



*NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research
Occasional Seminar
October 16, 2009*

**Preventing Aggression
in the Licensed Environment**

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Griffith Institute for Social and Behavioural Research



Outline

- The context of the problem
- The main factors and processes that lead to violence
- What works?: developing evidence-based preventive practices
- Sustainable regulation
- An experiment to generate new knowledge

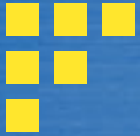
Raising the Bar

Preventing aggression in and around
bars, pubs and clubs

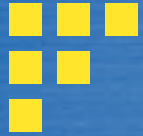


**WILLAN
PUBLISHING**

**Kathryn Graham
and Ross Homel**



Kate Graham is the main
international expert:
Homel's perspective (and this
presentation) is criminological
and regulatory



The Licensed Environment

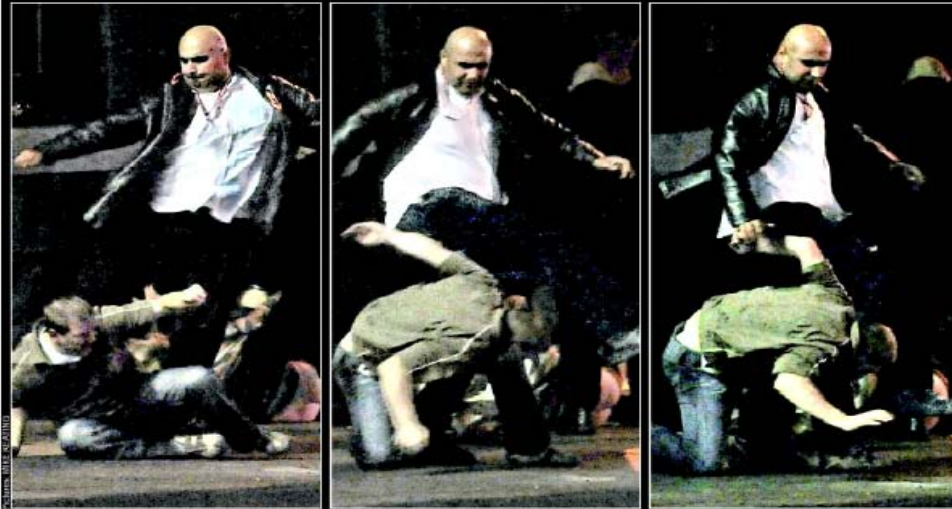
- The environment inside licensed drinking establishments
- The immediate external environment (entrances and exits, adjoining public space)
- ‘Entertainment precincts’ – Kings Cross, Surfers Paradise, Chapel St Melbourne etc
- Excludes homes – but note growing phenomenon of ‘pre-loading’





TUESDAY, JUNE 3

The King St kicker says he was just 'trying to regain my balance.' But nobody's buying it



BOOTED OUT

MELBOURNE'S 2am lockout has started as the sacked bouncer whose brutality shocked Victorians moved to defend himself.

Bar 20 crowd controller Eddie Attal said he could not believe he was the same man portrayed in a confronting series of photos in the *Herald Sun*.

Mr Attal denied the photos show him assaulting a man outside the King St strip joint.

"It looks like I'm kicking him. I'm trying to regain my balance," he said.

"I was very devastated and very

Mark Buttler, Anthony Dowsley Norrie Ross and John Ferguson

upset. I'm not that person. I'm a family man with three kids.

"It looks bad. It's a shot that captures the whole thug issue. There's not much I can say."

As the debate over alcohol-fuelled violence raged:

IT was revealed Bar 20 won exemption from the lockout, which took effect from early today at about 400 venues.

SIX more bars won the right to avoid the ban.

THE Brumby Government vowed to hold its lockout line.

VENUE owners branded the lockout a Band-Aid measure.

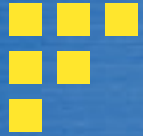
SENIOR police condemned the violence outside Bar 20.

Mr Attal claimed he and another security guard were subjected to severe provocation by three drunken men during seven simmering minutes in front of Bar 20.

He said he was spat on and racially abused by one of the men.

"He said, 'You look like a wog. How does a wog work on the front door of Bar 20?'" Mr Attal said.

He was fired by Bar 20 and could



One punch really *can* kill, guard says

Georgia Waters, BN | July 7, 2008 - 5:01PM

The Brisbane security guard seriously assaulted at a Fortitude Valley nightclub over the weekend says he didn't really believe that one punch could kill until he was attacked.

Steve Hendry, 22, sustained a fractured skull after being elbowed by a patron at the Empire Hotel on Brunswick Street in the early hours of Sunday morning.

Mr Hendry, a security guard at the nightclub, was trying to break up a fight between a group of patrons, and had been restraining a man who had attacked a smaller man.

