

Measuring Cumulative Impact in Richmond & Twickenham, 2011

A report by MAKE Associates...

...for The London Borough of Richmond upon Thames

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MAKE

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1 Summary

1.1 Introduction

- This summary highlights the most important findings of the 2011 'cumulative impact' study undertaken for the London Borough of Richmond upon Thames (LBRuT).
- Cumulative impact, as defined by the Guidance made under the Licensing Act 2003 is, put simply, an area where the number of licensed premises is so concentrated that, even if they are all individually well run, the large numbers of people leaving those premises can cause social problems or 'cumulative impact'. Examples of cumulative impact can be unreasonable burdens on public transport and cleansing or increases in crime or nuisance towards residents and businesses.
- The aim of this study was, as in previous years, to *produce independent and robust observational data on the cumulative impact of the licensed economy in Richmond and Twickenham*.
- The study compares 2011 figures to identical data from 2005, 07 and 09 to understand how the evening (8-11pm) and night-time (11pm-3am) economies of Richmond and Twickenham have changed over the past 6 years.
- The research involved the location of 7 trained observational researchers in Richmond and 4 in Twickenham at key hotspots for crime and disorder.
- This study was undertaken by specialists in the evening and night-time economy MAKE Associates. The project manager of the study, Alistair Turnham, had led three previous studies for LBRuT, so has been able to ensure that the figures and comparisons over time are accurate and consistent.

1.2 Findings

1.2.1 Overall

- Overall, 2011 demonstrates a '**generally reduced picture of crime, disorder and nuisance** associated with the night-time economies of both Richmond and Twickenham.
- However, the two town centres still **have large amounts of low level nuisance** (particularly littering and rowdiness) but **very little serious crime**.
- While crime and disorder continues to fall, so do visitors to the two towns, probably due to the recession (a 29% fall in Richmond and a 13% fall in Twickenham). So in reality, although overall problems have decreased, **the number of incidents per head of visitor has increased slightly**.
- **Urination remains an issue**, although in 2011 there has been no return to the high levels of this which was present in both Richmond and Twickenham in 2005.
- In summary, **the two town centres are safe places to visit and live, though nuisance behaviour, although decreased, remains a problem**.

1.2.2 Richmond

- Overall **there was a continuation of the falls in crime and nuisance in Richmond in 2011** that were seen in 2009 and 2007.
- In 2011 the number incidents had fallen from 2005 levels of 451 to 334. **This is a six year decrease of 26%**.
- **Between 2009 and 2011 this decrease figure was 11%**.

- Using pedestrian flows as a relative, rather than absolute measure, Richmond had 1 incident for every 25 people counted in 2011, about the same as 2005. (This was higher than the 1:31 ratio achieved in 2009). This is disappointing because it suggests that the **large falls in user numbers (29%) in 2011 in Richmond town centre has not led to commensurately large falls in incident numbers.**
- The main change in 2011 regarding the 'timing' of incidents is an overall smoothing of incidents during the course of the night. **There are no longer late peaks of problems around 01:00hrs and 02:00hrs**, although a small peak has emerged around 23:00hrs to 23:30hrs (traditional pub closing).
- In terms of 'type' of incident, as per all previous studies, **littering and rowdiness remain the main problems.** But in particular rowdiness is notably lower than 2009.
- In terms of location, the **Station remains the hotspot in Richmond**, although this area has also seen the greatest falls in incidents between 2009 and 2011.
- The Green and Riverside have also seen notable falls in problems.
- The likelihood is that the change of what was Edward's (and then The Bull - which were both alcohol-led 'vertical drinking' venues) into 1 Kew Road in 2010 (which is a food-led 'gastro pub') has had a positive impact on the Station area.
- Likewise, 'Vodka Revolution' is now the venue that has the most individual incidents linked to its clientele.

1.2.3 Twickenham

- As in Richmond, during 2011 Twickenham has seen a small **decline in incident numbers - from 192 to 165.**
- It is worth noting that while Richmond has remained consistently busy over the three study periods (until 2011 when visitor numbers dipped), **Twickenham has not regained the visitors, which it lost between 2005 and 2007.** Indeed, these have fallen further in 2011, though by smaller numbers than Richmond.
- **Rowdiness and urinations fell in Twickenham 2011** after increases in 2009.
- In Twickenham, crime and disorder is relatively evenly spread across the town centre, however, KFC remains an individual hotspot attracting young (mainly underage) people, often drinking alcohol (not on the premises but outside), to congregate nearby and cause public order disturbances.

2 Background

This report highlights the findings of research conducted by specialists in the evening economy, MAKE Associates, for the London Borough of Richmond upon Thames. Taking place in May 2011, this study replicated previous projects undertaken in 2005, 2007 and 2009 to provide evidence on the impact of the evening economies of Richmond and Twickenham.

The data collected in the first study helped the local authority make a decision about whether or not to implement a cumulative impact policy (it did).¹ The 2007 / 2009 studies provided the London Borough of Richmond upon Thames evidence to inform the decision whether or not to continue with the policy.

The aim of this 2011 study was to:

To produce independent and robust observational data on the cumulative impact of the licensed economy in Richmond and Twickenham (specifically recording violence, anti-social behaviour and nuisance).

By repeating the methodology of the previous three studies exactly, the research will demonstrate whether there has been an increase, decrease or no

change in these cumulative impact issues. The data will form a key part of the review of the borough's licensing policy.

The detailed approach to the study can be found in Appendix 1. However, in brief, it involved 11 trained researchers located at positions around Richmond and Twickenham who observed all crime, antisocial behaviour and nuisance in these town centres between 20:00hrs and 02/03:00hrs on the 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th May 2011.

The findings were analysed and form the next section of the report.

