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Australian Institute of Criminology

Policing licensed premises in the Australian Capital Territory

Lance Smith
Anthony Morgan
Amanda McAtamney

AIC Reports
Technical and
Background Paper

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www.aic.gov.au



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ISSN 1836-2052

ISBN 978 1 921532 92 4

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Project no. 0160

Ethics approval no. PO146, PO146a

Published by the Australian Institute of Criminology

GPO Box 2944

Canberra ACT 2601

Tel: (02) 6260 9200

Fax: (02) 6260 9299

Email: front.desk@aic.gov.au

Website: <http://www.aic.gov.au>

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Edited and typeset by the Australian Institute of Criminology

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Foreword

There is an old joke that says that an Australian's definition of a drinking problem is being in a situation where you can't get a drink. This reflects Australia's well-established reputation for being a community where the consumption of alcohol, frequently at excessive and harmful levels, is associated with many forms of entertainment and participation in social events. In other words, the association between alcohol consumption and the enjoyment of social activity is a deeply embedded cultural phenomenon.

However, the evidence relating to the range of individual and social harms associated with alcohol misuse is strong. In 2007, one in four Australians were a victim of alcohol-related verbal abuse, 13 percent were put in fear and 4.5 percent of Australians aged 14 years or older had been physically abused by someone under the influence of alcohol (AIHW 2008). The rates of physical and verbal abuse by a person affected by alcohol are more than twice the rate for other drug types. Alcohol-related crime and disorder also has a significant adverse impact upon the perceptions of safety among the broader community.

At the same time, Australia also has a substantial reputation for developing and implementing innovative policy approaches to trying to reduce the harms associated with excessive alcohol use and violence in particular. Many of these initiatives have been focused on regulatory responses that target licensed premises and liquor outlets. Licensed premises are a high-risk setting for alcohol-related violence, with a large proportion of assaults

occurring in or within very close proximity to hotels and nightclubs. Furthermore, both patrons and staff of licensed premises are at a heightened risk of becoming involved in a violent incident compared with other locations.

Over the years, police and liquor regulatory authorities, often in partnership with liquor licensees, have committed significant effort and resources to efforts to improve the overall safety of drinking venues and the overall amenity of the nearby community. Unfortunately, often what has been missing from such efforts has been any systematic assessment of their relative effectiveness and methods for sharing the lessons learned.

This report is part of an attempt to redress this knowledge deficit. Undertaken in close partnership with Australian Capital Territory Policing (ACTP), the project was a detailed study of the effectiveness of a series of policing measures implemented by the ACTP over several months to reduce and prevent alcohol-related violence in and around licensed premises and entertainment precincts in the ACT.

As with similar studies previously conducted here and overseas, the project found mixed results in relation to effectiveness. However, the project was able to help identify and explain what things were working and why, thereby providing a series of evidence-based recommendations for future policing in this area, many of which it is pleasing to note have already been adopted by ACTP.

Adam Tomison
Director

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Acknowledgements

This Australian Institute of Criminology would like to acknowledge ACT Policing and their partnership in undertaking this project. Without the assistance of ACT Policing, this project would not have been possible.

The Australian Institute of Criminology would also like to acknowledge those licensees who participated throughout various stages of the project. Their participation demonstrates that the industry is also committed to addressing alcohol-related problems in the Australian Capital Territory.

Acronyms

ACAT	ACT Civil & Administrative Tribunal
ACTP	ACT Policing
AFP	Australian Federal Police
AIC	Australian Institute of Criminology
CINs	Criminal Infringement Notices
ORS	Office of Regulatory Services
PLD	place of last drink
PROMIS	Police Real-time On-line Management Information System
RLLP	Responsible Liquor Licensing Project
RSA	responsible service of alcohol

Executive summary

This report presents the findings from research conducted by the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) undertaken in partnership with ACT Policing (ACTP) to evaluate the operation and effectiveness of policing strategies directed at reducing and preventing alcohol-related violence in licensed premises and entertainment precincts in the Australian Capital Territory.

It should be acknowledged that since the writing of this report, ACTP has undergone some strategic organisational changes that coincide with some of the recommendations made in this report.

Alcohol, violence and licensed premises

The harm associated with the consumption of alcohol, particularly among young people, is an area of growing concern and presents a major challenge to all levels of government (MCDS 2006). Developing policies that attempt to influence drinking behaviour is notoriously difficult, largely because the consumption of alcohol is widely accepted as a significant part of Australian culture.

There is considerable evidence of an association between the excessive consumption of alcohol and a range of social, health and economic harms (Collins & Lapsley 2008). However, the relationship between alcohol and violence is a complex one. Research shows that heavy drinking and intoxication are associated with physical aggression (Plant, Plant & Thornton 2002; Wells & Graham 2003). However, the association between alcohol and aggression is the result of a complex interaction of the pharmacological effects of alcohol, individual factors, societal attitudes and values, and the drinking environment (Graham et al. 2006).

Licensed premises are a high-risk setting for alcohol-related violence and injury, with a large number of assaults occurring in or within very close proximity to hotels and nightclubs (Fitzgerald, Mason & Borzycki 2010). Research demonstrates a strong correlation between liquor outlet density and the incidence of multiple forms of social disruption, including assault, injury and drink driving, as well as impacting upon neighbourhood perceptions of crime and safety (Chikritzhs et al. 2007). Research has also shown that in any given area, a relatively small number of outlets are responsible for a disproportionate level of alcohol-related harm (Donnelly & Briscoe 2005).

Australian policy directed towards reducing the incidence of alcohol-related victimisation has been primarily concerned with regulatory responses that target licensed premises and liquor outlets (Loxley et al. 2005). Importantly, research has shown that legislation or regulations prohibiting (for example) the service of alcohol to minors or requiring the responsible service of alcohol (RSA), with the threat of penalties for breaches, are not sufficient on their own to encourage compliance. There is considerable evidence that the effectiveness of strategies that aim to restrict the sale and supply of alcohol, such as responsible beverage service programs, liquor accords, restrictions on the access to alcohol among young people and community prevention initiatives, is contingent upon the presence of a strong and reliable enforcement component (Loxley, Toubmourou & Stockwell 2004; NDRI 2007; Trifonoff & Nicholas 2008).

Research that has examined the effectiveness of interventions focusing specifically on policing has shown that, when appropriately targeted, enforcement can be an effective approach to reducing violence in licensed premises (Haines

& Graham 2005). There is also growing recognition of elements of a best practice approach to policing licensed premises (Doherty & Roche 2003). However, attempts to implement evidence-based policing interventions have encountered several practical challenges and there is scope for further research and evaluation in this area.

Evaluation methodology

The AIC undertook a process and outcome evaluation of the ACTP response to alcohol-related crime in entertainment precincts over the 2009–10 summer period. This involved an evaluation of the following strategies:

- Front-line policing, involving general duties officers patrolling entertainment precincts.
- The Responsible Liquor Licensing Project (RLLP), which was a four-stage project developed and implemented by ACTP Crime Prevention and was designed to educate, facilitate and enforce responsible liquor licensing within the Civic (central business district) entertainment precinct.
- Monitoring, regulation and enforcement of licensed premises in partnership with the Office of Regulatory Services (ORS).
- Intelligence gathering and analysis to identify problematic locations and premises, which was designed to help inform front-line policing, enforcement operations and the RLLP.

This project sought to address the following key research questions:

- What is the precise nature and level of alcohol-related crime associated with licensed premises in the Civic and Manuka/Kingston entertainment districts?
- Were the policing strategies developed by ACTP to address alcohol-related crime in entertainment precincts implemented according to how they were designed and what factors impacted upon the operation of these strategies?
- What characteristics of the ACTP approach to policing licensed premises contribute to their overall effectiveness as crime reduction strategies?

- What impact does improved intelligence relating to violence and other alcohol-related offending in and around licensed premises have on the capacity of police to address alcohol-related crime in entertainment precincts?
- What short-term impact does the proactive policing and enforcement strategies delivered as part of the ACTP response to alcohol-related crime in entertainment precincts have on:
 - the level of compliance with liquor licensing legislation and regulations?
 - the patterns of consumption and problematic drinking behaviour among patrons of licensed premises?
 - the nature and the level of alcohol-related harm in areas with a high concentration of licensed premises?

The AIC undertook this research project in the city of Canberra as it represents a relatively compact and manageable licensed environment. Canberra is unique in that there are a number of distinct but relatively small entertainment precincts, which were considered by the research team to be particularly suitable for the proposed research project.

The AIC's role in this project was to manage the research and evaluation component, identify appropriate measures of performance, design and monitor the implementation of relevant data collection mechanisms, analyse the data collected and to provide feedback at regular intervals as to the efficacy of the interventions being implemented. A range of research techniques were employed to gather the information required to undertake the evaluation of policing strategies. These methods included:

- stakeholder interviews;
- observational research in and around licensed premises;
- an online survey of the general community;
- analysis of recorded offence and incident data from ACTP; and
- a 'place of last drinks' form developed by the AIC and completed by general duties police officers.

Alcohol-related crime and violence in the Australian Capital Territory

The prevalence of alcohol-related problems associated with licensed premises in entertainment precincts is an area of growing concern among the ACT community, police and licensing authorities (ACT DJCS 2008). An analysis of recorded offence data (from 2005–06 to 2008–09) provided to the AIC by ACTP shows that:

- there has been a general increase in the number of recorded assault offences in the Australian Capital Territory over the past four years, consistent with a trend nationally;
- there has been a noticeable increase in the number of recorded assault offences in Civic;
- almost two-thirds of all offenders charged with an assault-related offence in 2009 had consumed alcohol prior to the offence or were intoxicated at the time of being arrested;
- in 2008–09, the majority of recorded assaults in Civic occurred between the hours of midnight and 3 am (34%) and between 3 am and 6 am (24%); in Kingston/Manuka, the proportion of total assaults peaked at 42 percent between the hours of midnight and 3 am; and
- in 2008–09, 22 percent of assaults in Civic and 24 percent of assaults in Kingston/Manuka were recorded as having taken place on licensed premises, compared with eight percent of assaults in the Australian Capital Territory as a whole, and a significant number were recorded as having occurred in public places.

Prior to the intervention strategies (eg RLLP, Operation Unite) being implemented, AIC researchers accompanied ACTP to the Civic entertainment precinct to observe issues relating to the management of licensed premises, problems associated with licensed premises and intoxicated patrons, and to monitor existing police strategies in the entertainment precinct. A large number of patrons were observed that were noticeably affected by alcohol, many showing signs of being heavily intoxicated, particularly as the night went on.

The high density of licensed premises in the Civic area is perceived by many stakeholders as an important factor in contributing to the problems associated with alcohol in Civic (ACT DJCS 2008). Interviews with police and observations by the AIC research team in mid 2009 concluded that police beat teams spent a considerable amount of time patrolling those areas within Civic where there were multiple premises in close proximity to one another and responding to incidents as they occurred.

A 2007 report by the ACT Auditor-General highlighted a number of deficiencies in the regulation of liquor licenses in the Australian Capital Territory and increasing community concern regarding the problems associated with alcohol. A review of the *Liquor Act 1975* was undertaken and led to the development of new liquor legislation. The new *Liquor Act 2010* aims to:

- strengthen the licensing regime so as to better reflect harm minimisation and community safety principles;
- enable more effective enforcement of ACT liquor licensing legislation to encourage greater compliance; and
- streamline the licensing regime to promote more effective and efficient regulatory action (ACT DJCS 2010: 2).

The new legislation will be supported by funding from the ACT Government and will permit ACTP to work with officers from ORS to enforce the new liquor reforms. This includes the development of a dedicated team of officers tasked with the responsibility of monitoring, regulation and enforcement of liquor licensing legislation in the Australian Capital Territory (in partnership with ORS).

A review of policing strategies in the Australian Capital Territory: Key findings

The AIC and ACTP elected to focus the current evaluation on reviewing the implementation and, where possible, the effectiveness of strategies that were designed to address problems in Civic during

the intervention period. Key findings from the review of the implementation of these four strategies (outlined above) include the following:

- Police, ORS and licensees highlighted the important role performed by ACTP in intervening in violent behaviour quickly to reduce the scale and severity of incidents in the Civic entertainment area.
- While supportive of high-visibility and saturation-type policing strategies during peak times for alcohol-related crime and antisocial behaviour, both police and licensees acknowledged that the presence of police had little deterrent impact on the behaviour of those patrons affected by alcohol.
- Police and licensees held differing views regarding the preferred focus of enforcement activity, with ACTP officers supportive of a greater focus on licensed premises and the majority of licensees more supportive of increased enforcement powers to deal with incidents of violence and antisocial behaviour among patrons.
- Feedback from both licensees and ACTP suggested that ACTP Crime Prevention had used the RLLP to successfully re-establish communication and relationships with licensees in the Australian Capital Territory and that these workshops were viewed as an important means of communication, sharing ideas and developing solutions relating to common problems.
- There was some evidence from ACTP and other stakeholders that while the early phases of the RLLP were successfully implemented, other phases encountered a number of problems.
- Both ACTP and ORS inspectors reported that the sustained campaign of licensing inspections targeted at premises during busy trading periods during 2009–10 had the capacity to deliver improvements in compliance with liquor licensing conditions.
- ACTP Intelligence had assisted operational decision-making by providing regular reports from an analysis of data from a number of sources; however, there was some scope to increase the coordination of information requests, improve the dissemination of findings and improve the quality of intelligence relating to alcohol-related offences.

- Before the start of the 2009–10 summer period in the Australian Capital Territory, the AIC identified a gap in the data gathered by ACTP and the ability to link incidents to the place of last drink. The ‘place of last drink’ forms developed as part of this project to fill the information gap provided valuable intelligence on the relationship between specific licensed premises and alcohol-related incidents. However, there is a need to improve the implementation of these forms and make better use of the data collected.

Factors impacting upon the operation of ACT Policing strategies

A number of factors impacted upon some or all of the strategies implemented by ACTP:

- Feedback from ACTP suggested that the availability of suitable resources was an ongoing issue that may have limited the capacity of ACTP to properly implement the full range of evidence-informed strategies directed at licensed premises.
- There were clear differences in the enforcement priorities of ACTP and ORS, highlighting the importance of a mutual understanding of the different roles and responsibilities of each agency and the effective coordination of enforcement activity.
- Limitations with the existing liquor licensing legislation, many of which will be overcome through the introduction of the new *Liquor Act 2010*, impacted upon the capacity of ACTP to effectively police licensed premises, particularly in terms of RSA.
- The level of knowledge and understanding of liquor licensing legislation varied considerably among police, particularly in terms of understanding what action could be taken by ACTP against licensed premises.
- The availability of intelligence for operational decision-making and performance monitoring purposes impacted upon ACTP’s capacity to identify problematic locations and premises and to assess the effectiveness of strategies designed to address them.
- There was limited evidence of systems in place within ACTP to monitor the impact and effectiveness of strategies to address alcohol-related crime in entertainment precincts.

- There was scope for all sections of ACTP to work together more effectively as part of a coordinated approach to policing entertainment precincts, with a particular emphasis on improved information sharing and collaborative strategies.
- There was also scope to improve the relationship between ACTP and ORS which, while generally positive and highly valued, was sometimes limited by a lack of communication and differing priorities.
- The design of licensed premises, service of alcohol to intoxicated patrons and behaviour of security staff all have the capacity to limit the effectiveness of ACTP in reducing the level of alcohol-related crime in and around licensed premises.
- findings from interviews with ACTP and licensees;
- a comparison of recorded offences in the intervention area (Civic), a control area (Manuka/Kingston) and the wider Canberra region;
- a comparison of findings from the observational research undertaken by AIC staff in the Civic and Manuka/Kingston entertainment precincts before and after the intervention periods;
- analysis of data from the survey of community perceptions.

There were a number of findings surrounding the short-term impact of ACTP's strategies.

Strategies to address (or in some cases enhance) these factors need to be considered as part of future operational strategies targeting licensed premises.

Impact of policing strategies

The short-term impact of ACTP strategies targeting licensed premises on their compliance with liquor licensing legislation, alcohol-related violence and community safety was difficult to determine for a number of reasons:

- There was a lack of clear agreement between the AIC and the ACTP as to the precise evidence-based strategies, that were to be subject to the evaluation, as well as being able to clearly define the intervention period.
- A number of ACTP strategies were delivered simultaneously, and at the same time as strategies delivered by other agencies in the same locations, which made it difficult to determine the specific impact of each individual strategy delivered by ACTP in Civic during the intervention period.
- There were limitations with the data collected by ACTP and ORS, particularly in terms of the capacity to identify alcohol-related offences.
- The AIC instituted a number of new data collection tools and while they will assist in informing a longer term project, they were not implemented in full before and after the implementation of the strategies currently being evaluated.
- Interviews with licensees suggested that there was little perceived risk associated with not complying with liquor licensing regulations (particularly as they related to serving alcohol to intoxicated patrons) and that the consequences of non-compliance were insufficient to act as a strong deterrent to future breaches.
- Almost all licensees supported strong premises management practices, including RSA, although evidence as to whether these practices were being implemented was inconsistent and highlighted some of the practice barriers of adhering to strict management practices (such as refusing service to intoxicated and potentially aggressive patrons). This will, in some part, be addressed through new legislation and mandatory RSA requirements for bar staff, but will need to be supported by a strong enforcement and education component.
- There were indications that problematic drinking behaviour remains at high levels and (along with the alcohol-related violence and antisocial behaviour) continues to be one of the most pressing concerns for the Civic entertainment precinct.
- In addition to regulating the sale and supply of alcohol, there was strong support for strategies that are designed to help address problematic drinking behaviour and the culture of 'drinking to get drunk'. In particular, there was support among both police and licensees to place some responsibility back onto individuals, ensure that individuals were held accountable for their own behaviour (particularly repeat offenders) and to encourage positive behaviour among patrons.

The assessment of the short-term impact of the strategies implemented by ACTP over the 2009–10 summer period was therefore limited to:

- Several factors continue to limit the capacity of police to make a more significant impact on the levels of alcohol-related crime in entertainment precincts, including patron attitudes towards alcohol and its consumption, the management of licensed premises, advertising and promotion of cheap drinks and preloading (ie where patrons consume large amounts of cheap alcohol at home before visiting entertainment precincts and licensed premises).
- A comparison between the number of recorded assaults in Civic, Manuka/Kingston and the wider Australian Capital Territory during the intervention period and previous years suggested that the strategies delivered by ACTP may have had a short-term impact on recorded offences in the Civic entertainment precinct. Consistent with previous research, this reduction may have been sustained over time if there was a strong and ongoing enforcement component beyond December 2009.
- The AIC online survey did not permit pre and post intervention comparisons of perceptions of crime and safety because it was only implemented on one occasion towards the end of the intervention period. Nevertheless, an analysis of responses to the survey showed that:
 - a significant proportion of respondents believed crime had increased in entertainment precincts compared with 12 months ago, particularly in Civic;
 - a large proportion of respondents perceived alcohol-related violence and drunken and disorderly behaviour to be a significant problem in Civic and Kingston/Manuka; and
 - a large number of respondents indicated they had felt intimidated by the presence of a person under the influence of alcohol in these areas.


Recommendations for ACT Policing

Based upon the findings presented in this report, the AIC has prepared the following recommendations to improve the effectiveness of ACTP in dealing with the problems associated with licensed premises in entertainment precincts. These recommendations are targeted primarily at ACTP, but recognise that their role is as a part of a coordinated response to alcohol-related harms that involves a variety of other agencies such as ORS.

Table 1 Recommendations to improve the operation and effectiveness of the ACT Policing approach to policing licensed premises	
Key feature of approach to licensed premises	Recommendation
Adoption of a clear long-term strategy to address alcohol-related crime and antisocial behaviour problems	<p>Develop and implement a clear long-term strategy for policing alcohol-related crime and antisocial behaviour in the Australian Capital Territory, with clear objectives and evidence-based strategies that align with the ACT Alcohol, Tobacco and Other Drug Strategy 2010–2014.</p> <p>The implementation of this strategy should be supported by high levels of communication and collaboration between relevant sections of ACTP, facilitated by the new liquor licensing team</p>
More rigorous enforcement of liquor licensing legislation	<p>The primary focus of the new liquor licensing team should be on the enforcement of existing liquor licensing laws and (upon its introduction) the <i>Liquor Act 2010</i>. This would involve highly visible and regular operations targeted at problematic premises. These should be supported by a highly visible police presence to respond to and, where possible, deter offending behaviour in and around licensed premises.</p> <p>Incidents of breaches of liquor laws, their prosecution and subsequent penalties should be widely promoted to other licensed premises to encourage compliance.</p> <p>Appropriate mechanisms need to be developed that will enhance and increase communication and collaboration between ACTP and ORS</p>

Table 1 (continued)

Key feature of approach to licensed premises	Recommendation
Intelligence-led policing of licensed premises	<p>There should be a focus on regular intelligence gathering and analysis of alcohol-related incidents as part of the new liquor licensing team. This may require a dedicated intelligence analyst.</p> <p>The piloting of a 'place of last drink' form should be continued for a further year, with a view to integrating this information into mainstream data collection and information systems.</p> <p>ACTP liquor licensing team should conduct an audit of existing information systems to determine the full range and availability of intelligence on alcohol-related incidents. Mechanisms to extract and analyse these data on a regular basis should then be established.</p> <p>The importance of collecting high quality data on alcohol-related incidents, particularly those involving licensed premises, should be communicated to all ACTP officers</p>
Monitoring alcohol-related problems and the response and impact of policing	<p>ACTP should develop appropriate and relevant performance indicators as part of a performance measurement framework to monitor the operation and impact of policing strategies in reducing the problems associated with alcohol and licensed premises. This may involve the inclusion of relevant performance indicators relating to alcohol-related violence and liquor licensing activity within the purchase agreement between ACT Government and the Australian Federal Police (AFP) for policing services in the Australian Capital Territory</p>
Workforce and organisational development	<p>An ongoing program of training should be developed to provide officers within the new liquor licensing team and front-line officers likely to have some contact with licensed premises and involvement in ACT Civil & Administrative Tribunal (ACAT) hearings, with training relating to the new liquor licensing legislation and role of police.</p> <p>The AIC should continue to work with ACTP in an advisory role to provide advice on good practice and new and emerging research on policing and the effective management of licensed premises</p>
Working with licensees, managers and security	<p>ACTP should, in partnership with ORS, continue to work closely with licensees and bar staff, taking a proactive approach to providing clear and consistent messages and advice on key aspects of liquor licensing legislation.</p> <p>Regular meetings and/or workshops involving ACTP liquor licensing team, other relevant sections of ACTP, ORS, licensees, security staff and other key stakeholders should be held to assist in the transfer of information and advice regarding aspects of liquor licensing, the effective design and management of licensed premises and emerging problems and solutions relating to alcohol and crime.</p> <p>Front-line officers should continue to liaise with security staff to assist in the effective management of premises and their surrounding areas, and to capture information that may assist police in detecting and apprehending offenders</p>
Alcohol counselling and treatment	<p>Steps need to be taken to improve the referral to and availability of alcohol counselling, education and treatment services for persons who are admitted to the ACTP watch house for alcohol-related offences or who are intoxicated, as well as those individuals who are admitted to ACT sobering-up shelter.</p> <p>There should be clear linkages between these services and police to enable effective diversion of offenders who commit more minor alcohol-related offences, such as property or disorderly conduct offences, into treatment or counselling</p>
Developing strategies to reduce the consumption of alcohol	<p>The ACTP should work in partnership with other agencies (eg ACT Health and representative bodies for licensed premises such as the Australian Hotels Association) to develop and promote strategies that may help to address attitudes that support the excessive consumption of alcohol, especially among young people</p>
Further research and evaluation	<p>Further research should be undertaken to evaluate the impact of the <i>Liquor Act 2010</i> and its enforcement by police and regulatory authorities, as well as research into the impact of proposed changes to the organisational structure of police and introduction of a new team dedicated to liquor licensing</p>



The consumption of alcohol, violence and licensed premises

There is a considerable body of research that has examined the relationship between the consumption of alcohol, licensed premises and crime (particularly violent crime). This research is valuable in informing the development and implementation of policing strategies to address alcohol-related problems in and around licensed premises, and in evaluating these strategies in terms of their consistency with good practice.

