relationships with other various agencies.

“...every single weekend they will be involved in identifying vulnerable men and vulnerable women, making sure they’re okay, and getting them home... but for me it’s about having that tied in with the police and local authority and everybody else... and I’m not being risky about this but who has given them any kind of training? Who has given them any kind of communications? Who... Do they have communications with the police? Do they have communications with Cheltenham Borough Council Wardens? Have they got public indemnity funding? Have they got this, have they got that? All of these things. Because I think ultimately, they’re there for a really good reason, and they do a really worthy thing. But they need to be supported, we need to support them, they need to support us...” [12].

Nevertheless, through its implementation the scheme’s representative [I11] stated Cheltenham Guardians has benefitted the police and ambulance service greatly. They also argued that it has contributed towards helping those who require the assistance, and it has enhanced the experience of the volunteers. Therefore, the respondent stated the scheme is highly successful in increasing safety and reducing
crime and associated disorder. Other respondents also acknowledged the work they do and how their opinions have changed. For example, three business respondents wrote “they do anything they can to help,” “fantastic response times for looking after people” and “see them a lot dealing with drunk people.” Additionally, stakeholder I8 stated “…actually, where I had my doubts about the Cheltenham Guardians, I actually think they do a good job out there.”

Cheltenham Street Pastors

All comments regarding the Cheltenham Street Pastors from key stakeholders were highly positive:

“Street Pastors I think are brilliant. I think long may we be able to support them because I think the work they do is excellent” [14].

“I’m a huge fan of the Street Pastors, I think they’re great. I think that when there’s an issue and they come down, they’re really calming and relaxing and they really do make a difference” [18].

“Street Pastors are brilliant. I think they do a fantastic job. They are genuinely doing it because they’re 100% good people” [19].

Similarly, many business respondents stated that the Street Pastors were “helpful in defusing situations” and they had a “very high presence in Cheltenham.” However, three business respondents did express in their surveys that they found the Street Pastors to be ineffective. The comments left include “they sometimes get in the way,” and “[they have a] naivety and lack of understanding about social night life.”

One of the police representatives discussed how Street Pastors’ and the police’s multi-agency partnerships could also be strengthened to further benefit the NTE.
This was also relevant to apply to the work of the Cheltenham Guardians, and other voluntary organisations operating in the NTE:

“The aim would be on a Friday and Saturday night before we deploy to our separate localities, is we actually have a sit down with all the groups together so we all exactly know who is doing what throughout that period of time... so I think I’d be quite happy for Cheltenham Guardians to come here, for the Street Pastors to come here, obviously Wardens to come here, the Sergeant or Inspector who’s leading that deployment to sit around the table, we can have a coffee, they can get a briefing, they can bring things to the pot and then at the end of the night to have another one as well to have a bit of a feedback session – to have a sort of post-deployment kind of de-brief” [12].

When asked as to why this doesn’t already exist, the respondent explained how the suggestion from the local policing team had never been raised. However, I2 argued that due to the current policing climate, it would now be beneficial:

“...I just think we haven’t had that opportunity to do it, and perhaps there hasn’t been the appetite to do it from partner agencies. Um, but now, because of our resourcing issues, because of the demand we’re facing, we have to” [12].

Other participants also spoke of the very limited contact they have with the Street Pastors. However, these were individuals who operate their schemes and efforts on weekdays (such as Student Community Patrol and Pittville Patrol) rather than weekends when Street Pastors are usually patrolling. In addition, the representative from Cheltenham Guardians spoke about their relationship with and alongside the Street Pastors:

“...we do a lot of what they do. But we do a lot more... The Street Pastors are amazing people, I have so much respect for them... I think when Cheltenham
Guardians came into town, and our organisation grew, I feel as though that they maybe saw us as the young pretenders. It’s like ‘who are these guys, what are they doing?’ You know, and there was a degree of suspicion there. ‘They’re not religious, so what are they getting out from helping people, these Guardians?’ And you know, you don’t have to be religious to have... you can’t have a monopoly on care. You don’t have to be religious to care about somebody, or be compassionate, and that’s what we’re doing...” [I11].

This quote helps to illustrate where the ambiguity for the Cheltenham Guardians came from and helps to address some previous questions as to their motive for the scheme. Further comments from I11 were stated to show the similarities between the Guardians and the Street Pastors:

“...Cheltenham Street Pastors are a massively valuable resource. They are the eyes and ears on the street. They have their flip flops, and they have their lollipops and they have their foil blankets, and they have good engagement with the community... when they started, nobody wanted the Street Pastors on the streets. The ambulance service said no, the police said no; because like ‘you’re going to go out there and cause trouble’. But no, just let the people go out there and they can look after themselves, and they did, and they proved a point. Just like we’re doing – we’re proving a point” [I11].

Cheltenham Night Safe

Stakeholder respondents commented about how valuable Cheltenham Night Safe is at developing multi-agency partnerships and building rapport between various agencies. This was especially found through the Night Safe side of the scheme through regular meetings and the use of the connected radio network:

“...all the licensees who are members come in and we discuss issues, and it’s a bit of give and take you know. They’ll give us some feedback, and it’s an opportunity to give them an update policing wise on what’s happening in the town – what we
expect from them and what we expect from their door staff... you build up good working relationships” [16].

“...I think it does work really well because what you’re doing is you’re sharing information there and then... if they’ve got an issue with a group of people trying to get in, they can relay that and say ‘I’ve got 6 people here, here’s the descriptions, we haven’t let them in’. And then they can pass it round the rest of the Night Safe membership, and say like ‘look, we don’t think anyone should let these people in.’ Equally if you’re looking for suspects you know, guy in a red bobble hat running away, you know, its good information they can relay it to CCTV to get us involved to catch people” [16].

These comments are supported by notes left by business respondents during their survey. For example, one respondent stated “paid service but good connections, inform of individuals - good to be prepared.” Whereas another said: “we share issues and information between establishments to ensure that if one venue has had an issue, that another doesn’t have it.”

The research also uncovered that Gloucester City Safe and Cheltenham Night Safe have a close working relationship as they share vital intelligence across the county. As they both use the same internet systems, access is available to both databases. I3 explained that this allows for the coordinators to see where offenders are crossing over. This is efficiently communicated between both parties and then relayed to relevant venues across the county to prevent and deter future criminal activity.

In terms of change, no suggestions were made to improve Cheltenham Night Safe by other stakeholders. In fact, I6 stated:
“I think Night Safe has been established for a good while now and it seems to be working. I don’t go in there and come out of meetings scratching my head and thinking ‘I don’t know why I was in there’… I think it’s quite a well-oiled machine, the Night Safe. Yeah no I don’t think I’d change anything as far as Night Safe is concerned.”

However, a business respondent did state “it is run well but we do waste time during meetings.”

The representative from the scheme [I1] stated that they would like the opportunity to get supermarkets and off-licences involved in the scheme in the future. They argued that this is necessary as these places are where many residents get alcohol from cheaply to preload before entering the NTE. Therefore, by involving them in groups such as these, this behaviour and buying patterns can be reviewed and used as a source of intelligence.

