

Alcohol Outlets and Violence in U.S. Cities: What, Why, and What To Do

David H. Jernigan PhD

Professor, Department of Health Law,
Policy and Management



Boston University School of Public Health
Department of Health Law, Policy & Management

THINK. TEACH. DO.
FOR THE HEALTH OF ALL

Who am I?

- Son of a Methodist minister and a public health nurse
- Raised in the Protestant tradition of social justice and doing the right thing
- Little or no alcohol at home
- Parent and grandparent
- In this because of my personal story – not about alcohol, but about what I was taught by my parents to do: to speak truth to power, and seek to do the right thing

What unites us?

- The right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness
- As part of this, equal access to the opportunity to be healthy, throughout the course of our lives
- The need to protect vulnerable groups – including young people – from being deprived of these rights
- Our common concerns are the basis for our common efforts

Types of violence

	Personal	Institutional
Overt	Aggravated assault Sexual assault	Police brutality Mass incarceration
Covert	Extreme neglect	Colonial oppression Slavery

Those who cannot
remember the past are
condemned to repeat it.

-- George Santayana

History of Alcohol

- Beverage alcohol has been present in nearly all societies. Exceptions:
 - Oceania
 - North of Mexico
 - Remainder of North America prior to European contacts
- Wine and beer have been present for at least 5000 years
- Distilled spirits first appear in human records around the 12th century A.D.

The historical challenge of alcohol

- Every society has had to figure out how to control it.
- Many societies treated it as “special” – as spiritual, sacramental, etc.
- Many societies also reserved its use for the privileged.
- The privileged quickly learned how to manipulate the alcohol supply as part of maintaining dominance.
- This is the “covert violence” of oppression, supported by alcohol.

Alcohol and indigenous North Americans

- One of the few groups worldwide not to have developed alcohol as an intoxicant
- No cultural or bio-genetic protections against alcohol
- Colonizers used this as an instrument of dominance:
 - Among the first laws passed to control indigenous populations were alcohol laws, with the excuse being the “drunk Indian” stereotype.
 - These laws move forward with the ‘frontier’, consistently providing the excuse for direct colonizer control of indigenous populations.



New England rum and the slave trade



The British in Asia: Building an empire on drugs

- The British “gave opium to the Chinese and alcohol to the Indians.”

-- Spokesperson for Customs and Excise Malaysia, 1996

- They controlled the toddy supply in India.
- They manipulated the palm wine supply to control workers in Malaya.

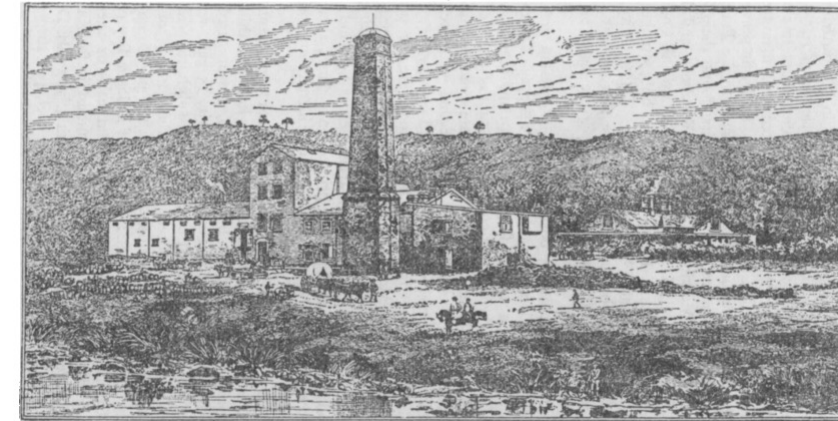


Southern Africa: "Randlords and rotgut"

- The colonizers of Southern Africa debated among themselves: how strong should the alcohol be to keep workers sufficiently addicted so they didn't return to their villages, but not so addicted that they could not work

Hatherley Distillery

Near PRETORIA, TRANSVAAL.



The “dop” system in South Africa and FASD

- Up until this century, workers in the vineyards of South Africa’s Western Cape were paid in alcoholic beverages
- This region has among the highest prevalence of Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorders in the world.



