Drinking and
Public Disorder

A report of research conducted for
The Portman Group by
MCM Research

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Introduction

This report contains summaries and analyses of research conducted between October 1989 and April 1991. The research was primarily concerned with the so called 'lager lout' phenomenon and the alleged links between drinking and disorder.

The main aims were as follows:

- to identify the characteristics of those involved in disorderly behaviour
- to examine the situations and conditions in which such disorder occurs
- to explore the reasons and motives for disorderly behaviour as perceived by those involved in it
- to examine the specific relationships between drinking and disorder within this population
- to examine the precursors of drinking and disorder among school pupils
- to assess changes in levels and patterns of disorder over recent years and to explore further historical comparisons
- to compare the current problems in Britain with those of other countries
- to examine specific ways of tackling the problems and to identify the role which the drinks industry and the licensed trade can most usefully play

Methods

Research was conducted using, primarily, qualitative fieldwork methods in five locations in England: Banbury, Coventry, Oxford, Preston and

Wakefield. These sites were carefully chosen in order to give a balanced geographic spread. They were also sites where the occurrence of drink-related disorder had been reported and where essential contacts with the police and other agencies were also available. Additional observation work and interviews, focusing on the special problems in seaside resorts, was conducted in Brighton and Blackpool.

Previous research, including the 'Tuck' report[1], had included demographic analyses of offenders convicted of drink-related crimes and Public Order Offences. Such measures, however, had largely failed to discriminate between offenders and their non-offending counterparts found in the same drinking contexts. Beyond the fact that offenders, like the majority of people to be found in city centres on Friday and Saturday evenings, were between the ages of 18 and 26 and came from C1, C2 and D social class backgrounds, there was little in the way of clear definition of the 'lager lout'. There was, therefore, a clear need to gain an 'insider's' view of public disorder - one which might usefully be contrasted with the perspectives from other standpoints, including those of the police, the media and other agencies.

Researching the insider's standpoint (equivalent to the 'emic' perspective in anthropology) is, inevitably, a time-consuming activity. Substantial problems related to sampling and the identification of typical (or prototypical) cases arise. To whom should one talk? How can one check the authenticity of the information which informants provide? To what extent can generalizations be made from such 'micro' studies?

The approach taken in our research has been essentially 'intensive', as opposed to 'extensive' in the social science sense. In other words, it has focused on detailed case studies, rather than large-scale, but arguably shallow, research methodologies. The aim has been to illuminate the motivational characteristics of those most centrally involved in drink-related disorder and explore the social worlds in which their activities occur.

This central focus has been balanced by the collection of data from various sources regarding the frequency of disorderly behaviour as defined by, for example, police arrest statistics. While such data are often contaminated by

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1   Tuck, M. *Drinking and Disorder: A Study of Non-Metropolitan Violence.*
     HMSO 1989

a variety of factors (see Appendix A), they can still provide a useful, additional perspective on the frequency of drink-related acts of disorder in some of our principal research sites. Further 'balancing' perspectives were obtained from 'expert witnesses' - individuals such as experienced police officers, taxi drivers, licensed premises and fast-food outlet operators etc - with extensive experience of drink-related problems over a number of years.

The theoretical basis of our approach stems, primarily, from ethogenic social psychology and certain trends in sociology which are usually referred to as symbolic interactionism. A full elaboration of these approaches would be inappropriate in this report since they are well summarised elsewhere. (See Harré 1972 etc.)[2] Here, however, it is important to note that such theoretical perspectives place great emphasis on the meanings attached to actions as seen from the participants' standpoint, especially those which are generally defined as deviant. They also focus on the social function of such acts and the manner in which social identities may be established through participation in them. Further consideration is given to the tacit social rules which may guide and direct behaviour in specific social contexts. Certain patterns of 'disorderly' behaviour can often be shown to be distinctly orderly in the sense that the actions conform to shared behavioural prescriptions and interpretations. (See Marsh,P. 1978-1988 etc)[3]

The employment of such an orientation, however, has not detracted from the essentially pragmatic nature of the research. As shown in the list of aims above, the intention has been not only to explain more clearly why drink-related disorder occurs, but also to explore both long- and short-term approaches to the reduction of such 'problems'. For such practical approaches to be effective, however, it is essential to discover what the problems really *are*, as opposed to what many people might assume them to be. Given the extent of media coverage devoted to 'lager louts' and 'drunken thugs', additional, and more objective, perspectives on the phenomena are essential.

The principal fieldwork was carried out by John Middleton and Joe McCann, aided by a number of very competent assistants. They conducted

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2   Harré,R. *The Explanation of Social Behaviour* Blackwell 1972

3   Marsh,P., Rosser,E. and Harré,R. *Rules of Disorder* Routledge 1978

over 200 observation sessions and elicited accounts from nearly 3000 individuals. Some of the account collection sessions, especially those with expert witnesses, involved the use of formal and semi-formal interviews with prepared protocols. The bulk of the information, however, derived from less structured sessions and even casual discussions with people in pubs and bars. These were participants in late-night activity in town and city centres at weekends and we refer to them in this report, for want of a more satisfactory description, as 'punters'. In many cases, such casual contacts were followed by arrangements to meet and discuss the issues in a more structured setting. These discussions, typically, took place in local pubs on mid-week evenings and were often tape-recorded. These sessions provided much of the material which is presented in the main *UK research* section.

Report style

The summarising of voluminous qualitative material presents a number of problems. The transcripts of tape recorded interviews would, on their own, run to several hundred pages. The extensive observation and research notes would increase this bulk to an unmanageable level. On the other hand, we are keen to convey some of the 'flavour' of typical events in town centres and the things which our various contacts had to say. We have, therefore, tried to establish balance bewteen first-hand accounts and summary interpretations and analysis. The summaries of our research in various locations draw on excerpts from transcripts of discussions with participants and expert witnesses, such as police, taxi drivers, fast-food vendors, pub and club operators etc.

Naturally, we have been selective in the material which we have chosen to present. Our criteria for inclusion, however, have been quite systematically employed. The aim has been to provide a selection which reflects the balance present in all of our research material. We have also included material which illustrates the specific viewpoints and perspectives of the various contacts which were established in the research.

There is, of course, no clear, empirical way of establishing the degree to which the material is truly representative in conventional sampling terms. We have endeavoured to cast a wide net in geographical terms and we have included empirical data, despite their inherent flaws, obtained from all of

the sources available to us. With all research reports, however, one has to assume that the authors are honest and that they have not deliberately manipulated the evidence to accord with pre-conceived notions or expectations of third parties. This is as true of research which uses, for example, questionnaire data as it is of studies such as ours which rely mainly on the collection of qualitative material.

In our case we have been guided, as was Tom Harrisson and The Mass Observation Unit over 50 years ago, by the evidence of our own eyes and by taking seriously what a wide variety of people with first-hand experience of the phenomenon of drink-related disorder had to say about it. While we recognise the inherent difficulties of such an approach, and we deal with a very specific problem concerning the interpretation of accounts in Section 3, we see no real substitute for it. To this extent we have followed T.S.Eliot's dictum: *"Let us not ask what is it, Let us go and pay a visit"*

2

Historical background

The effects of alcohol on behaviour have been the subject of discussion and scholarly speculation for centuries. In Bickerdyke (1886) we are entertained to an account of the beer shops of Egypt in 2000 BC and the customs associated with, perhaps, the earliest known consumption of ale. Some of Bickerdyke's comments on the regulation of drinking behaviour strike us as being very pertinent today as he was a fierce antagonist of licensing laws. While recognising that alcohol could sometimes be associated with disorderly behaviour, he was of the opinion that restricting the times and places of its consumption was only likely to lead to more problems:

> *To check the evils of drunkenness, we [must] rely not on prohibitory legislation which has been tried elsewhere and found wanting, but on the gradual spread of education and enlightenment.*

Over a century later, after the introduction of much prohibitory legislation, we might do well to consider this issue again. We deal with this issue in some detail in Section 7.

Some earlier historical sources reflect a much more negative attitude toward alcohol - one which would not be out of place in some of the more lurid tabloid accounts of contemporary disorder. The scientist Robert Burton, for example, vents his rage at excessive drinking in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621):

> *The first pot quenches thirst, the second makes them merry, the third for pleasure, quarta ad infaniam, the fourth makes them mad. If this position be true, what a catalogue of madmen shall we have? What shall they be that drinks four times four? ... they are more than mad. Worse than mad.*

Similar views are expressed by Heywood in *Philocothoinista or the Drunkard Opened, Dissected and Anatomised* (1635). Heywood attempts to convert the reader to sobriety and temperance and recounts his life's attempts to do the same. Thus, a farmer rebukes him - *How shall I pay my landlord ? Were it not for drunkards, I should sow no more barley!* His own anti-drink rhetoric is, perhaps, less subtle:

The horrid vice of drunkenness and intemperance, which like the cup of Cyrces, turns men into beasts.

... rude, ignorant, ill-nurtured, shameless, ill-tutored and unmannerly; who neither observe their betters, nor reverence their elders, regarding not matrons, nor respecting virgins: who not only are of that impudence, to utter sqirrulous and obscene speeches in their hearing, but in their absence to asperse their charities; boasting what either they have, or might have done ...

... caper, toy, laugh, sing and prattle, troubling the whole company with their antic gesticulations and tedious verbosity ...

Let every bashful and modest man avoid drunkenness, for it is a monster with many heads, one of obscene talk, others of blasphemy, prophamation, lying, cursing, wrath, murder ...

Nay, have not some husbands slain their wives when they have come home from swilling? And wives cut their husbands throats after they have been tippling? The father has flung his knife at the mother and missing her, killed the child; one brother has slain the other in the tavern and one man stabbed his dear friend in the alehouse.

Missing from such diatribes, of course, is any real examination of the extent to which the effects of alcohol are mediated by other factors such as the circumstances in which drinking takes place, mood, personality factors etc - all those variables which today are generally held to be essential in any 'scientific' discussion. Rather, Burton and Heywood are content to hold up drinking as the root of most social ills - simple philosophy taken up by the Methodists and the Temperance movements some 200 years later. Ironically, of course, the Temperance movement came some 50 years after what most historians feel was the era of maximal abuse of alcohol - the high level of gin consumption and its associated 'palaces'. (Brander,M. 1973)

For a more considered approach to the problems we have to wait until the late 1930s and the seminal work of Tom Harrisson and the Mass Observation Unit. Here we find social scientists actually prepared to venture out to the pubs and surrounding streets of Bolton to discover for themselves what actually happens. Here we find a view which is neither pro- nor anti-alcohol but which rests on a calm and objective account of real-life behaviour. Commenting on prevailing attitudes, and the lack of objective data, at the time, Harrisson observes:

> *The trouble is that sociologists and temperance men are seldom pub-goers. To them the pub opens on to a mystery. Who goes in and what happens there they don't know. But from this doorway there reels a succession of figures that can be recorded under the headings of drunks per 10,000 of the population, and later as victims of cirrhosis. We have seen how few of the people who come out of these doors are had up for being drunk or do die of cirrhosis.*

Harrisson also refers frequently to the macho image associated with drinking which was evident among his informants and, as we shall see later, has been so prominent among our own. He quotes an anonymous reply to a local newspaper survey organised by the Mass Observation Unit:

> *My reason for drinking beer is to appear tough. I heartily detest the stuff but what would my pals think if I refused? They would call me a cissy.*

Another of the Bolton informants emphasises the role of drinking in providing a little excitement in an otherwise dull and depressing life:

> *What can a chap do in a one-eyed hole like this? He'd go off his chump if there were no ale, pictures and tarts.*

Harrisson's comments on the effectiveness of restrictions placed on drinking echo those of Bickerdyke and, again pre-empting Section 7 of this report, are ones with which our own research has led us to concur:

> *It is an absolutely basic assumption in contemporary licensing practice that the length of time a pub is open directly affects drunkenness. It is no better supported by demonstrable facts than the other assumption [that drunkenness is related to the number of pubs]; the experience of almost every country on the Continent disproves it. We have suggested that this inhibition on the pub's times, the rigorous enforcement of time limits on drinking, has had an effect in making the pub seem in a special way 'immoral'.*

The appeal of forbidden fruit was also noted by Doris Langley Moore, whose lucid arguments against the 'nanny-state' approach to licensing appeared in the News Chronicle in June 1939:

Licensing regulations, like many other old-fashioned methods of dealing with potential evil, were framed under the simple illusion that you can prevent people from doing something they want to do by placing difficulties in their way. The most acute students of human behaviour have long been aware that, on the contrary, difficulty frequently acts as a first-rate incentive, and forbidden fruit tastes far sweeter than that which drops into the hand ... I believe that, if we were given the freedom permitted in this respect to almost all other peoples of Europe, there might at first be some slight excess, but in a very short time we should adjust ourselves to the idea of being treated as rational creatures, and would behave as such.

The idea that the number of pubs in a locality is somehow related to levels of drunkenness is given an interesting twist by Harrisson. He provides data, drawn from the Government licensing statistics, to show an ***inverse*** relationship between the two, as shown in Figure 2.1.

The Pub and The People is both reassuring and depressing. On the one hand, it chimes perfectly with our own research material. It shows that 'lager louts' are not a novel product of the late 80s. As the sanguine policeman in Tuck's report commented, "T'was ever thus". The patterns of behaviour which led to a 'Moral Panic' on a scale which was previously aimed at other 'Folk Demons' such as football hooligans and skinheads seem to us so uncannily similar to those which Harrisson and his researchers described. Consider this account of the 'lads' on a night out in Blackpool in 1938:

Along the promenade the air is full of beersmell, that overcomes seasmell. It arises from people breathing. A swirling, moving mass of mostly drunk people, singing, playing mouthorgans, groups dancing about. Chaps fall over and their friends pick them up cheerfully and unconcernedly. At one spot a young man falls flat on his face, his friend picks him up and puts him over his shoulder, and lurches away with him. Immediately a fight starts among four young men: the crowd simply opens up to give them elbow room as it flows by; some stop to look on. One of the fighters is knocked out cold and the others carry him to the back of a stall and dump him there.

The routine events we have witnessed, whether in Wakefield, Banbury or any of our other research sites seem little different. This is, perhaps, the depressing side. The traditions of British drinking, with all their boorish qualities, are still alive and well. Although, as we will be at pains to argue later, the sensationalised stories of death and destruction on the streets at

Fig 2.1 Relationship between number of pubs and convictions for drunkenness. From T. Harrisson (1943)
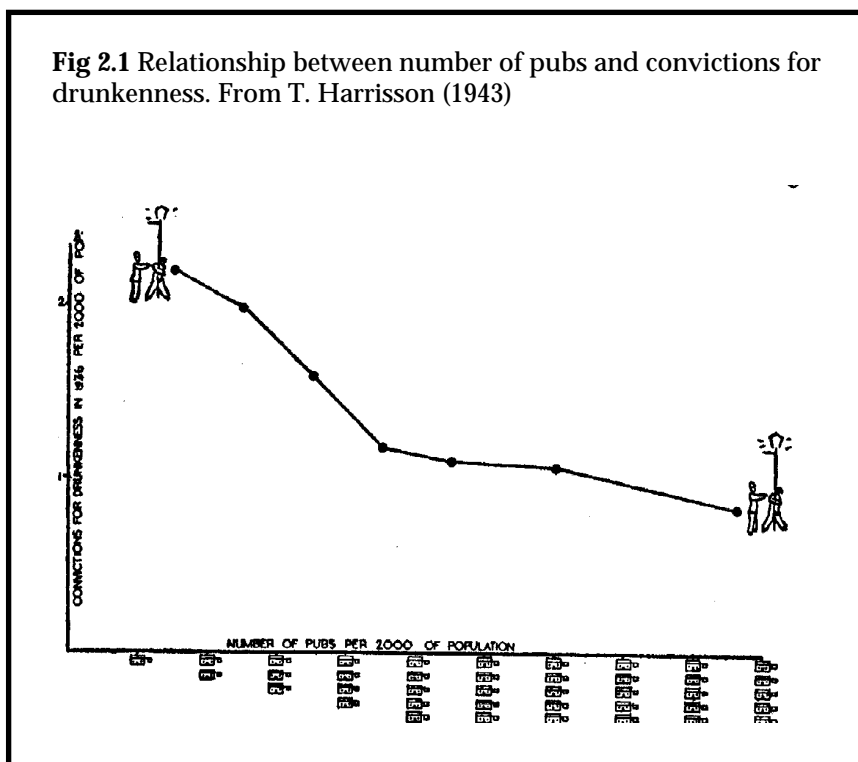
closing time paint a far from accurate picture of nights out in our major towns and cities, few of us would want to spend too much time there.

The other depressing feature of *The Pub and the People* is that it is so good and still, almost 50 years on, has a sense of immediacy and accuracy for anyone who spends much time in working class boozers. It makes our own research seem (pun intended) small beer in comparison. I hope, however, that we have maintained some of the crucial characteristics of the Mass Observation Unit's approach - spending time in the right places, talking to the right people and taking seriously the things which they have to say.

3

Overview and analysis

The scale of the 'problem'

Everybody has a view about the scale and pattern of drink-related disorder and violence even though the vast majority have no direct experience of the phenomenon. It is routine for people to complain about the 'hordes of lager louts' who turn city centres into 'no-go areas'. Many express their fear of violent attacks, both inside and outside pubs. Others remark on the 'magical' properties of premium lagers which can turn normal, quiet young men into savage demons. These simplistic, and usually ill-informed, speculations have been given both credence and currency in recent years by the news media - acting both as reporters of disorderly incidents and analysts of the causes and patterns of this apparently novel focus of public concern.

What we lose sight of in this sometimes hysterical reaction to perceived events is the simple fact that violence, in its broad sense, constitutes only about 6% of all recorded crime in England and Wales. The vast majority of crimes are acquisitive - they are directed at our property rather than our person. Within the 'violence' category, those acts which we might take to be 'drink related' form such a small proportion of all crime that we do not even bother to collate them on a national basis. We have figures for drunkenness and for drink-driving, but we have no national statistics which measure directly the phenomenon which has generated such deep concerns and debates and which has occupied so many column inches of our popular newspapers.

There is nothing new in this distinct lack of fact in the midst of expressed outrage. There are a number of precedents, involving substantially the same 'players' as those who have been tagged with the label of 'lager louts'. When 'football hooliganism' was at its perceived peak in the late 1970s, nobody could tell us just how many acts of violence or public disorder were actually committed by these convenient 'Folk Devils'. The 'Moral Panic' reaction to their activities was much more important than simple, factual accounts of what fans actually did when they went to football games. Amid

the hysterical clamouring for ever-increasing Draconian measures to curb the assumed activities of fans, there was one straightforward, empirical study which indicated that football hooliganism did not actually exist as a phenomenon in its own right. This was a study, conducted not by radical sociologists but by the Strathclyde Police, of all towns and neighbourhoods which hosted football grounds in Scotland. They examined reports of crimes, arrest figures etc. for Saturday afternoons and Wednesday evenings when games were played and when they were not. They found no significant difference overall. In some cases, crime actually fell when football games were played. They concluded that there was about as much crime, violence and disorder associated with football as there was in society in general. Football fans did what they, and others, would normally do on Saturday afternoons and, among that repertoire of activity, would inevitably be some crime and violence.

The report of the Strathclyde Police study was consigned to an appendix of the McElhone Report (*Football Crowd Behaviour: Report by a working Group Appointed by the Secretary of State for Scotland, HMSO 1977*). It was largely ignored by everybody and lay incongruously in complete opposition to the summaries and conclusions drawn both by McElhone and his committee and by subsequent inquiries into the 'problem'.

We raise this issue here because over the last 18 months we have experienced a distinct sense of *deja vu*. Having worked extensively on aspects of youth behaviour since the early seventies, we are in a position to compare the development and 'concretising' of 'lager louts' as a focus of concern with previous outbursts of moral outrage. We find that little or nothing has changed. If one takes typical press reports from 1979 and 1980 and compares them with those from 1989 and 1990, they differ only in the labels applied to the participants to which they refer and in some details of their behaviour. They have in common the same thematic content - the phenomenon is widespread; it is random, gratuitous and vicious; the participants are driven by uncontrollable, savage urges; the phenomenon poses a serious threat to public order and decency; the phenomenon can only be controlled by harsh, punitive measures.

The reason why our society needs repeatedly to cast some of its members as 'demons' in this way is well understood and fully documented by sociologists such as Stan Cohen (1972)[1]. By having convenient and visible targets on whom to vent our outrage and indignation, the right-thinking

majority in our society can take reward from its sense of clear moral rectitude. In addition, our prurient interest in violence and mayhem, which has replaced our earlier fascination with all things sexual, is vicariously consummated. If skinheads, football fans, lager louts or their other post-war equivalents did not exist, we would need to invent them - and that is precisely what we have done.

All of this might be taken as a prelude to a conclusion which says that we have nothing to worry about - that the beatings and stabbings which happen when pubs close on Friday and Saturday nights are not real - they are merely figments of our collective imagination. There will be no such conclusion. Fights happen and participants are hurt. Property is damaged and acts of disorder give rise to understandable fears. But we have to ask a very simple question - is this new, surprising or exceptional? We have to determine what, in psychological terms, is the null hypothesis. Would we be more surprised, for example, if there was no violence on the streets on Friday and Saturday evenings? How would we react if the 'lads' suddenly stopped their macho displays in the pubs and clubs and abandoned their traditional, ritually aggressive activities? Would we then commission research to explain why these time-honoured venues for antagonistic role-playing had suddenly become oases of passivity in an otherwise moderately violent society? Or is it the case, following the view taken by the Strathclyde Police on football hooliganism, that we have about as much disorder related to drinking activities as we would expect, given the same people in any other social context?

In Appendix A of this report we have drawn together all of the statistical data concerning, even tangentially, the frequency and nature of allegedly drink-related disorder that was available to us. Appendix A also includes a more detailed analysis of the figures from one of research locations - Coventry. The ways in which the data are collated vary considerably, making comparisons almost impossible. It is also hazardous to infer base rates of drink-related crime and disorder from these figures for two main reasons. Firstly, the figures reflect not only the behaviour of offenders but also the varying determination of police forces to apprehend the offenders. In some regions there have been well-publicised 'crack-downs' on 'lager louts'. As a result, the number of arrests have increased. In other areas

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1   Cohen,S. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* MacGibbon and Kee 1972

where a more 'low key' approach has been taken, arrest figures are lower or have decreased. (Note the comments made by the Acting Superintendent, Oxford Police, in Section 5)

Secondly, the figures will inevitably reflect the degree to which certain patterns of behaviour are perceived as criminal and, therefore, reported to the police. As our awareness of the problem of drink-related disorder has increased over the last three years, partly as a function of media coverage, it is very likely that reporting has increased accordingly among members of the public, publicans, restaurateurs etc.

A further problem arises in the determination of 'alcohol-related'. In most cases this assessment is made by custody officers when prisoners are brought into police stations, but without any consistent criteria being applied nationally. In some cases (eg Coventry) some assessments of 'drink-related' have been made solely on the basis that an offence was committed around the time of pub closing! (Note also the observations made in custody rooms which are reported in Appendix C)

Bearing in mind these caveats, some of the figures provide us with simple frequencies of the number of people arrested for drink-related disorder offences in some city and town centres. Oxford, for example, had, on average, just under 11 arrests for such offences per week in 1989. In Coventry the figure was very similar, but based on a slightly narrower definition than that used in Oxford. In Wakefield, the equivalent figure was between 8 and 9 arrests per week, although here it is not quite clear how the definition of 'drink-related' was determined. In Lincoln, just under 13 arrests per week were made.

These figures, however, are difficult to interpret, or can be the subject of quite different interpretations. Some might argue that they constitute a relatively small proportion of all arrests - typically about 8-9% - and therefore reflect only a minor problem. (If we look at crime reports, as opposed to arrests, then the proportion of drink-related disorder offences, in relation to all crimes, becomes even smaller.) On the other hand, it could be argued that since, typically, over 50% of the arrests are made on Friday and Saturday nights, the problem is a very specific and troublesome one and presents a very 'focused' difficulty for both the police and users of town centres at these times.

There is no easy way of resolving this dispute. But whether we perceive the problem as a minor or a major one, it is clear that a problem of some nature

exists and that it warrants attention. Effective tackling of the issue, however, requires a clear appreciation of the factors which may contribute to the behaviour with which we are concerned and, subsequently, the identification of appropriate, specific strategies for eliminating or reducing these factors. It is to these areas that we direct our attention in the following sections.

Characteristics of participants

We have noted earlier that most research projects have failed to distinguish, in demographic terms, the participants in drink-related disorder from those who inhabit similar social worlds but refrain from disorderly acts. We have also failed to find any distinguishing features of 'lager louts' in these terms. There is little, for example, to separate (in terms of age, social class, employment etc.) members of the 'Squad' in Oxford from the 'Pool Team' in Preston (See Section 5). Yet the attitudes and behaviour of these two groups is radically different. The former are thought, by the police, to be responsible for the bulk of public disorder offences in Oxford while the latter, to our knowledge, have never been apprehended for any such offences.

Broad sociological theories, which explain, for example, acts of deviance and violence in terms of traditional, 'tough' working class values and ideologies, seemed doomed to failure in this area. There is also a problem with the alleged links between crime and, say, unemployment when we consider drink-related problems. During economic recession, consumption of alcohol products tends to decline. If there are increases in disorder, crime and violence, they cannot, therefore be attributed to increased alcohol consumption. In times of relative economic affluence, certain acquisitive crimes rise in frequency (perhaps because there is more to steal), but other types of crime, including violence, tend not to rise at all. The available figures do not allow us to chart drink-related disorder against GDP but, quite clearly, it would be difficult to see such offences as merely expressions of alienation resulting from economic hardship. Some of most violent members of the 'Squad', were among the most affluent of all our research informants, holding down the most prestigious jobs, paying mortgages and driving the better cars. (See Section 5).

The 'ideology' of participants

On the basis of the material which we have collected we are obliged to view drink-related disorder as, primarily, an 'expressive' activity. By this we mean that it serves personal and social ends other than simple outbursts of anger, hostility and violence. It achieves specific goals which include, principally, the achievement of particular forms of social identity. This was very evident in Harrisson's work in the 1930s. ("My reason for drinking beer is to appear tough", etc. - see Section 2) and seems to have continued largely unchanged until the present day.

The extracts included in Section 5 give both a flavour of the social worlds in which disorder takes place and highlight the structured pursuit of 'excitement' - which we see as the second, motivating factor. In all of the discussion of violence and disorder, this is the aspect which most people fail to mention. For the participants, aggressive displays, fights and violence are exciting and enjoyable activities. Consider the extracts from interviews with the 'Squad' in Oxford. Here we see very clearly how the emotional involvement is a primary reward for these young men. They stress both the 'adrenalin' of public displays of violence and the sense of status and belonging which accrues from such displays. The combination of these two factors provides us with an immediate explanatory model of the phenomenon in which the assumed biochemical effects of alcohol need not, at this stage, be considered. In one sense the pubs and the drinking activity are significant only to the extent that they provide social arenas which a) allow relative status positions and social identities to be assessed, and b) facilitate 'excitement' through shared emotional states and experiences. The details of the social arenas are relatively unimportant and were equally provided by the dance halls in the days of Teddy Boys, the beaches of Clacton and Margate in the era of the Mods and Rockers or the stadiums of the more recent football hooligans.

The fact that pubs, and their historical equivalents, have always provided 'stages' for macho behaviour adds to their social utility for 'lager louts'. Fighting is not seen as 'out of place' as the pubs close and therefore requires little in the way of further rationalisation on the part of the participants. From their perspective, the acts which come to be labelled as deviant, disorderly and criminal are a quite legitimate defence of personal integrity, group status and, above all 'a good crack'. To this extent, British 'lager

louts' are not unlike their European youth-culture counterparts. While we may have been led to believe that only British youth fight each other and rampage through the streets, all other European countries experience substantially similar problems. The real difference is that, in southern Europe in particular, such activities are only very rarely associated with drinking and going to bars and pubs (as we discuss further in Section 6)

The 'attraction' of disorderly behaviour becomes further clarified when we look at it in the context of the ordinary, weekday lives of those who participate in it most centrally. Here we start to see what really distinguishes the 'lager lout' from his less deviant contemporaries. For him, weekend activities provide a marked contrast with a life which, while it may bring with it a well-paid job, does not offer sufficient in the way of personal 'worth' or social identification. It is perceived as 'routine' and unremarkable. In the town centre on Friday and Saturday nights, however, there are opportunities to remedy the shortcomings of the weekday world and to become a quite special person in the eyes of valued peers. Whether a young man is unemployed or an estate agent he can compete for the kind of adulation and respect which is gained by being 'fearless', 'tough' and able to 'look after himself'.

Many of these values are, of course, dominant in mainstream culture. They are fostered by a society where traditional masculine roles are reinforced by each generation and held up as ideals to which 'real' men should subscribe. The 'lager lout' may have what we see as a rather warped interpretation of these values but he is, in his basic philosophy, exceptionally conventional. His views are often surprisingly similar to, say, those expressed by members of the armed forces or the police or, in particular, night club door staff.

This is not to imply acceptance of the 'merits' of disorder or of the ideologies which underlie the phenomenon. It is, however, essential not only to appreciate the rationale offered by 'insiders', but also to understand how that view derives, in part, from elements of mainstream, hegemonic ideology.

Situational factors

We have been struck over the past 18 months of fieldwork by the near inevitability of some disorder in the town and city centres in which we have

spent our time. Consider how we might deliberately design situations in which disorder might occur. Firstly, we would encourage young men to drink large volumes of beer or other alcohol in a very short period and in a traditional, macho style where such patterns of consumption and 'manliness' are reinforced by the marketing and advertising of the products. At a fixed time, well before most of the participants are motivated to return home, we would close the places which sell drink. Before doing so, however, we would encourage a peak of consumption, resulting in a peak of intoxication just prior to leaving. At closing time, we would roughly expel the drinkers onto the street, suddenly increasing the density of people and maximising the potential for friction and conflict. We would ensure that there was very little in the way of transportation so that people would have to queue for the few buses and taxis and remain in the town centres even longer. Food facilities, if available at all, would be of poor quality and, again, people would have to stand in line in order to obtain even a hamburger.

Little attempt would be made to control the situation by active policing. Instead, police officers would, in the main, sit in vans with riot shields attached and leap out on occasions to arrest groups of unruly young men. Some people, of course, would remain in town to frequent a night club or discotheque. These, however, would all close at the same time some two or three hours later, leading to a smaller, repeat performance of the earlier activities.

Clearly, such a design would be rejected. Yet, with a few variations, this is exactly what happens in many of our urban centres which cater for predominantly young drinkers. To identify concrete, causal factors related to disorder we have to do no more than spend an evening in these settings. The levels of frustration and the obvious potential for conflict, fuelled by a pattern of drinking which occurs in only a few countries in the world, provide settings in which fights, violence and disorder are so predictable that one is forced to wonder why there appear to be so few. Even as researchers, staying in relatively comfortable hotels a few minutes walk away from the 'action', we have found ourselves becoming frustrated, depressed, argumentative and, on occasions, deeply fed up.

While we might not be able to do much about the striving for excitement and status so evident among the central 'players' on the disorder stage, we can certainly change some features of the settings in which they find themselves

and which can so directly influence their mood and behaviour. We should also note that the true 'lager lout' is also a relatively rare individual. We estimate that only about 1% of the punters in a typical town centre on a Friday or Saturday night would hold to the firm ideologies expressed by, for example, the 'Squad'. Most of our respondents, as is evident from the extracts which we have provided, were motivated to 'have a good night out' but to avoid trouble in the process. These young men, however, were easily drawn into disorderly situations simply because they were all milling around in the same place at the same time as 'trouble' occurred. We have numerous examples of small-scale fights developing into what local newspapers have luridly described as 'riots' solely because everybody in the street stopped to watch and, in some cases, vent their frustration by joining in.

We explore ways of removing some of the situational factors which contribute to disorder in Section 7. In the following Section, however, we are obliged to deal with the role which alcohol may or may not play as a causal factor.

Drinking and aggression

The scientific literature concerning links between alcohol consumption and aggression is now very extensive. We have catalogued some of the major contributions in this area in Appendix E - Selected and annotated bibliography. Excellent reviews of the field are also contained in the contributions by Gibbs and Brain to *Drinking and Disorder: Proceedings of the MCM Conference* (1991) published as a companion document to this report. Here, however, it is appropriate to outline what we perceive as an increasingly consensual view among social scientists, including ourselves, regarding the indirect links between alcohol consumption, on the one hand, and aggressive behaviour, violence and patterns of disorder on the other, and the factors which may mediate between the two.

The popular view, in this country and some others, is that alcohol consumption by males inevitably increases their likelihood of engaging in aggressive behaviour. It is also popularly assumed that the causal factor is either a direct, chemical one, or relies on a mediating process of disinhibition. In the latter case, aggression is said to erupt because people feel more able, after consuming alcohol, to express their 'true' feelings or release 'pent up' emotions.

This view finds some support in experimental psychology studies such as those by Taylor[1] and the 'popular' view is given credence in many of the standard introductory textbooks (eg Deaux and Wrightsman[2]). In these studies the typical design involves administration of varying degrees of alcohol, in the form of vodka and orange juice mixes, to subjects who are usually undergraduate students. These subjects are then placed in a 'bogus' experiment which often involves training another group ('stooges') to learn lists of words by delivering negative reinforcement, in the form of electric

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1   Taylor,S., & Gammon,C.B. (1975) Effects of type and dose of alcohol on human physical aggression *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 32*, 169-175.

2   Deaux,K. & Wrightsman,L.S., *Social Psychology*. Brooks/Cole 1988

shocks, when they make errors. The results typically show that subjects who have consumed the higher amounts of alcohol deliver shocks with greater frequency and/or intensity compared with subjects who have consumed lesser amounts of alcohol or no alcohol at all.

While these results initially appear convincing, there are many serious problems with both the methodology and the interpretation of the results. The first difficulty concerns the operationalising of the dependent variable of aggression. To what extent is the 'legitimate' delivery of mild electric shocks to stooges or other subjects conceptually equivalent to real-world aggression, as seen in the pub fight or street disorder? Secondly, to what extent can any results obtained in the very specific social context of the psychological laboratory be seen as relevant, in the absence of other data, to understanding social behaviour in the complex situations in which drink-related disorder normally occurs? Thirdly, to what extent may student subjects be role-playing perceived conventional responses to alcohol following self-monitoring of the effects of their alcohol consumption. Students are notoriously 'helpful' in laboratory experiments, which is why one tends to use them. (It is interesting to note that in one of Taylor's studies, administration of tetra hydra cannabinol (cannabis) resulted in effects quite opposite to those in which alcohol was administered. Here again one suspects that subjects might have been role-playing the 'peace-love' response which one conventionally associates with cannabis smoking.)

That alcohol produces a range of physiological changes is not in dispute. The question is one concerning the relationship between such changes and aggressive responses. Here we encounter further problems. Firstly, the physiological effects themselves are varied and non-specific. As Brain (1990) points out, while some substances, such as morphine, affect a single receptor site, alcohol "changes the lipid environment of neurons and it seems to alter virtually every index of neurophysiological action in particular components of the nervous system". Brain goes on to point out that "alcohol ingestion has profound effects on the endocrine system (hormonal disturbances can account for some behavioural changes) and ... [it] influences its own dynamics of exposure by modifying the efficiencies of the liver and the kidneys."

Brain concludes, after extensive review of the extant scientific literature, that "The recent reviews have generally shared my conclusion that the precise proportion of interpersonal violence *caused* by alcohol *cannot* be

identified from available data. However, studies ... strongly suggest an association between protracted alcohol ingestion and residual impairment of cognitive-perceptual functioning".

The last comment by Brain is significant because theoretical approaches concerning the links between alcohol and aggression have focused increasingly on both cognitive and perceptual factors. Before considering such models, however, a number of other issues regarding the interpretation of alleged links between alcohol and certain types of behaviour need to be addressed - principally the observed correlations between drinking and certain types of crime, including disorderly and violent behaviour.

As we note in the section dealing with police statistics (Appendix A) and that which focuses on drink-related disorder in Coventry, there is, indeed, an apparent association between alcohol consumption and arrests for disorder. Of those arrested for public disorder offences in Coventry in 1989, nearly 70% had been drinking. Other widely available data show more general links between drinking and a range of crimes, including assaults and some types of acquisitive offences. To social scientists, however, such correlations can rarely be taken as evidence of a causal connection, even in large-scale epidemiological studies. Alternative explanations might involve, for example, the possible role played by additional mediating factors or more 'global' influences which may be responsible for changes in both independent and dependent measures.

In the case of links between alcohol consumption and arrests for certain kinds of offence there may be a very parsimonious alternative explanation. Could it be that people who are drunk are more likely to bungle their crimes and, therefore, are more likely to be caught? A disorderly person attacking others in the street after the pubs have closed may, in his befuddled state, fail to observe the approaching police officers and end up as yet one more example of the perpetrator of a 'drink-related' crime. Our observations in the charge rooms of police stations (see Appendix C) certainly confirm that the police have no difficulty in apprehending individuals who, apart from committing crimes, are unable to stand or who make confused comments such as "Every time I get nicked I get drunk".

A further problem with such data is that we have no control measures. While we have details about the proportion of offenders who had been drinking prior to the commission of their crimes, we do not have the same information about non-offenders. We can only begin to infer a possible

causal link between alcohol and disorder if the levels of consumption among offenders are significantly greater than that among non-offenders **and** alternative explanations, such as the increased probability of detection of drunk, as opposed to sober, offenders can be ruled out.

From our own extensive observation and interview research it is quite clear that among the population of inebriated individuals one encounters in town and city centres on Friday and Saturday nights, only a very small proportion commit acts of disorder. Even if arrest figures do not fully represent the true scale of disorderly and violent behaviour, because of problems of detection and apprehension, it is quite clear that the vast majority of drinkers do not engage in aggressive acts, nor do they commit crimes. Of those that do, we find no evidence, whether from official statistics or our own qualitative material, to indicate that they have consumed *significantly* more alcohol than their non-offending peers. Indeed, we would find it surprising if those arrested in town centres on Friday and Saturday nights had not been drinking since the main purpose of being in such places at those times is to do just that.

Better support for links between alcohol and aggression come from analyses of data relating to the times at which offences of disorder and violence are committed, although here again there are some problems of interpretation. Typically, one finds that roughly 50% of all relevant offences are committed on Friday and Saturday nights with distinct peaks following pub closing times. These are times when alcohol consumption and inebriation are undoubtedly at a peak. Even though the majority of inebriated individuals are law-abiding, the fact that the levels of offending appear to reach a maximum at times which coincide with the highest levels of consumption may be taken as indicative of some, as yet unspecified, causal chain.

Given that some association between drinking and aggression may exist, although the precise degree of this association is hard to specify, we require an explanatory model which provides both a credible account of these links and accords with observed real-life behaviour. To this end we propose a synthesis of approaches which not only have clear theoretical merit but which also enable us to understand more clearly and satisfactorily the events and patterns of social activity with which we have been concerned in our research.

Cognitive and perceptual approaches

The work of Pernanen[3] and others provides us with a model which has considerable explanatory power. It focuses on well-established effects of alcohol and sees these as having an indirect impact on various types of behaviour, including aggressive responses. At a basic level, alcohol interferes with primary cognitive ability by reducing the perceptual field. An intoxicated individual cannot 'take in' as much information from his immediate surroundings and social context as he can when he is not intoxicated. The information he uses in order to guide his responses is increasingly limited in proportion to the amount of alcohol consumed. This is quite apparent to anyone who has watched people getting steadily drunk.

 As inebriation increases, individuals begin to focus on small parts of the situation one at a time because their ability to perceive the situation as a whole becomes steadily diminished. This, in turn, results in their own reactions fluctuating, depending on which part of the situation they are paying attention to. As Gibbs comments, "In addition, because impressions are based on a small sample of the information available about a situation, these impressions are unstable. A change in a couple of bits of information or environmental cues, which may occur sometimes by chance, can radically affect one's perception of the situation. It is similar to trying to identify an entire tune on the basis of a few notes. A slight change in the way a note is played or the addition or subtraction of a note can change your identification entirely".

This lack of stability in the perception of a situation increases the risk of misunderstandings, misinterpretations and, therefore, of increased feelings of hostility and aggressive responses. It is an effect which all people with experience of inebriation will recognise and underlies the common phenomenon of 'the booze talking'. The argumentative, and sometimes belligerent, nature of the drunk reflects his inability to maintain clear perceptions of others' talk, actions and intentions.

Pernanen's model, especially in the form revised by Gibbs, also identifies the role of secondary cognitive effects of alcohol. These consist, primarily, of diminished intellectual and linguistic ability. Put simply, people who

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3   Pernanen, K. (1976) Alcohol and crimes of violence. In B. K. Kissin & H. Begleiter (Eds), *Social aspects of alcoholism* New York: Plenum

have consumed substantial amounts of alcohol cannot think or speak so clearly. These effects become particularly relevant because of a further assumption that most people use coping mechanisms at this level of cognitive functioning to inhibit aggressive responses or to substitute more acceptable social behaviours - eg calm argument. We can normally cope with other people's irritations by, firstly, seeing them in a wider context - as just one facet of their behavioural repertoire - and secondly, using sound judgement in not responding directly to such facets because 'keeping the peace', for example, may be seen as a superordinate consideration. As alcohol both reduces our ability to see things in context, and impairs our ability to respond rationally, the increased potential for aggression and even violence becomes apparent.

We have previously employed this model in our work on problems inside pubs. (*Conflict and violence in pubs,* MCM 1990, summarised in Appendix D). One clear implication of the model is that an aggressive or abrasive 'atmosphere' in a pub will provide exactly the kind of 'fuel' that a Pernanen-type model requires for aggressive behaviour to occur. There must be elements which are capable of misperception and misunderstanding before cognitive impairments can lead to emotional, rather than rational responses. By reducing, as much as possible, these stimuli, the theory predicts a significant concomitant decline in aggressive behaviour. Thus, for example, attention is paid to the management style of licensees and the manner in which staff interact with customers in order to minimise hostile interpersonal signals and regulate the general 'mood' which is engendered among the clientele. The demonstrable success of training programmes designed around these principles gives us confidence in the real-world applicability of the model as a whole.

Frustration

A number of theoretical models predict that intoxicated individuals will be more likely to respond aggressively to frustration than those who have not consumed alcohol. (See discussion in Gustafson (1984)[4]). The Frustration -

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4   Gustafson,R. Alcohol, frustration, and direct physical aggression: a methodological point of view. *Psychological Reports* 1984, *55*, 959-966

Aggression model, originally conceived by Dollard et al (1939)[5] but substantially revised by, among others, Berkowitz (1978)[6], defines frustration as 'interference in goal-directed activity'. Frustrating events produce a 'readiness for aggression' which, if 'triggered' can result in aggressive responses. The presence of a trigger, or 'cue' is quite critical. Frustration, on its own, will not produce aggressive or violent behaviour. But the trigger may be a small element of behaviour which would normally be overlooked in the absence of the frustration. A casual remark or mild rebuke may, in cases of extreme frustration, be more than sufficient to evoke a response which seems, to rational observers, to be totally out of proportion or 'over the top'. To the frustrated individual it is 'the last straw'. (The fact that we have so many common-language terms to describe the effects which the model predicts is, in our opinion, a good indication of the real-life applicability of the model).

Pernanen's model helps us to understand quite clearly why alcohol might lead to more extreme responses to frustration, through primary and secondary cognitive impairment. We can also see how frustration may be an important factor in explaining violence both within licensed premises and in town and city centres.

Expectations

The cross-cultural evidence, including that which we present in Section 6, clearly indicates the extent to which the effects of alcohol are dependent on culturally defined expectations of behaviour. Where cultural traditions tolerate aggressive and disorderly behaviour in drinking contexts, such behaviour is more likely to occur than in cultures where such activities are strongly proscribed. In Britain we seem to have ambivalent attitudes concerning alcohol and its behavioural consequences. On the one hand, popular opinion decries the activities of 'lager louts' and drunken 'thugs'. On the other, it tacitly subscribes to a sentiment which equates 'manliness'

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5   Dollard,J., Doob,L., Miller,N., Mowrer,O.H., & Sears,R.R *Frustration and Aggression* Yale University Press 1939

6   Berkowitz,L. Whatever happened to the frustration-aggression hypothesis? *American Behavioral Scientist* 1978, *32*, 691-708

with being able to 'hold one's drink' and *expects* aggression to result from high levels of consumption. Being aggressive is seen as a 'normal' response after drinking.

What is striking about the Italian research material (see Section 6) is that the expectation of aggression in drinking contexts is almost completely absent in that country. Instead, quite different expectations of increased sociability are dominant. In addition, most Italians fail to understand the British view that drinking increases the probability of violence and disorder. To Italians, strong drink is something one gives to aggressively charged individuals in order to calm them down.