**Pittville Patrol**

Due to there only being four stakeholder respondents who acknowledged Pittville Patrol efforts, there were not many detailed comments regarding their work. This may be due to the fact that Pittville Patrol was only launched in September 2017, is located outside of the town centre, and only operates on Monday and Wednesday night-times. Nevertheless, the comments left were largely positive. For example, I4 exclaimed: “I think the student patrols, and the new student patrols – the different ones in Pittville – I see that these things are working.” This is supported by the scheme’s representative [I7] who stated that not only do students benefit from the
scheme, but also the student volunteers and the police as they can withdraw resources from the Pittville area.

Even though Student Community Patrol and Pittville Patrol are active during the same days and times, one representative from Student Community Patrol argued how the patrollers themselves don’t communicate with the Pittville Patrollers even though they are aware of their efforts. When prompted as to why, the respondent replied “honestly, I’m not sure because I think it could possibly be quite useful with the communication; just I don’t know, for times of buses and stuff like that. Just so they’re aware when like a bus load of students is going up, or when and where the buses are coming down and that” [I10].

To improve the scheme in the future, I7 stated that expanding the patrol route to encompass the edge of the town centre would be beneficial. They stated that there is a ‘dead space’ between the Pittville Patrol area, and where most of the voluntary organisations patrol in the main town centre. Therefore including this in their patrol area would potentially help during the NTE.

Gloucester Street Pastors

During the business survey, two comments from respondents praised the work of the Gloucester Street Pastors: “they provide extra help with our customers safety after leaving premises,” and “they help with people alone on the streets and provide warmth through foil and give out flip flops if people are barefooted to avoid them cutting their feet on glass.”
There was only one stakeholder interviewee who spoke of the work of Gloucester Street Pastors. They explained how the Street Pastors were part of the Gloucester City Safe scheme and they efficiently utilise the radios and network provided. Therefore, they help to provide an extra blanket of security and assistance where necessary.

Gloucester City Safe

Gloucester City Safe was a scheme spoken about with high regard from all stakeholder respondents who mentioned it through their interviews. As a highly integrated scheme in Gloucester city centre, both local police and businesses are either aware of its efforts or signed up to the scheme. When I2 – a police representative – was asked which schemes they work the most closely with, their response without hesitation was Gloucester City Safe. I2 explains why they believe the scheme is so successful:

“...it’s got a real sense of credibility and history to it... [it has been modelled on] the Brighton Hove model which has been in existence for a considerable amount of time and it works really, really well... And the red and the yellow card, banning kind of process I think is pretty impactive. You can take someone to court, you give someone a fifty quid fine, a £100 fine, you can go prison for a couple of weeks... it’s not a real biggie for people nowadays. But if I said to you, you can’t go out now in Gloucester, go anywhere to eat, go anywhere to drink for the next 12 months that can be pretty impactive. You know, people’s birthday parties, wedding anniversaries etc, that is having a real, real negative impact on your personal life. And that works I think really well, and it also gives people the opportunity to improve their behaviour... But the joined up-ness of it is that all pubs and the clubs that are tied into GCS have mobile devices, they have tablets, and they get a briefing every single night on a Friday and Saturday – and they’ve actually got the pictures of them.
These are the people on the red card, these are the people on the yellow card, so as you come into that pub or club, they can actually physically check you. I think that is really, really good.”

This quote is supported by discussion from I12. When asked if the City Safe scheme works well, they answered:

“Yeah it does. It works exceptionally good. I mean, if you want to give somebody a yellow card, you can take their photograph and fill out a form there and then – it’s handy on your phone. If they’ve done something worse than the yellow card then they get a ban and are literally given a red card, which bans them normally for 12 months; and that’s not just from that one pub, that’s from every pub that is a member of the City Safe scheme. So, yeah, it works exceptionally well.”

Additionally, three business respondents stated that they were confident that the scheme was very beneficial to their business. This was due to the fact it is “...constantly updated and information supplied accurate.” However, one found it to be “...very expensive” and the other said “it is effective but doesn’t prevent things.”

Nevertheless, the scheme’s representative [I3] claimed that the scheme had been very successful in reducing crime and associated disorder and increasing safety. This was reliant upon the fact that 21 Criminal Behaviour Orders had been issued through continual banning’s via the scheme. As a result, a couple of respondents also discussed how valuable it would be if the Gloucester City Safe scheme could also be transferred and used in Cheltenham. They argued that currently there is inconsistency in punishing people for their actions, and this is causing displacement across the county:
“I wish Cheltenham would pick up the City Safe scheme. There’s this real divide between Cheltenham and Gloucester; because [City Safe] is everywhere in Gloucestershire apart from Cheltenham. It’s extraordinary... It’s just a shame because if it could it would be seamless. And also, it would be great because... at the moment if someone is banned in Cheltenham, they could go to Gloucester. So... it would be much better if there was one scheme that served the whole county” [19].

“I personally think that if you could have the same scheme in Cheltenham as we’ve got in Gloucester it would work really well” [13].

I3 stated that the only future recommendation for the scheme had was to have additional sub-coordinators in Gloucester. These would allow for greater rapport to be built amongst businesses, local council and the police, and for incidents to be resolved quicker.

Gloucester Night Safe

Two business respondents left mixed comments regarding Gloucester Night Safe. One simply stated it was a good scheme, however the other stated “although it is a great scheme in place and the idea of trying to make the night-time economy better, I don't always see much of a difference happening to what has been spoke about in meetings.” Yet, none of the stakeholders interviewed mentioned or spoke about the Gloucester Night Safe scheme.

#AskAngela

The key stakeholders who spoke about #AskAngela all had positive comments to make. I6 stated it was valuable as it allows for someone who has been getting unwanted attention to discreetly ask for help. I7 explained how they thought the
scheme was a good idea as it is not gender specific, and incidents such as these can affect men as much as women:

“...I think it keeps people safe and it allows people to say something without going ‘HELP!’ and kind of embarrassing the other person that’s there. Because at the end of the day, use that whether there’s someone who is really creepy, and you know, you’re genuinely being saved; or you could use that as a case of you know, it’s just not going well and I don’t really want to continue anymore, but I feel really awkward... it’s fantastic. Love it.” [17].

However, business respondents left mixed reviews for the #AskAngela scheme. Three respondents from Cheltenham stated that they believed it to be “…a good scheme in theory,” and “it’s a really good idea when dealing with customer safety and integrity at work.” Likewise, Gloucester respondents left comments such as “it’s essential,” and “I haven’t personally had any use this scheme in my venue, but I hear it is effective and believe it is very useful to the city.” Yet another three Cheltenham respondents said that they thought the scheme wasn’t advertised enough for people to be aware of its existence. Though two business respondents (one from Cheltenham and one from Gloucester) argued that if it was advertised more publicly, its effectiveness will drop as everyone will be aware of what asking for Angela means. The Cheltenham respondent wrote “everyone knows who Angela is. Obvious to other person.” Similarly, the Gloucester respondent noted “everyone has already heard of it. Probably was effective to start with.”