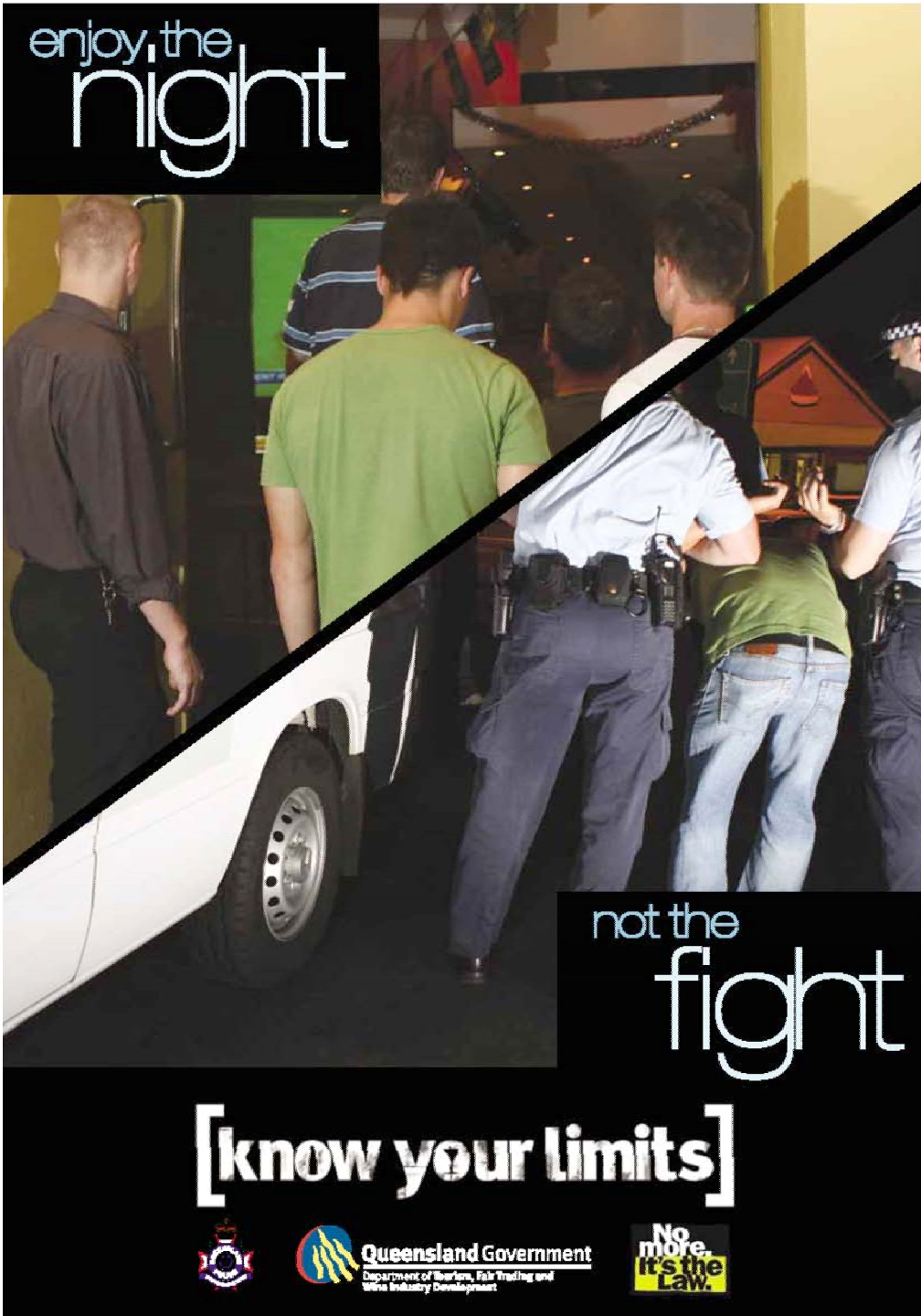
He suffered two seizures and was taken to the Royal Brisbane Hospital, where he spent about eight hours on life support and 30 in intensive care.



Societal response

(the GFC 'in miniature'?)

- Make the individual responsible (e.g. pub bans)
- The deserved misfortune of victims
- Tough enforcement
- Construct the problem solely in terms of alcohol
- Not enough attention to the role of situational factors, venue management, social systems, and industry culture and structures
- **A deregulated environment - reviving city or state economies rather than attending to public health outcomes**



enjoy the
night

not the
fight

[know your limits]



Queensland Government
Department of Tourism, Fair Trading and
Wine Industry Development



The Global Context

- Youth framed as a problem: the *risk-taking generation*
- Concept of ‘rights-based’ citizenship: the new citizen must be a *responsible citizen*
- Emphasis on constructing oneself, making choices, having one’s own biographical project
- Policies focus on getting young people (and parents) into work: building *human capital*, meeting the needs of the *labour market*
- Not much room for young people to make mistakes
- *Hold parents responsible* - and punish offending young people

Not disadvantaged, just bad, says Carr

Debra Jackson, Anne Davies and Justin Morris

As riots erupted for a fourth night at Macquarie Fields last night, Bob Carr laid the blame solely on the individuals who ran amok and denied it was the fault of governments which had thrown poor jobs on people together in a random housing mix.

"Listen, reality check," the Premier said yesterday. "There are no excuses for this behaviour and I am not going to have it said that this behaviour is caused by racial disadvantage."

"A lot of people grow up in circumstances of social disadvantage and they did not go out and attack police with rocks and light flares in the streets... There is one blame here and that is the people who went out and threw bricks and caused riots."

"There's only one thing on my to do list that the police will get them because they are engaged in illegal behaviour."

For the fourth night running, about 500 residents confronted police, pelting them with rocks and bottles in revenge for the deaths of Dylan Hayward, 13 and Matt Robertson, 14, who died when the stolen car in which they were passengers crashed during a police chase on Friday night.

The trouble began about three hours after dawn officers pulled a unit on the corner of Centennial Crescent and Macquarie Drive which Mr Robertson had shared with three other men.

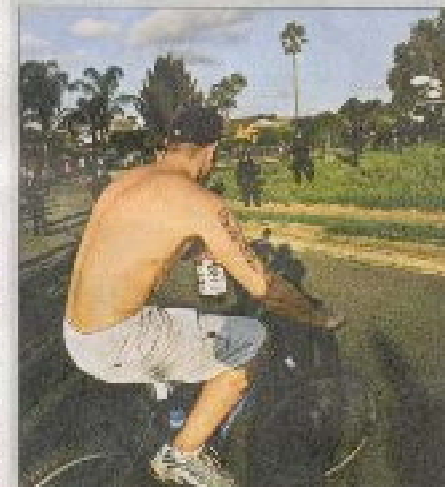
Witnesses said three young men and a woman were arrested nearby after the raid.

By 8 pm police had arrested 12 people. At the bottom of Macquarie Drive about 300, as many as 70 youths held fireworks which exploded in the feet of a platoon of about 70 police.

While the dead car thieves and the angry young driver got little sympathy from local writers and talkback radio callers, the Macquarie Fields, social policy specialists criticised Mr Carr's rhetoric and denial of the social causes of the riot.