Alcohol and crime

The harm associated with the consumption of alcohol, particularly for young people, is an area of growing concern (MCDS 2006) and presents a challenge to all levels of government. Developing policies that attempt to influence drinking behaviour is notoriously difficult, largely because the consumption of alcohol is widely accepted as a significant part of Australian culture. A recent national survey found that one in five Australians drink at high-risk levels at least once a month (AIHW 2008). There is also a well-established drinking culture in Australia of 'drinking to get drunk' whereby the consumption of alcohol, frequently at excessive and harmful levels, is associated with many forms of entertainment and participation in social events (Alcohol Working Group 2009).

At the same time, there is considerable evidence of an association between the excessive consumption of alcohol and a range of social, health and economic harms (Collins & Lapsley 2008). Alcohol-attributed disease and injury accounts for a significant number of hospitalisations each year (Pascal, Chikritzhs & Jones 2009). Research has found that a significant proportion of assaults involve persons affected by alcohol, either as victims or offenders (Doherty & Roche 2003; Morgan & McAtamney 2009; Plant, Plant & Thornton 2002). Conservative estimates suggest that in 2004–05, the total cost attributable to alcohol-related crime in Australia was \$1.7b (Collins & Lapsley 2008). This has a negative impact on community safety and public amenity, which extends well beyond those who have been directly involved in an incident of alcohol-related antisocial behaviour or harm (Nicholas 2006).

The relationship between alcohol and aggression

The relationship between alcohol and violence is a complex one. Research shows that heavy drinking and intoxication are associated with physical aggression (Plant, Plant & Thornton 2002; Wells &

Graham 2003). However, the majority of people who drink alcohol do not become offenders or victims of violent crime and consuming alcohol does not necessarily act as a precursor to violent behaviour (Plant, Plant & Thornton 2002). Research suggests that the association between alcohol and aggression is the result of an interaction of a number of variables, including:

- individual characteristics including age, gender, personality traits, predisposition to aggression, deviant attitudes and expectations of the drinker about the effects of alcohol and their behaviour while intoxicated;
- the pharmacological effects of alcohol on the cognitive, affective or behavioural functioning of the drinker which can lead to increased risk-taking, reduced anxiety regarding possible sanctions for their behaviour, heightened emotionality, impulsive behaviour, 'liquid courage', a distorted interpretation of events and an inability to resolve incidents verbally;
- effects of the drinking environment including situational factors such as crowding, permissiveness of violent behaviour, the management of licensed premises and the role and behaviour of venue staff (including managers and security); and
- societal attitudes and values, including a culture of deliberately drinking to become intoxicated, and using alcohol as an excuse for behaviour not normally condoned and for holding individuals less responsible for their actions (Graham et al. 2006, 1998).

The relationship between alcohol and violence is therefore influenced by the interactive effects of alcohol with personal, environmental and cultural factors. The prevention of violence and aggression requires an understanding of these interacting processes and risk factors. It also requires developing strategies that are informed by the evidence base with respect to the most effective interventions to address these factors and customising these strategies to suit the specific circumstances of local communities (Graham & Homel 2008; NDRI 2007).

Licensed premises and alcohol-related violence

Licensed premises are popular venues for entertainment, the consumption of alcohol and an important location for socialising, particularly among young people (McIlwain & Homel 2009). However, these premises are also a high-risk setting for alcohol-related violence and injury, with a large number of assaults occurring in or within very close proximity to hotels and nightclubs (Fitzgerald, Mason & Borzycki 2010). Both patrons and staff of licensed premises are at a heightened risk of becoming involved in a violent incident by comparison with other locations (Graham & Homel 2008). Research demonstrates a strong correlation between liquor outlet density and the incidence of multiple forms of social disruption, including assault, injury and drink driving (Chikritzhs et al. 2007).

Further, research has shown that in any given area, a relatively small number of outlets can be responsible for a disproportionate level of alcohol-related harm (Donnelly & Briscoe 2005). There are a number of explanations for these findings. There is evidence that the characteristics of venue patrons, such as being young, male and drinking heavily, are associated with increased likelihood of violence. However, the strongest predictor of violence in licensed premises is the characteristics of the venue itself (Quigley, Leonard & Collins 2003). Premises that fail to discourage aggressive behaviour while exhibiting particular physical and social characteristics that are more conducive to aggressive behaviour (see Table 2), will more frequently attract patrons who are most likely to become involved in aggressive behaviour (Quigley, Leonard & Collins 2003).

Table 2 outlines the risk factors for licensed premises relating to the characteristics of patrons, the venue, social environment, staff behaviour and the wider environment. Addressing the range of factors associated with violence in and around licensed premises is critical to the development of effective interventions.

Table 2 Risk factors for licensed premises

Patron characteristics	Venue characteristics	Social environment	Staffing characteristics	Wider environment
Heavily intoxicated	Queues or line ups outside the building	Heavy drinking and high levels of intoxication	High proportion of male staff	High density of licensed premises
Greater proportion of males	Patrons hanging around outside venue at closing	Generally permissive environment with high levels of rowdy behaviour	Low staff-to-patron ratio	High levels of movement in and out of premises
Presence of males in groups, especially strangers to one another	Queues for public transport	Expectation that aggression will be tolerated	Lack of responsible serving practices	Entry and ejection practices for aggressive patrons
Heavy drinkers	Venues with larger capacity	Hostile atmosphere	Refusing service to already intoxicated patrons	Unfair or confrontational entry practices
Younger patrons, including those who are underage	Poorly maintained and unpleasant decor	Macho culture	Drinking by staff	Conflict between social groups emerging from or congregating around venues
Greater proportion of unkempt patrons and patrons from marginal groups	Unclean or messy	Patron boredom	Greater number of staff adopting confrontational approach to venue management	Poor management of cluster points such as bus stations, taxi ranks, food outlets
Patrons exhibiting signs of being less agreeable, more impulsive and angry	Poor or low levels of lighting	Underage drinking	Aggressive security staff	Congestion points as crowds leave venues (especially at closing time)
	Crowding that inhibits movement around the venue, including around the bar	Presence of competitive games	Poor coordination of staff	
	Frequent patron movement	Dancing	Poor monitoring and control of minor incidents	
	Higher noise level	Sexual activity, contact and competition	Limited ability to control or defuse situations	
	Poor ventilation and high temperature	Drink promotions	Lack of professionalism by security staff	
	Inadequate or uncomfortable seating	Limited availability of food	Serving several drinks to patrons at closing	
	Inconvenient access to the bar	Other illegal activities, such as drug dealing	Younger security staff	

Regulating the supply of alcohol

Australian policy directed towards reducing the incidence of alcohol-related victimisation has been primarily concerned with regulatory responses that target licensed premises and liquor outlets (Loxley et al. 2005). The regulation of the sale and supply of alcohol through liquor licensing legislation in Australia is the responsibility of state and territory governments. Most jurisdictions, in recognition of the harms associated with the excessive consumption of alcohol, have introduced harm minimisation as a primary objective of their liquor licensing legislation (NDRI 2007). However, this has been balanced

against the requirement for state and territory governments, in accordance with the National Competition Policy, to ensure there are no unfair restrictions on competition and pressure to promote a vibrant night-time economy (NDRI 2007).

This has had important implications in terms of the availability of alcohol. Like many other countries, there has been a general trend in Australia towards the liberalisation of liquor licensing legislation and deregulation of the sale of alcohol and growth in the night-time economy (Graham & Homel 2008). Availability theory hypothesises that, while people will continue to consume alcohol, decreasing the availability of alcohol will result in a decrease in the level of alcohol consumption and, in-turn, lead to a

reduction in the harms associated with the excessive consumption of alcohol (Jones et al. 2009; NDRI 2007). State and territory liquor acts regulate the physical availability through restrictions on premise trading hours, restrictions on the number and types of outlets, responsible beverage service requirements and imposing controls over the management and operation of licensed premises (NDRI 2007). Many of these controls will be universal, while others may be specifically targeted at certain premises. The trend towards liberalisation has seen increases in the number of licensed premises, different types of premises, hours of availability, beverage types and special event licenses and special license conditions (Nicholas 2010).

There has been extensive research investigating the relationship between the availability of alcohol and social harms. An international review of studies investigating the impact of variations to trading hours concluded that extended late-night trading hours leads to increased consumption and related harms (Stockwell & Chikritzhs 2009). A recent evaluation of the impact of significant restrictions on the trading hours (among other conditions) of a number of problematic premises in the Newcastle central business district found a reduction in the number of assaults, with no evidence of displacement to other neighbourhoods or premises (Jones et al. 2009). Increasing the number of liquor outlets in a designated area has been found to increase the risk of multiple forms of social disruption, as well as impacting upon neighbourhood perceptions of crime and safety (Chikritzhs et al. 2007; Donnelly et al. 2006). Studies into the impact of mandatory responsible beverage service have produced mixed findings, but there is some evidence of a positive impact in terms of reducing availability and therefore associated harms (Stockwell 2001).

There is less research investigating the impact of legislative reform more broadly and the available evidence is mixed. For example, one study in New Zealand concluded that the liberalisation of alcohol, which included a reduction in the minimum age, may have resulted in an increase in consumption among young people and an associated increase in disorder offences and drink driving (Huckle, Pledger & Casswell 2006). By contrast, a recent evaluation of the *Licensing Act 2003* in England and Wales, which

abolished set trading hours for licensed premises, found little evidence of increased availability (few premises extended their hours), increased consumption or increased violence and disorder (Hough & Hunter 2008). This was despite significant initial concerns regarding its potential impact.

Importantly, research has shown that legislation or regulations prohibiting (for example) the service of alcohol to minors or requiring the responsible service of alcohol, with the threat of penalties for breaches, is not sufficient to encourage compliance. Licensed premises frequently breach licensing provisions relating to the service of alcohol to intoxicated patrons and the promotion of irresponsible drinking, and these licensed premises are responsible for a disproportionate amount of harm (Briscoe & Donnelly 2001; Trifonoff & Nicholas 2008). There is considerable evidence that the effectiveness of strategies that aim to restrict the sale and supply of alcohol, such as responsible beverage service programs, liquor accords, restrictions on the access to alcohol among young people and community prevention initiatives, is contingent upon the presence of a strong and reliable enforcement component (Trifonoff & Nicholas 2008; Loxley, Toubmourou & Stockwell 2004; NDRI 2007). Strict enforcement of extant legislation pertaining to the responsible service of alcohol and management of licensed premises has been shown to have some impact upon compliance with these policies (Grube & Nygaard 2005).

Policing licensed premises

Many of the problems that result from intoxication require some sort of action or response by police. Given that alcohol intoxication significantly contributes to the cost of law enforcement in Australia (Donnelly et al. 2007), it is not surprising that considerable attention has been given to the role of police in reducing the burden of alcohol-related problems both on the community and in terms of the demand for policing resources.

Policing strategies targeted at licensed premises and entertainment precincts generally take one of three forms:

- front-line strategies;
- monitoring, regulation and enforcement strategies; and
- collaborative strategies (Doherty & Roche 2003; Fleming 2008).

Front-line strategies

Front-line strategies include the work of ‘general duties’ police officers patrolling areas where there is a high concentration of licensed premises. These officers frequently come into contact with both patrons and premise operators, and are responsible for (and spend a considerable amount of time) dealing with alcohol-related incidents, both in entertainment precincts and residential locations. There is little evidence to suggest that simply increasing the number of officers on patrol is effective as a crime prevention measure in and of itself. Instead, research has shown that directed patrols (ie how officers are deployed and what they do) is more important in determining whether the presence of police will help to prevent crime (Sherman & Eck 2006).

Monitoring, regulation and enforcement

Police are responsible for enforcing laws for regulating the supply of alcohol, often in partnership with licensing authorities (NDRI 2007; Spooner, McPherson & Hall 2004). Given the stringent regulations imposed upon licensees and operators of licensed premises to minimise the harms associated with these high-risk locations, the role of police in the enforcement of these regulations is considered particularly important. The assumption underlying the strict enforcement of liquor licensing laws is that it has the capacity to increase the perceived risks and costs associated with breaching legislative provisions governing the responsible service of alcohol and management of licensed premises, thereby deterring licensees and staff of licensed premises from breaching the legislation. The likely effectiveness of enforcement as a deterrent is dependent upon a number of factors:

- the frequency of the enforcement activity, including whether it has been sustained or is an irregular or one-off occurrence;
- the probability that breaches will be detected and penalised;
- the immediacy of the response to breaches;
- the severity of the penalty and whether it is commensurate to the scale and frequency of the breach(es); and
- whether the activity has been widely publicised (Grube & Nygaard 2005; NDRI 2007).

The enforcement of state and territory liquor acts can involve both randomised and targeted strategies (Graham & Homel 2008). Randomised enforcement focuses on all or most licensed premises within a defined geographic area, using highly visible enforcement of liquor licensing legislation according to a random schedule. Targeted enforcement utilises intelligence collected by police to target problematic premises (Graham & Homel 2008). The fact that some premises are more problematic than others means that intelligence-led approaches to the policing of licensed premises and entertainment precincts are often recommended as the most effective mechanism for producing substantial reductions in alcohol-related problems (Nicholas 2010). Research into the impact of enforcement strategies, including but not limited to those directed at licensed premises, suggests that intelligence-led and targeted enforcement programs are more likely to be effective in dealing with the problems associated with alcohol-related violence in entertainment precincts (Graham & Homel 2008; McIlwain & Homel 2009; Sherman & Eck 2006).

Collaborative strategies

The range of strategies that may be implemented to address the problems associated with alcohol and licensed premises frequently require police to work with a range of stakeholders. Interagency collaboration is an increasingly important component of the role of police in addressing alcohol-related crime and recognises that police do not have sole responsibility for the prevention of alcohol-related crime (Doherty & Roche 2003). Police may be required to work in partnership with other government agencies, local government, regulatory authorities, premise management, peak bodies and the wider community to draw upon the range of skills, expertise, responsibilities and influence that these stakeholders possess.

The effectiveness of policing in reducing alcohol-related crime

Research examining the effectiveness of interventions focusing specifically on policing has shown that, when appropriately targeted, enforcement can be an effective approach to reducing violence in licensed premises (Haines & Graham 2005). Studies in Australia have demonstrated that a persistent and visible police presence in and around licensed premises has the capacity to reduce the level of alcohol-related crime and disorder in an area (Doherty & Roche 2003; McIlwain & Homel 2009). This has been supported by research in New Zealand (Sim, Morgan & Batchelor 2005), Sweden (Wallin & Andreasson 2005) and the United Kingdom (Jeffs & Saunders 1983; Maguire & Nettleton 2003). Other studies have been less supportive of this finding (Burns & Coumarelos 1993). However, many of these studies (with both positive and negative findings) have experienced methodological limitations, including short follow-up periods, the absence of reliable data to measure key outcomes, the absence of appropriate comparison areas to determine the relative effect size, extraneous factors such as other interventions being delivered at the same time and factors that have impacted upon the ability of police to implement the planned interventions (many of which are discussed below). Given the level of resources invested by police in policing licensed premises, there is a relative lack of high quality and independent evaluations into the effectiveness of the variety of approaches that have been adopted (Fleming 2008).

Drawing upon the available evidence base, Doherty and Roche (2003) have identified the following five key elements of a best practice approach to policing licensed premises:

- a clear strategic direction for policing licensed premises and alcohol-related harms;
- proactive policing of licensed venues, events and harms;
- establishing intelligence gathering and analysis practices and systems that identify problematic licensed premises and assist with the evaluation of police responses;

- collaboration with key local stakeholders to develop integrated responses to reduce alcohol-related incidents and harms; and
- enforcing liquor and other legislation impacting on the management of licensed premises and behaviour of staff and patrons.

Barriers to implementing good practice

A number of factors have been found to impact upon the capacity of police to implement good practice in policing licensed premises. Some of the problems that have been encountered in implementing the more effective strategies include:

- poor relationships between police and licensees, including a high degree of mistrust which can hamper efforts to engage the support of licensees in collaborative strategies (Macquire & Nettleton 2003);
- low venue participation rates in voluntary programs that are based on a collaborative approach between licensees and police, such as accords (Stockwell et al. 1993);
- a tendency to prioritise reactive policing strategies in entertainment precincts (ie normal police operations involving responding to and investigating offences and apprehending offenders), rather than proactive initiatives (Spooner, McPherson & Hall 2001).
- scheduled visits to, or walkthroughs in, licensed premises conducted during peak periods frequently being interrupted by incidents that require an immediate police response;
- poor coordination of the range of policing strategies that may be implemented to target problems within areas with a high concentration of premises (Burns & Coumarelos 1993; Homel et al. 1997; Sim, Morgan & Batchelor 2005);
- different views between key stakeholders (police, licensing authorities, licensees) as to the factors contributing to alcohol-related problems and the most effective solutions;
- inadequate data on alcohol-related offending, which inhibits effective targeting of problematic premises;

- limited capacity to commit additional or redistribute existing resources to proactive or saturation-type strategies (Maguire & Nettleton. 2003; Molloy et al. 2004; Sim, Morgan & Batchelor 2005).

Research in New South Wales has demonstrated that police face difficulties in obtaining successful prosecutions for breaches of liquor laws and that where enforcement activity has taken place for breaches, the majority of this action has been initiated against patrons (Donnelly & Briscoe 2005). The problem of obtaining successful prosecutions has been experienced elsewhere, including in the United Kingdom (Maguire & Nettleton 2003). There are a number of reasons for this, including the problems associated with successfully proving a licensee's culpability or complicity in an offence and the dilution of knowledge of liquor licensing legislation among police through the disbanding of dedicated liquor squads (Donnelly & Briscoe 2005; Fleming 2008; NDRI 2007).

Fleming (2008) suggested that there has been a recent shift in the focus of traditional enforcement efforts from the individual to the premise and the increasingly centralised focus of regulation through the establishment of dedicated liquor licensing teams. This is designed to consolidate knowledge and expertise within the organisation and to improve the effectiveness of police responses to reducing the harm associated with problematic licensed premises (Fleming 2008).

Areas for further research

Taken as a whole, the findings of these studies suggest that the regulation of the sale and supply of alcohol and enforcement by police has the capacity to reduce the levels of alcohol-related problems associated with licensed premises. However, there still exists both the need and the scope for additional evaluation of regulatory and enforcement activity within this area (Graham & Homel 2008).

While there is general agreement regarding the key elements of an effective policing strategy to address alcohol-related problems (Doherty & Roche 2003; Nicholas 2010), further research is required in the following areas:

- the optimal amount of enforcement or proactive policing activity and the specific type of activity that has the greatest impact;
- the relative effectiveness of randomised versus targeted enforcement strategies and whether there is an optimal balance between the two;
- the impact of police enforcement over time, whether the positive effects that have been observed are sustainable and the degree to which enforcement efforts must be enhanced indefinitely;
- the cost effectiveness of police enforcement in preventing violence in the licensed environment;
- the capacity of policing strategies to influence other risk factors associated with alcohol-related violence beyond serving practices, including attitudes towards the consumption of alcohol and acceptable behaviour in and around licensed premises;
- the capacity of law enforcement strategies to reduce population level harms; and
- the extent to which the impact of policy and regulatory strategies such as changes in police enforcement practices is influenced by local conditions and the effectiveness of these practices across different areas, including regional centres (Briscoe & Donnelly 2005; Freisthler & Gruenewald 2005; Graham & Homel 2008; Stockwell et al. 2005).


A comprehensive approach to addressing alcohol-related problems in entertainment precincts

While the focus of this report is the role and effectiveness of police in addressing alcohol-related problems in and around licensed premises, it is important to consider the role of police as one part of a comprehensive approach to the management of entertainment precincts. Table 3 outlines the key components of a coordinated approach to addressing the harms associated with the consumption of alcohol in and around licensed premises.

Table 3 Key features of a comprehensive approach to the management of licensed premises

Key feature	Description
Liquor licensing	Legislation that is based upon principles of harm minimisation, contributes to the effective regulation of the sale and supply of alcohol and is supported by decision-making by licensing authorities that is considerate of the potential implications in terms of alcohol-related harms
Premise management	Premises that serve alcohol comply with legislative requirements in terms of their management practices and are proactive in developing strategies to minimise the harm associated with alcohol
Training and education	Licensed premise owners, managers, bar staff and security staff should be made aware of their legal obligations and of strategies that may assist them to deal with aggressive incidents and intoxicated individuals
Responsible service of alcohol	All staff working at licensed premises should be provided with training regarding the responsible service of alcohol and required to comply with these provisions
Premise design	The design and layout of licensed premises and their surrounding areas should minimise those risk factors that increase the likelihood of aggression or violent incidents
Responsible marketing	Licensed premises, alcohol and the consumption of alcohol should be marketed in such a way so as to not promote the excessive consumption of alcohol and to encourage responsible drinking and behaviour among patrons
Communication strategies	Licensed premises, police, regulatory authorities and other key stakeholders should be encouraged to communicate openly with one another regarding licensing issues, alcohol-related incidents and strategies to reduce the problems associated with alcohol
Community education and social marketing	Effective and appropriately targeted education and social marketing strategies can help to attract clientele that are more likely to behave appropriately, encourage responsible drinking and patron behaviour, and enhance perceptions of safety and amenity in areas with a high concentration of licensed premises
Public transport	The availability of a range of public transport options ensures that patrons are dispersed quickly and safely, particularly at peak closing times, and may help to discourage drink driving
Collaboration and interagency collaboration	Collaborative strategies involving police, government agencies, local government, regulatory authorities, premise management, peak bodies and the wider community with clearly defined roles and clear lines of accountability
Enforcement	Targeted enforcement of breaches of the liquor licensing legislation involving both police and regulatory authorities, formal action against patrons for alcohol-related offences and a visible police presence during peak periods for alcohol consumption

Source: Adapted from Doherty & Roche 2003



Evaluation methodology

This report presents the findings from research conducted by the AIC, which has involved working closely with ACTP to undertake an evaluation of the operation and effectiveness of policing strategies directed at licensed premises and entertainment precincts in the Australian Capital Territory. This project was undertaken in response to a request from the AIC Board of Management to undertake research into the impact of policing strategies on the harms associated with the excessive consumption of alcohol and was subsequently approved by the ACTP Chief Police Officer.

The purpose of this research was to determine the impact of proactive policing and enforcement strategies in areas with a high concentration of licensed premises on:

- the perceived risks and costs associated with breaching liquor licensing laws and the actual level of compliance with liquor licensing legislation and regulations;
- the patterns of consumption among patrons of licensed premises and the impact of those premises on the social and cultural environment in entertainment precincts;
- the nature and the level of alcohol-related harm in areas with a high concentration of licensed premises; and

- perceptions and the experience of public safety.

This was intended to help ascertain the most effective methods of policing licensed premises and the relative impact of proactive policing and enforcement strategies. In doing so, the research aimed to determine whether there is an optimal level and nature of policing activity, which maximises the benefits associated with the activity relative to the cost of resources required.

The current project

The AIC undertook a process and outcome evaluation of the ACTP response to alcohol-related crime in entertainment precincts over the 2009–10 summer period. In particular, this current project involves an evaluation of the following strategies:

- front-line policing, which involved ‘general duties’ officers patrolling entertainment precincts and providing a visible police presence during the peak periods of alcohol service and consumption;
- the RLLP, which was a four-stage project developed and implemented by ACTP Crime Prevention and was designed to educate, facilitate and enforce responsible liquor licensing within the Civic entertainment precinct;

- monitoring, regulation and enforcement of licensed premises in partnership with ORS; and
- intelligence gathering and analysis to identify problematic locations and premises, which was designed to help inform front-line policing, enforcement operations and the RLLP.

In addition, this component of the larger project aimed to provide baseline data to measure the impact of future strategies delivered in the Civic entertainment precinct, particularly through the introduction of legislative changes and reorganisation of police tasked with the responsibility for liquor licensing issues.

This component of the project aimed to address the following key research questions:

- What is the precise nature and level of alcohol-related crime associated with licensed premises in the Civic and Manuka/Kingston entertainment districts?
- Were the policing strategies developed by ACTP to address alcohol-related crime in entertainment precincts implemented according to how they were designed and what factors impacted upon the operation of these strategies?
- What characteristics of the ACTP approach to policing licensed premises contribute to their overall effectiveness as crime reduction strategies?
- What impact does improved intelligence relating to violence and other alcohol-related offending in and around licensed premises have on the capacity of police to address alcohol-related crime in entertainment precincts?
- What short-term impact do the proactive policing and enforcement strategies delivered as part of the ACTP response to alcohol-related crime in entertainment precincts have on:
 - the level of compliance with liquor licensing legislation and regulations?
 - the patterns of consumption and problematic drinking behaviour among patrons of licensed premises?
 - the nature and the level of alcohol-related harm in areas with a high concentration of licensed premises?