Taxi Marshals

Four respondents noted the Taxi Marshals’ efforts in helping vulnerable people safely get home, and also ensuring any conflicts are suppressed to maintain order in
a taxi queue. As explained in the literature review, Tuck (1989:2) explained how cluster points are often areas whereby people gather for a long period of time. The patience of individuals within these cluster points is often tested when waiting for taxis to get home; thus, conflict, tensions and fights may arise as a result. This is recognised by I1 and I4 who stated:

“...the taxi rank used to be a real hot spot area for issues, but since we’ve had the taxi marshals that’s improved dramatically. As you can imagine you’ve got people queueing and they’ve been queueing for half an hour and then someone comes along and jumps in front of them and then it all kicks off from there, so...” [I1].

“I think that’s a brilliant scheme [taxi marshals] actually because it’s when you’ve stopped drinking and wanting to get home and you might have to stand in a queue to get home – that’s when the tempers are likely to flare up, so I think that’s a really good scheme as well” [I4].

A focus on this cluster point through the implementation of taxi marshals has enabled a decrease in crime and associated behaviour, and an increase of safety for all those enjoying and working within the NTE across Gloucestershire.

**Section Summary:**

The results obtained show that the majority of public and business respondents who completed the surveys were either unaware of the schemes, or aware of them but were unsure of how to rate their levels of effectiveness for increasing safety and decreasing crime and associated disorder. Contrary, a range of key stakeholders acknowledged and noted the work of multiple crime reduction initiatives and schemes active during Gloucester or Cheltenham’s NTEs. Therefore, the implications of these findings illustrate that although a great deal of work is being conducted to improve Gloucestershire’s NTE areas, the public (i.e. those who
will receive the greatest benefit of their work) are not aware of their presence or activity. Similarly, businesses who may potentially require their services are also unaware of their operations, locations and roles. Thus, will not contact them during their hour of need. Not only does this mean that the full potential of these various crime reduction initiatives is not being met, but also individuals will instead contact emergency services which stretches their resources.

As previously noted in the literature review, Newburn (2007:568) argued that these crime reduction schemes tend to flourish in villages and small towns whereby crime rates are already relatively low. This is due to the greater community cohesion they have – including being aware of those who live around them and particular events or schemes that are in place. In major towns and cities, this is not necessarily the case. Instead, citizens are found to lack community spirit, and are unaware of community measures (Rosenbaum and Schuck, 2012:227). As Cheltenham and Gloucester are relatively large geographical areas, this may give explanation as to why the majority of respondents were either unaware or unsure of the effectiveness of particular schemes.

In relation to effectiveness, the two schemes that scored the highest at being considered ‘very effective’ by both the public and business respondents were Cheltenham Guardians and #AskAngela. However, mixed reviews were received by stakeholders regarding Cheltenham Guardians, and critiques were left regarding the publicity of #AskAngela. For business respondents, the top two schemes to score similar results in the ‘very effective’ category were Cheltenham Street Pastors and Cheltenham Night Safe. Whereas in Gloucester, Gloucester City Safe scored top
marks from business representatives. This was supplemented with a wealth of positive comments from stakeholders. Only a small number of public respondents thought it to be a ‘very effective’ scheme, but this may be due to the fact that Gloucester City Safe is a BCRP and works closely with businesses as opposed to members of the public.

**Problem Oriented Suggestions:**

As a result of the discussion above, key stakeholders were asked if they had any ideas for new schemes or approaches that would be appropriate to either increase safety or decrease crime and associated disorder in Gloucestershire’s NTE. Some of these ideas and concepts have already been explained above, such as extending the Gloucester City Safe scheme across the whole of Gloucestershire. Whereas other respondents spoke of their approval of schemes and initiatives that were already in place. Below explores some of the other common themes to emerge out of the analysis.

**Welfare Bus**

Three parties commented that a welfare or safe zone would be beneficial to have during the NTE on Friday and Saturday nights. This would be used to address any situations and provide a warm, safe environment for those who require medical aid. The argument was that many of these individuals who require this help don’t necessarily need an ambulance for their treatment but being able to have a safe inside space would separate the individual from the external situation. Two of the respondents linked this answer directly to police implementation, whereas the
other argued it should be NHS funded and have a clinician on board. Further research has discovered that South Western Ambulance Service does have a mobile treatment unit in operation. This Alcohol Response Centre (ARC) has eight treatment medical couches fully equipped with medical supplies and clinicians on board to monitor and assess patients who have become vulnerable due to an excess of alcohol consumption. However, at current there is only one ARC mobile unit which covers Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire. Therefore, the placement of the vehicle depends on which areas and events will be most benefitted from having the ARC. For example, during March 2018, Cheltenham town centre hosted the ARC during Cheltenham Festival Week. However, on a weekend, larger cities such as Bristol would benefit having the ARC more due to a higher footfall across the city.

Breathalysing

Another major recommendation made by seven respondents was the introduction and use of breathalysers as a condition of entry into a bar, club or pub. A couple of the respondents stated that it will largely be used as a deterrent to excessive preloading. I1 explains this concept further:

“...they won’t breath test everybody coming in, but they’ve got somebody in the queue that they think might’ve had too much to drink they’ll breath test them. They can set their own limit, and then they’ll refuse them. By and large it works quite well because actually people seem to be... take refusal better from a machine than they do from an individual. You know, it’s the computer that says no... If the doorman says you can’t come in because you’ve had too much to drink, they very much think it’s a personal thing.”
I2 explained the impact it could have on crime reduction due to the results of previous research:

“I think there was a reduction in assaults, there was a reduction in alcohol-related offences, it seemed to be quite interesting. But...It needed to be a voluntary saturated take up on this thing because it had to be 110% every single licensed premise in the area had to be signed up to this project. Because if it wasn’t then you would not get a true reflection of the reduction and the prevention...”

One respondent stated how ten machines have already been purchased for use in the NTE in Cheltenham using funding from the Late Night Levy [I6]. The official name for the project is ‘RU2Drunk - Nightclub Breath Testing Initiative’ under the ‘Safe Days and Nights For All’ priority. However, some respondents did note that some licensees across Gloucestershire were unfavourable of the idea. “…I know some of the clubs don’t like the idea of breathalysing customers because it feels like it might put people off…” [I4] and “…the human being in me is saying I’m not keen on that idea. But I’m not 100% sure why... I think it’s slightly invasive” [I11].

Contrary, the licensee representative that was interviewed stated that they believed it was a valuable asset to add to the management of the NTE as it will be “…a good tool for the licensees” [I8]. They explained it would stop people from excessively preloading prior to heading into the NTE. Thus, not only keeping more people safe, but also encouraging them to spend more money in bars, pubs and clubs across towns and cities. However, the issue remaining lies in the implementation of the initiative as it requires organisational management to make the scheme active across Gloucester and Cheltenham’s NTEs at the same time.
Drug Tests

Another common theme that emerged from the interview analysis was the popularity of introducing drug tests or swabs into the NTE. One of the police representatives who undertook the interview did state that a couple of years ago, Gloucestershire Constabulary carried out drug testing operations across Gloucestershire’s NTEs [I2]. I6 and I2 explain in depth why they would be a purposeful tool to use again now:

“We’re going to buy these swabs and we’re going to give them out to the memberships... if they go and swab their toilets and it comes back its positive for cocaine... it not only lets them know that it’s happening, but they can then take steps to say what are we going to do to stop this. Do we need to increase the amount of visits we do to the toilets, you know, or erm think about the clientele they’re letting in because people they see disappearing every five minutes? ... It’s purely an educational tool, and if they want to feed back any information that’s great, we can use that as intelligence” [I6].