¹ Cumulative impact as set out by the Guidance made under the Licensing Act 2003 is, simply put, the negative effect on any of the Licensing Act's four licensing objectives (crime, nuisance etc.) by the presence of a large concentration of licensed premises in any one location, even if individually those premises operate within the law.

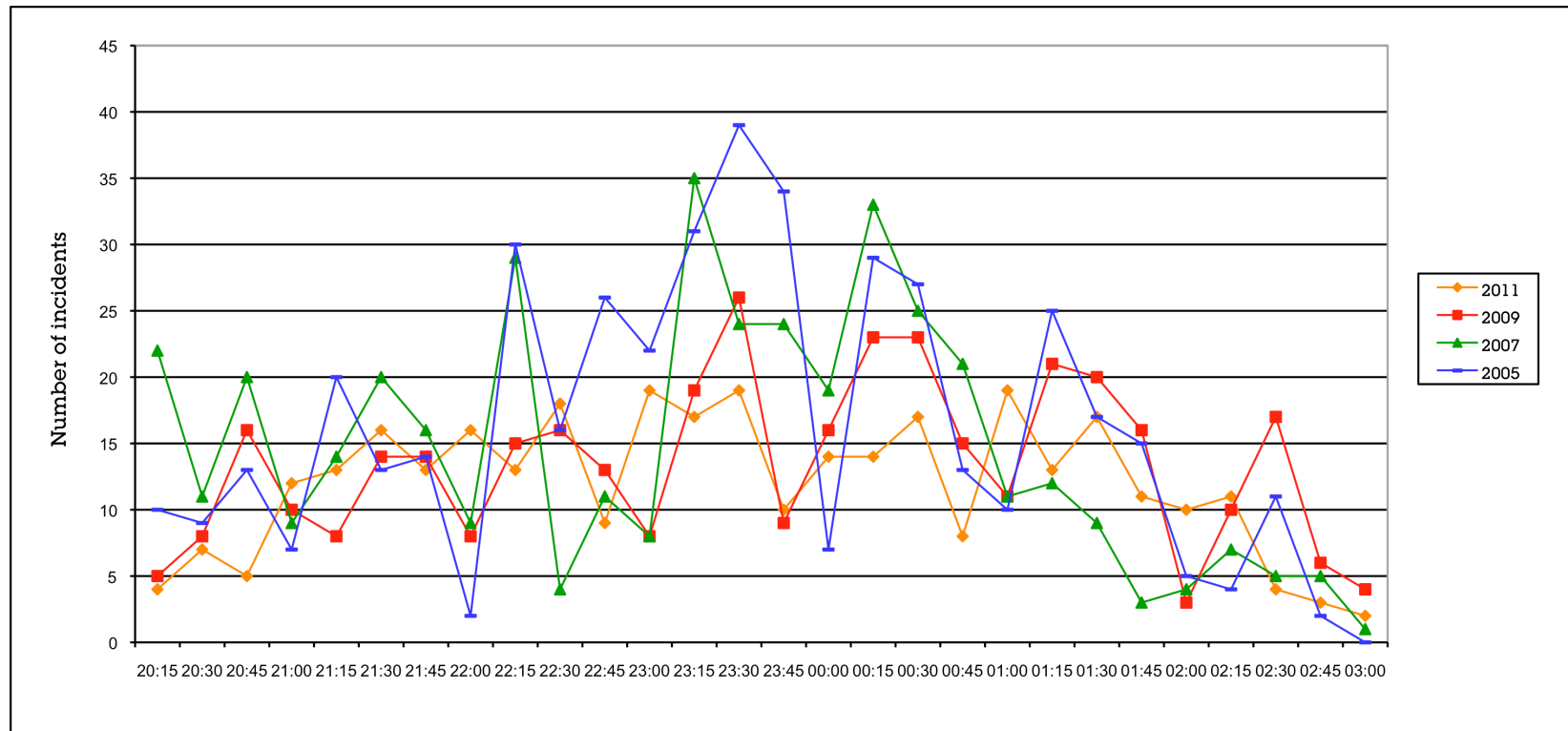
3 Findings

3.1 Overall incidents

3.1.1 Richmond

Figure 1 shows a comparison between 2005, 07, 09 and 11 of all recorded incidents (e.g. criminal damage, rowdiness, littering etc.) observed in Richmond over the observation days.² An explanation is detailed on the following page.

Figure 1. Richmond: All incidents 2005/07/09/11 by time of night



² All figures *exclude* 'public drinking' data which was also captured, which was captured only for reference in 2011 due to resource constraints. The figures given here also exclude 'premises noise', which is recorded for the council's own monitoring purposes but is not an issue that a cumulative impact policy should deal with (it is a premises-specific issue). These figures are available from the London Borough of Richmond upon Thames.



In Richmond in 2005 there were a total of 451 incidents, in 2007 there were 411 and in 2009 there were 374. In 2011 there were 334 (the orange line). This is a fall over 6 years of 26%.

The pattern during the evening also appears to have changed. There were five major incident peaks in previous years (with some small variation). However, in 2011 the incidents are more evenly spread out and the sharp 22:00-22:15hrs peak in 2005/7 and which virtually disappeared in 2009 is now even less noticeable.

The peak of previous years around pub closing time around 23:00hrs remains in 2011 but is much less pronounced.

The same is true for the midnight peak: in 2011 incidents are substantially down at this time.

Interestingly, as in all previous studies incidents tail off around 01:30hrs, the falls in 2011 are less dramatic than previous years and there are now more incidents than 2005 and 2007 between 02:00hrs and 02:30hrs.

Like in 2007, in 2011 there is no very late spike at 02:30hrs as in 2005 and 2009.

