U.S. Department of Justice
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Problem-Oriented Guides for Police
Problem-Specific Guides Series
No. 1

Assaults in and Around Bars

2nd Edition

by
Michael S. Scott
Kelly Dedel

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About the Problem-Specific Guides Series

The *Problem-Specific Guides* summarize knowledge about how police can reduce the harm caused by specific crime and disorder problems. They are guides to prevention and to improving the overall response to incidents, not to investigating offenses or handling specific incidents. Neither do they cover all of the technical details about how to implement specific responses. The guides are written for police—of whatever rank or assignment—who must address the specific problem the guides cover. The guides will be most useful to officers who:

- **Understand basic problem-oriented policing principles and methods**. The guides are not primers in problem-oriented policing. They deal only briefly with the initial decision to focus on a particular problem, methods to analyze the problem, and means to assess the results of a problem-oriented policing project. They are designed to help police decide how best to analyze and address a problem they have already identified. (A companion series of *Problem-Solving Tools* guides has been produced to aid in various aspects of problem analysis and assessment.)

- **Can look at a problem in depth**. Depending on the complexity of the problem, you should be prepared to spend perhaps weeks, or even months, analyzing and responding to it. Carefully studying a problem before responding helps you design the right strategy, one that is most likely to work in your community. You should not blindly adopt the responses others have used; you must decide whether they are appropriate to your local situation. What is true in one place may not be true elsewhere; what works in one place may not work everywhere.

- **Are willing to consider new ways of doing police business**. The guides describe responses that other police departments have used or that researchers have tested. While not all of these responses will be appropriate to your particular problem, they should help give a broader view of the kinds of things you could do. You may think you cannot implement some of these responses in your jurisdiction, but perhaps you can. In many places, when police have discovered a more effective response, they have succeeded in having laws and policies changed, improving the response to the problem. (A companion series of *Response Guides* has been produced to help you understand how commonly-used police responses work on a variety of problems.)

- **Understand the value and the limits of research knowledge**. For some types of problems, a lot of useful research is available to the police; for other problems, little is available. Accordingly, some guides in this series summarize existing research whereas other guides illustrate the need for more research on that particular problem. Regardless, research has not provided definitive answers to all the questions you might have about the problem. The research may help get you started in designing your own responses, but it cannot tell you exactly what to do. This will depend greatly on the particular nature of your local problem. In the interest of keeping the guides readable, not every piece of relevant research has been cited, nor has every point been attributed to its sources. To have done so would have overwhelmed and distracted the reader. The references listed at the end of each guide are those drawn on most heavily; they are not a complete bibliography of research on the subject.

- **Are willing to work with others to find effective solutions to the problem**. The police alone cannot implement many of the responses discussed in the guides. They must frequently implement them in partnership with other responsible private and public bodies including other government agencies, non-governmental organizations, private businesses, public utilities, community groups, and individual citizens. An effective problem-solver must know how to forge genuine partnerships with others and be prepared to invest considerable effort in making these partnerships work. Each guide identifies particular individuals or groups in the community with whom police might work to improve the overall response to that problem. Thorough analysis of problems often reveals that individuals and groups other than the police are in a stronger position to address problems and that police ought to shift some greater responsibility to them to do so. Response Guide No. 3, *Shifting and Sharing Responsibility for Public Safety Problems*, provides further discussion of this topic.

The COPS Office defines community policing as "a policing philosophy that promotes and supports organizational strategies to address the causes and reduce the fear of crime and social disorder through problem-solving tactics and police-community partnerships." These guides emphasize problem-solving and police-community partnerships in the context of addressing specific public safety problems. For the most part, the organizational strategies that can facilitate *problem-solving* and *police-community partnerships* vary considerably and discussion of them is beyond the scope of these guides.

These guides have drawn on research findings and police practices in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia.

Even though laws, customs and police practices vary from country to country, it is apparent that the police everywhere experience common problems. In a world that is becoming increasingly interconnected, it is important that police be aware of research and successful practices beyond the borders of their own countries.

Each guide is informed by a thorough review of the research literature and reported police practice and is anonymously peer-reviewed by line police officers, police executives and researchers prior to publication.

The COPS Office and the authors encourage you to provide feedback on this guide and to report on your own agency's experiences dealing with a similar problem. Your agency may have effectively addressed a problem using responses not considered in these guides and your experiences and knowledge could benefit others. This information will be used to update the guides. If you wish to provide feedback and share your experiences it should be sent via e-mail to cops_pubs@usdoj.gov.

For more information about problem-oriented policing, visit the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing online at www.popcenter.org. This web site offers free online access to:

- the Problem-Specific Guides series
- the companion *Response Guides* and *Problem-Solving Tools series*
- instructional information about problem-oriented policing and related topics
- an interactive problem-oriented policing training exercise
- an interactive *Problem Analysis Module*
- a manual for crime analysts
- online access to important police research and practices
- information about problem-oriented policing conferences and award programs.

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Cynthia E. Pappas oversaw the project for the COPS Office. Research for the guide was conducted at the Criminal Justice Library at Rutgers University under the direction of Phyllis Schultze. Suzanne Fregly edited this guide.

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The Problem of Assaults in and Around Bars

This guide deals with the problem of assaults in and around bars.[§] We know a lot about the risk factors for these assaults, and about effective responses to them. We know less about which particular responses are most effective in addressing specific aspects of the problem. Therefore, your challenge will be to conduct a good analysis of the local problem, guided by the information presented here, and put together the right combination of responses to address that problem.

The guide begins by reviewing factors that increase the risks of assaults in and around bars. It then identifies a series of questions that might help you analyze your local problem of assaults in and around bars. Finally, it reviews responses to the problem, and what is known about them from evaluative research and police practice.

The proliferation of bars in many communities has led to increases in assaults in and around the bars. While many, if not most, of these are alcohol-related, assaults also occur when neither the aggressors nor the victims have been drinking. Most assaults occur on weekend nights.[1] The majority of assaults occur at a relatively small number of places.[2, §§] Not all assaults involve a simple fistfight with a clear beginning and ending; instead, the incidents are often more ambiguous and complicated. For example, some are intermittent conflicts that flare up over time, some evolve into different incidents, and many involve participants who alternate between the roles of aggressor and peacemaker, often drawing additional people into the incident.[3] Some involve lower levels of

[§] The term "bar" refers to licensed liquor establishments that sell alcohol primarily for consumption on the premises. These include establishments variously known as nightclubs, pubs, taverns, lounges, hotels (in Australia), discotheques, or social clubs. The term "assault" refers to the full range of violent acts, from those that cause minor injury to those that cause death, and from consensual fights to unprovoked attacks.

[§§] For example, in Sydney, Australia, just 12 percent of bars accounted for almost 60 percent of assaults occurring in licensed drinking establishments (Briscoe and Donnelly 2001b).

aggression (pushing, shoving), some involve more-severe violence (kicking, punching), and still others involve the use of weapons. Many of the injuries treated at hospitals, especially facial injuries, are related to assaults in and around bars.

Those who fight in bars are not deterred by negative consequences (such as minor injuries, tension among friends, or trouble with the police), all of which tend to be delayed. The perceived rewards are more immediate and include feeling righteous about fighting for a worthy cause, increasing group cohesion among friends, getting attention, feeling powerful, and having entertaining stories to tell.[4] Although some assault victims do something to precipitate the assault, many do not.[5] Most are smaller than their attackers, are either alone or in a small group, and are drunk more often than their attackers.[6] Attackers target victims who appear drunker than themselves.[7]

Many assaults are not reported to the police by either bar staff or the victim. Bar owners have mixed incentives for reporting assaults to the police. On the one hand, they need police assistance to maintain orderly establishments, but on the other hand, they do not want official records to reflect negatively on their liquor licenses. Many fights and disputes that start inside a bar are forced outside by the staff so they do not appear to be connected with the bar. Victims often are drunk, are ashamed, and see themselves as partly responsible, and so do not report assaults. Other victims believe the incidents are too trivial to involve the police.[8] Thus police records do not reflect the total amount of violence in and around bars. However, we underestimate the seriousness of the problem if we believe these assaults are just excessive exuberance by young men or "just desserts" for drunken troublemakers.