“When we did a real large-scale version a few years ago, we actually included bus companies and travel companies, so, we had the agreement of not only the pubs and the clubs, but the bus companies, and the coach companies, and the train companies that upon being allowed to actually get on and use the transportation systems, you were not allowed to have anything in your body. So we had officers going to the main stops for people coming into Gloucester and Cheltenham in the evenings for the NTE testing people. And you can’t force them to be tested, but if you’re not going to be tested, you’re not getting on the bus. You’re not getting on the train. And you’re not coming to Gloucester or Cheltenham” [I2].
However, I4 appeared to be indifferent to the idea. Their view was that: “...I know that doesn’t work very well because everyone has drugs on them. You’ve only got to sit on a bus and you’ve got drugs on you.”

Other Comments

Other recommendations that were made include the provision of free bottled water to sober people up, and free cloakroom access to prevent conditions such as hypothermia [I11].

Another respondent stated that maintaining the street closure in Eastgate Street from 10:00pm Fridays and Saturdays in Gloucester would help to avoid potential accidents with intoxicated people crossing a busy road: “…people are so used to there not being traffic on the roads, taxis will immediately start to use it because they want to get right to the clubs... So I could just imagine you know, someone rolling out of a club at 3, completely used to staggering into the road…” [I9].

I7 spoke about how they wished to transfer a version of Pittville Patrol over to Gloucester when the new Black Friars student accommodation is built. They argued it would help the community, reduce noise and also benefit new students who would possibly be unaware of their surroundings.

I2 contemplated the staggering of closing times for licensed premises to decrease footfall on the streets. However, they also noted how this would be hard to implement as the introduction of the 2003 Licensing Act established the potential for licensed premises to have flexible opening hours. However, venues will stay open as late as their license permits them to obtain a higher income. Therefore “…it
has to be voluntary thing unless we stipulate it in their license... I don’t know how we could show a kind of, completely open, transparent, fair process of a staggered closure.” The aim of this flexibility was intended to minimise public disorder as intoxicated individuals would not be leaving multiple licensed venues at the same time – yet has not fulfilled this intention. This is supported by the public survey responses whereby many stated that the reason they felt unsafe in Gloucester and/or Cheltenham’s NTE was due to alcohol intoxication and the impact this has on an individuals’ behaviour. This evidence is supported by Public Health England’s (2016:75) research on safety and the NTE in the North West of England – as stated in the literature review.

**POLICING AND THE NTE**

**Police Efforts:**

The respondent pool for the stakeholder interviews included three police representatives. This was beneficial to the research as it gave an insight into the efforts of Gloucestershire Constabulary during the NTE. One of the main endeavors noted by interviewee I2 was the Street Safe patrols: “...every Friday and Saturday night we deploy standalone units to deal with the NTE in Gloucester and Cheltenham. So, Friday night we have a sergeant and six officers working, 9 o’clock in the evening til 5 o’clock in the morning” [I2]. To supplement these Street Safe patrols, I2 noted additional occasions and events during the year whereby extra resources are deployed into the NTE: “…[there are] 14 or 15 separate days where we truly believe there’s going to be a higher demand, so you’re looking at you know, May Bank Holidays, August Bank Holidays, you’ve got some of the racing events
that take place in Cheltenham, then you’ve got the normal Christmas Eve, New Year’s Eve etc....”

Two of the police representatives noted how the police and licensing officers in Cheltenham and Gloucester have also made efforts to regulate the alcohol trade and make changes in licensed venues. Glasses have now been replaced with plastic cups to prevent the use of them as a weapon during conflict. Alongside this is the prohibition of excessively cheap drink deals. Previous research by the What Works for Crime Reduction centre (2018b) stated in the literature review supports this as being an effective crime reduction method, especially in relation to alcohol-related crime such as drink driving. Finally, I12 explained how they have also successfully managed to get most licensed venues in Gloucester to reduce alcoholic shot volumes: “...so a shot in a pub is 35ml, if you buy that in a nightclub in Gloucester and most other places now its 25ml; and I’m looking to reduce it further to 20ml. You may think you’ve just bought five shots for £5 – which is the same as the other deal, but you’re actually buying smaller shots, so there’s less impact” [I12].

During their interview, I12 also spoke about their efforts to start a scheme to get all clubs and bars in Gloucester city to have defibrillators either inside or outside their premises. When prompted as to explain the motive of this idea, I12 argued that the number of people that have a cardiac arrest inside a licensed premise is higher than those not consuming alcohol and going about their daily activities. Additionally, they stated that “…all pubs and clubs are landmarks. You know, people give directions and say, ‘if you go past the three feathers, then you’ve gone too far’. So,
everybody knows where they are, and they stay open later than anybody else; so, its accessibility to the kit.”

**Awareness of Efforts**

During the public surveys, respondents were asked whether they were aware of any police presence during their last visit to their chosen town. For those who answered questions about Cheltenham, 60.6% said they were not aware of any police presence. Similarly, for respondents answering questions about Gloucester’s NTE, 61.5% also said they were not aware of any police presence during their last visit to the centre.

Several key stakeholders who are part of voluntary organisations or have licensed venues in the NTE commented that they were aware of police presence and had a good working relationship with the police and local PCSOs. This may be due to the fact that schemes like these rely on police and PCSO support to operate during the NTE. Likewise, due to the close relationships the police and licensing teams have with licensed venues and licensees, they will also be potentially more aware of their presence. In addition, two key stakeholders who were not police representatives, but instead were active in Cheltenham and/or Gloucester’s NTE’s were aware of and acknowledged the Street Safe patrols. Whereas another two respondents [I1 and I11] pointed out the deployment of extra resources would often be visible during busy times of the year. For example, “…if you’ve got a major event on such as the races, then you’ll have... the place will be washed with police…” [I11].

110
**Contact and Visibility of the Force:**

To obtain views and opinions on police efforts from local businesses, all business respondents were asked ‘what contact does your business have with the Police?’ This question was open-ended to allow for personal responses. This was supplemented by a question using a Likert scale. This question stated, ‘through your contact with the police while at work, how effective have you found them to be at dealing with the things that you’ve reported to them?’

Three Cheltenham respondents stated that they could contact the police through the radio network they have access to. One respondent in particular here stated that “… [The police] can be at our club in seconds if needed.” However, only one respondent from Gloucester stated the use of the Night Safe radio.

Another three Cheltenham respondents said that their contact with the police was confined to dialling 999, alongside three who also made reference to panic buttons and/or alarms that are fitted within their businesses. The remaining three Cheltenham respondents were unsure of whether their business had police contact.

Gloucester respondents left minimal answers. One stated they had direct and frequent contact with the police and/or the local licensing officer, whereas another commented that they only contact the police when necessary as they have their own security.

When asked how effective Cheltenham business representatives thought the police were, 18 responses were obtained for this question. The most popular response
was ‘fairly effective’, and none of the respondents voted ‘very ineffective’. Below shows both frequency and percentage values.