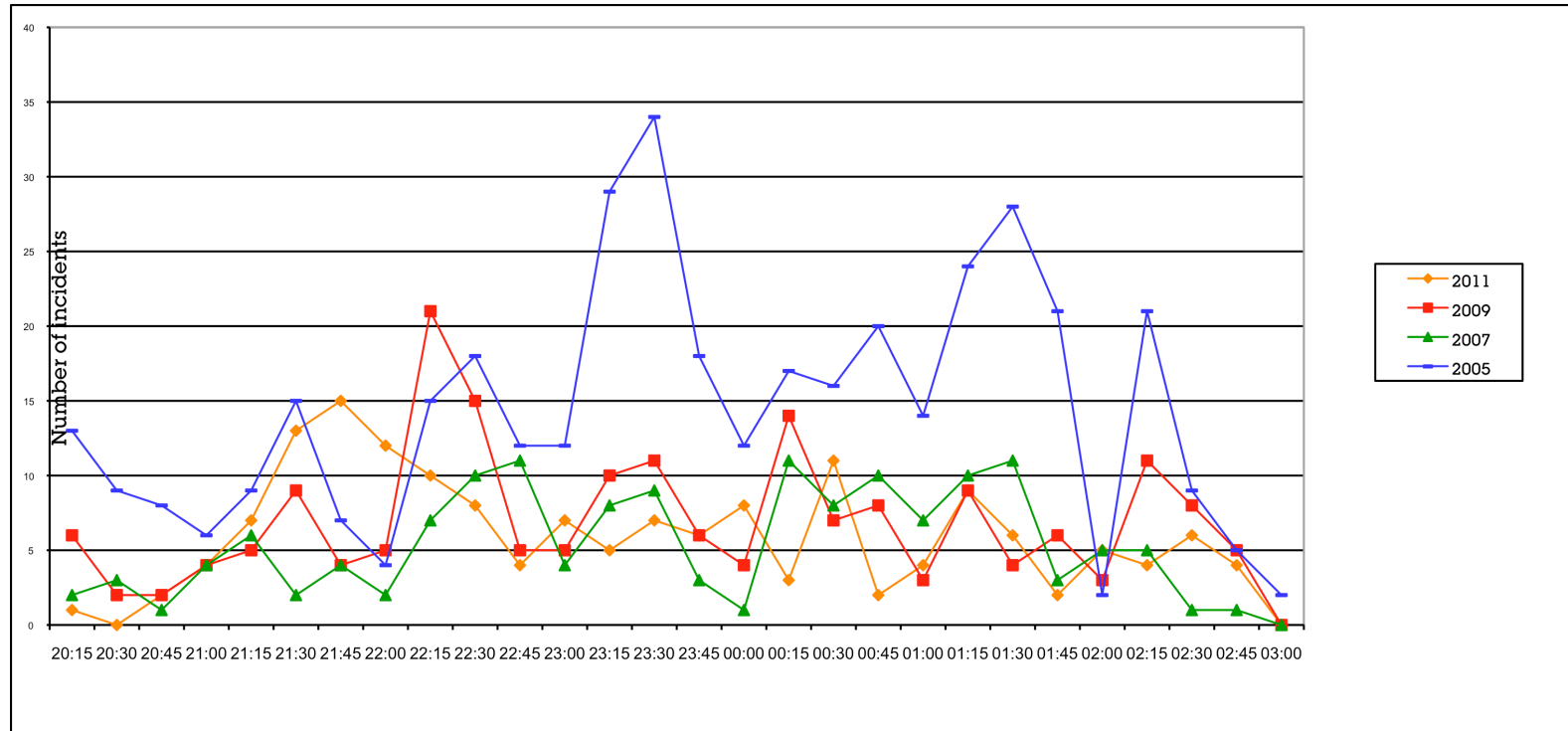
While it cannot be said for certain (due to potential distortion from other factors, e.g. a different type of clientele attracted to the town, different types of pubs and bar operations etc), it could be reasonably suggested that this levelling out, may be in part due to the decreased footfall in the town.

It may also be due to the limited number of late night venues. For example, the main venue associated with

problems in 2005 and 2007 was Edward's. This has now changed to a 'gastropub' format and was not seen to create any problems.

3.1.2 Twickenham

Figure 2. Twickenham All incidents 2005/07/09/11



In Twickenham the number of incidents observed in 2011(165) was 27 lower than 2009 (192), and while not as low as 2007, this is a drop from 2005 of 27 or 13%.

In particular, the 23:00hrs pub closing period and the very late period (post-02:00hrs) have both fallen in incidents from 2009. This is reflective of the much quieter nature of the town than in 2005 and the ongoing decrease in the number of alcohol-led venues in the town.

There was a new peak in 2011 between 21:30hrs and 22:15hrs. This is mostly linked to problems of low level disorder outside KFC involving teenagers (mostly under 18), rather than alcohol-led venue problems.

As fig 4 (later) shows, the number of town centre users has also declined again. The study counted 5,221 in 2005; 3,782 in 2008; 3,788 in 2009 and 3,309 in 2011.

So in reality while incidents fell slightly in 2011, there was also a fall in user numbers.

3.2 Pedestrian counts

Before drawing any absolute conclusions about overall incidents, it is also important to examine pedestrian flows (see figures 3 and 4, and for a more detailed appraisal figure 5).

These give us a clear picture of how busy the town centre is.³ If the town centre appears busier, it is not unreasonable (though of course undesirable), to expect the number of incidents to increase.

3.2.1 Richmond

Figure 3. Richmond: Incidents vs pedestrian counts 2005/07/09/11

	2005	2007	2009	2011
Incident total	451	411	374	334
Pedestrian total	11,422	12,469	11,729	8,352
Incident ratio per user	1:25	1:30	1:31	1:25

Taking into account the caveats shown in the footnotes, the figures suggest that in 2011 Richmond was considerably less busy after dark than in 2009, 2007 or 2005.