In addition to generating police and community concerns for public safety, bar owners also bear the consequences of the problem in terms of damage to reputations, loss of future customers, staff reluctance to work, damage to property, reductions in profit, and, ultimately, potential loss of license.[9]

Related Problems

Assault is only one of many alcohol- and bar-related problems the police must address. Some of these issues are covered in other guides in this series. These related problems require their own analyses and responses:

- assaults around bars motivated by racial, ethnic, sexual orientation, or other bias
- binge drinking on college campuses
- disorderly conduct of public inebriates who drink in bars (e.g., panhandling, public urination, harassment, intimidation, and passing out in public places)
- drug dealing in bars
- drunken driving by customers leaving bars[§]
- gambling in bars
- illegal discrimination against bar patrons
- prostitution in bars
- sexual assaults in and around bars
- underage drinking.[§§]

[§] See Problem-Specific Guide No. 36, titled *Drunk Driving*.

[§§] See Problem-Specific Guide No. 27, titled *Underage Drinking*.

Factors Contributing to Aggression and Violence in Bars

Understanding the factors that are known to contribute to your problem will help you frame your own local analysis questions, determine good effectiveness measures, recognize key intervention points, and select an appropriate set of responses for your particular problem.

Alcohol

Drinking alcohol is the most obvious factor contributing to aggression and violence in bars, but the relationship is not as simple as it might seem. Alcohol contributes to violence by limiting drinkers' perceived options during a conflict, heightening their emotionality, increasing their willingness to take risks, reducing their fear of sanctions, and impairing their ability to talk their way out of trouble.[10] Many of the alcohol problems police deal with can be attributed to ordinary drinkers who go on binges, drink more than they usually do, or drink on an empty stomach. In general, those who drink excessively are more aggressive and also get injured more seriously than those who drink moderately or not at all.[11] Moderate drinkers do not appear to be at significantly higher risk of injury than nondrinkers.

Culture of Drinking

Cultures that are more accepting of intoxication as an excuse for antisocial or aggressive behavior, and that relax the normal rules of society during drinking time, have higher levels of aggression and violence in and around bars.[12] This tolerance for intoxication is often reflected in a society's laws related to legal defenses to crimes, and

to the regulation of drinking and the alcohol industry. In some peer groups, intoxication is an accepted excuse for aggression and violence.[13]

Type of Establishment

Certain types of bars, such as dance clubs, have higher levels of reported violence.[14] Neighborhood bars and social clubs have lower levels of reported violence, partly because patrons know one another well, and partly because they usually resolve conflicts privately. Restaurants that serve alcohol also have less violence. Bars that serve as pickup places, cater to prostitutes, traffic in drugs or stolen goods, or feature aggressive entertainment are at higher risk for violence.

Concentration of Bars

The evidence on the effect of bar concentration is mixed. Some bars attract crime, while others are merely affected by crime in the surrounding neighborhood. Blocks with bars have higher levels of reported crime than blocks with no bars.[15] High concentrations of bars can increase barhopping, and if all bars close at the same time, the risks of conflicts on the street increase. But the mere fact that a neighborhood has a high concentration of bars does not necessarily mean there will be higher crime levels in the area.[16]

Bar Closing Time

Bars' hours of operation contribute to the risk of violence in different ways. When all bars in a given area close at the same time, and large numbers of patrons exit simultaneously, crowds may linger on the sidewalk

to wait for transportation or to order food from late-night restaurants, and competition for these services can precipitate assaults. Moreover, large groups of patrons from incompatible social groups might come together, creating conflict.[17]

Uniform mandatory closing hours also encourage some patrons to drink heavily just before closing, knowing they cannot legally buy another drink for the rest of the night. It is generally the case that bars with later closing hours experience more assaults than those with standard business hours, although additional research on the effects of later or staggered bar closing times is needed.[18]

Aggressive Bouncers

Some security staff see themselves as enforcers, rather than as protectors of customers' safety.[19] The more aggressively the security staff handles patrons, the more aggressively patrons respond. Many security employees and bouncers lack the skills to defuse violence. The presence of large, muscular men dressed in black, which is not uncommon for security staff, encourages confrontations with some patrons, while discouraging them with others. Bouncers' very presence may subconsciously signal to some patrons that physical confrontation is an acceptable way to resolve disputes in that bar. Bouncers are implicated (whether justifiably so or not) in a significant proportion of assaults.[20] However, victims of aggression by security staff may be hesitant to report the assault for several reasons: they may not have an accurate description of the bouncer involved, they may fear retaliation and being banned from the bar, or they may not want their own actions to be scrutinized.[21]

High Proportion of Young Male Strangers

The overwhelming majority of attackers and victims are young men (18 to 29 years old). Many young men gather and drink alcohol to establish machismo, bond with one another, and compete for women's attention.[22] Many incidents of bar aggression start when young men challenge one another.[23] This is more likely to happen when they do not know each other. Overall, women's presence has a calming effect on men's behavior in crowded bars.[24]

Price Discounting of Drinks

Many bars offer discounted prices for drinks to attract patrons, but price discounting increases patrons' intoxication levels and thereby increases the risks of aggression.

Continued Service to Drunken Patrons

Drinkers report that the most common reaction to their drunkenness in bars is continued alcohol service.[25] In part, this occurs because staff have difficulty determining whether patrons are drunk, particularly when customers obtain drinks from several sources within the bar (e.g., bartenders, waitresses, and "shot girls").[26] Determining whether patrons are drunk is more difficult in overcrowded bars, as servers are under pressure to serve customers quickly. In addition, crowded venues are noisy, making it difficult for servers to hear verbal cues that would suggest drunkenness.[27] Refusing service to drunken patrons often makes them angry. Bartenders and wait staff who do not want this aggression directed at them, and who also may not want to risk losing tips, often continue to serve obviously drunken patrons.

Crowding and Lack of Comfort

Poor ventilation, high noise levels, and lack of seating make bars uncomfortable. This discomfort increases the risks of aggression and violence.[28] Crowding around the bar, in restrooms, on dance floors, around pool tables, and near phones creates the risk of accidental bumping and irritation, which can also start fights.[29]

Kip Kellogg

Crowding in bars creates the risk of accidental bumping and irritation, which can lead to assaults.

Competitive Situations

The high emotions that arise during competition in bars—whether patrons are watching sporting events on television or competing themselves in pool, darts, or other typical bar games—can turn to anger and frustration.[30] Competitive drinking contests (e.g., "chugging" beer or rolling dice for drinks) contribute to excessive drinking. Sports bars may foster a "macho" atmosphere and may contribute to customers' sense that aggression is an acceptable part of the social setting.[31] Competition outside the bar—for food service, public transportation, walking space, women's attention, and so forth—can similarly trigger violence.

Low Ratio of Staff to Patrons

Inadequate staffing increases the competition for service and the frustration of patrons, and reduces opportunities for staff to monitor excessive drinking and aggression.[32]

Lack of Good Entertainment

Entertained crowds are less hostile. Quality music (as defined by the patrons) is more important than the music's noise level.[33, §]

§ Newspaper articles and reports from some police agencies suggest that certain forms of music, such as hip-hop, attract aggressive and violent crowds, but it is unlikely that the musical form itself generates aggression, at least not directly.