Table 8 - Frequency and percentage values of how effective business respondents believe the police to be in Cheltenham

Through your contact with the police in Cheltenham while at work, how effective have you found them to be at dealing with the things that you’ve reported to them?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very effective</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly effective</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly ineffective</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My business has had no contact with the police</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, 11 responses were obtained from Gloucester’s business survey participants. None of the respondents stated that the police were ‘fairly ineffective’ or ‘very ineffective’.

Table 9 - Frequency and percentage values of how effective business respondents believe the police to be in Gloucester

Through your contact with the police in Gloucester while at work, how effective have you found them to be at dealing with the things that you’ve reported to them?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very effective</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly effective</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My business has had no contact with the police</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All key stakeholders interviewed appeared happy with the level and quality of assistance offered by local police when necessary. They were also appreciative of their help and support, for example, I7 said that PCSO support for their scheme has provided the Pittville Patrollers with a lot of insight. A representative from a licensed venue supported this by commenting:

“...I look at all the police forces I have to deal with and I do think in Cheltenham we are really lucky. We do have a really good working relationship with the police and with the council; and one thing you don’t see very often is a really good working relationship between the police and the council. And because that relationship is so good in Cheltenham, that really does reflect on the night-time economy and sort of how good we’ve got it” [I8].

However, the issue of police budget cuts and freezes was a popular topic amongst the key stakeholders. For example, I1 recognised “...in recent years we have seen reduction in visible policing.” Also, in regard to Street Safe patrols, I3 noted: “the presence that they provide on a Friday and Saturday night has been vastly reduced and I think they’re sort of pretty much withdrawing now from the Street Safe as well.” A couple of respondents supported this with a comment about how other agencies – such as voluntary crime reduction schemes and initiatives would have to step in to support the police during the NTE. Therefore, the police would become more responsive than proactive especially during the weekends in the NTE.

Interviewee I11 explained how they could already see this transition happening:

“[on] a standard Cheltenham Saturday night, you won’t see the horses, and you won’t necessarily see them on foot. They become a responsive element.” However, others appeared concerned that without police support, they could no longer do
the work that is considered so valuable to Gloucestershire’s NTE. For example, I3 stated that their scheme has “...enabled us to work closer with the authorities and the police to deal with some of the issues businesses have... it’s also important to continue working with the police because really without the police and the information and support that they give, it’s very difficult to run the scheme.”

Similarly, the representative from the licensed trade, I8, declared “I just hope the police can continue to work with us to ensure they both [Glouester and Cheltenham’s NTE’s] thrive.”

**Improvements:**

During their interview, key stakeholders were asked if they had any suggestions or improvements for the local police force. Three respondents made comments about CCTV coverage in Cheltenham. I7 stated that its current use is “...fairly good – maybe not as good as it could be... since the police [CCTV Force Control Room] have moved, there’s less CCTV in the town centre which to me is how I kind of go ‘can somebody see what’s happening?’ I think that would be a vast improvement on that.” Additionally, I9 acknowledged that there were some areas whereby installation or an increase in CCTV cameras would be beneficial to increase safety and deter criminal and/or disorderly behaviour in the town centre.

One of the police representatives who undertook an interview stated that he wishes for an increased synergy between Cheltenham and Gloucester. Not only does this include even greater multi-agency partnerships and rapport, but also a continuation and consistency of schemes and initiatives across Gloucestershire county:
“We need to pull together our partnership working a lot tighter. And that’s not just because the police are going to have a different level of resources to deal with the NTE, it’s been, ever since I’ve been here for the last ten years, it’s been down purely to the police to predominately deal with the NTE. When it’s not the case... The aim would be on a Friday and Saturday night before we deploy to our separate localities, is we actually have a sit down with all the groups together so we all exactly know who is doing what throughout that period of time” [12].

Other utopian visions included more police resources and a continuous visible police presence throughout the hours of 6pm – 6am in Cheltenham and Gloucester’s NTEs. However, those who brought up these recommendations also acknowledged that it would be impossible in the current financial climate.

**Section Summary:**

This section has highlighted a range of police efforts that have been launched to help increase safety and decrease crime and associated disorder across Gloucestershire’s NTE – especially during weekend hours. Amongst these include Street Safe Patrols, the extra deployment of resources and efforts to manage the supply of alcohol in licensed venues. Regardless of the current police work in Cheltenham and Gloucester, a large percentage of public respondents were not aware of any police presence during their last visit to either Cheltenham or Gloucester during the hours of 6:00pm – 6:00am. Contrary, a large number of business respondents and key stakeholders were aware of police presence and thought they were either ‘very effective’ or ‘fairly effective’ in dealing with incidents reported to them. This may be due to the fact that they work alongside
the police. Finally, the improvements suggested illustrate areas whereby work could be done to improve or alter police efforts in the NTE.
CONCLUSION

The aim of this project has been to explore community safety and crime reduction across NTE environments. The initial focus drew upon the UK as a whole, with a greater concentration then placed upon Gloucestershire’s NTE’s in Cheltenham and Gloucester. The literature review provided a level base of information and understanding to help interpret the primary data collected for Gloucestershire county.

Supporting the first objective, this research project has identified and explored the crimes and related issues of concern to those using and working within Gloucestershire’s NTE. Initial research conducted for the literature review exposed anti-social behaviour, violence and alcohol misuse as being the most prominent issues present in NTE environments across the UK. Focusing in on Gloucestershire, the data obtained illustrated that these were also the most common concerns in the area. Anti-social behaviour was commonly identified in Cheltenham and Gloucester as being the largest issue of concern, with alcohol misuse and consumption being the biggest causes of crime and disorder in the NTE. This has been additionally tied to other issues such as littering, public order offences, criminal damage and violence across the NTE. These are reflected in CSEW (2015:3) UK statistics, and Police.uk statistics for Gloucestershire (2018a; 2018b).

Another common issue found to arise in the literature review revolved around preloading and the subsequent consequences. The What Works for Crime Reduction centre (2018b) found that an increase in alcohol tax has helped to reduce
preloading behavioural patterns – thus also crime and associated disorder in some NTE areas. Similarly, in Gloucestershire, stakeholder respondents from the data collection process stated that they wished to improve relationships with local supermarkets and off-licences to curb some of the problems that the availability of cheap alcohol poses.

Although many respondents did raise concerns related to the NTE, the majority of public, business and key stakeholder respondents did state that they feel safe in Gloucestershire’s NTE areas. The main reasons as to why were due to good police and/or security presence. Respondents also noted that well-lit streets and good CCTV coverage are beneficial. This is supported by evidence in the literature review which found that these measures reassure the public and make people less fearful in terms of victimisation. In terms of feeling unsafe, respondents stated that their main worry was violence, alongside the presence of intoxicated persons. Therefore, although the 2003 Licensing Act was enforced to prevent public nuisance, crime and disorder, and increase public safety, the findings illustrate it has not been effective at diminishing all of these factors in Gloucestershire.