Research design

To address these research questions, the AIC worked with ACTP to evaluate evidence-informed policing and enforcement strategies aimed at reducing the extent of alcohol-related problems in areas with a high concentration of licensed premises. The AIC identified the Australian Capital Territory as a jurisdiction to be included in this research project as Canberra represents a compact licensed environment, unique in that there are a number of distinct, but relatively small, entertainment precincts amenable to the proposed research project. Recently, these Canberra entertainment precincts have received considerable attention in relation to alcohol-related problems associated with licensed premises; particularly in the local media. For instance, *The Canberra Times* newspaper conducted a four part series in December 2009 (12–15) reporting on aspects of policing the Civic entertainment precinct. The four part series also coincided with a nationwide police operation (Operation UNITE), which will be discussed in this report.

This project has involved the development of a quasi-experimental research design that achieves level three on the Scientific Methods Scale (Farrington et al. 2006), considered the minimum design for drawing conclusions regarding the effectiveness of crime prevention interventions. This requires that appropriate measures of the dependant variables (including levels of compliance, patron behaviour and rates of alcohol-related harm) are developed to assess the impact of the intervention (policing strategies) before and after the program in both an experimental and comparable control condition.

The Civic entertainment precinct was selected as the intervention area and the Manuka/Kingston entertainment precinct was selected as an appropriate comparison area. These locations were selected in consultation with ACTP. They were identified as having a high concentration of licensed premises, a disproportionate rate of alcohol-related harm and being locations with potential to implement evidence-informed policing strategies targeting non-compliance with liquor licensing laws.

The development of evidence-informed policing strategies

The AIC's role in this project was to manage the research and evaluation component, identify appropriate measures of performance, design and monitor the implementation of relevant data collection mechanisms, analyse the data collected and to provide feedback at regular intervals as to the efficacy of the interventions being implemented. Primary responsibility for the design and implementation of evidence informed policing strategies rested with ACTP. The AIC sought to contribute in an advisory capacity and to ensure that appropriate consideration was given to the implications for the evaluation in the design of these interventions.

As part of this advisory role, the AIC submitted to the ACTP a list of possible policing strategies and the evidence in support of the different approaches. From this list, ACTP indicated support for the following strategies:

- *Lockouts*—involves licensed premises not being able to allow entry to new patrons after a specified time, such as 2 am. This aims to restrict late-night movement of patrons between premises.
- *Improvements to public transport*—targeting queues for public transport late at night by increasing the availability of transport for patrons leaving licensed premises, improving the design on public transport facilities and providing greater security to manage these facilities.
- *Liquor accords*—collaborative initiatives involving police, licensees and other key stakeholders developing guidelines or codes of practice specifying harm minimisation principles and practices to reduce alcohol-related inappropriate behaviours.
- *Greater enforcement of liquor licensing*—targeting licensees who do not adhere to liquor licensing legislation or regulations and prosecuting breaches (in partnership with ORS).
- *High-visibility targeting of drink driving*—establishing Random Breath Testing operations in locations around the Civic entertainment precinct, targeting patrons leaving late at night.

- *Increased signage outside of licensed premises*—displaying signage such as 'full house', which may influence people to move on elsewhere rather than lining up and/or loitering. Capacity signage can also remind staff (including security) of the maximum number of patrons allowed.

While a high-level of support existed for these strategies, it became apparent that there were already a number of strategies planned for the 2009–10 summer period (some of which were consistent with those listed above). The time and resources required to develop and implement additional strategies (and other practical barriers, including limitations with the existing legislation) in time for summer was considered to be prohibitive. Therefore, the AIC and ACTP elected to focus the current evaluation on reviewing the implementation of and, where possible, the effectiveness of strategies that were designed to address problems in Civic during the intervention period.

Data collection methods

A range of research techniques were employed to gather the information required for undertaking the evaluation of policing strategies, approved by the AIC's Human Research Ethics Committee. These methods included stakeholder interviews, observational research in and around licensed premises, an online survey for the general community, analysis of recorded offence and incident data from ACTP and 'place of last drinks forms' developed by the AIC and completed by general duties officers. These are described in more detail below.

Stakeholder interviews

The AIC conducted interviews with a number of ACTP members over the course of the project, including (but not limited to) those working in the crime prevention, drug and alcohol policy, and general duties sections. The AIC also interviewed representatives from ORS, who are responsible for liquor licensing in the Australian Capital Territory. In addition, interviews were conducted with licensees from the Civic and Kingston/Manuka entertainment precincts. The interviews were all semi-structured in

nature and covered a range of aspects relating to the project including:

- current issues regarding the effective management of entertainment precincts;
- perceptions regarding the role of police in the management of entertainment precincts;
- views regarding existing policing strategies;
- key issues to consider with respect to the implementation of policing strategies in the target areas;
- the relationship between policing and other strategies being delivered in the target area;
- the impact of policing on patron drinking behaviour, including the pattern and level of consumption, and patron behaviour in and around licensed premises;
- key indicators of alcohol-related harm, such as alcohol-related violence, property offending and public injury due to assault; and
- (for police only) current and potential policing strategies, mechanisms for monitoring the implementation and impact of policing.

Participants were asked a standard set of questions relating to the project (see *Appendix 1*). While direct quotes have been used in this report, they have not been attributed to individuals.

Observations in and around licensed premises

Observational research was used to examine issues relating to the management of licensed premises, problems associated with licensed premises and intoxicated patrons, and to monitor existing police strategies in the entertainment precinct. Direct observation, supplemented by other sources of data, is an effective mechanism for the study of licensed settings and has been used widely in past research in Australia and overseas (eg Graham et al. 1998; Homel et al. 2004; Sim, Morgan & Batchelor 2005). This observational method was suitable for this research project as the behaviour under study occurred openly and in a public place. Non-participant observation, which uses independent researchers rather than individuals involved in the delivery of an intervention to collect data, minimises

the chance that research subjects will alter their behaviour due to the presence of the researchers in the research environment. This approach is particularly appropriate for busy, public venues such as licensed premises and entertainment precincts.

This methodology was based on best practice in international research (Sim, Morgan & Batchelor 2005). The observational research focused on the Civic and Manuka/Kingston entertainment precincts and licensed premises within these precincts, as well as the conduct of patrons in and around these premises. This involved observations both outside and (with the consent of licensees) inside licensed premises. A total of 20 hours (pre- and post-intervention) of data collection was conducted, with the findings from the observational research discretely documented by researchers in accordance with the guidelines provided in *Appendix 2*.

Online survey

The AIC also developed an online survey for both residents and business owners/operators in the Australian Capital Territory. The online survey covered a range of issues relating to the project including:

- community perceptions of alcohol-related harms in entertainment precincts;
- views on perceptions of safety and crime in and around licensed premises at various times of the day;
- experience with responsible service and premise management practices; and
- personal drinking patterns and attitudes towards alcohol and the licensed environment.

The final questionnaire was developed in consultation with key project stakeholders and based upon a review of other surveys used for similar research projects. The survey was promoted on the AIC's website and other internet sites, as well as through various print and radio sources. The survey was based on convenience sampling (only people who become aware of the survey and who were willing to participate) and as such the survey was not random and the findings from the survey are not necessarily representative of the views of the wider community.

There were a total of 98 responses to the online survey for ACT residents. The low response rate prohibits any generalisations from the survey to the broader population and the results from the analysis of survey data outlined in various sections of this report should be interpreted with some caution. However, it does provide some useful information regarding perceptions of entertainment precincts among those who responded to the survey. The survey for business owners and operators in the intervention and control areas was discontinued due to a lack of respondents and difficulties promoting the survey to the intended participants.

Analysis of data provided by ACT Policing and the Office of Regulatory Services

Throughout this report, results will be provided from analyses conducted on two datasets provided by ACTP for offences and apprehensions in the ACT region as well as data on breaches by licensees provided by ORS. The de-identified data supplied by ACTP from their Police Real-time On-line Management Information System (PROMIS) database, for offences and apprehensions covered the entire ACT region for the time period 1 July 2005 to 18 April 2010. Most of the analysis conducted was focused on the intervention and control sites (Civic and Kingston/Manuka), as well as specific offences often associated with alcohol and entertainment precincts (eg assault). In addition to the ACTP data, the AIC received data from ORS relating to breaches of liquor licensing legislation.

These data were used to provide some examples of the type of breaches that are made by licensees and the frequency of such breaches. Analysis of all the data documented trends and characteristics of recorded crime, apprehensions, alcohol-related incidents and compliance with liquor licensing legislation in entertainment precincts.

Place of last drink forms

Building upon work in other jurisdictions, the AIC worked closely with ACTP Crime Prevention, intelligence and drug and alcohol units to develop and implement a 'place of last drink' form to be used by the Beats teams. These forms were based on a model currently utilised by WA Police and were similar to the data collection mechanisms that have been implemented by police in other states, such as New South Wales and Queensland. Completing the forms required officers to record additional information on all incidents attended in which the person of interest or victim had consumed alcohol, including:

- the type of incident attended;
- the premise at which the incident took place;
- details of the person spoken to;
- whether the person was intoxicated;
- the location and time of their last drink; and
- the time of incident.

Completed forms were then submitted to the AIC, for data entry, analysis and to provide regular reports back to ACTP.

Alcohol-related crime in the Australian Capital Territory

The prevalence of alcohol-related problems associated with licensed premises in entertainment precincts is an area of growing concern among the ACT community, police and licensing authorities (ACT DJCS 2008). This section of the report provides a brief overview of findings from the AIC's analysis of data provided by ACTP and observational research for the period prior to the introduction of the strategies delivered by ACTP during the 2009–10 summer period. The section ends with a discussion of other important contextual factors, including the review of liquor licensing legislation and proposed changes to ACTP, which have been considered as part of the current evaluation.

Characteristics of alcohol-related crime in the Australian Capital Territory

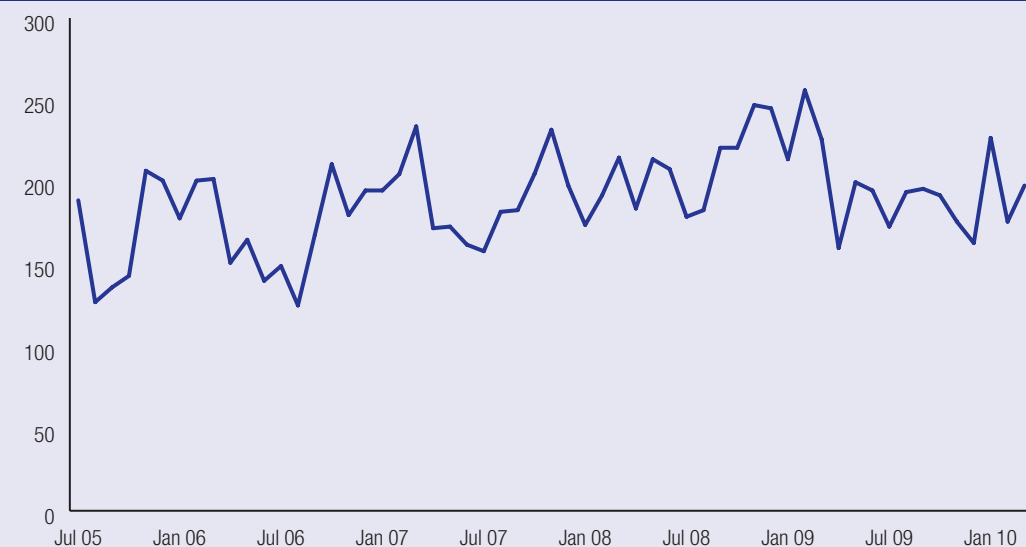
Given the relationship between alcohol and violence (Morgan & McAtamney 2009), a key indicator of alcohol-related crime in the Australian Capital Territory is the prevalence of assault. An analysis of recorded offence data provided to the AIC by ACTP shows that there has been a general increase in the number of recorded assault offences in the Australian Capital Territory over the past four years

(see Figure 1). There also appears to be a seasonal pattern, with the number of assaults per month higher in the period from October to March than in the period between April and September.

The total number of recorded assault offences was higher in 2008–09 ($n=2,547$) than in the three years prior and the number of recorded offences has increased 25 percent from 2005–06 levels ($n=2,040$; see Figure 1). Figure 2 displays the number of recorded assault offences in Civic and Manuka/Kingston for the four year period up to and including June 2009 (ie prior to the intervention period). There was a noticeable increase in the number of recorded assault offences in Civic, consistent with the trend for the whole of the Australian Capital Territory. In Kingston/Manuka, the number of assault offences per month is on average much lower, and while consistently low, there is little evidence of a trend up or down over the four year period.

There are several possible explanations for the apparent increase in recorded assaults in Civic. An increase in the number and intensity of police operations conducted within the Civic area may have lead to an increase in the number of offences detected and subsequently recorded by police. Another possible explanation is that the rate of reporting of assault by members of the public, typically low when compared with property offences,

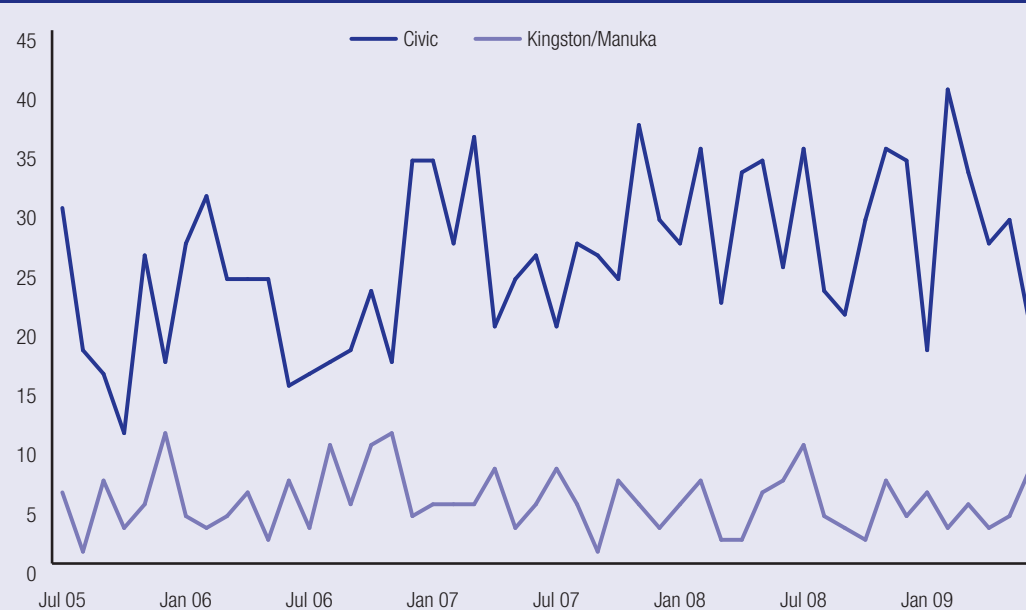
Figure 1 Number of recorded assault offences in the Australian Capital Territory, July 2005–June 2009, by month



Note: Assault includes aggravated assault, non-aggravated assault and assault police. Excludes other acts intended to cause injury

Source: ACT PROMIS database

Figure 2 Number of recorded assault offences in Civic and Kingston/Manuka, July 2005–June 2009, by month



Note: Assault includes aggravated assault, non-aggravated assault and assault police. Excludes other acts intended to cause injury. Civic includes all offences recorded as having occurred in the city. Kingston/Manuka includes all offences recorded as having occurred in Kingston and streets located within the Manuka entertainment precinct (including Bougainville St, Canberra Ave, Captain Cook Ct, Flinders Way, Franklin St, Furneaux St and Palmerston Lane)

Source: ACT PROMIS database

has increased. The Australian Capital Territory currently has one of the highest reporting rates for assault in Australia (49.4% of most recent incidents reported) according to the ABS (2010) *Crime Victimisation Survey 2008–09* and this may have increased in recent years. An increase in the frequency of community events, growth in the number of attractions within the Civic area, or an increase in the number of residential complexes may have led to an increase in the number of people living or visiting the Civic region at any one time, in turn leading to a subsequent increase in the number of total assaults.

However, an actual increase in the rate of assault may also have been driven by changes in the make-up of licensed premises within the Civic entertainment precinct. New licenses are granted each year in the Australian Capital Territory and, while being offset by the number of licenses that do not get renewed (ACT Auditor-General 2007), may contribute to changes in the licensed environment in entertainment precincts. It may also have been as result of changes in the patronage of new and existing premises, or in the excessive consumption of alcohol. Determining the relationship between alcohol and violence in the Australian Capital Territory is somewhat difficult. Until recently, ACTP did not have the capacity to record if offences involved alcohol within their incident management system, PROMIS. A field has now been introduced that enables police to record whether an incident involved alcohol. Prior to this, the primary means of establishing alcohol involvement in violent offences was through obtaining self-report data from offenders

arrested by police and admitted to the watch house, or from a visual assessment recorded by the admitting officer.

Table 4 shows the number of people charged with assault-related offences in the ACT watch house between 2007 and 2009, and the proportion of offenders who admitted to consuming alcohol prior to the offence being committed. With the exception of assault causing grievous bodily harm, which accounts for a relatively small number of all assaults, the proportion of offenders who had consumed or were affected by alcohol peaked in 2009. Almost two-thirds of all offenders admitted to the watch house and charged with an assault-related offence in 2009 had consumed alcohol prior to the offence or were intoxicated at the time of being arrested.

Some caution is warranted in interpreting these data, given that two different definitions are applied (one that assesses the offender at the time of being arrested, the other which relies on the person admitting they had consumed alcohol at the time of the offence) which are then aggregated. These data also include only those offenders who are apprehended by police and are limited to those offences that are reported to police and for which an offender may be identified. It is likely that these figures underestimate the involvement of alcohol in violent crime because not all offences are reported to, or detected by, police. Nevertheless, these figures suggest that more than half of all assault related offences across the Australian Capital Territory are committed by someone who has consumed or is affected by alcohol.

Table 4 Assault-related offences among offenders admitted to ACT Policing watch house 2007–09, by charge type and alcohol involvement						
	2007		2008		2009	
	n	Involved alcohol (%)	n	Involved alcohol (%)	n	Involved alcohol (%)
Assault causing grievous bodily harm	7	57	8	38	13	54
Assault causing actual bodily harm	103	63	131	63	186	69
Assault—other	433	57	544	52	500	62
Total assaults	543	58	683	53	699	64

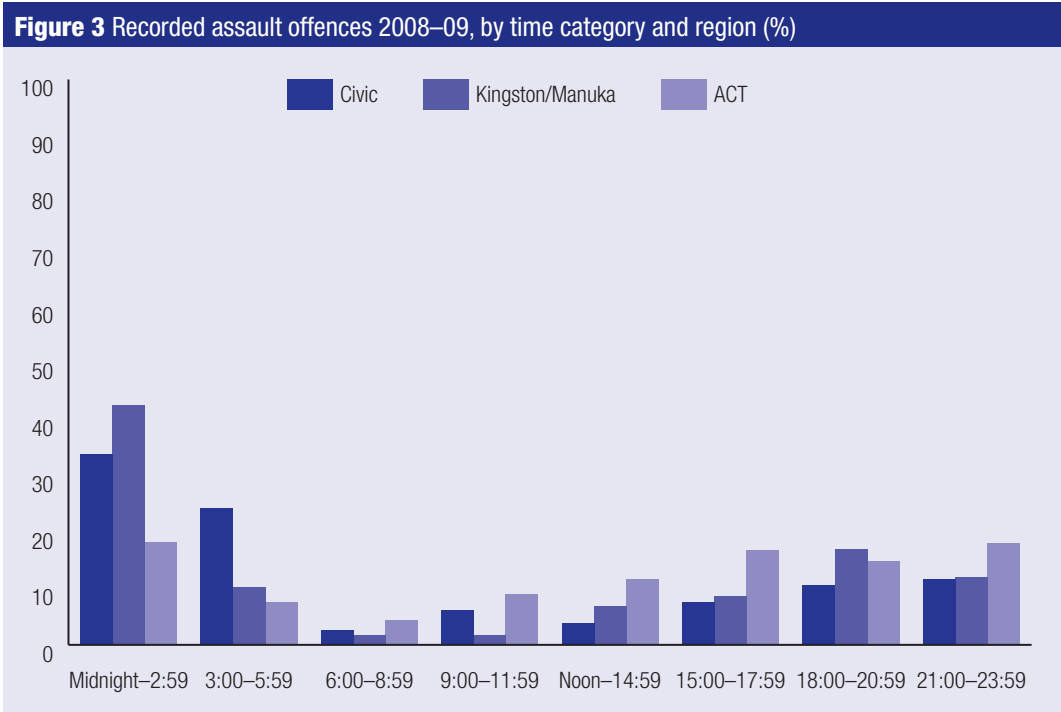
Note: An offence is deemed to have involved alcohol if the individual charged with assault voluntarily admits to having consumed alcohol (in no specific quantity) prior to the offence being committed, or on the basis of a visual assessment made by the ACT watch house supervising officer as to whether the person charged appears to be under the influence of alcohol or drugs at the time of being charged. Offenders may be charged with multiple offences, in which case they may be counted multiple times. Excludes reported assaults where no offender is apprehended or where an offender is summonsed to court at a later date

Source: ACTP watch house data

An analysis of assault offences by time of day lends further support to the relationship between alcohol and violence. Figure 3 shows the distribution of assault offences in Civic, Manuka/Kingston and the Australian Capital Territory as a whole during the 2008–09 financial year, prior to the intervention period, by time of day. This figure demonstrates that the majority of recorded assaults in Civic occurred between the hours of midnight and 3 am (34%) and between 3 am and 6 am (24%). In Kingston/Manuka, the proportion of total assaults peaked at 42 percent between the hours of midnight and 3 am. In the whole of the Australian Capital Territory, around one-third (36%) of assault offences occurred between 9 pm and 3 am, although the proportion of assaults remained relatively consistent between 3 pm and just before 3 am. The pattern of assault in Civic and Kingston/Manuka is consistent with peak periods for the consumption of alcohol and correlates with the opening hours for licensed premises in these locations (Civic has a number of premises open until 5 am).

Figure 4 describes the location of assault offences in Civic, Kingston/Manuka and whole of the Australian Capital Territory during the 2008–09 financial year. The most common location for assault in Civic and Kingston/Manuka was a public place (66% and 54% of assault offences respectively), which includes streets, footpaths and bicycle paths. The proportion of assaults in residential locations was low in both areas (less than 1% of assault offences in Civic and 9% of assault offences in Kingston/Manuka), compared with 36 percent of assault offences across the whole of the Australian Capital Territory, where public places also accounted for 38 percent of assaults.

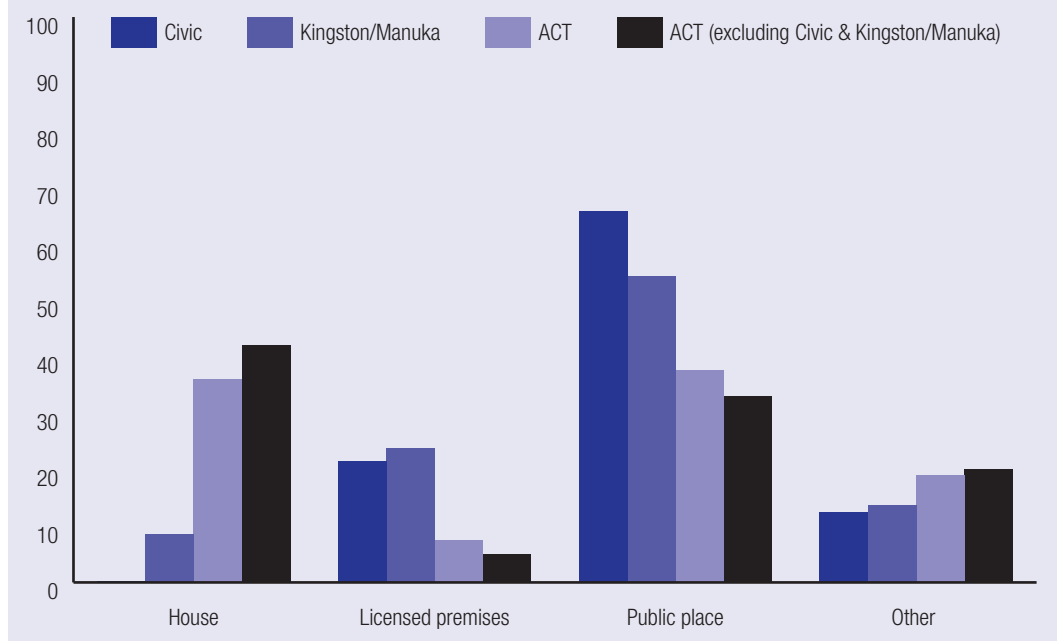
Twenty-two percent of assaults in Civic and 24 percent of assaults in Kingston/Manuka were recorded as having taken place on licensed premises, compared with eight percent of assaults in the Australian Capital Territory, which is a reflection of the presence of an entertainment precinct in these two areas. Based on recent research (Fitzgerald,



Note: Assault includes aggravated assault, non-aggravated assault and assault police. Excludes other acts intended to cause injury. Civic includes all offences recorded as having occurred in the city. Kingston/Manuka includes all offences recorded as having occurred in Kingston and streets located within the Manuka entertainment precinct (incl. Bougainville St, Canberra Ave, Captain Cook Ct, Flinders Way, Franklin St, Furneaux St and Palmerston Lane)

Source: ACT PROMIS database

Figure 4 Location of recorded assault offences 2008–09, by region (%)



Note: Assault includes aggravated assault, non-aggravated assault and assault police. Excludes other acts intended to cause injury. Civic includes all offences recorded as having occurred in the city. Kingston/Manuka includes all offences recorded as having occurred in Kingston and streets located within the Manuka entertainment precinct (incl. Bougainville St, Canberra Ave, Captain Cook Ct, Flinders Way, Franklin St, Furneaux St and Palmerston Lane)

Source: ACT PROMIS database

Mason & Borzycki 2010), it is likely that a large proportion of assaults recorded as having occurred in public places within Civic and Kingston/Manuka occurred outside, but within the vicinity of, licensed premises. This was also supported by findings from the AIC's observational research undertaken as part of this project, in which a number of assaults were observed outside but nearby to licensed premises and involved individuals who were noticeably affected by alcohol.