Alcohol's transition in the 20th century

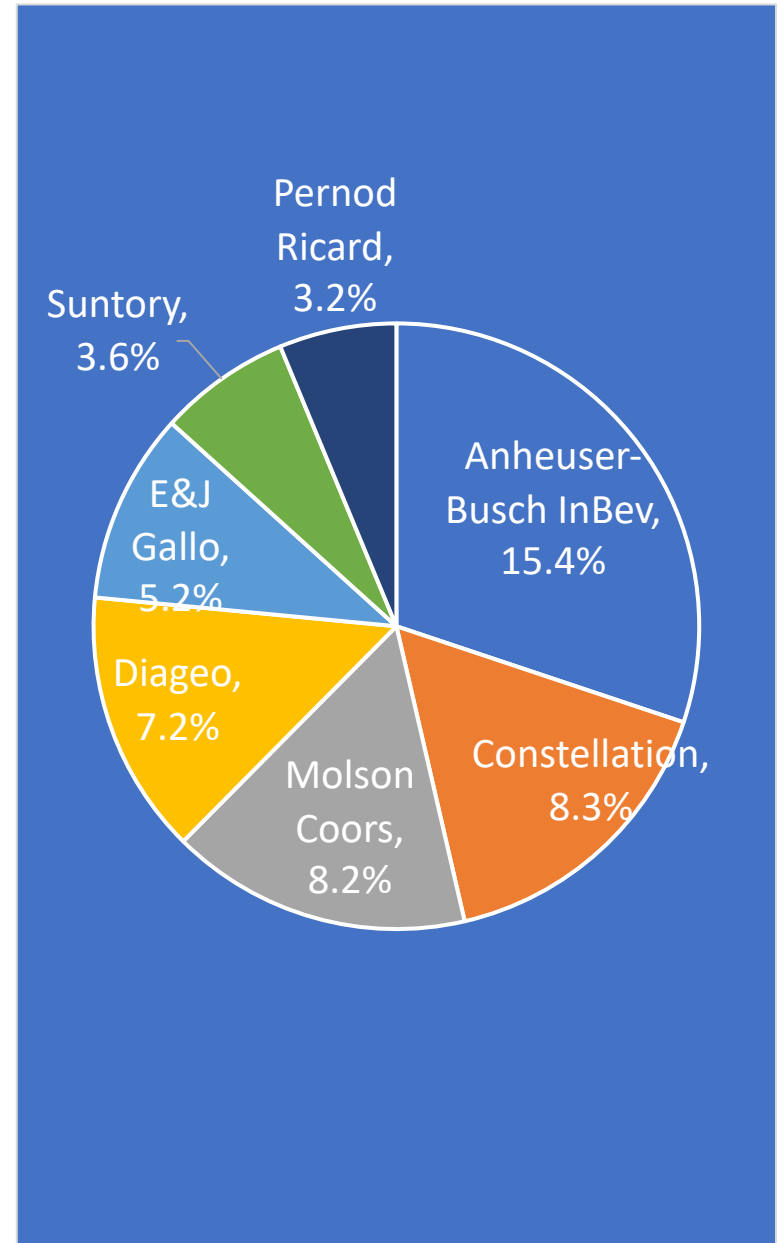
- In the latter half of the 20th century, alcohol as a social phenomenon changed.
- Around the world, it transitioned thoroughly from being traditional, communally-based beverage, to a global beverage, produced by huge and hugely profitable global corporations.
- In the US, there was a sea-change in alcohol marketing when Philip Morris bought Miller beer in the 1970s.

The global alcohol industry

- \$1.8 trillion per year in sales worldwide
- Highly concentrated, e.g. 10 companies sell two-thirds of the world's beer
 - If the nine largest alcohol companies for which data are available were a country, they would be the 55th largest economy in the world
- As of 2019, alcohol was the 8th most profitable industry in the world