The second objective of this thesis aimed to examine the ways in which the police and other key stakeholders have and are using initiatives, interventions and strategies to tackle re-occurring issues. The literature review contained some explanation of popular tactics and schemes that have been deployed across UK NTE environments. Amongst these included the Neighbourhood Watch scheme, taxi marshalls, and considering the layout of bars and clubs. Again, focusing specifically into Gloucestershire, a number of crime reduction schemes were examined and
presented in the literature review. Although these measures are in place, there is little evidence of their effectiveness at increasing safety and reducing crime and associated disorder in the NTE. Therefore, during the data collection process all respondents were questioned about their levels of awareness and effectiveness of these crime reduction initiatives. Many of the business and public respondents said they were either unaware of crime reduction initiatives, or were unsure of how effective they are. This poses some concern as the majority of these initiatives are in place to support and assist the public.

Additionally, a number of stakeholders stated that they are unaware of others’ roles, locations or activity; therefore suggesting a lack of synergy. However, research into the Purple Flag accreditation in Cheltenham did discover that an inter-agency NTE strategy was initially formed – suggesting a reference point for all partner agencies. The research obtained could suggest that this strategy was not as successful as first intended and may potentially require development. Contrary, evidence from GloucesterBID (2017) as shown in the literature review did state that Gloucester is aiming to increase networking opportunities for businesses across the city.

In regards to policing, a number of tactics and measures were explained by representatives during their interviews. This provided great insight and understanding into the ongoing ground work across Gloucestershire – especially in relation to quelling the main concerns surrounding alcohol misuse and anti-social behaviour the NTE. Nevertheless, the majority of public respondents from both Cheltenham and Gloucester were unaware of police efforts. Again, this is
concerning as Gloucestershire Constabulary place heavy emphasis on neighbourhood policing. However, other key stakeholders were largely positive about their level of engagement and collaboration with the police across Gloucestershire – signifying that police relations and working is successful and effective.

This research has also fulfilled the concluding aim of this project. This was to identify some of the most significant requirements and lessons of best practice for consideration when designing or redeveloping initiatives that promote a safe, low-crime NTE in Gloucestershire. When discussing initiatives that respondents believed to be either ‘very efficient’ or ‘fairly efficient’, themes such as efficient communication of information, sound and well-established framework, and good credibility were popularly found. Through the literature review, multi-agency partnership working and community policing concepts were discussed in length due to the advantageous benefits they hold in tackling multi-dimensional issues. Therefore, the results obtained for Gloucestershire during the data collection process are consistent with the evidence previously found concerning the rest of the UK. This is a significant finding as it illustrates that heavy importance should be placed upon maintaining and building these relationships further. Other ideas and suggestions that emerged from this aim have been beneficial to consider for future implementation. These are discussed under the ‘recommendations’ sub-heading below.

In summary, all evidence obtained and shown throughout this study does suggest that Gloucestershire’s NTE is one that most believe to be safe, exciting and
inclusive. This specific research project has focused in onto two particular areas in one county. There is great value in this two-site approach. For example, it can give insight into how separate areas very local to one another operate. The sharing of ideas and intelligence can help illustrate both strengths and weaknesses in particular geographical areas. These strengths can be noted as measures of best practice, whereas the weaknesses can be subject to continuous improvement with the aid of supplementary ideas and planning similar to that found in other localities. Again, as previously mentioned, this collaborative practice with multiple towns and/or cities can help prevent further crime and associated disorder in both the NTE and DTE.

Although there are various problems that have been noted, proactive planning and crime reduction measures in place have the aim of striving for a greater environment. These actions are largely viewed as being effective and successful at increasing safety, and decreasing crime and associated disorder in the NTE. As previously mentioned it has been found that Gloucestershire county does have “...lower levels of night-time economy related violent crime compared to existing levels and compared to most similar forces” (Gloucestershire PCC 2017b:32). This is also supported by Gloucester’s and Cheltenham’s Purple Flag statuses. Therefore, there is a strong sense that the NTE situation in Gloucestershire is moving in the right direction.

The additional resources available to stakeholders in the form of EMMIE and the What Works for Crime Reduction centre signify that NTE’s across the UK are set to
thrive, improve and be secure through continuous research – rather than be the subjects of moral panics and poor public perceptions.

**Implications:**

Although this research project has obtained great insight into Gloucestershire’s NTE, there are implications to consider. These surround the data collection process. Firstly, there were fewer public and business respondents who chose to answer questions about Gloucester’s NTE; alongside fewer stakeholders whose roles and operation are based in Gloucester. Secondly, the overall business response rate was lower than expected. For the sample to have been more representative, a higher number of respondents is necessary. For the public survey data, the majority of respondents were aged between 18-24. Although the mainstream ‘night out’ is targeted towards this age group, the sample obtained could be considered disproportionate.

**Recommendations:**

Recommendation suggestions revealed in the data collection process are an incredibly significant part of this research. Although some may be specific to Gloucestershire, many of the ideas and suggestions presented could be applied to wider NTE environments. Amongst these include attaining a welfare bus to provide a warm, safe environment for those who require support or medical aid during the NTE; enforcing the use of breathalysing and drug testing machines across the county to reduce negative impacts which supplement binge drinking, drug consumption, and preloading prior to entering licensed venues; an increased
availability of bottled water and free cloakrooms in venues to ensure good welfare of customers, and maintaining Gloucester’s Eastgate Street closure (alongside pedestrianising any other main roads) to prevent potential accidents.

Increased publicity of current crime reduction initiatives, and the recent investment in neighbourhood policing in Gloucestershire would also be beneficial. This will not only improve public confidence in regard to safety, but will also help spread awareness if support is ever required in the future. Similarly, this increased awareness would also be beneficial between active crime reduction schemes and their members across the county. Working closely with local businesses, the police and other voluntary organisations will allow for greater multi-partnership partnerships to develop. As a result, synergy will be enhanced. Furthermore, some of the issues raised in regard to major causes of concern during the NTE may also be quelled. Doing this either through posting printed pamphlets or via social media platforms would help to inform all members of the community.

Due to the support from background literature, many of the findings and recommendations noted could be applied to multiple NTE’s of a similar size across the UK. However, if further research were to be undertaken it would be beneficial to use larger sample encompassing a larger geographical area. Not only would this provide more intelligence and research into UK NTE operations, but it would also allow for greater generalisability of findings. Also, due to the concentration on alcohol misuse, consumption and related violence and disorder in the NTE, it would be appropriate for future studies to conduct research with representatives from
alcohol-free venues. This would help to grasp a greater understanding of potential solutions to these issues.

If a similar study were to be conducted in Gloucestershire, a sharper focus upon Gloucester’s NTE would be beneficial. This would help to uncover why people perceived the city centre to be less safe than Cheltenham, and what improvements are necessary specifically for this location – with a focus upon adapting or altering the geographical layout.

A further line of enquiry would be to examine in more detail the work between different agencies during the NTE. Some respondents did state they had good working relationships with various organisations and the police; whereas others disagreed. The reasons as to these differences were unclear. Therefore it would beneficial to examine this to build on this research project.