Alcohol, licensed premises and policing

In May 2009, AIC researchers accompanied ACTP in the Civic entertainment precinct to observe issues relating to the management of licensed premises, problems associated with licensed premises and intoxicated patrons and to monitor existing police strategies in the entertainment precinct. The findings

from these observations, as well as the discussions that took place between AIC researchers, ACTP officers and ORS inspectors, provided a useful insight into the issues associated with alcohol in the Civic area and across Canberra more generally. The findings from this research also served to provide a useful baseline against which qualitative assessments and comparisons could be made for the period following the implementation of ACTP strategies.

The research team accompanied one of the ACTP beat teams from 12 pm until 4 am. A large number of patrons were observed who were noticeably affected by alcohol, many showing signs of being heavily intoxicated, particularly as the night went on. This included patrons entering and exiting licensed premises in the surrounding areas. A small number of violent incidents (or the aftermath of these incidents) were observed during the course of the evening outside licensed premises. Officers also assisted a number of patrons who were heavily intoxicated.

The researchers noted considerable variation in the extent and nature of problems associated with different premises, which appeared to depend largely upon the type of premise and nature of clientele. Those premises that attracted large numbers of younger patrons, and those that appeared to encourage and allow the consumption of large quantities of alcohol to the point of intoxication, appeared to be associated with the greatest number of problems—including disorderly conduct, altercations between patrons and intoxicated patrons requiring assistance. Some front-line police identified a number of premises based on their personal experience that, despite having high patronage were associated with a relatively small number of incidents and rarely require police attendance. Conversely, a relatively small (and concentrated) number of premises attract a disproportionate number of problems and require a greater police presence (a finding that is consistent with research in other jurisdictions).

Locations with a high density of premises

The relationship between liquor outlet density and alcohol-related crime has been well established through research undertaken in Australia and overseas (Chikritzhs et al. 2007; Donnelly et al. 2006). The high density of licensed premises in the Civic area is perceived by many stakeholders as an important factor in contributing to the problems associated with alcohol, including violence (ACT DJCS 2008). During observations conducted by AIC researchers as part of this project, it was documented that on one main city block in Civic there are at least eight different licensed premises, excluding restaurants. In a slightly larger area of 300m² or six city blocks there is an estimated minimum 25 licensed premises, excluding restaurants. Interviews with police and observations by the research team in mid 2009 indicated that this area attracts a disproportionate level of police attention and resources, and that police beat teams spend a considerable amount of time patrolling this small area and responding to incidents as they occur.

Changes to liquor licensing legislation

A report by the ACT Auditor-General (2007) highlighted a number of deficiencies in the regulation of liquor licenses in the Australian Capital Territory and increasing community concern regarding the problems associated with alcohol. In response to this, a review of the *Liquor Act 1975* (ACT) and associated regulatory mechanisms was undertaken by the Department of Justice and Community Safety. Extensive community consultation resulted in the development of a new liquor act (the Liquor Bill 2010). The stated objective of the new legislation is to

...adequately regulate the sale, supply, promotion and consumption of liquor so as to minimise the harm associated with the consumption of liquor and in a way that takes into account community safety (ACT Liquor Bill 2010: 7).

This will align the ACT legislation with other jurisdictions and relevant national strategies, including the National Alcohol Strategy 2006–11, which focuses on reducing intoxication and alcohol-related harms (MCDS 2006).

The introduction of the new *Liquor Act 2010* aims to:

- strengthen the licensing regime so as to better reflect harm minimisation and community safety principles;
- enable more effective enforcement of ACT liquor licensing legislation to encourage greater compliance; and
- streamline the licensing regime to promote more effective and more efficient regulatory action (ACT DJCS 2010: 2).

There are several major reforms being introduced as part of the new legislation. Among these are the introduction of a risk-based licensing regime, the consideration of community safety criteria for assessing new or existing licenses, new powers to impose or vary conditions on licenses and the requirement for licensees to prepare a risk-assessment management plan as part of their application (ACT DJCS 2009). There is also a range of mechanisms being introduced to increase compliance, including the ability to suspend

licenses, mandatory responsible service of alcohol training, new criminal offences and increased penalties for breaches and a more clearly defined role for ACTP and the ORS in enforcement (ACT DJCS 2009).

These reforms are significant and are likely to have an impact upon the supply of alcohol and management of licensed premises across Canberra. These changes are currently scheduled to take effect in late 2010 and therefore warrant consideration as part of the policing (and ACT Government's) approach to addressing problems associated with alcohol in the 2010–11 summer period. Where possible, these changes have been considered as part of this report, including as part of the development of recommendations to improve the operation and effectiveness of ACTP in reducing alcohol-related crime.

Proposed changes to ACT Policing

The new legislation will be supported by funding from the ACT Government for ACTP to work with officers from ORS to enforce the new liquor reforms. This includes the development of a dedicated team of officers tasked with the responsibility of monitoring, regulation and enforcement of liquor licensing legislation in the Australian Capital Territory. This is an important development, particularly given that current research has identified a number of benefits associated with dedicated liquor licensing teams and a trend nationally to adopt this more collaborative model (Fleming 2008).



A review of policing strategies in the Australian Capital Territory

While the AIC commenced this project with the intention of working with ACTP to develop and implement a range of evidence-based strategies, it became apparent that there were already a number of strategies planned for the 2009–10 summer period (ie between October 2009 and March 2010). Therefore, the AIC and ACTP elected to focus the current evaluation on reviewing the implementation and where possible the effectiveness of strategies that were designed to address problems in Civic during the intervention period. These strategies can be broadly categorised into the following key areas:

- front-line policing, which involved general duties officers patrolling entertainment precincts and providing a visible police presence during peak periods for alcohol service and consumption;
- the RLLP, a four-stage project developed and implemented by the ACTP Crime Prevention that was designed to educate, facilitate and enforce responsible liquor licensing within the Civic entertainment precinct;
- monitoring, regulation and enforcement of licensed premises in partnership with ORS; and
- intelligence gathering and analysis to identify problematic locations and premises, which was designed to help inform front-line policing, enforcement operations and the RLLP.

The implementation of each component of the ACTP approach is examined in detail below. A number of factors that have impacted upon some or all of these strategies have also been highlighted.

Front-line policing

Front-line policing refers to the role of the ACTP Beats team, which consist of ‘general duties’ officers patrolling entertainment precincts (primarily the Civic precinct) and providing a visible presence during the peak periods for alcohol service and consumption. In addition to regular patrols, ACTP were also involved in a larger saturation-type operation as part of a national initiative to address alcohol-related crime.

Beats team activity

Proactive strategies employed by front-line police consisted largely of walking around and patrolling the entertainment precinct in small groups, conducting occasional walkthroughs of licensed venues and leaving police vehicles parked in highly visible areas. These ‘beats teams’ were also responsible for identifying and apprehending offenders, and responding to incidents when they were detected by officers or reported by members of the community (including bar and security staff).

Between November 2009 and February 2010, resources were redirected to enable an additional Beats team to patrol the Civic entertainment precinct to increase the visible presence of police during peak times for alcohol-related crime and antisocial behaviour.

Interviews with both ACTP and licensees indicated that they were largely supportive of the current approach, which combined patrols with officers congregating at known trouble spots during peak periods, largely because this enabled police to respond quickly to incidents when they occurred. The placement of officers appeared to be based largely upon an understanding of where incidents were most likely to occur.

Intervening in violent behaviour to quickly reduce the scale and severity of incidents, apprehend offenders, render aid to victims and contact emergency assistance is an important priority for ACTP in the Civic entertainment area. However, both police and licensees acknowledged in the field interviews that the presence of police had little deterrent effect on patron behaviour. Given the effect of alcohol on patrons' inhibitions and their behaviour, the presence of police appeared to have little impact on their behaviour and willingness to engage in antisocial or violent behaviour. This is evidenced by the number of incidents that occur within the vicinity of licensed premises in Civic on weekends, despite the presence of the Civic Beats team.

The challenges associated with police efforts to influence patron behaviour were acknowledged throughout the evaluation period. In addition to normal arrest powers, ACTP Beats teams have at their disposal two additional methods of responding to incidents of patron violence or antisocial behaviour; Criminal Infringement Notices (CINs) and move on powers. CINs were introduced as on the spot fines for minor street offences and were designed to deter antisocial behaviour among patrons. They are limited to minor offences, including defacing public/private premises (eg graffiti), urinating in public, failing to comply with a noise abatement direction and for consuming liquor in a prescribed public place (ACT Policing nd). Move on powers, established under the *Crimes Prevention Powers Act 1998* (ACT), enable police officers to direct a person to leave a public place (for up to 6 hours) if there are reasonable

grounds for the officer to believe that the person has engaged, or is likely to engage, in violent behaviour. Failure to move on may result in a penalty of up to \$200.

The AIC was not provided with data on the use of CINs or move-on notices during the evaluation period. Data was available for CINs but only for the latter months of the evaluation, therefore, it was decided that this data would not be examined. Anecdotal reports from some officers suggested that there were different levels of understanding among officers as to the options available to them and the correct use of these measures, and that views as to the effectiveness of these measures were mixed. For example, some officers suggested that it was difficult to direct intoxicated people to 'move-on' due to their impaired capacity, which impacted upon their ability to understand the directions and consequences for failing to comply. Others felt that these move on powers should be used more extensively than they were and should be extended to people engaging in non-violent disorderly conduct. Similarly, some officers felt that CINs were difficult to issue due to their understanding of the requirements to prove an offence such as urinating in public had occurred. The deterrent effect of either response on people who were affected by alcohol was also questioned.

Some licensees, including those perceived by police as being responsible for a disproportionate level of alcohol-related problems in Civic, suggested that they would support police being given more powers of enforcement directed at patron behaviour:

I feel sorry for the police at the moment. They are told to do something about the problem but their hands are tied. All they seem to be able to do is say move on, move on, move on. It's not teaching anyone not to do the same next weekend. We have a 5% group of people [causing the problems] if there was a situation where they were given a monetary fine then you might not have this [type of behaviour recurring] (Licensee personal communication 2010).

A manager of another licensed premise commented:

I find it difficult [to think] that police could change patron drinking behaviour when there is no onus on the patron, so how can you hope to change patron behaviour when the legislation only allows

policing to do what is currently done. There needs to be some sort of consequence for patrons (Licensee personal communication 2010).

It is perhaps not surprising that licensees and their employees supported increased enforcement powers for front-line police to respond to incidents of violence and antisocial behaviour among patrons. Conversely, police were generally supportive of stronger enforcement activity directed at those licensed premises that repeatedly breached provisions relating to the service of alcohol to intoxicated patrons and felt that strategies targeting premises rather than individual patrons would prove most cost effective. This is particularly important given the evidence, both from this research and previous studies, that a small proportion of premises are responsible for a disproportionate amount of alcohol-related problems (eg see Donnelly & Briscoe 2005). Nevertheless, there is some evidence to suggest that there is scope to provide additional training to officers working within the Beats team to improve their understanding of the various options available to them to respond to violent or antisocial behaviour by patrons.

Operation Unite

Over one weekend in December 2009 (11–12), ACTP participated in a national campaign known as Operation Unite, which involved a police ‘crackdown’ on alcohol-related crime and antisocial behaviour across Australia and New Zealand. This involved ACTP increasing the number of police across the Civic entertainment precinct, in order to provide a high profile and visible police presence. The operation also targeted drink driving through random breath testing and increased traffic patrols.

Interviews with ACTP officers suggested a high level of support for saturation-type operations like Operation Unite. Police were generally supportive of high-visibility policing, suggesting that the increased police presence was more likely to deter poor patron behaviour and overcome some of the limitations of Beat team activity described above (despite the issues associated with managing intoxicated patrons). Licensees interviewed as part of this project were also supportive of this approach.

However, most ACTP officers consulted recognised that such operations were not sustainable over the longer term due to resource constraints and that any deterrent effect of one-off strategies would not be sustained over time. To be effective, these types of operations would need to be conducted at more regular intervals—the cost of which may prove prohibitive—and be supported by other strategies.

Responsible Liquor Licensing Project

The RLLP was a four-stage project developed and implemented by ACTP Crime Prevention from September 2009–January 2010. The four key stages in this project were as follows:

- Phase one—education and consultation;
- Phase two—workshop for licensees and key stakeholders;
- Phase three—pre-arranged visits to licensed venues; and
- Phase four—enforcement of liquor licensing legislation.

The purpose of the RLLP was to educate, facilitate and enforce responsible liquor licensing within the Civic entertainment precinct.

Addressing issues related to the effective management of licensed premises, problematic drinking behaviour and other alcohol-related social issues is a complex undertaking and requires a coordinated response from multiple agencies. ACTP Crime Prevention adopted this policy for the RLLP, particularly during phase two (see below). Over the 2009–10 summer period, ACTP Crime Prevention made a concerted effort through the RLLP to re-establish communication and relationships with licensees in the Australian Capital Territory and to reduce alcohol-related violence in the entertainment precincts of Civic and Kingston/Manuka. This involved a series of workshops, visits with licensees and intelligence-led enforcement activity.

Phase one: Education and consultation

This phase served a dual purpose. First, to contact licensees in a variety of forms (face-to-face, in writing etc) and provide information regarding their obligations with respect to liquor licensing regulations and advice to licensees on the role of police and how best to minimise the risk of problems in and around their premise. Second, there was a plan to support other stakeholders with related interests (eg ACT Department of Health) to target younger patrons with a 'safe drinking' message and campaign.

The first aspect of phase one of the RLLP was relatively straightforward. It involved initiating contact with licensees and discussing issues surrounding liquor licensing and their premises. Unfortunately, the nature and frequency of initial contact made with licensees is unknown as no such records were provided in the ACTP project report. For the same reason, it is unclear if the written contact was separate to the invitation for the phase two workshops.

In addition, little is known about what was undertaken during the education phase of the RLLP as there is no mention of this aspect of the project in the ACTP report. There are no clear details of how this 'safe drinking' message and campaign was delivered or through what means. In addition, no details of relevant key stakeholders such as the ACT Department of Health being involved were reported. In fact, ACTP Crime Prevention's own evaluation report for the project combined phases one and two.

Phase two: Workshops for licensees and key stakeholders

In November 2009, ACTP ran three half-day workshops involving representatives of licensed premises from the Canberra region. These workshops were attended by operational police, ORS inspectors, licensed premise owners, managers and security, and representatives from the Australian Hotel Association (AHA), Canberra Cabs and Action Buses. In total there were 70 participants from 45 organisations across the Australian Capital Territory. Attendance at these workshops by licensees was generally good, with most invited

licensees in attendance. However, representation from some larger licensed venues could have been stronger.

One important purpose of these workshops was to re-establish positive dialogue with licensees before the summer period. This approach was taken to address and resolve any issues of concern between licensing bodies, licensees and police. The workshops were viewed as a positive step forward, particularly as previous channels of communication with these stakeholders were limited. It also enabled licensees to voice their concern with certain aspects of the legislation and the manner in which the legislation was sometimes enforced by ORS. Overall, most licensees were happy with the content of the workshops, with many indicating that they would like to see them become a more permanent fixture. For example, as one licensee noted, 'the need for consultation between agencies and licensed premises is very important' (Licensee personal communication 2010).

Another security manager highlighted the value of ongoing communication, not limited to a workshop format:

It's always good to have a police presence, but it would also be better if they had something like those workshops more regularly; but I guess it would be good if the manager, owner and head of security could just sit down with police every now and then and nut out any issues (Security personal communication 2010).

These types of comments from licensed premises owners, licensees, managers and security staff demonstrated the importance of this police strategy. Regardless of whether this strategy had any direct impact on the antisocial alcohol-related problems in Civic, it served an important function in improving communication so that solutions could be developed collaboratively to address problems. As noted, feedback from licensees suggested that these workshops were an important means of initiating improved communication between police and licensed premise management and staff, sharing ideas relating to common problems and passing on important information about relevant legislation and regulations. These findings indicate that these workshops, or other similar approaches to improving communication and information flow, should be continued.

Phase three: Pre-arranged visits to licensed premises

In addition to the workshops, ACTP and ORS also made (pre-arranged) visits to licensed premises to conduct compliance inspections. ACTP Crime Prevention and ORS visited 39 licensed premises as part of this phase. The visits were also used to hold a face-to-face meeting with each individual licensee to further discuss licensing issues and concerns for the remaining summer months.

This phase of the project contributed to further improving the relationship between police, ORS and licensees. Licensees were provided with another opportunity to raise their concerns with the existing legislation and its subsequent enforcement. Police were also able to explain to licensees the role of the ACTP Civic Beats team and the challenges faced by these officers. There was support for this approach among licensees:

I think there has been good ground made with visits from liaison officers from within the police force. Just coming out and having a chat to us about the issues we might be having means there are open lines of communication, so if we have a problem whether it be an individual or a group of individuals we can work on strategies to try and resolve this problem (Licensee personal communication 2010).

This type of honest dialogue between licensees, ORS and police further builds on the positive relationship that needs to exist if antisocial issues and alcohol-related problems in the Civic area are to be addressed with any success. Overall, licensees seemed to appreciate this phase of the project because it provided an opportunity to discuss matters with ACTP Crime Prevention and ORS.

Phase four: Enforcement of liquor licensing legislation

ACTP Crime Prevention and ORS conducted the final enforcement phase of the RLLP on 11 and 12 December, coinciding with Operation Unite. Throughout the course of this phase, there were 43 inspections of licensed premises conducted, resulting in 12 breaches of the Liquor Act and the apprehension of four underage drinkers, in addition to other apprehensions made as part of Operation Unite.

ACTP Crime Prevention reported that further ongoing scheduled enforcement activity after the weekend of Operation Unite was originally planned and would have been beneficial to the program. However, ACTP Crime Prevention also reported that the availability of resources became an issue with this phase of the program and consequently no follow up inspections were conducted. There was limited evidence to suggest that inspections were targeted at problematic premises based on data collected by police, particularly as this phase was undertaken as part of a larger operation focused on the wider entertainment precinct. However, those premises known to and identified by police as being associated with alcohol-related problems (based on recent experience) were targeted. Determining the specific impact of this particular phase of the project is difficult because it was conducted on the same weekend as Operation Unite.

Overall, there was some evidence from ACTP and other stakeholders that specific phases of the RLLP were successfully implemented, while other phases had not taken place as planned. In particular, there appeared to be concerns about a lack of knowledge among police of the evidentiary procedures necessary for enforcing legislation breaches by licensees. This, combined with resource constraints, impacted upon the capacity of ACTP Crime Prevention to implement the enforcement phase of the project as it was originally planned.

There are similarities between the ACTP Crime Prevention project and liquor accords operating in a number of other jurisdictions, particularly in terms of the focus on communication and information sharing. However, the project differed in that there were no voluntary local policies or codes of conduct regarding the management of licensed premises and sale of alcohol agreed to by premise operators. Nevertheless, there have been a number of evaluations of these accords (as well as community-based initiatives overseas which involved a similar approach), and a growing body of evidence that could be used to inform the ACTP approach (NDRI 2007). In particular (and as was highlighted in previous sections of this report), approaches such as liquor accords are most effective when they are supported by strong enforcement of liquor licensing by regulatory authorities (NDRI 2007), highlighting the importance of enforcement phase as part of future initiatives.

Monitoring, regulation and enforcement directed at licensed premises

This component of the ACTP approach included enforcement operations targeted at licensed premises and delivered in partnership with the ORS. These enforcement operations are standard inspections conducted throughout the year as part of routine work undertaken by both ACTP and ORS. It was therefore undertaken separately to phase four of the RLLP. For the most part, ORS liquor licensing inspectors take primary responsibility for conducting compliance checks in licensed premises. During peak periods for alcohol service and consumption (Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights), ORS inspectors are accompanied by ACTP officers.

Enforcement campaigns are designed to be unpredictable and irregular, with little or no warning to licensees and premise managers that compliance checks will be taking place. Both ACTP and ORS inspectors reported that a sustained campaign targeted at premises during busy trading periods had the capacity to deliver noticeable improvements in compliance with liquor licensing conditions.

The process for prosecuting non-compliance was reported by police and the ORS as being both complex and time-consuming. Where issues were identified, ORS made a record of the problem and indicated that they would compile a report on the breaches identified. A decision would then be made by ORS as to whether the licensee should be prosecuted or warned about the breach and then allow licensees a period of time in which to rectify the problem. Serious breaches, such as allowing large numbers of underage persons into a premise, would in most instances lead to prosecution. However, penalties for breaches of the Liquor Act were considered inadequate given the turnover of some of the larger (and often more problematic) premises. As such, these may not act as a significant deterrent to future offending.

The inability of ORS or ACTP to issue immediate 'on the spot' infringement notices to licensees for major breaches (such as blocked exits, underage patrons on premises) was perceived to limit the ability of ORS and ACTP to deter this type of behaviour.

Similarly, the current lack of mandatory staff training for responsible service of alcohol makes it very difficult to prosecute licensees or bar staff for breaching the Liquor Act with respect to RSA.

The AIC research team observed that the presence of ORS liquor licensing inspectors appeared to have a more noticeable effect on the behaviour of security staff and bar managers than the presence of ACTP officers. When the inspectors were present, security staff were more active in checking patrons' personal identification, managing patrons waiting to enter licensed venues (such as refusing entry to those visibly affected by alcohol) and in maintaining the cleanliness of the area within the immediate vicinity of their premise. This may reflect a perception among bar managers and security staff of the relative powers and associated consequences of action by ORS inspectors. This suggests that there is benefit in developing and sustaining a coordinated intervention strategy involving officers from both ACTP and ORS working collaboratively.

Throughout 2009–10, ORS (joined by ACTP) increased the number of routine inspection visits to licensed premises. Some licensees confirmed this increased presence, with one licensee suggesting that:

[f]ive years ago you would maybe see them [ORS] four times a year whereas I think I have already seen them six or seven times this year [early May] (Licensee personal communication 2010).

However, the exact nature and frequency of operations targeting licensed premises in entertainment precincts in Civic and Manuka/Kingston is unknown as this information was not provided to the AIC. The precise nature and frequency of compliance inspections (involving police) is also unknown. There is anecdotal evidence that inspections have been increasing since the recent summer period, but whether anything specific is being targeted, such as fake identification or underage patrons, cannot be determined, nor can the exact frequency of these inspections.

There were different views regarding the focus of the enforcement activity undertaken by the ORS in the regulation of licensed premises in the Australian Capital Territory. It was apparent that the priorities of ORS differed to those of ACTP. For example, while police perceive the service of alcohol to intoxicated

patrons (and related issues such as antisocial patron behaviour in and around licensed premises) as the priority, the ORS appeared to prioritise matters such as underage patrons, building codes and safety hazards (such as blocked fire exits and capacity loading). Both patron and building-focused issues are important and need to be enforced; however, the findings point to a lack of mutual understanding of the different roles and responsibilities of ACTP and the ORS. A clear understanding of these can lead to a more coordinated and effective enforcement response.