The existence of such differing expectations explains, at least in part, why there should also be differences in drink-associated behaviour. In Pernanen's model, even the most cognitively impaired inebriate will have some appreciation of how his reactions will be perceived by others. In contexts where there is mild tolerance of drunken belligerence - on the basis that it is perhaps the fault of the drink, not the person - aggressive responses will be facilitated. Where there is no such tolerance, and where individuals who behave aggressively after drinking are subjected to ridicule, aggressive responses will be inhibited.

Integration of perspectives

Figure 4.1 shows how the three perspectives above may be integrated into a single explanatory model. Here the 'atmosphere' of the immediate social situation and cultural expectations are added to a basic Pernanen-type model of cognitive impairment. The role of frustration is seen as a significant, though not essential, mediator between secondary cognitive impairment and aggressive responses, as 'filtered' by the cultural expectation component.

Our model differs from that presented by other workers in this field not only in the additional 'levels' of mediating variables, but also in the theoretical 'outcomes' of drinking. The probability of interpersonal aggression is increased when the effects of cognitive impairment are 'amplified' by both the characteristics of the immediate situation and by popular assumptions that aggression is a 'normal' reaction to drinking. However, where both the immediate social situation is free from aggression and where cultural

Figure 4.1
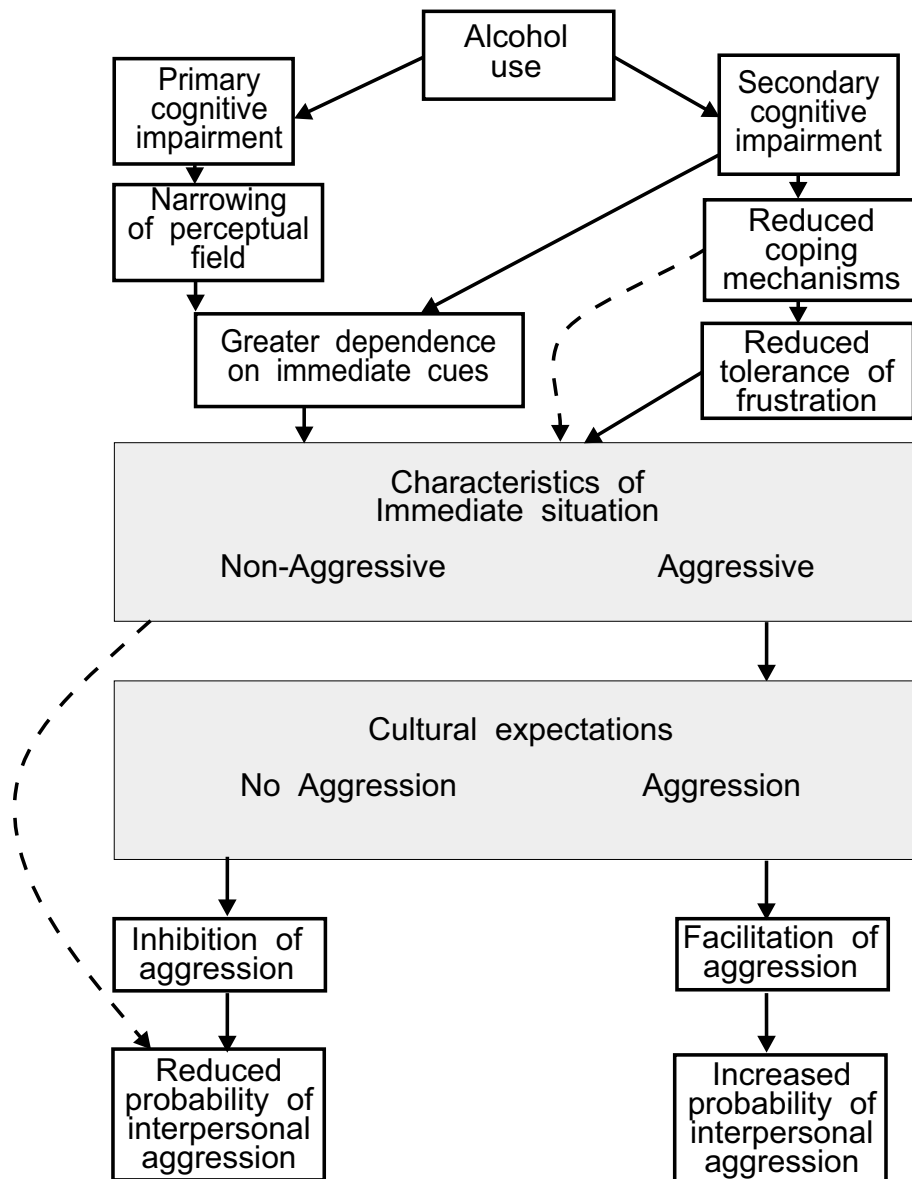
expectations inhibit aggression, the probability of interpersonal aggression following drinking will be reduced.

The advantage of this approach is that it explains why some cultures, such as our own, experience problems with drink-related aggression and disorder while others, such as Italy, Spain etc., do not. The same psychological mechanisms operate universally, but the behavioural consequences are modified both by the social contexts in which drinking takes place and cultural traditions which either inhibit or facilitate aggression in such contexts. We feel that the model fits well with the research material presented in subsequent sections of this report, which derives both from this country and from others in mainland Europe.

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UK research

This section is, by necessity, the longest in the report. It contains summaries of our fieldwork in the main research sites, with extracts from researchers' reports to give a 'flavour' of typical patterns of activity in these locations at weekends and particularly on Friday and Saturday nights. The section also contains selected extracts from interviews, discussions and conversations with 'punters' and expert witnesses. The aim of these is to illustrate a number of the points made in Sections 3 and 4. They constitute, in research of this nature, the primary data source.

Of particular interest to the theoretical model which we presented earlier (see Section 4) are extracts from discussions with the 'Squad' in Oxford. The members of this group, more than any others, are classic examples of the so-called 'lager-louts' - young men for whom Friday and Saturday nights are (or were) about both drinking and fighting. The material presented in the section on Oxford provides insight into the motivation of drink-related disorder and the special social contexts in which it occurs. There is a need, however, to raise at this point a further theoretical and methodological consideration. It concerns the way in which social talk should be 'read' and interpreted.

When people comment on their own behaviour, or that of others, there are two distinct features of that talk which we need to consider. Firstly, we can understand the talk in terms of its relationship to the structure, content and motives of real-life events. People describe what happened and why it might have taken place. There is, however, another level of interpretation required because talk is, in itself, a social act. Individuals have particular motives for offering an account - one which, perhaps, enhances their own sense of self-importance or social worth. Put very simply, if you ask a group of young men if they have drunk a lot of beer, been in fights or committed a range of 'macho' acts, they will inevitably say "Sure!" and provide several gory examples of their exploits. To read only the surface level of such talk and ignore the underlying motivational or 'illocutionary' elements is to make a fundamental mistake. Unfortunately, it is one which many

researchers who use 'self-report' methods make all too regularly. In many cases the underlying illocutionary content of an account is of more relevance than the alleged acts to which the surface, 'locutionary' level refers.

In our own work on aggression, violence and disorder in a wide range of contexts, conducted over the past 17 years, we have come to see much of this behaviour as guided and directed by tacit social rules. These provide a framework for participants to achieve tokens of respect for their acts but also serve to limit the extent and severity of the violence. The rules make the game of 'hooliganism' playable because, despite images to the contrary, one does not have to take too many risks.

This theoretical line is developed much more substantially in, for example, Marsh (1982)[1]. Here, however, we need to note that not only can aggressive and disorderly behaviour be seen as rule-directed, but talk about such behaviour is also guided by rules and conventions. These permit certain levels of exaggeration and distortion. Groups of young men will, typically, accept a distorted rhetoric, so long as it is not too exaggerated. Thus, one can embellish one's own performances, and therefore add a little to one's prestige, because of this tacit conspiracy within the group to which one belongs.

In the talk which any researcher collects, these embellishments will, inevitably be present. They have to be read as such and the surface level of accounts must be contrasted with accurate observations of the type of events to which the talk relates. The motivations for group aggression and disorder become clear from the illocutionary content and distortions, and a clearer picture of the phenomena emerges once these have been taken into account.

In some cases, the exaggerated talk offered by participants will contravene the tacit rules of such talk subscribed to by the group. At these points one hears comments from others such as "No, that's exaggerating - he may think he's hard, but he's not really, he's just boasting". These comments are invaluable because they identify the position of the fine line which is drawn between acceptable distortion and what, for scientific purposes, we will refer to as 'bullshit'. Ironically, perhaps, the participants we found labelled

1   Marsh,P. Rules in the organization of action: empirical studies in M. von Cranach & R. Harré (Eds) *The Analysis of Action* Cambridge University Press 1982

as 'bullshitters' by their peers were those who espoused the view most closely mirroring that which we have found in some of the more sensationalist tabloid reporting.

Both exaggerations and some aspects of 'bullshit' are evident in the sample extracts which we have provided in the following subsections. They should be read in the context of the observation reports which we have also included. It is interesting to note, however, that even in the most self-presentational of accounts the simple notion that drinking strong lagers inexorably leads to violence and disorder is almost totally absent, even among those who have been the most active participants in the lager-lout game. As one of our Oxford contacts said: "If a mob of boys came into the pub and we were stone sober, we'd still do them. If a mob of boys came into the pub and we were drunk, it would still be done. But once you're all together you get on a real high and don't need any drink".

Sampling

The following sub-sections provide summaries of field research in various towns and cities in the UK and Ireland. The locations were chosen because they had all featured prominently in Press reports of drink-related disorder. Wakefield, for example, had been dubbed the 'Lager Lout Capital of the North'; Coventry was the 'Violence Capital of the Midlands'; Banbury was at the centre of 'Rural Rioting', outrage and so on.

Although space prevents us from including more than a tiny fraction of the 'raw' fieldwork data, the conclusions we draw are based on the 3000 interviews and conversations, and over 200 hours of observation work conducted by our researchers. The interviews and observation sessions were fairly evenly distributed across the fieldwork sites, with approximately 300 'informants' in each location.

The majority of these informants were 'punters': regular pub- and club-goers in the 18-30 age-group, with extensive knowledge of the local 'scene'. Many of these 'punters' were heavy-drinking, boisterous young males who spent every Friday and Saturday night in the town centres; most had first-hand experience of incidents of disorder, although only a minority were active participants in such events.

A significant number of informants in each research site came into the category which we have loosely defined as 'expert witnesses': these would include, for example, Beat PCs with over 10 years' experience in a particular town centre, taxi drivers and bus conductors with similar local experience and knowledge; the managers and long-serving staff of local pubs, night clubs, restaurants, fast-food outlets and so on. Again, the majority of these informants had direct personal experience of various aspects of town-centre disorder.

Further perspectives on the nature of disorder in each site were provided by social workers, probation officers, magistrates, school teachers and youth workers. Senior police officers were interviewed in every site to gain an overview of town-centre problems and policing policy.

Rather than 'forcing' this fieldwork data into pre-ordained categories, we have, to a large extent, allowed the dominant concerns of those we spoke to to dictate the issues covered in each section. In Coventry, for example, a specific case study was conducted which was concerned with the introduction of a bye-law banning street-drinking. The section on Oxford is largely concerned with the views and activities of the 'Squad', the Banbury material focuses on policing problems and so on.

Banbury

We selected Banbury as a fieldwork site partly because of the comments by the then Home Secretary, Douglas Hurd, to the effect that previously peaceful rural towns and villages were becoming 'riot centres' for 'lager louts'. Banbury was one of the chief targets of his remarks, and held up as an example of this new and disturbing phenomenon.

We were not entirely surprised to find, from conversations with members of the public and the police, that the events which provoked Douglas Hurd's comments about the town had been largely misrepresented.

Levels and perceptions

Banbury was seen by most as a parochial market town which inspired a sense of ownership amongst its young people, who use the limited town centre facilities to their maximum on a Friday and Saturday night. A taxi

driver we interviewed, who had worked the town centre for ten years, felt that this very loyalty was to blame for some of the trouble:

> *When there's trouble here, it's usually when you get a crowd of visitors who are passing through, like from Coventry or Leicester, or even Oxford. The locals are very protective of their town. So they'll all get together and chase whoever it is off. Then you'll get the different estates having a go at each other. Again, it's 'cos they're bored. I'm amazed there's not more bother really.*

Apart from a few pubs and one night club, Banbury has very little to offer young people. There are rival groups, gangs and individuals with grudges to bear on a scale comparable with any other small town, but a centre for rural rioting it is not. The manageress of a Pizza restaurant commented:

> *There's one little night club in the town, which is poor feed and certainly not enough to supply the youngsters. They simply have nowhere to go when the pubs close and you'll see them just wandering around. So the police are wandering around and the kids are wandering around, both bored, so there's bound to be a few confrontations, isn't there?*

Our taxi driver, along with a large majority of our informants, also blamed lack of facilities for the town's problems:

> *With this new motorway, there are loads of houses and industrial sites sprouting up, but I don't see many new pubs or clubs or anything opening up. I think the town council and the police obviously think there'll be loads of trouble, so they object to applications for new licences.*

The population of Banbury is rapidly expanding as it now falls well within the commuter belt for London and Birmingham. With the recent completion of the M40, the resident drinking population is likely to make greater use of the more extensive leisure facilities provided by surrounding towns and cities. Both Coventry and Oxford were places many young people from Banbury visited in search of entertainment on the grounds that "there isn't much happening in Banbury". Both in terms of suitable entertainment, and of levels of serious disorder, we are inclined to agree with this verdict. In fact, many of the local people we spoke to wondered why we were in Banbury at all:

> *There is a certain amount of exaggeration because people make it sound like there are problems every night which clearly is not the case. There are scraps now and again but not all the time.*
> *Male 'punter'*

The 'riot'

The 'Banbury riot' took place in early 1988, and attracted a great deal of media attention. The event was held up by the then Home Secretary and others as an example of the worrying trend towards 'rural rioting', or in ACPO's terminology 'non-metropolitan violence' - a matter for serious concern and much talk of 'crackdowns' on 'yobs and lager louts'. The Banbury Guardian reported it thus:

> *About 200 youths battled with police in an hour-long riot in Banbury's Market Place in the early hours of Saturday morning. Two officers were injured as police from three counties, including horses and dog handlers, arrested 15 people in the town's second successive weekend of violence*

> *Scuffles broke out between members of the crowd. When officers tried to make arrests they were turned on by the mob ... Sixty-nine officers were involved, including two members of the mounted division who were patrolling the High Street at the start of the incident.*

From the insiders' perspective, the picture was very different. We found that the 'riot' was not generally viewed as indicative of a new social trend. Indeed, the vast majority of our informants, including the police officers involved, saw it as an unfortunate hiccup where misunderstandings led to an over-reaction from both police and town-centre revellers:

> *An experienced beat PC from Banbury, said that the presence of horses was due to a training exercise, but that this was misinterpreted:*

> *Some of the people round the town got the wrong idea. They thought there was something already happening and it must have put the thought in their minds that because something's happening, then perhaps they want to join in and there was a series of circumstances that led up to an over-reaction from both sides. We probably over-reacted to some little fights that were in the Market Place and because of the horse presence everything else went completely overboard.*

> *This view was also shared by a local Police Inspector, who agreed that the mounted horses incensed people and actually inspired them to join in the fighting.*
> *Researcher's report*

Another PC commented:

They still accuse the police horses. It was a training day for them and they wanted to get in some training of going round the town at night, because they tend to be used for shows and things; not really police-orientated things. They wanted to be out and around the town and get the horses used to other areas.

The consensus among our informants was that the police initially became somewhat heavy-handed over a few "normal Friday-night scuffles and small fights" in the Market Place, and that the purely coincidental horse-training exercise was largely to blame for the escalation in both numbers and aggression. According to an experienced beat PC, the original brawls were nothing unusual:

Of course, it was made worse by the Press reaction with Banbury being a "sleepy town" and it got headline news and it was the time that the Press latched on that sort of thing. But you can guarantee that from Wednesday night even to Sunday night there's going to be a fight somewhere around Banbury. I've been here since 1970 and there's always been a leaning towards a big punch-up on a Friday night.

Policing

Inconsistent and heavy-handed policing was felt by many to be the basis of much of the disorder in the town centre. A Youth Worker who runs a drop-in centre for young people told us that there is a great deal of bad feeling between youngsters and the police in Banbury. This animosity was certainly evident among almost all of the youths we interviewed:

At the weekend the police are low profile from 7-10pm and from 10 on there are a lot of police about. This often incites people when they see so many police, they see red. I don't think this helps much and sometimes the police do go a bit over the top.

I recall one time coming out of C_____ when a fight was going on outside. It expanded from one on one to three on three and the police got one of the guys who was cheering them on. When they took him in the van I saw a policeman hit this guy in the stomach. Then you could see arms and legs flying in the back of the van because the light was on. Maybe the guy was causing problems in the van but it looked like the police were going over the top. This was a support group as opposed to the local bobbies.

> *In Coventry we were singing and shouting on the way home and the police just asked us where we were from and were quite nice whereas we have seen people bundled into the police vans for the same thing in Banbury.*
>
> *They seem to be older police in Banbury and they cannot relate to the youngsters because of the age difference. They try to combat violence with violence and that doesn't work although they are not all like that, but a fair few.*

Our interviews with police officers confirmed that this mistrust was by no means one-sided:

> *At the moment they're taking the piss. They know that if they commit officers to a certain type of incident they know they can get away with something elsewhere.*
>
> *You think that it's that organised?*
>
> *Well, I've got a suspicion that it can be.*

An ex-policeman, now running a Burger-chain franchise, was able to take a more detached, 'anthropological' perspective

> *It was the same 20 years ago when I used to police this community. If you are a bobby on the beat or a yob on the street you defend your own and this is down to tribalism.*
>
> *There has been an increase in problems because of extra income and poor policing. Police are out of touch and are more tolerant of the violent behaviour and the tactics have changed to cope with the more violent situations instead of looking to the source of the problem. The bobby on the beat used to deal with the riot situation on his own, but the police now look at their policing tactics in terms of the riot situation.*
>
> *Unless they get back to the Dixon-of-Dock-Green type of policing, knowing everybody and sorting out problems on a local level. A lot of the problems are made worse by the police responding to the peak and not the foundation. Having a good presence and living in the community and being on the spot is how you tackle the foundations.*

To be fair, the police were themselves very much aware of these problems, in particular the inconsistent approaches to policing the town centre. Our researchers reported:

Another problem mentioned by our beat PC (echoing the comments of the Youth Worker) was the varying methods of policing adopted by different shift Inspectors. Some Inspectors aim for a high-profile approach, with a large van on patrol, while others aim for a more subtle approach. This, perhaps, explains why, on the night of the riot, many people assumed that trouble was occurring because they saw more police around than previous weeks. He also suggested that this erratic approach caused problems for the bobby on the beat, who was expected to be high-profile one week and more subtle the next.

Underage drinkers

Everyone we spoke to agreed that Banbury, like many other small towns, has virtually no facilities for the under-18s. The one youth-disco closed some time ago, and there is nothing for them to do in the evenings except hang around the town centre, where they are constantly 'moved on' by the police. The young people we interviewed felt very resentful about this, and pointed out that they were not to blame for the lack of alternative entertainment. They saw the police as their enemies, and even those who had never themselves been involved with the police claimed that they "lie in court, beat up innocent bystanders" and so on.

Although the numbers of underage pubgoers are probably no higher in Banbury than in our other research sites, we were fortunate in this case to be accompanied around the 'circuit' by an Unattached Youth Worker who knew almost all of the youngsters and could actually identify the under-18s in each venue. In one evening, she pointed out between 5 and 15 underage drinkers in each of the pubs we visited. Many of these were in the 14- to 16-year-old age bracket.

The 'punters' we spoke to confirmed this:

There are a few pubs in Banbury where there are a lot of underage drinkers and it is not very tightly controlled. I have never been asked for an ID card. That scheme does not work.

The underage drinkers are not responsible for the trouble, they keep a low profile and keep out of trouble.

The police were no less aware of the difficulties:

[The girls] seem to be getting in the pubs at a very young age. It's part of their culture to drink and show off. We've tried to stamp that out by getting undercover Policemen in and revoking licences in pubs we've found. But the Licensees are trying to get on top of it, but it's very difficult, especially where girls are concerned, because you can't really tell their ages. They had a policy of I. D. Cards about a year ago, but I don't think it took off ... people were forging them and you could get them anywhere in the town. Young lads if they want to drink might get away with it in some pubs; there are some pubs still possibly infringing. But I'd say they do a fair bit of home drinking from Off-Licences and so on.

We have a system here now where if juveniles come in D and D then they do get interviewed as to where the drink has come from and we've got a lot of information out of them. The worst they see is a caution. As I say it is an ongoing problem, I don't believe it's that different from ten years ago or twenty years ago it's just whatever happens, whatever becomes flavour of the month is the problem.

When we questioned the managers of the establishments we received the usual self-contradictory, plaintive response:

We don't get any underage drinkers in here but it is often difficult to tell.

Fast food and restaurants

A large proportion of the disorder in Banbury had been associated with the town's fast-food and chain-restaurant outlets. Although this was clearly due in part to the absence of any other late-night entertainment (apart from the one small night club), we found similar problems with these outlets in other towns which boasted numerous alternative late-night venues.

The managers we spoke to in Banbury had been obliged to adopt the rather drastic policy of early closing, thus forfeiting considerable trade:

We used to open from 5 to midnight but now we close at 11.
Chain-restaurant manager

After 10pm I think there is another 20% trade out there. Alcohol equals a desire for food and that's what they want after a few beers. We close early to avoid the problems and it is difficult to get the staff to work later at the weekend.
Fast-food outlet operator

All of those we spoke to felt that the 'trouble' was simply not worth the extra trade:

We got all the people from the pubs and they did not order much food and then order a load of drinks.

We had a door smashed and the window and the salad bar smashed whilst people were fighting and they had been drinking.

There were groups of lads and girls fighting. They would upset others and then the fight would spread to that table. It was not always intentional but people got involved.
Chain-restaurant manager

My wife was seriously assaulted by a drunk in here. He was not a youth. She was stabbed in the eye with a fork by an old tramp really. He had previous for it.

I had a lad who was pissed on drugs and alcohol ... we exchanged punches and it took three police officers to hold him down. He head-butted a girl on his way in. Youngsters will go further now than they used to and they are more determined to have the last word in any situation.
Burger-chain operator

We used to get them coming in here after eleven and all they really wanted was another drink. The food was chucked around the place most of the time and we ended up losing custom 'cos of a couple of idiots.
Pizza-chain manageress

The managers were very honest about their own limitations in dealing with such problems. They felt that the operating companies showed little interest in their difficulties, and viewed the training they were given in handling aggressive or drunk customers as, to say the least, inadequate.

We don't get any training in dealing with problems but we are told to just contact the police. We have to use the normal telephone because there is no panic button.
Chain-restaurant manager

Greater support from companies operating fast-food and popular restaurant chains, including specialist training of managers and staff in conflict prevention and management, would, they thought, enable such establishments to provide a much-needed service, and increase their profits, by remaining open after pub-closing time.

The role of alcohol

Although many of our informants perceived a causal relationship between alcohol consumption and disorder, most responses were qualified, suggesting that other factors, such as personality or group dynamics could be equally important:

> *I think the drink gets the better of some of them, but they're idiots anyway, so I wouldn't expect them to suddenly be polite 'cos they started drinking Coke.*
> **Restaurant manager**

> *Couple of pints, couple of mates with them and they'll have a go. Verbally, I mean, 'cos no one has attacked me. Though one of the other drivers got a nasty cut from a girl, who hit him in the face with a stiletto. Could have taken his eye out and all.*
> **Taxi driver**

> *I think to a certain extent drink contributes to violence but the person who goes out on a Friday, Saturday with the intention of getting somebody, then alcohol hasn't got much to do with it.*
> *'Male punter'*

Boredom and lack of late-night entertainment were also viewed as highly significant factors:

> *The problems tend to arise when people come out of the pub and don't have anything to do. They have to cram their drinking in between 7.30 and 11.00pm, they are belting down the drinks instead of staggering them over a period. So by the time they get to the only night club or the fast-food places they are drunk.*
> **Male 'punter'**

> *Banbury doesn't really offer a great deal, with only one nightclub. Me and my friends often go to Oxford or Coventry, or even Birmingham for a good night out. I do reckon there's more police about now late at night, but I don't think there's that many and then they're just a target for the prats who've nowhere else to go.*
> **Barmaid**

> *We used to go down town with some girls and someone makes a comment or throws a drink at you then you fly off the handle and maybe have a scrap. This was not down to drink, it's just how it is in Banbury.*
> **Male 'punter'**

Rivalry between groups of young males, whether connected with allegiance to football teams, estates or schools, was seen as a major cause of trouble - far more so than in our other research sites.

> *The big pub fight at the A___was not drink related, it was to do with gang rivalry. I think more problems occurred because of the police presence. Again the police came down quite heavily.*
> *Male 'Punter'*

> *I've noticed that the types of crime we get through drinking are more violent these days. There's a new influx of strangers to the town and Banbury's got a history of reacting strongly against strangers, because of the motorway and really since the riots, they seem to be causing more problems than we're used to.*
> *Beat PC*

> *It is a place to fight; they sort their problems out by fighting. They don't hold back at kicking once the bloke's down. There's an element of gangs; you find they become very "pack" orientated. As they're going through school, they keep to the same friends and they go out drinking together and stick together. They are the ones you get coming up time and again. They're a hard core of drinkers and you can rattle off 3 or 4 basic groups who will always come through the door on a Friday night.*
> *Beat PC*

Others stressed the cultural associations between drinking, fighting and 'macho' status:

> *Drink makes you feel bigger than you are and gives a sense of the macho man. I have been hit for just looking at someone, that resulted in a fight and we were banned from the pub. If you don't fight back you will get a real beating so you have to retaliate.*
> *Male 'punter'*

> *They become known for their violence in the town and they seem to have to live up to that image. They get recognised for their ability with their fists and they also get recognised for their ability to sink the old pints and people will follow them around the town, because they develop their own little trails of hangers-on.*
> *Beat PC*

A resigned few felt that fighting among young males was simply 'human nature':

18-25s are the group likely to get involved in problems. It has always been the same. If you look back in history then it has always been the same, there has always been fighting.
Male 'punter'

Coventry

Additional, though very modest, funds were made available by the Home Office Safer Cities Programme to extend fieldwork to include Coventry. Concern had been expressed by the local authority, the Chamber of Commerce, the police and other agencies about drink-related disorder in the city centre, and in a street called The Burges in particular. A bye-law prohibiting the consumption of alcohol in public places in the centre had been introduced in November 1989 and various attempts had been made to counteract the negative impressions held about the area and to reduce widespread fear of crime among residents.

In addition to the research brief outlined in Section 1, we were asked to comment specifically on policing strategies and the perceptions of the police held by users of the town centre on weekend evenings. These aspects are therefore included in this section. A more detailed summary of police statistics relating to drink-related offenses than that provided in Appendix A is also included.

The scale of the problem

Accurate determination of levels and patterns of violence and disorder is always extremely difficult. Popular perceptions of the problems are strongly influenced by media reporting and the publicity given to the views of various interest groups. Official statistics are also fallible in that they are influenced by changes in policing policies and the readiness of people to report crimes. In the Coventry study, however, we were provided by the police with unusually detailed statistics concerning alcohol-related crime and disorder in the city centre. These figures covered the period 1986 to 1989, six-month samples being obtained from each year. The data for 1986 were obtained retrospectively from occurrence logs.

The difficulties in determining drink-relatedness are acknowledged in these police reports and the limits of the methodologies employed are recognised.

"One thing is for sure, the true relationship between alcohol and crime is too complex to be fully comprehended using these methods. In order to do this it would be necessary to interview every offender and examine their motives for committing each offence."

The methods of determining whether a crime was drink-related or not are given as:

1   The incident was one of drunkenness, or

2   The incident took place in or immediately outside or could otherwise be positively linked with any licensed premises, or

3   Where applicable, the offender or complainant was under the influence of alcohol, or

4   The circumstances surrounding the incident in any other way inferred the effects of alcohol.

In the 1986 retrospective study a further criterion was included. All arrests for offenses of disorder committed between the hours of 11.00 pm and 3.00 am were defined as drink-related. This was clearly a very crude way of assessing the role which alcohol might have played in the commission of crimes and appears to have been dropped in the subsequent studies.

There are, however, some problems with the four main criteria. Leaving aside criterion 1, where the consumption of alcohol is, by definition, causally related to the crime, the nature of the link between drinking and the offence is unclear. In criterion 3 the level of inebriation of the complainant is used to establish the crime as drink-related even though the offender might not have been drinking. Thus, we must assume, if a person walks out of a pub and is 'mugged' by a person who is a total abstainer, that crime would be included as drink-related. Even in criteria 2 and 4 there is the possibility that the consumption of alcohol might have been quite coincidental and unrelated to the motives and manner of execution of the crime.

The limitations of classification, despite the caveats contained in the reports, must lead us to be cautious in interpreting the data and assessing the true scale of drink-related crimes until more detailed evidence is available. We can, however, assume that even though the data are flawed, they are fairly consistent over the period 1987 to 1989. Examining changes over this

period gives some insight into the effects of various initiatives and policy implementation.

Our principal interest in these data is with disorder, the extent to which it is influenced by alcohol and with the effects of certain changes, such as the introduction of the bye-law. The West Midlands Police reports stress that in the period June to December 1989 the proportion of disorder arrests which were deemed to be drink-related had fallen significantly compared with the same period in the previous year: 87.4% in 1988 to 58.19% in 1989. The 1989 period had, in fact, the lowest proportion of drink-related disorder offenses of all the four study periods. (See table in Appendix A)

This finding has been taken as an indication of the success of the bye-law and of policing policies which have followed in its wake. While we do not wish to belittle the achievements of the bye-law or policing strategies we have to make the point that the figures can be interpreted in a rather different way. If we look at the figures for disorder arrests **generally**, irrespective of their categorisation as drink-related or not, we find a steady rise from 1986 to 1989. These data are summarised in Appendix A.

The difference between the proportions of disorder offenses deemed drink-related in 1988 and 1989 is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 33.87$, $p < .00001$) Thus, while disorder increased, the role played by drinking appears to have diminished.

These data must call into question the assumed causal connection between alcohol and disorder. If an effect increases while an assumed cause decreases there is no option but to reconsider the attribution of causality. Put more simply, one might reasonably conclude that people will commit acts of disorder whether they have been drinking or not. While the regulations may reduce the incidence of drinking in the street, and subsequently the classification of an offence as drink-related, they do little or nothing to inhibit disorderly behaviour.

We are aware that this might not be a popular conclusion to draw. There has been some suggestion that although there has been a measured increase in disorder in Coventry as a whole, the increase in M1 sub-division, where the bye-law applies, is smaller than that in other sub-divisions. We do not, however, have a breakdown of the disorder offenses to confirm this. The figures for woundings and assaults certainly show a smaller rise in M1, compared with other sub-divisions, between 1989 and 1990, as shown in Fig 5.1. The difference between M1 and the other two sub-divisions is,

however, statistically insignificant ($\chi^2 = .17$, p < .68). In other words, there is a 68% probability that the differences are due to chance fluctuations. We can, therefore, draw no conclusions from these data.

Fig 5.1. Woundings and assaults

	1989	**1990**	**% Increase**
M1	150	155	3.33%
M2	140	154	10.00%
M3	95	104	9.47%

We are surprised that simplistic assertions in the media that the bye-law has resulted in a 26% decrease in crime in Coventry have not only gone unchallenged but have actually been supported by, for example, the Chamber of Commerce and others, when available data quite clearly show an *increase* in both crime and disorder following the introduction of the bye-law. Even if the claim were only that drink-related crime and disorder had been reduced, which is not evident in press reporting, such claims would be disingenuous in the absence of a statement to the effect that crime and disorder, as a whole, had increased.

Our conclusions here have recently been supported by research conducted by The Home Office:[2]

> *The police statistics for recorded crimes in the city centre ... showed that key categories - assaults, robberies/thefts from the person and criminal damage - seem not to have been affected by the introduction of the byelaw.*

Other data supplied to us were summary records of woundings in the city centre in 1989 and 1990. These enabled us to obtain an overview not only of the frequency of such crimes but also of the nature of the crimes and the participants involved. The data show that, on average, about four

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2   Ramsay,M. *Lagerland Lost? An experiment in keeping drinkers off the streets in central Coventry and elsewhere*. Home Office Crime Prevention Unit Paper 22, 1991

woundings are reported or detected in the city centre each weekend. These figures are consistent with the levels in our other research sites. There is no evidence to indicate that Coventry has either higher or lower levels of this type of violence than other city and town centres.

The most disturbing feature of these reports, however, is the fact that around 10% of all the woundings are allegedly committed by doormen and security staff in, or immediately outside, various pubs and night-clubs in the city centre. While it seems clear that in some cases the doormen acted in self-defence, there are many occasions where they appear to have instigated the violence.

Doormen

The issue of doormen and security staff was raised frequently by the users who were interviewed. There were many reports of violence inflicted by doormen on allegedly innocent people attempting to gain admission to pubs or night clubs. While many of these reports may have been a little embellished, the sheer frequency of accounts indicates that there is a significant problem.

We have noted above that 10% of all the woundings occurring in the city centre are allegedly committed by doormen or involve the active participation of door staff. Research in other towns and cities suggests that this is a fairly typical, but still worrying, level.

The managers of the night clubs, and their security staff, were at pains to emphasise their professional and non-aggressive approach to door control:

> *We try to stop all the trouble at the door. Fighting is not our method of making people leave. We like the doormen to walk them to the door, open the door and escort them out. The doormen then walk away from the door in order not to antagonise the person who has been thrown out. ... If any door staff are reported to do anything wrong they are sacked immediately. One was caught on the video camera recently giving someone a push out of the door. He was sacked. The videos capture incidents and protect staff from unjustified allegations. We maintain the highest possible standards.*

In contrast to this view most users (85% of those who discussed the issue) felt that many door staff were exceptionally brutal in dealing with 'difficult' customers and that management turned a blind eye to much of the violence that they dished out. The presence of video cameras was felt to be an ineffective deterrent:

> *The video cameras are in the wrong position to show the doormen taking people out of the back door and kicking shit out of them.*

The P__ P__ was singled out by the majority of users (all of those who discussed the issue) for special criticism:

> *Most doormen do their job quite well, except in the P__ P__ where they are too heavy handed. The doormen there are different to the others. They tend to leap in with violence without assessing the situation.*

> *They have got an ego problem there and they try to assert their authority by laying into people. They always pick on people much smaller than them to ensure that they are never beaten.*

A young man with a bruised and cut face and a set of fingers which were black and swollen to twice their normal size commented:

> *I won't go to the P__ P__. OK, I was drunk and deserved to be thrown out, but I wasn't being violent or anything - I just couldn't stand up very well. I was sick on the steps and it went over the bouncer's shoe. I just couldn't help it. He banged me all around the face and then just dislocated three of my fingers by bending them backwards.*

Many of the users (80%) felt that only a small fraction of the violence involving doormen was reported to the police. There was a general philosophy that most people deserved the treatment they got. In addition, it was felt that the police would be unlikely to believe the complainant because the doormen would collude and act as each other's witnesses.

We will be making suggestions in Section 7 of this report for more effective control of door and security staff.

Underage drinkers

Our researchers reported that a number of pubs in the city centre catered for people who were manifestly under the age of 18. Some of the users who were interviewed (5%) were aged 17 or less and freely admitted that they had never experienced being refused service in most pubs.

> *I never have a problem getting served. All those people over there - none of them are 18. They are friends of mine. I reckon that 70% of the people in here are underage.*

> *90% of the people in the P__ P__ and P__ L__ are underage. I know because I am as well.*

Although these estimates of the proportion of under-age drinkers are undoubtedly too high, the number of such drinkers in Coventry is higher than we have observed in other towns and cities. These young people are often seen as instigating, directly or indirectly, some types of disorderly behaviour.

> *The under-age drinkers get stupid when they've had a couple of pints.*

> *The trouble in the T__ S__ is caused by underage drinkers.*

> *The under-age people have a few drinks, think that they are hard, get a bit mouthy and that's when the trouble starts.*

New initiatives, such as the Portman Group's proof of age card scheme, may help to control the level of underage drinking. There needs to be, however, a positive desire on the part of pub licensees to tackle the problem.

Perceptions of the police

The officials' view

The officials and providers of services in the city centre had quite varying comments to make regarding the levels and style of policing in this area. Some thought there was a lack of community policing and officers on patrol. Others thought that existing levels of policing acted as a sufficient deterrent while a few viewed the levels as too high and potentially provocative. Most, however, were united in their view that the police were overworked and understaffed but were actively engaged in improving Coventry's reputation and image.

The managers' view

There was a general feeling among pub managers (75%) that the police visited their premises too rarely. They commented that there was a time when beat patrols would regularly come into the pubs on weekend evenings. Their presence was felt to act as a deterrent to unruly behaviour and also indicated a close and positive relationship between landlords and the police:

> *As pub landlords we welcomed the police coming into the pubs - just to have a look and say "Good evening" and show that they were around and knew what was going on. This has tailed off recently so we don't see them, which I think is a pity.*

Some managers (45%) commented that the police tended to stay in their vans, rather than walking the streets, and saw this as generally ineffective in preventing disorder in its early stages.

In general, however, the police were seen as sympathetic, cooperative and supportive - a consensus view which we have rarely encountered in other research sites. The pub managers also commented on the generally swift response from the police in times of emergency.

Managers of the night clubs similarly saw the police as having a lower profile in the city centre than was the case six months ago. There was also some suggestion of tension between the police and door staff:

> *They see the door staff as a threat and harass them to assert their authority.*

This view, however, should be seen in the context of earlier comments in this section regarding the activities of door staff.

The users' view

There were surprisingly few negative comments (20%) regarding the police voiced by the users who were interviewed. Compared with other research sites the Coventry police attract much less criticism. Many of the criticisms that were made were of a constructive nature rather than wholesale condemnation:

> *Generally they do a good job.*

> *The police have a hard job to do and they are blamed for trouble which is not always their fault.*

In line with the views of the officials, the users were divided in their perceptions of policing levels and visibility:

> *The police remain too much in the background, you never see them.*

> *They are too much high-profile at weekends.*

Echoing the views of some pub managers, a number of users (60%) thought that the use of vans was a mistake:

> *They just sit in the van at the top of the Burges. It's like they are waiting for something to happen. But they are in the wrong place - they are not where the trouble is happening.*

Underage drinking was again mentioned in this context. It was felt that because the police no longer seem to visit the pubs in the evenings they have no real idea about the number of youngsters who are drinking there.

Night-club users said that they very rarely saw the police in or around the clubs. They felt that a stronger police presence here might inhibit the alleged violent tendencies of some doormen.

Only a small minority of users (15%) thought that the police were heavy handed in dealing with offenders. They thought that there were individual officers who were overly aggressive and overtly violent in their attempts to prevent disorder.

The police view

The police officers who were interviewed provided an additional perspective on policing policies and difficulties. Most officers thought that there was only a small amount of localised hostility towards them in the pubs in the city centre:

> *The city-centre pubs are quite easy to go into. The licensees like to see the police in their pubs. But there is an element of anti-police attitudes in some pubs. Some customers do not welcome us. There is always going to be some antagonism to authority from people who are having fun.*

One officer commented that individual officers varied in their reaction to hostility from pub customers:

> *The cut-off point for abuse from the public depends on the individual officer. Some will take anything. Others are more volatile and cannot take much at all.*

The use of vans and cars was seen as ineffective by some officers:

> *On Friday and Saturday nights vans with ten men in them are not what is needed. It is best to get them out of the city centre by 10.30pm at the latest with one somewhere in reserve to deal with big fights.*

The high profile which the vans can indicate was also seen as being potentially dangerous by some officers:

> *The police can cause more problems by being high profile. It stirs the crowd who may turn on them. But if they do not stop incidents somebody may get injured and the police will be attacked for not being there in force.*

Other officers, however, thought that the vans were essential to ensure adequate control:

> *An extended shift and vans are necessary to make the police presence known in the city centre at weekends.*

Our own observations support the general views expressed by users and officials and also some of the criticisms. On Friday and Saturday evenings we saw very few officers except at pub closing time and later when the night clubs closed. While we did not feel that the presence of the van at the top of the Burges at these times was provocative, we did not see it as being particularly helpful either. We felt that the police inside the van might be better employed, pro-actively, in the street. We are aware that this might conflict with the need for a quick-response unit, but it may be possible to achieve a more even balance between the competing needs for such a unit and for active policing and monitoring of late-night activity.

Given the generally positive attitudes towards the police it does not seem unreasonable to suggest responses to the constructive criticisms and suggestions which have been made by all of the groups. These are included in our recommendations in Section 7.

Effects of the bye-law

The officials' view

There was a general consensus among the officials (90%) that the bye-law had radically changed the general perception of the city centre:

> *It has improved the public's view of the city and has made it a more attractive place. People's fears have been substantially reduced.*

> *It has removed the alcoholics from the public view.*

> *It has taken away all the kids who used to hang around the streets drinking.*

> *It has been, without reservation, effective in what it set out to do.*

> *People have shown respect for the bye-law by not drinking in the streets.*

> *It is a real asset to us.*

> *Although we cannot prove this, I believe that it is responsible for a decrease in violence.*

A number of the officials (45%), however, thought that too many claims had been made for the bye-law:

> *It might have reduced the problem of fighting in the shopping centre, but this was never really a problem.*

> *It has been defeated by the all-day drinking laws. They can still have a skin-full and wander around the town.*

> *The bye-law has not had much impact on the reduction of crime, especially at night. You have to consider factors other than alcohol.*

The managers' view

Pub managers were divided in their opinions on the bye-law:

> *Problems of disorder have diminished.*

> *It has not really solved the problems of disorder.*

> *There never really was a problem with people drinking on a Saturday afternoon.*

> *We no longer get bottles and glasses thrown at the door.*

> *Improved policing has been much more effective than the bye-law.*

Managers generally felt that the bye-law had improved Coventry's image but felt that actual changes, in terms of behaviour etc, were much smaller than most people imagined.

> *The alcoholics have been removed from the streets, but they were only just an eye-sore - they didn't actually cause much trouble. Now they just drink somewhere else.*

The users' view

The opinions of the users were mixed but the most common consensus (60%) was that the bye-law had achieved little more than good PR for Coventry.

> *Yes, it's a good idea, but I haven't noticed much difference in the city centre.*

> *It may have improved the image for the tourists.*

> *You never used to get gangs of lads drinking and causing trouble in the city centre anyway.*

Some users commented on the lack of enforcement of the bye-law:

> *It's easy - people still drink on the streets. They can only warn you first time, and then you get warned again. If I want to drink I do, and nobody has said anything to me.*

Perceptions of the city centre

The officials' view

Much has been written about the city centre of Coventry and the problems it has experienced. Various commentators have emphasised its negative aspects and pointed to its allegedly disproportionate levels of crime and disorder. This perspective was also apparent among 70% of the officials whom we interviewed:

> *Coventry is a dead, open territory. It is soulless, bleak and empty.*

> *Coventry is not seen as a nice place to come to. There is a certain fear of coming to the city centre. This was highlighted in a survey carried out two and a half years ago which showed that elderly people and families feared attack and felt insecure in the city centre.*

> *It is not the sort of place you would advocate coming to on a Friday or Saturday night. It is not a friendly city. Nobody is over 25 and it is full of young kids.*

> *There is no residence inside the ring road and nothing to attract the over-25 age range. There is a shortage of classy wine bars and decent restaurants and the parking is appalling.*

The officials offering these views felt that although some improvements had been made since the introduction of the bye-law, the fundamental problems still remained and the image of the city centre on Friday and Saturday nights had hardly altered.

Our own experiences of spending weekends in Coventry are certainly consistent with this general view. We found the lack of restaurants and 'up-market' bars, to which researchers could retreat for an hour or so, a distinct disadvantage. Only the D__ V__ hotel offered anything like an 'adult' atmosphere. Even here, however, the bar was generally full of young people on Friday and Saturday nights.

Perceptions of the Burges have generally associated the area with problems of disorder and violence.

The levels of disorder are high.

They have not increased over time but the nature of the incidents has got worse. They are more prone to use weapons now.

There is rarely a weekend without some sort of trouble on the Burges.

There is trouble in the Burges every night at weekends.

There is more senseless violence than before. There has been a shift in the nature of violence - more wanton and damaging. It's part of the society we live in.

Many officials (60%), however, attributed the problems not to drinking but to the lack of facilities and frustration experienced by users, particularly after pub closing time:

The problem is getting people out of the town centre. There are no late-night buses so people have to rely on taxis. People queuing for taxis get more and more frustrated and annoyed, which builds up to violence. The Burges can become a battle ground.