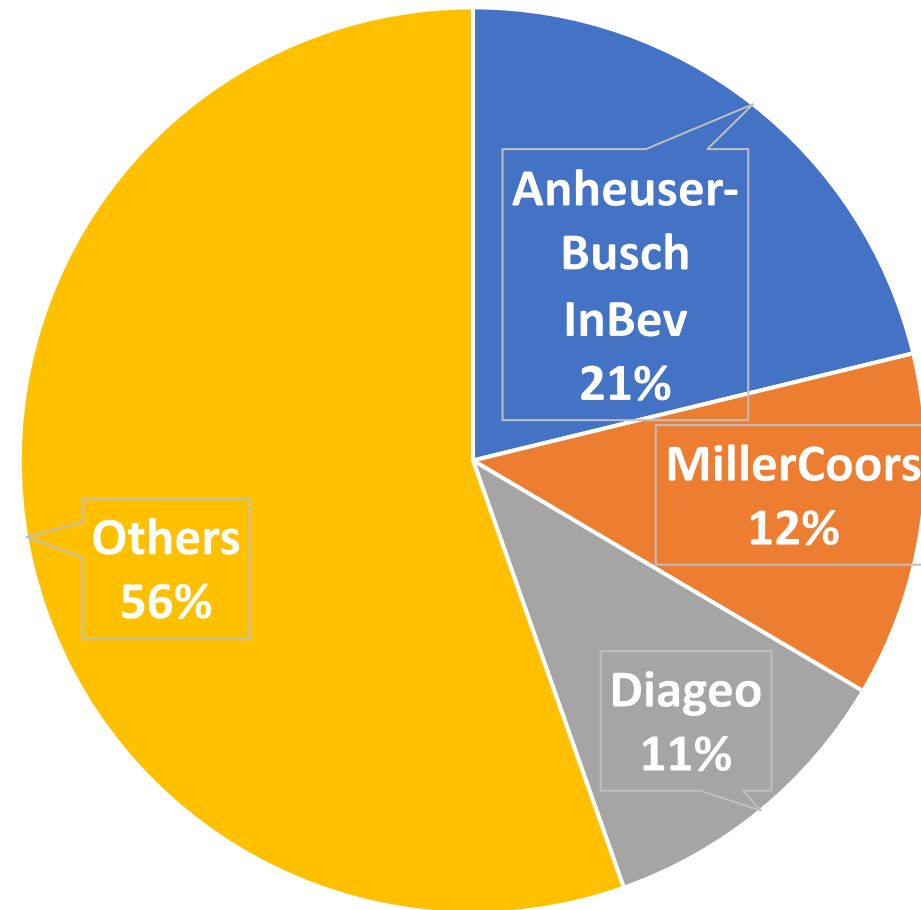
Share of revenues, 2020

- Seven companies earn 51.1% of the revenues from alcohol in the USA.
- Impact of concentration:
 - Monopoly profits
 - High marketing spend



Profits from underage drinking (2016)

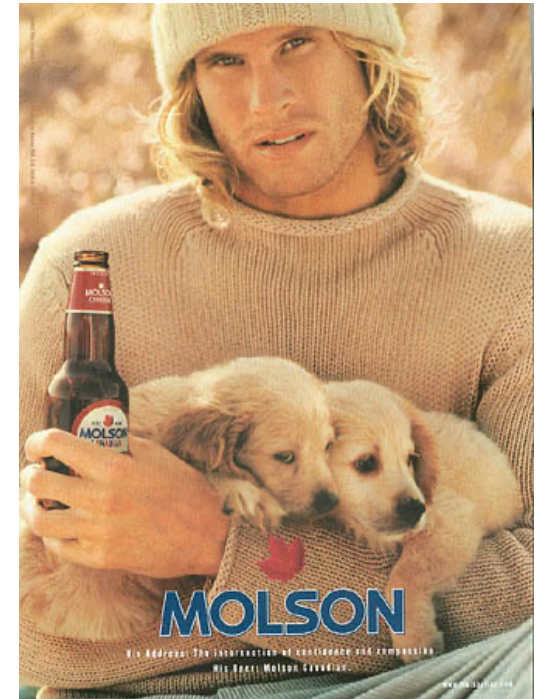
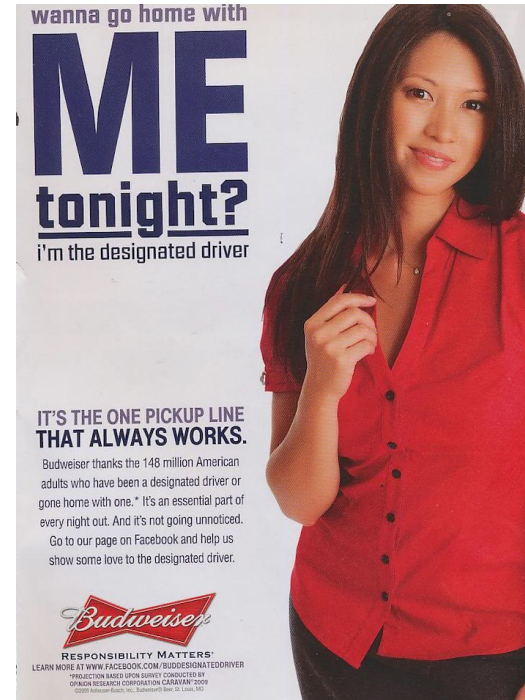
- In 2016, people under 21 consumed **8.6%** of the alcohol drunk in the US
- This translated into **\$17.5** billion in sales for alcohol companies