Unattractive Décor and Dim Lighting

Recognizing that attractiveness is highly subjective, obviously unattractive, poorly maintained, and dimly lit bars signal to patrons that the owners and managers have similarly low standards for behavior, and that they will likely tolerate aggression and violence.[34]

Tolerance for Disorderly Conduct

If the bar staff tolerates profanity and other disorderly conduct, it suggests to patrons that the staff will tolerate aggression and violence, as well.[35]

Availability of Weapons

Patrons can use bottles, glasses, pool cues, heavy ashtrays, and bar furniture as weapons. The more available and dangerous these items are, the more likely they will cause serious injury during fights and assaults.

Low Levels of Police Enforcement and Regulation

Low levels of liquor-law enforcement and regulation reduce owners' and managers' incentives to adopt responsible practices.[§] We do not know for certain what effect the deployment of off-duty police officers in and around bars has on assault rates.

[§] Some police departments discourage or prohibit uniformed patrol officers from inspecting bars, while other departments encourage it and make it a key element of their efforts to control problems in and around bars. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg (North Carolina) Police Department successfully lobbied for legislative changes to allow police officers to inspect licensed premises.

Understanding Your Local Problem

The information provided above is only a generalized description of the problem of assaults in and around bars. You must combine the basic facts with a more specific understanding of your local problem. Analyzing the local problem helps in designing a more effective response strategy.

Stakeholders

In addition to criminal justice agencies, the following groups have an interest in the assaults-in-and-around-bars problem and ought to be considered for the contribution they might make both to gathering information about the problem and to responding to it:

- risk managers/liability insurance agents for bars
- local liquor retailer associations
- bank officials holding mortgages or business loans on bars
- emergency medical personnel/treatment facilities
- substance-abuse treatment organizations
- neighborhood residents
- other business owners
- employees in the vicinity of bars.

For further information on how police can work effectively with other stakeholders, see the Problem-Solving Tools Guide titled *Partnering With Businesses To Address Public Safety Problems*.

Asking the Right Questions

The following are some critical questions you should ask in analyzing your particular problem of assaults in and around bars, even if the answers are not always readily available. Your answers to these and other questions will help you choose the most appropriate set of responses later on. The various entities with a stake in the problem and its solution will be helpful in collecting some of these data, as not all of the information will be readily available to police.[§]

[§] See Tierney and Hobbs (2003) for guidance on sharing responsibility for data collection among those concerned about assaults in and around bars. In addition, see Hopkins (2004) for an example of using the SARA model to analyze a local problem with assaults in bars.

Incident Characteristics

- Is the problem primarily one of bar fights, public inebriates assaulting one another, strong-arm robberies, sexual assaults, bias-motivated assaults, or something else?
- What precipitates the attacks (e.g., verbal exchanges/insults, threats, disagreements, long-standing disputes, or advances to girlfriends/boyfriends)?
- Do the assaults stem from conflicts between individuals or between groups? If groups, are they criminal groups such as gangs?
- Do the precipitating conflicts initiate in the bar or elsewhere?
- How/why does verbal aggression escalate into physical assaults?
- Is there a widespread perception that certain bars or entertainment districts are dangerous because of assaults?
- What weapons, if any, do offenders use in assaults? Do either the offenders or the victims bring weapons to the bar, or do they convert items found in the bar into weapons?

Victims

- Who is assaulted?
- Do victims report the assaults to the police? (Surveys of patrons and emergency room admissions may reveal unreported assaults.)[§] If victims do not report their assaults, why not? What are the characteristics of victims who report compared with those who do not?
- Are victims typically drunk?
- Are victims alone or in groups?
- Are victims members of any ethnic or other subcultural group?
- Are many of the victims underage drinkers?
- How serious are victims' injuries?
- Do victims typically instigate assaults?
- Are there chronic assault victims?
- Do victims typically know their assailants?

[§] A recent study of the problem of assaults in bars relied heavily on data collection from emergency room patients by nurses involved (Maguire and Nettleton 2003).

Offenders

- How old are offenders? Do they belong to any particular ethnic, occupational, recreational, or other group?
- Are offenders alone or in groups?
- Are there repeat offenders? Do they have prior criminal records for assault?
- Are offenders typically known as troublemakers in bars?
- Are offenders typically drunk? Do they get drunk in the same bar in or around which the assaults occur?
- Are offenders themselves injured in the fights/assaults? How seriously?
- Are offenders heavy drinkers? Do they have histories of alcohol-related problems (e.g., commitments to detoxification centers)?

Locations/Times

- In or around which bars are assaults concentrated?
- Where, specifically, do assaults occur (e.g., inside/outside, restrooms, alleys, streets/sidewalks, parking lots, or around the bar)?
- What is the nature of the surrounding neighborhood (e.g., entertainment district or primarily residential/commercial/industrial)?
- Are the bars on or near major roadways?
- Do the people in or conditions of the bars themselves appear to generate the violence, or are bars merely affected by other conditions in the surrounding neighborhood?
- When do assaults occur (e.g., closing time, happy hour, special events, or weekends)?
- What public transportation is accessible after closing hours (e.g., buses, trains, or taxis)?
- Is there a high concentration of bars in areas with high reported assault levels?
- What are the lighting conditions both inside and outside bars? Do assaults occur in dark areas or areas not easily seen by passers-by?
- Are there objects outside bars that offenders can readily use as weapons (e.g., loose stones or trash receptacles)?

Bar Management Practices

- What is the primary theme of a typical problem bar?
- Does the bar serve food, or is it available nearby?
- Does the bar offer discounted drinks?
- What entertainment, if any, does the bar offer? Does the entertainment contribute to aggression?
- Does the bar employ bouncers? If so, do they tend to be aggressive when dealing with troublesome patrons? Do bar managers conduct proper background checks on bouncers before hiring them? Are bar employees properly trained?

- What is the ratio of bar employees to patrons? Is it sufficient to provide timely service and monitor patrons' drinking and behavior?
- Do bar employees call the police under appropriate circumstances? Do bar managers encourage or discourage police inspectional visits?
- Are employees encouraged to push altercations out of the bar?
- Are employees trained to recognize signs of drunkenness, to refuse service diplomatically, and to defuse aggression? Does management have written policies regarding these practices, expect employees to follow them, and support them when they do?
- What conduct does the bar prohibit? Do employees effectively enforce those prohibitions?
- Is the bar décor attractive, and interior lighting adequate?
- Does the bar commonly reach or exceed occupancy limits?
- Do competitive events (e.g., playing pool, darts, rolling dice) lead to assaults?
- Does the bar discourage barhopping (e.g., restrict reentry, charge entry fees, or prohibit carrying out drinks)?
- Does the bar have items that patrons can readily use as weapons?
- Does the physical setting (e.g., the presence of sharp-edged bar tops or glass) create risks of serious injuries?

Regulation and Enforcement Practices

- Do the police or liquor-license regulators routinely inspect bars for compliance with regulations? Do they inspect for serving practices and occupancy limits, in addition to technical license requirements?
- Do the police or regulators take enforcement actions?
- Do bar owners believe police will enforce laws? Do they perceive enforcement actions as fair?

Measuring Your Effectiveness

You should take measures of your problem *before* you implement responses, to determine how serious the problem is, and *after* you implement them, to determine whether they have been effective. Measurement allows you to determine to what degree your efforts have succeeded, and suggests how you might modify your responses if they are not producing the intended results. For more detailed guidance on measuring effectiveness, see the Problem-Solving Tools guide, *Assessing Responses to Problems: An Introductory Guide for Police Problem-Solvers*. The following are potentially useful measures of the effectiveness of responses to assaults in and around bars:[§]

- reduced number of assaults
- reduced calls for police service for fights and assaults (assuming you are confident that police are being called when appropriate)
- reduced severity of injuries caused by assaults (it may be possible to reduce the degree of injury, even if the number of assaults does not decline)
- increased reporting of assaults to police, if you suspect that many assaults are not being reported (you might compare emergency room records with police records)
- fewer repeat victims and repeat offenders
- greater perception of safety among bar patrons, neighboring merchants, and residents
- increased profitability of bars with high assault rates (bars with high assault rates typically lose money).