The density of fast-food outlets was also seen by some (40%) as contributing to the problems:

The main problem with the Burges is the chip shops - everyone crowds around them. If it was not for them many people might go home earlier.

The taxi ranks and the fast-food outlets are in the wrong place.

Reputation

Coventry's reputation was thought by all the officials to be negative. This is not particularly surprising given the amount of media coverage and discussion:

People do not want to come to Coventry because of its reputation, unless they are coming for a fight.

The younger element may try to live up to the reputation that Coventry has been branded with. The press saying Coventry is this, that and the other does not help the situation.

Many officials felt that the reputation which had been generated was inaccurate and attributed much of the blame to the media, and the local press in particular:

> *The local newspaper is not the best for reporting the facts. It is not a popular paper - it is sensationalist, unbelievably negative. It never focuses on good things. It gives the impression that Coventry is a violent city that nobody would want to come to.*
>
> *The trouble is blown out of all proportion. Coventry has a reputation for trouble, but there really isn't very much.*
>
> *Coventry's reputation is much worse than the reality.*

We have examined a selection of reports and news items from the last three years' editions of the Coventry Evening Telegraph. Our general impression is that the style of reporting and the headlining of particular issues are not markedly different from those found in local papers in other regions. There has been a consistent and marked concern with law-and-order issues, and with drinking and crime in particular. There is also frequent use of emotive labels such as 'yobbos' and 'lager louts'. In the more recent editions, however, there has been strong support for the bye-law and the Coventry projects. Compare, for example, 'Violence crackdown makes streets safer' (16 Nov 1989) with 'Late-night yobs who make our lives hell' (24 May 1988).

There has been, it would seem, a strained relationship between officials, the police in particular, and the editor and journalists of the Coventry Evening Telegraph. While officials perceive the Telegraph as having distorted reality by presenting a sensationalist view of Coventry's problems, at least one journalist on the Telegraph perceives the police as having been unnecessarily secretive and uncooperative. This state of affairs, however, is by no means unique to Coventry.

Perceived causes of disorder

Many of the 'officials' who were interviewed were able to provide examples of disorder in the city centre. In most cases, however, their experiences were second-hand. The beat police officers were more able to provide first-hand accounts, eg:

> *At 11.30pm a group emerged from The D___. Two lads were walking the other way. Comments were made and the group set about the two lads. They picked one of them up and threw him through a window, dragged him out again and kicked him.*

At 2.00am one person did not want to be arrested. A crowd gathered round, chanting and trying to get the officers off. All Hell was let loose. Coins were thrown at the police.

The managers and manageresses of the pubs in the city centre were also able to provide a number of accounts of disorderly and violent behaviour. These generally related to disturbances and fights between individuals, rather than groups:

There were three incidents one weekend. In the P__ P__ someone got their nose bitten off. Someone was glassed in B__ and someone was knifed in the P__ L__. But these incidents are isolated considering the number of people.

This view of the relative rarity of violence and disorder was echoed by all of the other managers. The general consensus among those who had run pubs in other areas was that Coventry's problems were no greater than those found elsewhere.

Our impression, having looked carefully at managers' reports, is in accord with this consensus view. In terms of violence and disorder inside the pubs, the frequencies and levels are consistent with those found in previous research which has covered a variety of areas from Plymouth to Newcastle.

The 'users' were able to provide countless first- and second-hand experiences of disorder and violence both inside pubs and clubs and in the surrounding areas. The 'nose-biting' incident in the P__ P__ was recounted by many. More relevant to our interests, however, were the perceived causes of the incidents.

Many users (45%) referred to the problems caused by underage drinkers. These were thought to antagonise other drinkers because of their immaturity, and to create problems for older (up to 25 years) people to sort out. It was generally felt that after the age of 25 most young men calmed down and became less actively involved in fighting.

The role of alcohol was mentioned by a number of users in this context, but there was by no means a general consensus that drinking and fighting were necessarily related.:

It's not just the drink - it's the kind of person you are before you start drinking.

Alcohol is not the cause of violence, but it accentuates your mood and may bring out the problems.

> *Drinking makes you less concerned about the consequences.*

> *Personally, drinking makes me sleepy, happy and maybe a bit silly, but not violent.*

Others thought that drugs were more significantly related to violence than alcohol:

> *It's not alcohol that's the real problem, it's when you have drugs as well that you get the real violence.*

The lack of resources for young people in the city centre was raised by a majority of users (60%):

> *The city centre has a large number of pubs for such a small area, but not much else. It's a cold atmosphere - it's difficult to talk to people or approach them in pubs. They have the centre to themselves - no families.*

In the context of this rather sterile environment, fighting was seen as a way of generating a little excitement:

> *It relieves the boredom, gives you a bit of a thrill. Having a fight is part of having a good night out.*

In comparing Coventry to other cities and towns, the officials provided diverging views:

> *Coventry is no different from any other city centre.*

> *Coventry is worse than other city centres - everything is so close. In other places the pubs are further apart.*

> *Coventry was a culture shock after Birmingham - lots of people drunk and shouting abuse and not wanting to go home.*

> *There is no problem arresting people in Birmingham - in Coventry they always want to fight you.*

> *The Evening Telegraph presents it as violent, but Leamington, Nuneaton, Warwick and Southam have their share of violence.*

> *It is hard to believe it is the most violent city in the West Midlands.*

> *Racial disharmony exists in other cities. It is not so bad in Coventry.*

Our research in other centres around the country enabled us to make some comparisons of our own, even though a certain level of subjectivity is inevitable. Coventry, it must be said, is very bleak, even when compared with Preston and Wakefield. Wakefield, in particular, has a similar concentration of pubs and night-clubs in an area known as the Westgate.

Here, however, the quality of the facilities is higher and a number of pubs on the edge of the Westgate cater for an older clientele.

Perhaps the most distinctive difference between Wakefield and Coventry is the proportion of females to males in the city centre at weekends. On Friday evenings, in particular, one regularly finds groups of young women in the pubs of Wakefield who feel quite safe without male company. In Coventry such groups are much less common, perhaps reflecting the fact that young women do not feel as secure on their own.

In both Wakefield and Preston there is a style of weekend drinking which differs quite markedly from that in the South or even in the Midlands. 'Circuit drinking' involves movement from pub to pub throughout the evening and walking in the streets between them. Groups may visit up to 9 or 10 pubs in this way, although 5 or 6 is more typical, and the activity in the streets is reminiscent of a Spanish *paseo*.

In Coventry, the groups with whom we established contact rarely go to more than two pubs in an evening, although some subsequently visit one of the night clubs. This more static style results in fairly quiet streets until closing time. This difference, in turn, has implications for the deployment of police at weekends.

Comparing Coventry with Banbury is not really legitimate since the two differ in so many ways. A comparison with Oxford is similarly difficult because of the generally more cosmopolitan image of the latter. Nonetheless, the city centre of Oxford provides facilities at weekends for a population which is very similar to that found in Coventry and the concentration of pubs and night-clubs in the centre of Oxford presents problems similar to those in the Burges. A reduction of such problems, however, has been achieved using strategies which differ in many respects from those employed in Coventry. We discuss these differences later in this Section.

The 'users' view

The users of the city centre on weekend evenings were all very much aware of Coventry's negative image. The majority (75%), however, were generally unconcerned about the potential for disorder and violence and few felt that they were at risk. A number (55%) also expressed the opinion that disorder and violence were things of the past and that new measures had largely curbed the problems:

> *There is never any trouble in the Burges now because of the police presence.*

> *There's never much trouble these days. There never was really. It got blown up out of all proportion.*

The young people we talked to in Coventry expressed views very similar to those in the other centres of our research. They commented on the lack of facilities in their own neighbourhoods and saw the city centre as providing a bit of late-night excitement to compensate for otherwise quite dull weekday lives. The quality of the services provided was not a significant issue. For them, crowded pubs, lots of drinking and group activity were sufficient attraction. The night-clubs provided a simple extension of drinking time, rather than an opportunity for a meal or dancing. For some (10%), evenings in the Burges also provided an arena for aggressive displays and the pursuit of tough reputations. Many of the young males clearly welcomed the 'hard' image of some of the pubs and clubs and saw the potential for violence as a positive benefit:

> *It doesn't worry me. If someone wants to start a fight - that's fine. I don't look for trouble, but I don't mind finishing it.*

The majority of users had clear ideas about the characteristics of the pubs and clubs in the city centre and planned their activities accordingly. Although some places were known as potentially violent, this did not deter people from using them if they wanted to meet people there or simply wanted a change from their usual venues.

Comparison with Oxford

It seems appropriate in this context to make a comparison between Coventry and Oxford. Oxford relies very heavily on the tourist trade and Coventry is keen to develop such trade. Oxford has, for a long time, 'suffered' from the problem of street drinkers due, principally, to the large number of charities and organisations which cater for 'down and outs' in the city. A very different policing philosophy towards these problems has, however, prevailed in Oxford. This can be gleaned from the tone of recent reports by the police to the Licensing Justices. The following is an extract from the February 1990 report:

... in the area served by the City Centre sub-division, in 1989, 774 people were arrested for being drunk and incapable or drunk and disorderly, a 29.5% reduction in the number of arrests compared with 1988. However I would not like that reduction to be regarded in any sense as an indication that the problem of public drunkenness is any less than it was; far from it. The evidence of our eyes tells us that we still have a sizeable population of sad and vulnerable people whose offence against our community is that they are addicted to alcohol and their addiction makes them behave in ways which we the majority find to be unacceptable.

The Police sadly can do nothing to ease their individual pain, but we can show compassion by offering shelter and care, thankfully in new and improved cell accommodation when absolutely essential ... The decline in the number of arrests, therefore, ought to be seen in the context of changes in Police response to street drinkers and perhaps to the positive reaction of some people to advice given to them by the Police and others.

In addition to what many would see as an unusually liberal view, the Oxford police have pursued a simple strategy to decrease the problem of on-street drinking. Officers have regularly examined the litter bins near where street-drinkers have been observed in order to determine from where the drink has been purchased. Subsequently 'advice' has been given to the managers of off-licenses concerning the wisdom of selling alcohol to known street-drinkers. Many of these off-licenses in the city now carry notices saying that street-drinkers will not be served and our own observations show that this rule is put into practice. The result of this strategy has been remarkably similar to that of the Coventry bye-law. Many of the vagrants and other street-drinkers are now to be found just outside of the city centre in places where they are unlikely to pose a threat to tourists or shoppers and where they can buy drink from small grocery shops.

The reduction in crimes of drunkenness reported by the Licensing Chief Superintendent are certainly significant. It is also the case that arrests for disorder (damage, assault and public order offenses) fell by 16.8% between 1988 and 1989 at a time when many other cities, including Coventry, experienced an increase. The proportion of the Oxford arrests deemed to be drink related, however, remained virtually constant between 1988 and 1989 (around 77% of Public Order Offenses and around 20% of all disorder arrests).

If we compare these and other figures from Oxford with those discussed earlier in this section, we find an interesting contrast which, despite the fact

that it may be unwelcome, we feel we must make. In Coventry, where the proportion of drink-related disorder offenses has fallen, the levels of disorder generally have risen. In Oxford, where the proportion of drink-related disorder offenses has remained stable, the level of disorder offenses generally has fallen quite dramatically - from 1356 in 1988 to 559 in 1989. Taking Public Order offenses as a separate category we find a similar, though slightly less dramatic, decrease in Oxford from 364 in 1988 to 228 in 1989.

We are obliged, therefore, to conclude, that reducing the number of drink-related disorder offences does not necessarily lead to a reduction in the total number of crimes of disorder. Ironically, the suggestion is that it might have the opposite effect. In the absence of other data, however, we would not wish to pursue this controversial argument further. We can, however, say, in line with the view of Malcolm Ramsay, who conducted the Home Office study referred to earlier, that there is no evidence to show that the bye-law has had any effect on levels of disorder, or on other categories of violent crime in Coventry.

Oxford

Levels and perceptions

Despite the largely favourable comparison with Coventry, Oxford has also suffered from a violent reputation. Although levels of disorder in Oxford are no higher than in other towns of comparable size and population, any incidents which do occur are at odds with the architecture - a contrast which the media, understandably, find irresistible. A typical example of this factor was provided in September 1991, when the antics of a handful of 'joyriders' in Oxford received at least as much national coverage as the full-scale riots in a deprived area of Newcastle. Although the Oxford incidents actually took place on council estates at some distance from the city centre, "Dreaming Spires and Screaming Tyres" does make a good headline.

The perceptions of those we interviewed, including police officers, probation officers, ordinary 'punters' and active participants in disorder were that most of the problems in Oxford consisted of fairly minor scuffles and scraps between individuals. "That's been going on for years" was a frequent comment. The following extract from our researchers' report

indicates the typical response to our questions about levels and types of disorder:

> *When the subject of semi-riots and group disorder was raised, one lad (the older of the two) related his interpretation of a so-called 'mob versus the police' riot that had happened in Oxford about 15-18 months ago. He said he witnessed 2 or 3 lads scuffling outside one of the fast food outlets after closing time on a Friday night. He said that as a result and like all incidents like that, a group of other people began to gather to watch the event so there was now maybe 20 to 30 people about.*
>
> *The next development was that the police arrived in large numbers and with lights and sirens going which attracted more and more people to the scene. At this stage, because the police were going in quite hard, a few other people had become involved but the vast majority were simply onlookers - some of whom might well have been jeering and egging others on. At the end a few were arrested and the crowd dispersed but the next day he could not believe how the event was reported in the local paper and thought about phoning them up to say how they had blown the whole thing out of proportion.*

The 'Squad'

Having said that, the fieldwork in Oxford did uncover perhaps the more serious side of the 'lager lout' phenomenon. A group identified by the police, known as the 'Squad', were alleged to be responsible for a very high percentage of violent incidents in the town centre. The suggestion was that this group was very well organised, in an almost military style, and that they presented a real threat to the safety of the town-centre drinking population. Having met the 'generals' of this group, whose ages ranged from 20 to 25+, much of the police interpretation of the group's activities was confirmed. The members we talked to emphasised that the group really didn't exist any more and that, although they were considered 'senior' members (despite their stated ages), their activities - which at one time had a strong association with football - had more or less ceased.

> *Some people think we are some kind of organisation or something, it's nothing like that. There's no official membership or anything. We've got loads of blame for things we haven't done. You read in the paper about an incident and it mentions The Squad and then you realise that none of the boys were there.*

Some of their comments about past activities, however, confirmed that they had ruled the town-centre roost for a few years. They had a fairly specific focus for their activities and a 'headquarters' in one of the town-centre pubs. The main 'targets' would usually be rival football fans or any group of strangers or lesser rival gang who might wish to attempt to take over their headquarters. Some of the consequent clashes resulted in confrontations spilling out into the streets of Oxford and, on occasions, running battles with the police - although these events were the exception rather than the rule.

> *We just came out of the pubs and beat up people for no reason, but that doesn't happen any more. We've all calmed down ... everyone's older and wiser. We don't go looking for it now like we used to, unless it comes to the pub. We used to go to different pubs and meet up, up the Cowley Road somewhere, so the police wouldn't know where you were. There was a couple of hundred sometimes. But at that time, everyone was getting arrested and charged, but nobody knew what was at the end of it, everyone thought there'd be a fine. But then people got sent down.*

When asked to explain the lager lout phenomenon in general, this group's views were no different to many of the others with whom we talked in other parts of the country. They saw the odd scrap on a Friday and Saturday night as insignificant and normal. They believed that reports of high levels of violence on the streets were exaggerated.

> *There's nothing happening at the moment really ... it's got a lot better in the last year. People always think it's worse than it really is. They think when there's trouble of (that one word everyone's quite embarrassed with now) the Squad.*

On the other hand, the senior members of the group all held previous convictions for offenses of violence ranging from ABH to GBH and assault on a Police officer which confirmed their involvement in some quite serious disorder, indeed in a sense this was how many of them had gained 'senior' status. A reputation as a 'fighter' certainly appeared to bring significant rewards:

> *But you look at it. Half the blokes who get in there are fucking ugly ... and **** is ugly and he's pulled a load of birds just because of who he is and what he does. There's a load of birds hanging around because of what we do. They're like groupies really ...*

Following several evenings with the group, our researchers also reported that:

The group on occasions was surrounded by a younger entourage (aged 16-19) whom they referred to as 'Giddy Boys'. They were viewed as "learning the trade" and therefore necessary as replacements for seniors who would sooner or later settle down and curtail their involvement. They were also seen as dangerous in that they were not experienced in handling police questions and therefore might give away important information regarding various activities of members and so on.

The senior members also felt that 'Giddy Boys' were at least partly to blame for the group's 'lager lout' image:

People think the lager louts go out, get beered up and start on some innocent people, but we don't do that. We just enjoy drink and it does give you a bit of a buzz and gets the adrenalin going. There are the giddy boys who when they get drunk, don't know what they're doing.

During our interviews and discussion sessions with members of the group, we obtained many detailed accounts of incidents in which they had been involved. The following is a representative example:

I was in the N__ I__ and some guys who had been involved in a fight some 5 or 10 minutes earlier, but who had avoided being thrown out (I think these guys caused the problem but the innocent pair got thrown out). They got involved in a conversation about football and their main point was how they had caught some Millwall fans and they had beaten shit out of them. I was stood listening very passively and I was steamed out of my brains because I'd been drinking all night and it was now about 2.00am.

They asked me if I ever went up to the Oxford games and I told them that I didn't. I was in the state of mind then for some reason that I told them that those people who went to football matches were a bunch of fucking wankers. There was 2 of them and I thought what a pair of bloody idiots although up till then I had just been listening to them and as far as they thought it was a friendly conversation.

I knew the consequences of my comment, that I would probably get my head kicked in or I'd kick one of their heads in. One of them was working behind the bar and one was this side of the counter and one of them said he was going to take me outside and kick my head in (that was the one behind the bar).

The one on my side of the bar said "no it's OK, I'll look after this" and he started calling me all the names under the sun.

So there came a point where I very cooly and calmly took my jacket off and gave it to him and offered the bloke outside. We went outside and he was a bit shocked by my reaction and he said to me 'I've been done for fighting in the street loads of times and I don't want to get caught so let's go over there by the school.' So he climbed over the fence and as I was climbing over the fence he grabbed me by the hair, pulled me down, smacked me and broke one of my teeth.

Then I completely snapped and it's not the sort of thing I would do if I was sober but I was drunk. I could walk towards him and have him punch me in the face 6 or 7 times and I was telling hit me again, hit me again, and I was telling him all the time as I went towards him that I was going to kill him, and that I was going to rip his head off and all the things you say. He broke my tooth and fractured my nose I think because it really hurt for a long time afterwards and eventually I grabbed hold of him, pulled him down on the ground, pinned his shoulders down calmly and just pummelled the hell out of him.

I was in a blind rage and I went to the flower bed and grabbed handfuls of dirt and stuffed it down his throat until he was sick. I just left him lying there, went back to the pub, got a lot of hassle from the bouncers who didn't want to let me back in but they let me in to get my jacket. I had to go in and I went up to the barman and I said I would wait for him if he wanted and told him his mate was lying in a flower bed across the road. I was really angry and hard and when I left I thought well I'm just going to go home anyway.

I got about two hundred yards up the road and I was sick and I don't know whether that was the beer or fear or what but I felt some remorse and I almost wanted to go back and try and help the guy or do something for him but I decided better of it and went home. I assume that the rage was there just through drinking but it was also about being really sick of people, not being able to go out and have that sort of trouble with them.

While any research report on an issue such as street violence will contain comments about real-life incidents, we would not wish to fuel the sensationalist streets running with blood reporting, and must point out that a great deal of research time was spent in searching for people who had, would or could become involved in such activity: they are very hard to find! The vast majority of the other 'punters' we talked to in Oxford had no police records, nor associations with such an organised group. Some may have been involved in the odd fracas, or perhaps witnessed one or two, but these were seen as isolated incidents and in no way did they feel that the streets of

Oxford on a Friday and Saturday night were unsafe or intimidating. They saw Oxford as being as unexceptional in these terms as any other town centres that they might have visited.

The role of alcohol

The members of the 'Squad' - whom the press and public would certainly view as 'Lager Louts' - clearly saw alcohol as a primary factor in their own aggressive behaviour, and their explanations provide some insight into the nature of the relationship between drinking and disorder.

Many referred, in vague terms, to the 'disinhibiting' effect of alcohol, although this did not always have negative connotations:

> *It lessens your inhibitions but I don't know whether it brings out a different side of you. It's like if you saw a nice looking girl across the pub, I think I would find it easier to chat her up if I had had a couple of pints first. If I was stone cold sober, after a couple of sentences to her I'd be lost for words and wouldn't know what to do.*

> *But as far as drinking goes it just brings out some of my inhibitions. Things I believe in but you haven't got the guts to stand up for. Someone goes out, gets drunk and then inflicts pain on other people, I don't understand them and they need to see a psychologist or something. Why they do it I don't know.*

Some emphasised the more specific effects on cognitive, perceptual or linguistic ability:

> *I only ever got into fights when I had been drinking. I'd walk into a pub with some friends and you get somebody who wants to inflict trouble on other people in the pub. If I was sober and stood at the bar when those sort of people came in, I'd walk away from it or if confronted I would talk my way out of it. But if I was drunk I would have a go and I really hated bullies and that type. Sometimes I would get involved even if it didn't involve me.*

> *I think when I see things going on in a pub " Why the fuck should I put up with this?" but I think that when I'm sober but I won't do anything about it, unless someone came and hit me.*

> *No one would think twice; you just grab something ... glasses, stools. If you were sober, you'd think twice about picking a glass up. You'd stool them if you were sober.*

While others felt that drinking reduced their tolerance of frustration:

> *I wouldn't have had the same situation if I hadn't been drunk. There was a lot of people very wound up in the taxi queue.*

> *A lot of trouble starts in some where like the C___ because the place used to be overcrowded and the other thing was that there were only a few women and that caused a lot of frustrations in the men and then you just drink and then it would go off usually at a table where a woman was sat.*

The influence of the 'cultural expectation' that drinking leads to aggression was clear throughout our conversations with the 'Squad':

> *When I was 18/19 and used to drink in the town centre there used to be the odd incident of trouble. From the age 17 to 21 I was involved in it and I went through the stage of going down town, getting drunk, getting into fights and things like that.*

> *I've known a couple of people who are violent whether they drink or not but most of the scraps you see are in pubs, you don't see many on the street. There are those with violent tendencies and when they are drunk they are more ready to go into a fight.*

> *You can't do anything to stop it. If it's going to go off, it's going to go off. You've got to wait for people to change. Blokes are going to be boisterous; it'll never ever stop.*

But along with the pursuit of status and personal identity, the most powerful motivation for disorder and fighting was, simply, excitement - "a good crack":

> *I used to come home from work and was so excited, I used to tremble when I was getting ready. It was great. You couldn't wait to get back together the following afternoon to talk about what had gone on. You had Friday night, then football Saturday afternoon and then Saturday night.*

> *You went out to be classy ... you want to look good at what you're doing ...*

> *As far as we're concerned, we keep the pub running, we put the money in the till and we don't want anybody else coming in ... they're taking up our bar space and we don't want that and we don't like the fact that they've done that and that's when all the fights happen.*

The 'Squad's' perception of the role of alcohol was summarised with almost Shakespearean grandeur by a senior member:

> *If a mob of boys came into the pub and we were stone sober, we'd still do them. If a mob of boys came into the pub and we were drunk, it would still be done.*

Policing
The overall approach of the Oxford police to drink-related disorder has been covered in the section on Coventry, where both methods and results are compared. We therefore focus here on the views of the 'consumers' of police time and resources.

Although our 'lager lout' interviewees had some criticisms of the police, we have already pointed out in *Overview and Analysis* that their basic attitudes were surprisingly conventional. Criticisms focused on the occasional heavy-handedness, rather than any questioning of police authority.

> *I have been hassled by the police but if they weren't there things would be a lot worse. Your working-class person, maybe unemployed or no money who just drink it anyway are probably looking for someone to blame be it the police or a social worker or anybody. The police are the main target because they are out on the street in force. People will have a go because they are pissed off with their lives or something like that.*

> *I was swearing and the cops said that if I continued that they would arrest me, so I said 'Go on then arrest me' and they did. They banged me up until 5 o'clock in the morning and then made me walk home. I was later fined for disorderly conduct the sum of five pounds. I was drunk but I had been drinking all night. It was a fair cop, they were pretty reasonable about it really and I got what I deserved.*

> *I think they [Police/courts] have really clamped down in the last couple of years, handing out custodial sentences and I think everyone learnt by that. But I think they're still continuing the clampdown and everyone's learnt their lesson.*

> *The clampdown's been in the courts. With judges, the likes of their children are going to Oxford and they see it as their class being attacked and us causing the problem, so they hand out custodial sentences, sometimes over the top.*

The senior members appeared to take a keen interest in police tactics, commenting on the logic of certain methods in the condescending manner of superior strategists.

> *They get all friendly with you now. They used to use second names. It was always Mr. this and Mr. that and now it's always first names. One of their ploys was to try and get us against each other all the time ... divide and conquer ...*

One night down the 'set' we all came out at closing time and there were police horses and video cameras and vans waiting for us to come out, so straight away there's a barrier between you. It's not just your local bobby saying, "Go on lads, move along now". These horses weren't just trotting about, they were running up and down that road - stupid really.

It's not going to teach you a lesson, because when you're inside, you learn more things and it leads you into other directions, like thieving ... it breeds more in you, so it teaches you a lesson in other ways as well.

Preston

Preston seems to have suffered its worst problems in 1989 when three Saturday nights in succession resulted in major street battles, initially between two rival factions and obviously resulting in clashes with the police. This was a period when police fears of serious public order problems were heightened, and indeed when the reputation of the town centre as a violent place was established.

Levels and perceptions

Our experience of the town centre was a different one. The centre has two streets where the majority of the drinking 'circuit' pubs, clubs and late-night refreshment houses are to be found. There are a number of other pubs scattered around the centre. It attracts large numbers of young people in the 18- to 25-year-old age bracket at the weekends, particularly on Friday and Saturday nights, and although the streets are busy at these times the concentration does not seem as great as in our second Northern research site, Wakefield, simply because of the wider geographical spread of facilities.

Those 'punters' with whom we talked felt that, apart from the brief rioting period in 1989, Preston offered a reasonable night out, generally without the fear of becoming involved in disorderly behaviour. According to an experienced town-centre taxi driver, there are certain areas to avoid:

I would never go out with the wife down the Church Street end of town ... locals out for a drink know where to go in town for a drink without getting their face kicked in at the same time.

This was confirmed by most of the 'punters' we interviewed, who also told us that 'serious' disorder, as opposed to 'normal' scuffles and scraps, was infrequent, and largely associated with gang rivalry and football fans.

It is a tradition for most to save up during the week and to spend their money at the weekend on drink, food and entertainment. In this sense Preston is no different to any of our other research locations. Another taxi driver commented:

> *Preston is a nicer town than London where I used to work, but you get problems wherever you are.*

As we were keen to observe these problems at first hand, an invitation to accompany two police officers on their Friday evening tour of duty was therefore accepted with alacrity, but proved disappointing, as our researcher reports:

> *Being in a police car for the evening session enabled us at least to hear what was going on around town. Yet, during the whole night, only one incident came over the radio. This turned out to be one punch thrown at a 21st birthday party; the venue being a Social Club just on the outskirts of the city centre. When we arrived at the 'incident' there were 2 Police cars, a dog van, a White Maria and a few on foot. "I nearly started something myself, it's so bloody quiet." said a bored and somewhat petulant bobby.*

Another researcher provided this account of an evening in a town-centre pub:

> *Met R and P at Venue 2 on the Friday night. The town was very busy, mainly due to the fact that a multiple gypsy wedding took place during the day and attracted about 1,500 guests who were making a weekend of it. This extra influx of people to the town displaced many people from their regular haunts and resulted in many unknown faces frequenting the pubs - Venue 2 in particular.*

> *In the course of the two hours or so in the pub we witnessed a group of about 8 lads in the 18-20 age group dancing on the table in the corner of the pub, which resulted in the door staff being called to have them removed. This was done quietly and the group were allowed to finish their drinks and left without too much protest and certainly without any violence.*

The landlady challenged two lads about their age and became involved in a major argument in the pub, mainly due to her rather heavy-handed approach which publicly embarrassed the individuals. One of the lads claimed he came to the bar every week and that he was known to the doormen. As a result, the landlady and the lad went off to sort this out. Meanwhile the other lad was arguing with the landlord and was verbally abusing him and threatening violence. He was ushered to the door and ejected from the pub.

While we would not wish to minimise the problems faced by the police in town centres, it must be said that the above accounts are typical examples from our researchers' reports from Preston. One or two unusually quiet weekends might be considered unrepresentative, but our research team spent over 30 nights in the pubs, clubs and streets of Preston, deliberately seeking out the 'tough' areas identified by the police and others, without witnessing more than a few scraps or scuffles. This is not to say that more serious acts of violence and disorder do not occur, only that such incidents are the exception rather than the rule.

Drugs

The main difference between Preston and our other research locations - and it is something which now attracts close police interest - is the proliferation of drugs which we noted were openly available and being used in two or three of the town-centre pubs. We feel sure that drugs were available in most of our research towns but nowhere was this as obvious as in Preston. The majority of our informants, from taxi drivers to doormen and pub managers, mentioned drugs as a major contributor to disorderly and criminal behaviour (especially when combined with alcohol). Another evening session spent with police officers yielded this account of an incident at a town-centre pub:

A very seedy joint which has recently requested police advice on how to deal with a group of young lads who persist in smoking cannabis in the pub. Advised by the police not to serve any of the group. On the evening of our tour we heard on the police radio that a group of lads had been refused service and consequently smashed the pub windows. On arrival at the scene one window had been broken and the group moved on. This pub is not considered to be a youngsters' pub - more an older clientele including 'criminal elements'.

The pool team

Our discussions with the members of a pub pool team illuminated some of the difficulties previous researchers have experienced in accounting for the behaviour of 'lager louts' in 'sociological' terms. The members of the pool team were, in terms of age, social class, education, employment and so on, virtually indistinguishable from the members of the 'Squad' in Oxford. Their reported alcohol consumption on a Friday or Saturday night out was about the same as that of the 'Squad' members we interviewed (despite the probable tendency of the latter group to exaggerate). Yet their attitudes and expectations were radically different, as this researcher's report shows:

For the males of the group, Friday and Saturday night followed a similar pattern each week. On a Saturday night particularly they would start at the outskirts of Preston and move inwards from pub to pub remaining in each for a maximum of 1 pint, sometimes only a half (although this seemed to arouse jeering from other members of the group). 8 or 9 pubs would be visited on their way to Venue 7, the final location.

At closing time they would move on to a night club having consumed a maximum of 10 pints but sometimes only 6 or 7. When the club shut they would walk home. The aim of the night was to have a good laugh. In their opinion a fight would ruin the night as it was no fun to go home with a broken nose or a blood-stained shirt.

They reported having occasionally been involved in fights but that this was extremely rare and they were unwilling, if not unable, to illustrate this point with examples. One of them who had been hit by a coloured man did not follow the incident up and another, whose girlfriend had been hassled by a white lad looking for trouble, followed it up but only to the extent that if he had found him he was going to ask him what the problem was and wait for an apology (or at least that is what he said).

In general the group showed little/no interest in violence and seemed to try to avoid it or any other sort of trouble. They reported having had no contact with drugs in Preston. They did not consider a night out in the town centre to be threatening although they had witnessed violent scenes. However these seemed to be riots rather than small scuffles. That they did not report small scuffles may mean that these are infrequent and that they have not witnessed any/many, or it may be that such incidents are the norm and therefore go unnoticed.

The 'three-week riots'

The most violent scenes witnessed by our pool team informants occurred in 1989 during the 'Preston riots' which were said to have taken place on three consecutive Saturdays. Our researchers summarised the pool team's interpretation of these events, which was largely confirmed by other informants:

> *The reasons behind the rioting were uncertain although it was suggested to have been initiated by a black doorman throwing a white man out of a night club. More white males apparently went back and the trouble started and escalated from there. The reasons for it stopping were also unclear. Police were brought in from outside on the third weekend but on this occasion the town centre was apparently deserted. It was thought that the fighting had been organised elsewhere. It was suggested that the trouble may have been building up for some time, that the police influence had nothing to do with it ending as they were reported only to move in on the relevant nights when it was over. It was felt that the trouble had just "fizzled out". However it was also suggested that once the police presence had been increased there was no longer any point and that there may have been trouble had they not been there. The police presence was reported to have died down again now.*

Policing

Discussions with police officers indicated that they were less than satisfied with their own handling of these incidents, and that policing strategy in the town centre had subsequently been revised, as our researchers reported:

> *During our little talk, the officers spoke of a 'major incident' that had occurred about 12 months previously. This involved two rival groups - one white, one black. They seemed pretty vague about the exact details, but apparently well over a hundred people were involved. Because of limited numbers of police available at the time, arrests were few. The incident had served to show the police how the town centre could get well out of hand and since then the police presence on the streets at the weekend has always been fairly obvious and substantial.*

Many of our informants felt that the policing of Preston town centre was ineffective.

> *They don't act on the violence when it happens, they wait for it to die down and then move in and arrest the odd person.*
> *Male 'punter'*

They resented police interference in their own affairs, and seemed to feel that the police avoided the real problems - "always there when they are not needed, never when they are" was a frequent complaint. The police were accused of harassing innocent people as an "easy option", and of inefficiency and lack of motivation in dealing with the actual troublemakers. This last was an unusual accusation: while the police were considered inefficient in their handling of disorder in almost all of the towns we visited, they were rarely seen as cowardly or uninterested - indeed, most criticisms focused on their over-zealous approach.

The police officers we spoke to felt that the town centre problems were now more under control due to the concentration of police resources in the potentially troublesome areas and it is fair to say that, on the whole, Preston struck us as quite unremarkable in terms of the levels of its public order problems and indeed during our many visits at the weekends at the 'peak times' we witnessed no serious problems at all. That is not to say that there are no problems, as experiences in the police custody offices clearly confirm (See Appendix A), but there is little about Preston to distinguish it from any of the other research sites in terms of the extent and nature of disorder.

Wakefield

As a field research site, Wakefield was by far the busiest and seemed the most likely to provide us with the hands-on experience of the lager-lout phenomenon: after all it had been dubbed, by the Daily Express in early 1989, 'the lager lout capital of the North'. A 500-yard stretch of pubs, clubs and fast-food outlets provides a forum for thousands of revellers from all over the North to drink to excess, dance, eat and then, perhaps, become disorderly.

Levels and nature of disorder

We observed here a clear distinction between the patterns of drinking on a Friday and Saturday night. Fridays provided the night out with the boys or the girls and Saturday was a night out for couples. The police have a positive attitude to such traditions, as this extract from a researcher's report demonstrates:

Meanwhile, P. C. G___ explains: "Friday night is definitely ladies night. There are more cracking women in this town than anywhere, in my experience. So the lads are far too busy to even think of fighting among themselves".

This view is supported by a Special Constable who has just joined us (probably because of the camera). Indeed, he admits to choosing Friday and Saturday nights for his voluntary service because of all the women he tends to meet. This may also explain the numbers of officers who continually parade up and down The Westgate, rather than the more dowdy (but apparently equally troublesome) parts of town, like Kirkgate. The sight of officers leaning out of cars and talking to young ladies is a more familiar one than officers rebuking rowdy groups and individuals.

The circuit drinking common to many town centres was much in evidence with people moving quickly from pub to pub and pub to club, snatching one, or at most two drinks at each stop. This is known locally as The Wakefield Run or The Westgate Run, and involves trying to get to as many places as possible in one evening. The result is that there are large numbers of young people on the street at all times throughout the evening, parading up and down, displaying their best weekend 'gear' in a manner reminiscent of the Spanish *paseo*.

The most striking observation we made during our visits was that the masses of people constantly filling the streets and bars were in good humour, loud and boisterous, but not displaying the riotous behaviour one might expect to see given these circumstances. The consensus here seemed to be that a good Friday and/or Saturday night out was what everyone was looking for after a week's work which would fund the weekend. Our impressions were confirmed by those weekend revellers we interviewed:

It's a good place to go basically because there are so many different pubs and clubs to choose from. You do hear a lot of things about the fact that you have got to be careful in Wakefield and that there is a lot of bother but I have never seen anything.
Female 'punter'

Generally speaking there are more quiet days than troubled ones, these days. Your average person who comes into Wakefield, comes to have a good time and they come regularly, sometimes we even know their names.
Beat PC

There are clearly some problems in Wakefield, as shown by the Custody Logs in Appendix A, and many of those who are arrested have certainly consumed alcohol - a significant proportion to excess. Yet given the numbers of people using the town centre at the weekend it is surprising how few incidents of violence or disorder we observed. A young male 'punter' who has lived in both Wakefield and Oxford, commented:

> *Friday and Saturday nights are the trouble nights but having said that you probably see more in Oxford on the same nights.*

Almost all of our informants maintained that the largest proportion of disorder was caused by 'outsiders', people bussed in from the surrounding areas for a night out.

> *There are also wars between the surrounding towns and villages and that is why the door staff in some of the clubs ask people where they are from in order to keep the different groups separated. It's usually groups who cause the trouble. If they are that way inclined and they are out together having a few beers it is a recipe for disaster. You get guys coming in and it's basically your pub. You see them causing a bit of bother and you get involved because you don't want it in your pub. If it is not your pub, say like in many of the Wakefield pubs, I would walk away from trouble but there are those who would jump in just for the sake of having a go. They are usually the young ones who haven't got a clue and are so pissed they end up with a battering, but they don't care. In your local you don't wait for the barman or the manager to sort out strangers causing hassle, you are there straight away, you are in.*
> *Male 'punter'*

> *One of the main problems is the influx of people from outside of Wakefield. Coach loads are now coming from all over England but mainly from the Northern counties.*
> *Beat PC*

> *Locals are wary of causing trouble on the grounds that they use the city centre regularly and want to continue whereas the coach parties are on a one-off trip. We know the locals as well.*
> *Beat PC*

We did have a big incident recently with a coach load from Sheffield. It started in a pub when the door staff tried to eject a few lads and the whole party joined in and then it spilt out onto the streets and became a battle with the police. There were about 50 individuals involved. This happened on a Thursday night. Had it happened on a weekend we would have had the numbers to control it. As it happened we had to call in support from Dewsbury and Pontefract.
Beat PC

Usually it is the people from outside Wakefield that will cause the problems, the locals will usually have a laugh and joke with you.
Fast-food operator

Our researcher's reports on (untaped) interviews with night-club doormen described their approach to this problem:

D___ , the doorman, explained that if a coach party (or any group of more than ten people for that matter) wanted to come into the club, then an advance booking of at least ten days had to be made with the management. This was backed by the incentive of half-price entry for all party goers. To avoid any infiltration by a coach load of lads from Barnsley or wherever, D___ inquired of everyone he didn't know (some 90%) where they were from, following this up with further questioning regarding address, names of local pubs and so on. If he was aware of a coach coming in from Barnsley for example, he would refuse entry to anyone from Barnsley. The club appears to be continually busy, and so they have no qualms in maintaining a strict entry policy which, inevitably, leads to turning people away.

Many informants emphasised the 'macho' style of Wakefield males, and felt that both drinking and 'scrapping' were part and parcel of this image.

It's the 19-20s that are the trouble makers ... they think they are Jack the Lad. I think a lot of it is alcohol related ... they work all week and go out on the weekend often with the express intention to get into trouble.
Male 'punter'

Maybe the motivation is that they think they have something to prove particularly those in their late teens to 25. After that they seem to calm down, they grow up, they change ... they either get really steady girlfriends or they get married. It's a certain type of mentality, they will spend three or four years being total louts and then they suddenly settle down. It's like a progression from being useless at school, leaving at 16, getting a job panel-beating or in a factory, going out at weekends and getting wrecked, going back to work ... getting a girlfriend and then they settle down. But there is always another generation of the same people coming up behind them.
Male 'punter'

The guys who wander the streets in Westgate when it's bloody freezing, just wearing a shirt do so because they think it's tough. It's a macho image and the women have to fit in with that style, that's what they are looking for. But it's a mental toughness as well, they don't mind if they get into a fight and get battered and bruised, they are resilient. "Oh, I got into a scrap last night but I'll go down town and get the bastard tonight."
Male 'punter'

There were, however, certain limits to the status to be gained from fighting:

You do get some recognition and status from getting into scraps but only up to a certain point. My cousin who used to hang around with a hard gang, just went too far and he was fighting every Friday and Saturday and getting into trouble and the rest of the gang eventually didn't want to know. They might have wanted to have a scrap every two or three weeks but my cousin was too much trouble for them.
Male 'punter'

Another hallmark of the tough Wakefield male is his refusal to wear a jacket or coat, even on the coldest winter night, as our researchers report:

We arrived in the town centre at around 8.30 pm. The penchant for sleeveless shirts in the face of a rampant wind was again much in evidence, particularly among the 16-22 age group. This seems to wear off when they get to 30, which makes it very easy for researchers to identify various age-groups.

An alternative explanation for this phenomenon is that the pubs and clubs are very hot and crowded, usually standing room only, with nowhere to put a coat. As one 'punter' put it "It's mad down here, you can't get near the bar, so I don't know how people can get a drink, never mind get drunk. It's never that violent though, just the usual little rows".

These extracts from a researcher's report give some of the 'flavour' of a typical Wakefield venue:

> *Three doormen stand on guard outside R___, with only one or two milling about inside. The place is very narrow and about 50 yards in length. The toilets are to the rear and it is a local belief that it genuinely takes half-an-hour to get to the toilet and back on a busy night. There is a small enclosed dance area (approx. 6-7 yards square) with the usual twirling lights above. Inside these enclosures about 30 girls are dancing. The males maintain the buyers stance just outside the ring, occasionally inclining heads towards each other to murmur and nod either appreciatively or derogatorily. The buying females are here too, leaning against the walls and perusing suitable passers by. The larger mixed gatherings seem uninterested in anything other than their own groups, which is probably just as well.*

> *While at the bar of R___ we engage two young girls in conversation, one of whom is definitely the worse for wear. The ensuing chat with her and her mate confirms this. "We're on a beer chase ... and we're really going for it", says the dark-haired one. This is the 'Wakefield Run' in full flight. While we are still waiting to get served, their White Rum and Vodka and Cokes have been demolished and they await the eager downing of a half of lager each, which they easily manage. "You'll have to excuse her, she can't handle it", the other half of this double act explains. The image required by them is one of drinking a lot, but never displaying the effects. Certainly, R____ (like all the other Westgate pubs) seems mainly to attract the types who want to be seen rather than those who want to fight.*

Policing

Because of the high concentration of pubs and clubs in a relatively small area of Wakefield town centre, The Westgate, there is a clear geographical area to police and the policing tends to be high-profile at the pub and club closing times. PCs are positioned in pairs in doorways up and down Westgate. A support vehicle is usually stationed at the top of Westgate, and occasionally at the bottom as well.

This 'belt and braces' approach certainly proved effective in the one 'incident' which we managed to capture on video. Two young lads began arguing outside a fast-food outlet, and within 4 seconds of the first punch being thrown, 3 police officers on foot charged over to grab the offenders. Within 10 seconds of the punch, a police car was on the scene, lights

flashing, and two more officers leapt out to assist their colleagues, closely followed by a van containing yet more officers. The police told us that the argument was over a girl, and that the two lads were "the best of mates again" by the time they were both in the van. They were charged with a Public Order offence.

It is fair to say that we encountered very little resentment of these high-profile methods.

> *I have noticed that there a lot more police about and some on horseback and there never used to be. That may explain why there is not so much trouble about because there are so many police.*
> **Female 'punter'**

> *You know if there is going to be trouble because there are loads of people milling about and lots of police around so it is easy to avoid it. Any sign of trouble and we just go in the opposite direction.*
> **Female 'punter'**

The vast majority of those we interviewed felt that the increased numbers of Beat officers, and the high profile, had had a dramatic effect in reducing disorder in the town centre. Many considered the friendly style of these officers to be of even greater importance, and maintained that without this amicable approach, the high profile would be perceived as a threat or, by the more belligerent, as a challenge.

From our own observations, the relationship between the police and the late-night revellers on the whole seemed quite reasonable, with humorous exchanges taking place between individuals, couples and small groups and pairs of PCs. One 'punter' felt this to be more typical of the Northern policing style:

> *I think the police up here are more friendly ... we were offered a lift home one night at about 3.00am when we were drunk and a few miles away from home having failed with these two girls. I am pretty sure that is pretty unlikely to happen down South.*

The police officers we spent time with certainly seemed far more cheerful than those interviewed in our other research sites: one particularly chatty Beat PC commented:

> *I used to make far more before [he was in computers], but I was bored stiff. Had to drag myself to work. I come in early now, 'cos I can't wait to get here.*

1988 was seen as the problem year for the police, when a number of larger-scale incidents had to be tackled. Many of these, however, could be attributed to a particular gang of local villains, a number of whom were subsequently brought before the courts and given prison sentences.