This means that although numbers of incidents are at a record low, the *number of incidents per visitor* has increased slightly to 1:25.

3.2.2 Twickenham

Figure 4. Twickenham: Incidents vs pedestrian counts 2005/07/09/11

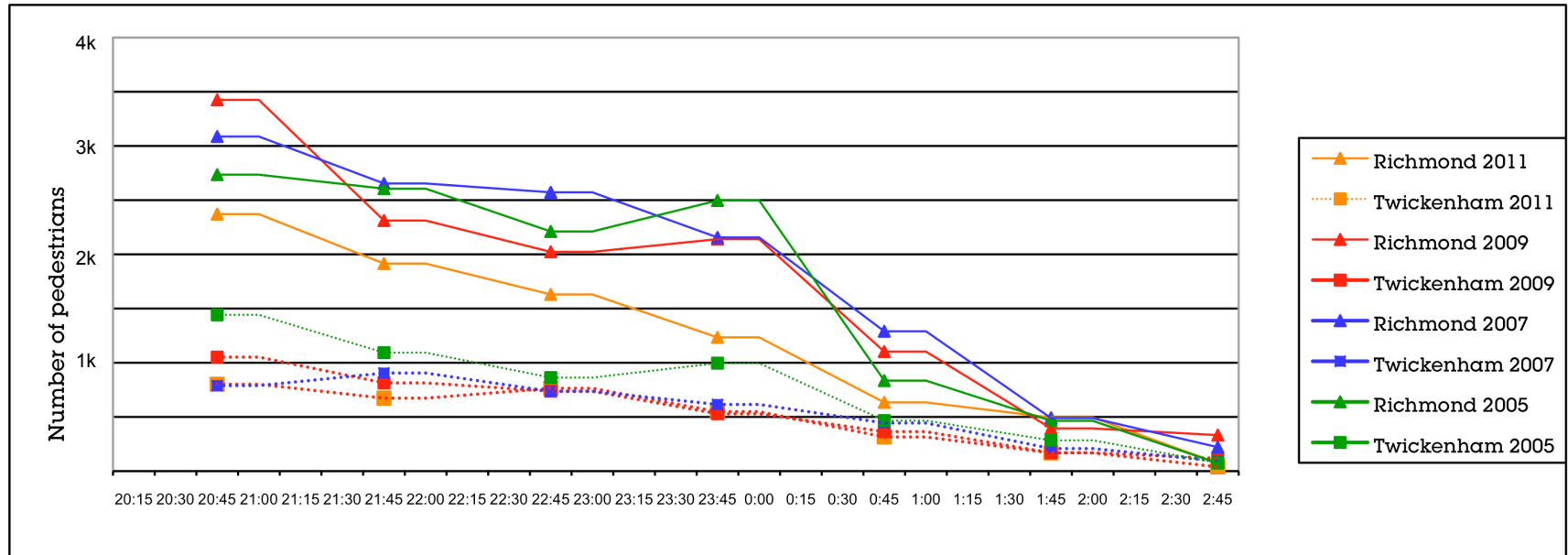
	2005	2007	2009	2011
Incident total	400	155	192	165
Pedestrian total	5,221	3,788	3,782	3,309
Incident ratio per user	1:13	1:24	1:20	1:21

The ratio of incidents per person in Twickenham remained relatively steady at around 1 per 20 pedestrians counted in 2011 and 2009. This is still a positive change on the first year of the study in 2005.

³ It is also important to note that a pedestrian count is not a count of unique users in the town centre - it is a count of users passing specific points over a 10 minute period each hour. Therefore, there will be duplication (people passing the same point twice or two different points over the course of an evening). However, because the count takes place over 10 minutes every hour, on balance the figure is likely to *underestimate* the number of unique users of the town centre over the course of an evening. The pedestrian count is used in this study to give a comparable indicator of 'busy-ness' to the observations, rather than as a absolute measure of unique town centre users.

3.2.3 Overall pedestrian counts

Figure 5. Richmond & Twickenham: ped counts 2005/07/09/11



This figure is included to highlight briefly how overall pedestrian flows (shown as a 'trendline') change over the evening in each of the study years in both town centres.

The main change worth noting in 2011 is that Richmond was considerably less busy than in 2009 (at least until 01:30hrs when all years tail off to virtually zero pedestrian flows).

In Twickenham the pedestrian flows are similar to previous years although approximately 10% lower.