Alcohol and social injustice today

- SEXISM
- RACISM
- CULTURAL APPROPRIATION
- LYING ABOUT EFFECTS
- BLAMING THE VICTIM

SEXISM

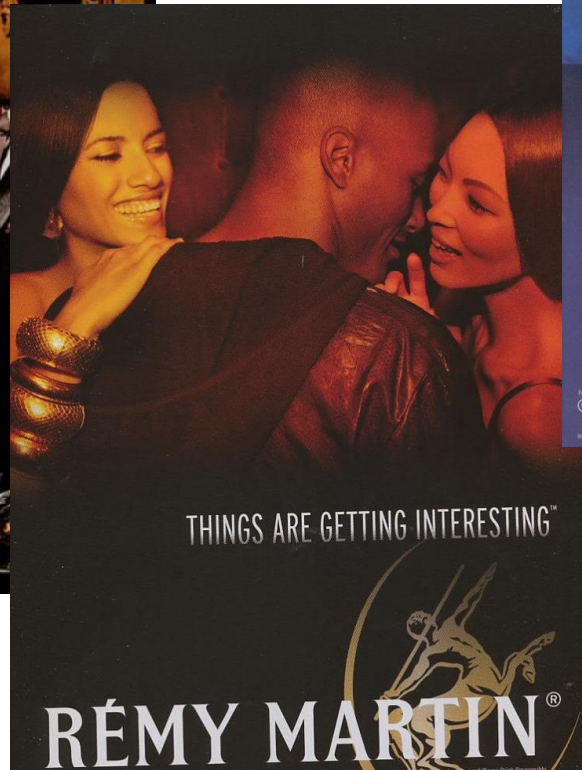


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Women as the product



RACISM



I. DO.

CULTURAL APPROPRIATION



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LYING ABOUT EFFECTS: FASD

“...many feel that there is **insufficient evidence** regarding moderate consumption of alcohol during pregnancy and the effect it may have on a developing fetus...”

- Industry-funded International Center on Alcohol Policies

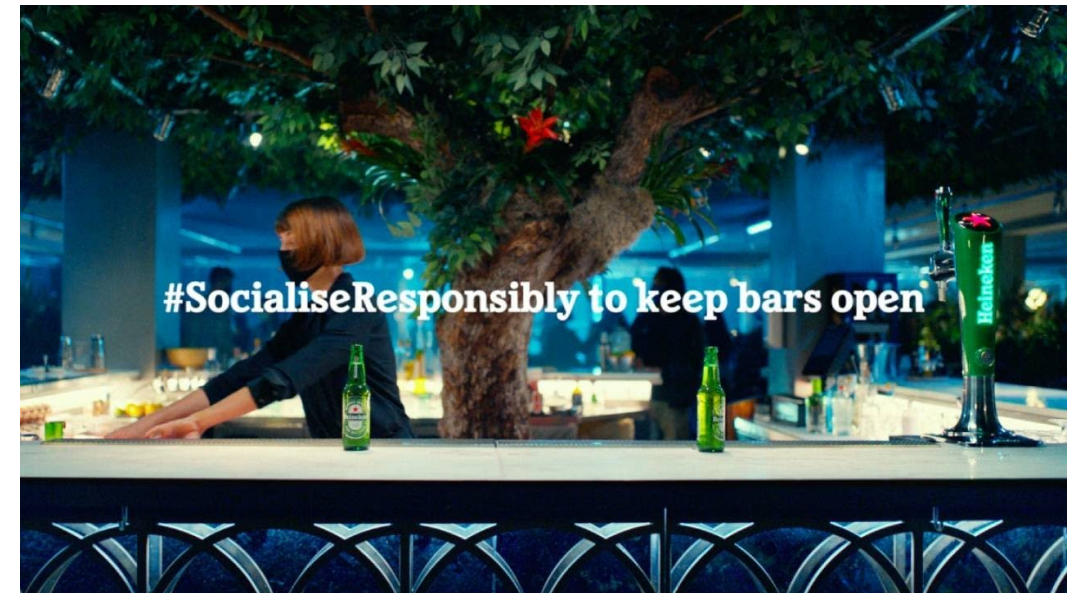
“... there is not necessarily a causal relationship between all potential risk factors and FASD. For example, **other maternal risk factors** include drinking alone, family members who abuse alcohol, having less stable domestic partnerships, and being at risk for domestic violence.”