"He's 100 per cent wrong," said Ross Hinch, a commentator on public affairs and the cause of juvenile crime. The problems of Macquarie Fields would not be solved through a rigid law-and-order stance, but through police confronting the reality that they were not "the enemy" by treating

MACQUARIE FIELDS RIOTS DAY 4



Another day of tension... Macquarie Fields yesterday. Photo: Peter D'Arcy

James Kelly, the 19-year-old who fled the fatal crash that sparked the Macquarie Fields riots, was involved in clashes with police two nights after the accident, the NSW Opposition says. — Page 8

A SUBURB COMPARED

(Western Sydney)

Macquarie Fields All Sydney

AGE

30 34

MONTHLY HOME LOAN REPAYMENTS

\$400-500 \$200-300

WEEKLY RENT

\$100-150 \$200-250

WEEKLY FAMILY INCOME

\$700-799 \$200-299

SNAPSHOT

MACQUARIE FIELDS

Population	13,755
Unemployment rate	18.3%
One parent families	1087
Debt negatively owned	1121
Being sought	1089
Ranked from housing authority	5275 (out of 5000)

Friends of Matt Robertson, whose death set off the riots, found it hard to know how the boy was. "Every time his birthday comes up he was in jail," one said. — Page 7

Editorial — Page 12

the suburb's social ills with other agencies, Professor Daniel said.

Local residents and social workers confirmed that life in Macquarie Fields can be bleak, hard and often violent.

"They showed unemployment, poverty, a culture of substance abuse and a lack of infrastructure for the young street."

"Unfortunately, I think every one has admitted that the crime was one of the worst blades of the last century," said Molly Thomas, coordinator of the South West Aboriginal and Community Centre. "They have created horrific social problems."

Scott Marshall, 15, a friend of Matt Robertson's, said: "We've got nothing to do here. At the end of the day, they pull up a four-wheel drive, they load up the cops, and they go through the road and get their drive on the way home."

Single beat police and cars

threw the streets and parks, graffiti is splashed on walls, buildings, piles of discarded furniture sit on pavements and derelict houses await in progress yards.

But in the 1970s, the suburb consisted of 2000 public housing properties and 2500 private owned homes. At 71 per cent, its unemployment rate is almost double that of greater Sydney's 36 per cent, while almost 12 per cent of its youths are jobless.

"There's a number of people who tell me they haven't seen for a few days. It's a reality in this area," said a Salvation Army youth office spokeswoman who declined to be named.

Professor Daniel, professor of criminology and criminal justice at Griffith University in Brisbane, said the riots had taken the view that the police had overreacted by chasing car thieves to their deaths and he saw a hard-to-diagnose with them.

"Optical problems is a way to help people for stupid kids who do stupid things."

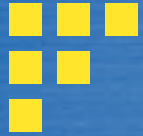
Dr David Mitchell, senior lecturer in criminology at the University of Western Sydney, said: "There is an ongoing association between modern housing estates and crime. It's not just this country. It's everywhere in the Western world."

The Minister for Housing, Joe Tripodi, said the Government had had a policy for a decade of reducing concentrations of public housing and had spent \$40 million upgrading facilities in the suburb.

"Reducing concentrations of public housing doesn't solve these issues," he said. But nothing justified the riots, he said.

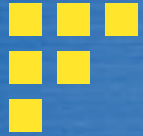
The reasons for the riots were complex, unbalanced and should not be dismissed, Dr Daniel said. "It's not a matter of racism with different-colored skin." As part of

Continued Page 8



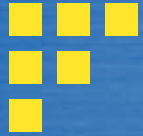
Drinking Establishments

- Alcohol - makes people:
 - More focused on the present
 - Less aware of internal thought processes
 - But effects determined by cultural and group expectations
- *'Time out'* from daily life : licensed venues do not just sell alcohol
- The social functions of public drinking establishments - *and* the kinds of people who go there - make them a high risk setting for aggression



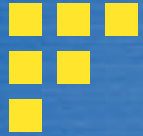
Statistical evidence

- A greater density of premises = more violence
 - Synergistic or non-linear effects (Livingston et al.)
- Licensed premises account for between one third and one half of all assaults
 - Last Drinks surveys
- Survey data shows that adults aged 18-30 experience aggression most commonly in bars, clubs etc - more so for *serious* violence
- Employment in drinking establishments also a risk factor



Alcohol and violence

- Aggression occurs when there is a combination of:
 - The **pharmacological effects** of alcohol
 - A person who is **willing to be aggressive** when drinking
 - An immediate **drinking context** conducive to aggression
 - A broader **cultural context** that is tolerant of alcohol-related aggression



Specific processes

- Risk taking
- Focus on the here and now: hyper-emotional effects
- Cognitive functioning
- Concern with personal power: the ‘macho’ or ‘masculinised’ culture of pubs and clubs
- People are aware of alcohol’s effects on other people *but not on them*



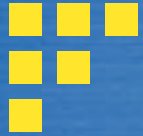
Patron, staff & environmental factors

- 13 empirical studies of the relationship between aggression and aspects of drinking establishments
 - More than half Canadian (Graham) or Australian (Homel)
 - Mostly observational but some interview studies and one phone survey of young adults
 - Mostly quantitative but some qualitative
 - Different measures used in different studies
 - Produce correlational data - causal processes need experimental confirmation



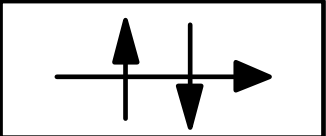
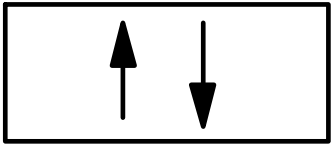
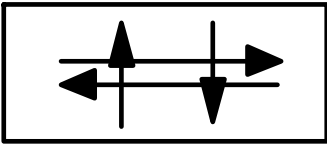
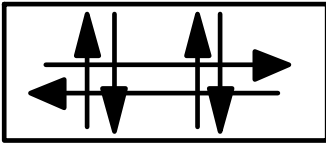
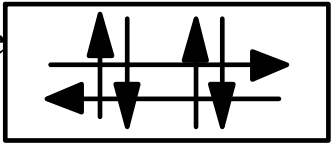
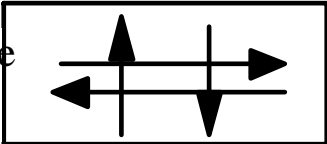
Patron risk factors