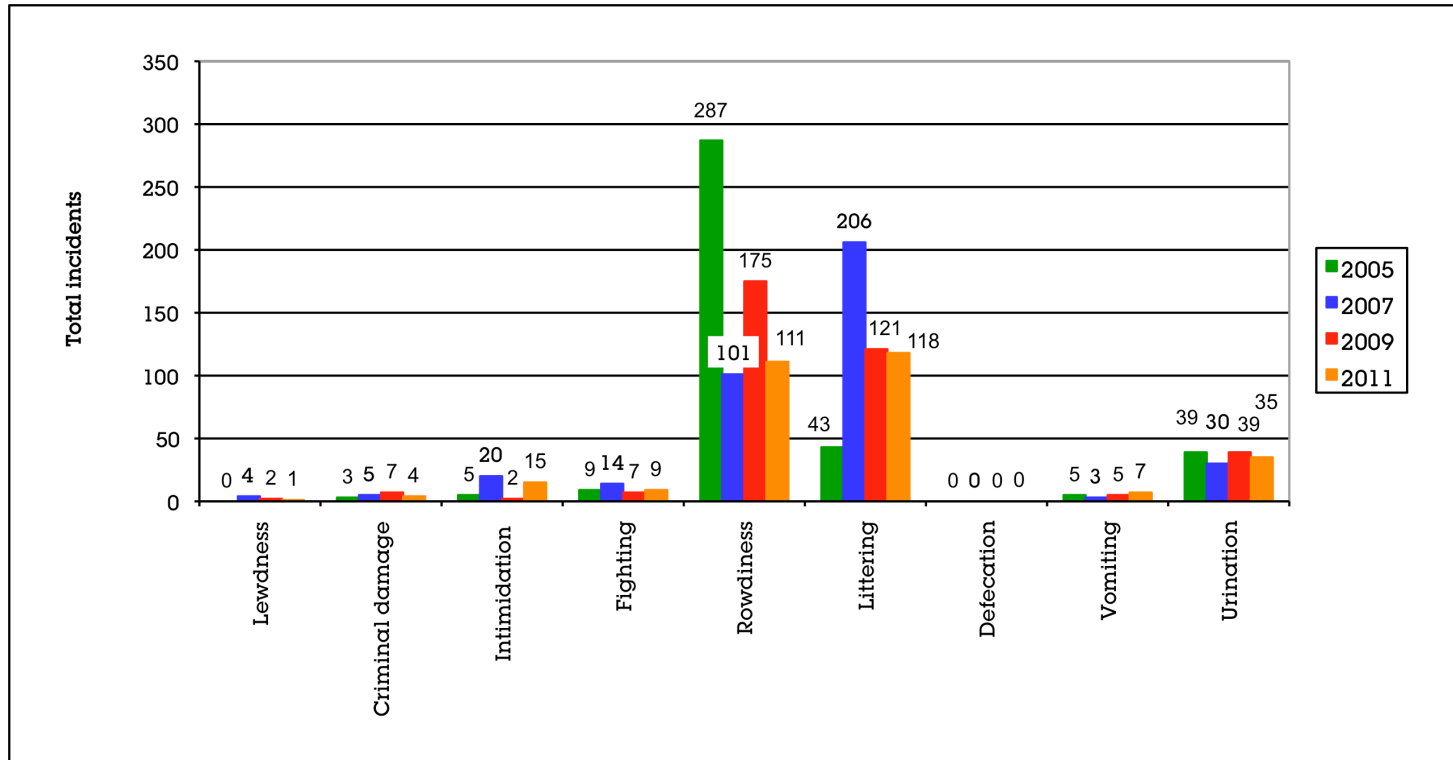
However, it is worth noting that the peak in incidents in Twickenham (around 21:45 to 22:30hrs) is at a time when pedestrian numbers at this time of have night in, 2011, fallen to their lowest level of the four studies.

This can be reflected in ad hoc observations that suggest the behaviour of gangs of young people at this time of night 'stand out' from the rest of the town centre's users going about their business.

3.3 Type of incident

3.3.1 Richmond

Figure 6. Richmond: type of incident by year



There are hardly any major changes between 2005, 2007, 2009 and 2011 in the proportions of incident 'types' in either town.

It is evident that Richmond town centre (figure 6) remains a relatively safe place in the evening and at night, with very few serious incidents (e.g. criminal damage, intimidation, fighting etc.).

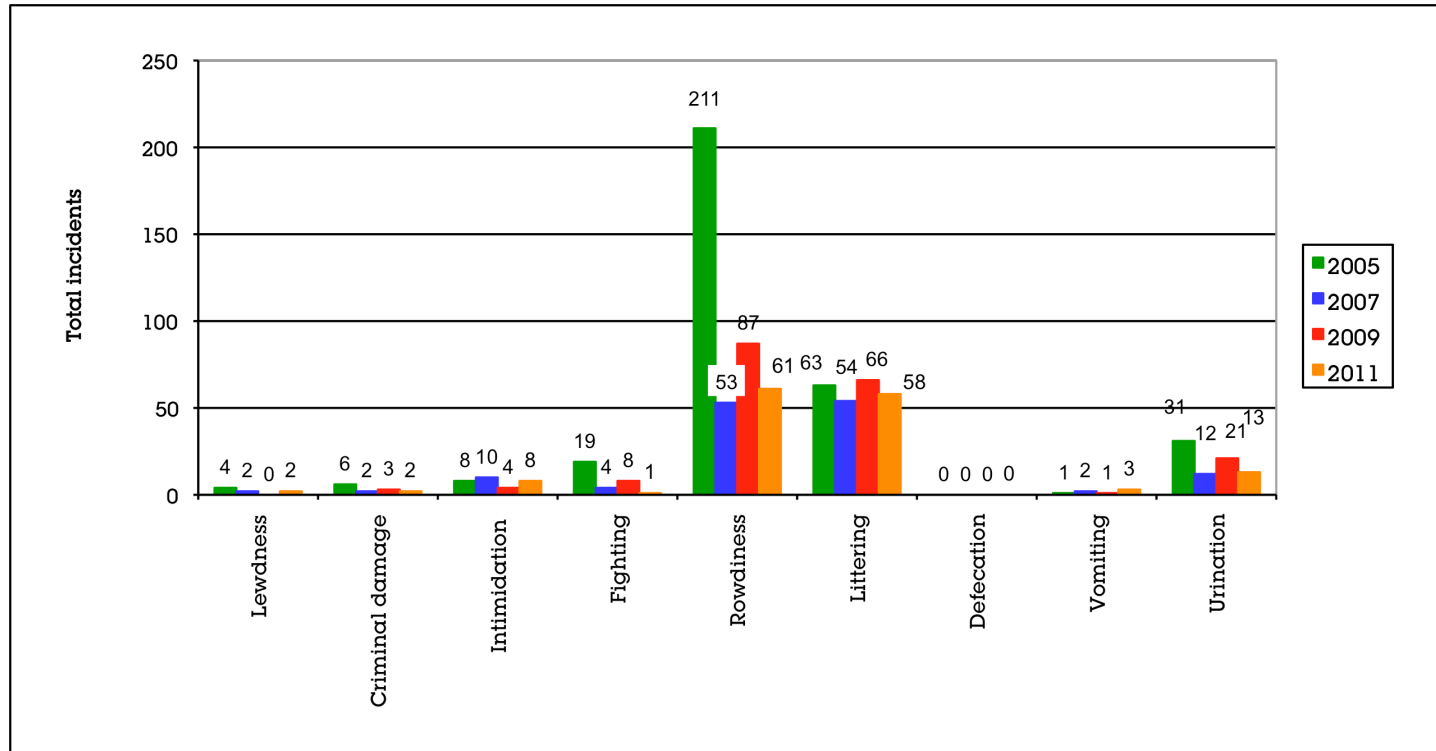
Indeed, rowdiness, which increased in 2009, has again fallen back in 2011.