- Industry-funded International Alliance for Responsible Drinking



CONCEALING EFFECTS: COVID

World Health Organization's advice during COVID pandemic: Alcohol consumption is associated with a range of communicable and noncommunicable diseases and mental health disorders, which can make a person more vulnerable to COVID-19. In particular, alcohol compromises the body's immune system and increases the risk of adverse health outcomes. Therefore, **people should minimize their alcohol consumption any time, and particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic.**

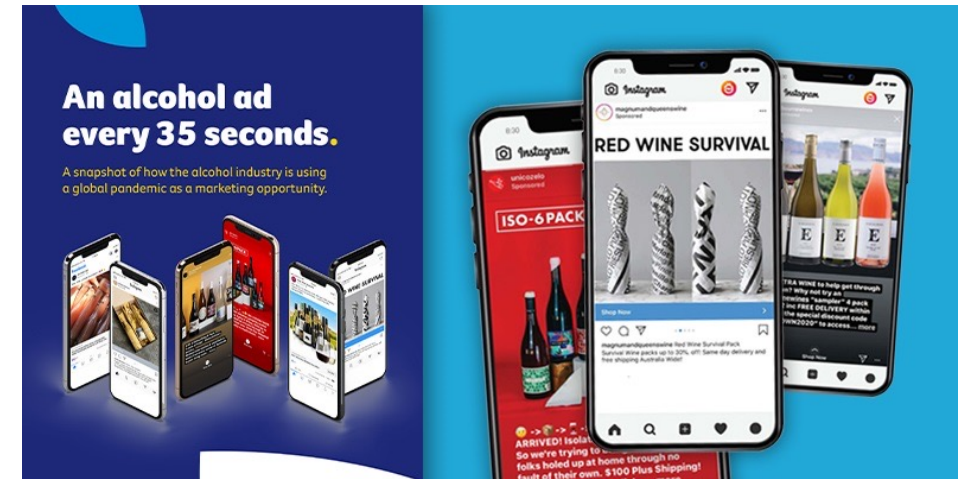


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Facebook and Instagram messages during COVID

In one hour on a single Friday night in Australia in April 2020, one alcohol ad every 35 seconds, saying:

- Get easy access to alcohol without leaving your home (58%),
- Save money (55%),
- Buy more (35%),
- Drink alcohol during the COVID-19 pandemic (24%),
- Use alcohol to cope, 'survive', or feel better (16%), and
- Choose 'healthier' alcohol products (14%).



Blaming the victims

It is a mistake to blame the 'product' for alcohol abuse. Individual drinkers are responsible for their behavior.

-Phillip Morris

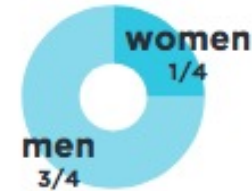
As long as the public continues to view ANY consumption of alcohol and ABUSIVE use of alcohol as two different subjects – a view the brewing industry has successfully encouraged – the majority of the anti-alcohol agenda will not be met with much success.