To further emphasise this point, data supplied to the AIC by ORS indicates that since the beginning of 2008, most of the infringements by licensees were related to either building code breaches or underage drinking on the premises. The data supplied by ORS covers details of the types of breaches made by ACT licensees and the subsequent penalties from April 2000 to September 2008. These data provide a useful background to the types of breaches by ACT licensees that are pursued by ORS and the types of penalties that are enforced.

Other infringements documented by ORS targeted the environment of the premises or breaches of structural regulations (eg blocked fire exits, broken windows and doors, and overloading breaches). Licensees also reported that ORS targeted building code matters, with some licensees indicating that they were cited for non-compliant door fixtures. While the ORS had different priorities to police, they did on occasion target licensees for serving intoxicated patrons, which was noted by some licensees during the fieldwork. Both the police and ORS have highlighted the difficulty in pursuing breaches by licensed premises with ACAT, which also may explain the focus of ORS activities.

However, it is difficult to determine the precise level and nature of enforcement activity delivered by police and ORS that target licensed premises. This is because of several data limitations, including an absence of data that can be used to assess:

- the number and type of breaches by each licensed premises in the Australian Capital Territory over the past several years;
- the exact number of warnings (formal or informal) issued for minor breaches of licensing provisions; and

- the number of police referrals to ORS relating to breaches of licensing provisions.

Despite these data limitations, it was evident that there have been a number of instances where licensees have breached regulations and ORS (and police) have enforced the appropriate penalties. For example, during the first nine months of 2008 there were 13 licensees where allegations of breaches were recorded—in three cases the breach was not proven and the case was dismissed, while for the remaining 10 cases, penalties were enforced with most involving infringement notices ranging from \$250 to \$3,000. In a number of instances, half of this amount was reserved and held for 12 months and taken if there was a subsequent breach during this time. Rarely, licenses were suspended for 28 days. More recent figures, including from the 2009–10 summer period are unavailable, although one licensee is known to have closed after a series of breaches in August 2009. Overall, the number of prosecutions and infringement notices was not substantial, taking into consideration the obvious signs of patron intoxication in and around premises observed by the research team, although these numbers may have increased in 2010 with an apparent increase in the number of ORS inspections being conducted.

Intelligence gathering and analysis

Intelligence gathering and analysis is an important component of the ACTP strategy and helps to inform other components of the overall approach to reduce alcohol-related problems. Intelligence-led policing refers to the

...application of criminal intelligence analysis as an objective decision-making tool in order to facilitate crime reduction and prevention through effective policing strategies and external partnership projects drawn from an evidential base (Ratcliffe 2003: 3).

Targeted, intelligence-led and proactive policing of licensed premises has been shown to effectively reduce the number of alcohol-related incidents in and around licensed venues (Doherty & Roche 2003).

It is important for police to develop intelligence gathering and analysis practices and systems. This not only helps to identify problematic licensed premises and hot spots for alcohol-related violence, but also assists in the evaluation of police responses (Doherty & Roche 2003). The development of reliable intelligence systems relating to alcohol-related incidents, which helps to inform the targeted enforcement of liquor licensing legislation, is an integral component of any policing strategy that attempts to reduce alcohol-related harms (Nicholas 2006).

Mapping alcohol-related crime enhances the ability of police to proactively target problem premises and facilitates the allocation of resources. Benefits of this approach include:

- establishing an evidence base to inform operational decisions and enhancing the deployment of resources and supporting submissions for altered resource allocation;
- measuring the effectiveness of strategies targeting problem locations and the effectiveness of enforcement activities;
- assisting prosecutions against licensed venue operators and for submissions related to liquor license applications, variations and revocations;
- gathering evidence to inform policy development or amendment and legislative change; and
- assisting in the reduction of alcohol-related crime and associated harms (Doherty & Roche 2003).

ACTP Intelligence assists to inform operational decision-making with respect to the distribution of resources within entertainment precincts, including the Civic Beats Team. Data from PROMIS, ACTP Performance, Evaluation and Review Team, ORS and AIC place of last drink forms (discussed below) were routinely analysed and reported to senior police during the evaluation period.

However, there did appear to be some overlap in terms of data analyses, with different sections of ACTP appearing to request or undertake analysis of the same data, but for their own purposes. This suggests that there is some scope for increased coordination of requests for information and analyses and improved dissemination of the results or findings from this analysis to relevant sections. There are also limitations with respect to the

availability of data on alcohol-related incidents. Issues associated with identifying whether an offence was alcohol-related, whether an offence took place inside or within the vicinity of a license premise, or where a person may have consumed alcohol to the point of intoxication prior to the offence limits the capacity of ACTP to effectively target resources. There was some evidence that the Beats Team, the RLLP and enforcement operations directed at licensed premises could be more effectively targeted at those premises more likely to be associated with alcohol-related problems if there was more reliable data to inform these operations and support the action taken against specific premises.

Implementation and completion of last drink forms

Given the issues outlined above, the AIC worked closely with ACTP to develop a mechanism for recording and analysing information on place of last drink for alcohol-related offences. Information collected via these forms was designed to assist the ACTP intelligence section by providing additional information necessary to direct operational resources.

The AIC was able to draw upon experience in other jurisdictions in developing this tool. Several intelligence data collection systems have been developed for use in determining high-risk licensed premises and hotspot areas (Doherty & Roche 2003; McIlwain & Homel 2009). In particular, a number of Australian jurisdictions, including New South Wales, Queensland and Western Australia, as well as New Zealand, have developed intelligence gathering tools for alcohol-related incidents, including place of last drink surveys. These surveys enable police to record information on persons of interest and/or victims involved in alcohol-related incidents, including the location and time of their last consumed alcoholic drink and the degree of intoxication.

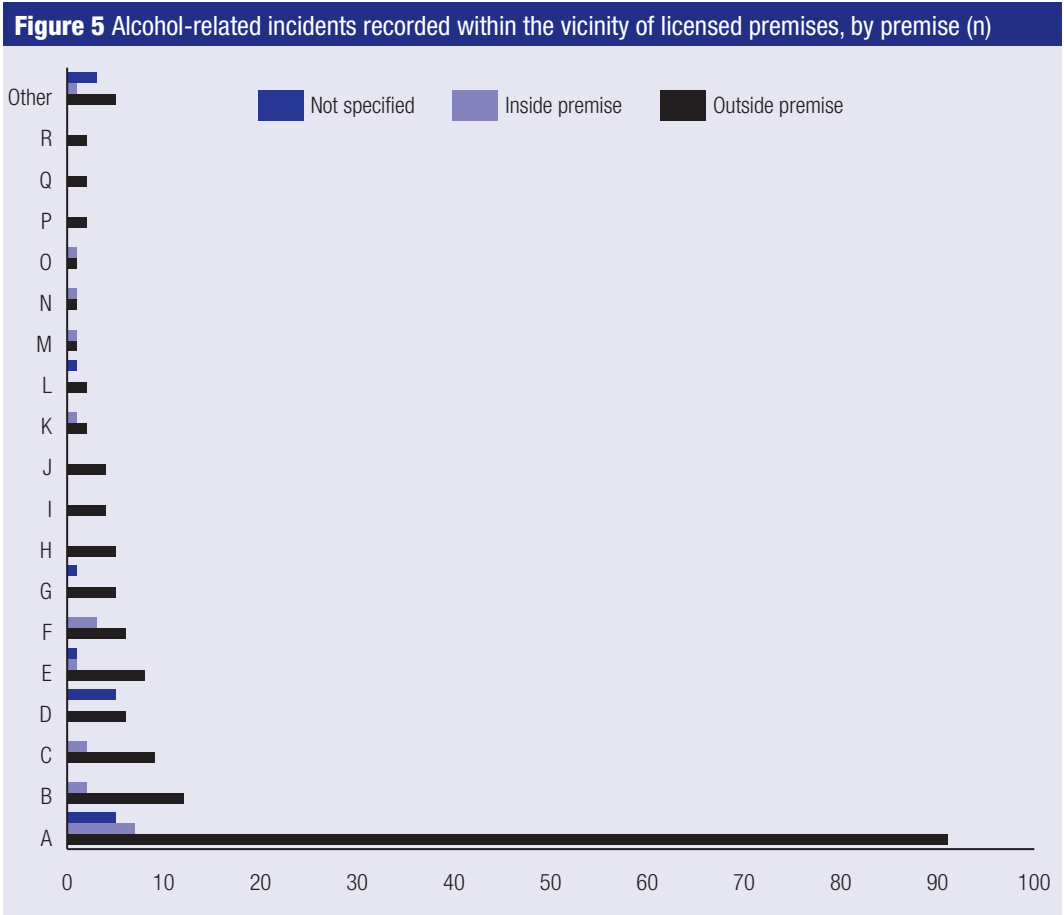
Some of these systems, such as the NSW Alcohol Linking Project, have involved collaboration between police and other agencies. The Alcohol Linking Project aimed to increase knowledge and provide for the collection of data on those licensed premises associated with alcohol-related harms. This program

has been incorporated into routine police practices, with data being recorded for all alcohol-related incidents attended by police. Feedback is then provided to licensees on the number of incidences related to their premises, which they then use in discussion with police to improve management practices. The program also aimed to improve data quality and provide training and education to police officers (McIlwain & Homel 2009).

Similarly, Queensland Police developed the Liquor Enforcement and Proactive Strategy, which focused on gathering and analysing intelligence on alcohol-related violence and disorder around licensed premises. The additional data collected is combined with recorded crime data to identify hot spot locations, informing the targeting of licensed premises inspections and liquor enforcement activities.

As part of this pilot, the ACTP place of last drink form was designed to be completed by officers attending any alcohol-related incident in the Civic area. For this purpose, an alcohol-related incident was defined as an incident attended by police in which the person of interest or victim admitted to consuming any amount of alcohol in the six hours prior to the incident, or where the officer had reasonable evidence to suspect that the person had consumed alcohol in the specified time period (eg the person exhibited some or all of the accepted signs of intoxication, or the incident took place inside or within the immediate vicinity of a licensed premise).

Upon attending an incident, the officer was required to ask the person of interest or victim whether they had consumed alcohol in the past six hours. If the answer was yes, then a Place of Last Drink (PLD) form was completed. If the person was either unable



Note: Each letter in the above chart refers to a licensed premise, de-identified to protect confidentiality
 Source: AIC Place of Last Drink database

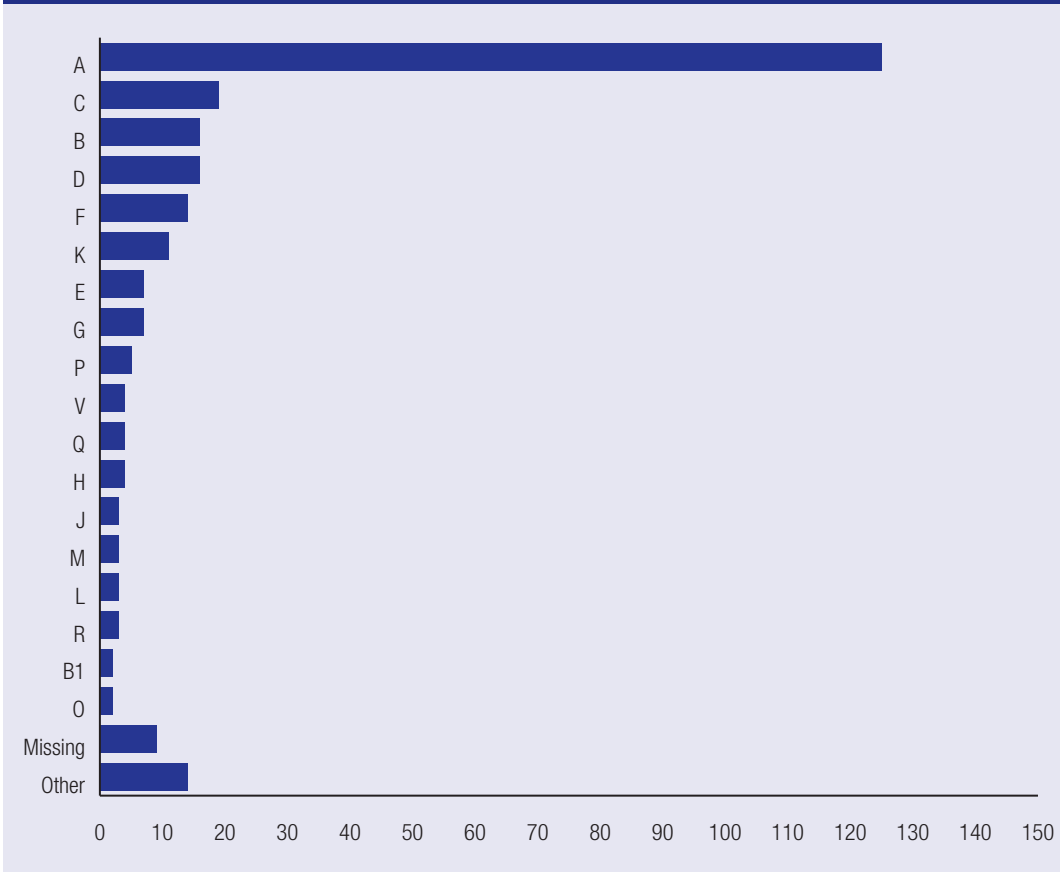
to or refused to answer the officer’s question, then the officer was required to make an assessment as to whether they suspected the person had consumed alcohol in the specified time period, based on the evidence available to them at the time. Examples of reasonable evidence of alcohol consumption included a person showing signs of intoxication or the incident taking place inside or within the immediate vicinity (ie on verge out front) of a licensed premise.

PLD forms were initially trialled for four weeks to identify issues relating to their format, content and administration. Minor modifications were then made to these forms in response to feedback from

front-line police, prior to their eventual rollout. The implementation of these forms appeared successful; however, the completion of the forms was inconsistent. While existing data does not permit a valid comparison, particularly as forms were completed for a variety of incidents not always involving an offence, the total number completed suggests that a form was not routinely completed for every alcohol-related incident attended by police.

In total, 325 incidents resulted in a PLD form being completed by police. Ninety percent of incidents involved a person of interest or victim who was assessed by police as being intoxicated. Eighty-three percent of incidents identified a licensed

Figure 6 Incidents in which a licensed premise was identified as the place of last drink, by premise (n)



Note: Each letter in the above chart refers to a licensed premise, de-identified to protect confidentiality. Other premises includes all premises with a single incident during the data collection period
Source: AIC Place of Last Drink database

premise as the PLD. Among those incidents where a licensed premise was identified as the PLD, 78 percent of respondents indicated that they had consumed the majority of their alcohol at the premise they consumed their most recent drink. This finding contradicts the assertion made by some licensees that patrons 'preload' before entering a licensed premise.

Figure 5 provides an overview of the number of incidents recorded as having taken place within the vicinity of a licensed premise. While individual premises have been de-identified, it is clear that around half of all incidents occurred within the vicinity of one of the largest premises in Civic. The majority of incidents (82%) occurred outside, but within the vicinity of, a licensed premise and the capacity of these forms to identify these premises as either the location of the incident or place of last drink highlights their value to police and licensing authorities.

Figure 6 describes the number of incidents identifying each premise (using the same IDs allocated in the previous Figure) as the PLD. The overall pattern is similar to that in Figure 5. The four premises identified as the most common locations for incidents were also the premises most commonly identified as a PLD. These figures suggest that targeting this relatively small number of premises and developing strategies to reduce the number of alcohol-related incidents associated with them could generate significant reductions in the total number of incidents requiring police involvement.

Overall, the last drink forms developed as part of this project helped to address a gap in the information currently collected by ACTP. There was limited evidence provided to the AIC to suggest the extent to which these data were used to inform policing responses. However, the findings from an analysis of the data undertaken by the AIC was used by ACTP Intelligence in regular reports to senior officers responsible for operational decision-making with respect to the Civic Beats team, as well as being used to inform findings and recommendations as part of the final report on Operation Alanova. There was sufficient evidence to support a continuation of the use of these forms, with a view towards integrating place of last drink data into mainstream data collection and information systems.

Factors impacting upon the operation of ACTP strategies

There were a number of factors observed which impact both on the implementation and effectiveness of the strategies developed by ACTP outlined in this report (front-line policing, RLLP, monitoring, regulation and enforcement, and intelligence gathering and analysis). These factors include:

- the availability of resources for police;
- limitations to the existing liquor licensing legislation;
- police knowledge and understanding of liquor licensing legislation;
- the availability of operational intelligence and performance monitoring;
- coordination between different sections of ACTP;
- collaboration between ACTP and ORS; and
- the management of licensed premises in the Australian Capital Territory.

These factors, and their impact on strategies implemented during the 2009–10 summer period, are discussed below. Approaches to address (or in some cases enhance) these factors need to be considered as part of future operational strategies targeting licensed premises. The recommendations in the final section of this report have been developed to address these factors.

Availability of resources for police

Throughout the course of this project, police indicated that resourcing posed an ongoing challenge for ACTP in the implementation of any alcohol-related policing strategy. While this anecdotal evidence is an important consideration, the operational, tactical and strategic questions relating to ACTP priorities are likely to be more complex, requiring further supporting research.

However, one consequence of limited resources is that not all policing strategies may be implemented simultaneously. Rather, decisions need to be made around which strategies are likely to achieve the best result and when they should be implemented. This

may involve combining 'one-off' intensive, saturation-style policing with other less resource intensive interventions, such as lock-outs. For example, hotspot targeting and saturation policing are normally reserved for annual major operations such as Operation Unite or Cobalt. Conversely, one police officer commented that strategies such as lockouts were looked upon favourably as they did not require additional police officers to enforce (ACTP Officer personal communication 2010). When the same officer was asked what challenges police face in attempting to deliver strategies targeted at licensed premises, resources were highlighted as the most important barrier (ACTP Officer personal communication 2010).

Limitations to the existing liquor licensing legislation

The limitations with existing liquor licensing legislation have already been discussed. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile considering the impact of legislation on the capacity of ACTP to effectively implement the strategies reported in this evaluation. At present, current legislation is impacting negatively on front-line policing and monitoring, regulation and enforcement strategies implemented in collaboration with ORS. However, the introduction of a new Liquor Act, expected to take effect in late 2010, should address many of the perceived shortcomings. For example, current legislation only recommends that staff hold an RSA permit. The new act will *require* staff to hold this. As such, police and ORS may wish to consider inspecting licensed premises RSA qualifications after this new legislation is introduced.

Police knowledge and understanding of liquor licensing legislation

The level of knowledge and understanding among police of the ACT Liquor Act and the role of ACTP in enforcing the Act in the major entertainment precincts, varied considerably and in some instances was poor. For example, during the evaluation there appeared to be some confusion among police staff about the role of ACTP in enforcing relevant sections of the Liquor Licensing Act. Generally, where police identified an issue or problem relating to a particular premise, they referred this matter to ORS to conduct

an inspection and compile a report. ORS suggested that as an agent with powers to enforce the Liquor Licensing Act, police had the ability to take action against licensees, although perceived that police had limited capacity to do so.

The Civic Beats team focuses its attention on incidents occurring outside licensed premises; little time is spent conducting inspections inside licensed premises. Indeed, one licensee indicated that sometimes when there are new police on the Beats team, it was apparent that they required time to develop an understanding of the licensed environment (Licensee personal communication 2010).

Another example of this limited knowledge was provided by a police officer who indicated that many police are unaware of the procedures involved when a licensed premise breaches the liquor legislation and a case appears before ACAT. These deficiencies in understanding were in part addressed through the development of a 'liquor team' within ACTP, which was implemented in late 2010. However, given the continued role of general duties officers in policing licensed premises and patrons, these issues highlight the importance of additional and ongoing training for officers, particularly when the new legislation is introduced.

Operational intelligence and performance monitoring

The availability of intelligence for both operational decision-making and performance monitoring purposes impacted upon ACTP's ability to identify problematic locations and premises and to assess the effectiveness of strategies designed to address them. ACTP is endeavouring to improve its operational intelligence in the long term by introducing a flag for identifying alcohol-related offences in PROMIS and through the introduction of PLD forms in partnership with the AIC. This is also being achieved through Operation Alanova, which has involved intelligence gathering around alcohol-related problems in the Civic area over the 2009–10 summer period. The report produced from this operation has taken into consideration previously ignored factors such as the role of external late-night food outlets in the Sydney building (located in Civic) in contributing to antisocial behaviour and alcohol-

related problems. The report also concluded that ACTP requires a long-term strategy to deal with the misuse of alcohol and its subsequent impacts on crime and public order.

However, this strategy needs to be sustainable over the long term and the relative importance of resources, fatigue and staffing issues will have to be considered by management. There are three mechanisms that may help ACTP achieve this. The first is to implement the PLD forms, or key parts of this form, into routine paperwork completed by front-line officers. As already discussed, a pilot of this form provided useful intelligence that was not ordinarily collected by police. This should be supported by enhancements to existing data collection mechanisms, information systems and reporting practices. Finally, the proposed liquor licensing team should also be provided with a dedicated intelligence analyst to regularly analyse data from a range of sources (not limited to ACTP data) and provide findings from this analysis to relevant sections of ACTP, including the liquor licensing team.

Operational intelligence also provides an important basis for monitoring the implementation and effectiveness of policing strategies. However, there was little evidence of performance monitoring within ACTP relating to the effectiveness of the strategies used by ACTP to address alcohol-related issues in licensed premises and entertainment precincts. Inclusion of a dedicated intelligence analyst for the new alcohol team may assist ACTP to better monitor and assess its performance. There may also be scope for ACTP's executive section to provide guidance in this area because of their involvement in monitoring and evaluating other areas of ACTP.

Coordination between different sections of ACTP

As with any large organisation, the coordination between different sections is an important factor in the efficient and effective functioning of the organisation. This is particularly important when implementing any type of new policing strategy. This factor has had both positive and negative impacts on policing strategies during this evaluation, primarily on monitoring, regulation and enforcement

strategies, and intelligence gathering and analysis strategies. There was strong evidence of coordination between ACTP Intelligence and the Beats team, with information regularly shared between the two sections (albeit primarily in one direction). By contrast, there was little evidence provided to the AIC to indicate any coordination between the Beats team and ACTP Crime Prevention. The Beats team did not make use of work undertaken by ACTP Crime Prevention where the advertisement of drinks promotions and events by licensed premises were monitored. This information could have helped the Beats team direct resources more efficiently. There is scope for all sections of ACTP to work more effectively as part of a coordinated approach to policing entertainment precincts, with a particular emphasis on improved information sharing and collaboration.

Collaboration between ACTP and Office of Regulatory Services

Collaboration between police and regulatory authorities is one element of best practice and an important feature of an effective regulatory regime designed to minimise the problems associated with licensed premises. The police worked extensively with ORS to conduct inspections at licensed premises. It appeared that the relationship between the agencies during the evaluation period was generally positive. For example, some members of the compliance section from ORS felt that there was positive information-sharing between ORS and ACTP, particularly with the Beats teams and ACTP Crime Prevention. They also suggested that there was genuine desire to cooperate with each other, despite the fact that their differing priorities sometimes placed significant strain on the relationship. Both parties recognised that the relationship needed to thrive in order to effectively address alcohol-related problems in the Australian Capital Territory.

Despite this positive relationship, there have been challenges. As noted above, ACTP and ORS have differing agendas and work focus. Police are generally more concerned than ORS with breaches that involve alcohol-fuelled violent behaviour. Licensees have also expressed concern at times about the level of coordination between the police and ORS, indicating an apparent lack of

communication between the two agencies that results in police telling licensees to do one thing and ORS directing them to do something else. For example, one licensee stated that '[m]ore communication between [ORS] and the police so we are not getting mixed messages would be good' (Licensee personal communication 2010).

Management of licensed premises

The management of licensed premises in the Australian Capital Territory is challenging. The design of a licensed premise is a key issue for police and can hamper effective police intervention. During field observations, the AIC research team observed frequent patron overcrowding outside certain licensed premises. In some cases, long queues had formed at entrances and in locations where no outdoor smoking areas had been provided. Such overcrowding often led to alcohol-fuelled antisocial behaviour when intoxicated patrons came together in this confined space. This type of poor design also exists inside a number of licensed premises and similar problems of antisocial behaviour were

observed. Such design flaws make it very difficult for any policing strategy to be effective, which suggests that ACTP need to better engage with premise management, Territory and Municipal Services and other relevant parties to jointly address the drinking environment.