- **Young** (but depends on study and specific indicator)
- **Indigenous** or other specific ethnic groups
- ‘**Marginal**’ patrons
- Salience of some common **individual risk factors** for criminality (e.g., impulsivity, heavy drinkers)
- **Machismo** - patrons and staff (*esp.* security)



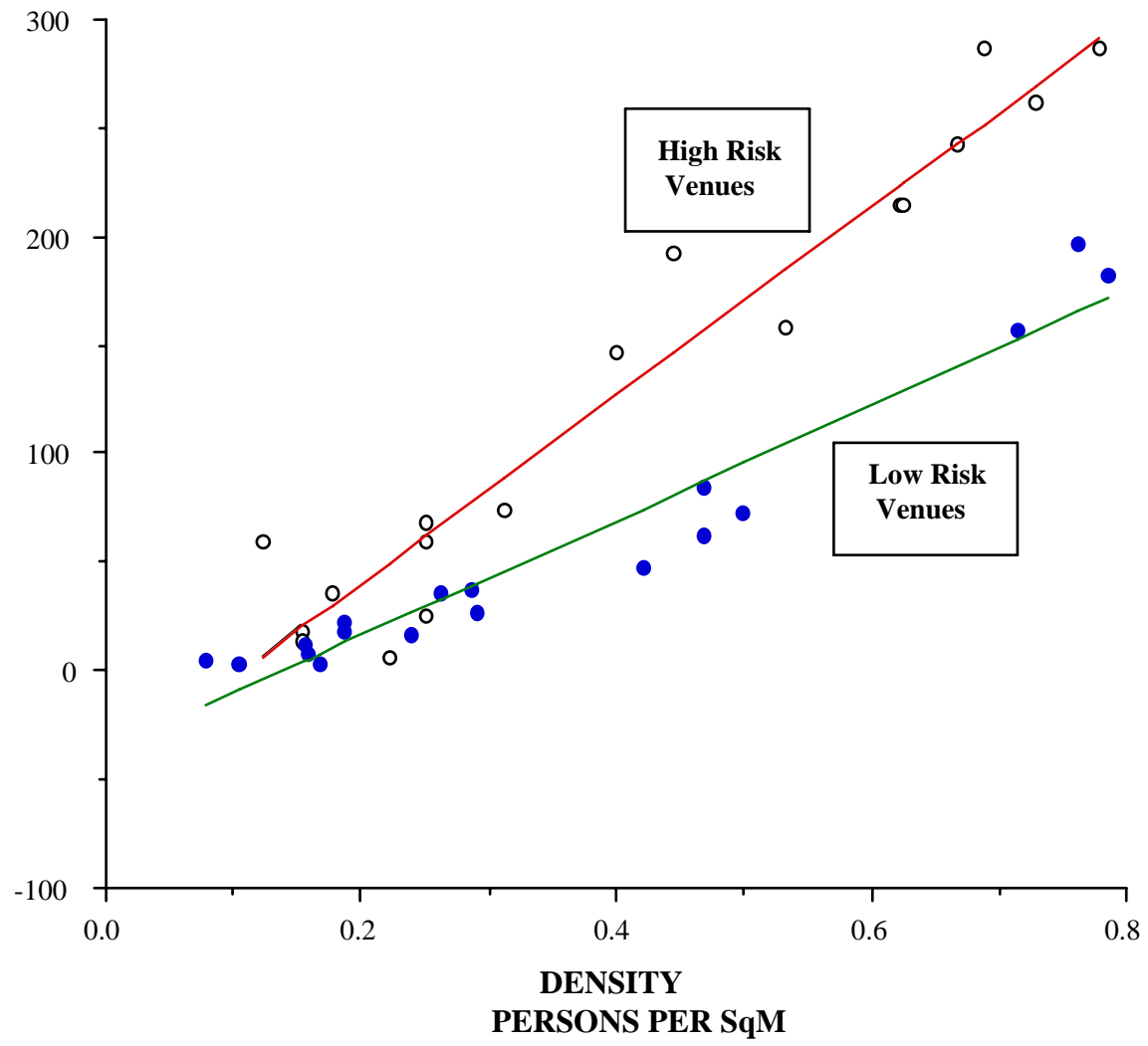
Physical environment

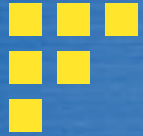
- **Line-ups** and people milling around outside
- **Size** of establishment
- **Dirty** premises
- **Crowding**
- **Discomfort** - lack of seating (vertical drinking), smoky air, inconvenient bar access

<p>NC-1</p>  <p>Exit Only</p> <p>To & From Bar</p>	<p>NC-5</p>  <p>To & From Bar</p>	<p>NC-8</p>  <p>Entrance & Exit</p> <p>To & From Bar</p>
<p>NC-15</p>  <p>Entrance & Exit</p> <p>To & From Bar Toilets</p>	<p>NC-16</p>  <p>Entrance & Exit</p> <p>To & From Dancefloor Bar</p>	<p>NC-7</p>  <p>Entrance & Exit</p> <p>To & From Bar</p>

**LOW
RISK
NIGHTCLUB**

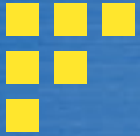
**HIGH
RISK
NIGHTCLUB**





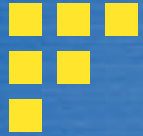
Social environment

- **Permissive environments** in which rules and limits are unclear, especially around dancing and pool playing
- Overall levels of **intoxication**
- **Sexual activity**, sexual competition
- **Illegal activities**, drug dealing, prostitution



Staff

- Proliferation of premises with **specialised and gendered staff roles** - *especially security staff*
- Numbers may be too few or too many
- **Staff skills** (e.g., monitoring and defusing situations)
- **Lack of responsible serving**
- ‘Bad apples’
- *Enforcer versus guardian role*