-Miller Brewing Company

Alcohol and health



3 **deaths**
6 deaths every minute
from harmful use of alcohol
every year
million



Harmful use of alcohol causes



100% of alcohol use disorders



18% of suicides



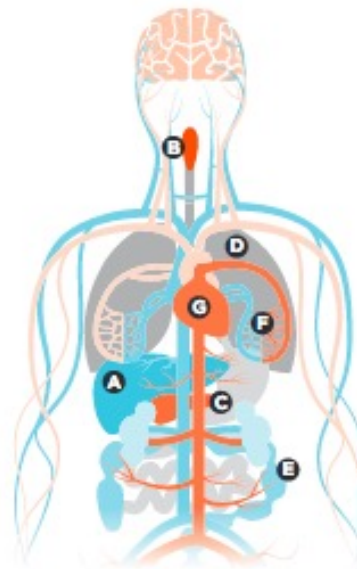
18% of interpersonal violence



27% of traffic injuries



13% of epilepsy



A **48%** of liver cirrhosis

B **26%** of mouth cancers

C **26%** of pancreatitis

D **20%** of tuberculosis

E **11%** of colorectal cancer

F **5%** of breast cancer

G **7%** of hypertensive heart disease

A person wearing a flat cap, glasses, and a face mask is examining a bottle of alcohol in a store. The background is filled with shelves of various liquor bottles. The entire image has a blue tint.

Alcohol use annually contributes to

104,000 deaths

\$249 billion

was spent on alcohol problems in 2010

ALCOHOL IN THE US

Alcohol is the most commonly used drug in the US.¹



Drinkers²



Binge drinkers²



Heavy drinkers²

4th

leading actual cause of death³



among working age adults are attributable to excessive drinking⁴

Alcohol contributes to more than

200 ICD-10 codes⁵



Alcohol Poisoning



Aspiration



Motor Vehicle Crashes



Fall Injuries



Fire Injuries



Hypothermia



Liver Cirrhosis



Breast Cancer



Suicide

1. Center for Behavioral Health Statistics and Quality. Results from the 2018 National Survey on Drug Use and Health: Detailed Tables. 2019. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. Rockville, MD.
2. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. BRFSS Prevalence and Trends Data. 2016. National Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, Division of Population Health. Atlanta, GA.
3. Mofield, AH, et al. Actual causes of death in the United States, 2000. *Jama*. 2006; 295(10): 1268-74.
4. Rehm, L., et al. Contribution of excessive alcohol consumption to deaths and years of potential life lost in the United States. *Preventing Chronic Disease*. 2018;15(1):E1.
5. World Health Organization. Alcohol and drug use and alcohol use disorders. *The Lancet*. 2018; 392(10160): 1020-1021.

Rising Alcohol-Related Harms

 **35%**

**Alcohol-specific death rate,
2000-2016**

 **47%**

**ER visits involving alcohol
consumption, 2006-2014**

 **37%**

**Age-adjusted death rate for alcoholic
liver disease, 2000-2017**

Spillane S, Shiels MS, Best AF, et al. Trends in alcohol-induced deaths in the United States, 2000-2016. *JAMA network open*. 2020;3(2):e1921451-e1921451.

White, A.M.; Slater, M.E.; Ng, G.; et al. Trends in alcohol-related emergency department visits in the United States: Results from the Nationwide Emergency Department Sample, 2006 to 2014. *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research* 42(2):352–359, 2018.

Yoon Y-H, Chen CM. Liver cirrhosis mortality in the United States: National, state, and regional Trends, 2000-2017. CSR, Incorporated. Accessed February 11, 2021.

Rising Alcohol-Related Harms during the Pandemic



AN INITIATIVE OF
the de Beaumont Foundation + Kaiser Permanente

↑ 25.5%

Deaths involving alcohol, 2019-2020 (99,017)