[§] See Graham (2000) for a model evaluation strategy for interventions to reduce harmful behavior by bar patrons.

Responses to the Problem of Assaults in and Around Bars

Your analysis of your local problem should give you a better understanding of the factors that are contributing to the problem. Once you have analyzed your local problem and established a baseline for measuring effectiveness, you should consider possible responses to address the problem. The following response strategies provide a foundation of ideas for addressing your particular problem. These strategies are drawn from a variety of research studies and police reports. Several of these strategies may apply to your community's particular problem. It is critical that you tailor responses to local circumstances, and that you can justify each response based on reliable analysis. In most cases, an effective strategy will involve implementing several different responses. Law enforcement responses alone are seldom effective in reducing or solving the problem. Do not limit yourself to considering what police can do: carefully consider who else in your community shares responsibility for the problem and can help police better respond to it.

General Requirements of an Effective Strategy

1. Enlisting community support for addressing the problem. Broad-based coalitions that incorporate the interests of the community, the bars, and the government are recommended.[36] A number of communities, including Vancouver (British Columbia) and Edmonton (Alberta) have organized "bar watch" or "pub watch" programs, while bars and police in a number of Australian communities have negotiated voluntary agreements (known as *accords*) to promote responsible bar management.[37] These programs incorporate the interests of bar owners, community members, and government

regulators, including the police. Members meet regularly to discuss incidents that have occurred in the local area, and to craft solutions. While recruiting members can be difficult, the key is to keep all parties motivated and actively involved for extended periods.[38] All parties should come to accept ownership for the problem, and for responses to it. Strong leadership, active police involvement, and adequate funding are essential.[§]

2. Implementing multifaceted, comprehensive strategies. Multifaceted, comprehensive strategies are more effective than those that address only one or a few of the conditions that increase the risks of aggression and violence. Any response strategy should address as many known risk factors as possible, rather than focusing on the contributions of alcohol alone. Some of the more critical factors include the practices of serving and patterns of consumption, the physical comfort of the environment, the overall permissiveness of the environment, and the availability of public transportation to disperse crowds once bars have closed.[39, §§]

3. Getting cooperation and support from bar owners and managers. It is important to secure the cooperation and involvement of all bars in the area to guard against merely moving the problem somewhere else, and against losing the support of owners who feel unfairly targeted.[40] Bar owners should agree in writing to codes of good practice, and establish ways to enforce them.[41] Rogue bar owners can easily undermine these agreements by refusing to follow the codes of practice. This creates pressure on other operators to do likewise. You should apply basic preventive and enforcement measures to all bars, while applying some special preventive and enforcement measures at high-risk bars. It is critical that you acknowledge the legitimacy of bar owners' profit motive.

[§] See Homel (2001) for a thorough discussion of the various types of community action projects, their core components, and their effectiveness.

[§§] The Derbyshire, England, Constabulary (2002) engaged local bar owners in a "Safer Pubs and Clubs" campaign whereby each owner agreed to enact a range of "Safer by…" reforms, such as Safer by Dispersal, Safer by Design, Safer by Glass Management, Safer by Doorwatch, etc. The combination of responses led to significant reductions in violence in the targeted areas and improvements in job satisfaction among staff.

4. Informally monitoring bar policies and practices. You can use voluntary safety audits and risk assessments to identify high-risk locations and conditions.[42] Monitoring systems should use data to measure effectiveness. Informal groups, rather than government officials, should oversee and monitor voluntary agreements among bars.[§] However, informal police audits are an effective means of sharing knowledge and also carry the implied threat of sanctions, which can encourage compliance. For example, police can provide bar owners with information about disorderly events that occur following consumption on their premises. In addition, after an informal audit, police can provide tailored feedback reports using a harm-reduction, rather than a punitive, focus.[§§]

5. Formally regulating and enforcing relevant liquor-licensing laws. Voluntary agreements should be reinforced by formal regulation. Fair and well-enforced liquor-license regulation, with a graded system of penalties including warnings, modest fines, temporary license suspensions, and revocations, is key to ensuring responsible policies and practices.[43, §§§] Fair and consistent enforcement of liquor-license laws by the police and liquor-licensing authorities is more effective than relying solely on more-expensive responsible-beverage-service training programs.[44, §§§§] More intensive police inspections of licensed bars will also result in higher recorded crime rates, but this encourages bar owners to adhere to good management practices and to obey liquor laws. In many jurisdictions, however, the liquor-licensing authority's resources are inadequate for enforcement.

[§] For example, several jurisdictions use self-administered checklists to examine potential problem areas (entry, layout, closing time, rule-setting, etc.). Often working with a consultant, bar owners discuss their areas of vulnerability and craft reforms to minimize risk (Graham 2000; Graham et al. 2004; Toomey et al. 2001).

[§§] The New Zealand Police implemented a system of informal audits, feedback, and recommendations to reduce the risk factors present in local bars and clubs. After a three-month follow-up period, the participating bars saw a 15 percent decrease in alcohol-related incidents. Despite fears that police would judge the approach lacking in severity, two-thirds of police considered the approach acceptable, and 92 percent of bar owners found the process to be both fair and useful (Wiggers et al. 2004).

[§§§] Madison, Wisconsin adopted a point system in 1986 as the basis for sanctions against liquor licensees to remove some of the arbitrariness of the administrative process, and the police department developed methods for recording and reporting police activities at bars to the liquor-licensing authority. A key feature of the system is that reports of problems by the owners/managers to the police, and cooperation with the police, reflect favorably rather than negatively on the licensee. A police representative serves as a nonvoting member of the alcohol-license review committee. By contrast, the Green Bay (Wisconsin) Police Department (2000) had to change city officials' attitudes toward liquor-license regulation to close or improve control over problem bars.

[§§§§] In Sweden, a combination of responsible-beverage-service training and consistent liquor-law enforcement by police led to significant increases in the rate at which servers refused to serve intoxicated patrons (from 5 percent refusals to 70 percent refusals), and a significant decrease (29 percent) in the number of violent crimes occurring in or around participating bars (Wallin, Norstrom, and Andreasson 2003; Wallin, Gripenberg, and Andreasson 2005).

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Police inspections of bars and enforcement of liquor laws encourages bar owners to adhere to responsible management practices.

Some communities use nuisance-abatement laws and conditional-use permits (business permits with special requirements and restrictions) to compel bar owners to establish and enforce responsible policies and practices that can reduce aggression and violence in and around the premises.[§]

[§] Fresno, California makes extensive use of conditional-use permits to regulate liquor establishments. Sacramento, California, prepared a Model Conditional-Use Permit Ordinance for Retail Alcohol Outlets (Wittman 1997). The Hayward (California) Police Department helped private residents file a civil lawsuit against a problem bar, ultimately resulting in the revocation of its liquor license (Sampson and Scott 2000).