The service of alcohol to intoxicated patrons, which the AIC research team observed on multiple occasions, also impacts on ACTP strategies and is a subject covered in more depth later in this report. This issue is likely to be addressed in part through the new legislation.

The quality of security staff can also impact on the policing of licensed venues. While discussions with some licensees indicated that security staff can greatly reduce antisocial behaviour, others said that aggressive security staff sometimes escalate heated situations and increase levels of antisocial behaviour among intoxicated patrons. Licensed premises managers need to ensure their security staff behave appropriately in order to support policing strategies and responsible service practices implemented in the Australian Capital Territory.



Impact of policing strategies in the Australian Capital Territory

As outlined earlier, the assessment of the short-term impact of the strategies implemented by ACTP over the 2009–10 summer period in this report covers:

- findings from interviews with ACTP and licensees examining their views with respect to the effectiveness of recent strategies;
 - a comparison of recorded offences in the intervention area (Civic) compared with the control area (Manuka/Kingston);
 - a comparison of findings from the observational research undertaken by AIC staff in the Civic and Manuka/Kingston entertainment precincts before and after the intervention periods; and
 - an analysis of data from the survey of community perceptions, and in particular, respondents views regarding the state of alcohol-related problems in the Australian Capital Territory post-intervention period.
- The AIC was unable to reach agreement with ACTP or determine from the information available the precise nature of key evidence-based strategies and clearly defined intervention period that were to be subject to the evaluation.
 - A number of ACTP strategies were delivered at the same time as one another and at the same time as strategies delivered by other agencies in the same locations. For example, it was reported that there was an increased number of walkthroughs being conducted by ORS. This makes it difficult to determine the specific impact of each individual strategy delivered by ACTP in Civic during the intervention period.
 - The AIC identified a number of different sources of data maintained by ACTP and ORS that would help to build an understanding of the level and trends in alcohol-related crime and impact on policing. However, there were limitations with this data such that it was difficult to identify alcohol-related offences, particularly those involving or located near to licensed premises, or the precise level and nature of action taken against licensed premises in the Civic and Manuka/Kingston entertainment precincts. Further, not all data that was identified was made available to the AIC in a format suitable for the purpose of the current evaluation.

Methodological limitations

The short-term impact of ACTP strategies targeting licensed premises regarding compliance with liquor licensing legislation, alcohol-related violence and community safety is difficult to determine for a number of reasons:

- The AIC instituted a number of new data collection tools and while they will help to inform a longer term project, they were not implemented in full before and after the implementation of the strategies currently being evaluated.

These issues have been taken into consideration when describing the results from an analysis of data collected by the AIC for the purpose of this evaluation. While they limit the ability to draw conclusions regarding the specific impact of each component of the ACTP approach, it has been possible to draw general conclusions regarding the overall effectiveness of the ACTP approach. These are outlined below.

Compliance with liquor licensing legislation

Evidence with respect to trends in compliance with liquor licensing legislation and regulations is largely anecdotal. ACTP and ORS inspectors reported that a sustained campaign targeted at premises during busy trading periods in 2009–10 had delivered noticeable improvements in compliance with liquor licensing conditions, particularly as they related to the management of premises (as opposed to serving practices). ACTP officers provided examples where they had successfully negotiated with individual licensees to eliminate serving practices that would result in breaches of licensing provisions, such as the sale of large quantities of alcohol in short periods of time, but acknowledged that licensees continued to serve alcohol to intoxicated patrons. The AIC observed large numbers of patrons showing clear signs of intoxication in and around licensed premises, many of whom were still being served alcohol, before and during the intervention period.

Overall, it appeared as though licensees perceived that there was little risk associated with non-compliance and that the consequences for breaching licensing provisions were minimal. This is an important finding. Legislation and enforcement is more likely to be effective in improving compliance where there is a high-risk that non-compliance will be detected, that penalties for non-compliance will be imposed, that these penalties outweigh the financial benefits of non-compliance and that these

penalties are both immediate and widely publicised to other premise operators (Grube & Nygaard 2005; NDRI 2007).

ACTP and ORS reported that it was difficult to prosecute licensees for breaches that were more difficult to substantiate under existing regulations. This includes serving intoxicated patrons which is, according to some police and ORS investigators (under existing requirements), an extremely difficult breach to establish for ACAT. This might explain why ORS indicate that their high-risk targets for breaches include:

- unlicensed security;
- occupancy loading;
- underage patrons;
- fake identification among patrons; and
- fire exit hazards.

These breaches are relatively straightforward to identify and support with evidence. According to the most recent data supplied to the AIC by ORS (for the period January to September 2008), 13 matters were dealt with by the Liquor Board involving 10 premises and 26 alleged breaches. None of these breaches related to the service of alcohol to intoxicated patrons. Based on the findings from the AIC's observational research and interviews with licensees and ACTP (albeit in relation to a different time period), it is more than likely that significantly more breaches occurred during this time period but were not identified, recorded and/or prosecuted.

According to some licensees, in addition to the lack of a significant deterrent to non-compliance, the ease with which a liquor license can be granted under existing legislation leads to inexperienced licensees who are more likely to breach regulations, whether through deliberate action or because they are not aware of their obligations with respect to licensing regulations. For example, one experienced licensee commented that:

[o]btaining an alcohol liquor license in Canberra is so easy it only costs a couple thousand dollars. Rather than putting on a live band or good food to get people in the premises they put on cheap alcohol, which really isn't a good thing. The other thing in Canberra is the set up situation where any shop can become a licensed premise. People set them up on nothing and the reality is this

industry is not that profitable so when people start to struggle they discount the alcohol. [It also leads to] places cutting costs and may also not have the required number of security staff (Licensee personal communication 2010).

Another licensee confirmed this view:

There are too many licensees and it is too easy to obtain a license these days. As long as you don't have a criminal record you can get a license and there are just too many licenses in the one area [Civic area]. New licensees [should] have twelve month probation [period] (Licensee personal communication 2010).

Views such as these among licensees operating in the Civic precinct suggest that lack of compliance by some licensees is more likely a consequence of limitations with existing legislation and regulations, as opposed to a failure to effectively police these regulations. Changes in legislation, such as the requirement for applications for new licenses to include a risk assessment management plan (which outlines the procedures, practices and arrangements for the operation of the licensed premise), may help to address perceptions that unqualified, inexperienced and unprepared owners are entering the business.

Responsible service of alcohol and other management practices

Many licensees indicated that they supported RSA and were positive about the proposed legislative changes. However, during the fieldwork, the research team observed that many patrons often continued to consume alcoholic drinks, despite being heavily intoxicated. At a number of licensed premises there were patrons who were visibly intoxicated (eg they exhibited loud behaviour, slurred speech and stumbling) while in possession of an alcoholic beverage. It is possible that friends or other patrons were purchasing the drinks for these intoxicated patrons, which several licensees discussed as being a difficult problem to manage. Under the proposed legislation this type of behaviour would be liable, which is a move endorsed by most licensees.

Other management practices were generally supported by licensees and their managers, including refusing entry to intoxicated patrons.

Although this was seldom observed being implemented, one security manager commented how their best method of avoiding antisocial patron behaviour was to be rigorous on the front door when admitting patrons into the premises (Security personal communication 2010).

In general, licensees supported management practices that have been shown to minimise the risk of alcohol-related violence, including the responsible service of alcohol. In practice, evidence as to whether these practices were being implemented was inconsistent and highlighted some of the practical barriers associated with enforcing strict management practices, such as refusing service or entry to intoxicated and potentially aggressive patrons.

Patterns of consumption and problematic drinking behaviour

Alcohol is one of the most prevalent social issues among young people, with a large number drinking at levels which place them at risk of short or long-term alcohol-related harm (Muir et al. 2009). A recent national survey found that a significant proportion of young Australians drink at high-risk levels at least once a month (AIHW 2008). In the Australian Capital Territory, one in five persons over the age of 14 drink at risky high-risk levels for short-term alcohol-related harm at least once a month (AIHW 2009). Persons aged 20–29 years are most likely to drink at risky or high-risk levels. Among young people between the ages of 18 and 24 years who drink alcohol, a significant proportion consume five or more standard drinks on an average drinking occasion (52% males and 37% females; Muir et al. 2009).

There is no reliable measure of patron consumption to enable an assessment of comparative rates pre- and post-police intervention as part of the current project. However, observations conducted by AIC researchers post-intervention demonstrated that there was a high level of intoxication among patrons both inside and outside of licensed premises in Civic and Manuka/Kingston.

The pattern of consumption and problematic drinking behaviour among patrons is viewed by all stakeholders as one of the main issues that need to be addressed in the Civic area. There are several factors that warrant further consideration in attempting to understand the capacity of police to influence patron drinking behaviour. These factors, described below in more detail, include:

- attitudes towards alcohol and a culture of 'drinking to get drunk';
- responsibility of the patron;
- discounted drinks and promotions; and
- preloading.

While conducting observations, AIC researchers noticed that there were several occasions in different premises where patrons were clearly intoxicated and continuing to consume alcohol. In one instance, a female patron was physically ill and had to be carried outside by a friend. Other premises had the distinct smell of bleach that had been used to clean up after patrons. Moreover, multiple areas of the Civic entertainment precinct had been visibly soiled by intoxicated patrons. This evidence suggests that problematic drinking behaviour continues to be prevalent among patrons visiting the Civic entertainment precinct.

Attitudes towards alcohol and a culture of 'drinking to get drunk'

The most significant challenge to addressing problematic drinking behaviour is the well-established drinking culture in Australia of 'drinking to get drunk' (Alcohol Working Group 2009). The need to address this issue is reflected in the National Alcohol Strategy, the goal of which is to prevent and minimise alcohol-related harm to individuals, families and communities in the context of developing safer and healthy drinking cultures in Australia (MCDS 2006). A key part of this strategy focuses on young Australians and concerns over young people drinking to excess (MCDS 2006). All stakeholders involved in this project, including police, ORS and licensees commented on the drinking culture as an issue that needed to be addressed. Some licensees indicated that the key issues for the industry revolved around 'the public, the government and the licensed venues. [W]ith the public, the need to address a

drinking culture probably starts and ends there' (Licensee personal communication 2010).

Another licensee asked:

Why is there this social pressure in our society to get drunk? Why can't people enjoy a few glasses of good wine or not feel like that have to drink at all? (Licensee personal communication 2010)

Other licensees were more specific when discussing this issue, focusing on the behaviour of young people:

Young people, if they have \$100 in their pockets [and they are going drinking somewhere holding promotions or cheap drinks] do not think, oh excellent, it's cheap night therefore my night will only cost me half as much, they think excellent I can now drink twice as much (Licensee personal communication 2010).

Another licensee noted that patrons' drinking patterns are also linked with the patron having no responsibility for their actions (discussed below):

One of the issues is that people have become accustomed to being told when they have had enough to drink, so people will just drink to excess and wait until the bar staff tell them they can't have anymore (Licensee personal communication 2010).

The relationship between societal attitudes and values and alcohol-related harm has been well established (Graham et al. 1998). The Australian Capital Territory is not alone in terms of having to address the culture of 'drinking to get drunk'. Addressing this problem requires a combination of effective police enforcement and legislative responses (supply reduction) and encouraging and promoting responsible drinking behaviour (demand reduction).

Responsibility of the patron

Many of the licensees who were interviewed argued that to improve patterns in drinking behaviour and alcohol consumption some onus and responsibility needed to be placed on the patron. Police recognise that such views are important facilitators and catalysts for improving the police response. Licensees highlighted the difficulty in dealing with some unruly patrons when refused service for being intoxicated,

because at present, there are no repercussions (such as formal sanctions) for negative behaviour. Aspects of the new legislation place greater responsibility on the patron (see *Liquor Act 2010* Part 8 Division 8.2 s 100). This was supported by most licensees:

Yes they need to put a bit more back on the patrons and they need to do that here, everybody still needs to be responsible for their own actions and just because you're out drinking shouldn't matter (Licensee personal communication 2010).

Another licensee indicated that 'some onus needs to be put back on the patrons with underage people or intoxicated people needing to face penalties just like licensees' (Licensee personal communication 2010).

A member of security at one licensed premise also indicated their support for making the patron more responsible as they noted that most of the problems occurred at the front door and they had to screen out potential intoxicated troublemakers:

Unfortunately people seem pretty naive and they don't seem very educated about what the rules are, and they think you make up the rules on the fly because we are asshole bouncers. This seems to be the mentality against security staff. When people do get refused service or entry they do take a great deal of offence to this and [this leads] them to get violent and unfortunately there is nothing out there for the responsibility of the general public. They come into the situation very naive (Security personal communication 2010).

The response of this security team member of a prominent licensed premise demonstrates support for the proposed changes to the new legislation and also touches on an important issue of education. As one licensee specified:

It's all good to have these changes to the legislation but the patron needs to know about them as well and this is the most important thing. They have to be aware of their responsibilities as well before they can be fined (Licensee personal communication 2010).

Despite these views, not all licensees were supportive of this new approach of holding patrons more accountable:

Rather than too much onus being put back on patrons where they will be liable for fines I would

just rather see management, police or ORS speak to people and just ask them why they are carrying on like this...No need to fine people you just have to point out how much of idiots they might be acting like and how they have ruined everyone's night and they usually realise then what they have done (Licensee personal communication 2010).

This view is supported by the evidence, which shows that the most effective policing response involves the enforcement of unruly patron behaviour, combined with targeted enforcement directed at problematic venues informed by a reliable evidence base (Doherty & Roche 2003). This highlights the importance of a balanced approach.

Licensees and discounted drinks compounding the issue

Another significant issue relates to the discounting of drinks and/or drinks promotions, which may lead to problematic drinking behaviour. Both the police and ORS agree that this is a major issue, particularly because it encourages patterns of problematic drinking behaviour. The practice of advertising and selling 'cheap drinks' is viewed by police, ORS and licensees as one of the major contributing factors to alcohol-related problems in the Civic area. One licensee commented that:

Targeting cheap nights and discounted drinks is one way to go about this. The level of discounting just does not happen in Sydney and you have a number of restrictions just as you can't go lower than half price and loading limits get reduced. Whereas here [ACT] it's just a free for all (Licensee personal communication 2010).

ACTP Crime Prevention has attempted to address this issue through a range of strategies, including monitoring websites and social network pages (such as Facebook). However, the restrictions on drinks promotions in the Australian Capital Territory are not perceived by stakeholders to be very rigid. For instance, one licensee felt strongly that:

The \$2 drink deals some places are doing is just ridiculous. Going back to discounted alcohol [as a problem], people are selling jugs of spirits and people are drinking it and its not quality alcohol but people still drink it (Licensee personal communication 2010).

Another licensee stated that:

On top of this the alcohol in many places involves extreme discounting such as \$2 drinks or \$3 drinks, these places are selling at a loss for drinks like Smirnoff black that sells for 3.86 a unit. They are just trying to get people in and they are therefore also encouraging binge drinking (Licensee personal communication 2010).

Appropriate legislation restricting the sale of cheap drinks or advertising drink promotions, supported by strong and reliable enforcement, is required to address this issue. Section 137 of the new *Liquor Act 2010* prohibits the promotion of alcohol that encourages rapid and excessive consumption of liquor. Properly enforced, this should limit the ability of premises to advertise discounted drinks. Maintaining high levels of communication between ACTP and licensees is also important in encouraging greater levels of compliance.

However, the new legislation has been criticised for not including a provision to impose restrictions on the sale of certain beverages (specifically those with a high alcohol content or which are consumed rapidly) that may also encourage the rapid or excessive consumption of alcohol, a strategy that has been used with some success in other jurisdictions (Jones et al. 2009). Furthermore, discounted drinks may still be sold and this is likely to continue in areas where there is a high density of licensed premises and a high level of competition between business operators.

Preloading

Preloading is the consumption of large quantities of alcohol by patrons prior to visiting pubs, clubs and nightclubs. It usually occurs in private residences, recreational areas or restaurants. Preloading is an important issue that impacts on the management of entertainment precincts (Nicholas 2010), particularly since it has been demonstrated that individuals who consume large quantities of alcohol prior to visiting entertainment precincts are more likely to be involved in a violent or aggressive incident (Hughes et al. 2008).

Evidence in relation to this issue was mixed. Police, ORS and licensed premise operators reported that it was a significant problem among patrons visiting licensed premises in Civic, particularly among those

patrons arriving late at night. Anecdotal reports from licensees suggested that this type of behaviour seemed to affect those premises that were open later. Evidence from the PLD forms appeared to contradict this finding, with data collected suggesting that in the majority of incidents, the PLD was also the location at which individuals had consumed the majority of their alcohol.

Licensees argued that preloading was a difficult issue for them to address. Some licensees considered that the cheap prices of supermarket-bought alcohol contributed to preloading. For example, one licensee believed that:

[p]reloading is another issue we have to be aware about as there is a large trend in the last few years which is outside the control of licensed premises, this is cheap alcohol from alcohol supermarkets where cases of Corona [beer] are cheaper than what they are for me to buy wholesale (Licensee personal communication 2010).

Effective screening processes (ie refusing entry to visibly intoxicated patrons) are an important strategy in managing this problem. However, strategies targeting problematic licensed premises may only have a limited impact on the problems associated with preloading (Nicholas 2010). Further, there are potential unintentional consequences whereby strategies that effectively reduce problematic drinking within licensed premises displace drinking to alternative locations—particularly private residences (Nicholas 2010). There are a range of practical barriers to effectively intervening to prevent the excessive consumption of alcohol and alcohol-related violence in private settings (Morgan & McAtamney 2009). Coupled with the finding that the majority of individuals involved in incidents recorded by PLD forms had consumed the majority of their alcohol in the place they had consumed their last drink, there may be greater returns from strategies that focus on reducing the excessive consumption of alcohol and service of alcohol to intoxicated patrons in license patrons. The potential displacement of problems to other locations would still need to be carefully considered, providing further justification for a coordinated approach that involves supply, demand and harm reduction strategies delivered by a range of agencies working in close partnership.

Levels of alcohol-related harm

The impact of ACTP strategies on the level of alcohol-related harm has already been examined in terms of compliance with liquor licensing legislation and patron drinking behaviour. This section covers the impact on alcohol-related violence and perceptions of crime and safety.

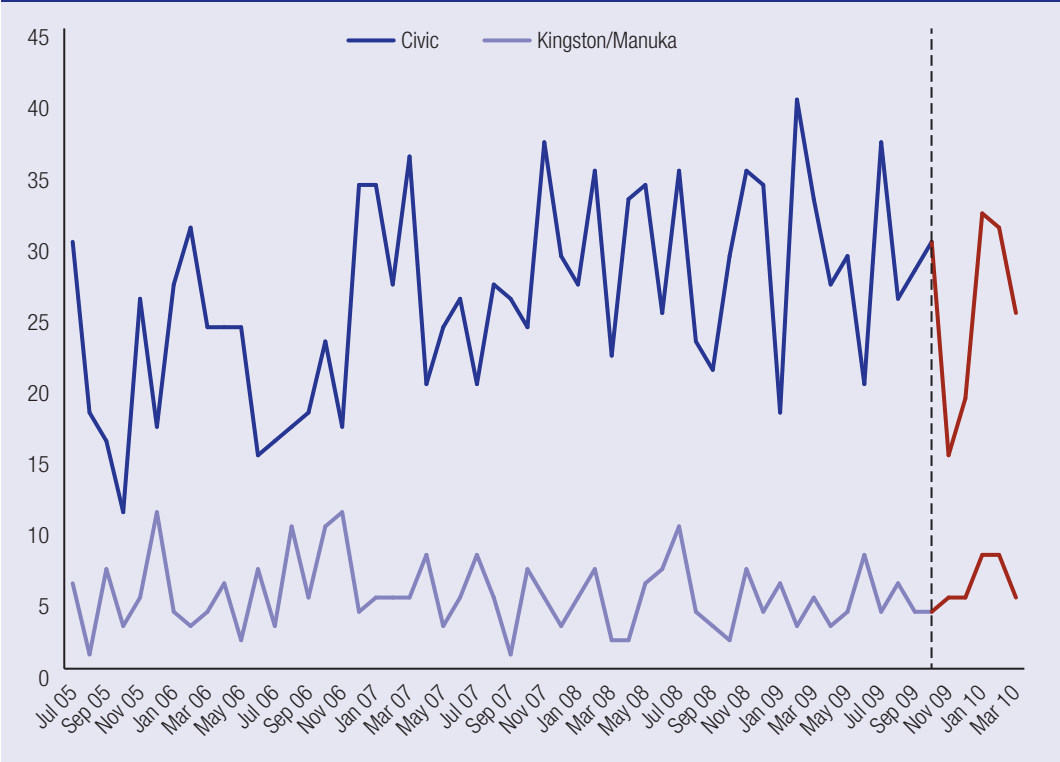
Alcohol-related violence

A key indicator of alcohol-related harm in the Australian Capital Territory is the prevalence of assault. This section of the report therefore examines trends in recorded assault offences to determine whether ACTP strategies delivered over the October 2009 to March 2010 period had any impact on the level of violence in the Civic entertainment precinct.

Figure 7 shows the number of recorded assault offences per month in Civic and Kingston/Manuka from July 2005 until March 2010. It shows that following the introduction of the ACTP strategies in the city, there was a sharp decline in the number of recorded assault offences, which contrasted with relative stability in the (albeit small) number of assaults in Kingston/Manuka at the same time. The number of recorded assaults in November 2009 (n=15) was the lowest number of assaults for any month since mid 2006. However, the trend was short-lived as there was a sharp increase in the number of recorded assaults in January 2010.

It is useful to compare the number of recorded assault offences per month during the intervention period with previous years. The results are displayed in Figure 8. This shows that there were fewer assaults in November and December 2009 when compared with the average number of recorded

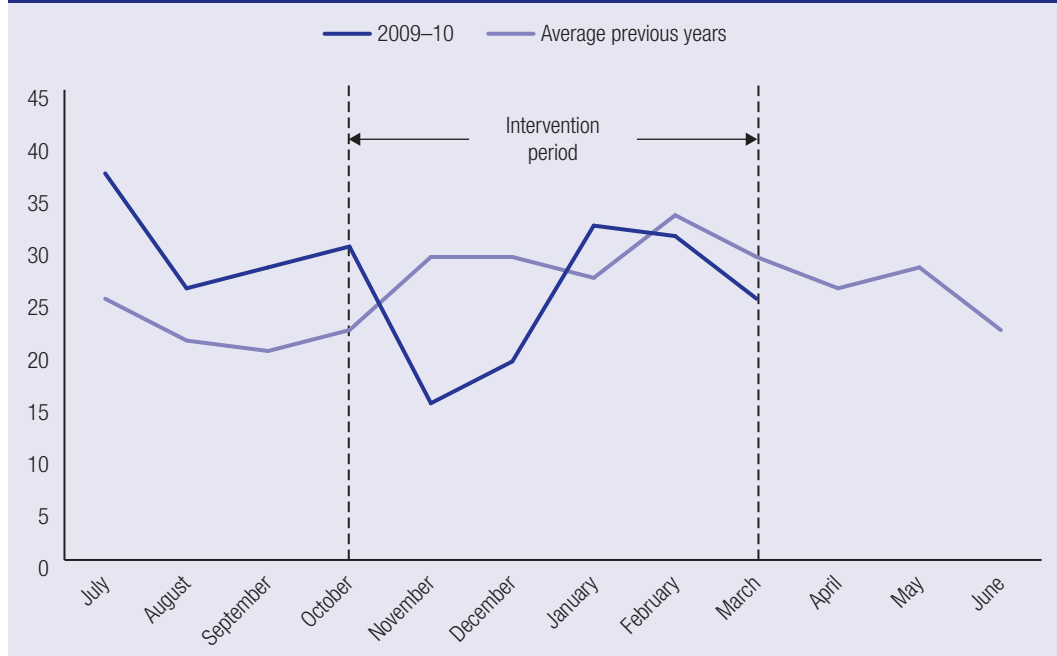
Figure 7 Recorded assault offences in Civic and Kingston/Manuka July 2005–March 2010, by month (n)



Note: Assault includes aggravated assault, non-aggravated assault and assault police. Excludes other acts intended to cause injury. Civic includes all offences recorded as having occurred in the city. Kingston/Manuka includes all offences recorded as having occurred in Kingston and streets located within the Manuka entertainment precinct (including Bougainville St, Canberra Ave, Captain Cook Ct, Flinders Way, Franklin St, Furneaux St and Palmerston Lane)

Source: ACT PROMIS database

Figure 8 Recorded assault offences in Civic 2009–10, by month (n)



Note: Assault includes aggravated assault, non-aggravated assault and assault police. Excludes other acts intended to cause injury. Average for previous years refers to average number of offences in each month in the 4 year period from July 2005 to June 2009. Civic includes all offences recorded as having occurred in the city

Source: ACT PROMIS database

assault offences during the same period for the previous four years. However, in January and February 2010, the number of recorded assault offences was the same (or higher) than the average for previous years.