Littering remains the second most common incident in Richmond, and this has remained similar to 2009.

Urinations remain a problem, though they have fallen back slightly from 2009.

3.3.2 Twickenham

Figure 7. Twickenham: type of incident by year



Twickenham continues to remain relatively static in terms of both more serious incidents and low-level nuisance.

It is positive that levels of rowdiness remain much lower in 2011 than they did in 2005. However, this may be, at least in part, because pedestrian flows have substantially fallen over the past few years.

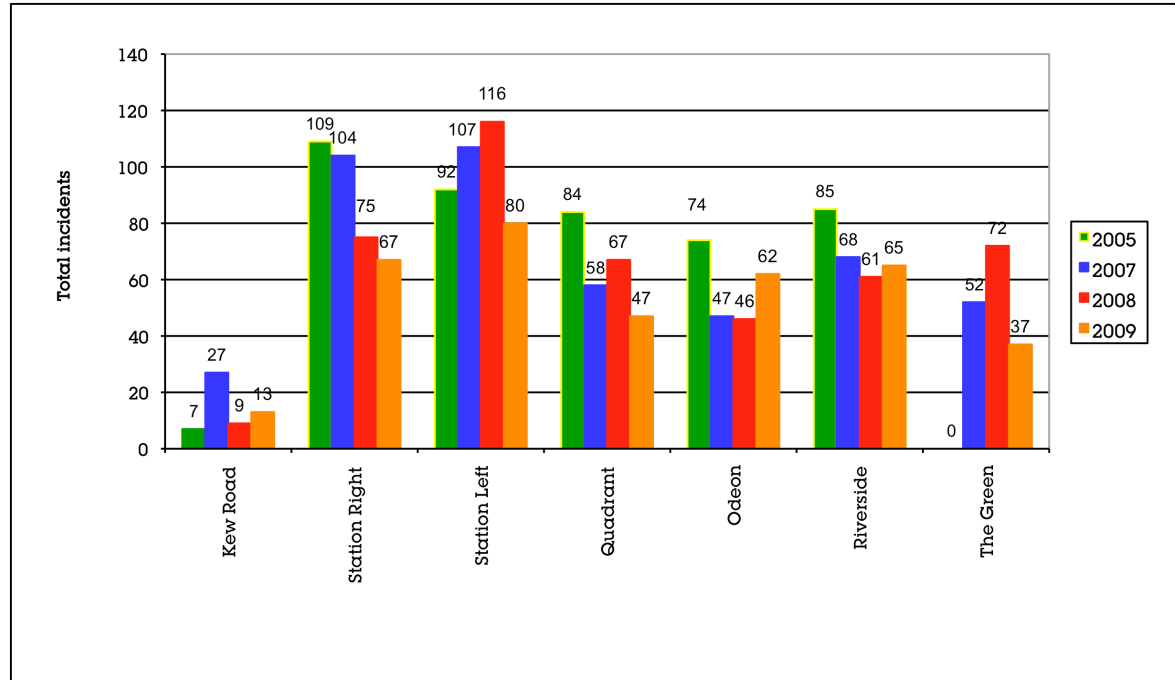
Urinations also fell back in 2011.



3.4 Location

3.4.1 Richmond

Figure 8. Incident levels by observer location 05/07/09/11⁴



Kew Road remains the quietest location as in previous years.

The Station (both right and left) remains the hotspot for activity in Richmond town centre with over 44% of activity still taking place here in 2011.

However, these two observation points have also seen the largest falls in incidents in 2011.

It is impossible to be certain why this is, but it may have something to do with the change of operational model of the former Edward's premises (now 1 Kew Road). This venue was a particular problem in 2005, and remained so when it's name changed to the Bull in 2007/9.

The new gastro pub format has virtually no problems associated with its clientele.

The other salient observation is a considerable fall in activity around the Riverside and the Green. These areas also appear to be quieter than previous years.