Specific Responses To Reduce Assaults

You will need to combine two groups of responses in any effective strategy:

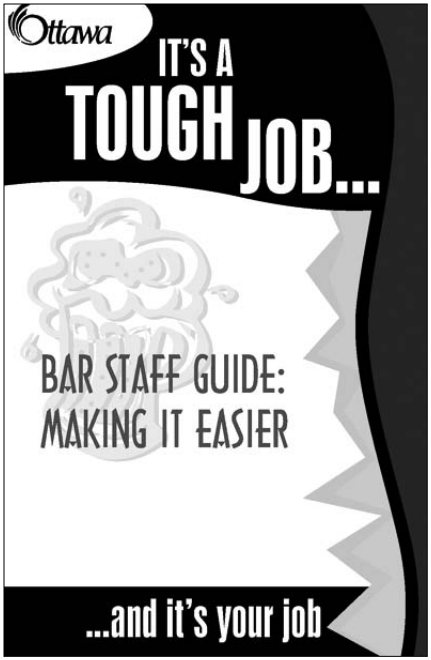
- responses to *reduce how much alcohol patrons drink*, thereby reducing aggression and vulnerability to assault
- responses to *make the bar safer*, regardless of how much alcohol patrons drink.

Reducing Alcohol Consumption

6. Establishing responsible beverage service programs.[§] Responsible beverage service training can be effective in reducing intoxication and assaults, especially where there is community support for these requirements and adequate enforcement of them.[45] Responsible beverage service can be promoted through voluntary or mandatory training programs. Bar owners and managers, as well as serving staff, should receive training. These programs are effective in changing servers' knowledge and attitudes, but do not affect how often they deny service to drunken customers, unless they are supported by regular monitoring and consistent sanctions for violations.[46]

[§] As of 2000, at least 23 states had server-training legislation. In 11 of these states, the laws provide incentives for establishments that provide training to their employees, while in the remaining 12 states, server training is mandatory (Mosher et al. 2002).

https://smartserve.org



Training and encouraging bar staff to serve responsibly and monitor patrons' drinking can help reduce the risk of violence in the bar.

Responsible beverage service programs include training bar staff to adopt responsible serving practices, and encouraging bar owners and managers to adopt responsible business practices and policies. The most common elements of these programs include the following:

6a. Monitoring drinking to prevent drunkenness. In general, servers are not good at determining whether customers are drunk because the signs and signals used in that assessment are largely subjective (slurred speech, clumsiness, mood changes). The best estimator of a customer's blood alcohol content is the number of drinks served, but given the size and layout of many bars, the amount of alcohol consumed is very difficult to track.[47] Further, servers cannot know how much a customer has drunk before arriving, what or if he or she has eaten, or how long he or she intends to stay at the bar—all of which will affect the server's judgments about continued service.[48] Training should focus on the most obvious and reliable indicators of drunkenness and improved communication among multiple servers to enable better monitoring.

While it may take a long time for enforcement officials to witness bar staff serving drunken patrons, the benefits appear to be worth the costs.[49] For the most part, it is still too easy for both drunken and underage drinkers to get served in bars.[50]

6b. Promoting slower drinking rates. Several practices encourage patrons to drink quickly, such as announcing "last call," having happy hours, serving multiple drinks at one time, and tolerating "chugging" contests and other drinking games. Eliminating these practices can slow the rate at which patrons feel compelled to drink.

6c. Prohibiting underage drinking. This response prevents less physically and emotionally mature patrons from getting drunk. It is unclear, though, what effect allowing underage patrons into bars, even if they are not served alcohol, has on the assault problem.

6d. Providing reduced-alcohol or nonalcoholic beverages. Offering reduced-alcohol or nonalcoholic beverages can lower patrons' drunkenness level, patrons who might otherwise be potential assailants and/or victims. Regardless, the risk of injury from assault is reduced. There are virtually no drawbacks to this response as long as some patrons will drink these beverages.

6e. Requiring or encouraging food service with alcohol service. Eating while drinking slows the rate of alcohol absorption into the bloodstream. Serving food also helps create an atmosphere that is not exclusively centered on alcohol consumption, and can attract a more diverse, and possibly less aggressive, clientele.[51]

6f. Discouraging alcohol price discounts. Reducing the price of drinks during happy hours significantly increases consumption by both light and heavy drinkers.[52] The competitive pressure to reduce drink prices actually threatens many bars' profitability, so some owners actually appreciate restrictions on price discounting.

7. Establishing and enforcing server liability laws. In many jurisdictions, alcohol servers and bar owners can be held legally liable either for the harm drunken patrons cause (through private civil suits) or for merely serving drunken people (through statute enforcement by the police or liquor-license regulators).[§] Server liability laws alone have had mixed results as an incentive for

[§] Erenberg and Hacker (1997) report that 36 states have some form of dram-shop liability law, and refer to the Model Alcoholic Beverage Retail Licensee Liability Act of 1985.

bar owners to adopt and enforce responsible (beverage) service policies and practices.[53] In particular, the relatively low enforcement rate, the owner's profit motive, and the server's reliance on tips as income can decrease these laws' deterrent effect.[54]

8. Reducing the concentration and/or number of bars. There is growing evidence that the concentration of bars in an area is related to that area's crime levels and patterns, although the exact nature of the relationship is not yet clear.[55] We cannot yet say how many bars in a small area are too many, but evidence does suggest there is such a threshold. Police agencies can support efforts to reduce the concentration or number of bars through zoning and liquor-license enforcement.

Making Bars Safer

9. Training staff to handle patrons nonviolently. Some assaults in bars have less to do with alcohol and more to do with unprofessional or unskilled staff. There are conflicting views about the effectiveness of employing security staff (bouncers and doormen) as a way to reduce assaults in and around bars.[56] Well-trained bar staff can function as guardians (protecting victims), handlers (modifying behavior of offenders, particularly those who are regular customers), and place managers (exerting social control over people in places).[57] However, they may react ineffectively to incidents or, at worst, may overreact or antagonize customers and precipitate an incident.

Skill development programs to reduce aggression are often easier to market to bar owners than interventions focused on serving less alcohol.[58] The programs are most effective when focused on portable skills using real-world scenarios, drawing on participants' experience. The following particular techniques can defuse aggressive incidents:[59]

- Remove the audience (get aggressors away from onlookers)
- Employ calming strategies
  - –Verbal skills
    - * Allow the aggressor to talk and express anger
    - * Use role-appropriate language
    - * Avoid hostile or angry remarks
    - * Respond indirectly to hostile questions
    - * Express an understanding of the aggressor's mood
  - –Nonverbal skills
    - * Increase the distance between oneself and the aggressor
    - * Avoid sustained eye contact with the aggressor
    - * Move slowly and avoid sudden movements
    - * Maintain calm, relaxed facial expressions
    - * Control the vocal signals of anxiety and stress
- Employ control strategies
    - * Clearly establish the situation requirements
    - * Depersonalize the encounter
    - * Emphasize one's role requirements
    - * Encourage the aggressor's decision-making
    - * Offer the aggressor face-saving possibilities

A number of communities require security staff to be trained, licensed, and registered, a measure several researchers endorse.[60, §] The United Kingdom uses "door staff registration schemes" extensively, requiring all door staff at bars to be trained and vetted.[§§] The many local variances in policy can be frustrating to those wishing to work in multiple jurisdictions.[61] These schemes are most effective when staff receive individually numbered badges; registering agencies maintain a comprehensive name, photograph, and address register; and bars keep premise-specific staff assignment logs.[62]

§ The San Diego (California) Police Department's In-House Security Training Program offers training courses for instructors from local venues who, once endorsed, teach and certify in-house security personnel. The program includes an evaluation component to determine reductions in the numbers of complaints, disturbances, violent incidents, and drug use; the quality of training content, delivery, and materials; and whether the program contributes to the ability to identify problematic security personnel (San Diego Police Department Vice Unit n.d.).

§§ The United Kingdom's Private Security Act 2001 requires all private-sector security staff to obtain an occupational license before working in the industry. This act supersedes all local door-staff registration schemes (Hobbs et al. 2003).