The external environment

- Spilling out the doors
- Hot spots
- Geographically isolated venues can be a bigger problem than ‘entertainment areas’
- Not all areas with a high density of venues are a problem
- The *symbolic* landscape
- Need much more finely grained, small area data to understand the ecology of licensed environments



Governance through partnerships

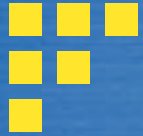
(“It should be a working together thing”)

- Many forms of partnerships internationally
 - Alcohol Accords
 - Crime and Disorder Partnerships
 - Concierge government
 - Community action coalitions
- Social control:
 - Local and licensing laws
 - Policing strategies: reactive vs problem-solving
 - Crime prevention through environmental design



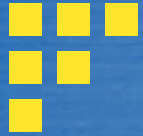
What works to prevent violence?

- High quality **staff training** grounded in research: the Ontario *Safer Bars Program* (encouraging evidence for long-term effects)
- Some forms of **police and regulatory enforcement** of licensing laws and responsible management practices (long-term effects not demonstrated)
- **Community action** models (long-term effects only achieved in Sweden)

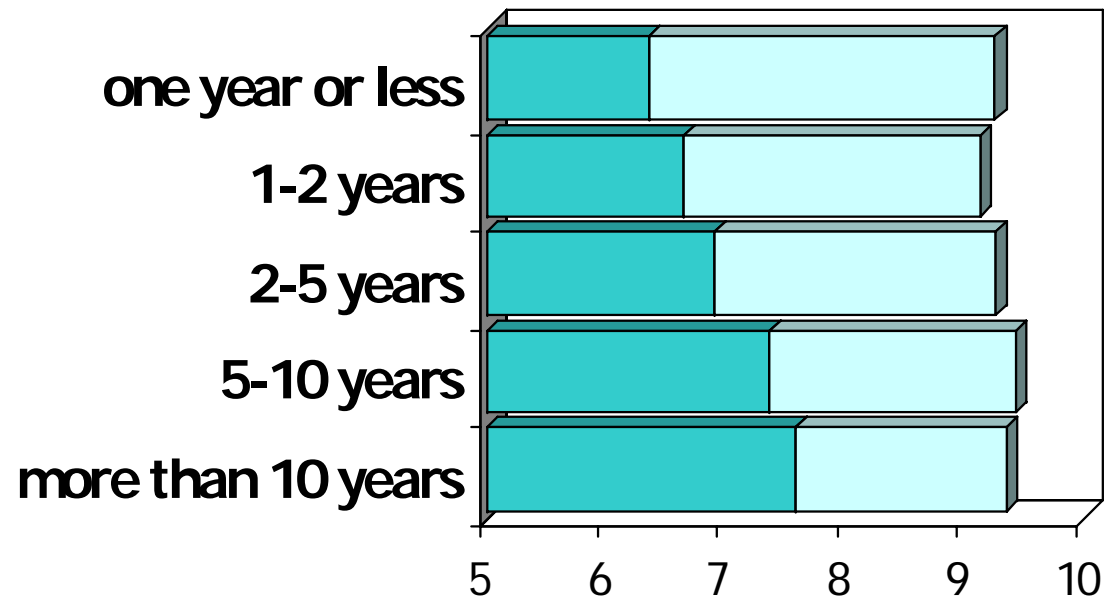


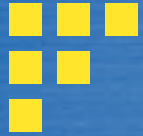
Safer Bars

- Three-hour training program for all staff and management - reducing and managing problem behaviour and aggression
- A risk assessment workbook for managers
- Legal pamphlet
- Evaluated through a large scale randomized controlled trial: 26 large capacity bars and 12 similar controls