Doormen

There also seemed to be a good relationship between the door staff (most of the bars on Westgate have them) and the police:

> *We return to the bar where C works, which is now closed, and chat to some of the other members of the door staff team. They all seem to agree that the increased police presence, coupled with a strong presence on the door of all the premises on Westgate, has reduced the chance of serious violence. The beat-officer we interviewed earlier praised the general standard of 'bouncing' across the Westgate strip and the support that door staff give to the police.*
> *(researcher's report)*

> *We get early notice of the problems inside the pubs or clubs through the door staff who tend to sort the problems out.*
> *Beat PC*

> *It depends on the type of door staff that the companies employ as to whether they attract trouble or not. I could name a couple of pubs where the door men are employed by a very reputable firm and we never get any trouble from them because they stop it coming in through the door - they are very selective about who they allow in. We never get any complaints about them either. You get one or two places who employ the type who are more for the thumping than the talking. It may be that they are causing the problems because we do get complaints from people about them.*
> *Beat PC*

In addition, the door staff at most of the bars have a good rapport with their regular clientele:

> *I have seen the door men throwing people out of places but haven't seen them doing anything unnecessary really. I've seen them hit people back if they are attacked by somebody but I haven't seen them make the first move.*
> *Male 'punter'*

> *They are usually very friendly door staff but I don't know what they are like if you are a fella. I haven't seen them do anything out of order.*

Female 'punter'

We spent an entire evening doing the 'Wakefield Run' with a doorman from one of the night clubs, and his popularity among the town's pub and clubgoers was obvious. It seems that most of the doormen's difficulties arise from large groups who have been bussed in from another area for a night out. In these cases, the sheer numbers involved clearly require careful handling by both police and door staff, even when only one or two members of a coach party are causing trouble.

There are certainly a few bars where the doormen are said to "go in a bit heavy", and some were known to give offenders "a good hiding" once they had got them outside. We were also told of certain doormen who, while not overtly aggressive, would not disappoint those "looking for a scrap". The fact that the clubs and individuals with such reputations could be identified by name, however, indicated that they were the exception rather than the rule.

Underage drinkers

The consensus among our informants was that Wakefield did have a problem with underage drinkers, although the numbers were deemed to be no higher than in any other town centre. In contrast to Banbury, underage drinking was considered to be a 'problem' simply because it is, in itself, illegal, rather than because of any specific association between underage drinkers and disorder. As in our other research locations, under-18s were not easy to identify with any certainty. The doorman who accompanied us around the Wakefield venues, however, was able to be more positive:

> *A lot of these characters look decidedly underage. We ask C about this and he confirms my suspicions. "I know a lot of them personally and from round where I live ... quite a few here are just 14 or 15, definitely". He then proceeds to point out 6 or 7 people to whom this applies.*
> *(researcher's report)*

The police confirmed that underage (or at least seriously underage) drinkers did not cause many problems:

> *Wakefield has a problem with underage drinking like any other town but I think it is over exaggerated. They never really cause any problems and we rarely arrest juveniles (under 17).*
> *Beat PC*

> *It's the 17 to 25s that are the problem group. I have talked to people who say that their idea of a good night out is a few drinks and then a scrap.*
> *Beat PC*

Most providers of town-centre facilities blamed the 18-25-year-olds for the majority of the disorder:

> *Mostly it is males about 18-25 who are the aggressive ones and it is when they are in a group, showing off to each other.*
> *Hot-dog stand operator*

The media

Wakefield inspires a great sense of loyalty among its pub- and club-goers, and most of our informants were keen to refute the 'lager-lout capital of the North' allegations. Some felt that the media were responsible for any increase in 'lager-lout behaviour':

> *I don't think it's real. I think somebody thought up the name lager louts and everybody jumps on the band wagon. Then you get the lads who want to live up to that image. In effect it could be the media coverage that is causing the problem. People are very impressionable and what you read and see has a big influence.*
> *Male punter*

> *When something does happen it tends to get blown up out of all proportion by the media and people are still talking about it for weeks to come and in fact it may have only been a minor incident.*
> *Male punter*

Fast food and restaurants

Although Wakefield, unlike Banbury, has many alternative late-night venues, the restaurants and fast-food outlets appeared to suffer from similar problems. Again, the managers' comments focused on the operating companies' lack of awareness or concern about violence, and the absence of adequate training in handling aggressive customers.

> *During the week we get about one person who is drunk every month but it is almost guaranteed every weekend. At least a couple of incidents per weekend.*
> *Fast-food outlet manager*

We don't get any training in handling that sort of thing. I think they don't expect it to happen - but then when you get a whole load of bikers in on a Sunday and they start giving you abuse, or fighting, or even just ordinary customers getting angry, you don't know what to do. It can be frightening, really.
Road-service restaurant manager

They get to arguing, then fighting and it just gets worse. OK, you can call the police, but they don't always get there on time and you lose business because the place gets a bad reputation. I know places that have put up grilles round the counter, or put gorillas on the door, but that can attract even more trouble, and it doesn't look much like the ads, does it?
Fast-food outlet manager

Certain managers were clearly more effective in their handling of potentially violent customers, adopting, on their own initiative, the approaches taught on specialist training courses of the kind now run by some of the major brewers:

Wakefield is a very lively place especially late at night. We are open until 2.30am so our customers are from the clubs and discos when they close. We get a lot of rowdy people but they are mostly regulars so they are controllable. Sometimes it does get out of hand and I can't handle it. Then I will call the police. They are verbally abusive and threatening but I think I have only had to call the police 2 or 3 times in the last 3 years.
Restaurant manager

In the Westgate I know that problems are greater. I think it is down to the management style, we don't entertain aggressive behaviour and we don't wind them up. In the event of physical attack we would usually call the police. The first 7 months we had a lot of trouble but then again we were not experienced enough in handling the situation. Now we know, the problems are less.
Fast-food operator

When they are drunk they don't know what they are doing so we try to get rid of that customer as quickly as possible, give them whatever they want or give them the money back, there is no point arguing or fighting. They can't come over the counter. It's the people in gangs who are the troublemakers mainly, from the surrounding towns. They come out looking for excitement, fighting over a girl etc. You must stay calm.
Fast-food operator

In summary, Wakefield on a Friday and Saturday night is a fast and furious town, the revelry is in the vast majority of cases very good humoured, and the police and door staff seem to have struck a reasonable balance between authority and affability. The town has its fair share of 'drink-related' offenders at the weekend, but despite the number of people using the town-centre facilities it is a place where you are much more likely to enjoy an evening's entertainment than find yourself involved in a fracas.

Holiday resorts

Inevitably there will be seasonal variations in the number of incidents of town centre disorder. The Christmas and New Year periods, for example, are traditionally a time when people may 'let their hair down' more than they would at other times of year. Although our visits to the main research locations took place over a period from January to July we considered it appropriate to look at a couple of other towns which might have some special problems because they were 'resorts' catering for the excesses of holiday periods. Blackpool and Brighton had both received adverse media coverage of public disorder, and both are regarded as 'traditional' arenas for drinking and fighting. We therefore spent an evening with the Blackpool Police on an August Bank Holiday weekend and a weekend in Brighton during the peak holiday period known as 'Sussex Fortnight'.

Blackpool

Our night with the Blackpool police proved illuminating. In a preliminary discussion with the Superintendent, it emerged that a certain level of rowdy and boisterous behaviour would be tolerated in a 'holiday town' which might be unacceptable elsewhere. Saturday night on the August Bank Holiday weekend was thought to be the busiest night of the year. The previous night had seen 50 arrests, of which 20 were considered to be drink-related. Although the Superintendent recognised the problems of determining drink-relatedness, he felt that alcohol was a factor in many of the Public Order offenses, and to some extent in the Criminal Damage and Assault offenses of the Friday night.

Blackpool has in excess of 45 Public Entertainment Licenses, considered a high number given the size and population of the town. According to the police, most of the public order problems occur after the clubs close at 2.00 am, with considerably fewer occurring after pub closing time. In fact, the quietest period was said to be between 11.30pm and 2.00am, when those who wished to go home had done so, and the rest were in the clubs. This, we found, is not unusual in towns which have a large number and a great variety of late-night venues, as these provide continued entertainment for those who desire it, thus eliminating the frustration of having their enjoyment abruptly terminated at the relatively early time of 11.00pm. In towns (such as Banbury) with few late-night venues, there is a mass ejection of excited young people on to the streets at pub closing time, with no 'focus' for their energies and no desire to go home. In Blackpool, and other towns with numerous night-clubs, this 'flash-point' is not removed, but it is reduced and postponed until 2.00am.

Despite early-evening rumours at the Police Station concerning a possible influx of Leeds United fans and an imminent acid-house party in the Blackpool area, the patrol car in which our researchers spent the night was called to just seven 'incidents':

1   a minor scrap between two groups of lads on the Central Pier at 10.45pm (no injuries, one arrest, charged under section 5 of the Public Order Act)

2   an (alleged) attempted break-in at an old people's home at 11.30pm (no sign of break-in, investigation abandoned)

3   a wandering middle-aged female, drunk and confused but docile, who had lost her coach party, at 12.30am (taken to train station)

4   an attempted car theft at 1.30am (turned out to be group of lads trying to open their mate's car as he had disappeared and they wanted to go home: warned and told to go to train station)

5   a glassing in a night-club at 2.00am (offender, a Blackpool resident aged about 35-40, arrested and detained)

6   a fight outside a night club at 2.30am (no injuries, one lad arrested and charged under section 5, further 15-20 ran off and were not pursued)

7   a disturbance at a street party on a council estate at 3.00am (one window broken, no injuries, 3 arrested and charged under Public Order Act).

The patrol car returned to the station several times during the evening, and our researcher noted that a number of drink-driving arrests had also been made by other patrol vehicles, but neither the Leeds United invasion nor the acid house party materialized. Although the police were certainly busy on this Bank Holiday Saturday, the demands on their resources did not appear to be excessive. The officers we accompanied had time to exchange backchat with passing revellers, and even the most trivial of offences were attended to, as our fieldworker reports:

> *11.00-11.30 pm. While parked on the sea-front 2 or 3 groups of lads in the 18-25 age group walked past the patrol car and shouted abuse at the police. Two lads who were together walked past the car and said "It will take more than you two to take us out", and then walked on. The Sergeant made no real comments to any of these lads other than "Oh! We haven't heard that one before." Whether the police did not respond to this taunting because we were there is unclear, but if they normally did respond they would be exceptionally busy people.*

> *11.30-11.45 pm. While patrolling through the town centre 2 lads aged between 18 and 20 were spotted carrying 2 deck chairs. They were stopped and asked what they thought they were doing. They claimed they had found the deck chairs but were told that unless they returned them now they would be locked up for the night. Although the lads were insolent they were not abusive and slowly wandered back to the promenade and dumped the deck chairs.*

Brighton

Brighton's reputation as a venue for disorder began long before the term 'Lager Lout' was invented. We visited the town during the peak summer period known as 'Sussex Fortnight', and could find no evidence that these latest Folk Devils were following in the footsteps of their predecessors.

Although Brighton has certainly had its share of problems, senior police officers and other informants felt that the Brighton Licensing Project had achieved a significant reduction in incidents of disorder. The Licensing Project, launched in 1986, grew out of police concern over violence associated with licensed premises. High-profile policing in the town centre

had provoked hostile reactions, with officers becoming frequent targets for attacks, and the Project was set up to deal with the perceived causes of the disorder.

The police analysis of offences indicated that ineffective management and supervision of licensed premises was a key factor in public disorder. The Project was therefore designed to ensure that both consumption and behaviour were properly regulated. Licensees, and their breweries or operating companies, were reminded of their legal responsibilities, and a special police team made regular visits to all premises. More frequent check-ups were made on pubs with a history of disorder, and the police advised the licensees and brewers on prevention strategies.

Although the Project aimed to enforce existing legislation, special conditions were attached to Public Entertainment Licenses, relating to the conduct of customers outside, as well as inside the premises.

The weekend of our visit to Brighton was, according to the police, the peak period of the year in terms of numbers of people in the town centre. Two members of the research team spent Friday and Saturday night in a particular area of town where the police expected the majority of public order offences to occur, while others 'looked for trouble' throughout the town centre.

Although the pubs and clubs were extremely busy, and the streets full of rowdy young people, the atmosphere was generally good. The police presence seemed minimal, although numbers increased at closing time. The only serious incident we witnessed did in fact occur in the area earmarked by our police contacts, and involved two of the problems with which they are currently concerned: the behaviour of door staff and underage club-goers:

> *We observed an incident outside The P___ Club on Friday evening. A member of the door staff was struggling in the middle of the street with two young girls. There was much screaming and shouting from the two girls and then the member of door staff was observed to slap one of the girls with an open hand across the face. The girl raised her arm to protect herself and the slap caught her on the top of her arm. At this point the doorman retreated to the entrance to the club.*

The two girls returned to the club entrance, clearly unhurt, and proceeded to yell abuse at the doorman involved. A young lad (about18), who must have been involved in the incident earlier, was arguing with other members of door staff.

One other member of door staff then came out from the club and displayed his Tai boxing prowess. As the lad squared up to the doorman, who had made no physical contact at this stage, the doorman produced a punch to the lad's nose, causing it to bleed. He then retreated to the inside of the club.

The police arrived in their support vehicle, along with a police car, and two officers interviewed the door staff. Another police officer talked to the lad, who was complaining that he had been hit. The police, however, clearly took the side of the door staff and suggested that the lad went on his way. Meanwhile repairs were underway to mend a hinge on the club door, which had been damaged in the fracas. As usual, a crowd of people had gathered to observe the incident, but none became involved. It is also worth noting that the girls and the male involved in the incident were unquestionably below the legal drinking age.
(researcher's report)

At the time of our visit Brighton had 45 night-clubs, with about 120 door staff in operation on Friday and Saturday nights. It is a licensing requirement for all premises using door staff to keep a register of their staff with full names and addresses. Door staff are also required to wear name badges at all times, although we observed a number who were not displaying these badges.

We recognise that a one-off visit, even on the busiest and potentially most volatile weekend of the year, could provide an unrepresentative picture. As we had only witnessed one serious incident, we checked back with our police contacts:

No, you weren't in the wrong places. If you were in W— Street and D— Street, you were looking in the right places at the right times, but it has really tailed off since the Licensing Project. You still get the usual rows at closing time, though. But it's more the estate pubs we're worried about now - well, a few of them anyway.

One of the real trouble spots has been closed. It had a new manager every few weeks, they just couldn't find anyone who could control the place. And underage drinking is a problem on the estates as well. But in the centre, I mean it's summer and there's not really been much apart from that football one that got out of hand.
Beat PC

His last comment referred to an incident following a Cup Semi-Final. The police told us that, through cooperation with the town's licensees, only 4 pubs were televising the match. Although those involved in the disorder had undoubtedly come from the pubs, their behaviour was not considered to be alcohol-induced. The police also felt that the Press had exaggerated the incident.

There were about 3 or 4 hundred involved in this rampage through the streets after the game, and a party for some foreign students was going on in one of the night clubs. Now, the students were about to leave the club at the same time as this crowd of football supporters were on the street, so the officers asked them to stay inside the club until the crowd has dispersed. The papers reported this as the crowd terrorising the foreign students, threatening them and preventing them from leaving the club.
Senior police officer

In conclusion, it seems as though the closer liaison between police and licensees brought about by the Licensing Project has had a significant effect on town-centre disorder. The crowds in the streets were certainly loud and boisterous, but there was very little aggressive behaviour. As one 'punter' put it:

Yeah, you get some rowdy behaviour. We're out for a Friday Saturday night, we're not going to sit round and have a bloody tea party are we? The papers say your Lager Louts go round in gangs and frighten elderly people and that, but really how many grannies do you see in the streets at this time of night? I mean like you get a bit of a scrap outside a club or something, and the next day you read the paper and there's been a riot and the streets aren't safe. Then they say people are scared. Well they would be, wouldn't they?

The Scottish experience

Scotland has long been used as an experimental base for legislation in both England and Wales. Licensing laws are no exception, and it should be noted that the all-day drinking laws which are now firmly established in this country were pioneered in Scotland. Early scepticism about the effects of this relaxation of the drinking regulations has largely been dismissed and the feared increase in town-centre disorder was never realised. In fact, many of the English police forces with whom we have had contact have noted the positive effects that this piece of legislation has had, in terms of the reduction in problems associated with closing times in the afternoon.

Whereas prior to the legislation there was a slight increase in drink-related arrests when the pubs closed in the afternoon, now no such 'blip' in the figures occurs. This suggests that drinking in a supervised environment throughout the day has a positive effect on people's behaviour and, at the very least, lessens the likelihood of drink-related crime spilling onto the streets in the period between afternoon closing and early evening re-opening.

> *We have certainly seen a drop off in problems during the late afternoon when the pubs used to close at three. I think people now tend to stay in the pubs and then drift off home early evening. They don't have to rush their drinks off at closing time and although there are still those who do get drunk, they are not lurching about on the streets.*
> **Experienced beat officer**

> *It is difficult to determine the effects of the bye-law because it was introduced at the same time as the all day drinking, but you don't see a lot of drunks on the street during the afternoon any more.*
> **Senior police officer, Coventry**

The Licensing (Scotland) Act 1976 applied permitted hours from 11am - 2.30pm and 5pm - 11pm Mondays to Saturdays, plus 12.30pm - 2.30pm and 6.30pm - 11.pm on Sundays. A practice of regular extended licensing hours developed during the 1980s bridging the afternoon gaps and also progressing beyond 11pm. The Law Reform (Misc Prov) (Scot) Act 1990 standardised the permitted hours as 11.00am - 11.00 pm Mondays to Saturdays, with no change on Sundays, but allowed public houses to have afternoon and evening extensions. Effectively, in Edinburgh, it was

possible, under the 1976 legislation and now, following the clarifications of the 1980 Act, to drink around the clock in the town centre.

Despite the flexible arrangements for extensions to permitted hours, the majority of premises chose not to open throughout the night. This left pub- and club-goers with limited options for very late night activity and, to a certain extent, funnelled the 'hard' drinking into the one or two premises which were open until 6am. Patrons of these establishments then had the option for further consumption in the few premises which opened at that time to cater for finishing shift workers.

> *Previously, regular extensions were granted on an almost ad hoc basis.*
> *Senior licensing Inspector*

In Edinburgh, a Zone Closing Policy for licensed premises was introduced in three city centre wards in October 1990. This meant that pubs in certain areas of the town had their regular extensions restricted. There are 5 different closing times but the three which applied to public houses, depending on street location, are 12.30am, 1.00am and 1.30am. It is still possible to obtain a regular extension beyond these hours providing the licensing board are satisfied that 'the proposed extension ... is likely to be of such benefit to the community as to outweigh any detriment.

Despite the Zone Closing Policy the latest de facto extension for public houses in Edinburgh is currently 3am. Entertainment licenses, on the other hand, are generally granted extensions up until 4am and these regular extensions apply to the disco and entertainment venues.

Since Part III of the Law Reform (Miscellaneous Provisions) (Scotland) Act 1990, which came into effect on 1st January 1991, there has been a crackdown on regular and occasional extensions of the permitted hours. In Section 47 of the 1990 Act applicants are required to establish 'a need in the locality' and to show that the proposed extension '... is likely to be of such benefit to the community as to outweigh any detriment'.

Although in the Edinburgh district alcohol-related crime statistics have in the main been kept, the main 'detriments' to the community seem to be those of noise and public nuisance, although late night disorder is another suggested factor. Because there is quite a high density of residential property in central Edinburgh it is not too surprising that objections and complaints have been received.

> *The main objections come from disturbed residents and I suppose it is fair to say that if people did not make any noise when they were having a disagreement then there would be no real problem.*
> *Senior police officer*

Obviously different licensing boards throughout Scotland have, and will have, different problems. In West Lothian, for example, the reins on late evening extensions have been tightened and the restrictions are applied throughout the district. These restrictions were imposed in the light of the available crime statistics, and reductions in reported crime have been noted following the cut back on regular extensions. In Edinburgh, however, a more enlightened approach has been adopted, largely at the prompting of the Safer Edinburgh Project, whose coordinator, Mr John McGowan, was seconded from the police. He considered that although there was a need for a clearer policy on extended licensing hours - hence the Zone Closing Policy - the West Lothian solution was too blunt for a city centre with a large number of tourists.

The Crime Profile Update 1989, produced by the Safer Edinburgh Project, makes some interesting comments on the nature and scale of the problems experienced in Edinburgh.

> *The impact of Non-Sexual Crimes Against the Person upon individuals in the city centre can be easily over-estimated. After all there is a certain degree of inevitability about crime through the urbanisation process and from an historical perspective the newspapers in the early 19th century Edinburgh give similar accounts of street violence and disorder. Such crimes today are but a drop in the ocean in terms of the vast number of potential opportunities presented and clearly such criminal conduct represents a very small proportion in the totality of social activity. In the Crime Profile 1988 (paras 3.29, 3.30, and 7.7) the reported victimisation statistics revealed that during 1988 for every 10,000 residents in the city approximately-*
> *18 persons were subject to Assault and Robbery;*
> *35 persons were subject to Assault classified as Serious;*
> *58 persons were subject to Petty Assault.*
> *Indeed from another perspective, this update for 1989 shows that in the City centre there was an average of only-*
> *4 Assault and Robbery incidents;*
> *7 Assault classified as Serious incidents; and*
> *16 Petty Assault incidents, were reported each week.*

Despite the reported number of incidents, only 85 victims of Assault and Robbery and 271 victims of Assault classified as Serious in the city centre, received injuries which required medical treatment.

Although this puts the scale of the problem into some context, it is recognised by the Safer Edinburgh Project that there is a problem with certain age groups at certain times in the City centre and that those problems have increased, however the reasons for the increase are not entirely clear.

It has to be concluded that during the day-time and early evening the public facilities and spaces in the City are still relatively very safe places to frequent....It can be reasonably be claimed, although there is a risk of losing the distinction, that for the international visitor, the City must rank as one of the safest cities in the world. Unfortunately the image is tarnished at night, because for certain age groups of persons living in the City seeking late night/early morning leisure facilities at certain places in the City centre, the risk of non-sexual violence is very much higher...

There is absolutely no doubt that the level of reported Non-Sexual Crimes Against the Person analyzed has insidiously increased over the last five years throughout the Lothian and Borders area.....and that a substantial proportion is concentrated in the City centre. Part of this increase may be due to increased public confidence to report such crimes, or indeed an increased police efficiency to discover more 'hidden' crime, but this cannot be confirmed without detailed Crime Surveys over intervals of time.........

Moreover the range of factors which caused these significant changes is open to speculation. For example, operational policing in the City centre which since the mid-1980's has progressively responded to the increasing levels of late night/early morning violence, redoubled its effort during 1989 taking account of the 1988 findings. There is also some evidence that the restriction on regular extensions to licensing hours to 0100 hours, which was only partially implemented during the course of 1989, was beginning to take effect. However it could be equally speculated that lesser numbers of persons entered the City centre during 1989 for leisure purposes.

In looking at the causes of the problems within the City centre, the Safer Edinburgh Project make some salient points relating to some of the time-honoured scapegoats:

It has almost become fashionable to blame City centre violence on having too many pubs or inadequate services such as policing, transport or indeed lighting in the City centre in search for solutions to the problem. Like all social problems, the problem of late night/early morning violence in the City centre has a general cause as well as particular causes. Whereas the general cause is one of City leisure facility structure, which has to be retained for the tourist industry, one of the particular causes which has become an issue in recent years is the inadequate late night/early morning public transport. Although steps to address the public transport system have been taken, it ought to be kept in mind that much of the increase in late night/early morning violence took place before the deregulation of bus services. It is also important not to lose sight of the fact that individuals are to blame and that they have a civic responsibility not to assault others. Moreover the normal stereotyping of violent offenders originating from the peripheral housing estates in the City does not apply.

The Safer Edinburgh Project conclude their Crime profile Update-1989 by suggesting that :

The key issue in the crime prevention process towards reducing Non-Sexual Crimes Against the Person committed in the City centre and harmonising the core interests of residents, public services such as the police, hospitals and transport, and the licensed trade and entertainment industry, focuses on local Licensing Board policy relating to regular extensions to licensing hours.

In April 1991 the Safer Edinburgh Project, as part of a strategy to curb late-night violence, launched a series of three forums with local licensed trade members from pubs, clubs, hotels and restaurants covering three police sub divisions. They addressed perceived local problems using a questionnaire. The following recommendations were highlighted:

- Stepping up police closing time patrols
- Promoting the introduction of proof of age cards
- Using door security staff
- Introduction of pub watch schemes
- Provision of special training programmes for all staff on coping with aggressive customers

At the same time a different initiative was taken by the police in Corstorphine and debated very similar issues with local licensees. The police here were not looking for a 'broad axe' policy on extensions, but a

multi-agency approach to the problems that both the trade and the police experienced.

The Irish experience

The rather hackneyed image of the drunken, belligerent Irishman has not been supported by our experience in the field. Certainly, the Irish seem to regard drinking alcohol as the prime social activity, but no causal link between alcohol and aggressive behaviour was perceived. Dingle and Dublin were the two field sites investigated, the former offering a rural and the latter an urban perspective.

Dingle
Levels and perceptions
Dingle is a small close-knit town with a population of only three or four thousand. Nevertheless, it had fifty-four pubs at the last count, though some double as grocers and other shops. Both landlords and facility-users claimed that there were no problems with street or pub disorder, even during the tourist season.

> *According to our landlady, Mrs. Sheehy, the most memorable violent incident occurred about twenty-five years ago in Dingle and involved Robert Mitchum. Apparently Trevor Howard and Robert Mitchum stayed here during location filming of "Ryan's Daughter" in 1971. Mitchum spent a night out in Dingle and insulted the town for its lack of facilities. The resulting fight, therefore, was not necessarily motivated by drink. This story was recounted spontaneously by Mrs. Sheehy when I enquired as to the level of trouble occurring in Dingle. If she has to go back 25 years, then there cannot be a great deal else going on.*
> *(researcher's report)*

> *They do welcome the tourists here, sure sometimes there are more Americans and Germans here than locals. But they do keep themselves to themselves. I found that when I first came here - they have to get to know you first.*
> *B&B landlady*

The community was stable (with many people inter-related) and appeared almost self-regulating and self-policing:

I asked Tracy, a local girl aged 26, if there was ever any trouble in the pubs. She said that there was the occasional row, but that because everyone knew each other, there was always somebody who would intervene. So they all act like Policemen then?

Well, it's not that as such. They're just protecting their own interests really. Most of them are all fishermen working with each other, so if a few of them fall out with each other, then it's going to affect the work and the whole atmosphere. They're all inter-related round here as well. If there's any ructions, you'll have all the relations taking different sides.
researcher's report

'Pubwatch' and exclusion orders were clearly unnecessary:

I have been here now for twelve years and there has never been a hint of a major row. They know that this is my home, so if they have a bone to pick with somebody, they do it somewhere else. Sure if anyone did cause me any problems, all the other pubs would hear about it in no time at all and they'd have to go to Tralee if they wanted a pint.
Pub landlady

I ask her if there are plenty of fights on the street in that case?

Well no, not really. Most times they'd be pulled apart. Everybody knows each other in this place. Now, you couldn't go into a pub without knowing most of the characters in it ... the pub is the only entertainment here and nobody wants to mess up their social life over a few words spoken out of turn, do they?
pub landlady

The only serious incidents that could be recalled by our Dingle informants invariably involved 'outsiders':

*I also hear about the occasion when a Spanish trawler boat came into Dingle bay and fished for an afternoon. The locals were furious and sent out a delegation to the boat asking them not to fish in their waters. This was ignored and later some of the Spanish fishermen spent the evening in the local pubs. When word spread of their indiscretion, the Spanish found themselves banned from all the pubs and forcibly removed from **Dick Mack's** (where they were drinking at the time) by a Dingle contingent. Following a "awful hammering", they returned to their boat.*

This happened at 8:30pm apparently, which confirms that drink was not the prime factor here. It also seems that two Garda (police) were present in **Dick Mack's** *and made no attempt to prevent the 'incident'. The community is tight-knit and traditional. Already, I have been discouraged from using the term 'landlord' to describe an Irish publican, the expression beings reminiscent of the absent English landlord of the nineteenth century and his various violent methods of removing Irish tenants.*
(researcher's report)

Alcohol and aggression

The general consensus was that alcohol does not make people more aggressive, although it can increase 'emotive' behaviour:

I think they're very introverted people really, so a drink or two is bound to have some effect on them. They're used to drinking a hell of a lot, but it doesn't make them go bananas - it might make them sing - and I suppose it would encourage them to tell somebody what they really thought of them.
female resident, aged 26

I cry ... I get very emotional. I think if you're naturally aggressive, then you're probably liable to cause a few problems, but I think you can have as much fun without it as with it. If you're in good form, you're in good form.
female resident, aged 22

If people are fighting, then it goes far deeper than the drink. I know a Pioneer [teetotaller] who went mad in here one evening, thumping out at anyone near him.
female resident, aged 23

Underage drinkers

Dingle has suffered from the perennial Irish problem of its youth migrating to the cities as well as to other countries, so the difficulties associated with an expanding young population are avoided. This fact, coupled with strong family and Catholic traditions, help to prevent underage drinking and associated problems:

You won't see many kids in the pubs or even drinking in the street. They wouldn't be able to sneak in anywhere either, because someone is bound to know them. Sure, I've been over the road on my own when Mike [her husband] has been away. I think I've seen nobody I knew and then he'll be home saying, 'I hear you were in O'Flaherty's the other night till half-twelve'. But a lot of the youngsters move away to find work, so you don't have them hanging round the streets getting bored.
B&B landlady

I have never seen anyone underage drinking in pubs in this town. When I was sixteen, I'd have been killed for drinking outside in a pub or on a street corner.
Female resident aged 23

Dublin

Levels and perceptions

We found no evidence of any significant pub or street disorder in Dublin, and the absence of any serious problems was confirmed in interviews with police, 'punters', doormen and bar staff. This is despite the very high proportion of under-25s in the town's population. There appeared to be several reasons for the lack of trouble. Firstly, the tradition of the pub-crawl does not exist, which reduces opportunities for street confrontation.

Walking around town at about 9:00pm, I am surprised by how quiet the streets seem in comparison to the towns in England we have looked at. My initial thought is that there cannot be many people out and about. But it is a Saturday night, so where are they? Over the next couple of days I realise that people are simply not moving from pub to pub and creating traffic on the streets. They tend to remain in one pub for the duration of a session, rather than conducting a 'pub crawl'.
researcher's report

Many of the largest and most attractive pubs are also situated in the suburbs, drawing people away from the city centre and encouraging them to remain in one place for most of the evening. Secondly, women appear to outnumber men in the pubs and clubs, often by as much as two-to-one. Their presence was considered to reduce the tendency to aggression among young males, if only by providing a distraction.

The most striking difference, however, between Dublin and our English research sites was to be found in the pubs themselves. The tendency towards employing waiting staff (usually female) relieves congestion and

frustration at the serving area, thus removing many opportunities for conflict. Even the 'ordinary' pubs and clubs are also furnished and decorated to a very high standard, great attention being paid to comfort, sensible flow patterns and unobtrusive monitoring.

Most importantly, the management skills and style in almost all of the pubs are equivalent to the very best we have found in England: a friendly, sociable atmosphere is created, in which 'trouble' would seem very out-of-place. The bar staff are highly trained and regulated and command much greater respect than their English counterparts, as our researcher reports:

> *On the other side of Milltown is **Ryan's**, with a small bar, but sweeping lounge. Both highly decorative and containing four bustling barmen. There are no part-timers here. In Ireland, the barman is revered as a tradesman and, as such, is required to complete a four year apprenticeship to obtain full barman's status. He is further supported by a union and is relatively well-paid.*

> *The barmen's efficiency is highly evident. Speed is essential, though they are not hindered by a queue of customers. Those who occupy the barstools appear to be regulars whose drink is known by heart. Respect is mutual between customer and barman and such a relationship would appear to limit the chance of a confrontation.*

Some of the larger pubs and clubs employ doormen (invariably far fewer than would be deemed essential for English venues of comparable size) who take a firm but very courteous approach, and are treated with great respect:

> *We go into a pub on the corner of O'Connell bridge called **The Harp**. They have two doormen in reasonably casual dress. Upstairs is a disco and downstairs is the lounge. I am wearing jeans and get past them easily, so there appear to be no particular dress restrictions. We sit near the door within earshot of them. They politely refuse entry to two well-dressed couples. One of the girls is surprised and asks, "Are you full then?". "No, but your friend has been drinking", is the reply from one of the doormen. They wander off without further exchange.*

They would certainly have got into most premises in England. They seemed reasonably merry, but not drunk. They were fairly quiet and polite, not shouting or generally horsing about. I was also amazed by their acceptance of the situation. They did not respond abusively to the doormen and quietly vacated the scene. Later, in Nassau street, a single bouncer patrols the door of a Mexican-style Bar. A similar reason is given for his refusal to let a group of three males inside. I hang around there for a few minutes and tentatively introduce myself. He explains that most customers will arrive and stay for the bulk of the evening rather than drifting from pub to pub:

It's alright if they're with you getting drunk as you can keep the eye on them. But if they're coming in the worse for wear and wandering about, then they might be a bit excitable.

The relaxed atmosphere in Dublin pubs continues right up to closing time, despite, or perhaps because of the fact that licensing hours, already more lenient than in England and Wales with a drinking-up time of 30 minutes, are interpreted somewhat liberally:

Closing time on a Sunday evening is 10:30pm, with 30 minutes drinking-up time, but at 11:36 we are still here talking. At last orders, I offered them a drink and at the same time they bought another two rounds. Was this usual?

Sure no harm ever comes out of it. Well, it's only a cod [joke] this law thing, isn't it? Yer man over there behind the bar has just taken our shillings, so he's the last one who should be making a fuss.
researcher's report

You'll still get served at 20 past, or even half-eleven in places. The guards [police] are easy on us. They don't kick you out at a few minutes past eleven.
male 'punter'

I certainly don't hear anyone shouting from behind the bar telling people to drink up and go home. It seems all very relaxed. When we leave at about midnight, four people remain. Significantly, perhaps, a mass of individuals has not filtered onto the street at exactly the same time.
researcher's report

Causes of violence

In Dublin, both the police and 'punters' emphasized that there was a high level of violence, but that this was associated with acquisitive crime -

largely robberies, thefts and muggings - rather than being caused by drinking alcohol:

> *Most of the attacks on people are for money, not because somebody has had a few jars too many.*
> *male 'punter'*

A minority considered alcohol to be linked with aggressive behaviour, although even they admitted that disorder was minimal, and emphasised other contributing factors:

> *Certainly, it's a factor in about half of cases in Dublin. Now, if they had not taken the drink, they may still have got involved in the trouble. But, it is present, undoubtedly. Then you have the question of whether it was the drink alone or a mixture of the drugs and drink. The drugs are the main concern for us in this town.*
> *senior police officer*

> *The drink is not the sole problem, but it encourages them. It's not the drink, it's the person themselves. They'd still do it when they're sober. Though the drink gives them the Dutch courage.*
> *male 'punter'*

The general view, however, was that drinking had very little to do with disorderly or aggressive behaviour:

> *I don't think it's drink - it's the personality of a person. If somebody crosses them or says something they don't like - here we go - row, fight, Rambo III.*
> *male 'punter'*

Following a spontaneous pub discussion with a mixed group of 20-25-year-olds, one of whom was recovering from being attacked the previous night, our researcher reported:

> *The group believe that drink has little to do with causing violence in Dublin. Most of the physical attacks that take place are motivated, they believe, by the demand for money and seldom for the love of violence itself or from the effects of drink. Estates like **Ballyfermott** and **Finglas** are infamous for disorder, but the pubs in these places rarely encounter trouble.*

The drink is the main social occupation in this country, so they would not want to upset that now, would they? Gangs of kids with nothing better to do go round attacking strangers for a bob or two, or stealing cars for the crack. Then they'll drive them to the Garda barracks, egging them on for the chase. Maybe the drink gives them the bottle to do it, but I'd say they'd probably do it anyway.
male 'punter'

Underage drinkers

Although underage drinking was one of the primary concerns of the police offers we spoke to, the problem was not associated with pubs, but with unsupervised drinking parties in parks and fields. There was no suggestion that such events involved violent behaviour, or that those involved were causing any harm to others - the concern appeared to be for their welfare, and for the reputation and public image of the town:

*Supt. M___ introduced me to one of the **Juvenile Liaison Officers** in Dublin. Under this scheme, offending juveniles are placed under the supervision of a "Liaison Officer" as an alternative to incarceration. The Juvenile Liaison Officer I spoke to believed that few juvenile offences were committed in or around pubs, so the attention of the police is usually towards the "Cider party", the clandestine drinking in fields, parks and alleyways.*

*The use of the terms "Cider party" and "Ciderhead" as an Irish equivalent of a "lager-lout" has invoked the wrath of **The Cider Industry Council** who do not wish their product to be associated with underage drinking or, indeed, public disorder. In an attempt to redress this image, they have commissioned a survey on underage drinking, launched a video-package for schools on drinking and provided funds for the police to launch an I.D. Card scheme in certain areas.*
researcher's report

There is a severe problem with underage drinking in this city. The trade does not really care as long as they've got the money in their hand. The off-licenses are the greatest perpetrators here, but we are also looking to restrict alcohol sales in supermarkets.
beat PC

I would rather see youngsters drinking in Public Houses, than in fields and other similar places.
Juvenile Liaison Officer

I have only seen an I.D. Card being used once - and then it was being abused.
male 'punter'

It's when it's forbidden ... forbidden fruit is always the nicest.
beat PC

With my kids, I'd rather they tell me if they start drinking. When he's 18, I'll bring him down the pub with me and he'll be feeling great. So he'll be saying to himself, 'I've no need to be drinking in fields and places', that's crap. There might be six or seven of them drinking in a field and one of them will say, 'have a go at this', draw, dope or whatever. Another man might come along with something else and within a year or so, they're addicted.
male 'punter' aged 27

There is a hell of a lot of horseplay among young people and if you're an elderly person it can look worse than it is and can be very frightening, indeed. But, in a lot of cases, they'll be causing no harm to anybody.
senior police officer

Policing

Conversations with experienced senior and beat police officers revealed that they do not see Dublin (or the rest of the Republic) as having any major problems with public disorder. They have seen a marked increase in violence and the use of weapons in acquisitive crime over the last few years, which is not considered to be alcohol-related. They are, however, concerned about the reputation of the town, and the way in which minor incidents are reported by the Press:

You might have an incident on a bus that would make the headlines and people would, perhaps, get the impression that you cannot travel on a bus any more. It's not the media exaggerating it, but the people themselves interpreting it that way.
senior police officer

It is a very parochial country, so you might have one or two robberies from tourists that'll get banner headlines for the rest of the summer.
beat PC

Policing policy, according to the senior police officers (eg Superintendents) we spoke to, is dictated by an expanding Dublin and decreasing resources. Traditional 'beat' policing was extremely difficult, both because of the wide

area to be covered and the recent tendency towards violent attacks on Garda officers in certain parts of town. The reasons for these attacks were not entirely clear, although alcohol was not considered to be a factor. (A possible motive appeared to be the traditional animosity of Dublin council estate residents towards those from the West of Ireland, where the majority of patrol officers are recruited.) Squad cars are therefore the norm, although many of our informants, including the police themselves, felt that the time had come to revert back to a more 'community' style of policing:

> *Ten years ago, you used to see them on the streets going round on the beat and you knew them by name, but they only have squad cars going round now and you don't know anybody.*
> **bus conductor**

> *That is the big complaint from the public - that you never see the man on the beat any more.*
> **senior police officer**

On the whole, our Dublin informants exhibited considerably less hostility towards the police than their counterparts in the English fieldwork sites. Although the content of their criticisms was much the same, the tone was fairly resigned and unemotional:

> *The police can be a bit heavy handed. But, then again, you can find them ignoring a hell of a lot of things that are going on. You might see a lot of people arguing and the police will just stay out of it. They will not get involved.*
> **male 'punter'**

> *They have no time for the smaller crimes. They're cutting down the police force, so there's not enough of them.*
> **male 'punter'**

> *The police claim that they will arrive within five minutes of an incident, but you might end up waiting twenty minutes and then they're going to be too late.*
> **bus conductor**

Although police in Ireland have the jurisdiction to take dispossess anyone of alcohol being consumed in a public place, drinking in public places is not (as under the Coventry bye-law) an offence in itself. This rule is little understood and rarely applied.

Summary

While we would not suggest that Dublin is some sort of trouble-free Utopia, the fact that even the police perceive public disorder as minimal indicates that we may have something to learn from the Irish model. The most striking differences between Dublin and our English research sites were to be found in the management of the pubs and night-clubs.

Through previous extensive research on violence in pubs (see section 00), we have established that differences in management skills and style account for 45% of the variation in levels of conflict and aggression. This research also showed that over 50% of incidents occurred in the last hour of trading on Friday and Saturday nights. In Dublin, it was clear that skilled management; careful attention to design and lay-out; highly trained, motivated and respected bar staff and waiter service in the larger venues created the kind of sociable atmosphere in which aggression and conflict are unlikely to occur. The 30-minute drinking-up time, along with a 'relaxed' approach to licensing hours, dramatically reduced the potential for conflict within the pubs at closing time, and resulted in a more leisurely, staggered exodus onto the streets.

School Students

One of the aims of this project was to examine the precursors of drinking and disorder among school pupils, and we interviewed over 200 youngsters between the ages of 13 and 17. The importance of this element of the study was confirmed during the course of our research: many informants in our fieldwork sites pointed out that, as each 'generation' of lager louts settles down, gets married and ceases to trouble the police, there is another group poised to take over.

In some cases, these 'understudies' are easy to identify: the 'Giddy Boys' attached to the 'Squad' in Oxford were quite clearly undergoing a period of apprenticeship, and much of the disorder in Banbury was said to originate in 'gang rivalry' between schools. Other 'embryonic lager louts', although not apprenticed to any specific group, could be distinguished by their attitudes and ideology, which parroted those of their older role-models.

Some of our conversations with youngsters took place in pre-arranged discussion groups in schools and Intermediate Treatment Centres for young

offenders, while others were more casual encounters in the pubs and streets of the various towns included in the study. The interviewees represented a wide cross-section in terms of their social class and background, and, on the whole, their attitudes and opinions were as varied as those of their seniors.