The equivalent results for Kingston/Manuka are presented in Figure 9. These results need to be interpreted with caution, given the relatively small number of assaults recorded each month. Apparent fluctuations may be the result of a small increase or decrease in the number of recorded assaults per month. Nevertheless, it shows a similar pattern of recorded assaults in the intervention period as for Civic.

To determine whether the pattern observed in Civic reflects an overall trend in assaults across the Australian Capital Territory, it is necessary to examine trends in the remainder of the ACT region (ie excluding Civic and Kingston/Manuka). These results are outlined in Figure 10. This shows that there was a similar pattern of an initial decline in November and December 2009, followed by an

increase in the number of assaults recorded in the region in January 2010. However, the difference between the number of recorded assaults in November and December 2009 compared with the average for previous years is greater for Civic (a decline of 40% compared with the 4 year average) than for the rest of the Australian Capital Territory (17%).

Overall, this suggests that the strategies delivered by ACTP in Civic may have had a short-term impact on the number of recorded assault offences in that location. As outlined earlier, it is difficult to draw a causal link between police interventions and the drop in assaults, or to determine which of the strategies delivered over the summer period may have contributed to the fall in recorded offences. Other factors that may have produced this include changes in reporting rates, events, or even weather patterns. Further, the reduction was not sustained beyond December 2009, with a sudden (and above average) increase in the number of recorded assaults in Civic in January 2010. The short-term fall in recorded

assault offences may have also been the result of the initial approach by ACTP Crime Prevention to approach and engage licensed premises and inform them of their obligations and penalties associated with breaches of liquor licensing legislation, but which was not subsequently supported by a strong and ongoing enforcement component (beyond mid December 2009). This is consistent with research from previous studies, which has demonstrated that strategies such as liquor accords (similar in many ways to the ACTP approach) must be supported by a strong and sustained enforcement component (Haines & Graham 2005; NDRI 2007).

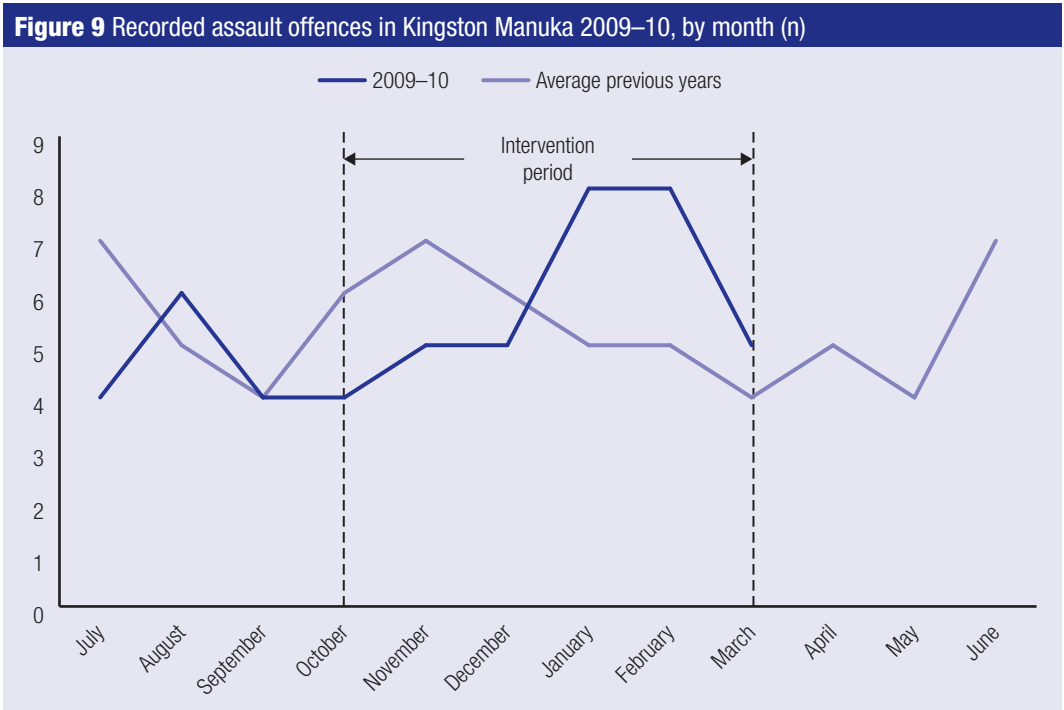
Perceptions of crime and safety

The actual and perceived level of alcohol-related crime in entertainment precincts can have a negative impact on community safety and public amenity, and this impact can extend well beyond those who have been directly involved or affected by an incident (Nicholas 2006). An important goal of strategies targeting licensed premises is to therefore increase

perceptions of safety in and around licensed premises among patrons, bar staff, other business operators and the wider community.

The AIC online community survey does not permit pre- and post-intervention comparisons of perceptions of crime and safety in the Civic and Manuka/Kingston entertainment precincts, because it was only implemented on one occasion towards the end of the intervention period (ie post-intervention). It does, however, enable a retrospective analysis of respondents' perceptions during the intervention period compared with the previous 12 months. It also provides useful data that can inform future decision-making with respect to strategies designed to improve perceptions of safety and a baseline against which to (potentially) measure change over time.

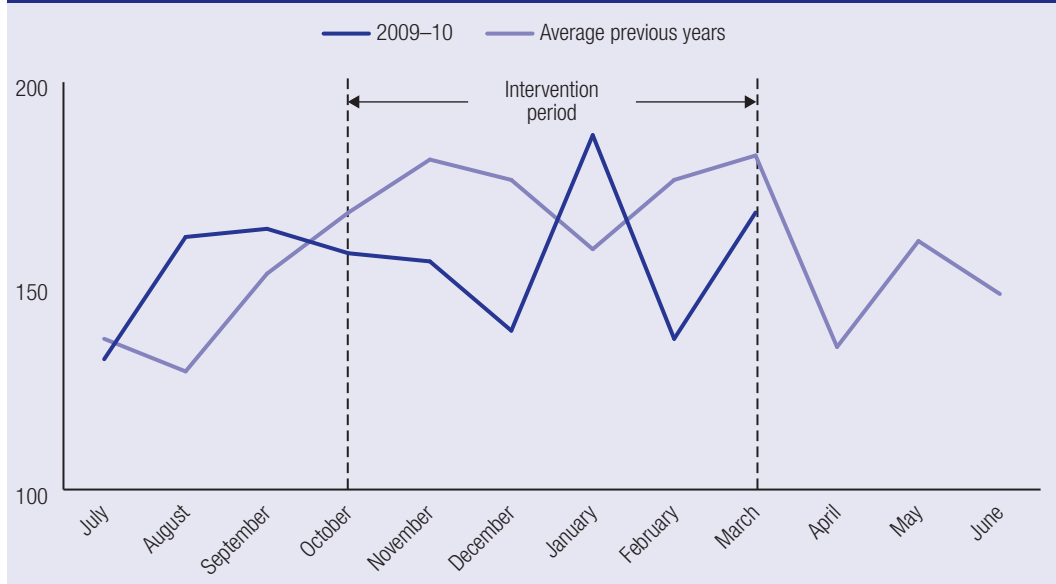
As shown in Figure 11, 80 percent of respondents indicated that crime in the Civic region over the previous 12 months was higher than average when compared with the greater metropolitan region. Approximately 35 percent of respondents reported



Note: Assault includes aggravated assault, non-aggravated assault and assault police. Excludes other acts intended to cause injury. Average for previous years refers to average number of offences in each month in the 4 year period from July 2005 to June 2009. Kingston/Manuka includes all offences recorded as having occurred in Kingston and streets located within the Manuka entertainment precinct (including Bougainville St, Canberra Ave, Captain Cook Ct, Flinders Way, Franklin St, Furneaux St and Palmerston Lane)

Source: ACT PROMIS database

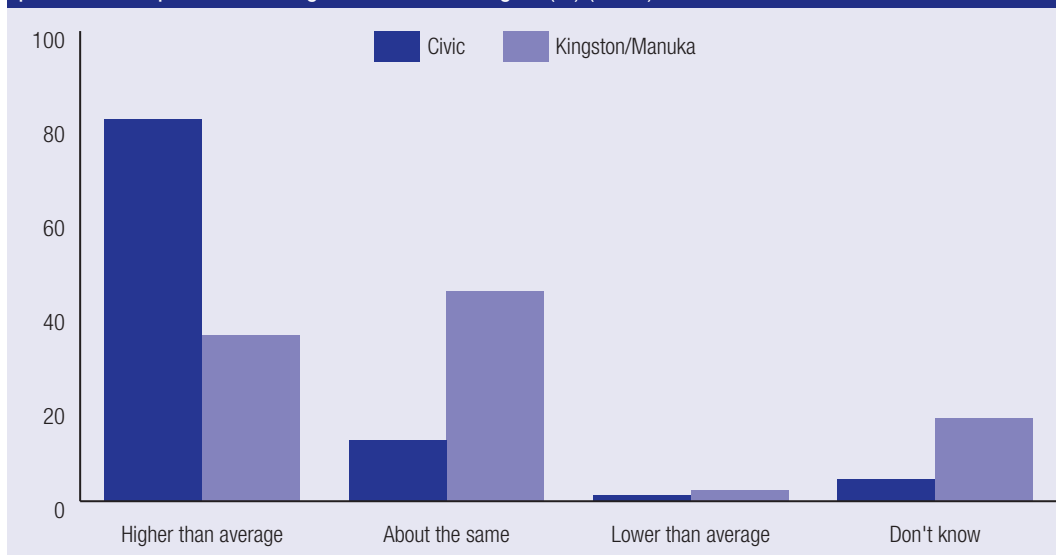
Figure 10 Recorded assault offences in Australian Capital Territory (excluding Civic and Kingston/Manuka) 2009–10, by month (n)



Note: Assault includes aggravated assault, non-aggravated assault and assault police. Excludes other acts intended to cause injury. Average for previous years refers to average number of offences in each month in the four year period from July 2005 to June 2009. Civic includes all offences recorded as having occurred in the city. Kingston/Manuka includes all offences recorded as having occurred in Kingston and streets located within the Manuka entertainment precinct (including Bougainville St, Canberra Ave, Captain Cook Ct, Flinders Way, Franklin St, Furneaux St and Palmerston Lane)

Source: ACT PROMIS database

Figure 11 Perception of crime over the past 12 months in Civic and Kingston/Manuka entertainment precincts compared with the greater Canberra region (%) (n=85)



Source: AIC online survey

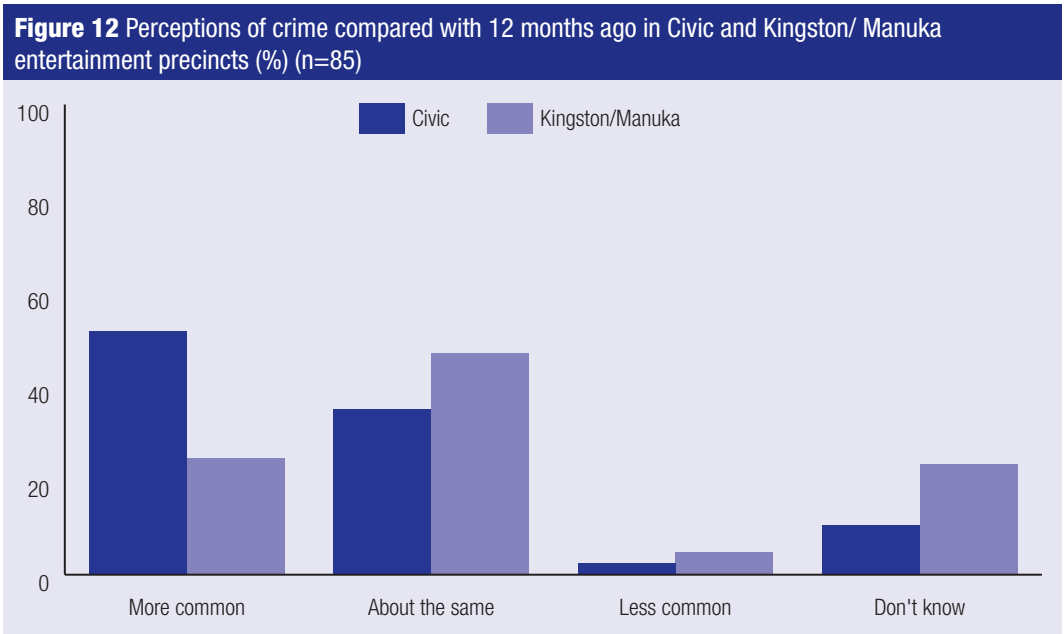
that crime in the Kingston/Manuka region over the previous 12 months was higher than average when compared with the greater metropolitan region. In other words, respondents were more likely to perceive the Civic entertainment precinct as having higher than average levels of crime than the Kingston/Manuka precinct, but a substantial proportion perceived both areas to have higher than average crime levels.

A large number of respondents appeared to perceive crime as having increased in Civic (50%) and Kingston/Manuka (25%). This is despite evidence suggesting that the level of assault had remained relatively stable or, in the period immediately following the implementation of strategies described in this report, declined. Thirty-five percent of respondents reported that they believed the level of crime in Civic was about the same and 45 percent reported that the level of crime in Kingston/Manuka had also remained about the same compared with 12 months ago (see Figure 12).

Taken together, these responses suggest that a significant proportion of respondents believed that crime in entertainment precincts in Canberra is increasing. Qualitative survey responses indicated that respondents felt that violence and (more specifically) alcohol-related violence were the main issues within the Civic area. Seventy percent of

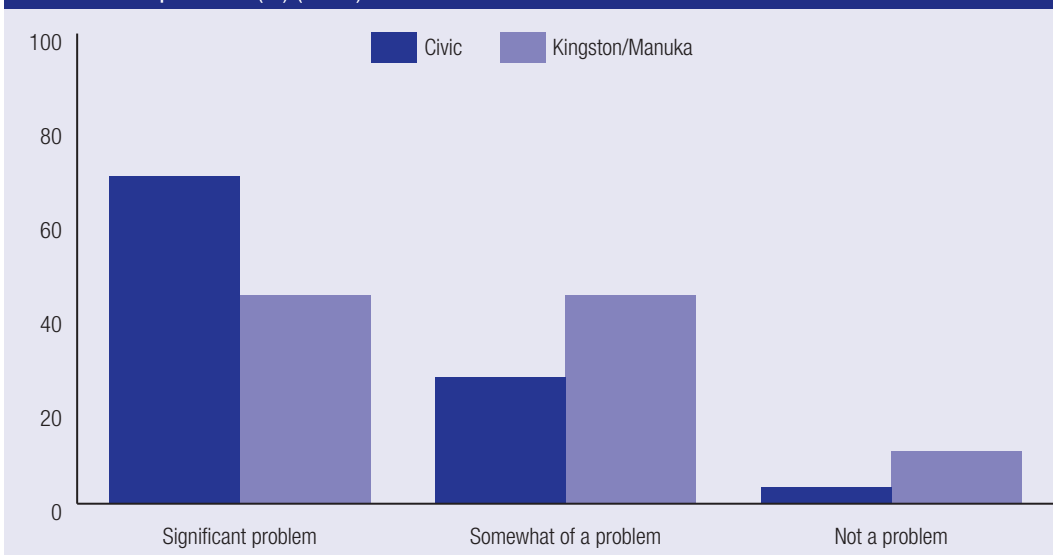
respondents stated that alcohol-related violence was a significant problem in Civic and 44 percent reported that it was a significant problem in Kingston/Manuka (see Figure 13). Few respondents to the survey perceived alcohol-related violence as being neither somewhat of a problem or a significant problem. The majority of respondents also considered that drunk and disorderly behaviour was a significant problem or somewhat of a problem in either the Civic or the Kingston/Manuka entertainment precincts (see Figure 14).

It is worth noting that there was considerable local media surrounding the issue of alcohol-related violence both during and prior to the intervention period. This included a series of articles on the problems associated with alcohol, which reported data from a range of sources, including ACTP. As well as reflecting growing concern around the level of violence, particularly in entertainment precincts, the focus on alcohol-related violence also coincided with the review of the *Liquor Act 1975*. This increased attention and publicising of alcohol-related problems may have had a negative impact on perceptions on crime and safety, particularly in view of research findings that have shown broadcast and tabloid media provide the major source of information for most members of the public about crime and justice (Roberts & Indermaur 2009).



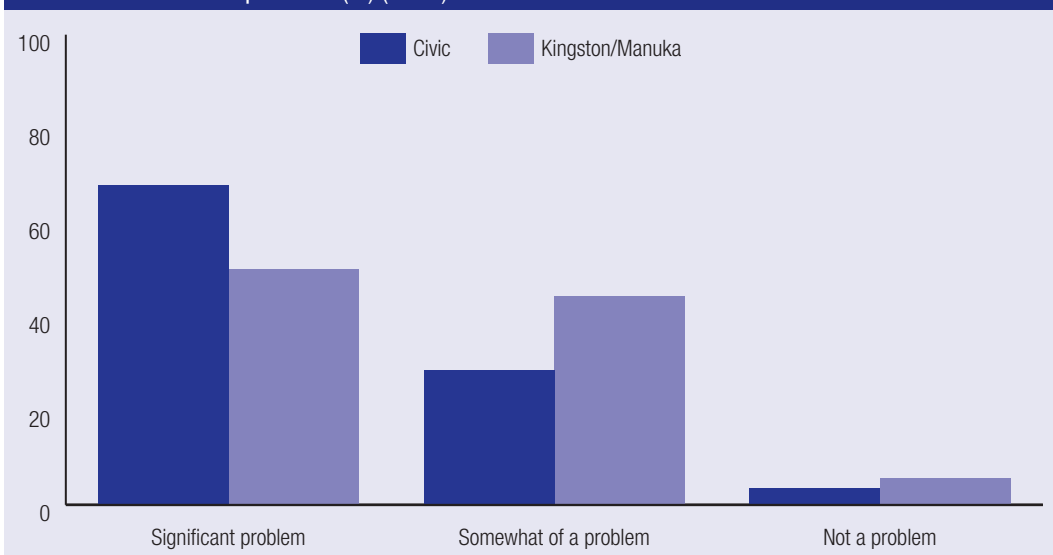
Source: AIC online survey

Figure 13 Perception of alcohol-related violence as a crime problem in Civic and Kingston/Manuka entertainment precincts (%) (n=74)



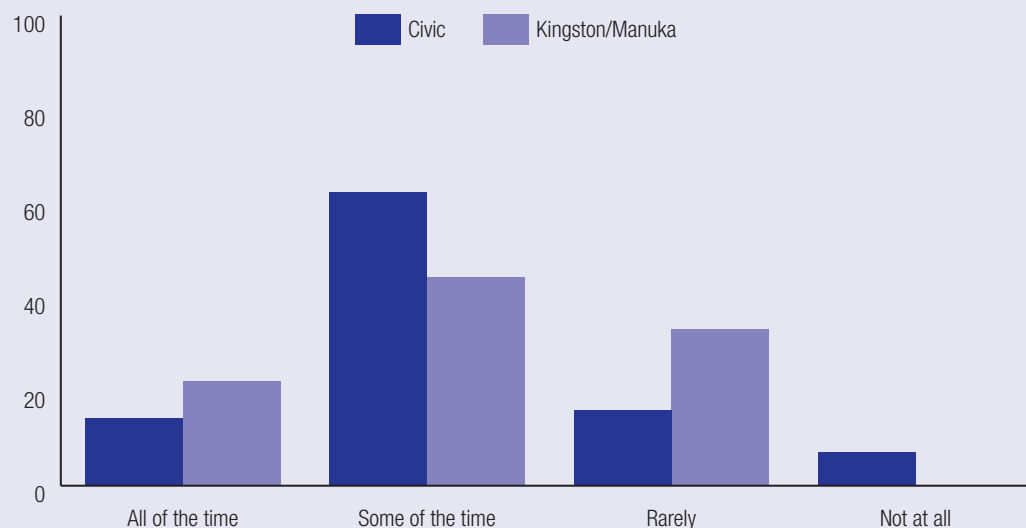
Source: AIC online survey

Figure 14 Perception of drunken and disorderly behaviour as a crime problem in Civic and Kingston/Manuka entertainment precincts (%) (n=74)



Source: AIC online survey

Figure 15 Felt intimidated by the presence of a person under the influence of alcohol in Civic and Kingston/Manuka entertainment precincts (%) (n=74)



Source: AIC online survey

However, the perceived problems associated with alcohol may not be entirely attributed to the reporting of alcohol-related crime. Approximately three-quarters (77%) of respondents reported they had, at some point in the previous 12 months, felt intimidated by the presence of a person under the influence of alcohol when visiting Civic (see Figure 15). Overall, survey respondents were more likely to report that alcohol-related violence and drunk and disorderly behaviour was 'somewhat of a problem' in Kingston/Manuka and a 'significant problem' in Civic. This is consistent with the level of alcohol-related violence in each location and reflects the relative differences in the number and density of licensed premises and number of patrons visiting each precinct each weekend. Interestingly, this is in contrast with the views of several licensees, who reported during interviews that alcohol-related violence in Civic had actually improved in recent years:

The level of violence in Civic is nowhere near as bad as it was 5 or 10 years ago, it's not even close to how bad it was back then (Licensee personal communication 2010).

Taken as a whole, these findings provide little evidence to suggest that the interventions delivered by ACTP had an impact on the perceptions of

community safety among those individuals who responded to the survey. This is an important issue, as increased fear of crime is associated with decreased confidence in the criminal justice system (Roberts & Indermaur 2009).

Strategies targeting the actual level of alcohol-related violence in entertainment precincts in the Australian Capital Territory will most likely have some impact on perceptions of crime and safety among the wider population. However, strategies specifically designed to improved perceptions of safety are also required, particularly so as to ensure that the community does not overestimate the level of crime and violence and risk to personal safety. According to licensees, high-visibility policing was an effective strategy for improving the public's perception of safety in both areas, particularly among patrons and visitors. Seeing more police out on patrol or multiple vehicles parked nearby may help to improve perceptions of safety and security. Well-targeted social marketing strategies, supported by effective communication and information-sharing practices with local media, may also help address this problem (Hommel & Carroll 2009).



Summary and recommendations

Based upon the findings presented in this report, the AIC has prepared the following recommendations to assist ACTP improve the effectiveness of strategies dealing with the problems associated with licensed premises in entertainment precincts. These recommendations are primarily targeted at ACTP, but recognise their role as part of a coordinated response to alcohol-related harms. In developing these recommendations, the AIC has given consideration to changes to liquor licensing and the regulation of licensed premises in the Australian Capital Territory through the introduction of the new *Liquor Act 2010*, as well as proposed changes to ACTP to support these reforms.

A clear, long-term strategy for policing alcohol-related crime and antisocial behaviour in the Australian Capital Territory

Overall, the implementation of the ACTP's approach to policing licensed premises over the 2009–10 summer period and the various external factors that impacted upon the effectiveness of this approach, have highlighted the need for ACTP to develop a

clear, long-term strategy for policing licensed premises and alcohol-related crime in the Australian Capital Territory. This strategy should articulate clear objectives, the full range of policing strategies designed to address alcohol-related crime and antisocial behaviour (including the problems associated with licensed premises), and roles and responsibilities of all key stakeholders. This strategy should be aligned with the ACT Alcohol, Tobacco and Other Drug Strategy 2010–2014 (ACT Health 2010).

This will help to ensure a common understanding of what ACTP is seeking to achieve in relation to policing licensed premises and alcohol-related crime. It will also help to ensure that different sections within ACTP (including general duties, traffic, crime prevention, drug and alcohol policy, intelligence and the new liquor licensing team) understand what each section contributes to the strategy and the various roles and responsibilities of these sections. Moreover, it will help guide the allocation of resources by setting clear responsibilities for each section, as well as ensuring there is a long-term and sustained approach to the problems associated with alcohol. It should be sufficiently flexible so as to allow for adaptation as new and emerging issues arise and highlight the collaborative strategies that involve police, but for which police are not necessarily the lead agency.