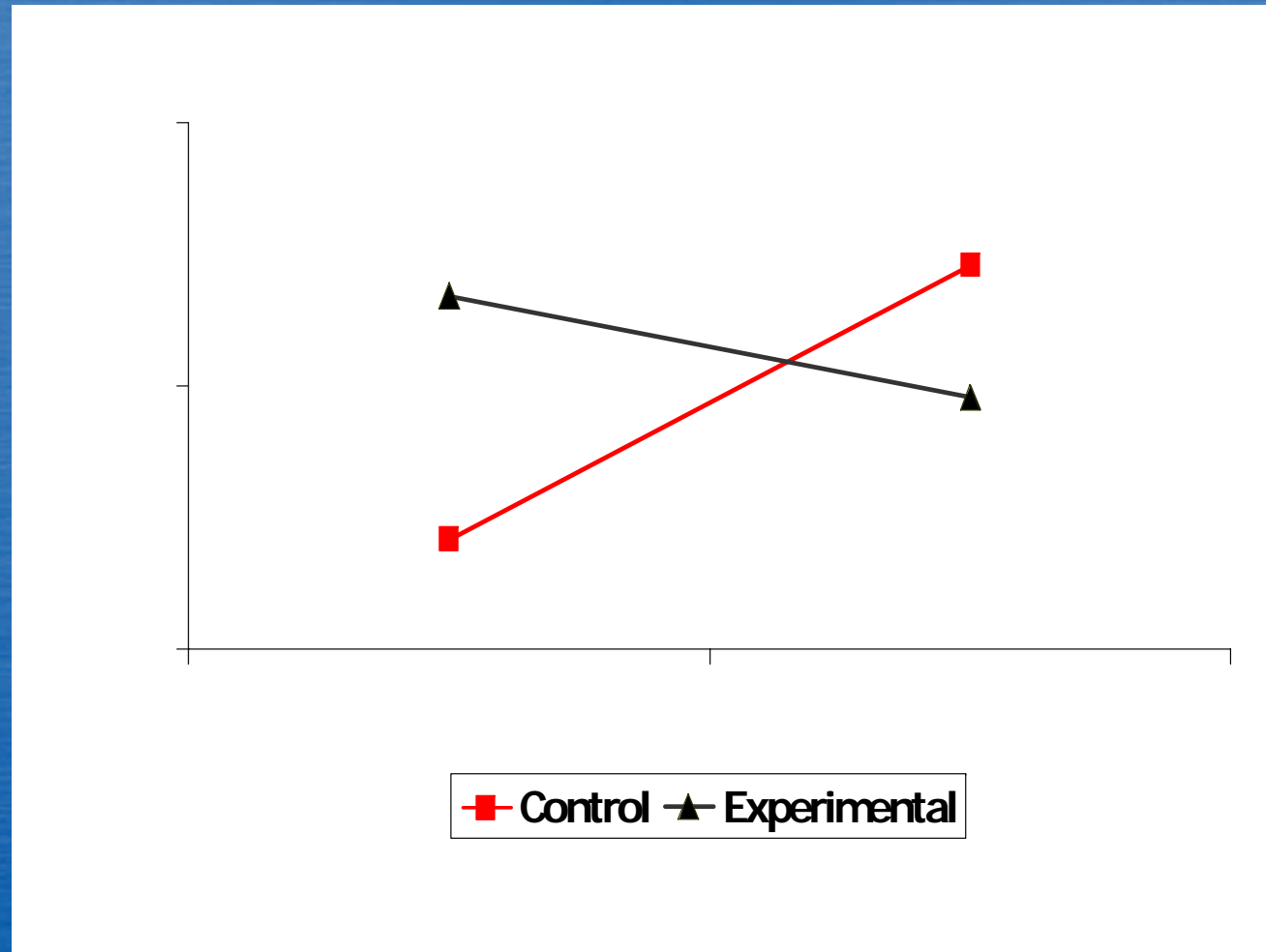


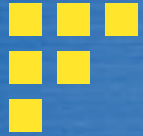
Improvements in knowledge & attitudes by years of experience in the industry





Average number of incidents per observation involving severe aggression by patrons





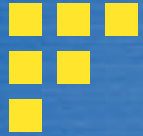
Policing

- Value of randomised (Jeffs & Saunders) approach not clear
- Best experiment has been in Wellington, New Zealand (randomised plus targeted)
- **Combined regulatory approaches may be better** - but very limited evidence for the effectiveness of Licensing Accords (partial exception of Cardiff)
- **Targeted/Last drinks approach very promising** (Wiggers' research in NSW and the NSW Police Alcohol Linking Program)



The NSW Alcohol Linking Model

- Emphasis on sustainability from the outset
- **'Research into practice' team formed**
- Critical role of Last Drinks data: established feasibility of long-term police commitment
- Intervention involved:
 - Feedback report to licensees
 - Educational visits by police to offending establishments
 - Follow-up workshop for visited licensees
- **36% reduction in alcohol-related incidents** in experimental group vs controls over 3 months (N=400) - but smaller reduction in assaults



Wellington experiment

- Combined regulatory approach
- Heightened police presence in premises at night during 2 6-week periods (30 minute visits)
- Public health & licensing officials made daytime visits - educative/compliance focus
- Also targeted 20 problem premises



Strategies for achieving sustained effects

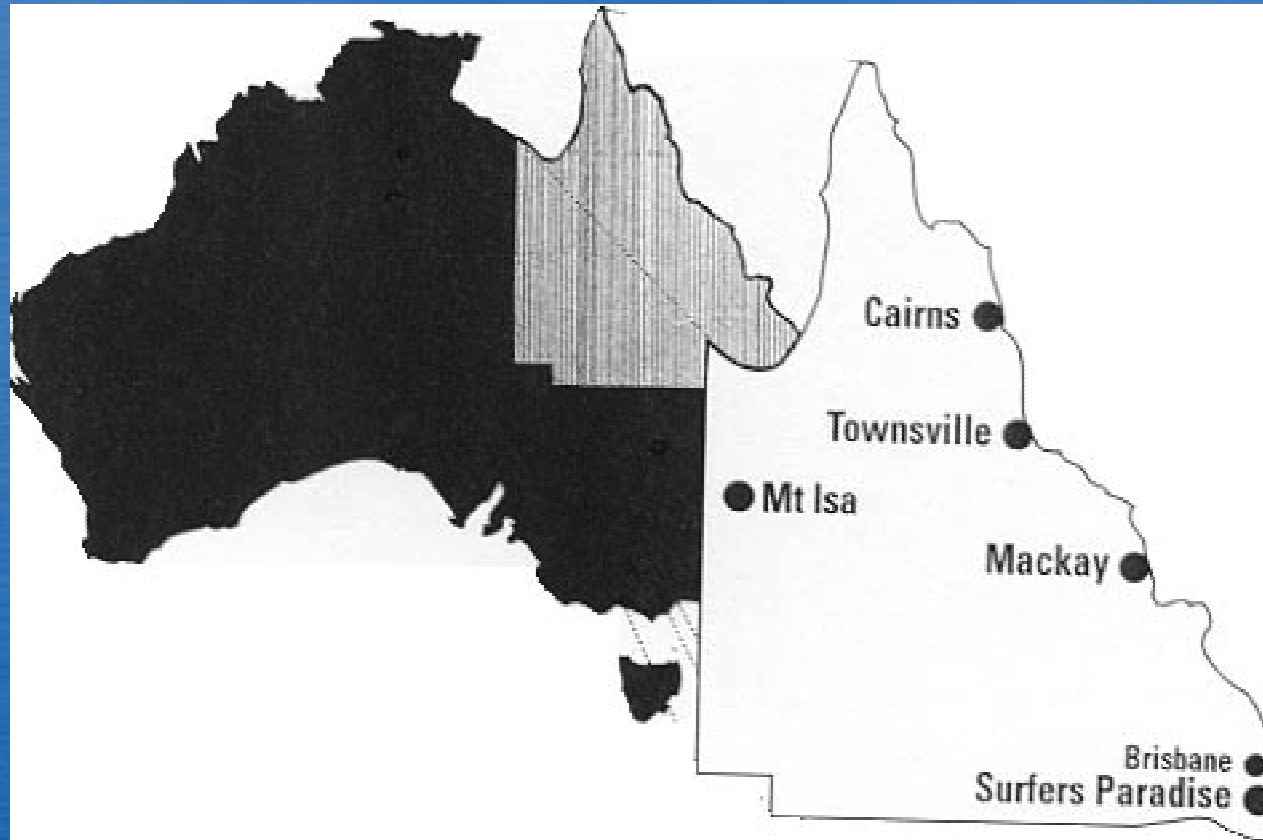
- Obtaining **organizational leadership** and policy support...
- Providing **supportive organizational infrastructure**...
- Developing **police knowledge and skills**...
- Implementing **data quality assurance and performance feedback strategies**.
- *Now being adopted across Australia and in New Zealand*