Drinking experience and habits

Almost all of those we spoke to had had experience of drinking, and all commented on the ease with which they could obtain alcohol:

> *Yes I drink alcohol.....lager*
>
> *I drink in the pub or down town or at a friend's or my house.*
>
> *I drink with my friends. I go down town and meet some people at some friends' or maybe a pub*
> **15-year-old male**
>
> *I drink beer or cider. I usually drink at parties or at friends' houses*
>
> *I buy it from off -licences.*
>
> *I drink with my friends*
> **16-year-old male**
>
> *I'll go in and say it's for me mam and sometimes I'll get a friend to write a note pretending she's my mother.*
> **14-year-old female**
>
> *The law's there to protect you, but you can get it anywhere.*
> **mixed group, 16-17-year olds**
>
> *I went into town and the Barman asked me for I.D. I said I didn't have any with me and told him I was nineteen and he believed me.*
> **15-year-old female**

Drinking and aggression

Our young informants' responses to questions on this subject illustrated the 'cultural acceptance' of a direct relationship between alcohol and aggression. When questioned in general terms about drinking and town-centre disorder, the vast majority saw a direct link. Even when arguing against a such a connection from personal experience, they clearly felt themselves to be opposing a commonly held view. Thus, with a few

exceptions, they maintained that alcohol made other people aggressive, but not themselves:

> *Alcohol can make people aggressive......but it does not make me aggressive*
> *16-year-old male*

> *I've seen a fight when I've been drunk. Ten blokes against one.....19-20 year olds in town....they were drunk*

> *It would not have happened if they had not been drinking. People act differently when they have been drinking........it makes them aggressive. It is usually because they have been drinking that they become violent. I am nicer to people when I am drunk....I don't get violent*
> *15-year-old male*

These contradictory statements are classic examples of what is known in psychology as 'self-serving attribution bias'. Quite different causes are attributed to one's own behaviour as opposed to the behaviour of others. Equally, different effects are attributed to the same causal factor - eg alcohol.
Many accounts of personal experience focused on the disinhibiting effect of alcohol, which was largely seen as positive:

> *It brings you more out of yourself, it just makes me happy and I don't feel embarrassed or anything.*
> *15-year-old female*

> *You'll talk to anyone and everything's funny.*
> *15-year-old male*

> *It makes you feel better really...you're mixing with different people, you're chatting and you're just happy and drink helps you to be happy.*
> *14-year-old female*

Others boasted of their daring exploits while 'under the influence':

> *I'm just stupid like...like playing chicken across dual- carriageways. The first person who gets out of the way is the chicken.I was so drunk, I was standing in the middle of the road and all these cars were beeping at me. I couldn't remember anything in the morning though...my friends were all having a laugh about it.*
> *14-year-old female*

A small minority expressed views identical to those of the 'senior lager louts' we interviewed. In a discussion group at an Oxford school, two young 6th formers provided an almost comical contrast, although both would be classified as 'underage drinkers': Tim, at pains throughout to emphasise his sophisticated drinking habits ("I'd usually drink at the Theatre or the Opera...the Royal Opera's good as it has two intervals") is Chairman of the local Conservative Youth Association, while Stu, who stresses the quantity of alcohol consumed, rather than the setting, is clearly viewed as an embryonic 'lager lout'. Once Tim has explained the drinking patterns at the Royal Opera and similar venues to everyone's satisfaction, Stu tends to dominate the conversation:

> *[Stu] I went out just to get drunk on Thursday. This bloke just kept looking at me and it started to annoy me. So I says, 'what are you looking at? ' He started giving me some lip back and so I got into a bit of a ruck with him. Then his mate came to stop it and 2 of my mates done his mate over. Then I done him over and we got in the car and went home.*

> *[Tim] ...and they all lived happily ever after.*

> *[Stu] Didn't think nothing of it, I just got up the next morning with a bit of a hangover...when I drink, I usually get more braver and that, and I do stupid things.*

> *[Stu] A lot of my mates are older than me and we'll go to a club and on the way home might beat somebody up...you get a buzz out of it...it's exciting. If a bloke's gonna fight you, he don't care about you, so you don't care about him. I never feel guilty about anything I've done.*

> *They wouldn't hit you, unless you said something out of order...[Tim] Oh like, hello.*

Even Stu, despite his more than enthusiastic support for a causal link between alcohol and aggression, recognises that group dynamics have a significant role to play:

> *If I went out just for a chat, I'd have 4 pints, but if I went out to get stoned, I'd have about 12; then I'm ready to take the world on. I'll say, well I'm not going to do anything stupid tonight, so I'll just have four pints and enjoy myself. But the mates that you're with might get totally arseholed and they'll usually end up fighting. But you'll just join in, even though you're totally sober...it's just your mates, en it?*

Perceptions of 'lager louts'

When asked for their views on 'lager louts' (who are they, what do they do, why do they do it), both the Young Offenders among our informants, interviewed in Intermediate Treatment Centres, and the 'ordinary' underage drinkers, interviewed in school common rooms, tended to dissociate themselves from any such label. Many of their responses were clearly based on the media stereotype of such individuals:

> *Lager louts are people who drink a lot and purposely go out to cause a fight.*
> ***15-year-old male***
>
> *Lager louts are people who drink and go out and wreck other people's property etc*
>
> *They are usually in their late teens*
>
> *They run over the tops of cars and knock down motor bikes*
>
> *This sort of thing happens every week for some people*
>
> *If they didn't drink they wouldn't do it*
> ***16-year-old male***

A discussion with 10 3rd-formers (13/14-year-olds) at a Newcastle school, none of whom had any direct personal experience of town-centre disorder, yielded the following detailed information about the activities of 'lager louts':

> *All of the group identified the age group of the lager lout as being between 16 and 21.*
>
> *Nobody was able to identify where the lager louts came from.*
>
> *It was considered that a lager lout could be either a male or a female although in the main they tended to be male.*
>
> *There was no particular length of hair which could easily identify a lager lout.*
>
> *The lout would go into town on a Friday or Saturday and would most likely be in a group.*
>
> *He would go to a pub or wine bar or night club.*
>
> *He goes with the purpose of having a few drinks with his friends.*

He is not considered to be using drugs although he might.

The lout is considered to prefer to drink beer or lager.

At the night club he is likely to have another beer and he is having a good time.

He is likely to be feeling tired and may well be staggering a bit.

He may go to the dance floor and chat up a woman or he might start chatting up someone else's woman or bump into someone and that could start trouble.

4th-formers (14/15-year-olds) at the same school had greater direct experience of town-centre problems:

There was one lad who was well drunk and he started hitting this lad, so I helped this lad to get away, then he started hitting me, so I kicked him one. You see gangs of lads about town, maybe 20 or 30 of them, all 18-20. You see them running down the street after somebody or a smaller group. I was in MacDonalds and these police vans were just going round and round on the look-out all the time.
14-year-old female

These skinheads came round the shops where I live and they were flying down with these baseball bats. They smacked one kid and they were doing car windows in...they were most probably drinking, 'cos they were carrying bottles and hurling them about.
15-year-old male

A Lager Lout will just want to drink to get more violent than he is already, but an alcoholic just needs the drink for drinks sake.
15-year-old female

This kid just went up and punched my mate in the mouth. There was ten of them and only a few of us. They were with these girls who were watching. No reason, he just hit him. One thing he was drunk and also his mates were right behind him.
14-year-old male

These informants also tended to be more sceptical about the role of alcohol in the behaviour of lager louts:

Most of them will go out and cause trouble without alcohol. The alcohol just makes them more aggressive.
14-year-old male

They do it to impress their friends. There usually has to be a group to start it. They're just egging each other on. There's quite often girls in the group and the rest otiny minority exhibited the motivational and behaviourial characteristics of the so-called 'lager lout'. It must be stressed, again, that we found these to be the only characteristics which distinguished such individuals from their more peaceful contemporaries.

6

Cross-cultural comparisons

The cross-cultural material which we present in the following sub-sections is based on limited fieldwork in Holland, Spain, France and Italy, of which the Italian research was the most substantial. We do not pretend that it constitutes a full cross-cultural study, which would inevitably involve more fine-grained research methodologies and involve fuller consideration of the conceptual equivalence of the techniques used in each country. Nonetheless, the information obtained, we feel, is both relevant and informative.

Our principal aim was to test, in a small way, aspects of the theoretical model presented in Section 4.4 - specifically the extent to which cultural traditions associated with drinking may facilitate or inhibit aggressive and disorderly behaviour given the common psychological effects of alcohol such as primary and secondary cognitive impairment.

The research in Italy, in particular, shows clearly that the associations between drinking and aggression which we find in Britain, are almost completely absent in that country. Italians have very different expectations concerning the effects of alcohol and the behaviour which is likely to result even among the young social groups which frequent the birrerias and discotheques throughout their country. There is, of course, violence and disorder in many Italian social settings. The Italian reporting of these events, however, generally fails to attach blame to the consumption of alcohol, stressing social factors instead. Only in relation to drink-driving are restrictions on alcohol consumption usually suggested.

Our discussions on the subject of alcohol and disorder were conducted with people as varied as small-town mayors, bar owners, local 'punters', school teachers and police officers. To say that there was little variation in their views would be an understatement. Virtually all of them failed to understand how or why the British could 'blame' drinking for youth disorder. Drinking in Italy was a way of life. So too was aggression and violence - you only had to attend a football game, they suggested, to see this.

But for them, there was no connection between the two. Drinking, in fact, was seen as positively *unrelated* to disorder.

The same sentiments were expressed by our French and Spanish informants. They, like the Italians, emphasised the social nature of drinking and the role of alcohol in facilitating positive social experiences. The Dutch, in contrast, took a view which, in some ways, is similar to that found in Britain. Less formal information from Germany, Belgium and Austria lead us to conclude that there may be a very general north vs south divide in European attitudes to drinking and the behaviours which are anticipated of those who drink in groups. To this extent the cultural element in our model, which mediates between the psychological effects of alcohol and overt behaviour, might be seen as highly significant and account for the bulk of the variance in responses to alcohol.

We should also note here that the Dutch have experienced similar problems of drink-related disorder and fights. In Holland, however, approaches to the problems have been very different and, because of the strong cultural similarities between Holland and Britain, can provide a model for initiatives in this country. These we include in our recommendations in Section 10.

Holland

The comparison between Holland and England is perhaps the most significant, both in terms of the strong similarities in our drinking styles and culture, and because many Dutch towns and cities shared very similar problems of town-centre disorder.

Fieldwork in Holland was conducted in four main locations: Utrecht, Tiel, Zandijk and Den Haag, and included observation work, interviews and discussions with a wide range of informants.

Levels and patterns of disorder

The centres of many towns were, and are, populated on Friday and Saturday night by revellers going to the town's bars, night clubs, fast food outlets and restaurants. The main concern was with the now well documented problems of all those bars and clubs turning out their customers on to the street at the same time and the ensuing patterns of disorder.

> *There was a big problem with large groups of people on the streets when the bars and clubs closed. The problem was mainly at the weekend...they are not all drunk but they are active! They are in a group and alcohol affects their risk taking potential....shop windows were getting smashed, some taunting between groups and some scraps.*
> **Senior Police Officer, Tiel**

> *It used to be very busy on the streets when the bars all closed at 12 o'clock and there was a lot of noise etc in the town. As well it was a lot more common to see fights on the streets which you might expect when there are so many people who have mostly been drinking and who are all congregated together.*
> **Female punter, Tiel**

> *The main problem in Utrecht is with the 20-25 year olds but obviously not all of them. When they leave the bars and discos and they have been drinking those who are aggressive are looking for trouble. Usually the police are around and tell them not to make so much noise or something like that and then their aggression is turned against the police.*
> **Male punter, Utrecht**

The Dutch have localised powers to determine licensing issues, whereas in this country, central government dictates the law for the whole country. Having said that, the Dutch towns and cities seemed to work to a general rule that all the bars in any particular locality should close at the same time, even though the actual time differed from one town the next. The closing times for bars ranged between 11pm and 1am, with 12pm the most frequently adopted. There were similar approaches to discos and night clubs, although in the majority of towns the official closing time was around 2am. Essentially, then, the patterns of disorder and problems of crowd dispersal from the centres were identical to those experienced in Britain.

Alcohol and aggression

In contrast with Southern Europe, our questions on the relationship between drinking and aggression were readily understood, and the responses of our Dutch interviewees were very remarkably similar to those of our English informants:

> *I think drink is a major cause of the problems but particularly when drinks are mixed ie: beer and spirits.*
> **Male punter, Tiel**

In any group of 100 people you will always find 1 or 2 who are bad and will want to fight when they have been drinking. People dare to do more when they have been drinking...when sober they would not do it.
Male punter, Utrecht

The association between alcohol and violence depends very much on the people themselves ... what their personal circumstances are ... for instance if everything is good at home or work then it takes a lot more to get you angry or aggressive.
Male punter, Utrecht

It also depends on what is happening on the particular night...if you have had an argument with somebody or somebody has made a fool of you etc. All these things have an effect on your mood and so alcohol in combination with these other factors obviously has an influence.
Male punter, Utrecht

You are much more influenced by the sense of the group. If you go in a group you probably do and say things that you wouldn't if you were alone and if you drink a lot then the effect is even more so.
Male punter, Zandijk

There is an association between alcohol and aggression but in the sense that it disinhibits and so things are distorted.
Bar Manager, Tiel

'Free closing' experiments

Just as in this country, the issues of rowdy, boisterous and sometimes violent behaviour moved up the agendas of police and local authorities, fuelled by some often sensationalised reporting. Multi-agency meetings were to follow with bar owners, police and local authorities recognizing that something would have to be done to improve the situation.

The approach taken by many local authorities was essentially a pragmatic one. If the main problem arose because everybody left the various premises at a particular closing time , what would happen if that fixed closing time was removed?

In 1987 a number of local councils decided to experiment with 'free' closing times. In some areas all licensed premises were allowed to trade at any time they wished. In others, this permission was granted only to certain operators who met a number of requirements. These were mainly related to noise levels and the potential impact on residential areas.

We talked with a number of police officers in various towns in Holland and their views on the experiments have been, without exception, in favour of continuing the arrangements. They have referred to a few towns in Holland where the schemes have been less successful, and have pointed out specific difficulties in some residential areas of Amsterdam. In our principal research locations, however, (Utrecht, Tiel, Zandijk, Den Haag) the police remarked on the distinct decline in late-night public disorder which they attribute directly to the changes in licensing regulations.

Before the closing time experiment there was a big problem with large groups of people on the streets when the bars closed.

Now you don't see aggression, fights etc on the streets.

People drink as much now but we don't have the problems.

We were against the idea at first but agreed to the council's idea of an experiment. Our concern was with how we could distribute manpower through the whole night. But we tried it and it has worked well and has not caused a major manpower issue. If you can demonstrate that this method of working prevents problems for the police, then the police are more willing to change their style of working.
Senior Police Officers, Tiel

We discussed the issues with the bar owners and asked them to take responsibility for what people were doing both inside and outside their bars.

We now have a good relationship with the bar owners whereby we cooperate ... we are no longer seen in such a negative light ... we see them for positive reasons in mutual cooperation and the system works.

If there is a problem now we will arrange a meeting straight away with them bar owner and resolve the issue earlier rather than letting it escalate. We have the power to impose a closing time for any bar who doesn't cooperate or which continues to cause problems.
Licensing Officer, Utrecht

The owners and the managers of the bars are responsible for behaviour on their premises and in their neighbourhoods. The bar owners accept it - it is law. The area they are responsible for is the street that the bar is in.
Senior Police Officer, Utrecht

We also interviewed officials in the Ministry of Recreation; representatives in the Union of Municipalities and the Mayors and senior officials of towns participating in the experiments. Their analyses, based on intimate knowledge of the effects of 'free closing times', confirmed the views expressed by the police. The experiments had, with only a few exceptions, been very encouraging and had now, in most towns, become extended practice.

Bar managers and 'punters' were equally enthusiastic about the experiments, and commented on the dramatic reduction in street disorder following the introduction of 'free closing':

> *Street disorder was a problem here when there was a closing time but since the no-closing law things have been fine and much quieter. There are no problems any more except the odd problem with the small discos but generally things are good.*
> **Bar Manager, Tiel**

> *If you compare the difference now you can see how quiet the streets are as people drift from one bar to another or on their way home. It is so quiet you would hardly know that it was the weekend.*
> **Female punter, Tiel**

> *Things here are much better since the licensing changes...much quieter on the streets.*
> **Bar manager, Utrecht**

> *The closing times in England are crazy and are causing many problems on the streets and for the pub managers.*
> **Bar owner, Tiel**

The manager of the Metropool Club in Zandijk was also interviewed. This, it is claimed, is the biggest discotheque in Europe and can accommodate over 3,500 people. Prior to the introduction of 'free' closing there were numerous problems at 2.00am - many of them related to a lack of transportation. It now stays open until 6.00am, when the first trains begin from the nearby station. (The club offers free breakfast to their customers.) This, claims the manager, has drastically reduced the problems both inside and outside of the club. His view has been supported by the local police and by members of the Zandaam council who supervise the licensing arrangements.

The licensing arrangements in Holland are, of course, rather different to our own. As mentioned earlier, local authorities have wide discretion in the granting of licenses and can fix opening and closing times as they see fit. There is a central appeals tribunal which can rule on disagreements between operators and their local council. This tribunal does not, however, have the authority to restrict licensing hours in a particular area, nor does it issue national guidelines.

When the experiments were first proposed, some concern was expressed for the bar managers, in terms of possible difficulties in removing people from their bars at their chosen closing time. The bar managers we spoke to had in fact experienced fewer problems in persuading customers to leave than under the previous system, and 'punters' seemed happy to respect their wishes:

> *There is always somewhere for someone to get a drink in a bar so when it is late at night and I want not to serve somebody I can simply explain that the bar is closing and they can go somewhere else.*
> *Bar manager, Tiel*

> *Most of the bars in the town centre shut their doors at around midnight but they are still open and will let people in but it gives them the opportunity to refuse admission on the door by telling the person that the bar has closed. This way the customer is not offended and knows that there are other bars in the town that will be open. There is no need for frustration.*
> *Female punter, Tiel*

Management style

It must be emphasised that, even in towns where no initial conditions were attached to deregulation, the 'free closing' license is dependent on good management. Licensing officers have the power to withdraw the privilege from bars where trouble continues, or where street-disorder is not prevented. The bar owners and managers we interviewed were very much aware of their responsibilties. They had definite views on the prevention and management of aggression, and their methods were characterised by a non-aggressive approach to potential troublemakers:

> *Fighting is a social problem but with a multi-agency approach you can control things as long as the bar owner takes a responsible attitude.*

Violence provokes violence. They are thinking about changing the style of doorstaff in the discos to a much less threatening image and even using women on the door. A much calmer approach creates a much calmer atmosphere and good results.

Disorder is largely controlled by the bar owners themselves. We are here not just to sell beer but to have a relationship with our customers. You have to be a manager, a social worker and all things to all people.

Sometimes people with problems come here but if you look after them and treat them right then the problems can be avoided. Never be a macho bar owner as this can make matters worse.

These views are, of course, shared by the most effective of the pub managers we have interviewed in England. In Holland, however, this approach appears to be the norm, rather than the exception. The punters we spoke to all commented on the respect which bar managers and staff command, and many felt that problems in Britain were exacerbated by aggressive management:

I have been in bars in England that would not be tolerated here. It is not surprising that the landlords have problems at closing time when they are yelling and trying to throw you out when you have not long ago bought a drink from the same person.

I think the style of the bar owner is very important...knowing the customers and being able to intervene. The bar managers have a lot of respect in Holland and you would not want trouble with them because you would end up isolated from your friends.

Transport

One of the major problems emerging from the UK research was the lack of adequate transport for those leaving the town centres at closing time. Although 'free closing' has the effect of staggering this exodus, the Dutch recognized that inadequate transport could still cause frustration and potential conflict. A further experiment, 'disco-transport', has been introduced in certain towns operating the 'free closing' policy. As a condition of their 'free' license, owners and operators of the larger night-clubs are required to provide cut-price late-night transport to the suburbs and surrounding residential areas. Although some operators were initially unhappy about this requirement, the majority have found that the

scheme attracts more customers to their clubs, and, in some cases, actually makes a profit despite the price controls.

In Section 10 of this report we make a specific recommendation for experimental trials of deregulated licensing hours in certain areas of England and Wales. This proposal is based on both our research in England and on the Dutch work reported here. Additional evidence from the recent experiences in Scotland will also be considered in this context.

Italy

A wide sample of approximately 300 individuals was interviewed in Colle Val d'Elsa, Poggibonsi and Bologna concerning their perceptions of links between alcohol consumption and disorder/aggression. Their responses caused some difficulty and our translators were unable to convince many of them that there was not a 'hidden agenda' to the questioning. Quite simply, the vast majority of interviewees could not understand how anyone could imagine a connection between drinking alcohol and aggressive behaviour.

A straight answer to our basic questions was rarely given. One interviewee said:

> *Violence has always existed, but violence and disorder have different connotations and meanings in different regions of the peninsula.*

In Italy, for centuries, regions have had their own different and independent cultural, economic, social and political development. In order to maintain their independence each region or city had to fight against neighbouring regions or cities (eg. Siena against Florence, Pisa against Lucca, Bologna against Modena etc.) Inside each city rival factions developed. Siena's *Palio* celebrates each year the rivalry among the seventy *Contrade*. Each Palio is preceded, accompanied and followed by episodes of public disorder and intergroup violence. Dante's *Inferno* contains many accounts of the historical precedents of such intergroup rivalry, disorder and violence.

Young men were, and still are, the main participants in both the 'traditional' and less formal, patterns of disorder, but alcohol, according to our informants, is *never* involved. One young man, who is regularly involved in fights with rival gangs and other football supporters, said:

> *When we go to fight we do not drink - we want a clear mind.*

The Italians drink substantially more than the British, but drinking is invariably associated with eating. The social and cultural meaning of drinking is, therefore, somewhat different from that in Britain. For example, we can make a literal translation of the English question "Would you like to come for a drink", but it has little meaning in Italy because 'going for a drink' is not something which, in itself, exists in social reality. Drinking takes place before, during and after a meal - never as an activity unconnected with eating.

The socialisation of drinking starts at a very early age in Italy, with young children sipping wine from their parents' glasses. During this process a child learns that excessive consumption is *reprobate* - morally wrong. This value is deeply internalized because it is reinforced by other significant agencies of socialization - the Catholic church, educational systems and the more general, pervasive aspects of social control.

In Italy you can be described as *una buona forchetta* (a good fork), and this is a positive appreciation of your ability to eat a lot of food. There is no phrase, however, for 'good drinker'.

Patterns of drinking, social situations and institutions, traditions, generational and sex differences vary from region to region. In Bologna, for example, we found that *osterie* still flourish while in Tuscany they have virtually disappeared. New phenomena have started to appear, reflecting northern European influence, such as the *birrerie* which cater predominantly for a young clientele in a pub-like setting. In such places, however, drinking is a means to social ends, but not an end in itself.

From the interviews in Tuscany and Emilia Romagna the main conclusion is crystal clear - there is no perceived link between drinking and public disorder. Violence is explained in a broad social, educational and political context and is not seen as a *personal* responsibility.

When we said to our interviewees that in Britain there is a common assumption that drinking can lead to disorder, they tended to give two explanations. Firstly, they suggested, that if pubs close at 11.00pm people must drink faster. Secondly, when the pubs close, people have nowhere to go to discharge their energies and are, therefore, more likely to fight amongst themselves or against the police.

Other important aspects in the two Italian regions are that bar managers tend also to be the owners and their bars are open until late at night. Bar owners use preventive measures in order to avoid violent episodes and seek to build

up personal relationships with customers. *Carabinieri* are encouraged to visit in order to maintain the bar's good image in the community.

The striving for 'macho' image is as evident among Italian youth as among their British counterparts. In Italy, however, this image is most directly related to possession and defence of girl friends, driving fast cars, belonging to gangs and going to discos. Drinking alcohol plays no part in the development of macho lifestyles. Drinking is an ancillary activity involving driving from bar to bar rather than staying in one place for an entire evening (hence the concern for drink-driving in Italy rather than drink-related disorder).

A more detailed account of the Italian experience is presented in the remainder of this section and arranged according to seven major themes which emerged from our interviews:

1) Drinking is considered in its social context and the cross-cultural differences in the social tolerance of drunken behaviour are evident.

2) The rituals of drinking are seen to be different in the two cultures when we examine the sequences of events which make up a typical weekend.

3) Violence is much more likely to happen in Italian discos than in bars or *birrerie* and alcohol is not seen as a significant factor in this context.

4) The lack of links between alcohol and disorder is further stressed in discussion concerning routine drinking activities.

5) Violence tends to be explained with reference to broad social and political issues.

6) A specific focus for violence is the football game.

7) In *campanilismo*, violence takes on a ritual nature involving conflict between groups from rival neighbouring villages and towns.

8) Bar managers/owners encourage a sense of community and discourage violent or disorderly behaviour.

Drinking in its social context

According to the young Italian drinkers and older bar owners with whom we talked, there are very few differences in the reasons for participating in drinking behaviour between the Southern and Northern individuals and groups. It is seen largely as a social activity, a medium for communal meetings and the bars and clubs provide an atmosphere where people enjoy the company of friends and interact, enjoy music on occasions and maybe participate in dancing.

> *People come to the bar to become happy, to sing and enjoy themselves, to play music.*
> **Bologna, Dodi's Bar**

> *I drink, I might even get drunk when I am with my friends, but it is relaxed and in a friendly atmosphere: the important thing is more being with friends than drinking.*
> **Bologna, punter**

> *We go to a birreria usually to be together, to talk, drinking bonds together, it links socially ...'ti lasci andare', you express yourself, let yourself go.*
> **Bologna, punter**

> *It is a matter of fashion and group excitement, groups tend to excite themselves and when they drink you forget the world and psychological rules. When you drink you feel disinhibited.*
> **Poggibonsi, Bar Canard**

> *The image of drink through advertising is one of sophistication and sexual imagery but is not sold as having a macho connection.*
> **Bologna, Dodi's Bar**

> *Our parents don't mind us to be drunk maybe once or twice, but if it was regular they would consider it morally wrong.*
> **Bologna, ARCI Bar**

How much drinking and drunkenness is there?

We can see from some of the quotes included here that there seems to be a rather different attitude to the amounts of alcohol that are consumed. Whereas in this country we might consider the act of getting drunk as a 'laugh', a good night out or an opportunity for macho display, the Italians think quite differently.

For them, the opportunity to drink starts at a much earlier age and there seems to be a much stronger moral and social code which inhibits excessive alcohol intake. While drunkenness might be tolerated on a couple of occasions both peer group and parental/social pressure discourage repeated episodes.

> *Beer and wine can be served and drunk at any age - spirits can be served at 18.*
> **Poggibonsi, Bar Canard**

> *People can be drunk or merry, but not aggressive ... The frequency of seeing drunk people depends on the place, but if there is youth it is more normal to see drunk people.*
> **Bologna, punter**

> *If anyone of us were drunk the others would control them.*

> *If anyone from another group was drunk to the point of annoyance they would be isolated and very unpopular.*

> *If somebody is drunk and a nuisance, and throws things, the Oste [bar owner], intervenes.*
> **Bologna, 3 punters**

> *The problem of drinking is not in bars but in private parties, because the barman tries to keep the situation under control. People drink because they don't have alternatives to enjoy themselves, like sport.*
> **Poggibonsi, Bar Canard**

Sequences of events and drinking
We can see that although there is a fairly minimal level of public drunkenness in Italy, the Italians see the use of alcohol as a stimulant, or at least a means of enhancing their natural 'energy' levels. This excess energy, however, tends to be channelled into mainly social activity rather than anti-social pursuits.

> *A typical evening for Friday and Saturday evening is to go out in a large group, maybe about 6-10 of us. We go out at about 10.30pm and go for something to eat. We drink at the same time but maybe a couple of beers or some wine. Then we will often go from the town to a disco at the coast.*

> *Sometimes we may take a bottle of liquor and drink it on the way in the car ... so when we arrive we have lots of energy and sometimes drunkenness in the group. We will then go to the disco until maybe 3 or 4am in the morning but not drinking much, more burning off energy by dancing and talking.*
> **Bologna, ARCI Bar**

> *At the quarry they start the day with a grappa and drink intermittently through the day, but nobody gets drunk and the lorry drivers are still able to drive.*

> *When they go to a disco that is when they start to drink. Before, they have eaten their main meal.*

> *When we leave this place there are always many options open to us in terms of places to go, places to go dancing and burn off energy.*

> *Having choices is important ... it is possible that often when drinking and with nothing to do afterwards that you might get into trouble but we have plenty of choices of things to do.*

> *The British people maybe do not have the options to discharge their energy.*
> **Bologna, Dodi's Bar**

We will see later in this section that what violence exists is generally not associated with alcohol use and therefore the places which dispense alcohol do not have an associated violent image. The reported violence in the discos is associated with disputes between individuals and the problems of large groups of being concentrated into one establishment, rather than incidents fuelled by alcohol consumption, although some may argue that these associations are inseparable.

Violence in discos

> *In discos where gangs go there is violence.*
> **Poggibonsi, Bar Canard**

> *I have seen violence in discos and it is usually an argument over a girl but sometimes it can start through an accident, eg.somebody bumps into someone by accident and if that person is in a bad mood he will get angry.*
> **Bologna, punter**

> *There is some violence inside the discos but it can spread outside.*
> **Poggibonsi, Bar Canard**

> *We haven't been involved in violence in discos but we have seen it and some friends have been involved.*
> **Bologna, punter**

> *Violence is more likely to be associated with drugs, particularly amphetamines, which are readily available at some discos on the coast.*
> **Bologna, Dodi's Bar**

The most striking difference between the Italian and British culture was highlighted by all the drinkers, bar owners and officials with whom we discussed the issue: the fact no-one made any direct association between alcohol consumption and aggression, violence or disorder was, even to us, quite remarkable. Individuals looked totally bemused when they were asked what they considered to be the links between alcohol and aggression/disorder. The response was universal: "there is no relationship, there is violence and there is drinking but the two are incompatible".

Links between drinking and violence

> *There is no direct association between drinking and violence.*
> **Dodi's Bar, Bologna**

> *There is violence ... but it is not linked to drinking.*
> **Poggibonsi, Bar Canard**

> *Because we do not see a relationship between alcohol and violence and disorder there must be political reasons for people to make this relationship.*
> **Bologna, Dodi's Bar**

> *There is no association between alcohol and violence.*
> **Bologna, Bar Ubaldo**

> *There is no direct relationship between alcohol and disorder or aggression.*
> **Bologna, ARCI**

> *We can remember no incidents of violence in this bar.*
> **Dodi's Bar, Bologna**

> *There are fights ... but alcohol is not involved because if you fight you need a clear mind.*
> *Bologna, Bar Ubaldo*

When we pursued the issue of the causes of violence we encountered a number of responses ranging from frustration and changes of mood to education, parental influence, disillusionment and politics. The only role that alcohol may have to play in this process was as a disinhibiter which influences already established patterns of behaviour.

Violence in a broader context

> *The way you are brought up, the culture, your parents, the education syste, frustration ... these are the causes of aggression and violence.*
> *Bologna, ARCI*

> *On the rare occasions when a fight may take place there is always a motivational factor such as frustration, but it is never simply due to drunkenness or alcohol.*
> *Bologna, Dodi's Bar*

> *This problem is linked to society, to the way you are brought up, and it clearly varies from one country to another ... There are people that are violent, hooligan, delinquent, out of necessity. In this case there are problems that can be typically social: people that cannot find their way in society, they don't know clearly what they want. Maybe the problem starts in the education system, in what you learn at school or college. It is not easy for me to identify the causes of violence in this country, it is quite a complex issue. In any case it is very difficult to isolate the actions of individuals outside the context of society.*
> *Bologna, 3 punters*

> *Violence has always existed. La violenza e sempre esistita.*
> *Poggibonsi, Bar Canard*

> *Violence exists but it is related to social and political issues ... There is violence against the 'extra comunitari' [EEC immigrants and in particular African immigrants who are market trading on the streets but not paying the proper stall fees.] These people are given houses and jobs at the expense of the local people.*
> *Bologna, Bar Ubaldo*

The problem of violence has arisen out of racism,(also in Florence). These are small incidents of violence against the African immigrants but they are exaggerated by the Press. They are isolated cases ... the attacks are carried out by extreme right wing political groups. But politics is an excuse to create violence. It is fashionable to attack these immigrants.
Poggibonsi, Bar Canard

People who are aggressive may become more aggressive if alcohol is used as it disinhibits and therefore the aggression shows.
Bologna, ARCI

Maybe someone is violent even without drinking, the drink in that circumstance can excite the person even more, it can provoke them.
Bologna, punter

Many of the sample identified the football and basketball stadiums as the places that one might expect to come across violent incidents, perhaps not surprisingly suggesting that the violence generally occurs between rival groups/gangs of supporters and that the use of drugs may be a major contributing factor in the violent process. There is also a suggestion here that there are two distinct types of violent incident, firstly where the episode is planned and secondly where there is a spontaneous escalation.

Violence in sports stadiums

Violence of course exists in Bologna and you can witness it at football matches between the rival fans of particular clubs.
Bologna, ARCI

Some go to the stadium with the intention of causing violence. They might use drugs, eg. marijuana, but they don't drink.
Poggibonsi, Bar Canard

There is organised violence at the football and basketball stadiums between rival fans which attracts spontaneous escalation.
Bologna, Bar Ubaldo

Problems of violence are seen largely in the stadiums.
Poggibonsi. Bar Canard

In the stadiums there might be violence, some groups go there to cause violence. When there are football matches where there is a risk of violence there are often groups of 20 or 30 who will deliberately try to provoke up to 300 to get involved. On the other hand there are occasions when the violence is not planned and erupts spontaneously.
Bologna, punter

We wait for rival fans at the railway station but the police often cordon off the rival fans.
Bologna, Bar Ubaldo

Campanilismo

These fights between rival gangs from different towns, villages or regions can take place in discos or stadiums. They take place at the weekends, on Sundays ... It is a tradition to go to the discos to meet people from different towns and often these meetings can end in violent encounters.
Poggibonsi, Bar Canard

There are fights between rival gangs from different areas in the city ... young people might fight amongst themselves but violence is not extended to others, like mugging old people.
Bologna, Bar Ubaldo

Management/control of violence
Inside the disco

There are doormen, 'gorillas'. Their presence acts as a deterrent to trouble makers. Where door staff are not used the owner would call in the police and that would result in the whole place being cleared and the fight may continue outside.
Poggibonsi, Bar Canard

In the *Osteria* (similar to the British bar with food)

If somebody is drunk and a nuisance to other people then the bar owner would intervene. If somebody is drunk and very quiet then things carry on as normal.
Bologna, punter

In the bars (more traditional continental style)

Some young people started to cause some problems in the special room set aside for the slot machines so the bar owner simply removed the machines and replaced them with a billiard table. The good customers stayed but the undesirable ones didn't like it and went elsewhere. It is the barman who keeps things under control.
Poggibonsi, Bar Canard

In the stadiums

At football matches we are always frisked and anything resembling an offensive weapon, even an orange, is confiscated or entrance is refused.

If anybody is drunk or resembles it the police will not let them in.
Bologna, Bar Ubaldo

Social/moral control

If anyone from another group is drunk to the point of general annoyance then they would be isolated and very unpopular.
Bologna, ARCI

The police

Local police will not beat them because they know the people so they often call in the police from outside Bologna to deal with say a demonstration. If they are taken into a police van then they get a good beating.
Bologna, Bar Ubaldo

Spain

Although our fieldwork in Spain was limited in comparison with the UK and Italian sites, our observations and the comments of the bar owners, locals and tourists with whom we spoke revealed a picture somewhat at odds with that presented by the UK tabloid press.

The fieldwork was conducted in a seaside resort, Benalmadena, on the Costa del Sol. The town is a 'satellite' of Torremolinos, and an established haunt for young British tourists.

Levels and nature of disorder

Benalmadena is a noisy, bustling place by night and the ''ere we go' brigades are much in evidence. It must be said, however, that while the atmosphere was at times intimidating, we observed no serious disorder or

acts of aggression during our stay. The bar owners we interviewed confirmed that disorder is not considered a major problem:

> *Generally I don't believe the British holidaymaker abroad is a problem ... yes there a quite a lot who drink heavily and get drunk and are rowdy but we don't see shop windows being smashed or large amounts of vandalism and fighting.*

> *Around the streets and bars there really isn't any hassle or problems to speak of.*

> *In 8 years in this bar we can account for maybe 7 or 8 incidents.*

> *The youngsters have a good time, they drink, they get happy and probably get noisy as well but you don't have major problems.*

These informants considered that young British holidaymakers were responsible for much of the disorder that does occur:

> *The Spanish get provoked by the British.*

> *If there are disputes it is usually between the Spanish and the British. You won't get two Spaniards having a go they will shout at each other and maybe push each other but almost never do they come to blows.*

> *Every week there are scuffles down in the square where all the discos are. Maybe two or three a night - mainly between British tourists or other tourists. The age groups can range from 16-25. The younger ones tend to get served drinks over here and this may be a cause of the problem.*

Many of our interviewees felt that the British Press were to blame for exaggerating the problems:

> *I think the problems you talk about with the British in Spain is exaggerated beyond belief*
> *male punter*

> *I don't know why the British press give parts of Spain such a bad name . Down the road at Torremollinos you get a much younger age group but even there it is not fighting all the time otherwise people just wouldn't go there.*
> *bar owner*

> *You don't read articles in the paper about drinking and disorder on Spain - it is not considered worthy of mention because it is not something that is part of everyday Spanish life..*
> *male punter*

Drinking styles and culture

In terms of drinking styles, the Spanish cultural traditions appeared almost identical to those in Italy. Drinking is not seen as an isolated activity, or an end in itself, but as part of a relaxed social occasion which invarably also involves eating. Children learn about responsible drinking and acceptable behaviour from a very young age, although this is considered a normal part of growing up, and not regarded as an 'issue':

> *Children go to bars with their families and learn the expected behaviour. They will have wine with water with a meal or snack.*
> *male punter*

> *The Spanish may go out after 10 o'clock having eaten the family meal. Then they go to the centre and have a drink outside in the street, it's a social occasion, moving from one bar to another.*
> *male punter*

> *The Spanish usually eat a snack with a drink.*
> *bar owner*

Although the Spanish consume at least as much alcohol as the British, their drinking is done at a relaxed pace, and is not the object of the evening:

> *In Spain if one bar closes there is always another one to go to and you think if I don't drink now that I can always drink at some other time. The option to drink is not restricted and you can literally go for a drink 24 hours a day.*
> *male punter*

> *Bars are open until 6am so you can always get a drink. People don't have to rush.*
> *male punter*

> *The licensing laws are relaxed here so people so people can have a drink virtually 24 hours a day without a problem.*
> *barman*

Alcohol and aggression

Thanks to the much-resented British tabloids, our Spanish informants at least understood our questions on the relationship between drinking and disorder, although their responses were similar to those of our Italian interviewees:

Drinking, aggression and violence are not considered to be a major issue in Spain and I have heard of no studies into the subject nor any media coverage of the topic.
bar owner

The Spanish people don't fight with drink..they become happy and jolly.
male punter

Alcohol and aggression do not go together in Spain. Drinking is part of the culture.
barman

Drink in itself does not equal violence, it is other factors which affect people and drink may be one of them.
bar owner

The fact that in England the bars close early and there is limited drinking up time probably makes people rush their drinks and get it down their neck as quickly as possible.
male punter

The police

The Spanish police appear to command more respect than their British counterparts, and many informants commented on the foolhardiness of British lads who attempted to challenge their authority:

The young Spanish do not fight with the police..the police are very hard here it is intimidating to see a policeman with a gun at one side and a truncheon on the other.
bar owner

There is no feeling of resentment toward the police if there is a fight then everybody knows it has to be stopped. It is expected. You don't get crowds turning against them.
bar owner

Management style

The bar owners we interviewed felt that their British customers were the most likely to become aggressive when drunk, and emphasised the importance of non-aggressive management and prevention techniques:

> *If someone is drunk in this bar we try to be polite in order to control the situation.if you are violent or aggressive it is likely that is the response you will get back although sometimes we have to physically escort them off the premises.*

The majority of bar owners seemed willing to forgive the occasional excesses of British lads, on the grounds that they could not be expected to adapt, in a couple of weeks, to the more relaxed drinking style of their Spanish equivalents:

> *In England, they are treated like children at school - now you can not buy any more drinks, now you must stop drinking, now you must leave the bar, now you must go home ... When they come here they are like children without their parents. Nobody tells them what to do and they have not learned how to control themselves. They can be 20 or 25 but they are like children.*

France

Interviews and discussions were conducted with small groups of students, aged between 20 and 26, from Paris and the surrounding area. The majority of the students had spent some time in England as EFL students, and the discussions focused on comparisons between the two countries.

Drinking styles

The initial experience of drinking for the majority seems to have been in a relaxed family setting, rather than among their peers or in private.

> *My first alcoholic drink was with my family in France. I was about 12 or 13 when allowed to take wine with the family meal.*

The general belief was that alcohol would enhance a social occasion. Their parents had not preached to them about the evils of alcohol and none of the French students saw any reason to hide their drinking behaviour (drunken or otherwise) from their parents. All the subjects agreed that their English counterparts appeared to drink for drinking's sake, rather than as this social enhancer.

> *English people know before they go out if they are going to drink and how much they are likely to drink. In France, it is not so premeditated. It depends on what is happening and if there is a good atmosphere or not. We go out...sometimes we drink and sometimes we do not drink.*

If drinking played a secondary role in the socialising process in France, their experiences in England confirmed that drinking was often the major reason for going out here, and that the ability to drink a lot is seen as something of which to be proud and served as a symbol of masculinity.

> *I notice that English people like competition when they drink. They will compete with each other in the pub. Whoever can drink the most is considered the best person.*

> *Drinking is a sign of being a man in England. It is stupid, because you should drink because you like it and not to compete or to show you are the big man.*

Licensing hours

Some of the subjects also mentioned the speed at which their English friends drank alcohol and suggested that this is not just because of their competitive instincts, but because of the limited time available here compared to France.

> *So many places in England close at eleven, whereas in France, there are many places to go if you want to drink through the night. Perhaps this is why people compete so much.*

With endearing modesty, our informants believed that both French drinkers and bar owners were more responsible than their English equivalent. They agreed that the sight of an intoxicated individual was a rare one in the bars of France, but a common one on this side of the water.

> *In France, you cannot get a drink in a bar if you are drunk. In Britain, I see people drunk in the pubs and getting served. I think this is because the pubs are more concerned about the money and are not as responsible as they are in France.*

We suggested that it was, perhaps, the restrictive licensing that puts commercial pressures on the English landlord to be less responsible and that similar pressures of time available exist for the drinker. They still insisted that a relaxation of the laws would not curtail what they saw as the natural

English instinct to compete, but that it might lead to a more responsible publican.

Alcohol and aggression

The general view was that alcohol did not directly cause a person to behave aggressively, but that it could exaggerate an already inherent tendency.

> *It depends on temperament. Alcohol will amplify the temperament of a person. With me, I am quiet and content, so alcohol suits me well ... if I was more unhappy, for example, then alcohol could make me angry and want to fight.*

Non-metropolitan disorder

An English girl (of about the same age as the informants quoted above) grew up in France and provided the following account of adolescent drinking and disorder in a small town. Briancon, in the French Alps, is about the same size as Banbury.

> *Drinking was simply not an issue. Most French children started drinking wine with meals at about age 12 or 13. This was not seen as a special privilege or associated with any 'rite of passage' - the majority of younger children, although they were sometimes offered diluted wine, just did not like the taste.*

> *My 14-year-old friends had no trouble getting served wine and beer in the local bars and cafes and, as there was no status to be gained from obtaining or consuming alcohol, we were just as happy to drink soft-drinks. In fact, the preferred alcoholic drinks tended to be those which most resembled the very sweet soft drinks popular with French children. The favourite alcoholic beverage among my 13- and 14-year-old school friends was a "Monaco" - a bright pink, frothy mixture of lager, lemonade and grenadine syrup. This revolting concoction was considered, even by the older teenagers, to be more sophisticated than "straight" lager, largely because of its name, and we were highly critical of barmen who failed to measure the proportions to our satisfaction. One particularly lazy cafe owner lost our custom for several weeks by refusing to co-operate and insisting on serving us plain ordinary boring lager.*

As a 15-year-old, I became a member of the local black- leather-jacket street gang - a group similar in many respects to young British 'lager louts'. Although only a few of us were over 18, we could ask for, and be served any alcoholic drink, including spirits, in the local bars - without causing so much as a raised eyebrow. As our primary object was to defy authority, this was of course no fun at all. There were far more effective acts of rebellion to enjoy, and we were frequently in trouble with the local gendarmes for staging motorbike races down the main street.

This gang was responsible for a fair proportion of the disorder in the town, and the levels were comparable with those that currently exist in similar small towns in Britain, such as Banbury. Alcohol, however, was not a factor. The more large-scale incidents generally involved inter-town rivalry, usually associated with the ice-hockey teams who were deadly enemies. More common were disputes over girls, or fights resulting from an insult to someone's masculinity or his sister.

Some fights were less spontaneous, and appeared to be part of local custom. During the summer, there was a disco every few weeks in a village just outside the town. Although the town was a tourist trap, these events were known only to locals, and catered almost exclusively for the under-20s. Very little alcohol was consumed, and there was always, by tradition, a fight afterwards. Even the time of the fight could be predicted almost to the minute. In fact, most of the lads would take their girlfriends home at midnight, by motorbike, returning in time for the start of the fight at about 12:15. Only unescorted females of very dubious reputation were allowed to remain at the disco, and failure to ensure one's girlfriend's safety in this fashion was considered a serious insult.

Because of this irritating ritual, I only ever witnessed one of these fights, when my companion's motorbike failed to start. The event was something of a disappointment, as the protagonists exchanged more elaborate insults than actual blows, and I began to suspect a less chivalrous motive for the Cinderella procedure. Still, a number of minor injuries were eventually inflicted and the participants seemed satisfied with their performance. There were about 20 lads actively involved in the fight, which was, as usual, between "town" boys and those from the surrounding villages, with a further 30 or so onlookers shouting encouragement. The local police appeared to treat the event as one would a school-playground squabble, arriving late , delivering a few half-hearted warnings and grumbling about the interruption to their quiet evening. Lesser incidents have been dubbed "riots" by the British press.

The gang was regarded more as a nuisance than a serious problem by the police, who tended to indulge in endless 'final' warnings and dire threats rather than actual arrests. Most of my leather-jacket friends had left school at 16 to work as mechanics or on building sites. They certainly considered themselves very tough, and macho status within the gang was of great importance to them. Such reputations were secured largely by speed and daring on motorbikes, lack of fear of the police and other authority figures, a willingness to fight at the slightest provocation and an ability to attract the prettiest girls. Drinking was simply not a factor, in fact, anyone who did become obviously drunk was treated with scorn and derision by other members of the gang.