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Appendix A – Initiatives operating in Gloucestershire’s NTE

Cheltenham Night Safe:

Cheltenham Safe is a not-for-profit Business Crime Reduction Partnership (BCRP) which works in liaison with several partners including the Police, Cheltenham Borough Council and the Chamber of Commerce (Cheltenham Safe, 2017). Cheltenham Night Safe currently has 75 members which are predominately bars, pubs and nightclubs – but also include some takeaway and fast food outlets in Cheltenham. Funding for the scheme is attained through a membership subscription. The aim of the scheme is to reduce crime, disorder and anti-social behaviour through initiatives that provide set codes of practice. Cheltenham Safe has a single dedicated coordinator, an offender exclusion scheme, access to secure offender database and quarterly intelligence meetings (Cheltenham Safe, 2017). Night Safe also enables multiple venues to effectively communicate through the use of the Night Safe radio link which has been provided and upgraded using the Commissioner’s Fund (Gloucestershire PCC, 2018c and 2018d). The use of radios is a situational crime prevention technique to allow for intelligence to be spread rapidly. The final component to Night Safe is its exclusion scheme. If an offender causes a problem in one venue, they will be excluded from others that are part of Night Safe in Cheltenham. This process works firstly by obtaining all the appropriate evidence and information about both the offence and the individual in question. Next, the process of banning an individual is decided upon democratically between Night Safe members during meetings held every two months. Appropriate action is then taken to prevent any future incidents.

Student Community Patrol:

Student Community Patrol is a scheme run by the University of Gloucestershire. At current for the 2017/2018 cohort, the initiative is currently funded by the Late Night Levy. Previously the scheme was supported by the Commissioner’s Fund under the ‘Safer Days and Nights for All’ priority. It was established in 2011 with the aim of supporting not only students and the wider community during the night-time economy, but also, public services such as local A&E departments, the student night-time destinations and venues (The Commissioner’s Fund Monitoring Form, 2017). Patrollers work in liaison with police officers and door security at venues such as MooMoo and Fever, and are supervised by two PCSO’s on Wednesday nights between 11:30pm and 3:30am. The patrollers are fully trained University of Gloucestershire student volunteers who give minor first aid, call taxis, direct students and deal with challenging situations to ensure students and general members of the public remain safe. The director of the scheme stated that Student Community Patrollers have an impact on improving “…community safety by increased monitoring of the streets on a student night - leading to increased
accuracy & speed of delivery of intelligence to the Control Room - leading to quicker response times” (Student Community Patrol Quarterly Monitoring Form, 2017). This also ensures faster treatment for medical emergencies during the night-time economy. To enable effective communication, Student Community Patrollers have also been trained to use Night Safe radio network. At current, there are 15 volunteers. This is a lower number to that of previous years; however, it has been argued that this is jointly due to the lack of funding to hold a second training to recruit new volunteers at the start of 2017, and due to the introduction of the new Pittville Patrol team in September 2017.

**Pittville Patrol:**

Similar to Student Community Patrol, Pittville Patrol is a team comprised of University of Gloucestershire student volunteers who patrol around the Pittville residential and student areas in Cheltenham. The scheme is funded solely by the University and has a dedicated coordinator to direct the volunteers and their activity. The focus of this scheme is to provide welfare care to students walking to and from the Pittville area, and to assist with student safety and minor first aid. The scheme was originally established as part of the Section 106 agreement in planning conditions for the new Pittville student village. In order to quell community concerns, the Pittville Patrol team patrol the area also to decrease noise, disorder and minimise the impact of the newly built 600-bed student accommodation on the local community. The Pittville Patrollers work in liaison with Gloucestershire Constabulary’s PCSOs, police officers, and onsite security. Their patrolling hours begin at 10:00pm and finish at 4:00am, both Monday and Wednesday evenings – unless there is need for extra nights during the week when special events are on. Again, the use of Night Safe radios ensures for efficient communication between all parties to dissolve conflict and deal with situations effectively. Pittville Patrol is currently funded by the University of Gloucestershire. However, the contract has only been signed for the 2017/2018 academic year, therefore there is uncertainty as to whether the scheme will be continued and how it will be funded in the future.

**Cheltenham Guardians:**

Cheltenham Guardians are a community response organisation that provide first aid care and welfare during Saturday evenings between the hours of 10:00pm and 7:00am in Cheltenham. The aim and focus of the scheme addresses welfare, safeguarding and the India Protocol which specifically focuses upon lone-female safeguarding. They do occasionally work Friday evenings and other days of the week when their presence is necessary during busy events. Currently, they have 12 volunteers in total; however, on a typical shift they have 3-5 volunteers working, often in teams of two. Cheltenham Guardians also have access of a liveried vehicle which is fully equipped with medical supplies fit for both safeguarding and minor first aid. The Guardians’ operations primarily funded by the scheme coordinator, however this is supplemented by small donations from the public and local businesses (Jones, 2017). This initiative also uses the Night Safe radio link and works
closely with Gloucestershire Constabulary, South Western ambulance service and door staff.

**Gloucester City Safe:**

Similar to that of Cheltenham Safe, Gloucester City Safe (GCS) is a not-for-profit BCRP present in both Gloucester and Stroud. GCS operates during the DTE and NTE, and is supported by a range of shops, restaurants, Stage Coach bus services, and bars and clubs in the area (GCS, 2017a). The intention of the scheme is to decrease crime, disorder and anti-social behaviour in Gloucester City Centre. Previously the scheme was funded through the Commissioner’s Fund. Now, GCS has 140 business members signed up with a yearly subscription which rolls over per annum – ensuring it is self-sufficient. The scheme predominately runs using an exclusion method similar to that used with the Cheltenham Night Safe scheme. However, it does differ in content and process as GCS operates using a card system. If an individual commits criminal activity or misbehaves in premises that are connected with the scheme, yellow or red cards are handed out to that person. Two or more yellow cards leads to exclusion of all services who support GCS. This is in support of a zero tolerance to crime and anti-social behaviour in Gloucester (GCS, 2017b). This card system was originally adopted from a similar initiative found in Brighton and introduced into Gloucester with the help of a dedicated coordinator and the police. To maintain support and operate successfully, the scheme works in liaison with Gloucestershire Constabulary, local authorities and other important stakeholders and partners to ensure eminent communication for intelligence purposes. GCS is funded through a membership subscription of £1 a day (£365 per year) per business. Due to its recent success, this model has been deployed in Stroud. There is also hope for it to be extended to cover other areas in Gloucestershire in the near future.

**Gloucester NightSafe:**

The Gloucester NightSafe scheme is not widely publicised online nor across Gloucester, yet it is still in operation. The scheme was initially formulated during the Summer of 2012, in regards to The Safer Gloucester Plan 2012-2013. This plan “…pledged to work to ensure that residents and visitors to the city centre on a Friday and Saturday night are and feel safe, focusing resources into any area causing concern” (Safer Gloucester, 2017). The main focus for this project was upon the Eastgate Street area in Gloucester – this is where most of the bars and clubs are concentrated during this city centre. Representatives from Gloucestershire Constabulary, Gloucester City council’s community safety, licensing teams, the taxi trade, and youth support services are present during meetings and all work in liaison to decrease crime and associated behaviour and increase safety.

**#AskAngela:**

#AskAngela is a scheme that has been adopted by few major cities and towns across the UK. Although quiet in its publicity, it is beneficial in its operation as it
aims to assist anyone who feels uncomfortable or threatened in any NTE setting. The scheme is currently being utilised in certain venues in both Cheltenham and Gloucester, however news reports illustrate that its current use is more popular in bars and clubs located in Gloucester. The promotional posters often found in toilets encourage both men and women to go to the bar if they ever feel unsafe, or in danger and cannot escape the person they are with. By asking for Angela at the bar, the staff will remove the vulnerable individual from the situation, call a taxi, and obtain further assistance if necessary.