10. Establishing adequate transportation. Adequate public transportation to and from bars, especially after closing hours, can reduce competition for transportation, more quickly clear the streets of drunken people, and reduce the hazards of drunken driving.[63, §] Separating taxi stands and bus stops from each other can reduce the size of groups congregating on the sidewalks.[64]

11. Relaxing or staggering bar closing times. Allowing bars to determine their own closing times or staggering the mandatory closing times results in fewer drunken people on the streets competing for food, transportation, and attention.[65] In addition, more people are on the streets, though in lower concentrations, for longer periods—a factor that improves natural surveillance and makes people feel safer.[§§] However, it is also possible that staggered closing hours will increase barhopping, as patrons roam the streets looking for open bars.[§§§] In addition, eliminating mandatory closing times could create an environment where alcohol is almost continuously available and could increase assault rates at venues with extended hours.[66] So, while staggered closing times show promise in reducing assault levels, more evidence of its impact is needed. Changes to operating hours, alone, are unlikely to decrease the assault rates. The change must also be accompanied by high-quality efforts to control, manage, and regulate the properties.[67] If this response is implemented, it should first be done in a controlled pilot effort to gauge the overall effect.

12. Controlling bar entrances, exits, and immediate surroundings. In addition to employing bouncers or doormen, some bars install surveillance cameras at entrances and exits to discourage altercations. Prohibiting reentry after exit or charging reentry fees can discourage

[§] Increasing the availability of taxis and buses to patrons leaving nightclubs in Douglas, Isle of Man was an important dimension of a larger successful strategy to reduce violence and disorder around bars (Isle of Man Constabulary 2005).

[§§] The United Kingdom's Licensing Act 2003 eliminated mandatory pub closing hours. The new liquor-licensing legislation gave police more authority to close rowdy pubs, allowed for lengthy bans of troublemakers and habitual drunkards from pubs, and allowed local authorities to impose environmental conditions on liquor licenses. Several organizations had strong concerns about the legislation (Civic Trust and the Institute of Alcohol Studies 2002; Roberts et al. 2002; McNeil 2005). To date, the relaxed closing hours' impact on the assault and disorder rates has not been evaluated.

[§§§] A Grand Rapids, Iowa proposal would allow bars to stay open later, although they would still be required to stop serving alcohol at the usual time. The purpose of these extended hours would be to allow customers to "cool down and sober up" before leaving the bar (Ronco and Quisenberry 2005). In Australia, a group of local bars agreed to a "patron lockout" to reduce barhopping. Although bars remained open until 3 or 5 a.m., customers were not allowed to enter or reenter bars after 2 a.m. (University of Ballarat Center for Health Research and Practice 2004).

barhopping, which can reduce the risks of assaults among drunken patrons on the streets.[68] Regulating parking outside bars is a way to control the movement of patrons and their vehicles, and enhancing lighting in alleys and parking lots improves natural surveillance.

13. Maintaining an attractive, comfortable, entertaining atmosphere in bars. Attractive, well-maintained bars suggest to patrons that the owners care about their property and will not tolerate disorderly and violent conduct that might destroy it.[69] A comfortable and entertaining atmosphere reduces both frustration and boredom among patrons, which can reduce aggression levels. Lighting should not be so bright that it acts as an irritant, but also not so dim that it can conceal customers' activities.[70] An important environmental consideration is the crowding level. Police in some jurisdictions enforce occupancy limits (primarily adopted for fire safety) as a means to control the bar crowding that can lead to fights. Redesigning a bar's interior to improve traffic flow and prevent congestion can reduce the opportunities for accidental bumps and drink spills that may escalate into fights.[71]

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Occupancy limits should be enforced so that bar patrons do not feel crowded.

14. Establishing and enforcing clear rules of conduct for bar patrons. Restrictions on swearing, sexual activity, prostitution, drug use and dealing, and rowdiness can reduce aggression. A more permissive atmosphere with little control over patrons' behavior is associated with higher aggression levels.[72] Raising the bar area's height is one way to improve servers' capacity to monitor patrons' behavior.

15. Reducing potential weapons and other sources of injury. Drink glasses that shatter in small pieces when broken minimize the seriousness of injuries from assaults with glasses. They may also be cheaper and more durable than more dangerous glassware.[73] Discouraging or prohibiting patrons from taking glass containers out of bars reduces the likelihood patrons will use them as weapons in street fights.[§] Padded furniture or rounded corners on tables and bars can also reduce the risk of serious injury. Requiring identification to check out pool cues can enhance accountability for their proper use and reduce the likelihood patrons will use them as weapons.

16. Communicating about incidents as they occur. Using handheld radios or cellular telephones, bar managers in a local area can pass on real-time information about problems, incidents, or patrons that may require a police response.[74] Armed with this information, door staff at nearby clubs can help contain the incident and can deny entry to the patrons in question. Some bars include police directly in these communications.

[§] The Merseyside Police (2000) in England coordinated a plan that promoted the use of toughened glass containers, added litter containers outside bars, and had bar staff and police discourage patrons from taking glass containers out of bars in downtown Liverpool. Serious assaults involving glass injuries in and around bars in the target area declined significantly. The police subsequently convinced the city council to authorize police to confiscate glass containers outside bars. The city of Savannah, Georgia allows patrons to take alcoholic beverages out of bars in the entertainment district, but requires that they be in plastic cups. Patrons use the so-called "to-go cups" extensively.

17. Banning known troublemakers from bars. Banning known troublemakers from bars takes them out of situations where fights and assaults are likely to occur.[§] Bar owners and the police should get legal guidance on the required process for banning people, the length of time such bans are effective, and the role police should play in enforcing the bans. For this response to be effective, the police and the bar management must cooperate to identify—preferably with a photograph—those who have been banned.[§§] Some bars may be reluctant to enforce police-requested bans of their regular customers.[75]

Responses With Limited Effectiveness

18. Using extra police patrols in and around bars. Many police departments concentrate on the streets outside bars rather than the conditions inside bars. They do so by providing a heavy police presence outside bars and, in some instances, in the bars themselves, with regular on-duty patrols through the bars or off-duty police officers working there. The main result seems to be an increase in the rates of reported and recorded offenses, if for no other reason than the police witness offenses that might otherwise go unreported.[76, §§§] Heavy police involvement through patrols and enforcement is not essential if there is sufficient community, peer, and regulatory pressure on licensees to manage bars responsibly. The police are neither able, nor fully authorized, to regulate every aspect of bar management, but they can encourage, support, and insist on responsible management policies and practices.

[§] The city of Portland, Oregon explained the procedures for banning troublemakers from liquor establishments in a guidebook for liquor establishment owners and managers (Campbell Resources Inc. 1991). The Madison (Wisconsin) Police Department uses what it calls an "Unruly Patron Complaint." They remove unruly customers from bars and serve them a form telling them they are banned from entering the bar again due to their behavior. They file a report and give the bar a copy of the complaint, with the offender's name and information, and a case number. Should the patron return to the bar, the bar staff calls the police, who arrest the patron for trespassing. Madison police have found this tactic especially helpful in bars with a regular clientele who fear losing the privilege of going there. This tactic is also a common feature of "PubWatch" schemes in the United Kingdom (Pratten and Greig 2005).

[§§] The Arlington (Texas) Police Department (1997) helped one especially problematic bar develop a computer database to record all people ejected from or arrested at the bar, and to make this information available to door security staff.

[§§§] One sensible response related to police enforcement is to pass legislation making public fighting an offense, as was done at the recommendation of the Edmonton (Alberta) Police in 1999. This allows police to arrest offenders even when they cannot establish the elements of assault and battery.