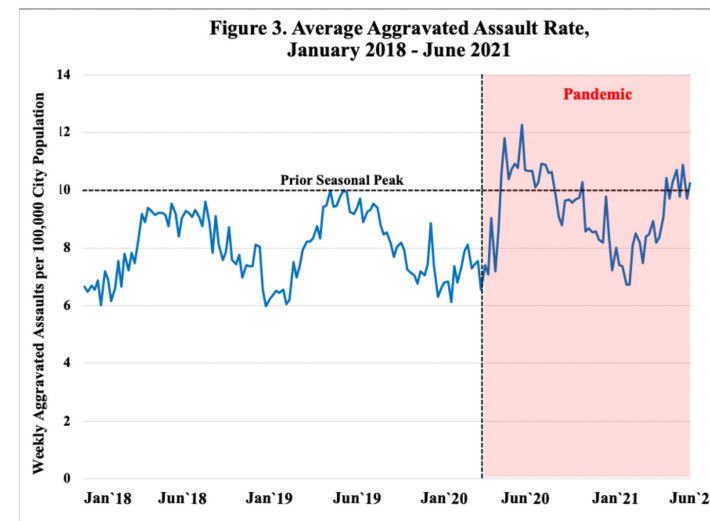
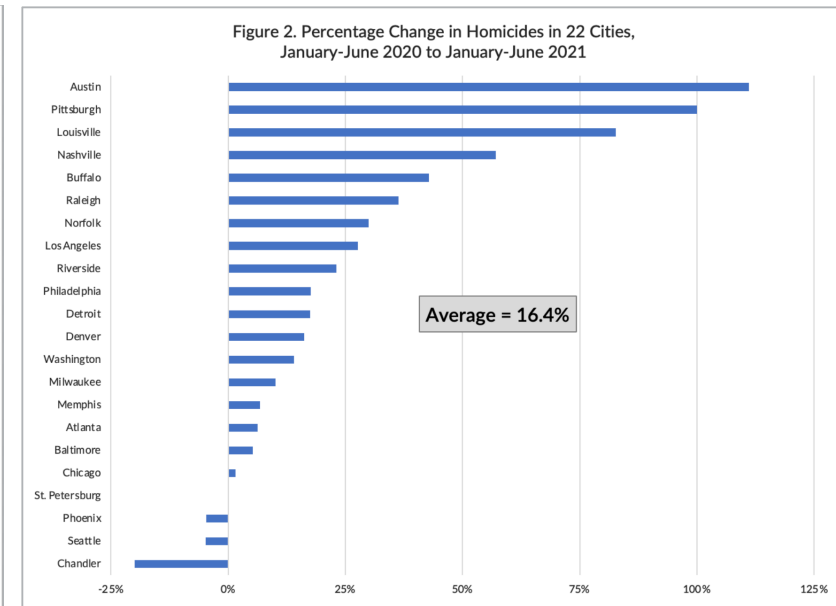
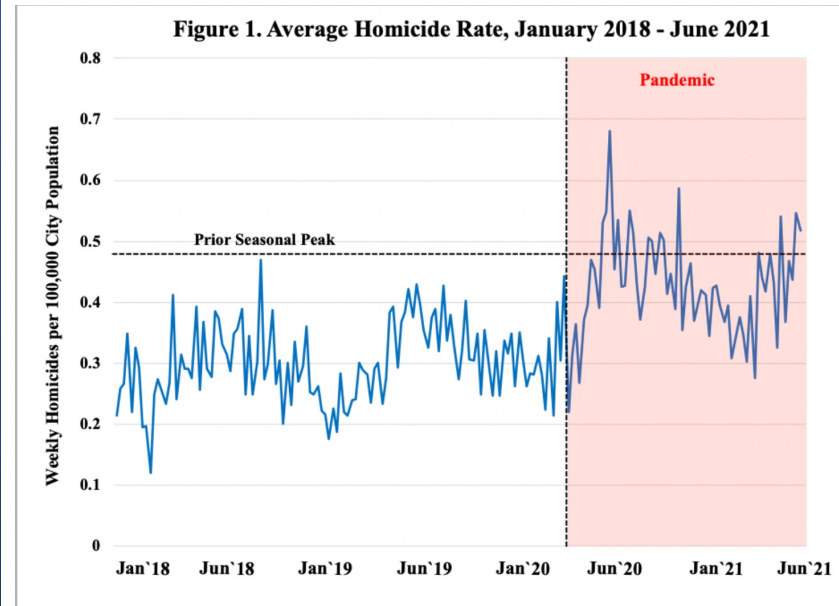
↑ 25.9%

Age-adjusted death rate from alcohol

↑ 39.7%

Largest increase of any age group: 35 to 44 year-olds

Alcohol and violent crime during the pandemic



No concomitant increase in robbery, burglary, larceny, drug offenses

What do we
know about
alcohol's role
in violence
today?

The relationship between alcohol and violence is *bidirectional*.