Enforcement of liquor licensing legislation

The main area in which ACTP can directly contribute to a reduction in the problems associated with alcohol is through the enforcement of liquor licensing laws. This will be particularly important with the introduction of the new legislation. To date, the majority of enforcement activity undertaken by ACTP has been directed at patrons. There is little evidence of formal action being taken against licensed premises for intoxication-related offences. The majority of action during the evaluation period was initiated by ORS and related to underage patrons and offences relating to the management of premises. This reflects the trend in other jurisdictions (Donnelly & Briscoe 2005; Fleming 2008). A strong and effective approach to enforcing prevailing legislation is important, not only because it can increase compliance, but because it is fundamental to the effectiveness of other mechanisms such as mandatory responsible service of alcohol training and liquor accords (or similar informal collaborative strategies involving police and licensees, such is the case in the Australian Capital Territory; Nicholas 2008).

Amendments to the liquor licensing legislation within the Australian Capital Territory will help overcome some of the barriers to the effective enforcement of compliance by licensees and premise staff. However, it is widely acknowledged that compliance with liquor licensing legislation is contingent upon there being a strong deterrent—a real risk of apprehension and prosecution for violations of liquor licensing, particularly as it relates to the service of alcohol to intoxicated patrons. Therefore, the AIC recommends that the primary focus of the new licensing team, supported by general duties officers working in entertainment precincts during peak periods, be directed towards the enforcement of new and (up until the introduction of the new *Liquor Act 2010*) existing legislation. This should include highly visible operations conducted regularly and without notice, with any breaches and subsequent actions publicised widely to other licensed premises.

The regulation of the sale and supply of alcohol will require effective collaboration between ACTP and ORS, who share responsibility for enforcing the provisions of the new *Liquor Act 2010*. This

will involve joint operations supported by the sharing of intelligence relating to problematic premises and action (formal or informal) taken, and will require a high level of communication and coordination of resources.

Intelligence-led policing of licensed premises

A fundamental prerequisite for the effective enforcement of liquor laws is the presence and availability of high-quality data, shared among those agencies with responsibility for responding to breaches of these laws when they occur (ie police and licensing authorities; Donnelly & Briscoe 2005). The benefits of operational intelligence have already been described at length in this report.

As part of the new liquor licensing team, there needs to be a focus on intelligence gathering and analysis to help inform a targeted approach to problematic premises or locations. This may require a dedicated intelligence analyst with responsibility for analysing and reporting data on alcohol-related offences as well as monitoring the impact of policing strategies (see below). Two recent developments will enhance ACTP's capacity in this area. First, the recent introduction of an alcohol involvement flag within the PROMIS database, which will enable ACTP to identify those offences that involve alcohol. Regular analysis of these offences, including temporal and spatial analyses, will enable ACTP to more effectively target those locations or times that are most problematic.

The second enhancement in this area is the introduction of PLD data. The development and implementation of a PLD form by ACTP in partnership with the AIC highlighted the potential value of additional intelligence sources in informing policing strategies targeted at entertainment precincts. There is sufficient evidence to support a continuation of the use of these forms, with a view towards integrating PLD data into mainstream data collection and information systems (as was the case in New South Wales). Nevertheless, there is scope for improvement and several strategies have already been identified to improve the consistency, quality and utility of data collected by police, including:

- providing training for police officers involved in administering the forms on their purpose and implementation;
- disseminating brief guidelines to all general duties officers outlining steps in completing the forms, including sample completed forms;
- integrating reports on the total number of forms completed and intelligence gathered into regular briefings involving senior police; and
- implementing regular briefings to ensure that information obtained from the forms is relayed back to officers likely to have some contact with licensed premises.

While the AIC was unable to obtain these data for the purpose of the evaluation, reports from ACTP suggest that similar PLD data are collected from drivers apprehended for driving with a blood alcohol level over the legal limit. This is another source of useful intelligence that should be collected, analysed and reported by an intelligence analyst within the new liquor licensing team. The importance of collecting high-quality data on alcohol-related incidents, particularly those involving licensed premises, should be communicated to all ACTP members.

There is also an increasing recognition of the need for more comprehensive and coordinated systems incorporating multiple data sources. In response to findings from an audit report into the role of police and regulatory authorities in reducing alcohol-related crime (NSW Audit Office 2008), the Alcohol-Related Crime Information Exchange was developed by NSW Police in partnership with the Office of Liquor Gaming and Racing. The purpose of this system was to ensure information associated with licensed premises would be readily accessible to officers from both agencies. This was designed to enable both agencies to more effectively target high-risk premises as part of a coordinated approach. Consideration should be given to establishing similar mechanisms in the Australian Capital Territory to enable improved information sharing between ACTP and ORS.

Monitoring alcohol-related problems and the response and impact of policing

Related to the issue of operational intelligence is the need for adequate mechanisms for monitoring alcohol-related problems and the implementation and impact of policing strategies. Regular analysis (by an intelligence analyst) of key indicators of alcohol-related crime and of policing activity would permit an assessment of the impact of policing on the harms associated with alcohol in entertainment precincts.

The AIC identified a number of different sources of data maintained by ACTP that may help to build an understanding of the level and trends in alcohol-related crime and impact on policing within the Canberra region. Key sources of information collected and stored by police include:

- offence data recorded in PROMIS, particularly as it relates to offences that occur in entertainment precincts or are identified as alcohol-related;
- incident data relating to calls for police attendance and incidents attended by police (police initiated, CCTV and calls from the general public);
- data relating to admissions to the ACTP watch house (including those admitted who are intoxicated and who are arrested for alcohol-related offences);
- data on drink driving offences.
- Additional data are also maintained by other agencies, such as:
 - records pertaining to breaches of the liquor licensing legislation and formal action against licensed premises and their operators, maintained by ORS;
 - data on admissions to the ACT's sobering-up shelter; and
 - hospital admissions, emergency and ambulance data, collected and stored by ACT Health, relating to presentations for alcohol-related injury and assault.

The AIC recommends that ACTP develop appropriate performance indicators as part of a performance framework to monitor the impact of policing strategies in reducing the problems associated with alcohol and licensed premises. There is an absence of similar models in other jurisdictions on which to draw, which means that some exploratory and scoping work may be required. However, there is considerable work and experience in the area of drug law enforcement on which to draw (Willis, Homel & Anderson 2010). Development of such a framework would be innovative and may provide a national model that could be adopted in other jurisdictions. A number of suggested quantitative and qualitative indicators, originally developed to guide the current evaluation, are outlined in *Appendix 3* for consideration. These would require further review and refinement on the basis of new and improved data on alcohol-related incidents. In addition to a performance framework for the policing of licensed premises, the inclusion of relevant performance indicators relating to alcohol-related violence (and other crime) and liquor licensing activity within the purchase agreement between ACT Government and the AFP for policing services in the Australian Capital Territory also warrants further consideration.

Workforce and organisational development

One of the major barriers to the effectiveness of attempts to prosecute licensed premises who had breached provisions relating to the service of alcohol to intoxicated patrons, both as part of the RLLP and other operations in partnership with ORS, was the lack of understanding among ACTP officers regarding their obligations with respect to gathering and providing evidence to ACAT hearings. There was also some confusion, particularly among general duties officers working as part of Beats teams, as to the circumstances in which police could initiate formal action against licensees. While changes to the legislation, particularly as it relates to definitions of intoxication and evidentiary requirements, will help to overcome this issue, it will be important that

officers within the new liquor licensing team, and front-line officers likely to have some contact with licensed premises and involvement in ACAT hearings, are made aware of what is required to effectively perform their role. This will need to occur both prior to, and then regularly following, the introduction of the new legislation so as to ensure new officers (as in new recruits and transfers) are familiar with the legislation and role of police. This highlights the importance of an ongoing program of training for officers on matters relating to liquor licensing.

Another issue to emerge over the course of the project was the importance of ensuring that police with responsibility for the development and implementation of strategies targeting licensed premises are familiar with the existing evidence base regarding effective interventions to reduce the problems associated with alcohol and licensed premises. The AIC and ACTP have worked collaboratively for the duration of the current project, both to improve police intelligence around problematic licensed premises and to provide information on effective interventions. Consideration could be given to the AIC continuing to work with ACTP in an advisory role to provide advice on good practice, new and emerging research on policing and the effective management of licensed premises.

Working with licensees, managers and security

This report has identified a number of benefits associated with the partnerships established between ACTP and licensees, bar managers and security staff. These partnerships operate at two levels. First, an established relationship between front-line police and licensed premise operators and security staff allows for the open exchange of information and intelligence, particularly as it relates to offenders or incidents that occur in the vicinity of licensed premises. This can help to assist police in identifying and apprehending perpetrators of alcohol-related crime.

The second component to this partnership is the relationship that has been forged between ACTP Crime Prevention and licensees. There were strong

similarities between the approach adopted by ACTP Crime Prevention and liquor accords—a well-established approach to working with licensed premises and other stakeholders. This established partnership can assist in the transfer of information and advice regarding aspects of liquor licensing, the effective design and management of licensed premises and emerging problems relating to alcohol and crime. Regular meetings or workshops involving key stakeholders (including police and licensees) can also provide a forum whereby information on effective strategies or solutions to common problems may be shared.

The AIC recommends that ACTP continue to work closely with licensees and bar staff, taking a proactive approach to providing advice on key aspects of the legislation. Front-line officers should continue to liaise with security staff to assist in the effective management of premises and their surrounding areas, and to capture information that may assist police in detecting and apprehending offenders.

Alcohol counselling and treatment

There was some suggestion among stakeholders interviewed as part of the evaluation that increasing the availability of alcohol counselling, education and treatment for individuals who come into contact with police for alcohol-related offences may help to reduce reoffending. In particular, there appears to be scope to improve the referral to and availability of these services for persons who are admitted to the ACTP watch house for alcohol-related offences or who are intoxicated, as well as those individuals who are admitted to ACT sobering-up shelters.

In addition, there should be clear linkages with police to enable effective diversion of offenders who commit more minor offences, such as property or disorderly conduct offences, into treatment or counselling. The Early Intervention Pilot Program has also recently been introduced in the Australian

Capital Territory as part of the National Binge Drinking Strategy, and provides alcohol education and treatment to persons under the age of 18 years who come into contact with police for liquor-related offences (ACT Health 2010). However, there is currently no equivalent program for offenders over the age of 18 years. The AIC has noted that ACT Health will support the introduction of a National Drug Strategy Diversion Initiative that involves alcohol as part of the ACT Alcohol, Tobacco and Other Drug Strategy 2010–2014 (ACT Health 2010). The potential for the introduction of police diversion into treatment for adult offenders, and the resource and practical implications associated with such an initiative, warrant further consideration.

Developing strategies to reduce the consumption of alcohol

There is a growing acknowledgement of the importance of strategies to address cultural attitudes toward alcohol and the excessive consumption of alcohol, particularly among younger people (Nicholas 2010). These issues have been discussed throughout this report, particularly as they relate to the capacity of ACTP to influence patron drinking behaviour.

The ACTP needs to continue to work in partnership with other agencies by promoting responsible drinking and behaviour, especially among young people, to address attitudes that support the excessive consumption of alcohol. This should include agencies such as ACT Health and representative bodies for licensed premises such as the Australian Hotels Association. While it is beyond the scope of this report to recommend specific strategies, there is a growing body of evidence surrounding effective interventions that attempt to influence the supply of, demand for and harm associated with the consumption of alcohol (eg Alcohol Working Group 2009; NDRI 2007).

Further research and evaluation

The AIC recommends that an evaluation be undertaken into the effectiveness of the *Liquor Act 2010* and its enforcement in achieving the objective of harm minimisation. Specifically, this project would examine:

- the impact of the new legislation and associated reforms in terms of reducing the availability of liquor and reducing the excessive consumption of alcohol;

- the impact of the new legislation and its enforcement by police and regulatory authorities in terms of improving compliance with licensing regulations and the responsible service of alcohol; and
- the effectiveness of new legislation in the Australian Capital Territory in reducing the range of harms associated with the excessive consumption of alcohol and improving community safety.

This research could utilise data collected as part of the current project as baseline data, against which future levels of alcohol-related harms could be compared.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Interview questions

Interview schedule for licensees, premise managers and bar staff	
In your view what are the key issues facing the effective management of licensed premises in the ACT?	
What do you think is the most important role for policing in contributing to the safe management of licensed premises in entertainment precincts?	
What are your views regarding existing approaches to policing licensed premises in entertainment precincts in the Kingston/Manuka areas and the Civic area? Do you think these have improved over the past 5 years?	
What other interventions are currently being delivered by your premises or other related organisations in Kingston/Manuka and Civic that aim to reduce the harm associated with the over consumption of alcohol in entertainment precincts? For example one licensee has informed me that they undertake their own lockouts from midnight onwards.	
How do you think police can encourage greater compliance with liquor licensing regulations among those licensees who do not comply with regulations?	
What impact do you think police have had on patron drinking behaviour over the recent summer period? Do you think they can have any impact in the future? In your view, how does this level of impact compare to previous years efforts by the police?	
What do you think are the main alcohol-related harms in entertainment precincts? For example intoxication, alcohol-related violence etc	
Part of our project is concerned with how alcohol-related problems are measured and whether these measures are appropriate. Police statistics are often used as the key indicators of alcohol-related problems in entertainment precincts. Do you think these measures accurately gauge what these problems are and are there any other measures you think would be better utilised?	
What else do you think the police or related agencies could do to improve the issues surrounding unruly patron behaviour, alcohol-related harms and public safety?	
Is there any other areas or issues relating to this topic that you would like to discuss that has not already been covered? For example matters pertaining to the possible legislative changes in the ACT or ask how difficult is it to refuse someone alcohol who is too intoxicated, do they wish they could use the law (RSA) in this setting?	

Interview schedule for ACTP and ORS

What are the key issues in your view with respect to the effective management of licensed premises in entertainment precincts?	
What do you think is the most important role for policing in contributing to the safe management of licensed premises in entertainment precincts?	
What existing policing strategies are being delivered in [intervention and control] entertainment precincts?	
What are your views regarding existing approaches to policing licensed premises in entertainment precincts in [intervention and control site]?	
What other policing strategies would you like to see trialled in these areas?	
What challenges do police face in attempting to deliver strategies targeted at licensed premises?	
What in your view are the key features of a successful policing strategy targeted at licensed premises?	
How do you currently monitor the implementation and impact of policing strategies? What are the key indicators of alcohol-related harms in entertainment precincts?	
What additional data sources or collection methods could be used to monitor the impact of policing strategies?	
How do you think police can encourage greater compliance with liquor licensing regulations [OPTIONAL]?	
What impact do you think police have or can have on patron drinking behaviour?	
What other non-policing interventions are currently being delivered in [intervention and control site] that aim to reduce the harm associated with the consumption of alcohol in entertainment precincts?	
What are the key agencies police should be working with to develop policing strategies in entertainment precincts, and what is or should be the nature of that relationship?	

Appendix 2: Observational research guidelines

Risk factors and licensed premises

Name of licensed premise:

Researcher:

Table 5 Risk factors for licensed premises—circle all that apply

Patron characteristics	Venue characteristics	Social environment	Staffing characteristics	Wider environment
Heavily intoxicated	Queues or line ups outside the building	Heavy drinking and high levels of intoxication	High proportion of male staff	High density of licensed premises
Greater proportion of males	Patrons hanging around outside venue at closing	Generally permissive environment with high levels of rowdy behaviour	Low staff-to-patron ratio	High levels of movement in and out of premises
Presence of males in groups, especially strangers to one another	Queues for public transport	Expectation that aggression will be tolerated	Lack of responsible serving practices	Entry and ejection practices for aggressive patrons
Heavy drinkers	Venues with larger capacity	Hostile atmosphere	Refusing service to already intoxicated patrons	Unfair or confrontational entry practices
Younger patrons, including those that are underage	Poorly maintained and unpleasant decor	Macho culture	Drinking by staff	Conflict between social groups emerging from or congregating around venues
Greater proportion of unkempt patrons and patrons from marginal groups	Unclean or messy	Patron boredom	Greater number of staff adopting confrontational approach to venue management	Poor management of cluster points such as bus stations, taxi ranks, food outlets
Patrons exhibiting signs of being less agreeable, more impulsive and angry	Poor or low levels of lighting	Underage drinking	Aggressive security staff	Congestion points as crowds leave venues (especially at closing time)
	Crowding that inhibits movement around the venue, including around the bar	Presence of competitive games	Poor coordination of staff	
	Frequent patron movement	Dancing	Poor monitoring and control of minor incidents	
	Higher noise level	Sexual activity, contact and competition	Limited ability to control or defuse situations	
	Poor ventilation and high temperature	Drink promotions	Lack of professionalism by security staff	
	Inadequate or uncomfortable seating	Limited availability of food	Serving several drinks to patrons at closing	
	Inconvenient access to the bar	Other illegal activities, such as drug dealing	Younger security staff	

Additional comments:

Appendix 3: Performance indicators for policing licensed premises

Table 6 Performance indicators for monitoring the operation and impact of policing strategies targeting licensed premises

Key performance questions	Performance indicator(s)	Data collection (method and source)
What collaborative strategies have implemented by ACTP to reduce alcohol-related violence in entertainment precincts?	<p>Indicators of proactive policing activity may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – number of workshops with licensees, attendance rate at these workshops, and attendees satisfaction with workshop content – frequency of contact with licensees during pre-arranged visits – nature and frequency of correspondence with licensees – number of actions taken to regulate licensees (formal meeting, phone calls, letter etc) – nature and scope of media/marketing strategies targeting patrons – extent to which proactive activity is targeted based on operational intelligence – ACTP satisfaction with the proactive strategies that were implemented – stakeholder satisfaction with police proactive response to alcohol-related problems 	<p>Review of project documentation relating to key policing strategies</p> <p>Observations of policing activity in entertainment precincts</p> <p>Feedback from key personnel through interviews regarding their perceptions of policing in the entertainment precinct</p>

Table 6 Performance indicators for monitoring the operation and impact of policing strategies targeting licensed premises

Key performance questions	Performance indicator(s)	Data collection (method and source)
What enforcement strategies have implemented by ACP to reduce alcohol-related violence in entertainment precincts?	<p>Indicators of police enforcement activity may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – nature and frequency of operations targeting entertainment precincts – ACP Beats team activity in and around licensed premises, including high-visibility patrols – nature and frequency of compliance inspections (involving police) – number of warnings (formal or informal) issued for minor breaches of licensing provisions – number of police referrals to ORS relating to breaches of licensing provisions – number of infringement or penalty notices issued to licensees, staff or patrons for breaches of liquor licensing legislations (where applicable) – number of prosecutions (successful and non-successful) against licensees for more serious or sustained non-compliance with liquor licensing legislation or regulations (where applicable) – number of apprehensions (ie arrests) relating to alcohol-related offences – clearance rates for alcohol-related offences – extent to which enforcement activity is targeted based on operational intelligence – ACP satisfaction with the enforcement strategies that were implemented – stakeholder satisfaction with police enforcement response to alcohol-related problems 	<p>ORS administrative data on formal actions taken in response to breaches of liquor licensing</p> <p>Review of project documentation relating to key policing strategies</p> <p>Observations of policing activity in entertainment precincts</p> <p>Feedback from key personnel through interviews regarding their perceptions of policing in the entertainment precinct</p>
To what extent is the ACP approach to policing licensed premises consistent with good practice?	Extent to which the ACP approach is consistent with best practice principles	Feedback from key personnel through interviews regarding their perceptions of policing in the entertainment precincts
To what extent has ACP worked effectively with relevant stakeholders to address alcohol-related problems?	<p>Nature of collaborative strategies involving police and external stakeholders</p> <p>Extent to which police and relevant stakeholders perceive relationship as both positive and beneficial</p>	Feedback from key personnel through interviews regarding their views of the relationship between police and [relevant agency]

Table 6 Performance indicators for monitoring the operation and impact of policing strategies targeting licensed premises

Key performance questions	Performance indicator(s)	Data collection (method and source)
What impact does improved intelligence relating to the problems associated with licensed premises have on the capacity of police to address alcohol-related problems in entertainment precincts	<p>Number of PLD forms completed</p> <p>Ratio of PLD forms completed, relative to the total number of incidents in and around licensed premises attended by police during peak entertainment periods</p> <p>Extent to which PLD forms are used to inform proactive or enforcement strategies</p>	<p>AIC PLD form database</p> <p>ACTP PROMIS data</p> <p>Feedback from relevant ACTP personnel</p>
What impact do the proactive policing and enforcement strategies delivered as part of the ACTP response to alcohol-related crime in entertainment precincts have on the level of compliance with liquor licensing legislation and regulations?	<p>Licensee perceptions of the risks associated with non-compliance</p> <p>Actual levels of compliance with liquor licensing provisions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – number of infringement or penalty notices issued to licensees, staff or patrons for breaches of liquor licensing legislations (where applicable) – number of prosecutions (successful and non-successful) against licensees for more serious or sustained non-compliance with liquor licensing legislation or regulations (where applicable) <p>Patron and business operators' perceptions of responsible service and premises management practices</p> <p>Reported changes to premise management practices based on ACTP intervention</p>	<p>Feedback from key personnel through interviews regarding their perceptions of policing in the entertainment precinct</p> <p>ORS administrative data on formal actions taken in response to breaches of liquor licensing</p>
What impact do the proactive policing and enforcement strategies delivered as part of the ACTP response to alcohol-related crime in entertainment precincts have on the patterns of consumption and problematic drinking behaviour among patrons of licensed premises?	<p>Number of intoxicated persons admitted to ACT sobering-up shelter</p> <p>Number and proportion of persons lodged into protective custody who:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – are intoxicated – have committed some act of disorderly conduct 	<p>ACT Health/Centacare</p> <p>ACTP custodial data</p>

Table 6 Performance indicators for monitoring the operation and impact of policing strategies targeting licensed premises

Key performance questions	Performance indicator(s)	Data collection (method and source)
What impact do the proactive policing and enforcement strategies delivered as part of the ACTP response to alcohol-related crime in entertainment precincts have on the nature and the level of alcohol-related harm in areas with a high concentration of licensed premises?	<p>Number and rate of recorded offences involving alcohol in entertainment precincts, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – assault in public places – assault in private residences – disorderly conduct – property damage <p>Number of incidents attended by police in locations in and around licensed premises (police initiated, CCTV and calls for police attendance)</p> <p>Number of persons admitted to hospital for injuries relating to alcohol-related assault or incident</p>	<p>ACTP PROMIS data</p> <p>ACT Health (emergency data and/or ambulance data)</p>

Appendix 4: Place of last drink form

Alcohol-related incident form

This form is to be completed for EVERY incident attended by police where alcohol has been consumed by either the person of interest OR victim.

The attending officer should begin by asking the person (POI/victim) if they have recently consumed alcohol and confirm that this took place no more than six hours prior to the incident.

If the person refuses or is unable to answer, then the officer should assess whether there is reasonable evidence to suspect that alcohol has been consumed (for example the incident occurs inside or within immediate vicinity of licensed premises or the person presents with signs of intoxication—see inside cover).

Signs of intoxication

1. Gross motor control—loss of balance eg staggering or falling over
2. Fine motor control—loss of coordination eg fumbling with cigarettes, spilling drinks
3. Smell of liquor
4. Decreased alertness
5. Sleepiness
6. Sweating
7. Slurred speech
8. Change in speech volume
9. Changes in rate of speaking
10. Discernible deviation in respiration—slow or shallow
11. Red/bloodshot eyes

										CAD NUMBER								
Date			/			/			Time				AFP ID					
Incident Type																		
L/Premises name																		
										Inside L/premises				Outside L/premises				
Street no & name																		
Suburb																		
Person Spoken To																		
POI		Victim		Male/Female (M/F)				DOB			/		/					
Assess – Is the person’s speech, balance, co-ordination, or behaviour noticeably affected by liquor? (See inside cover for accepted signs of intoxication)																		
Yes		No																
Ask where did the person consume their last alcoholic drink?																		
Licensed Premises				Premise Name														
Private residence																		
Public place								Suburb of last alcoholic drink:										
Public event																		
Non-licensed Restaurant/cafe								Time of last drink:										
Not known – not asked																		
Not known – refuse respond								(Ask) Is this where the person has consumed the majority of their alcohol intake?										
Not known – unable respond								Yes				No						
Action Taken																		
Liquor Infringement		Caution																
Breach of Peace		No further action																
Summons		Shelter																
Arrest		Lodgement																