19. Marketing responsible consumption and service practices. Efforts to reduce consumption by educating people about responsible drinking do not appear effective.[77] In general, drinkers do not view messages about responsible drinking as relevant to their own experiences.[78] Media messages to young audiences about the dangers of drinking are counteracted by news about the health *benefits* of drinking modest amounts of alcohol, and by alcohol industry promotions. While major alcohol manufacturers and distributors have toned down their marketing campaigns in recent years, promoting responsible drinking, local bars have filled the void in the competition to attract patrons.[79, §] Police can target their enforcement efforts toward irresponsible bar advertising.

20. Prohibiting the sale and consumption of alcohol. Alcohol prohibition can be effective under certain conditions, such as in unique cultural contexts where there is widespread public support for it, or in isolated communities where there are no nearby jurisdictions where one can drink.[80, §§] However, in most communities, prohibition is politically impractical and can create a new set of problems. For example, strict prohibition creates an illegal alcohol market, and violence is often used to enforce that market.[81]

§ The North American Partnership for Responsible Hospitality and the National Licensed Beverage Association set standards for responsible beverage service, even though they have little direct influence over individual licensed premises. Sources of U.S. alcohol industry advertising codes include the Beer Institute, the Wine Institute, and the Distilled Spirits Council of the United States. State and local laws, newspaper advertising policies, and college campus advertising policies may also govern alcohol marketing.

§§ Barrow, Alaska, an isolated Arctic community, experienced dramatic decreases in alcohol-related assaults, as well as many other alcohol-related problems, when it banned the sale, possession, and consumption of alcohol (Sampson and Scott 2000). Some cities, such as Chicago, Illinois, have provisions allowing residents to vote to prohibit alcohol sales in specific areas—in effect, to create dry zones within the larger community.

Appendix: Summary of Responses to Assaults in and Around Bars

The table below summarizes the responses to assaults in and around bars, the mechanism by which they are intended to work, the conditions under which they ought to work best, and some factors you should consider before implementing a particular response. It is critical that you tailor responses to local circumstances, and that you can justify each response based on reliable analysis. In most cases, an effective strategy will involve implementing several different responses. Enforcement responses alone are seldom effective in reducing or solving the problem.

Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If…	Considerations
General Requirements of an Effective Strategy					
1	17	Enlisting community support for addressing the problem	Establishes joint ownership of the problem	…there is sufficient public interest in and political support for addressing the problem	Requires a high degree of project management to sustain coalitions over time
2	18	Implementing multifaceted, comprehensive strategies	Addresses many of the known risk factors that contribute to assaults	…responses are properly implemented (in the right sequence and strength)	Difficult to isolate the effect of specific interventions; requires a high degree of project management
3	18	Getting cooperation and support from bar owners and managers	Prevents displacement of the problem; prevents perceptions of unfairness; addresses problems at lower-risk bars	…there are mechanisms to enforce agreements, and regulators acknowledge the legitimacy of owners' profit motive	Rogue operators can easily undermine cooperative agreements

Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If…	Considerations
4	19	Informally monitoring bar policies and practices	Identifies high-risk locations and practices; enforces cooperative agreements; monitors progress and effectiveness	…participating bar owners cooperate and support the oversight system; constructive feedback is offered to participating bar owners, along with potential solutions	Lacks the force of law; requires a high degree of project management
5	19	Formally regulating and enforcing relevant liquor-licensing laws	Motivates owners/ managers to adopt and enforce responsible serving policies and practices	…done in conjunction with more cooperative and voluntary efforts, and enforcement is consistent, routine, and perceived to be fair	Labor-intensive and costly; increases rates of detected and reported offenses
Specific Responses To Reduce Assaults					
Reducing Alcohol Consumption					
6	21	Establishing responsible-beverage-service programs	Addresses a range of risk factors, especially reducing drunkenness levels	…servers, managers, and owners are provided with concrete examples of responsible practices; combined with sanctions and enforcement	Evidence of effectiveness is mixed; requires enforcement to be taken seriously; costly to establish
6a	22	Monitoring drinking to prevent drunkenness	Reduces drunkenness levels	…servers know how to detect intoxication, they have sufficient incentives to stop serving, and there is adequate opportunity to monitor patrons	Refusing service to intoxicated patrons can instigate aggression; difficult to monitor drinking in large bars

Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If…	Considerations
6b	22	Promoting slower drinking rates	Reduces drunkenness levels	…bars prohibit serving multiple drinks to a single customer	Runs counter to licensees' short-term profit motive
6c	23	Prohibiting underage drinking	Prevents drunkenness of vulnerable population	…jurisdiction has identification cards that are difficult to falsify	Easy to provide false proof of age in some jurisdictions
6d	23	Providing reduced-alcohol or nonalcoholic beverages	Reduces drunkenness levels	…patrons will drink reduced- or nonalcoholic beverages	Some bar owners may be reluctant to stock reduced- or non-alcoholic beverages, believing they are less profitable
6e	23	Requiring or encouraging food service with alcohol service	Reduces drunkenness levels; attracts a more diverse, less aggressive clientele; creates a calmer atmosphere	…patrons will buy and eat food, and food service is adequate so as not to create additional frustration and conflict	Increases costs to licensees, but does not necessarily reduce profitability
6f	23	Discouraging alcohol price discounts	Reduces volume of consumption	…all bars are prohibited from discounting prices	Easily undermined by the pressures of business competition; potential legal restrictions to price agreements
7	23	Establishing and enforcing server liability laws	Provides incentives for servers to control excessive consumption	…there is sufficient community support for liability laws, and laws are enforced adequately	Difficult to establish server's knowledge of drunkenness; judgments are rare

Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If…	Considerations
8	24	Reducing the concentration and/or number of bars	Reduces barhopping; reduces the potential for conflicts at closing time	…the concentration and/or number of bars is high	Not conclusively proven effective at reducing violence levels
Making Bars Safer					
9	24	Training staff to handle patrons nonviolently	Reduces levels of aggression; encourages staff to intervene before assaults occur	…there are high-quality training programs available; skill development is emphasized; real-world scenarios are used	Increases costs to either licensees or local government to administer training; training is often of poor quality
10	26	Establishing adequate transportation	Reduces numbers of drunken people on streets after closing hours; reduces competition for transportation	…the transportation infrastructure is adequate to the demand	May increase costs to local government
11	26	Relaxing or staggering bar closing times	Reduces the concentration of drunken people on streets after closing hours	…there are multiple bars in the area, with large crowds	Requires legislation to authorize; seems counterintuitive and therefore easily opposed

Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If…	Considerations
12	26	Controlling bar entrances, exits, and immediate surroundings	Reduces the entry of underage, drunken, and belligerent patrons; reduces barhopping; controls conflict at key locations	…the security staff is properly trained and nonaggressive, and patrons often get into conflicts in the alleys and parking lots outside bars	May increase short-term costs to licensees (for security staff, surveillance cameras, lighting)
13	27	Maintaining an attractive, comfortable, entertaining atmosphere in bars	Reduces the frustration and boredom that can precipitate aggression	…bar owners are willing to invest in maintenance and entertainment	Increases short-term costs to licensees
14	28	Establishing and enforcing clear rules of conduct for bar patrons	Reduces the potential for conflicts among patrons; promotes a calmer atmosphere	…bar owners have sufficient incentives to promote peaceful and legal conduct	May run counter to patrons' expectations and desires
15	28	Reducing potential weapons and other sources of injury	Reduces the likelihood and/or severity of injury	…bar owners know where to buy safer materials	May increase short-term costs to licensees
16	28	Communicating about incidents as they occur	Permits early intervention in potentially violent situations	…all local bars participate; police are included	Need to distinguish between incidents that require police response and those that do not

Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If…	Considerations
17	29	Banning known troublemakers from bars	Removes high-risk offenders from situations where altercations are likely	…police and bar management cooperate to identify banned patrons, and enforce the terms of the banishment	Legal restrictions; may be difficult to ensure compliance from bar owners if regular customers are banned
Responses With Limited Effectiveness					
18	29	Using extra police patrols in and around bars	Intended to deter assaults and allow police to intervene in disputes		Little evidence in the research that extra police presence is effective or efficient
19	30	Marketing responsible consumption and service practices	Intended to heighten general awareness of the problem and discourage excessive consumption		Excessive-consumption-warning campaigns do not appear effective; irresponsible marketing can be used to identify high-risk bars
20	30	Prohibiting the sale and consumption of alcohol	Reduces consumption		Difficult to obtain widespread public support; reduces the positive effects of social drinking; creates illegal and potentially violent black markets

Endnotes

[1] Budd (2003); Finney (2004).
[2] Forsyth, Cloonan, and Barr (2005); Briscoe and Donnelly (2001b).
[3] Graham and Wells (2001).
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[5] Homel and Tomsen (1991).
[6] Stockwell (1997), citing Homel et al. (1992); Homel and Clark (1994).
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[8] Budd (2003).
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[19] Graham et al. (2005).
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[21] Lister et al. (2000).
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[23] Tomsen (2005); Graham and Wells (2001).
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[26] Roberts (2002).
[27] Doherty and Roche (2003).
[28] Graham et al. (1980); Quigley, Leonard, and Collins (2003).
[29] Macintyre and Homel (1997).
[30] Graham et al. (1980).
[31] Graham, West, and Wells (2000).
[32] Doherty and Roche (2003).
[33] Graham and Homel (1997).
[34] Graham et al. (1980).
[35] Graham et al. (1980); Graham, West, and Wells (2000).
[36] Homel (1998); Wittman (1997); Homel et al. (1997); Deehan (1999); Erenberg and Hacker (1997); Calgary Police Service (1994).
[37] Pratten and Bailey (2005); Deehan (2004); Graham (2000); Stockwell (1997); Felson et al. (1997).
[38] Graham (2000).
[39] Homel et al. (2004).
[40] Roberts (2002).
[41] Homel et al. (1997); Graham (2000).
[42] Homel et al. (1997).
[43] Stockwell (2001).
[44] Holder et al. (1997).
[45] Stockwell (1997); Homel and Clark (1994); Erenberg and Hacker (1997); Saltz (1997).
[46] Burns, Nusbaumer, and Reiling (2003); Graham (2000); Briscoe and Donnelly (2001a); Briscoe and Donnelly (2001b).
[47] Burns, Nusbaumer, and Reiling (2003).
[48] Sloan et al. (2000).
[49] McKnight and Streff (1994).
[50] Stockwell (1997); Donnelly and Briscoe (2003).
[51] Graham and Homel (1997); Deehan (1999); Marsh and Kibby (1992).
[52] Single (1988).
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Recommended Readings

- **A Police Guide to Surveying Citizens and Their Environments**, Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1993. This guide offers a practical introduction for police practitioners to two types of surveys that police find useful: surveying public opinion and surveying the physical environment. It provides guidance on whether and how to conduct cost-effective surveys.

- **Assessing Responses to Problems: An Introductory Guide for Police Problem-Solvers**, by John E. Eck (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2001). This guide is a companion to the *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police* series. It provides basic guidance to measuring and assessing problem-oriented policing efforts.

- **Conducting Community Surveys**, by Deborah Weisel (Bureau of Justice Statistics and Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 1999). This guide, along with accompanying computer software, provides practical, basic pointers for police in conducting community surveys. The document is also available at www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs.

- **Crime Prevention Studies**, edited by Ronald V. Clarke (Criminal Justice Press, 1993, et seq.). This is a series of volumes of applied and theoretical research on reducing opportunities for crime. Many chapters are evaluations of initiatives to reduce specific crime and disorder problems.

- **Excellence in Problem-Oriented Policing: The 1999 Herman Goldstein Award Winners.** This document produced by the National Institute of Justice in collaboration with the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services and the Police Executive Research Forum provides detailed reports of the best submissions to the annual award program that recognizes exemplary problem-oriented responses to various community problems. A similar publication is available for the award winners from subsequent years. The documents are also available at www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij.

- **Not Rocket Science? Problem-Solving and Crime Reduction**, by Tim Read and Nick Tilley (Home Office Crime Reduction Research Series, 2000). Identifies and describes the factors that make problem-solving effective or ineffective as it is being practiced in police forces in England and Wales.

- **Opportunity Makes the Thief: Practical Theory for Crime Prevention**, by Marcus Felson and Ronald V. Clarke (Home Office Police Research Series, Paper No. 98, 1998). Explains how crime theories such as routine activity theory, rational choice theory and crime pattern theory have practical implications for the police in their efforts to prevent crime.

- **Problem Analysis in Policing**, by Rachel Boba (Police Foundation, 2003). Introduces and defines problem analysis and provides guidance on how problem analysis can be integrated and institutionalized into modern policing practices.

- **Problem-Oriented Policing**, by Herman Goldstein (McGraw-Hill, 1990, and Temple University Press, 1990). Explains the principles and methods of problem-oriented policing, provides examples of it in practice, and discusses how a police agency can implement the concept.

- **Problem-Oriented Policing and Crime Prevention**, by Anthony A. Braga (Criminal Justice Press, 2003). Provides a thorough review of significant policing research about problem places, high-activity offenders, and repeat victims, with a focus on the applicability of those findings to problem-oriented policing. Explains how police departments can facilitate problem-oriented policing by improving crime analysis, measuring performance, and securing productive partnerships.

- **Problem-Oriented Policing: Reflections on the First 20 Years**, by Michael S. Scott (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2000). Describes how the most critical elements of Herman Goldstein's problem-oriented policing model have developed in practice over its 20-year history, and proposes future directions for problem-oriented policing. The report is also available at www.cops.usdoj.gov.

- **Problem-Solving: Problem-Oriented Policing in Newport News,** by John E. Eck and William Spelman (Police Executive Research Forum, 1987). Explains the rationale behind problem-oriented policing and the problem-solving process, and provides examples of effective problem-solving in one agency.

- **Problem-Solving Tips: A Guide to Reducing Crime and Disorder Through Problem-Solving Partnerships** by Karin Schmerler, Matt Perkins, Scott Phillips, Tammy Rinehart and Meg Townsend. (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 1998) (also available at www.cops.usdoj.gov). Provides a brief introduction to problem-solving, basic information on the SARA model and detailed suggestions about the problem-solving process.

- **Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case Studies**, Second Edition, edited by Ronald V. Clarke (Harrow and Heston, 1997). Explains the principles and methods of situational crime prevention, and presents over 20 case studies of effective crime prevention initiatives.

- **Tackling Crime and Other Public-Safety Problems: Case Studies in Problem-Solving**, by Rana Sampson and Michael S. Scott (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2000) (also available at www.cops.usdoj.gov). Presents case studies of effective police problem-solving on 18 types of crime and disorder problems.

- **Using Analysis for Problem-Solving: A Guidebook for Law Enforcement**, by Timothy S. Bynum (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2001). Provides an introduction for police to analyzing problems within the context of problem-oriented policing.

- **Using Research: A Primer for Law Enforcement Managers**, Second Edition, by John E. Eck and Nancy G. LaVigne (Police Executive Research Forum, 1994). Explains many of the basics of research as it applies to police management and problem-solving.

Other Problem-Oriented Guides for Police

Problem-Specific Guides series:

1. **Assaults in and Around Bars, 2nd Edition.** Michael S. Scott and Kelly Dedel. 2006. ISBN: 1-932582-00-2
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