Community Action

Queensland Safety Action Model (1990s)

- **Community forum/** community-based task groups plus safety audit;
- **Risk assessments** in licensed premises by project personnel, and Code of Practice by nightclub managers;
- **Training** of the community-based project steering committee, the project officer, managers, bar and security staff, and police;
- **Improvements in external regulation** of licensed premises by police and liquor licensing inspectors





Level of regulation: responsive regulation model

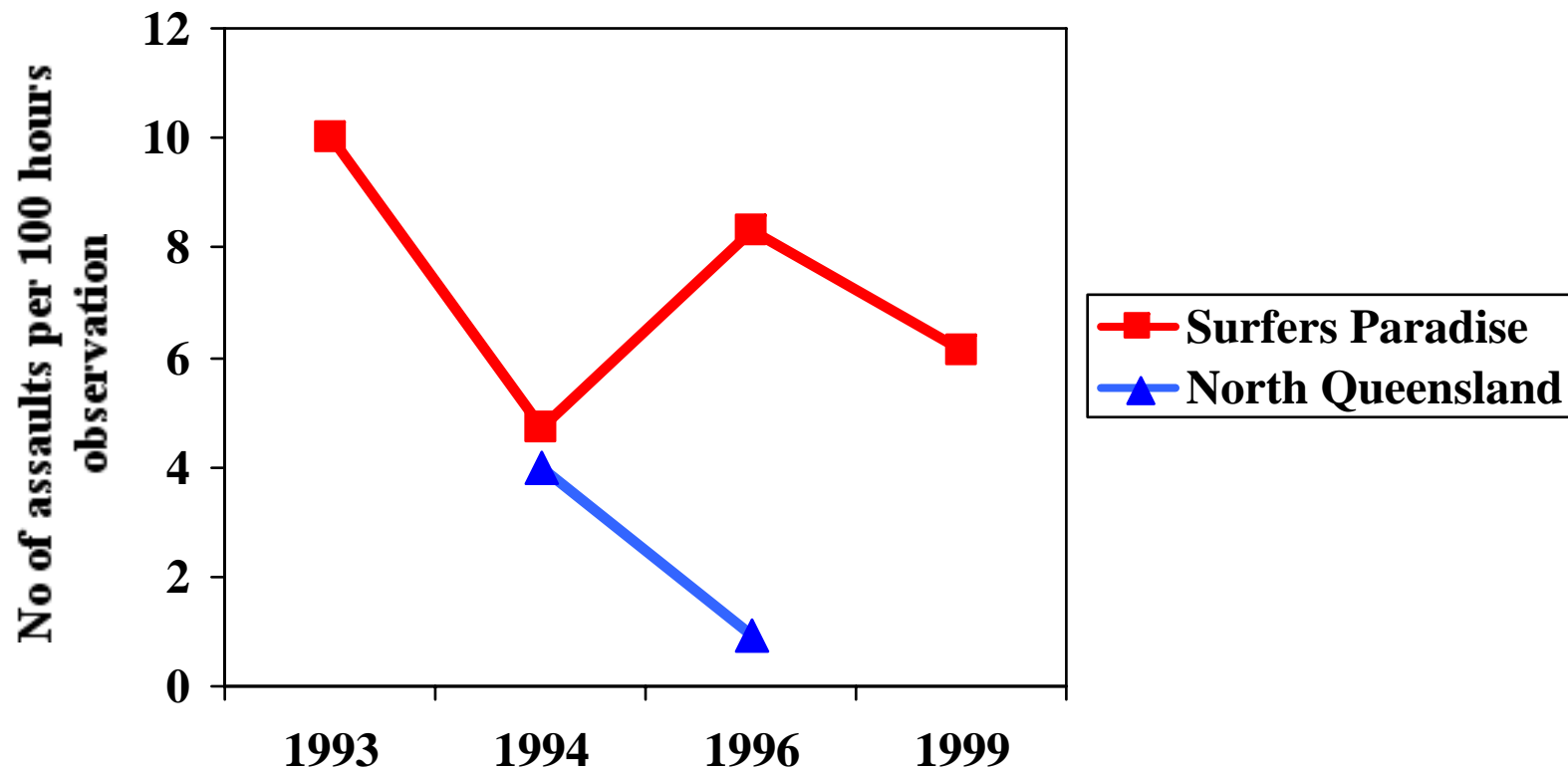
State: Formal Regulation and Law Enforcement

Local Community: Informal controls and persuasion

Venues: Self-regulation by licensees



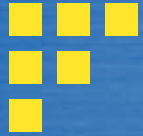
Changes in overall numbers of assaults between 1993 and 1996





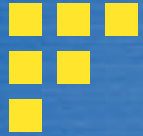
The Stockholm Prevents Alcohol & Drug Problems (STAD) Project

- Survey (mid-1990s) of owners of licensed premises: owners saw no problems with overserving
- Formation of action group: develop strategies to prevent intoxication and service to minors
 - Two-day training course in RBS for servers, security staff and owners;
 - New forms of enforcement: notification letters, mutual controls (police & licensing officials)
- **Signing of written agreement** by high-ranking officials --> formal steering committee