7

Recommendations and proposals

Changes in licensing laws

While we will have much to say about the need for a range of specific initiatives to combat drink-related disorder, we begin with a proposal which has, by necessity, been pre-empted a number of times in this report - in those sections dealing with problems following closing time in our research sites in England, historical perspectives, European comparisons (the Dutch experience in particular) and elsewhere.

We see changes in licensing laws as being essential to long-term solutions and highly advantageous to the effectiveness of more short-term remedies.

Our principal concern is with the present fixed licensing hours which apply to all premises where drink is sold for public consumption. These mean that the majority of pubs all close at 11:00pm, with customers being required to leave the premises at 11:20pm. Pubs with Special Hours Certificates and Public Entertainment Licenses close, in the main, at 12:30am and night clubs and similar establishments close at 2:00am (3:00am in certain parts of London).

As we have seen in Section 5, there are typical peaks for Public Disorder arrests between 11:00pm and 12:00pm and, where there are a significant number of clubs and discotheques, between 2:00am and 3:00am.

There is no doubt in our minds, based on extensive fieldwork in various towns and cities at these times, that disorder is directly related to the sudden increase in density of (mainly) young people in the streets and public areas at these times.

We have noted in Section 3.1 that 47% of all incidents of violence and disorder in pubs occurs in just two hours of the week - between 11:00pm and 12:00am on Fridays and at the same time on Saturdays. Over 50% of all arrests for drink-related crimes and Public Order offences occurs around these times. Further peaks in arrests occur immediately after the closing of night clubs which, again, discharge large numbers of people in a very short period of time.

The peak density immediately following fixed closing times has 5 direct effects on the patterns of activity in town centres:

1   There is a greatly increased probability of conflict between individuals and groups of individuals.

2   There are increased opportunities for acts of self-presentation, 'showing off' to peers etc because of the presence of a large, and often encouraging, audience.

3   The task of the police at these times is difficult due to the possibility of minor confrontations with individuals or small groups to develop into more serious disturbances involving hundreds of people.

4   Transportation facilities at these times are often stretched to their limits. Taxi drivers have expressed their reluctance to take fares just after closing times.

5   Fast-food outlets and other refreshments are often overwhelmed at these times. This creates frustration among waiting customers. Some outlets of the major chains - eg MacDonalds, Wimpy etc - now close at 10.30pm because of previous problems at pub closing time.

Fixed closing times are also responsible, at least in part, for particular aspects of drinking styles in British pubs. The amount of drinking increases just prior to leaving, prompted by calls of 'last orders'. The final drinks are hastily consumed, creating a temporary peak of intoxification.

In other countries we have visited, where licensing hours are generally less restricted, there is a steady decline in the rate of drinking prior to leaving. Customers tend to leave in small groups throughout the evening, causing few problems in the process. We have referred to the recent changes in licensing hours in Holland in Section 21. The success of what they term 'free' closing is not in doubt - it has led to a marked reduction in drink-related crimes and public order offences throughout the country. The experience of 'staggered' closing in Scotland has also, in the main, had favourable results.

In England and Wales we have seen that modest extensions in licensing hours (from 10.30pm to 11.00pm in some areas, and throughout the

afternoon) has not created any significant difficulty for the police or local authorities. Nor has it, as many predicted, increased gross consumption levels[1]. The extended trading hours in Holland have similarly not led to increased drinking

On the basis of this evidence we propose that amendments should be made to the relevant Licensing Acts to permit experimental trials of either extended or deregulated licensing hours in certain local areas. Participation by licensees would be voluntary. Permission to carry out such experimental trials would be granted to local authorities on a number of conditions:

1   Licenses would only be granted to premises which meet certain requirements of existing Public Entertainment Licenses and Special Hours Certificates - eg safety regulations, fire limits etc.

2   There would be regard for the effect of later trading on residents in the immediate vicinity of licensed premises. It would be unlikely that deregulation would be given to pubs and night clubs located in residential areas.

3   The operators of the licensed premises would be required to demonstrate that management, staff and those engaged in a security role had received adequate training in the prevention and control of aggression and disorder.

4   Full cooperation of the police in the areas would be required. They would also be involved in monitoring the effects of the changes over a period of 18 months.

5   Increased vigilance would be required to prevent underage drinking in premises with extended or deregulated hours. A proof of age scheme would be mandatory.

The monitoring of the effects of the changes would be conducted by the relevant police forces in conjunction with independent evaluation commissioned by, for example, the Home Office. Funding for such evaluations may already be available in some cases through the 'Safer Cities' groups.

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1   See, for example, Goddard,E. *Drinking in England and Wales in the late 1980s*, OPCS 1991

The specific criteria to be considered in such evaluations would be:

1   Changes in reports of, and arrests for, drink-related crimes and public order offences. It would be desirable to obtain such data for a period of six months prior to the introduction of the experimental periods. (Those areas where such data are already collated would be able to proceed immediately.) Qualitative assessments by the police would also be obtained.

2   Observations regarding the density of people in the town centres at various times throughout the night.

3   Reports of late-night noise and disturbances, vandalism etc from residents in the area.

4   Reports from restaurateurs, fast-food operators and other vendors in the areas.

5   Reports from transport operators, taxi drivers etc.

6   Reports from tenants, managers and owners of licensed premises regarding:

   a   Changes in customer behaviour within the premises, with particular regard to problems previously associated with closing times.

   b   Changes in drinking styles, rates of consumption etc.

   c   Observations regarding the times and rates at which customers leave the premises.

   d   Observations regarding the mood of customers leaving the premises.

Our expectations would be that:

1   The peak densities which are presently witnessed in urban centres would be replaced by a more gradual, and orderly, pattern of 'drifting' home.

2   There would be significant reductions in reports of drink-related offences and in arrests for such offences.

3   Drunkenness would be reduced due to less 'hurried' patterns of consumption.

4   Availability of refreshment and transportation facilities would be increased due to the more evenly spread demand.

5   Reports of nuisance and noise would decrease in direct proportion to the lower densities at a given time.

We do not underestimate the difficulties which will be involved in gaining the necessary support in Parliament for a debate on changes to the licensing laws. It is the case, however, that support for the proposed experimental changes has been expressed by a number of bodies, including police forces and local authorities. We do not envisage that there will be a shortage of towns and cities willing to be engaged in such schemes.

We are also of the opinion that while deregulation of licensing hours will lead to immediate reductions in drink-related disorder, the long-term effects will also be highly beneficial. As we have commented in a number of places in this report, drink-related disorder is strongly related to a traditional, macho culture of drinking behaviour in this country. Elsewhere in Europe (see Sections 17 - 21), excessive consumption and drunkenness are viewed not as manly but as rather childish. The attitudinal differences stem from more general approaches to prohibition and restriction. We see the deregulation of licensing hours in suitable locations as being a significant step towards eroding both this macho style and the problems which arise from relatively high levels of consumption in relatively short periods of time.

Consistency in application of existing licensing laws

There is, currently, wide regional variation in the application of licensing laws by Licensing Justices. This is particularly evident in the approaches taken by benches to licensed premises where incidents of disorder and violence have been known to occur, or where patterns of disorder are common after closing time on such premises. Further variation exists in the approaches taken by local authorities in their granting, or not, of Public

Entertainment Licenses. While it is appropriate that local authorities and magistrates should have some flexibility of powers, allowing them to consider potential problems specific to a given area, it seems sensible to establish national guidelines and criteria to be applied by both Licensing Justices and relevant local authority committees.
We therefore recommend:

- Consideration should be given, by the Home Office and other relevant government agencies, to establishing clearer guidelines for magistrates and local authorities in the exercise of their powers.

- Specific guidance should be given on the requirements and preconditions to be attached to licenses and certificates of premises where the potential for disorder or violence exists or where public disorder outside of the premises can be shown to be related to the manner in those premises have been operated.

- Licensing justices and local authorities should be encouraged to be selective in the application of such restrictions, rather than, for example, opposing all Special Hours Certificates without regard to individual operating standards.

Policing

It is very evident that the strategies employed by the police in dealing with young people leaving licensed premises have a direct impact on levels of violence and disorder. A number of the large-scale incidents we have investigated have involved direct confrontations between groups of young men and the police. The so-called 'Banbury Riot' is a good example of such an incident (see Section 9). In a less dramatic way, minor conflicts between the police and small groups of people leaving pubs and night clubs are regular occurrences. The way such incidents are handled and the ways in which police seek to prevent problems are critical to maintaining public order.
There has been a tendency among some local forces to adopt an essentially 'reactive' approach to policing town centres at night. Typically, very few officers are deployed on beats. Instead, their presence is made evident by 'riot' vans, containing up to ten officers, parked in prominent positions.

Other support units are often on call when required. This strategy, it is claimed, has a deterrent effect and ensures the immediate availability of officers in cases of emergency.

While the approach may have some strategic merits, it also has distinct disadvantages. It does not facilitate, for example, 'proactive' policing which enable excesses of 'high spirits' or minor disturbances to be quelled through early and tactful intervention by officers. It also mitigates against routine visits to licensed premises during the evening which allow officers to monitor the mood and behaviour of customers. Changes in policing strategies adopted by the Oxford police in 1988 and 1989, which placed greater emphasis on the preventative role of beat officers, are thought to account, at least in part, for the major reduction in arrests for public disorder offences which was subsequently experienced. (See Sections 10 and 11)

Proactive policing, however, requires a number of essential skills which might, due to the absence of specialist training, be lacking in some officers. Some senior officers, for example, have voiced reservations about the ability of their constables to undertake such a role. In addition, there are strong anti-police attitudes evident in some areas which might lead to unnecessary confrontations arising from even the most skilled proactive approaches.

Accepting these difficulties we nevertheless recommend:

- Increased training of police officers in conflict prevention and resolution.

- Increased deployment of trained officers in a proactive role in town centres on Friday and Saturday evenings.

- Regular, informal visits by police to licensed premises during evening opening hours.

Pub licensees

A number of the major pub retail companies have introduced specialist training for their managers in dealing with potentially violent incidents on their premises. Even so, many managers and tenants of town centre pubs have received little or no training in this area. While many have good 'intuitive' skills which enable them to prevent and control disorderly or violent behaviour, some manifestly lack such abilities. (For a more detailed

analysis of the nature of pub violence see 'Conflict and Violence in Pubs', MCM research 1990)

We have stressed earlier (See Section 3) that there is a direct relationship between what happens inside licensed premises and what occurs subsequently, particularly after closing time. The level of late-night disorder could, therefore, be reduced significantly if steps were taken to prevent the antecedents of such disorder developing earlier in the evening.

It seems reasonable that any company which operates licensed premises with the potential for disorder should ensure that its managers and staff are appropriately selected and adequately trained to deal with such problems. Particular attention should be paid in such training to routines for closing a pub and ensuring that customers leave in an orderly manner.

We recommend:

- Licensing justices should consider the experience, qualification and training of licensees when granting licenses for premises where there is a known risk of disorder and violence.

- National standards of selection and training for licensees and staff in conflict prevention and management should be established by, for example, the Brewers' Society, British Institute of Innkeepers and The Portman Group.

Liaison between police and licensees

There is, currently, wide variation in the degree to which cooperative links are established between local police forces and operators of licensed premises. In some areas there is open hostility between the police and licensees. On the other hand, there are many examples around the country of good levels of liaison and cooperation which facilitate the prevention and control of drink-related disorder. Areas where Pubwatch schemes operate successfully, for example, tend to be those where positive attitudes and mutual support have been engendered among both police and publicans. We recommend that:

- Local police forces, pub retail companies and trade bodies such as the LVA should consider specific ways in which communication

and liaison between licensees and the police could be developed and improved.

- New licensees should, as a matter of routine, be invited to meet with local police officers to discuss potential operating difficulties and lines of support.

- Retail companies should brief line managers to encourage licensees to establish clear lines of communication with the police and welcome visits by them to their premises during opening hours.

Night clubs and discotheques

While the majority of public disorder offences are committed soon after pub closing time, there is a second peak of problems later in the night as those premises with extended hours close their doors. The points made above concerning the selection and training of managers also apply, therefore, to club operators. In addition there is a major need to establish clear guidelines for the role and activity of door and security staff in these premises. While there are a number of clubs which are skilfully managed and controlled, there are those in which the traditional 'bouncer' culture is still very evident.

We recommend:

- National standards of selection and training for door and security staff should be established.

- Appropriate training should be a precondition for employing a person in the specific role of door supervisor.

- A register of all persons employed as door supervisors or in a security role should be maintained by operators and made available for inspection by the police and public.

- All door supervisors should wear approved identity cards while performing their duties.

- Consideration should be given to a national licensing scheme for such staff.

Transportation

Lack of late-night transportation in many areas is clearly linked to problems of disorder. Competition for buses or taxis often leads to conflict and frustration. Distinct difficulties also exist for transport operators whose staff are not adequately trained to deal with the problems which might arise at such times. We recommend:

- Local authorities and private transport operators should be encouraged to provide additional buses on appropriate routes to ensure an orderly 'clearing' of the streets on Friday and Saturday nights.

- Operators of licensed premises which eject large numbers of customers at closing time should be invited to participate in discussions regarding special transport facilitates which they may be able to provide. Examples of schemes operating in Holland might serve as appropriate models in this context.

- Staff operating such transport should be adequately trained in dealing with problems of conflict, disorder and violence

- A 'late-night' relaxation of the operating restrictions imposed on private minicab companies might be considered in some areas.

Fast-food and refreshment facilities

A number of fast-food chains have ceased to trade after 10:30 in some areas in order to avoid potential problems when pubs close. Those that do trade after this time often provide poor quality food and are sometimes ineffectively managed. In some cases, people who have left pubs are encouraged to remain in the streets because of the presence of such outlets. On the other hand, the availability of food is clearly required on Friday and Saturday nights. **We recommend:**

- Local authorities should give greater consideration, in applying their planning powers, to standards of merchandise and service offered by fast food outlets.

- Pub retail companies and night-club operators should be encouraged to provide food on their premises. Where extended hours licenses require that food (of acceptable quality and at

> reasonable prices) should be provided, more rigorous enforcement of such requirements should be applied.

- Operators of late-night refreshment outlets should be required to train their staff to an acceptable standard in the prevention and control of disorderly behaviour.

Role of the media

We have on file many examples of press reports which present misleading and, in some cases, wholly inaccurate accounts of alleged 'lager louts', 'riots' and disorderly events. Such reports, in both national and local newspapers, have contributed directly to false impressions regarding the scale of the problems and have clearly increased fears of crime in town and city centres. While sensationalism of this nature is by new means novel - there are many precedents in the reporting of 'football hooliganism' and other foci of 'moral panic' - it can still contribute to an unwelcome amplification of what, in many cases, are relatively minor problems. Such reporting also reinforces the undesirable tough, macho images which are associated with drinking in the minds of many people.
While we hold no brief for direct controls on the media we recommend:

- Newspaper editors should be mindful of the distinction between reporting of disorderly events and editorial comment on those events. The latter should not unduly influence the content and accuracy of the former.

Marketing and advertising

There has been a distinct shift of emphasis in recent years in the promotion of lagers and similar products. The use of macho imagery is much less evident, particularly in television advertising. Despite this, there are a number of adverts which, in a more subtle way, 'glamorise' high strength products. To some extent this may be offset by increased marketing of NAB/LAB products, but our interviews with school students show that the more 'traditional' messages, which equate the ability to 'hold' large amounts of alcohol, remain influential. We recommend:

- Further attention should be paid by manufacturers and distributors (of high alcohol lagers in particular) to the potentially undesirable associations which may be made between their products and aggressive behaviour and lifestyles.

Best practices

There are a number of local schemes and initiatives, involving multi-agency approaches to the prevention of drink-related disorder, which provide models for best practice on a more national level. Some of these involve innovative policing and licensing approaches while others encourage a greater degree of participation from licensees, statutory and voluntary agencies, operating companies and members of the public. We perceive a need to exploit these examples more fully in order to develop national guidelines to best practice for adoption by all those groups with a direct interest in the area. We recommend:

- Best practice guidelines should be synthesised from existing, local successful schemes and made available to, among others, operating companies, police forces, Licensing Justices, local authority planning departments, probation and social services departments, schools, Chambers of Commerce etc.
- Such guidelines would aim to establish a greater consistency of approach while still maintaining a concern for particular parochial issues.

Appendix A Police statistics

In some parts of the country the police have provided detailed breakdowns of arrests for disorder and violence and have also made available assessments of the extent to which these offences were 'alcohol-related'. These figures, however, as the police themselves readily admit, are by no means infallible guides to the reality of what is happening on our streets and in our city centres on Friday and Saturday nights. As we have noted earlier, in Section 3, there are two main reasons for this:

Firstly, arrest figures directly reflect the various policies which local forces follow with regard to violence and public disorder, as much as the levels of disorder themselves. Where police are determined to 'crack down', arrests will rise. Where a 'softly softly' approach is taken, arrests will be lower.

Secondly, the figures reflect the extent to which members of the public, or pub licensees, perceive problems of disorder as sufficiently serious to warrant calls to the police. As our perceptions of the problems change, and as late-night disorder in town centres becomes increasingly defined as a problem in need of serious attention, more and more activities become seen as dangerous, criminal and in need of immediate police control.

A further, more general, problem arises in the definition of 'alcohol-related' in the context of crimes and acts of disorder. We deal with a specific example of this in the case of the Coventry statistics (see Section 8.2). The same concerns, however, apply to all of the figures presented in this section. Firstly, how accurate are the assessments of the extent to which offenders had been drinking prior to the commission of their offences? Secondly, to what extent was the drinking quite coincidental or to what extent can it be seen as a causal factor?

With regard to the first question, we conducted a small-scale observation study on Friday and Saturday nights in the charge rooms of police stations in Preston and Wakefield in order to make our own assessments of the extent to which prisoners had been drinking. Short, sample reports of these observations are presented in Section 6 and, quite evidently, many of the offenders had been drinking heavily. The second question, however,

remains unanswered. Would such individuals have offended if they had not been drinking? Even if the answer is no, can we conclude that the consumption of alcohol *caused* them to offend?

In the alcohol/aggression model which we presented in Section 4 we attempted to indicate how various psychological, social and cultural processes may provide a causal path between alcohol consumption, on the one hand, and a range of aggressive, disorderly and criminal behaviours on the other. With regard to the police data, we accept the notion of 'drink-related' in most cases, even though it may be based on dubious assessment methods, if the notion of 'relatedness' accords with the nature of the *indirect* causal path which we have outlined.

In our interviews with police officers, examples of which are presented in Sections 9, 12, 13 and 16, we find a reasonable level of agreement among them concerning the indirect connection between alcohol and disorder. While some officers tend to emphasise specific characteristics of the individuals involved, and propose significant individual differences in reactions to alcohol, most emphasise the fact that the statistics reflect strong cultural traditions and styles of social drinking.

In the following sub-sections we present raw data obtained from various regional police forces with short summary analyses. In some cases short extracts from reports by licensing officers are also included. Although there are problems in making comparisons between the regions, because data tend to be collated in varying ways, a general picture emerges of relatively infrequent (compared with all crime) drink-related offending. We can see, for example, that in three of our principal research sites the weekly arrest figures for relevant public order offences were: Oxford 9-10, Wakefield 8-9, Coventry 19-20. In the case of Coventry, less than 60% of the tabled disorder offences were deemed to be drink-related, bringing them into line with the figures for Oxford and Wakefield.

We have, of course, to make a subjective judgement about the seriousness of the frequency of drink-related offences. To some, the figures might look rather trivial. To others they may constitute a major problem. The fact that such disorder tends to be concentrated in particular areas at particular times (town centres on Friday and Saturday nights) also adds to the *visibility* of the problem, results in its definition as a specific *type* of crime and constitutes a specific difficulty for the police.

We do not wish to enter the debate over whether 10 offences per week is or is not a major problem. That is something which each individual must judge for him or herself. Our concern is primarily with reducing such problems, whatever their scale, as we emphasis in our recommendations in Section 22.

Preston

Licensing Report, Preston Petty Sessional Division 5.2.91
Licensed premises increased from 475 to 483

Offences for drunkenness:

1989	1990
617	324

This represents an overall *reduction* in offences for drunkenness of 47.48%

Few offences of blatant drinking underage have come to light.

I have become most concerned that controlled and prohibited drugs circulate freely in some premises and prosecutions for drug related offences have escalated. Last year 67 people were prosecuted for using, possessing or trafficking in drugs, in licensed premises.

Cambridgeshire

Prosecutions for drinking offences during the period 1st January to 31st December 1990 (including Cambridge, Ely, Newmarket, March and St Neots)

	Adult	Juvenile
Drunkenness (Simple)	33	0
Drunkenness with aggravation	41	1

Licensee Offences	19	0
Other offences	7	1
Drunk Driving	1447	8

Sub Divisional Cumulative totals Jan to Dec 1990
% of arrests where prisoner had
been drinking prior to arrest11.09

% of persons under 18 who had
been drinking prior to arrest 9.31

% of arrests where it is believed
that drink played a significant part 7.53

Summary analysis
Leaving aside the prosecutions for drink drive offences in the period 1st January to 31st December 1990, the Cambridgeshire Police were dealing with an average of 1.96 drinking offences per week.

West Mercia constabulary
Annual Report of the Chief Constable, 1989
Crimes Involving Alcohol

Of the 19,011 crimes detected during 1989, 1,475 were committed by offenders who had consumed alcohol. The following table shows a breakdown of alcohol-related crimes:

Crime Type	No.
Assaults/Woundings	456
Criminal Damage/Arson	515
Theft/Handling	302
Burglary	110
Deception	22
Indecency	15
Robbery	7
Drugs Trafficking	1
Serious Offences Against the Person	40
Serious Public Order Offences	7
Total	**1475**

Offences on Licensed Premises	1988	1989
Consuming alcohol out of hours	12	0
Refusing/failing to leave	13	5
Buying/consuming under age	168	146
Purchasing alcohol for consumption under age	8	9
In possession of alcohol when entering sporting events	9	3
Selling liquor without a license	1	1
Other offences	3	1
Total	**214**	**167**

Offences by licensees	1988	1989
Selling to under age persons	1	0
Selling outside permitted hours	23	5
Other offences by Licensees	4	2
Total	**28**	**11**

Drunkenness Convictions	Male		Female	
Age	1988	1989	1988	1989
Under 18	60	36	3	2
18-21	196	188	11	12
Over 21	387	383	26	36
Total	**643**	**607**	**40**	**50**

Drunkenness Cautions	Male		Female	
Age	1988	1989	1988	1989
Under 18	24	34	5	7
18-21	47	51	11	6
Over 21	185	220	14	21
Total	**256**	**305**	**30**	**34**

Summary analysis

According to West Mercia Police a total of 7.75% of all crime is 'alcohol related'.

If we accept that all the types of crime listed above are 'alcohol-related', then on average the West Mercia Constabulary were dealing 28.3 alcohol related offences per week in 1989. Given that West Mercia Constabulary covers the counties of Hereford and Worcester and Shropshire, (and assuming an equal division of offences between the two) they are each dealing with an average of 14.15 alcohol-related offences per week.

However, if we compare the number of offences by licensees in 1988 to those in 1989 there has been a reduction here of 61% and a further reduction in general licensing offences of 22%. There has also been an overall

reduction in the number of drunkenness convictions (1988-1989) of 4%. It is worth noting, however, that within that overall decrease, there has been a 25% increase in female convictions for drunkenness.

We also note an 18.5% increase in drunkenness cautions which seems to reflect a trend in our designated research sites toward a deliberate policy of issuing cautions for first, and sometimes second, offences of Drunk and Incapable.

Merseyside

Alcohol and Crime Statistics 1989
Offences of drunkenness - Persons found guilty or cautioned

Year	Merseyside	%*	England & Wales
1984	6573	8.0	81669
1985	5352	7.0	75324
1986	3824	5.6	67567
1987	4692	5.6	83036
1988	5711	6.0	93891
1989	6088		not available

* Numbers in this column represent the percentage of English and Welsh drunkeness offences committed in the Merseyside area.

Age of persons convicted or cautioned

Age	Male	Female
Under 18	317	39
18 - 20	1183	82
21 - 25	1338	103
26 - 29	595	72
30 +	2057	402
Total	5470	**698**

Summary analysis

The Merseyside Police have seen a 6.6% increase in offences of drunkenness in the year 1988-1989, however if we contrast this to their 1984 figures we can see an overall reduction in drunkenness offences of 7.4%.

The most striking element to these figures is perhaps the dramatic drop in the number of drunkenness offences in 1986 (3824) as compared with those in 1984 (6573). This represents a drop of some 41.8%. If we compare this to the 1989 figure of 6088, there has been an increase of some 59.2%.

Such fluctuations are reflected in the figures for drunkenness in England and Wales and indeed if we look at the trends in overall beer consumption over this period they are closely comparable.

There is an accepted assumption that beer consumption figures follow economic trends very closely and we would assume this to be the explanation.

Wiltshire

1989, 1990 Annual Reports
Drug and Alcohol Related Crimes

Offence	**1989**	**1990**

Malicious woundings	485	135
Deception	31	44
Criminal Damage	376	521
Affray	33	52
Vandalism	81	74
Total	1006	**826**

Summary analysis

The Wiltshire Constabulary include some 36 different types of offences which they deem to be alcohol related, from attempted murder to absconding, however for the purposes of comparison we have selected those offences which are more commonly regarded by the police as drink related.

From 1989 to 1990 we can see an overall reduction of 17.9% in these types of offences. There is a significant drop in the number of malicious woundings which was a particularly high figure in 1989 and accounts for a 72.1% reduction in itself. However, offences of criminal damage have increased by 38.5% and offences of affray have increased by 57.5%.

Leeds

Area Managers Meeting, Milgarth Police Station

Over the last three years, assaults directly related to specific licensed premises have increased.

1987	90
1988	113
1989	136

While all other violent crime figures decreased over this period, there has been a large increase in the number of assaults involving door staff.
There is no great problem regarding children in city centre pubs. The incidence of under age drinking, and related offences, has significantly decreased over the last three years.

Drunkenness offences

1987	1058
1988	754
1989	719

Assaults related to Licensed Premises

1987	90
1988	113
1989	136

Public Order Offences (Not related to use of alcohol)

1987	517
1988	368
1989	301

Summary analysis

While there has been a 32% decrease in the number of Drunkenness Offences from 1987-1989 and a 41.7% reduction in Public Order Offences, (not related to use of alcohol), the major cause for concern is the 51.1% increase in the number of Assaults related to Licensed premises. The suggestion here is that a large number of these assaults involved door staff:

> *While all other violent crime figures decreased over this period, there has been a large increase in the number of assaults involving door staff.*
> *Police Inspector*

The issue of door staff registration has been raised by a number of officers in this area. We deal with this issue in Section 22.

Lincolnshire

A study of alcohol-related offences was conducted in the city of Lincoln for a three month period in 1989, with the following results.

There were a total of 524 incidents attended by police which were alcohol related and which were divided into the following categories:

Public Order	306
Drink Drive	53
Crime	29
Public House	42
Other	94

Of these incidents, a total of 167 arrests were made; the arrests were then related to the days when they were made, ie:

Day	Arrests
Monday	13
Tuesday	9
Wednesday	22
Thursday	20
Friday	24
Saturday	47
Sunday	32

In order to assess more accurately the manning levels required, times of day were also considered to be relevant.

Time	Arrests
06.00-10.00	2
10.00-14.00	0
14.00-18.00	15
18.00-22.00	19
22.00-00.00	58
00.00-03.00	68
03.00-06.00	5

Ages of Offenders

Age	Arrests
under 18	14
18-25	88
26-40	46
40 +	18

Summary analysis

Over the three month period of the study in the City of Lincoln the police were attending an average of 40.3 alcohol-related incidents per week, however actual arrests represented an average of 12.8 individuals per week.

When we look at the days when arrests occurred we can see that 47.3% were on a Friday and Saturday evening. (Assuming that Friday and Saturday night arrests run through into the early hours of the following morning.)

Looking at the time when arrests were made we can see that 75.4% of all arrests were made between the hours of 22.00 and 0300.

In terms of the age of those arrested, the 18-25 age group represents 52.6% of all arrests, 27.5% were in the 26-40 age group and only 8.3% were in the under 18 age group.

PC Evans of the Lincolnshire Police, in his 'Study of Ways to Reduce Alcohol Related Offences such as Public Disorder, Damage and Violence' suggests some changes in current strategies to control the public order problem:

> ***Changing the ground rules***
>
> *Disorder situations such as drunkenness, fighting, insults shouted at the police and public, can be abated by early intervention.*
>
> *If a strategy of early intervention is adopted, this needs to be, to some degree, covert. High profile policing has shown in the past to be not always effective. In fact, it may be interpreted as weakness, almost as if we are fearful of problems.*
>
> *High profile often encourages disorder, as young men in drink attempt to show their courage and individuality by challenging authority. Uniformed police are an easy target, representing everything they wish to challenge.*

Consideration should be given to keeping officers close to trouble areas but, as far as practicable, out of sight. Officers should be well briefed on the objectives of this covert operation, and need to be very clear of their powers of arrest under Section 4 or 5 of the Public Order Act. It would however, be foolhardy to impose this policy using beat officers operating singly or in pairs, and team policing units should be considered. If the policy is to succeed, we must be seen to be fast and effective, with a no nonsense attitude. Nothing would kill the strategy faster than the sight of two beat officers fighting to get a drunken youth into the rear of a personnel carrier!

Wakefield

Offences of Drunkenness

	1986	1987
Proceedings	338	349
Convictions	298	298

	1988	1989
Drunkenness arrests	516	479
Drinking under age arrests	15	37
Calls from Public to Disorder Incidents	3864	3784

Total Public Order Offences

1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
700	616	659	546	593	447	529

Wakefield City Centre (as opposed to whole Sub-Division)
Comparative figures up to 31st May each year.

	1989	1990
Public Order Offenders	166	207
Offenders-Drunk and Disorderly	138	165
Assaults in City Centre - 8pm to 4am	76	60
Calls from Public to Disorder Incidents	136	105
Total city centre public order offences	438	
Average weekly city centre public order offences.	8-9	

Summary analysis

Comparing the 1983 and 1989 Public Order Offences, there has been an overall reduction of 24.4%. Although the numbers have increased since the

1989 figures this is explained by the Sub-divisional objectives for 1989 which involved much higher profile policing of Wakefield City Centre.
In conjunction with the higher profile policing there has been a much closer liaison with the LVA and night club owners which has led to a reduction in drunkenness offences of 7.1%.
Also attributable to the Force priorities is a 22% reduction in the number of Assaults in the city centre (1988-1989), and a 21% decrease in the number of calls from the public to Disorder Incidents.

Oxford

Arrests 1988, 1989, Oxford Sub-Division.

	1988	1989
Total Relevant Arrests	4934	3328
Total Arrests: Drunkenness	1470	587
Total Arrests: Disorder	1356	559
Total Arrests: Public Order Offences	364	228
Total Arrests: Dishonesty	2108	1453

Number and Proportion of Disorder Arrests - Drink Related

	1988	1989
Total	284	219
% of relevant arrests	5.8	6.6

% of disorder arrests	20.9	39.2

Number and Proportion of Public Order Arrests - Drink Related

	1988	1989
Total	280	175
% of relevant arrests	5.7	5.2
% of disorder arrests	76.9	76.7

'

Number and Proportion of Dishonesty Arrests - Drink Related

	1988	1989
Total	132	214
% of relevant arrests	2.7	6.4
% of disorder arrests	6.3	14.7

	1988	1989

Total public order offences	364	228
Average weekly public order offences	7	4.3
Disorder (Damage/Assault/ Public Order)	1356	559
Average weekly disorder offences	26	10.75

Summary analysis

In the period 1988 to 1989 there were drastic reductions in the Oxford Sub-division in the categories of Drunkenness, Disorder, Public Order and Dishonesty as the table below illustrates.

Total arrests:Drunkenness60.1% reduction
Disorder58.8% reduction
Public Order37.4% reduction
Dishonesty31.1% reduction

Of those arrests which were deemed to be drink related there was also significant decreases in Disorder and Public Order offences:

Disorder22.9% reduction
Public Order37.5% reduction

The only evident rise in the statistics was a 62.1% increase in the number of Dishonesty arrests which were drink related.

By way of an explanation for the successful reduction of many of the alcohol related incidents the Licensing Inspector concludes in his report to the General Annual Licensing Meeting, February 1990:

> *A change in emphasis from the drinking place towards the development of Licensed premises which provide a wider range of services for rest, refreshment and entertainment, can only be for the good and it is particularly encouraging that such changes seems to be at least in part a response to public demand.*

I hope that we can all remain sensitive to such demand and to the efforts of Licensees and management companies to respond by improving the facilities they provide. By doing so we may well reinforce the apparent change in public attitudes away from the acceptance of a willingness to indulge to excess towards a greater emphasis on restraint and responsibility. For it is this change in public attitudes increasingly reflected in the behaviour of many, that is having the greatest impact on the life of our community. It is not unfair to suggest that as recently as three years ago the irresponsible supply and use of intoxicants by a minority was having a quite disproportionate affect on the quality of life for many residents and visitors....

Oxford has long been a town which has attracted a high number of people who have chronic alcohol problems and the large reduction in offences of drunkenness is most likely attributable to the enlightened and sympathetic attitudes which the police have adopted to the problem.

The Police sadly can do nothing to ease their individual pain, but we can show compassion offering shelter and care, thankfully in new and improved cell accommodation when absolutely essential, and when such facilities are not required, by offering advice about the ways in which they can lessen the harmful effect of their presence in the city. The decline in the number of arrests therefore, ought to be seen in the context of changes in the Police response to the presence of street drinkers and perhaps the positive reaction of some people to advice given them by the Police and others.

We do not have the same detailed statistical breakdown for 1990 but there was a marked increase in the numbers arrested for offences of Drunk and Disorderly and Drunk and Incapable:

198819891990

Drunk and Disorderly   88   76 150
Drunk and Incapable   50   55 122

By way of an explanation of these increases, the Acting Superintendent made the following statement at the General Annual Licensing Meeting, 13th February 1991:

The figures for Drunk and Disorderly and Drunk and Incapable arrests show a marked increase. I have examined this to see if there is any connection between the extension of the licensing laws and have not found any link whatsoever. I would however, proffer the following explanation for the increase.

During the last year, all police areas in the Thames Valley were tasked to improve the quality of the environment for residents. This objective focused on the areas commonly referred to as 'nuisances', and this of course includes alcohol abuse and the like.

As a result, police officers minds were far more tuned to drunkenness offences than in previous years. Having said that, the well tried system of drunks receiving a caution up to the third offence was used, and continued to be effective. It must be generally accepted that the abuse of alcohol will always be with us, despite all our attempts at education and enforcement to reduce it. The Police service plays a large part in what is after all an even larger social issue.

Coventry

Extracted from: *Alcohol Related Crime and Disorder in Coventry City* Centre, West Midlands Police, Volumes 1 to 4. 1986-1989 **Note: these figures are taken from 6-month sample periods.**

	1986	1987	**1988**	**1989**
All Arrests	982	1383	1150	1435
No. Drink-related	264	509	544	372
% Drink-related	26.88	47.30	36.80	25.92
Crime Arrests	763	909	599	768
No. Drink-related	86	141	89	26
% Drink-related	11.27	15.51	14.86	3.39
Disorder	171	376	422	507

No. Drink-related	138	308	369	295
% Drink-related	80.70	81.91	87.44	58.19

See Section 10 for a fuller discussion of relevant statistics relating to Coventry City Centre.

Eire

	1985	1986	**1987**	**1988**
Total assaults	6861	6079	5891	6407
Average per week per Division	7	6-7	5-6	6-7

Summary analysis

Note that assaults are the only Irish category of offences which corresponds to "drink-related disorder" and the figures shown for weekly averages are for the whole police division, not just town centres.

Yearly totals given have been divided by 52 (weeks) and then divided by 19 (the number of police divisions)

It is safe to assume that the large proportion of the assaults takes place in the Dublin division, particularly as most of the other divisions are largely rural areas and sparsely populated.

Appendix B Observation Logs

The observers were asked to note the drinking behaviour of 35 individuals in a suburban pub which was open from 11.00am to 11.00pm Monday to Saturday. They were asked to record the day of the week, the time the drinking session started and finished, the sex and age group of the individual, the number and type of drinks consumed in the session and finally if there were any obvious changes in the person's behaviour at the end of the session.

Given that Friday and Saturday nights are traditionally the busiest and also the nights identified by most as those when the vast majority of so-called 'drink related' problems occur, the majority of logs were deliberately obtained on those days. We provide below a few samples from these to give an indication of the variation in levels of consumption as well as the averages at these times.

1Mon.11.10am-6.00pmFemale 50-6013 halves of cider
Started singing at 4:30
2Mon.11.00am-1.10pmMale50-605 pints lager
3Mon.12.30pm-2.00pmMale40-501 pint lager and
4 whisky with coke (dash)
4Mon.8.00pm-11.00pmMale40-503 pints lager and
2 halves lager
5Tues.6.15pm-11.00pmMale40-508 pints bitter and
3 brandy and cokes
6Tues.5.20pm-7.00pmMale18-223 bottles pilsner
7Tues.6.15pm-7.20pmMale30-403 pints Guinness
8Tues.2.45pm-7.00pmMale22-255 pints strong lager
9Wed.1.25pm-3.50pmMale22-253.5 pints Guinness
10Wed.1.25pm-3.50pmFemale18-224 pints Guinness
11Wed.5.45pm-9.00pmMale30-403 pints Guinness,
8 gin and 4 bottles tonic
12Wed.5.45pm-9.00pmFemale25-305 halves lager and

3 bottles pilsner
13Thur.5.20pm-7.00pmMale18-222 pints strong lager
14Thur.3.30pm-7.00pmMale30-407 pints bitter and
7 double whiskys. Very
slurred speech and sleepy.
15Thur.11.15am-2.30pmMale22-254 pints light and lager
16Thur.11.15am-2.30pmMale20-254 pints strong lager
17Frid.ay11.15am-1.55pmMale18-226 pints light and lager
18Friday11.15am-1.55pmMale18-226 pints strong lager
Beginning to get very noisy
19Friday11.30am-3.00pmMale40-506 pints light and bitter
20Friday7.30pm-11.00pmMale40-507 pints light and bitter
and 1 whisky lemonade
21Friday7.30pm-11.00pmFemale30-407 halves lager
22Friday6.15pm-10.00pmMale22-256 pints strong lage
23Friday6.15pm-10.00pmMale25-306 pints strong lager
24Friday7.00pm-11.00pmFemale18-224 halves strong lager
25Friday7.00pm-11.00pmFemale18-226 gin and tonics
26Friday7.00pm-11.00pmFemale18-226 halves Guinness
27Sat.11.30am-11.00pmMale25-3011 pints Guinness
28Sat.11.00am-4.15pmMale50-605 pints lager
29Sat.6.00pm-11.00pmMale22-256 pints Guinness
30Sat.6.00pm-11.00pmMale22-256 pints Guinness
31Sat.6.00pm-11.00pmMale22-256 pints lager
32Sat.6.00pm-11.00pmFemale22-254 pints lager and
2 halves strong lager
33Sat.8.30pm-11.00pmMale22-254 pints Guinness
34Sat.8.30pm-11.00pmMale22-256 pints lager
35Sat.8.30pm-11.00pmMale22-254 pints Guinness

Analysis

This particular sample in just one pub consisted of 27 males and 8 females. Observations took place Monday to Saturday between 11.00am and 11.00pm. The table below shows the numbers observed on each day

Mon.   4
Tues.   4
Wed.   4
Thurs.   4
Frid. 10
Sat.   9
Total 35

The total length of the sampled drinking sessions was 129 hours, giving an average drinking session of 3.7 hours per person.

The total number of units of alcohol consumed by the whole sample was 399, giving an average of 11.4 units per head. (Equivalent to approximately 5.7 pints of ordinary strength beer or 5-6 double measures of spirits).

The total number of units of alcohol consumed by all the females was 66.5, giving an average of 8.3 units per head, over an average drinking session of 4.2 hours. (equivalent to 4.2 pints of ordinary strength beer or 4 double measures of spirits)

The total number of units of alcohol consumed by all the males was 332.5, giving an average of 12.3 units per head, over an average drinking session of 3.5 hours. (Equivalent to 6.3 pints of ordinary beer or roughly 6 double measures of spirits.)

57% of the total sample fell into the 18-25 age bracket.

The 18-25s consumed 201.5 units of alcohol in total, giving an average of 10.07 units per head over an average drinking session of 3.4 hours.(Equivalent to 5.2 pints of ordinary beer or roughly 5 double measures of spirits.)

The total number of units consumed by all the females in the 18-25 age bracket was 37, giving an average of 7.4 units per head. (Equivalent to 3.7 pints of ordinary strength beer or just under 4 double measures of spirits).

The total number of units consumed by all the males in the 18-25 age bracket was 164.5, giving an average of 11. units per head. (Equivalent to 5.5 pints of ordinary strength beer or cider or just under 6 double measures of spirits.)

The total number of units consumed by both males and females (in the 18-25 year old age bracket) on Friday and Saturday nights was 112, giving an average consumption of 12.4 units per head over an average drinking session of 4.1 hours. (Equivalent to 6.2 pints of ordinary beer or cider or roughly six double measures of spirits.)

The total number of units consumed by females in the 18-25 age bracket, on a Friday and Saturday night, was 29, giving an average of 7.25 units per head over an average drinking session of 4.25 hours. (Equivalent to 3.6 pints of ordinary beer or cider or 3-4 double measures of spirits).

The total number of units consumed by males in the 18-25 age bracket, on a Friday and Saturday night, was 112, giving an average of 12.4 units per head over an average drinking session of 4 hours. (Equivalent to 6.2 pints of ordinary beer or cider or roughly six double measures of spirits.)

Appendix C Custody logs

The summary data presented in the section are samples from observation studies conducted in the charge rooms of police stations in Wakefield and Preston on Friday and Saturday nights between the hours of 10.00pm amd 06.00 am. Our main concern was to obtain insights into police assessements of 'drink-related' crimes and acts of disorder.

What emerges from these studies is not a picture of police cells being full of riotous lager-louts at weekends. Rather we find a range of drunk, semi-drunk and quite sober individuals of all ages who had allegedly committed crimes as varied as burglary, stealing motor cars and incest. We present the 'raw' records below as a way of illustrating the reality of police work at weekends.