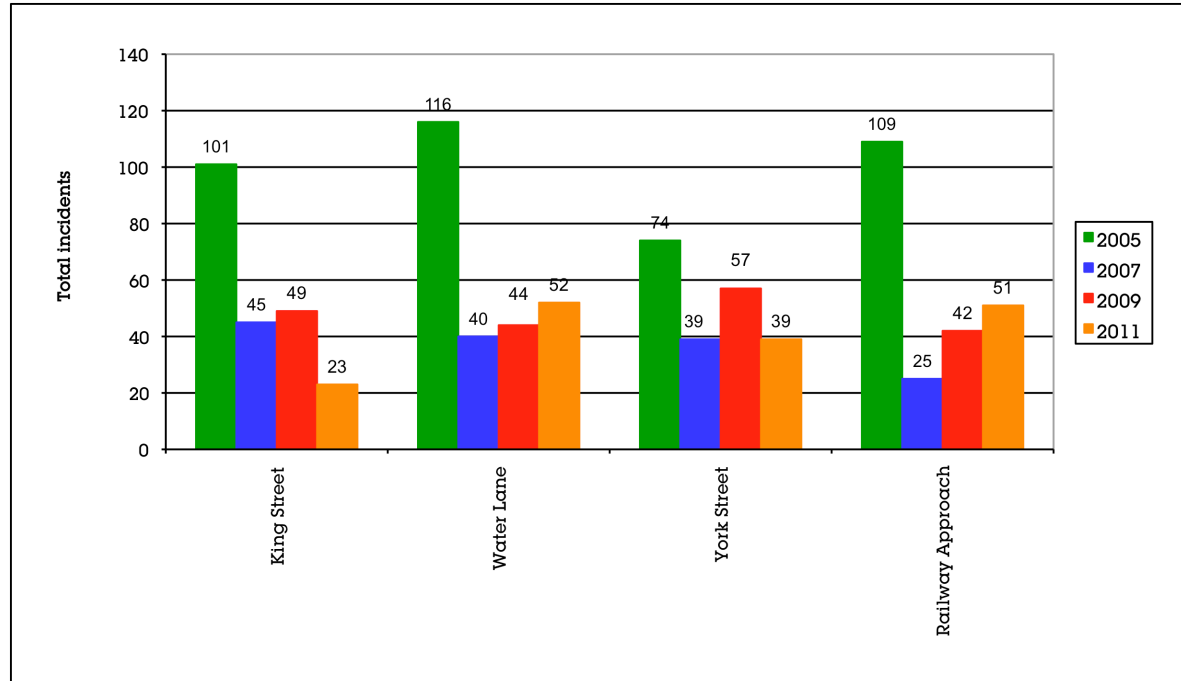
While there are limited changes to be noted in 2011, it is worth highlighting some key findings.

However, it is worth noting that during the 2011 study, a notable minority of the low level problems around the Riverside came from clients leaving or standing around outside Vodka Revolution. In previous years problems in this area had almost exclusively come from those who had visited the greenspace at the riverside to drink off-sales.

⁴ NB. The Green was not an observational location in 2005. This was introduced in 2007. To this end when comparing overall totals year on year, adjustments have been made for the additional incidents recorded in this location, so that the results remain comparable year on year.

3.4.2 Twickenham

Figure 9. Incident levels by observer location 2005/07/09/11



Water Lane has increased its number of incidents even though pedestrian numbers appear lower than ever in the town. This again may be due to the location here of KFC, which since the closure of McDonald's in 2005 has become the venue of choice for under-18s.

It is also worth noting that the fall in both York Street and King Street incident numbers reflect the changing nature of these two areas, which are now much quieter than previous years.

In particular, pubs have either closed or changed into restaurants on King Street and this area is generally much less threatening late at night, although the kebab shop is increasingly rowdy and this may need some careful attention in coming months.

The large falls in incidents in Twickenham seen between 2005 and 2007 remain in place, though there have been some small rises around Water Lane and Railway Approach.

Both observers and the field manager noted that there had been a more rowdy crowd (not necessarily problematic) at the Cabbage Patch and very loud levels of noise and aggressive customer behaviour from a small number of Wetherspoon's customers. Both these venues can be seen from the Railway Approach observation point.



4 Contact information

4.1 London Borough of Richmond upon Thames

Address	Licensing, Civic Centre, 44 York Street, Twickenham, TW1 3BZ
Contact	Barry Croft
Email	b.croft@richmond.gov.uk

4.2 MAKE Associates

Address	Unit 9, Building 8, Blue Lion Place, 237 Long Lane, London SE14PU
Contact	Alistair Turnham
Email	alistair@makeassociates.com



5 Appendix 1: How the study was undertaken

5.1 Background

The section below highlights how the research was undertaken.

5.2 Researchers

As per 2005, 2007 and 2009, the field researchers were university graduate qualified. A short formal recruitment process was undertaken and observers were chosen on the basis of their skills and ability to convince MAKE that they would be reliable and capable of carrying out the work accurately.

The field researchers received full training on research methods, research ethics and how to use the Observation Research Tool (see below). They also were taken through safety and communication protocols.

5.3 Observation

The field researchers were briefed at the start of each session and supported throughout with a series of visits from the research manager over the course of each evening. The quality of work was checked each night and was found to be accurate and thorough. The observers rotated between each position to avoid fatigue and to maintain interest and therefore concentration and quality of work.

As in 2005, 2007 and 2009, the observers observed for 50 minutes in each hour, for example, 20:00hrs to 20:50hrs and then they moved to their next site in the

remaining ten minutes of each hour, allowing a short break when moving between sites.

Therefore, the number of observed hours is slightly lower than at first glance. For example, on a Sunday night (when observers worked from 20:00hrs to 02:00hrs) this 6-hour or 360-minute period encompassed 300 minutes of active observation.

Therefore, when analysing the number of incidents per hour it should be noted while it is not possible to extrapolate with complete certainty, it is likely that the number of incidents may have been around a sixth greater than the totals reported in the main body of the report.

5.4 Timing

To ensure that the study gave a 'typical' or 'average' picture, it was deliberately undertaken outside of summer, when town centre managers, police and licensees all say there are increases in both the number of town centre users and incidents of alcohol-related crime etc. This is particularly important in Richmond with its popular areas of the Riverside and the Green.