Street Pastors:
The Street Pastors were initially founded in 2003 in London – since then it has grown in strength and numbers up and down the UK. “Currently, more than 300 towns and cities around the UK have a Street Pastors team. When you add prayer pastors, management teams and trustees, this means that there are over 20,000 volunteers in total associated with the Street Pastors network” (StreetPastors, 2017a). Street Pastors is an interdenominational network of adult volunteers who follow the Christian faith and attend their local church. Their aim is to aid and support vulnerable people during the night-time economy. Their website states that they usually patrol towns and cities Friday and Saturday nights during the hours of 10:00pm and 4:00am (StreetPastors, 2017b). In Gloucestershire, Street Pastors are found in Cheltenham, Gloucester, Cirencester and Stroud, therefore not only covering the main night-time economy districts across the county but also those of a smaller volume. The Commissioner’s Fund supports both Gloucester and Cheltenham Street Pastors and has funded their organisations since 2013 under the ‘Safer Days and Nights for All’ priority (Gloucestershire PCC. 2018b). The Street Pastors work closely with local council and police but insist that they are fiercely independent and politically impartial.
Appendix B – Public survey

1. How would you describe your gender?

2. Age:
   - under 18
   - 18-24
   - 25-34
   - 35-44
   - 45-54
   - 55-65
   - 65+

(Respondents would answer the following questions concerning Gloucester or Cheltenham)

3. How often do you visit Cheltenham Town Centre between the hours of 6pm – 6am?
   - Daily
   - Several times a week
   - Once a week
   - Once a fortnight
   - Less often

4. What was your main reason for your most recent visit to Cheltenham Town Centre during the hours of 6pm and 6am:
   - Employment related
   - Accessing services [cash machines etc]
   - Bar/Pub/club
   - Food and/or eating out
   - Entertainment facilities [bowling, cinema etc]
   - Other

5. On a scale of 1-5, how safe did you feel in Cheltenham Town Centre? [1 being very unsafe, and 5 being very safe]

6. Was there anything in particular that made you feel unsafe during your visit to Cheltenham?

7. Was there anything in particular that made you feel safe during your visit to Cheltenham?

8. Were you aware of the presence of the police in the centre during your visit to Cheltenham?
   - Yes
9. From the following options, what type of crime or behaviour do you think is the biggest problem in Cheltenham Town Centre during the hours of 6pm - 6am?

- Anti-social behaviour
- Shoplifting and theft
- Violent offences
- Criminal damage
- Drug offences
- Other

(The remaining questions were formatted as follows and each concerned a different crime reduction and community safety initiative that operated in the NTE)

10. What do you know about the Student Community Patrol?

- I haven't heard of it
- I have heard of it but don't know how effective it is
- I have heard of it and think it is very ineffective
- I have heard of it and think it is fairly ineffective
- I have heard of it and think it is fairly effective
- I have heard of it and think it is very effective
Appendix C – Business survey

1. In which location is your business (if in both sites, on which would you like to answer the questions)?
   - Cheltenham
   - Gloucester

(Respondents would answer the following questions in relation to Gloucester or Cheltenham)

2. Which of the following trade classifications would you say that your business comes under?
   - Licenced premises: clubs, restaurants, pubs, bars and other
   - Accommodation and food service activities (non-licenced)
   - Retail: predominantly food
   - Retail Non-food: Non-specialised stores or department stores
   - Retail Non-food: Textiles, clothing and footwear
   - Retail Non-food: household goods stores
   - Retail Non-food: other specialist stores
   - Retail Non-store retailing
   - Retail: Automotive fuel
   - Shopping centre public area, a general location, non-business location
   - Other

3. On a scale of 1-5, how safe do you feel working in Gloucester centre during the hours of 6pm – 6am? [1 being very unsafe, and 5 being very safe]

4. Is there anything in particular that makes you feel unsafe when working in Gloucester during these hours?

5. Is there anything in particular that makes you feel safe when working in Gloucester during these hours?

6. From the following options, what type of crime or behaviour is the biggest problem for your business in Gloucester between 6pm-6am?
   - Anti-social behaviour
   - Shoplifting and theft
   - Violent offences
   - Criminal damage
   - Drug offences
   - These crimes do not cause a problem for my business
   - Don't know
   - Other
7. If your business has been affected by one of the crimes mentioned in the previous question, please could you explain how?

8. From the following options, what would you say the biggest cause of crime is in Gloucester City Centre during 6pm-6am?
   - Poverty
   - Drugs
   - Alcohol
   - Unemployment
   - Too few police
   - Other

9. What contact does your business have with the police?

10. Through your contact with the police while at work, how effective have you found them to be at dealing with the things that you’ve reported to them?
   - Very effective
   - Fairly effective
   - Fairly ineffective
   - Very ineffective
   - Don't know
   - My business has had no contact with the police

(The remaining questions concerned the crime reduction and community safety initiatives that operated in Gloucestershire’s NTE. Respondents were asked the following four questions in relation to each scheme)

11. Have you heard of Gloucester Nightsafe scheme?
   - Yes
   - No

12. Is your business connected with the Gloucester Nightsafe scheme?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Don't Know

13. How effective do you believe the Gloucester Nightsafe scheme is?
   - Very effective
   - Fairly effective
   - Fairly ineffective
   - Very ineffective
   - I don't know how effective it is

14. Why do you feel this way?
Appendix D – Key stakeholder interview questions

1) What is your job title and role and which locations do you cover?

2) Do you think that the Town Centre is safe place to be during the evenings and night-time?
   a) Why?

3) What do you believe are the main issues of concern during the night-time economy in the Town Centre?
   a) Where specifically are these issues occurring?
   b) What are the effects of this for the public? For businesses operating in the Night-time Economy?

4) Tell me about your involvement in efforts to increase safety and tackle crime in the evenings and night-time hours in the Town Centre?

5) Are there other schemes or initiatives that you’re aware of that are trying to increase safety or tackle crime in the Night-time Economy in Gloucestershire?

6) Does your initiative work with these other initiatives?
   a) If so how?
   b) If not, why not?

7) Do you have any ideas for new schemes or approaches which would be appropriate to decrease any types of crime or associated disorder during the night-time economy in Gloucestershire?

8) Are there any additional comments you would like to make about Gloucestershire and/or the night-time economy?
### Appendix E – Interview participants and their anonymised labels

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<tr>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I1</td>
<td>Cheltenham Safe (Night Safe) Representative</td>
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<td>I2</td>
<td>Gloucestershire Constabulary Representative</td>
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<td>I3</td>
<td>Gloucester City Safe Representative</td>
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<td>I4</td>
<td>Voluntary Sector Representative</td>
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<td>I5</td>
<td>Street Pastors Representative</td>
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<td>I6</td>
<td>Gloucestershire Constabulary Representative</td>
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<td>Student Community Patrol Representative</td>
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<td>I11</td>
<td>Cheltenham Guardians Representative</td>
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<td>I12</td>
<td>Gloucestershire Constabulary Representative</td>
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