Wakefield

Friday night

1Machine Operator, 20, Male, Ossett
23.00, Drink Drive, Claims 6 to 7 pints lager, Quiet, Polite
Reading 79/81
Charged 05.05 Released On Bail 05.20
2Welder ,28, Male, Ossett
23.15, Drink Drive
Claims 5/6 pints lager, Pleasant/Quiet,
Reading 64/66
3rd Offence, Released n Bail 07.35
3Unemployed, 22, Male, Out of town
01.05Drink Drive
Reported by garage as unable to stand up - staggering, 'out of it'!
Reading 91/87
Already disqualified, detained for court, r.t.c. 1 week

4Hod carrier/part time doorman, 29, Male, Town centre pub/disco
01.40, Assault (later changed to GBH)
Cool,claims to have drunk 3 pints
Detained overnight for further enquiries charged and bailed next day
5Sales Rep, 40, Male, Out of town
18.50, Drunk in charge of vehicle
Does not recall being arrested,
Reading 137/133
released on bail 0800 (13 hours in custody sobering up)
6Unemployed/part time doorman, 24,Male, Local
05.00, GBH (along with 3 other doormen) in town centre pub disco
3 pints lager, quiet and cooperative, bailed following day
7Unemployed, 20, Male, Out of town
05.45, Theft (stole milk bottle/orange juice from doorstep)
Been drinking
Released on bail 14.10

Saturday Night
On arrival at police station, numbers in custody:

6 Section 5 Public Order Act (2 Female aged 42 and 46)
1 Breach Of Bail
2 Breach Of The Peace
2 Theft
2 Assaults (Doorstaff 1 from previous night)

1Plasterer, 20, Male, Town Centre
23.00, Criminal Damage (smashed window of pub)
8 pints of cider, slurred speech, staggering, quiet.
04.30 rights given, 05.10 charged and released on bail
2Unemployed, 18, Male, Out of town
23.10, Wanted on Warrant, Skegness
2 pints, quiet
Released on bail (01.25) to appear at Skegness
3Contractor, 17, Male, Out of town
23.49, Speeding, failure to provide sample

Claimed 1 pint of bitter, subsequently 2-3,
Reading42/44. Quiet
4Road Layer, 47, Male
01.25, Failure to provide breath specimen, reported mounting pavement
Slurred speech, staggering, refusing, claims not driver
5Pattern Maker, 19, Male, Town Centre
02.25, Criminal Damage (throwing market stall through window)
6 pints lager ("Not much for a Saturday night") Quiet.
Released on Bail 04.50 No Previous
6Unemployed, 27, Male, A1 Stop Check
03.14, Wanted for burglary in Leicester
1 pint snakebite. Quiet
Detained for Leicester Police (no room at Normanton cells)
7Unemployed, 22, Male, A1 Stop Check
03.14, Wanted for burglary in Leicester
2 or three pints, quiet, coherent
Detained for Leicester Police (no room at Normanton cells)
8Unemployed, 26, Male, A1 Stop Check
03.14Wanted for burglary in Leicester
3-4 pints lager. Quiet
Detained for Leicester Police (no room at Normanton cells)
9Heating engineer, 33, Male
04.45, Breach of the Peace (Domestic dispute)
Quiet/upset, previously threatening to shoot himself with air rifle
Detained, Dr. in attendance
Summary Friday and Saturday nights by Offence:

Public Order 5
Assault 3
Criminal Damage 2
Breach Of The Peace 3
Drink Drive 6
Theft 3
Wanted (burglary) 3
Warrant 2
Total27

Preston

Friday Night
128, Male, Town Centre
22.25, Assault Section 47
Drunk
Transfered to Chorley
2Retired, 65, Male
22.40, Driving with excess alcohol in blood
Reading 29
Released
3Storeman, 37, Male, Town Centre
23.10, Deception (obtaining a meal with no funds)
Drinking (no information)
Bailed (money to be paid)
4Unemployed, 19, Female, Town Centre
11.10, Public Order Act Section 5
Drinking (abusive/upset)
5Unemployed, 17, Female, Town Centre
23.15, Public Order Act Section 5
Sober
Detained on wanted list for assault occasioning A.B.H.
624, Male, Town Centre
23.30, Deception (obtaining meal without funds)
Drunk, slurred speech
Bailed to settle debt
7Brick Layer, 16, Male, Suburb
23.25, Theft from motor vehicle
Sober
Interviewed with mother present
8Mains Layer, 20, Male
00.00, Outstanding warrants (unpaid fines)
Drinking but sober, coherent and friendly
detained to appear before next Magistrate court
9French Polisher, 18, Male, Town Centre
00.30, Drunk and Incapable
Cautioned (2nd time in month)

10Apprentice Brick Layer, 18, Male
01.20, Breach Of The Peace (domestic)
4-5 pints lager (upset but quiet)
Detained for Magistrates court (Police cannot give bail)
1118-20, Male, Town Centre
01.40, Drunk and Incapable
Drunk but not incapable
Unofficial warning (returning to Blackburn)
1218, Male, Town Centre
02.25, Public Order Act Section 4
Drunk, slurred speech, mood swings, laughing/abusive
13Unemployed, 51, Male
02.55, Deception (taxi from Morecombe)
Drunk, very slurred speech
Bailed to settle debt
14Ceiling Fixer, 30, Male, Rail Station
03.15, Drunk and Disorderly
Drinking heavily, aggressive
15Unemployed, 37, Male
Incest with 14 year old daughter
Smelled strongly of drink (Daughter too drunk to interview)
16Unemployed, 18, Male, Out of Town
03.35, UTMV/Excess Alcohol
Intoximeter reading 38 (lowest). Detained pending UTMV enquiries
17Unemployed, 20, Male, Out Of Town
03.35, UTMV
"Few pints" Abusive on arrest. Calm after cell period

SaturdayNight
1Market Trader, 15, Male (juvenile) Town Centre
23.05, Public Order Act Section 5
No drink at all, no money
2Junior Roadman, 16, Male (juvenile) Town Centre
23.05, Theft of handbag
Claims to 1 pint beer, suspect more. Quiet and sullen.
Official caution in father's presence

3Scrap Dealer, 19, Male, Town Centre
23.05, Public Order Section 5
Drunk but still coherent "Every time I get nicked, I get drunk"
Bailed after cell detention
4Frame Maker, 19, Male, Town Centre
23.30Public Order Act Section 4
Drunk 5 pints, crying, apologetic, badly beaten in fracas
5British Aerospace, 32, Female, Suburb
00.20, Failure to report accident/Excess Alcohol
Drunk, slurred speech.
Intoximeter 63. Admitted 5 halves/5 shorts
Claimed not be driver, bailed pending further investigation
6Unemployed, 19, Female, Town Centre
00.20, Assault Section 47
"I'm tipsy". Quiet, coherent.
Bailed to court
7Landscape Gardener, 19, Male, Town Centre
03.50, Deception (restaurant)
Admitted 8 pints cider "Not many that for a Saturday night". Coherent
Bailed to settle debt
Preston: Summary of arrests, Friday and Saturday nights by offence

Public Order 6
Assault 2
Breach Of The Peace 1
Drunk and Incapable 3
Drunk and Disorderly 1
Drink Drive 2
Deception 4
Theft 2
UTMV 2
Warrants 1
TOTAL24

Appendix D - Conflict and Violence in Pubs

A brief summary of the MCM report

Although the MCM report on Conflict and Violence in Pubs was published fairly recently (in August 1990) and is currently available, we have included this brief summary of the main findings for several reasons. Firstly, many would consider violence in public houses to come under the category of 'public disorder'. Secondly, those involved in public disorder, even under a narrower definition covering only incidents taking place on the streets, generally spend a great deal of time in pubs. Finally, we have stressed throughout this report that the management of licensed premises has a direct effect on the levels and nature of town-centre disorder.

It must be stressed, however, that the following is a highly simplified summary of a lengthy and detailed research report.

The research on pub violence was conducted between 1986 and 1990 and the findings are based on a representative sample of 300 managed pubs throughout England.

The aims were to identify the extent, nature and causes of conflict and violence in pubs, and to establish the most effective ways of preventing or reducing these problems.

The research was conducted using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, and involved confidential interviews with all of the 300 managers.

The scale of the problem

It is misleading to talk about the 'average' or 'typical' pub in this context. Because of the enormous variation between pubs in terms of the levels of conflict and violence, the figures are presented in a way which the extremes found in both the relatively trouble-free pubs and the more problematic houses.

Figure D.1 shows the percentage of pubs in the sample experiencing arguments between male customers in 6 frequency categories:
0 (never), (less than quarterly), 4 (quarterly), 12 (monthly),
52 (weekly), 52 (more than weekly).
The arguments in question are those which managers felt to be significantly troublesome or disruptive, with the potential to develop into serious physical conflicts. In other words, these are slanging matches, not academic

Fig. D.1 Arguments between male customers

exchanges of views.
The dominant category here is 12 (monthly): 36% of pubs experience such problems about once a month, while 24% have arguments such as these on a weekly basis. It is clear that very few pub managers never have to deal with disruptive arguments between their customers.

Figure D.2 shows the frequency of arguments between customers and managers. Again, the dominant frequency is monthly, with a smaller number of managers involved in such disputes on a weekly or more frequent basis.

Figure D.3 shows the percentage of pubs in the sample experiencing fights between male customers in the same frequency categories. The fights in question range from fairly minor scuffles to more serious violence involving injuries.

Here we can see that 31% of pubs have no fights at all, and a similar number only one or two a year. The vast majority of pubs, then, experience very little physical violence.

At the other end of the scale, however, we find that 6% of pubs have fights

Fig. D.2 Arguments between customers and managers

every week, and 2% where this type of violence is even more common.

Figure D.4 shows the frequency with which managers are subject to physical attack by customers. Here we can see that the majority of managers - just over half - are not subject to any physical abuse from customers. Yet at the other end of the spectrum, we find that 5% are attacked on a monthly basis, and 1% every week.

The majority of these attacks are not very severe, and in some companies these rates have been reduced even further by the introduction of effective selection and training programmes for licensed house managers.

Fig. D.3 Fights between male customers

Fig. D.4 Attacks on managers

The nature of the problem

The research revealed that pub managers are directly involved in 75% of all violent incidents. Table D.1 below provides a breakdown of the nature of that involvement, showing how conflicts between managers and customers arise.

Table D.1 **Manager - Customer Conflicts**	**Percent**
Refusal to serve	32
Attempts to eject	30
Intervention in fights	19
Attempts to prevent theft	10
Revenge attacks	5
Other disputes	4

Here we can see that nearly two thirds of conflicts arise from the manager's refusal to serve customers (for a variety of reasons including drunkenness, disorderly behaviour and licensing hours) and his/her attempts to remove customers from the premises, usually for similar reasons.

The majority of violent incidents occur, then, because the manager is obliged to control the behaviour of his customers. This clearly puts managers in a very difficult position: we do not normally expect civilians to enforce the law and restrict other people's actions in this way.

Table D.2 below gives a more general breakdown of the types of conflict that can occur, and their proportion of the total violence in pubs. (The total adds up to more that 100% here due to interactions and overlaps between the

different types of violence.)

Table D.2 **Types of violent incidents**	**Percent**
Provoked by individuals	32
Arising from pool tables	20
Involving women	18
Between rival groups	5
Involving weapons	22
Involving injuries	30

It is interesting to note that 32% of the problems come from individuals, in contrast with only 5% from groups. The media image of pub fights as 'wild west brawls' is clearly somewhat inaccurate.

The last two points are perhaps the most worrying. While overall levels of violence in pubs have not increased over the past 5 to 10 years, we have noted a change in the nature of such violence: there has been an increase in the use of weapons, and a corresponding increase in the seriousness of the consequences of pub violence.

It is important to note that while the above proportions remain constant across the full range of pubs, overall levels of violence vary enormously from pub to pub. If we are to determine the causes of violence in pubs, we must account for this variation.

Table D.3 shows the percentage of variance explained by different factors: ie the extent to which these factors influence levels of violence. (Again the total will be more than 100% because of interaction between the factors.)

Table D.3 **Factors influencing violence**	**Percent**

Management skills and style	**45**
Time of manager in post	**40**
Social class of customers	**25**
Presence of pool tables	**20**
Total experience of manager	**15**
Age of customers	**15**
Location of pub	**15**
Design features	**15**

As managers are directly involved in 75% of all incidents, it is not very surprising that their different abilities and approaches will account for almost half of the variation in levels of violence.

Time in post is also crucial: managers in their first 6 to 12 months are likely to have more than twice as much trouble as those who have been longer in a particular pub. There are obvious implications here in terms of the need to reduce management turnover in difficult pubs.

It is worth noting that the total experience of the manager is of considerably less importance than the manager's experience in a particular pub, and far less important than his or her skills in dealing with conflict.

Some factors, such as location and social class of customers, are clearly beyond the control of the licensee. The research showed that levels of violence were higher in those pubs catering for a predominantly working-class population, and that pubs on housing and council estates experienced more problems than those in town-centres.

The 18-25 age-group is most often involved in conflict, but as most pubs cater to some extent for this group, the age factor does not account for much of the variation in levels of violence.

Clearly, the manager's skills and approach are the dominant factors, and can override many other disadvantages which a pub may have in terms of location, design, or customer profile.

Effective management

The research identified those skills and approaches which are characteristic of managers who are able to deal effectively with aggression and violence, and which distinguish them from their less effective colleagues.

There was a tendency in some areas of the industry to prefer 'tough' managers with a physical presence for the running of potentially violent pubs. Some of those involved in the selection of managers were of the opinion that violence can only be prevented by similar violence, or the threat of it, on the part of the manager.

This view, fortunately, is now much less common. The approach is now largely seen as being incompatible with standards of professionalism within the industry. There is also a growing recognition of the fact that the 'tough' approach simply does not work. Those managers who rely purely on intimidatory or authoritarian approaches may appear to be successful in the short term, but this strategy is rarely effective for more than about six months. Eventually, the 'tough' manager meets even tougher customers and his credibility vanishes.

The most effective managers in our samples have relied on quite different approaches. Some have been prepared to use force if necessary, but have always seen physical confrontations as a last resort. In fact, some of the most effective managers we have come across are of slight stature and freely admit that they could not use 'strong arm' tactics even if they wanted to.

This is not to say that effective managers are in any sense 'wimps', merely that they adopt an assertive, rather than aggressive approach, balancing firmness and clear messages with fairness and consistency. They create a friendly atmosphere while maintaining a degree of professional detachment and authority. They combine sociability with effective monitoring, and are able to detect and defuse potential 'trouble' at an early stage.

The process by which effective managers reduce aggression and control the behaviour of potentially violent customers is outlined in Table D.4.

It must be stressed that these strategies were not invented by psychologists, but come directly from managers with a proven track-record of 'turning round' very difficult pubs.

Table D.4 **Effective aggression reduction strategies**
1. Remove audience effect
2. Employ calming strategies
2a. Language skills:
Allow aggressor to talk and express anger
Use role-appropriate language
Avoid hostile or angry remarks
Respond indirectly to hostile questions
Express understanding of aggressor's mood
2b. Non-verbal skills
Increase distance between self and aggressor
Avoid sustained eye-contact
Adopt relaxed non-aggressive posture
Move slowly and avoid sudden movements
Maintain calm, relaxed facial expressions
Control vocal signals of anxiety and stress
3. Employ Control Strategies
Clearly establish requirements
De-personalize encounter
Emphasise role requirements
Encourage offender's decision making
Offer face-saving possibilities

Closing time

Approximately 50% of all conflict and violence in pubs occurs in just two hours of the week -between 10pm and 11pm on Friday and Saturday nights. This is clearly a critical period for most managers, although the research showed that problems can be dramatically reduced by careful management of the end of these evening sessions. The effects of approaches based on clear messages, gradual 'winding down' and tactful handling of those reluctant to leave are felt not only in the pub but in the surrounding neighbourhood. When customers are hastily, and often aggressively, ejected from pubs at weekends, there is an increased probability of subsequent disturbances.

Selected and Annotated Bibliography

Books

Advisory Committee on Alcoholism (1978) *The Patterns and Range of Services for Problem Drinkers.* London, D.H.S.S. and The Welsh Office.

> Primarily advocates a community response to problem drinkers and provides a number of fresh proposals regarding social service intervention.

Aitken, P.P. (1978) *Ten-to-Fourteen Year-olds and Alcohol.* Edinburgh, H.M.S.O.

> Aitken assesses attitudes to alcohol, cultural influences, drinking experiences and patterns, as well as parental and peer influences. The development of regular drinking was associated with smoking, an envy of older teenagers and various social activities. By the age of 14, the majority of subjects had consumed an alcoholic drink and 21% of these had received alcohol in a licensed premises.

Alcohol Concern. (1987) *The Drinking Revolution: Building a Campaign for Safer Drinking.* London, Alcohol Concern.

> Alcohol Concern incline towards an alcohol control policy and here they dispense a number of proposals for a long-term strategy to prevent alcohol-related problems, including major changes in alcohol education, drink-driving laws and taxation.

Anderson, D. (Ed.) (1989) *Drinking to Your Health: The Allegations and the Evidence.* London, The Social Affairs Unit.

> A multi-disciplinary approach covering many aspects of the alcohol debate, including advertising, control policies, culture of drinking, drinking and driving, education, licensing and the prevailing medical evidence.

Babor, T.F. (Ed.) (1986) *Alcohol and Culture: Comparative Perspectives from Europe and America.* New York, The New York Academy of Sciences.

A collection of papers relating to social epidemiology, ethnic and national differences (including comparing heavy drinkers in the United States and The Soviet Union), socialization, cross-cultural treatments and the various implications for research and prevention policy.

Baggott, R. (1990) *Alcohol, Politics and Social Policy*. Aldershot, Avebury.

An essential account of the politics of alcohol and social policy including sections on: the drinks industry, licensing law, drinking and driving and price regulation in the United Kingdom. Baggott also discusses the existence of an alcohol policy in contrast to the absence of an alcohol control policy.

Baldwin, S. (1990) *Alcohol Education and Offenders*. London, Batsford.

Baldwin submits an evaluation of the theory and practise of alcohol education courses, the links between alcohol and offending and assesses alcohol study groups in Reading and Somerset, whilst offering competent suggestions for future provision for offenders with alcohol problems.

Bickerdyke, J. (1886) *The Curiosities of Ale and Beer: An Entertaining History.* London, Field and Tuer.

An essay on alcohol that concentrates on its benefits and explores the beer shops in Egypt in 2000 B.C., ancient laws relating to the sale of beer, drinking customs and rituals and the origins of alehouses. A fierce antagonist of all licensing laws, Bickerdyke insists that "To check the evils of drunkenness, we rely not on prohibitory legislation which has been tried elsewhere and found wanting, but on the gradual spread of education and enlightenment".

Blane, H. T. and Leonard, K. E. (1986) *Psychological Theories of Drinking and Alcoholism.* New York, The Guildford Press.

An authoritative account of past and present aspects of psychological research on alcohol, which includes most of the major empirical findings.

Blane, H.T. and Chafetz, M.E. (Ed.) (1979) *Youth, Alcohol and Social Policy.* New York, Plenum Press.

> This volume offers the reader alcohol consumption comparisons between school, college and working adolescents in The United States, whilst surveying alcohol advertising and its availability, behavioural strategies for reducing drinking, national public health policies and sex differences.

Blocker, J. S. Jnr. (Ed.) (1979) *Alcohol, Reform and Society.* Connecticut, Greenwood Press.

> An historical evaluation of the social structure and social uses of alcohol and the various responses to it. Primarily, an American emphasis, with an elucidating view of the prohibition and temperance movements and a comparison of the various restrictions imposed during the first and second world wars.

Brain, P.F. (Ed.) (1986) *Alcohol and Aggression.* London, Tavistock.

> A thorough examination of the "...claimed relationship between alcohol and aggression", distinguishing, for instance, between verbal and physical aspects. Other topics covered include: alcohol as a neurophysiological and psychopharmacological agent, alcohol and sexual assaults, the nature of aggression, socio-cultural factors and methodological traps of alcohol research. Overall, the book refutes the theory that alcohol directly causes aggressive behaviour.

Breeze, E. (1985) *Women and Drinking: An Enquiry Carried Out on Behalf of The Department of Health and Social Security.* London, H.M.S.O.

> A random sample assessed by interview and questionnaire that primarily examined patterns of consumption among women and their experience and opinions on alcohol-related problems. The resulting evidence suggests that heavier drinkers were more likely to be aged 21-24 and that consumption levels may be associated with anxieties.

Camberwell Council on Alcoholism. (1980) *Women and Alcohol.* London, Tavistock.

> An analysis of economic, social and psychological factors relating to women and problem-drinking.

Central Policy Review Staff. (1979) *Alcohol Policies.* Stockholm, Socioligska Institutionen.

Although commissioned by the Government, this document was suppressed (though eventually published in Sweden), perhaps because of the vigorous measures to reduce alcohol consumption that it recommends. Adhering to a positive correlation between levels of consumption and levels of alcohol problems, suggestions included: strict advertising controls, increased alcohol taxes, enforcment of the under-age drinking law and new drink-driving legislation.

Some of these recommendations surfaced in a more diluted form in the Standing Conference on Crime Prevention report (1987). The 1979 report also recommended the establishment of an advisory council on alcohol problems, co-ordinating the sixteen government departments connected with alcohol.

Collins, J. J. Jnr. (Ed.) (1982) *Drinking and Crime: Perspectives on the Relationship Between Alcohol and Criminal Behaviour.* London, Tavistock.

An influential work covering the various aspects of alcohol and crime and featuring essential chapters on alcohol and violence, domestic violence and theory and methodology. The book also examines the importance of circumstantial factors (e.g. the role of the victim). The editor concludes that "... drinking is typically one among a number of factors that determine behavioural outcomes".

Crooks, E. (1989) *Alcohol Consumption and Taxation.* London, The Institute of Fiscal Studies.

The author reviews the social and political history of alcohol taxes and suggests that future taxes should be implemented in terms of different alcohol contents. Namely, the higher the alcohol content, the higher the taxation should be. In assuming a causal relationship between consumption and social problems, Crooks perceives alcohol tax as a necessary instrument of public health policy.

Daniel, C.J. and Dodd, C. (1989) *Covert Sensitisation of Two Incarcerated Individuals With Lengthy Criminal Histories of Alcohol-Related Offending.* London, Home Office Prison Dept.

An account of the covert sensitisation and counselling (over a three-month period) of two males in their early twenties. Follow-up studies revealed only one minor conviction had ensued for one of the subjects, though this is 50% of the sample, which itself can certainly be considered as one of Hauge's (1984) examples of a highly unreliable study because of its use of an extremely small sample.

Davies, B. (1981) *The Traditional English Pub.* London, The Architectural Press.

An excellent appraisal, by a pub architect, of the various motivations behind the construction and design of the Public House.

Davies, D. C. (Eds.) (1977) *Aspects of Alcoholism.* London, The Alcohol Education Centre.

Though aimed at practitioners in the alcohol-misuse field, this work provides practical information on the formation of drinking habits, problems associated with the measurement of consumption, prevention and treatment methodologies and the social and cultural factors that influence drinking patterns.

Davies, J. and Stacey, B. (1972) *Teenagers and Alcohol: A Developmental Study in Glasgow.* Vol. II. London, H.M.S.O.

A study of Scottish teenagers and their self-perceptions of drinking (consumption levels, where they acquire it, etc.) which found that adolescents were motivated to drink to prevent a stigma of 'weakness' that was associated with not drinking.

The heavier drinkers tended to be introduced to alcohol at a later age and in contexts other than the parental home. The authors also plead with advertisers to be more aware of the dangers of the inherent messages in the promotion of alcohol that associate consumption with toughness and attractiveness to the opposite sex.

Davies, P. and Walsh, D. (1983) *Alcohol Problems and Alcohol Control in Europe.* London, Croom Helm.

A study of alcohol controls, consumption patterns and problems in thirteen countries, primarily European, though it includes a chapter on Israel, where a comparatively low level of alcohol problems was found. This was attributed to the central role alcohol plays from an early age in Jewish culture.

Davies, P. (Ed.) (1983) *Alcohol-Related Problems in the European Community: Proceedings of a Seminar held in Luxembourg 1-3 March 1983.* Geneva, World Health Organisation.

This European seminar was initiated as a follow-up to the publication of 'Alcohol Problems and Alcohol Control in Europe' (Davies and Walsh, 1983) and updates much of the material provided in that study. Here, the different approaches to consumption data are discussed, including French, Irish and Italian perspectives.

Department of Health and Social Security. (1981) *Prevention and Health: Drinking Sensibly.* H.M.S.O., London.

A lightweight document that attempts to portray the effects and financial costs of alcohol misuse and profiles social, legal and fiscal government policies on alcohol. Illuminating in that it implies the government's hands are tied with regard to implementing an alcohol control policy because of the benefits (e.g. jobs, investment, revenue) which "... could be adversely affected by any measures designed to restrict consumption".

Dight, S. (1976) *Scottish Drinking Habits.* London, H.M.S.O.

An extensive and thorough survey that offers an abundance of material, including the types and amounts of beverage consumed, as well as the places and contexts of drinking. Some of the findings included 3% of drinkers accounting for 30% of the total alcohol consumption in Scotland and 18% expressing a wish to drink less. Heavy drinkers tended to be young, male and in manual work.

Douglas, M. (Ed.) (1987) *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink From Anthropology.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Anthropologists provide an overview of the culture of drinking, including drinking rituals, the role of alcohol in distinguishing between periods of time, tea-drinking in a day-care centre for the elderly and the role played by alcohol during a Tonga ceremony.

Selected and Annotated Bibliography

Ewing, J.A. and Rouse, B.A. (1978) *Drinking. Alcohol in American Society - Issues and Current Research.* Chicago, Nelson-Hall.

> Includes a review of the predominant research on the influence of alcohol on schoolchildren and older teenagers, as well as an assessment of the impact of social, fiscal and other legislative policies.

Felsted, C. M. (1986) *Youth and Alcohol Abuse: Readings and Resources.* Oryx Press, Phoenix.

> A useful guide to the main strands of the subject, which also reviews the resources that are available to detect, educate and prevent alcohol problems in adolescents. Felsted also looks at specific areas, such as the children of alcoholics and teenage drinking and driving.

Filstead, W., Rossi, J. and Keller, M. (Ed.) (1976) *Alcohol and Alcohol Problems.* Massachusetts, Ballinger.

> American historians look at the development of attitudes towards alcohol and alcoholism in the United States, including the introduction and eventual repeal of prohibition.

Fingarette, H. (1988) *Heavy Drinking: The Myth of Alcoholism as a Disease.* California, University of California Press.

> Fingarette sets out to depose the concept of alcoholism as the result of a certain physical and physiological disposition, which he claims has led to the prevalence of the 'alcohol-treatment centre' in the United States. Instead, he believes alcoholism is conceived via complex cultural and social factors. With this in mind, the author analyses the clinical and social policies that have developed to aid (and abet) 'the heavy drinker'.

Gelles, R.J. (1972) *The Violent Home.* California, Sage.

> A revealing study that reports how women (and similarly, the offenders themselves) often perceive alcohol abuse as the underlying cause for a husband's violent behaviour towards them.

Girouard, M. (1980) *Victorian Pubs.* London, Yale University Press.

> An account of the rise and fall of the Victorian pub, focusing on London, and principally depicting architectural and design techniques.

Giesbrecht, N., et al. (Eds.) (1989) *Drinking and Casualties: Accidents, Poisonings and Violence in an International Perspective.* London, Tavistock/ Routledge.

> Giesbrecht and his colleagues offer a wealth of cross-cultural material (employing numerous disciplines) on the role of alcohol from accidents to suicides. Africa, Canada, Oceania, Latin-America and Scandinavia are among the regions considered.

Glover, J. (1987) *Improving Services for Problem Drinkers: A Survey of the Views of Alcohol Agencies in London.* London, London Research Centre and The Greater London Alcohol Advisory Service.

> A survey of 52 out of 70 specialist groups and individuals catering for alcohol problems in London, which reveals how little these groups co-ordinate with each other and how little training many of the volunteer staff (who seem to make up the majority of the staff) receive.

Gorham, M. and Dunnett, H. McG. (1950) *Inside The Pub.* London, The Architectural Press.

> Though particularly informative on the visual evolution and design of the pub, Gorham and Dunnett also assess the role of the pub in English rural and urban life and the habits and preferences of its customers.

Gottheil, E., et al. (Eds.) (1983) *Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Aggression.* Illinois, Charles C. Thomas.

> Twenty papers that convey the biological, psychological and sociological research advances on the interaction of alcohol, drug abuse and aggression, concluding that aggression is not dependent on either alcohol or drugs, but on a multiplicity of factors.

Grant, M. and Guinner (1979) *Alcoholism in Perspective.* London, Croom Helm.

> Using documentary evidence (though this is taken at face value for the most part), the authors adhere to the hypothesis of national consumption levels relating directly to levels of alcohol-related disabilities.

Grant, M. (Eds.) (1985) *Alcohol Policies.* Copenhagen, World Health Organisation.

An outline of the alcohol policies prevalent in Italy, Greece, Poland and Sweden.

Grant, M. and Ritson, B. (Eds.) (1983) *Alcohol: The Prevention Debate.* London, Croom Helm.

A debate on alcohol policy, that includes contributors from advertising, government, the legal and medical profession, the media and the alcohol trade. The divergent opinions expressed reflect the innate battles between areas such as economics and medicine, whilst the volume concludes with an appeal for a single body to be organised to implement an alcohol policy.

Grant, M., Plant, M.A. and Williams, A. (1983) *Economics and Alcohol.* London, Croom Helm.

Particularly illuminating are the sections on advertising and its links with consumption, public health and alcohol control policies.

Green, H. (1989) *Drinking: A Study Carried out on Behalf of the Department of Health as Part of the 1986 General Household Survey.* London, H.M.S.O.

This survey reveals some interesting results, notably consumption levels being higher in the north than the south of England, the 18-24 age-group having the highest consumption levels and males and females in manual employment are more likely to be non-drinkers and\or to drink less than those in non-manual work.

Gurstein, D.R. (Ed.) (1984) *Toward the Prevention of Alcohol Problems: Government, Business and Community Action.* Washington D.C., National Academy Press.

Various community representatives (similar to those bodies in Grant and Ritson, 1983) suggest prevention strategies to limit alcohol problems. Includes lucid arguments for increased taxes on alcohol, adolescent education programmes, training of alcohol providers, limitation of advertising and environment modifications.

Gusfield, J.R. (1981) *The Culture of Public Problems: Drinking-Driving and the Symbolic Order.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Follows the McAndrew and Edgerton (1969) route in viewing alcohol problems as a social construct imposed by numerous factors that include cultural, ideological, religious and social ones. Gusfield queries, for example, the continued assumption that because alcohol is present in a driver who has been in an accident, then this is the sole reason for that accident.

Gutzke, D.W. (1989) *Protecting the Pub: Brewers and Publicans Against Temperance*. London, Royal Historical Society and The BoyDell Press.

A distinguished social and economic history of drinking capitalizing on original sources. Gutzke's study concentrates on Victorian brewers and retailers and how they amalgamated to form a pressure group to resist the anti-drink campaign and legislation. The author further considers the social (and indeed, political) role of the pub, changing drinking habits (types of alcohol consumed, location of consumption) and licensed (and unlicensed) trade history.

Haberman, P.W. and Baden, M.M. (1978) *Alcohol, Other Drugs and Violent Death.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

The authors account for the role of alcohol in various types of violent death, which includes some valuable data on young adults.

Harrison, B. and Trinder, D. (1969) *Drink and Sobriety in an Early Victorian Town: Banbury 1830-1860.* Supplement 4 of The English Historical Review. London, Longmans.

Using primary sources, this monograph provides a scholarly account of the campaigns against public drunkenness in mid-nineteenth century Banbury and the ensuing response of the local licensing and brewing trade.

Harrison, B. (1971) *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815-72.* London, Faber & Faber.

An authoritative work outlining the major phases of the Temperance movement and emphasizing, for instance, the various social factors that led to reduced consumption levels between 1820 and 1870, which include improved water supplies (alcohol was often safer to drink than water), the introduction of alternative drinks such as tea and coffee and the end of the custom of recruitment and payment in public houses.

Haskins, J. (1976) *Teenage Alcoholism.* New York, Hawthorn.
> Haskins examines the nature of alcohol and effects of alcohol consumption and abuse among teenagers.

Hauge, R. (1984) *Alcohol and Crime.* Strasbourg, Council of Europe.
> Principally, the author reviews the literature concerning the study of alcohol and crime, examining the major themes, methods and defects of the prevailing research. Hauge admits that a relationship appears to exist between alcohol consumption and violent crime, but concludes that the precise nature of this relationship requires more intricate examination than has already taken place. For example, Haugue argues, many studies have been limited to examining consumption rather than actual drinking behaviour.

Hawker, A. (1978) *Adolescents and Alcohol.* London, Edsall.
> A report on adolescent drinking patterns from October 1975 to June 1976. Employing a questionnaire, the book considers advertising, availability of alcohol, drinking patterns, the effects of alcohol and frequency and types of alcohol consumed.

Heather, N., Robertson, I. and Davies, P. (Ed.) (1986) *The Misuse of Alcohol.* London, Croom Helm.
> A general overview of the various concepts of problem-drinking and its prevention and treatment. Part one deals with the effectiveness of various attempts to prevent problem-drinking.

Heather, N. and Robertson, I. (1989) (2nd Ed.) *Problem Drinking.* London, Penguin.
> Heather and Robertson suggest that the "disease" approach to alcohol problems still prevails over the social-learning concept, which the authors argue is due to a disease-concept approach not requiring substantial legal, fiscal and, therefore, expensive measures.

Hope, T. (1985) *Drinking and Disorder in the City Centre: A Policy Analysis.* In: Home Office Research Study 86, Implementing Crime Prevention Measures. London, H.M.S.O.

In a study of Newcastle city centre, Hope identified a correlation between the licensing law and violent disorder, with disorder levels accelerating towards and climaxing at closing-time, followed by a further damaging level of disorder at nightclub closing-time.

Hunt, L. (1982) *Alcohol-Related Problems*. London, Heinemann.

Intended as a handbook for social-work and other practitioners, the volume includes discussions on common problems associated with alcohol abuse and provides a guideline for the practitioner on assessing a client's alcohol problems.

Hyman, M. M. et al. (1983) *Drinkers, Drinking and Alcohol-Related Mortality and Hospitalisations: A Statistical Compendium.* New Jersey, The Centre of Alcohol Studies.

A statistical handbook that (aside from the legitimacy of some of the data) submits facts on American patterns of consumption between 1790 and 1978, demographic characteristics (including 26 other countries), the percentage of drinkers among adolescents and hospital admissions that relate to alcohol.

Jahoda, G. and Cramond, J. (1972) *Children and Alcohol: A Developmental study in Glasgow.* Vol. I. London, H.M.S.O.

A twin survey to the one undertaken by Davies and Stacey (1972) and surveying an even younger sample of children, aged between six and ten. A plethora of insights, including the finding that 60% of the children had tasted alcohol and that many could easily recognise alcohol differences simply by smell.

Jeanneret, O. (1983) *Alcohol and Youth.* Basel, Kargen.

A multi-disciplinary and cross-cultural approach to the subject, including biological, epidemiological, legal and psychological approaches from America, England, France, Scotland, Sweden and Switzerland.

Law Commission of Victoria. (1989) *Public Drunkenness.* Victoria, Law Commission of Victoria.

> The Law Commission report recommends that 'drunkenness' should be decriminalized, as it has been in other Australian states, thus avoiding the stigma of the criminal which is often attached to the drunken offender or alcoholic. The intoxicated person would be removed from the streets for his own safety and provided with medical and counselling assistance, including 'sobering-up' centres.

Law Commission of Victoria. (1989) *Public Drunkenness: A Supplementary Report.* Victoria, Law Commission of Victoria.

> A supplement to the 1989 report (op. cit.), providing state comparisons and extensive guidelines for police, personnel at the 'sobering-up' centres and various other groups involved.

Lenke, L. (1989) *Alcohol and Criminal Violence: Time Series Analyses in a Comparative Perspective.* Edsbruk, Tryckt av Akademitryck AB.

> A criminological and historical look at the relationship between alcohol and violent crime in Sweden during three periods from 1870 to 1984, which have, perhaps, been discriminately chosen to support the writer's argument that there is a positive correlation between levels of consumption and levels of violence.

Longmate, N. (1968) *The Waterdrinkers.* London, Hamish Hamilton.

> A classic account of the history of the Temperance movement in Britain.

McAndrew,C. and Edgerton, R.D. (1969) *Drunken Comportment: A Social Explanation.* Chicago, Aldine.

> A cross-cultural survey that suggests that drunken behaviour and its consequences are not determined by physiological means, but by culture and social learning. Thus, behavioural transformations differ from culture to culture. According to the authors, "People learn about drunkenness what their society 'knows' about drunkenness".

McClelland, D.C., Davis, W.N., Kalin, R. and Wanner, E. (1972) *The Drinking Man: Alcohol and Human Motivation* New York, The Fleece Press.

> The presentation of the results of a cohort psychological study of alcohol over a period of ten years in American colleges.

Marsh, A., Dobbs, J. and White, A. (1986) *Adolescent Drinking: A Survey Carried out on Behalf of the Department of Health and Social Security and The Scottish Home and Health Department.* London, H.M.S.O.

> Conducted in 1984, this survey looked at the self-reported drinking behaviour of 5000 teenagers, aged 13-17 years and concluded that the majority of them do not drink in any particularly harmful way.

Marshall, M. (Eds.) (1979) *Beliefs, Behaviours and Alcohol Beverages: A cross-cultural survey.* Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press.

> Observational studies from a number of different cultures, including Polynesian, Afro-Brazilian and West African studies. Marshall is vehement that drinking behaviour is, primarily, culturally determined and emphasizes that the "... consequences of drinking alcohol depend as much on people's idea of what alcohol does to a person, as it does on the physiological process that takes place".

Marshall, M. (1979) *Weekend Warriors: Alcohol in a micronesian culture.* California, Mayfield.

> Marshall believes that the modern phenomenon of drunken behaviour is a substitute for traditional warfare. Alcohol (instead of war) allows for the legitimate expression of anger, though he also sees it as being influenced by other vital factors, including incredibly high unemployment among young people and an equally poor education system. The author intimates that much of this behaviour is learnt and that alcohol allows them to "...carry out recurrent behaviours that express a standardized system of emotional attitudes about bravery, strength, aggression and machismo".

Mass Observation. (1943) *The Pub and the People: A Worktown Study.* London, Victor Gollancz, Ltd.

> A definitive account of drinking behaviour, the public house and its role in the life of a community in a Northern town in the late 1930's, primarily using ethnographic techniques.

Mayer, J.E. and Filstead, W.J. (1980) *Adolescence and Alcohol.* Massachusetts, Ballinger.

> A variety of aspects concerning the relationship between alcohol and adolescence are considered (principally with an American emphasis), including consumption patterns, definitions of alcohol 'problems' and a critique of educational packages.

MCM Research. (1990) *Conflict and Violence in Pubs.* Oxford, MCM Research Ltd.

> Dr. Peter Marsh, the psychologist, has been researching this subject since 1977 and this publication contains the findings and analysis of in-depth interviews with 300 pub managers throughout England, between 1986 and 1990. It looks at the levels and types of pub violence encountered and how this violence relates to factors such as different management styles, customers, design and ergonomics. In addition, apposite recommendations and strategies are provided for each category.

Miles Cox, W. (Ed.) (1987) *Treatment and Prevention of Alcohol Problems: A Research Manual.* Florida, Academic Press.

> A behaviouralist's guide for the clinical worker dealing with alcohol problems, which looks at such specific treatment modes as 'culture-specific' treatments, interaction procedures and group therapy. It also examines the role of alcohol in family, marital and sexual problems.

Milgram, G.G. (1980) *Coping With Alcohol.* New York, Rosen Press.

> Milgram considers the nature and history of alcohol and consumption, with a particular emphasis on young people.

Miller, P. and Nirenberg, T. (Ed.) (1984) *Prevention of Alcohol Abuse.* New York, Plenum Press.

> The authors offer an assessment of the role of the mass media in prevention, biological and situational factors behind alcohol consumption and abuse, alcohol and the military, as well as an overview of international alcohol policies, including those of Canada and England.

Ministry for Police and Emergency Services, Victoria Police. (1989) *Study of Serious Assaults on Civilians Reported to the Victoria Police.* Privately published.

A detailed breakdown of 1587 crime reports of assaults between 1878 and 1989, including the day, location, method and time of an attack, as well as the relationship (if any) between an attacker and a victim. The survey found that nearly a fifth of all serious assaults over time occurred in or near a licensed premises and that doorstaff were involved in a fifth of incidents, as either victims or offenders.

Moser, J. (1985) *Alcohol Policies in National Health and Development Planning: Including a Summary of the Technical Discussions Held During the 35th World Health Assembly 1982.* Geneva, World Health Organisation.

Contains important cross-cultural accounts of alcohol policies (including prevention and treatment of alcohol problems) throughout the world.

O'Connor, J. (1978) *The Young Drinkers.* London, Tavistock.

An empirical analysis of the plethora of factors that might influence adolescent drinking behaviour, such as ethnic background, peer and parental influence. Principally examining three groups (i.e. English, Irish and Anglo-Irish), O'Connor also looks at parental habits and attitudes and provides an absorbing cultural and historical appraisal.

O'Hagan, J. (1983) *The Rationale for Special Taxes on Alcohol: A Critique.* British Tax Review, 6.

In contrast to the views of Crooks (1989), the author is adamant that alcohol taxes do not alleviate alcohol-related problems, but instead, he advocates an improved public health information policy.

Orford, J. and Harwin, J. (Ed.) (1982) *Alcohol and the Family.* London, Croom Helm.

Thirteen chapters that examine the role of alcohol alongside family and social problems. Particularly useful on sex roles, transposition of alcohol problems within the family and on prevention techniques and treatment procedures.

Partanen, J and Montonen, M. (1988) *Alcohol and the Mass Media.* Copenhagen, World Health Organisation.

Partanen and Montonen examine the prevailing international research on the subject, focusing on how the mass media is used both by the alcohol industry to promote alcohol use and then by governments and other organisations as, principally, an anti-alcohol educational tool.

Pattison, E. M. and Kaufman, E. (Eds.) (1982) *Encyclopaedic Handbook of Alcoholism.* New York, Gardner Press.

Although strictly concerned with alcohol as an addiction, this volume provides current biomedical, psychological and sociological theories of alcohol and alcoholism as well as offering coherent views of drinking problems among the elderly, ethnic groups, homosexuals and women.

Pihl, R. O. (1983) Alcohol and aggression: A psychological perspective. In: Gottheil, E., et al. (Eds.) *Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Aggression.* Massachusetts, Charles C. Thomas.

Here, the main psychological findings are succinctly summarized, and the author emphasizes that distilled spirits produce greater effects than beer, but that very high alcohol doses do not produce excessive aggression, but rather, induce sleep.

Plant, M.A. (Ed.) (1982) *Drinking and Problem Drinking*. London, Junction Books: Fourth Estate.

The authors emphasize the social, psychological and psychiatric aspects of alcohol. Includes evidence of alcohol use and misuse, useful chapters on help for problem drinkers, prevention and an assessment of theories and evidence.

Plant, M.A. (1979) *Drinking Careers: Occupations, Drinking Habits and Drinking Problems*. London, Tavistock.

A survey of 300 Scottish Male manual workers in the Brewing industry that valiantly attempts to discover whether this trade encouraged heavy drinkers to join their ranks or whether working conditions induced workers to drink more heavily. Plant did not find enough convincing evidence to decide either way. However, more reliable evidence suggested that many subjects left their jobs simply to reduce their alcohol intake and that subjects drinking habits had caused industrial accidents and absenteeism.

Plant, M.A., Peck, D.F., Samuel, E. (1985) *Alcohol, Drugs and School Leavers*. London, Tavistock.

> Describes adolescent use of alcohol and evaluates alcohol education classes and films, being particularly scathing towards the latter as their evidence shows that subjects exposed to an alcohol-education film actually increased their consumption. The authors suggest that drinkers in these films who were supposedly examples of "problem drinkers" actually became role models for the subjects.

Plant, M.A. (Ed.) (1982) *Drinking and Problem Drinking.* London, Junction Books.

> Contributions on the definition of problem drinking, the philosophy and nature of alcohol, prevention theories and aid for the problem drinker.

Pohrecky, L. A. and Brick, J. (1983) *Stress and Alcohol Use: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Stress and Alcohol Use, held June 9-11 1982, at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.A.* Oxford, Elsevier Biomedical.

> An eclectic, but informative, collection of papers and discussion that provide an overview of current literature from biochemistry and biology, to pharmacology and psychology.

Rice, F.P. (1981) *The Adolescent, Development, Relationships and Culture.* Boston, Allyn and Bacon.

> The author suggests that alcohol is often used prior to puberty and, moreover, emphasizes the role of alcohol in car accidents involving young people.

Ritson, E.B. (Ed.) (1985) *Community Response to Alcohol-Related Problems: Review of an International Study.* Geneva, World Health Organisation.

> Featuring useful cross-cultural studies on alcohol, including Mexico, Scotland and Zambia.

Robinson, D. (Ed.) (1979) *Alcohol Problems, Review, Research and recommendations*. London, Macmillan.

> Divided into seven principal sections: Drinking and Social Life, Alcohol problems and Alcoholism, Teenage Drinking, Women and Alcohol, Alcohol at Work, Drinking and Driving and Prevention and Public Health.

Room, R and Collins, G. (Eds.) (1983) *Drinking and Disinhibition: Nature and Meaning of the Link.* NIAAA Research Monograph No.12. Washington, United States Government Printing Office.

> A review of the theory of alcohol as a disinhibitor and its impact on research. The authors rue the fact that this notion (and the beliefs of the general public, who seem to adhere to this theory) has determined much of the research and government legislation on alcohol.

Ross, H. L. (1986) *Deterring the Drinking Driver.* Toronto, Lexington Books.

> A survey of the current international research concerning the deterrence of drinking drivers and the plethora of legislative policies designed to prevent or reduce the problem. Ross examines how successful (and unsuccessful) these campaigns and laws have been, whilst offering further and practical suggestions for more effective enforcement.

Royal College of Psychiatrists (1979) *Alcohol and Alcoholism.* London, Tavistock.

> A plea for concerted action that reflects the shift away from viewing the alcohol problem as a medical one to seeing it as a consequence of social difficulties. The various authors also consider the breadth of the problem, research developments and the relationship between alcohol and other social disabilities (e.g. crime, divorce, unemployment) and make recommendations for prevention and treatment.

Royal College of Psychiatrists (1981) *Alcohol: Our Favourite Drug.* London, Tavistock.

> An expanded version of the 1979 publication "Alcohol and Alcoholism", this volume contains fresh research on the causes of excessive drinking, drinking and the workplace and prevention and self-help programmes.

Royce, J. E. (1981) *Alcohol Problems and Alcoholism.* New York, Free Press.

> Royce examines the causes and nature of alcoholism, as well as the concept of alcoholism as a disease. There are chapters on Alcoholics Anonymous and other American counselling bodies and the effects of alcohol on behaviour.