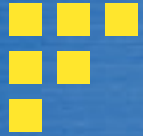
STAD outcomes

- Interrupted time series analyses of police-recorded violence (inside & outside) between 10 pm and 6 am
- *Reduction of 29% in intervention area, slight increase in control area*
- Gradual reduction as interventions became more intense
- **No displacement or influence of extraneous factors**
- Increase in rates of refusal of service to drunks (5% --> 70%)
- **Effects sustained** over a period of 5 or more years



STAD sustainability

- Strong inter-agency collaborative climate
- with strong leadership from head of licensing
- Lobbying by action group members
- Police gradually came on board strongly
- Institutionalisation through agency financial support, signed agreement
- **10 year time frame**
- Partnership of agencies: “community” only involved through venue employees, leisure industry etc
- Currently being extended to all local government areas in Sweden



Conclusions

- Using a **responsive regulation framework**:
 - Develop **local partnerships oriented to evidence**
 - Understand the local ecology, industry climate and regulatory systems
 - Incorporate **Safer Bars training/risk assessments** universally
 - **Experiment** with randomised & targeted enforcement using last drinks data
 - **Build sustainability mechanisms** in from the outset
 - **Build community coalitions** /action groups suitable to local conditions



Sustaining a reduction of alcohol-related harms in the licensed environment:

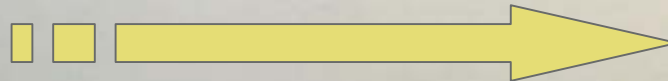
A practical experiment to generate new evidence

Key Centre for Ethics, Law, Justice and Governance
Griffith University, Brisbane, Queensland
February 2009



Why this Project?

- Review of international field revealed very little in the way of long term effectiveness (“Raising the Bar”, Graham & Homel, 2008)
- Transition from research into practice poorly done – need rigorous research design that can translate to easily implemented practice:
 - Simple, practical and evidence based
- Unable to sustain reductions in our work in Surfers Paradise and northern Qld
- Consistent indications of others unable to sustain reductions



In Surfers Paradise – ‘return’ to base line levels of harm

- Reduction of 73% in serious assaults achieved with the Safety Action Project (1996) largely lost by 1999
- In 2007:
 - *66% of ambulance calls*
 - *27% of assaults*
 - *18% sexual assaults.....were alcohol related*
- The health and injury costs of licensed venues are high

Our challenge.....

- Could we develop a comprehensive prevention model that:
 - Was capable of sustaining reductions in harm/violence around licensed premises
 - Could be “fitted” to various jurisdictions
 - Was constantly reviewed
 - Remained evidence-based
 - Could eventually be institutionalised in communities?

Yes we could!

The Model

Framework: Responsive Regulation

1. “Safer Bars” training for all venue staff
2. Community Mobilisation - Informal regulation
3. Policing - targeted using Last Drinks methods based on ambulance, ED & police data

Two Phase Research Project

- Phase 1: 12 months (2008/9) to:
 - Develop a scientifically defensible research design
 - Select and “fit” model at 5 sites in Australia and New Zealand
- Phase 2: Trial the model for 7 years at each site

First Phase

- 5 sites selected:
 - ★ Mackay - Queensland
 - ★ Wellington - New Zealand
 - ★ Inner CBD Melbourne - Victoria
 - ★ Chapel Street - Victoria
 - ★ St. Kilda – Victoria
- Research Design finalised
- Expert Group

Expert group

- Mr. Neil Comrie
- Dr. John Wiggers
- Mr. Paul Dillon
- Mr Michael Lockwood
- Prof Ross Homel
- Prof Paul Mazerolle

Second Phase

- Evaluate impact of model at each of the 5 sites
- Institutionalise model to ensure sustained reductions in alcohol related violence and harm
- 5 -7 years minimum

Site	Shape of the Interventions across time periods			
	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5 - 10
1	TP	TP + SB	TP + SB + CM	TP + SB + CM
2	SB	SB + TP	SB + TP + CM	SB + TP + CM
3	SB	SB + CM	SB + CM + TP	SB + CM + TP
4	CM	CM + TP	CM + TP + SB	CM + TP + SB
5	CM	CM + SB	CM + SB + TP	CM + SB + TP

Table 4: The Multi-Parallel design

Sites	Point of Introduction			
	Period 1 (2 years retro)	Period 2 (6 months)	Period 3 (6 months)	Period 4 (6 months)
1	Pre Test	Targeted Policing	Safer Bars	Community Mobilisation
1C	No intervention – business as usual			
2	Pre Test	Safer Bars	Targeted Policing	Community Mobilisation
2C	No intervention – business as usual			
3	Pre Test	Safer Bars	Community Mobilisation	Targeted Policing
3C	No intervention – business as usual			
4	Pre Test	Community Mobilisation	Targeted Policing	Safer Bars
4C	No intervention – business as usual			
5	Pre Test	Community Mobilisation	Safer Bars	Targeted Policing
5C	No intervention – business as usual			

Note: Each component continues at each site after it has been introduced – the components are introduced cumulatively.

What will Griffith Uni do?

- Add value to the resources in communities
- Collect and analyse data provided by sites and feed back reports for each site to:
 - Target policing
 - Develop local strategies
 - Inform service resourcing
 - Informal local and wider policy
- Conduct the larger meta-experiment evaluating all 5 sites

What is so different?

- **Combining** data components (Emergency Dept., Ambulance and Police)
- **Integrating** injury prevention, public health, community safety and crime prevention
- **Balancing** formal, informal (Monitoring Committee) and self regulation (Licensees)
- **Long term** – mechanisms will be integrated into communities as NORMAL practice

Internationalisation

- John Moores Uni – Prof. Mark Bellis:
 - Comparison of KaREN assessment
- Karolinska Institute – Prof. Sven Andreasson
 - PhD student for one year (Mats Halgren)
- Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, Canada - Kate Graham :
 - Comparison of Safer Bars

What is exciting about this research?

- The commitment from all 5 sites is high
- Opportunity to make a difference long term, with international partnerships
- Opportunity to leave permanent practices behind after research project has finished
- Opportunity to make drinking environments safer and less harmful for young people.....