Likewise, it was not undertaken in winter when the weather may depress activity in the two town centres' public spaces. The study was also undertaken in a week free of significant rugby events, as this would skew the results, particularly in Twickenham.

For 2011, an 'ordinary' week in May was chosen. This differed to 2005/7/9 when the study took place in April. However, it is reasonable to say that because the weather was similar for all studies (cold, dry, overcast) the change by a month is likely to have made little material difference.

May is known in the trade to be a slightly better month for the licensed trade than April due to the generally better weather and longer evenings, and so it is likely that the reduction in pedestrian numbers in both Twickenham and particularly Richmond, is a result of the recession biting, as opposed to 2009 when the effects were still to be really felt.

Hours of observation 2011

Date	Time
Thursday 24 th	20:00 to 02:00hrs
Friday 25 th	20:00 to 03:00hrs
Saturday 26 th	20:00 to 03:00hrs
Sunday 27 th	20:00 to 02:00hrs

5.5 Location

The observers were sited in the following locations and adopted the position with the least obstructed views. They were identical to those in 2009.

Locations

Town	No	Location	Details
Richmond	1	Kew Road	Looking to restaurants (left) and left to Shaftesbury Arms etc. (right)
Richmond	2	Station Right	Looking from 1 Kew Road (though not including it) right towards The Orange Tree
Richmond	3	Station Left	Looking left including 1 Kew Road and O'Neil's
Richmond	4	Quadrant	Looking left towards Dickins & Jones & right back towards station
Richmond	5	Odeon	Looking left towards Hill Rise, straight towards Bridge Street and right towards All Bar One
Richmond	6	Riverside	By the river on the terracing-looking left towards White Cross and right to Pitcher and Piano
Richmond	7	The Green	On corner of the Green – looking 360° but with focus from The Cricketers to The Prince's Head. This was a new observation for 2007.
Twickenham	1	King Street	Opposite The George looking left towards Riley's snooker hall and right towards Water Lane
Twickenham	2	Water Lane	In small public space looking down Water Lane and up London Road
Twickenham	3	York Street	Outside Pizza Express looking left towards Up and Under and right towards The Bear
Twickenham	4	Railway Approach	Looking right toward the town centre and left to the Station.

5.6 Incident recording

An 'Observation Research Tool' was used to record incidents. This is available from the council and was identical to previous studies. All types of activity that might be considered 'criminal' or 'nuisance' by residents, businesses, visitors etc. were recorded in the following categories:

All forms of recordable incident

Category	Types of behaviour
Criminal damage	Vandalism, graffiti, smashing windows, damaging cars / car mirrors etc.
Defecation	Self explanatory
Fighting	Scuffling. This may be within groups, with other socialisers / door supervisors / police etc.
Intimidation	Verbal / physical of other citizens, door supervisors, police etc.
Lewdness	Exposure of sexual body parts, sexually provocative behaviour, intimate sexual contact
Littering	Bottles smashing, late night food cartons, paper, spitting of chewing gum etc.
Premises noise	Noise from sound systems, air conditioning units, empty bottles being recycled.
Rowdiness	Shouting, singing, hollering etc.
Urination	Self explanatory
Vomiting	Self explanatory
Other	Kicking bottles, unlicensed taxis
Public drinking	Any individual carrying a vessel of alcohol, open or closed, whether or not they are drinking from that vessel.

In terms of the point where a call or raised voice becomes a shout / holler / scream is an arbitrary one without sound recording equipment. However, when out in the field, the discernment of the fieldworkers develops very quickly and what is recorded is very consistent. Field researchers were asked to only record the sound if somebody living nearby would be disturbed, woken up by it or their quality of life diminished by the shout / holler if this happened on a regular basis over the course of a night. Clearly, residents living in town centres must expect some level of street noise.

Incidents, whether they are committed by an individual or by a group are considered as a single incident. So, for example, six men together walking down the street shouting loudly are considered the same as if it is one individual. Overall, the collective impact of a group might be larger, but to maintain consistency across the study and between observers this method was adopted in all three studies.

This effect is probably balanced out to some extent by the double counting phenomenon. This is where any incident committed by the same individual or individuals in the different locations is recorded each time. This methodological decision was taken because a group shouting at one end of Richmond will cause a completely different set of residents or visitors nuisance if they are still shouting when they reach the other end of Richmond.

Therefore, while it is likely that these two quirks will balance each other out, overall it must not be taken that the study is a complete representation of all crime, disorder, nuisance and ASB behaviour in the town. The seven points in Richmond and four in Twickenham will capture the most as they are cited

to cover virtually all of the main routes through the town centre. However, there are locations that are not observed in the town centres, e.g. alleyways in Richmond, as well as routes home, which will be subject to incidents beyond the scope of the study.

Incidents taking place in premises are not counted, unless they spill out on to the street. This is because they should be dealt with under relevant legislation applying to individual premises, and are not issues that a cumulative impact policy or public drinking policy can or should attempt to address.

5.7 Pedestrian counts

In addition to the observational work, pedestrian counts were undertaken. This was done to ensure that we could gain some perspective on the volumes of people using each space being surveyed so that we could make fair judgments about the quantity of incidents relevant to the volume of users. We followed a tried and tested method of counting on both sides of the street on the main entry points into the town centres, e.g. for Richmond, the bridge, the start of the Kew Road, Hill Rise etc. They were all undertaken at the same time periods, between 40 and 50 minutes past each hour.

However, as useful as they are in giving us an idea of the 'busy-ness' of a particular place, they are not an indicator of the total volume of town centre users for two reasons. Firstly, they do not take account of people entering or leaving by smaller entrances. Secondly, they do not give a measurable number of 'unique' people because some people who move around the town will cross the same counter twice and only count every ten minutes in each hour.