Sargent, M. (1979) *Drinking and Alcoholism in Australia: A Power Relations Theory.* Melbourne, Longman Cheshire.

> The author presents empirical evidence on Australian drinking habits and alcohol-related problems. There is also a view of the drinking habits of Aborigines and students and shouting behaviour in public bars.

Smart, R.G. (1976) *The New Drinkers: Teenage Use and Abuse of Alcohol.* Addiction Research Foundation, Toronto.

> Intended for educators, parents and the general reader, this volume provides a concise view of the problems concerning alcohol and teenagers, including how many have problems and why.

Sournica, J.C. (1990) *History of Alcoholism.* Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

> An exhaustive cross-cultural history of alcohol and alcoholism that dissects legal, medical, political and public attitudes towards the topic, from Babylonia in 1700 B.C. to the present time.

Standing Conference on Crime Prevention. (1986) *Report of the Working Group on the Prevention of Violence associated with Licensed Premises.* London, The Home Office.

> Though seemingly maintaining the view that levels of alcohol consumption correlate with levels of violence, this report provides a method of 'good practice' for those having to deal with disorder, including breweries, licensees and their staff, local authorities, magistrates and police.

Standing Conference on Crime Prevention. (1987) *Report of the Working Group on Young People and Alcohol.* London, The Home Office.

Although emphasizing that there is no evidence for a direct causal link between consumption and crime, the standing conference observes a link between intoxication and "...certain crimes of violence and disorder", particularly involving young people. They recommend a range of preventative measures, including alternative facilities for young people, the banning of alcohol advertising on television, establishing a code of licensing practise, and increasing taxation.

Taylor, S. P. and Leonard, K. E. (1983) Alcohol and Human Physical Aggression. In R. G. Green and E. J. Donnerstein (Eds.) *Aggression: Theoretical and Empirical Reviews.* Vol. 2. New York, Academic Press.

The authors outline a relationship between alcohol and aggression that is explained by the combination of a pharmacologically induced change in the cognitive process and the selecting of specific contexts, usually salient.

Trotter, T. (1804) *An Essay, Medical, Philosophical and Chemical on Drunkenness and its Effects on the Human Body.* London, Longman.

An early attempt to define and diffuse the causes of drunken excess and its various consequences. For instance, pre-empting Plant's (1984) concerns with drinking careers, Trotter emphasizes that "...inebriety is common to coopers, porters and other workmen employed in cellars and distilleries."

Tuck, M. (1989) *Drinking and Disorder: A Study of Non-Metropolitan Violence.* London, H.M.S.O.

Using observational fieldwork and follow-up surveys, this document examines the location, nature, propensity and protagonists of disorder and its links with alcohol, as well as surveying the role of the Police and their various tactics. Admitting to the inherent difficulties of measuring actual alcohol consumption, the author wisely suggests that the "...majority of disorderly incidents are connected with weekend entertainment problems", which is not the same as claiming a direct correlation between alcohol and consumption. Tuck principally advocates a local community response to problems of disorder.

Tuck, M. (1980) *Alcoholism and Social Policy: Are we on the Right Lines?* London, H.M.S.O.

An instructive monograph that examines the variable methods of alcohol consumption analysis, the different approaches of alcohol theorists and the effects these theories have had on the considerations of alcohol-policy makers. Principally, Tuck recommends a local community action to prevent alcohol problems, whilst attacking the 'per capita' consumption theory, which The Royal College of Psychiatrists (1981) - among others - so reveres.

Valliant, G. E. (1987) *The Natural History of Alcoholism.* Massachusetts, Harcard University Press.

An excellent cohort research study of the drinking careers of 400 urban males from the age of 21 to 51.

Victorian Community Council Against Violence. (1990) *Inquiry into Violence in and around Licensed Premises.* Melbourne, V.C.C.A.V.

Using police statistics and witness reports, this report assesses the nature and extent of violence in licensed houses and analyses management, policing and security of these premises. The council also suggest procedures for reducing the incidence of violence, including the licensing of door staff.

Wilson, G. B. (1940) *Alcohol and the Nation.* London, Nicholson and Watson.

An influential work that provides an assessment of the licensing system and the restrictions imposed during the first world war, as well as political and economic aspects of the drinks trade and alcohol-related deaths and convictions.

Wilson, V. (1987) *Young People in the Prevention of Alcohol, Solvent and Drug Misuse*, Penarth, Council for Wales of Voluntary Youth Services.

An evaluation of a two-year project aimed at encouraging the participation of young people in the prevention process.

World Health Organisation (1980) *Problems Relating to Alcohol Consumption.* Geneva, World Health Organisation.

A cross-cultural study (though its principal focus is on Europe) which scrutinizes national alcohol policies and education programmes, prevention tactics, consumption levels and alcohol and youth.

Journals

Abel, E. L. and Zeidenberg, P. (1985) Age, alcohol and violent death. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 46, 228-231.

> Alcohol was present in the victim in 48.6% of traffic accidents, 38.9% of miscellaneous accidents, 45.2% of homicides and 35.4% of suicides. Among the age cohorts, there were no significant differences, with about half of all deaths being alcohol-related deaths.

Aitken, P. P. and Jahoda, G. (1983) An observational study of young adult's drinking groups: I. Drink preferences, demographic and structural variables as predictors of alcohol consumption. *Alcohol and Alcoholism.* 18, 135-150.

> An observational study of 200 pub groups, whose members were mostly aged between 18 and 25. Results showed that same-sex groups and large groups consumed more alcohol and that females who consumed beer and lager or beer, lager and spirits were heavier drinkers than those females who consumed spirits only.

Aitken, P. P. (1985) An observational study of young adult's drinking groups - II. Drink purchasing procedures, group pressures and alcohol consumption by companions as predictors of alcohol consumption. *Alcohol and Alcoholism.* 20, 445-457.

> Purchasing procedures tended to influence consumption in that males who were involved in "round-buying" were more likely to drink more than males who were not. Both males and females were under social pressure to buy 'rounds', but most females tended not to purchase drinks openly.

Aitken, P. P., et al. (1988) Television advertisements for alcoholic drinks do reinforce under-age drinking. *British Journal of Addiction.* 83, 1399-1419.

> After interviewing 433 children in Glasgow, findings indicated that under-age drinkers were better than non-drinkers at recognizing brands in alcohol commercials and that they particularly liked advertisements for lager.

Aitken, P. P., Leather, D. S. and Scott, A. C. (1988) Ten-to sixteen-year-olds' perceptions of advertisements for alcoholic drinks. *Alcohol and Alcoholism.* 23, 491-500.

The authors rebuke advertisers for saying that advertisements for alcohol are purely aimed at adults, as their research has suggested that younger teenagers find such advertisements very attractive. 14-to-16 year-olds were able to transpose the advertisements and saw them as promoting, for example, masculinity and working-class values.

Andersson, T. and Magnusson, D. (1988) Drinking habits and alcohol abuse among young men: A prospective longitudinal study. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 49, 245-252.

A study using a cohort of about 700 boys in a Swedish town, which reveals that initial drinking patterns are not reliable predictors of alcohol abuse in early adulthood. But a high level of (self-reported) drunkenness and, indeed, appearances in government records for alcohol abuse at the ages of 15-17, were in themselves, indicative of a teenage alcohol problem.

Annis, H. M. and Smart, R. G. (1975) The Ontario detoxification system: Influence on drunkenness arrests in Toronto. *Ontario Psychologist.* 7, 19-24.

According to the authors' research, detoxification centres have had no significant impact on arrests for drunkenness.

Atkin, C., Neuendorf, K. and McDermott, S. (1983) The role of alcohol advertising in excessive and hazardous drinking. *Journal of Drug Education.* 13, 313-324.

In contrast to many other studies (Kohn and Smart, 1984 and Smart, 1988), the author suggests that advertising encourages heavier drinking and drinking in dangerous situations. Astonishingly, when subjects were shown advertisements displaying heavy consumption and hazardous situations, they felt that this behaviour was being endorsed by the companies involved.

Barton, R. and Godfrey, S. (1988) Un-health promotion: Results of a survey of alcohol promotion on television. *British Medical Journal.*

Barton and Godfrey saw television advertisements for alcohol as having a significant influence on children and adolescents, reflecting Aitken et al's (1984) findings. Alcohol advertisements comprised 12% of the total, though this extended to 17% during the Christmas holiday period. They were also generally longer than other product advertisements and 56% appeared first in the sequence of advertisements during the commercial break.

Blane, H. T. (1983) Problem drinking in delinquent and non-delinquent adolescent males. *American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse.* 9, 221-232.

Delinquent problem drinkers had higher levels of consumption than non-delinquent problem drinkers, whereas consumption patterns between non-problem-drinkers in these two groups were much closer.

Brain, P. F. (1986) Multidisciplinary examinations of the causes of crime : The case of the link between alcohol and violence. *Alcohol and Alcoholism.* 21, 237-240.

An overall warning against simplistically assuming that alcohol causes aggressive behaviour. On a physiological level, alcohol is metabolized in the body into different products which may in themselves precipitate aggression rather than the alcohol itself. Psychologically, the author stresses that one must consider the expectancy effect that precipitates alcohol use, where studies have shown that subjects who thought they were drinking alcohol (but were not) exhibited similar behavioural tendencies to those who had consumed alcohol.

Brown, S. A., Creamer, V. A. & Stetson, B. A. (1987) Adolescent alcohol expectancies in relation to personal and parental drinking patterns. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology.* 96, 117-121.

Subjects with a personal history of alcohol abuse expected more reinforcement from alcohol than their non-abusing peers and, moreover, those adolescents with a family history of alcohol-abuse also expected more cognitive and motor benefits from alcohol than those without such a history.

Budd, R. J., et al. (1985) The personal characteristics and lifestyle of the young drinker: The results of a survey of British adolescents. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence.* 16, 145-157.

> The survey discovered that heavy drinkers in comparison to moderate consumers expected: a) to experience more stress, b) to do worse in school, c) to conflict with their parents and d) to be more involved in peer group activities.

Byles, J. A. (1978) Violence, alcohol problems and other problems in disintegrating families. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 39, 551-553.

> Although, perhaps, not an ideal sample in that 139 people who appeared in a family court in Canada where surveyed, the author has concluded that violence is twice as likely to occur in families where one spouse has alcohol problems, than in families where no alcohol problems are discernable.

Carman, R. S., Fitzgerald, B.J. & Holmgren, C. (1983) Alienation and drinking motivations among adolescent females. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* 44, 1021-1024.

> The authors found the correlation between problem-drinking motivations and a state of alienation could be attributed positively for females, but not for males.

Chassin, L., Tetzloff, C. & Hershey, M. (1985) Self-image and social-image factors in adolescent alcohol Use. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 46, 39-47.

> Subjects (266 high-school students with an average age of 15.6) tended to have contrary images of drinking, associating it with both disabilities and benefits.

Cherek, D. R., Steinberg, J. L. & Manno, B. R. (1985) Effects of alcohol on human aggressive behaviour. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 46, 321-328.

> Here, the authors studied eleven men aged 20 to 36 years in the laboratory and suggest that comparatively low alcohol levels in the blood can elicit an aggressive response.

Chomak, S. and Collins, R. L. (1987) Relationship between sex-role behaviors and alcohol consumption in undergraduate men and women. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 48, 194-201.

> A study of 72 men and 75 women found that the masculine role is associated with heavier drinking than the feminine role, which tends to have an inhibiting effect on women's consumption, except for wine, which is positively associated with the feminine sex role.

Christiansen, B. A. and Teahan, J. E. (1987) Cross-cultural comparisons of Irish and American adolescent drinking practises and beliefs. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 48, 558-562.

> Irish subjects reported less social drinking and less problematic drinking. They also identified alcohol as having less social benefit than the American subjects, as well as having a negative effect on cognitive and motor functions, but a positive one on aggression.

Christiansen, B. A., Goldman, M. S. and Inn, A. (1982) Development of alcohol-related expectancies in adolescents: Separating pharmacological from social-learning influences. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology.* 50, 336-344.

> In adolescents aged 12 to 19 years, expectancies about the effects of alcohol do exist prior to any personal experience of drinking. Some of these expectancies included: diversion from worry, increased aggression and physical pleasure and a reduction in tension. Eventual experience of drinking tended to corroborate and assert such expectancies.

Clayton, A. B. (1986) Attitudes towards drinking and driving: Their role in the effectiveness of countermeasures. *Alcohol, Drugs and Driving Abstracts and Reviews.* 2, 1-8.

> A review of the research from Australia, Canada, England, New Zealand, Norway and Sweden. Indications are that many male drivers will, on occasions, drive after drinking, underestimate the amount of alcohol it takes to reach the legal limit, do not disapprove of driving after drinking and overestimate the chances of detection and conviction.

Collins, J, J. and Schlenger, W. E. (1988) Acute and chronic effects of alcohol use on violence. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 49, 516-521.

> In a study of violent offenders, the authors found that many who had been incarcerated had been drinking prior to the offence. The association between violent interned offenders and dependent alcohol problems was not as verifiable.

Cosper, R.L., Okraku, I.O. and Neumann, B. (1987) Tavern going in Canada: A national survey of regulars at public drinking establishments. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 48, 252-259.

> The authors startling conclusions were that pub regulars were, for the most part, young, above-average consumers and unmarried.

Crawford, A. (1984) Alcohol and expectancy: I. Perceived sex differences in the effects of drinking. *Alcohol and Alcoholism.* 19, 63-69.

> An assessment of 100 undergraduates which used 'open-ended questions'. More than half of the subjects believed males would become "aggressive" and more likely to "show-off" after drinking, whereas females were seen to become less inhibited and more "giggly".

Crawford, A. (1984) Alcohol and expectancy: II. Perceived sex differences in the role of alcohol as a source of aggression. *Alcohol and Alcoholism.* 19, 71-75.

> As in the companion study of the same year (op. cit.), 100 undergraduates were surveyed and saw alcohol as a frequent source of male aggression, but rarely one of female aggression.

Crawford, A., et al. (1982) Alcohol and crime: I. Self-reported alcohol consumption of Scottish prisoners. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 43, 610-613.

> The author contends that 43% of subjects who drank regularly consumed more than the standard measure for diagnosis as alcoholic, though this measurement is itself subject to some debate. Alternatively, one can see that more than half did not reach this level.

Crawford, A., et al. (1985) Self-reported alcohol consumption and adverse consequences of drinking in three areas of Britain: General population studies. *British Journal of Addiction.* 80, 421-428.

> Levels of alcohol-related problems did not correlate with the known patterns of alcohol consumption in these three areas.

Critchlow, B. (1987) Beliefs about the effects of alcohol on self and others. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 48, 467-475.

> A questionnaire survey found that people expected the effects of alcohol to happen to others rather than to themselves, particularly anti-social behaviours resulting from alcohol consumption. Moreover, men reported a likelihood of more aggressive behaviour and heavy drinkers suggested more pleasing effects.

Critchlow, B. (1986) The powers of John Barleycorn : Beliefs about the effects of alcohol on social behaviour. *American Psychologist.* 41, 751-764.

> Critchlow reviews the data on the causal effects of alcohol on behaviour and concludes that most people believe alcohol does have negative consequences and continually use it as a legitimate excuse for abnormal behaviour which, therefore, does not affect their own moral standing or reputation in society.

Dzialdowski, A., Heather, N. and Crawford, J. (1988) Perceptions of drinkers and abstainers in a sample of Scottish adults. *Alcohol and Alcoholism.* 23, 7-16.

> A double standard emerged from this survey of over 200 adults, in that heavy drinkers who were female were perceived as being less sociable than their male equivalents. Female abstainers, however, were seen as far more sociable and more sexually attractive than male teetotallers, who were also regarded as less sociable than all moderate drinkers.

Eberle, P. A. (1982) Alcohol abusers and non-users : A discriminant analysis of differences between two subgroups of batterers. *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour.* 23, 260-271.

> On an examination of four battering incidents, results showed that only 16% of batterers used excessive levels of alcohol and that 19% had used no alcohol at all. The remaining sample displayed an incoherent pattern of use.

Engs, R. & Hanson, D. J. (1989) Reactance theory : A test with collegiate drinking. *Psychological Reports.* 64, 1083-1086.

> Findings supported the reactance theory that preventing consumption leads to increased drinking and suggested that raising the minimum drinking age in the United States may have led to increased consumption among underage students.

Epstein, T . (1978) A socio-legal examination of intoxication in the criminal law. *Contemporary Drug Problems.* 7, 401-469.

> The use of alcohol by an offender, and particularly drunkenness, is seen as a mitigating circumstance in many crimes, to the extent that a possible conviction for murder can be reduced to a charge of manslaughter.

Evans, C. M. (1980) Alcohol, violence and aggression. *British Journal of Alcohol and Alcoholism.* 15, 104-117.

> Primarily a review of the significant literature on the subject, which offers a useful critique of both animal and human experimentation, whilst concluding (like most authoritative voices) that the causal relationship between alcohol and aggression is a complex one and is not instilled by a single mechanism.

George, W. H., et al. (1989) Effects of raising the drinking age to 21 years in New York State on self-reported consumption by college students. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology.* 19, 623-635.

> Raising the minimum drinking age from 18 to 21 had no particular success in lowering alcohol consumption among a college student sample and only succeeded in transferring their drinking from licensed to unlicensed locations.

Gerson, L. W. (1978) Alcohol-related acts of violence: Who was drinking and where the acts occurred. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 39, 1294-1296.

> In 35% of 892 incidents (which included violence in the home), the offender alone had been drinking, though (remarkably for the alcohol-equals-aggression theorists) in 29% of cases the victim had been the sole consumer. In the remaining 36%, both parties had consumed alcohol. Discounting violence in the residence, about half of the other violent offences had occurred in a licensed premises. Sadly, violent incidents occurring outside a licensed premises are counted, alongside incidents in the home, as "elsewhere".

Ghodsian, M. & Power, C. (1987) Alcohol consumption between the ages of 16 and 23 in Britain : A longitudinal study. *British Journal of Addiction.* 82, 175-180.

> Using information from The British National Child Development Study, the authors conclude that those who drank most heavily at 16 were also likely to be the heaviest drinkers at the age of 23.

Gillies, H. (1965) Murder in the west of Scotland. *British Journal of Psychiatry.* 3, 1087-1094.

> 55% of murderers had consumed alcohol at or around the time of the offence.

Glynn, R. J., et al. (1983) Social contexts and motives for drinking in men. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 44, 1011-1025.

> The writers found that men who consumed alcohol for salutary reasons and in social settings, were less likely to have alcohol problems than those drinking in male contexts or to reduce negative feelings.

Goor Van der, L. A. M., Knibbe, R. A. and Drop, M. J. (1990) Adolescent drinking behaviour: An observational study of the influence of situation on adolescent drinking rates. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 51, 548-555.

> Males tended to drink more quickly in large all-male groups (particularly if these were unstable) and on evenings that featured loud music - drinking perhaps replacing and being easier than talking. Boys took an average of ten minutes per drink and girls took fifteen minutes. The authors suggest that any attempts to alter drinking patterns, should also aim to manipulate these situational factors.

Graham, K., et al. (1980) Aggression and bar-room environments. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 41, 277-292.

> An observational survey in both bars and restaurants that showed how violence was sparked by an array of environmental and situational factors.

Graham, K. (1980) Theories of intoxicated aggression. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science.* 12, 141-158.

> A consideration of the primary alcohol-aggression theories that cautiously suggests other inherent factors in such a relationship.

Grube, J. W. and Kearney, K. A. (1983) A 'mandatory' jail sentence for drinking and driving. *Evaluation Review.* 7, 235-246.

> The Washington state drinking and driving project introduced a 2-day jail sentence for drink-driving convictions, but it had no effect on alcohol involvement in accidents and did not affect the levels of drink-driving.

Gustafson, R. (1986) A possible confounding variable in different versions of the 'aggression machine' when used in research on alcohol. *Psychological Reports.* 58, 303-308.

> 48 male university students were used in the experiment to test a subject's conception of the level of aggression expected from an opponent and their own level of aggression towards that opponent. Intoxicated subjects were seen as more aggressive then sober ones and subjects were also more aggressive towards drunk subjects than they were towards sober ones.

Gustafson, R. and Kallmen, H. (1988) Alcohol and unpleasant pain stimulation: Subjective shock calibration and pain and discomfort perception. *Perpetual and Motor Skills.* 66, 739-742.

> Subjects experienced less discomfort from the same amount of pain when they were intoxicated.

Gustafson, R, (1985) Alcohol-related aggression: A further study of the importance of frustration. *Psychological Reports.* 57, 683-697.

> Verifying an earlier experiment, the author observed no increase in aggression for drunken subjects under non-frustrating conditions, though there were significant increases in aggression in subjects under frustrating conditions.

Gustafson, R. (1988) Effects of beer and wine on male aggression as measured by a paper-and-pen test. *Psychological Reports.* 62, 795-798.

> Two dual experiments were undertaken, one using wine and the other beer. Neither beverage had any effect on aggression, but the use of a self-rating questionnaire is not the most reliable method of measurement.

Gustafson, R. (1985) Frustration as an important determinant of alcohol-related aggression. *Psychological Reports.* 57, 3-14.

> On this occasion, Gustafson experimented with 30 male members of the Swedish military and concluded that alcohol had no effect under non-frustrative conditions, whereas it did in a frustrative situation. The placebo group did not exhibit these differences.

Gustafson, R. (1987) Lack of correspondence between alcohol-related aggressive expectancies for self and others. *Psychological Reports.* 60, 707-710.

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> Replicating the findings of Critchlow (1987), Gustafson found that subjects who expected an effect from alcohol consumption believed others would become more aggressive, whereas they themselves would remain calm.

Gustafson, R. (1986) Threat as a determinant of alcohol-related aggression. *Psychological Reports.* 58, 287-297.

> Absolute and relative aggression tends to increase under intoxication, though such subjects inhibit their aggression in response to a threatening situation.

Harwood, M.K. and Leonard, K.E. (1989) Family history of alcoholism, youthful antisocial behavior and problem drinking among DWI offenders. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 50, 210-216.

> Based on responses to a questionnaire, the study showed that there was not a significant correlation between a family history of alcohol abuse - and anti-social tendencies - and the quantity and frequency of alcohol consumption or alcohol problems. But subjects who displayed anti-social tendencies and who had a familial history of alcohol dependence were least confident of their ability to control their consumption.

Heather, N. (1982) Alcohol dependence and problem drinking in Scottish young offenders. *British Journal on Alcohol and Alcoholism.* 17.4, 145-154.

> 27% of inmates in a delinquent institution were defined as either 'dependent' or 'problem' drinkers. Dependent individuals also contributed heavily to the 63% (Heather, 1981) who admitted committing offences whilst intoxicated.

Heather, N. (1981) Relationships between delinquency and drinkers among Scottish young offenders. *British Journal on Alcohol and Alcoholism.* 16.2, 50-61.

> 63% of 200 admissions to a delinquent offenders institution, reported that they had been drinking at the time of the offence. This 'drunken' group had also committed more previous offences than the sober group and had, generally, experienced earlier drinking.

Holcomb, W. R. and Adams, N. A. (1985) Personality mechanisms of alcohol-related violence. *Journal of Clinical Psychology.* 41, 714-722.

Males who committed murder whilst sober were more likely to have inherent psychopathic characteristics compared to intoxicated murderers. The 'disinhibition' theory of alcohol, however, is dismissed by the authors findings.

Hollin, C. R. (1983) Young offenders and alcohol: A survey of the drinking behaviour of a borstal population. *Journal of Adolescence.* 6, 161-174.

Surveying 100 15-21 year-old males, it was discovered that 38% of subjects had admitted to drinking just before committing an offence.

Hollis, W. S. (1974) On the etiology of criminal homicides: The alcohol factor. *Journal of Police Science and Administration.* 50-53.

Using police forensic evidence, 86% of homicide offenders who had been immediately examined (a total of fifty subjects) were found to have been drinking around the time of the offence.

Holt, S. et al. (1980) Alcohol and the emergency service patient. *British Medical Journal.* 281, 639-643.

Breath-alcohol analysis was performed on 742 patients admitted to accident and emergency wards during an evening. 40% had consumed some alcohol and 32% had blood-alcohol levels in excess of 17.4 mmol/1 (80mg/100ml).

Hull, J. G. & Bond, C. F. (1986) Social and behavioral consequences of alcohol consumption and expectancy : A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin.* 99, 347-360.

Contends that alcohol consumption improved the mood of subjects, but that it also tended to increase aggression and impair information processes and motor performances.

Hunt, G. & Satterlee, S. (1986) Cohesion and division : Drinking in an English village. *Mankind.* 21, 521-537.

An observational analysis of the patterns of drinking and drinking behaviour among two socially contrasting groups.

Hunt, G. & Satterlee, S. (1987) Darts, drink and the Pub : The culture of female drinking. *Sociological Review.* 35, 575-601.

The author's observations were that for working-class women the pub was a primary source of social activity and one which was used regularly, whereas for middle-class women the pub was one of many social centres and was, thus, used less often.

Jaffe, J.H., Babor, T.F. & Fishbein, D.H. (1988) Alcoholics, aggression and antisocial personality. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 49, 211-218.

       Self-report methods were used in the study of 77 Male alcoholics. Subjects were found to be more aggressive when drinking, particularly if they had a background of childhood aggression.

Jeffs, B. & Saunders, W. (1988) Minimizing alcohol related offences by enforcement of the existing licensing legislation. *British Journal of Addiction.* 78, 67-77.

       When the police made a concerted effort to enforce the existing licensing laws, there was a significant reduction in the incidence of "drunkenness-related" offences.

Jones, E. E. and Berglas, S. (1978) Control of attributions about the self through self-handicapping strategies: The appeal of alcohol and the role of underachievement. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.* 4, 200-206.

       The authors hypothesize that, for some, drinking provides an excuse for poor performance or failure. Thus, failure is due to the alcohol and the possible negative consequences of such failure are avoided.

Kelly, T.H., Cherek, D.R. and Steinberg, J.L. (1989) Concurrent reinforcement and alcohol: Interactive effects on human aggressive behaviour. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 50, 399-405.

       In an experiment using six adult males, the increase in alcohol dosage corresponded to a subject's aggressive responses.

Kelly, T.H., et al. (1988) Effects of provocation and alcohol on human aggressive behaviour. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence.* 21, 105-112.

       Aggressive responses were obtained from those subjected to a high level of provocation, but those who had received the high dosages of alcohol showed indeterminate increases of aggression.

Kendell, R., de Roumanie, M. and Ritson, B. (1983) Effect of economic changes on Scottish drinking habits 1978-1982. *British Journal of Addiction.* 75, 365-380.

A comparison of the reported consumption of regular drinkers during the periods of 1978-9 and 1981-2 (when there was a significant increase in the price of alcohol). Results showed that there was an 18% reduction in consumption levels across the range of drinkers and a 16% fall in the adverse effects of drinking, which included accidents, blackouts and fights.

Kilty, K. M. (1983) Styles of drinkers and types of drinkers. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 44, 797-816.

An influential ethnographic survey of 'normal' drinkers that identifies four styles of drinking and seven types of drinker.

Kohn, P.M. and Smart, R.G. (1984) The impact of television advertising on alcohol consumption: An experiment. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 45, 295-301.

An experiment using 125 male undergraduates revealed that the initial impact of advertising was to increase consumption, though continued exposure to it suggested it had no effect.

Kwakman, A. M., et al. (1988) Drinking behaviour, drinking attitudes and attachment relationships of adolescents. *Journal of Youth Adolescence.* 17, 247-253.

Subjects who had not developed strong attachment relationships (deemed as 'anxiously attached') were more likely to have drinking problems than those who had developed such relationships.

Lang, A. et al. (1975) Effects of alcohol on aggression in male social drinkers. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology.* 84, 508-18.

An example of the expectancy model of alcohol effects here, in that when subjects *believed* that they had received an alcoholic drink, their own levels of interpersonal aggression tended to increase.

Lemle, R. and Mishkind, M.E. (1989) Alcohol and masculinity. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment.* 6, 213-222.

The authors examine the evidence that suggests drinking is more prevalent among men because it is associated with the male sex role and is a symbol of masculinity.

Leonard, K. E. and Blane, H. T. (1988) Alcohol expectancies and personality characteristics in young men. *Addictive Behaviors.* 13, 353-357.

> Among both samples (college students and social drinkers), alcohol was perceived as increasing social assertiveness, power and aggression.

Levine, H. G. (1984) The alcohol problem in America: From temperance to alcoholism. *British Journal of Addiction.* 79, 109-119.

> A history of the politics of alcohol in America, including the rise and fall of the prohibition movement, the alcohol policies enforced by the depression and more contemporary approaches.

Levine, H. G. (1985) The discovery of addiction: Changing conceptions of habitual drunkenness in America. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment.* 2, 43-57.

> Discusses the changes in attitudes towards drunkenness and addiction in American society, from the early Temperance movements, through the Prohibition period and towards contemporary beliefs.

Lightfoot, L. O. and Hodgins, D. (1988) A survey of alcohol and drug problems in incarcerated offenders. *The International Journal of the Addictions.* 23, 687-706.

> 80% of offenders interviewed admitted to using alcohol or drugs on the day they committed the offence, whilst 37% of these said they had used more than usual. The authors, however, also see drunken offenders as being more likely to be caught.

McCandless, P. (1984) 'Curses of civilisation': Insanity and drunkenness in victorian Britain. *British Journal of Addiction.* 779, 49-58.

> A fascinating look at the Victorian belief that madness was primarily caused by alcohol intoxication.

McKechnie, R. J., et al. (1977) Teenage drinking in south-west Scotland. *British Journal of Addiction.* 72, 287-295.

> From discussions and confidential questionnaires, the researchers concluded that drinking experiences occurred within the family and at a very early age. Parents mostly advised against drinking, though interestingly, had no qualms in offering their children drink after they themselves had been drinking.

McMurran, M. and Hollin, C. R. (1989) Drinking and delinquency: Another look at young offenders and alcohol. *British Journal of Criminology.* 29, 386-394.

In a study of 100 male offenders aged between 15 and 21, subjects generally reported higher rates of consumption than the norm for that age-group. A relationship between delinquency and drinking was detected in 39% of subjects, although drinking tended to follow acts of delinquency and not precede such acts. Additionally, research showed that there was a high level of violent incidents in or around licensed premises at closing-time on weekends and this was also the time when subjects were more liable to be drunk.

Makela, K. and Room, R. (1985) Alcohol policy and the rights of the drunkard. *Alcoholism, Clinical and Experimental Research.* 9, 2-5.

Compares society's encouragement of alcohol consumption and its intrinsic role in social life, which contrasts with the objurgation of the individual problem drinker. Such a polemic view is seen as being partly responsible for the continuation of alcohol problems.

Martin, C. (1988) Types of female drinkers: A multivariate study. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 49, 273-280.

The author identifies the various patterns and situations of alcohol consumption in over 1000 New Zealand women.

Mosher, J. F. (1984) The impact of legal provisions on bar room behavior: Toward an alcohol-problems prevention policy. *Alcohol.* 1, 205-211.

Mosher contends that any public health policies on alcohol must incorporate the law on bars, which can have an enormous effect on the drinking habits of a community. State law deemed that bar owners were responsible for damage inflicted upon the public by their drunk or under-age customers.

Murdoch, D. D., Pihl, R. O. and Ross, D. (1988) The influence of dose, beverage type, and sex of interactor on female bar patrons' verbal aggression. *The International Journal of the Addictions.* 23, 953-966.

An observational study that showed level of dose as having no consistent effect on verbal aggression. The authors also provide a detailed overview of other experimental studies involving both female and male subjects.

Myers, T. (1982) Alcohol and violent crime re-examined: Self-reports from two sub-groups of Scottish male prisoners. *British Journal of Addiction.* 77, 399-413.

> Although Myers states that prisoners convicted for violent offences were more likely to have consumed alcohol while offending, he also found that heavy consumption was prevalent among both violent and non-violent offenders and emphasizes, like many others, that the causal explanations of alcohol equalling violence are far too simplistic.

Myers, T. An analysis of context and alcohol consumption in a group of criminal events. (1986) *Alcohol and Alcoholism.* 21, 389-395.

> Alcohol consumption seems to affect the circumstances of a crime rather than whether the nature of the crime is violent or non-violent.

Norstrom, T. (1988) Alcohol and suicide in Scandinavia. *British Journal of Addiction.* 83, 553-559.

> A revealing study that shows how variations in per capita consumption has had a significant effect on the suicide rate in both Norway and Sweden.

Pihl, R. O., Smith, M. and Farrell, B. (1984) Alcohol and aggression in men: A comparison of brewed and distilled beverages. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 45, 278-282.

> 50% of the subjects were informed that they would be consuming spirits, whilst the remaining 50% would be consuming beer. Moreover, half of each of these two groups received a placebo drink. Primary findings were that subjects who received spirits or the spirit placebo were significantly more aggressive than the group who drank beer or the beer placebo.

Pihl, R. O., Niaura, R. and Zacchia, C. (1982) Attentional processes in alcohol-related aggression. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 7, 714-724.

> Allowing a drunk subject to identify the consequences of his aggression did not decrease that person's subsequent aggression. Indeed, the duration of the shock treatment meted out by the alcohol 'forced attention' subjects was even greater than the control group.

Pihl, R. O., Zacchia, C. and Zeichner, A. (1982) Predicting levels of aggression after alcohol intake in men social drinkers: A preliminary investigation. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 43, 599-602.

Using a self-rating scale, the experiment demonstrated that subjects who saw themselves as anxious, unfriendly, unhappy and easily angered were more likely to administer an aggressive response. Moreover, subjects on this self-rating scale were more liable to respond aggressively having consumed alcohol. The authors suggest that "...emotions are mediators in the relationship between alcohol intake and aggressive responses...", but that the precise mechanisms behind these 'mediators' requires further study.

Plant, M. A., et al. (1977) Observing public drinking. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 38, 867-880.

An observational study of an Edinburgh pub was undertaken, looking at such factors as the contexts of drinking, the rates and types of drink consumed and sex differences.

Plant, M. A. and Pirie, F. (1979) Self-reported alcohol consumption and alcohol-related problems: A study in four Scottish towns. *Social Psychiatry.* 14, 65-73.

Concludes that the levels of (self-reported) consumption correlates with higher rates of alcohol-related crimes, morbidity and mortality.

Plant, M. A., Peck, D. F. and Stuart, R. (1984) The correlates of serious alcohol-related consequences and illicit drug use amongst a cohort of Scottish teenagers. *British Journal of Addiction.* 79, 197-200.

For males, recreational drug use was a strong predictor of serious alcohol-related problems, whilst for females, alcohol as a source of pleasure and recreation was the primary indicator. For both males and females, a strong relationship was prevalent between alcohol-related problems and the pub or other social centre.

Prus, R. (1983) Drinking as activity : An interactionist analysis. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 44, 461-475.

Following extensive field research in fifty bars, the author concludes that drinking is influenced by ones contemporaries and that it is a social activity and motivation, rather than a personal one.

Rada, R. (1975) Alcoholism and forcible rape. *American Journal of Psychiatry.* 132, 444-446.

> Investigating 77 convicted rapists, it was revealed that half of them had been drinking at the time of the incident whilst 35% of them were alcoholics.

Richardson, D. and Campbell, J. (1980) Alcohol and wife abuse: The effects of alcohol on attribution of blame for wife abuse. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.* 6, 51-56.

> The responsibility for violence against a wife was often laid upon alcohol more than the husband, if he was regarded as being intoxicated. Alternatively, if a wife had been drinking, then this was also seen as a prime responsibility for violent abuse.

Robbins, B. J. and Brotherton, P. L. (1980) Mood change with alcohol intoxication. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology.* 19, 149-155.

> A reduction in tension and increased confusion was observed for both male and females when intoxicated. Males, however, became more depressed and angry.

Robbins, C. (1989) Sex differences in psychological consequences of alcohol and drug abuse. *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour.* 30, 117-130.

> Using a 1985 household survey, results indicated that male experience of a higher level of psychosocial problems was prompted by greater frequencies of intoxication.

Rohsenow, D. M. & Bachorowski, Jo-Anne. (1984) Effects of alcohol and expectancies on verbal aggression in men and women. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology.* 93, 418-432.

> The authors conclude that alcohol intake does not necessarily increase aggression after finding that actual consumption of alcohol only increased aggression for females at low dosage levels.

Room, R. (1984) The World Health Organisation and alcohol control. *British Journal of Addiction.* 79, 85-92.

> Room discusses the role and the effectiveness of The World Health Organisation in the formulation of international alcohol control policies.

Sadava, S. W. (1985) Problem behavior theory and consumption and consequences of alcohol use. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 46, 392-397.

Heavy alcohol consumption is seen by Sadava as "...a necessary, but not sufficient condition for alcohol-related problems". Other 'necessary' variables appear to be drug-use and psychological and social vulnerability.

Schmidt, M. T. and Hankoff, L. D. (1979) Adolescent alcohol abuse and its prevention. *Public Health Review.* 8, 107-153.

Examines the apparent influences on young people's alcohol consumption and suggests some reduction strategies.

Shepherd, J., et al. (1989) Alcohol consumption among victims of violence and among comparable U.K. populations. *British Journal of Addiction.* 84, 1045-1051.

After interviewing 539 victims of assault, it was found that 74% of males and 42% of females had consumed alcohol at least six hours before being assaulted. Moreover, 40% of males and 25% of females had exceeded recommended 'safe-levels' of consumption.

Smart, R. G. (1987) Age of majority cards and drinking among young people. *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education.* 32, 60-64.

This study of over 3000 schoolchildren in Canada offers little consolation for those in favour of 'I.D. Card' schemes. Results indicated that just over 12% of the sample who drank had cards and that 88% of this 12% had yet to reach the legal age of drinking.

Smart, R. G. (1986) Banning happy hours: The impact of drinking and impaired-driving charges in Ontario, Canada. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 47, 256-258.

In a study of five bars before and after a 'happy-hour' ban, the author could find no differences in consumption and sales between these two periods and although there was a fall in impaired-driving charges, no direct correlation between this and the 'happy-hour' ban was found.

Smart, R. G. (1988) Does alcohol advertising affect overall consumption? A review of empirical studies. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 49, 314-323.

Concludes that advertising has little effect on consumption levels and, moreover, that studies have also shown that a ban on alcohol advertising did not affect consumption.

Smart, R. G. and Schidt, W. (1975) Drinking and problems from drinking after a reduction in the minimum drinking age. *British Journal of Addiction.* 70, 347-358.

> The authors surveyed four studies looking at the effects of the reduction in the legal drinking age in Ontario using official data and self-report questionnaires. An increase in consumption of those followed and Vice-Principles of schools (for example) reported an increase in disciplinary problems and absenteeism. Unfortunately, no examination of crime and police statistics is undertaken. Perhaps more reliable as an source of attitudes than as an empirical study.

Spring, J. A. and Buss, D. H. (1977) Three centuries of alcohol in the British diet. *Nature.* 270, 567-572.

> The authors detail how (particularly over the last century) higher consumption levels relate to a lower cost of alcohol.

Steele, C. M. and Southwick, L. (1985) Alcohol and social behaviour: I. The psychology of drunken excess. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* 48, 18-34.

> The paper concludes that social conflict reponses increased with the level of alcohol consumed and this included a mediation for the effects of drinking expectancies.

Steele, C. M. (1986) What happens when you drink too much? *Psychology Today.* 20, 48-52.

> It appears that drunk individuals (in comparison with sober ones) tend to become more aggressive and sexually interested, gamble more, reveal more personal things about themselves and take more risks.

Taylor, S. P., Gammon, C. B. and Capasso, D. R. (1976) Aggression as a function of the interaction of alcohol and threat. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* 34, 938-941.

> Using a sample of 40 male undergraduates, Taylor and his colleagues conclude that alcohol induces aggression when alcohol intake takes place alongside a situation of threat or provocation.

Taylor, S. P. and Gammon, C. B. (1976) Aggressive behaviour of intoxicated subjects: The effects of third party intervention. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 37, 917-930.

As above, a similarly small sample is used to discover that subjects who were intoxicated "attacked" more than those who were not, but that social pressures were important in controlling the behaviour of both sets of subjects.

Taylor, S. and Gammon, C. (1975) The effects of type and dose of alcohol on human aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* 32, 169-175.

A high dose of alcohol initiated an aggressive response, whereas a low dose inhibited aggressive responding in subjects.

Telch, C. F. (1984) Violent versus non-violent couples: A comparison of patterns. *Psychotherapy.* 21, 242-248.

From a survey of violent subjects engaged in counselling for wife battery, results showed that alcohol was the single most significant factor in violent marriages.

Temple, M and Ladouceur, P. (1986) The alcohol-crime relationship as an age-specific phenomenon: A longitudinal study. *Contemporary Drug Problems.* 13, 89-115.

Drinking and criminal activities were assessed in subjects from the ages of 16 to 31 and though alcohol use and crime were often related in adolescence, this correlation had disappeared by the age of 31.

Virkkunen, M. (1974) Alcohol as a factor precipitating aggression and conflict behaviour leading to homicide. *British Journal of Addiction.* 69, 149-154.

In an assessment of 116 murders, alcohol was shown to be present in 66% of the perpetrators and 68% of the victims.

Virkkunen, M. (1977) Arrests for drunkenness and recidivism in juvenile delinquents. *British Journal of Addiction.* 72, 201-204.

Subjects who had been arrested for drunkenness were more guilty of aggressive acts and crimes against property than other subjects.

Voas, R. B. and Williams, A. F. (1986) Age differences of arrested and crash-involved drinking drivers. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 47, 244-248.

Drivers under 20 years of age accounted for a quarter of arrested drivers and one-third of those involved in crashes. Between the ages of 20 and 29, these amounts are two-thirds and three-quarters, respectively.

Wagenaar, A. C. (1982) Aggregate beer and wine consumption: Effects of changes in the minimum legal drinking age and a mandatory beverage container deposit law in Michigan. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 43, 469-487.

Assessing legal changes and beer distribution sales from 1969 to 1980, the author argues against an availability theory of alcohol consumption, in that there were no significant changes in sale patterns at the introduction of a lower drinking age (from 21 to 18) in 1972 and a reversion to the higher age in 1979-80.

Welte, J. W. & Miller, B. A. (1987) Alcohol use by violent and property offenders. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence.* 19, 313-324.

Results indicated that those involved in violent offences had consumed alcohol before the crime more often than those involved in property offences. Overall indications were that the disinhibition theory of alcohol and violent crime was not supported.

Welte, J. W. and Abel, E. L. (1989) Homicide: Drinking by the victim. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 50, 197-201.

Using Medical Examiner records in New York, the authors suggest that in certain categories of homicide the victim is likely to have consumed alcohol. These included black male victims, homicides unrelated to another incident, men killed by women, stabbings and all killings on a Saturday or Sunday night.

Wilson, G. T. et al. (1989) Alcohol and anxiety reduction in female social drinkers. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 50, 226-235.

A study of 48 female drinkers aged 21-30 years, which reveals "... little consistent pattern across the different measures ...", perhaps falling into Hague's (1984) category of experiments which use relatively small samples. One interesting point to emerge, however, was that females given a moderate dose of alcohol actually showed signs of increased anxiety and were also less assertive in role-plays than those in the placebo group.

Windle, W. and Barnes, G. M. (1988) Similarities and differences in correlates of alcohol consumption and problem behaviors among male and female adolescents. *The International Journal of the Addictions.* 23, 707-728.

> Several unexpected similarities were observed between male and female drinking habits, including the number of times drunk in the previous year, delinquent behaviour and the influence of peers on drinking behaviour. Gender differences were discovered, however, with regard to distress symptoms and escape reasons for drinking, which have previously been found to be reliable indicators of female drinking problems in adult life.

Wolf, A. S. (1980) Homicide and blackout in Alaskan natives. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 41, 456-462.

> Five Alaskan males aged between 21 and 32, were committed for trial for first degree murder whilst drunk. They had no recollection of events and this experiment clinically reproduced their "alcoholic amnesia".

Young, J. A. and Pihl, R. O. (1980) Self-control of the effects of alcohol intoxication. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol.* 41, 567-571.

> The effects of alcohol consumption were found to be moderated by motivation, with cognitive and motor performance improved and a more serious mood encountered.

Zeichner, A. & Pihl, R. O. (1979) The effects of alcohol and behaviour contingencies on human aggression. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology.* 88, 153-160.

> Inebriated subjects were found to be significantly more aggressive in their responding than sober subjects.

Zeichner, A. and Pihl, R. O. (1978) Responsiveness of social drinkers to aversive tone stimulation. *Psychological Reports.* 42, 48.

> An interesting aspect here is that drinkers expected alcohol to induce a more relaxed state, but this was shown to be unfounded when the subject was presented with a stressful situation.