Alcohol consumption leads to
violence, and victims of violence are
more likely to drink alcohol.



Reiss, A.J., Jr., & Roth, J.A., eds. *Understanding and Preventing Violence*. Vol. 3. Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1994.

Boles, S. M., & Miotto, K. (2003). Substance abuse and violence: A review of the literature. *Aggression and violent behavior*, 8(2), 155-174.

Rehm, J., Mathers, C., Popova, S., Thavorncharoensap, M., Teerawattananon, Y., & Patra, J. (2009). Global burden of disease and injury and economic cost attributable to alcohol use and alcohol-use disorders. *The Lancet*, 373(9682), 2223-2233.

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE



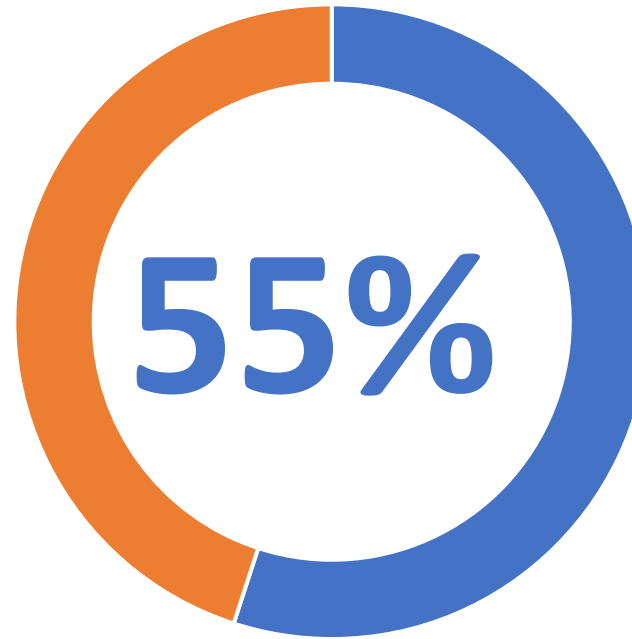
There is a clear association between alcohol use & intimate physical and sexual violence victimization for women.

Longitudinal studies show drinking patterns predict IPV for newlyweds, new parents, and young married couples (among others).



The association between alcohol and IPV has been demonstrated on every continent.

Alcohol use increases the occurrence & severity of IPV.



Victims of intimate partner violence who believe their partner had been drinking prior to a physical assault.

Leonard, KE., Quigley, BM. (1999) Drinking and marital aggression in newlyweds: An event-based analysis of drinking and the occurrence of husband marital aggression. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 60:537-545

Testa, M. Quigley, BM., Leonard, KE. (2003). Does alcohol make a difference? Within-participants comparison of incidents of partner violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 18:735-743

Brecklin, LR. (2002). The role of perpetrator alcohol use in the injury outcomes of intimate assaults. *Journal of Family Violence*, 17:185-197

Alcohol and crime: An analysis of national data on the prevalence of alcohol involvement in crime. Washington DC, United States Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998

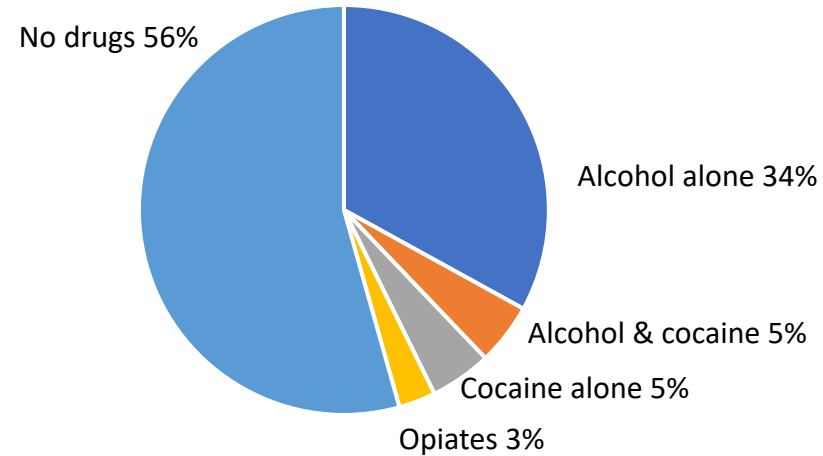
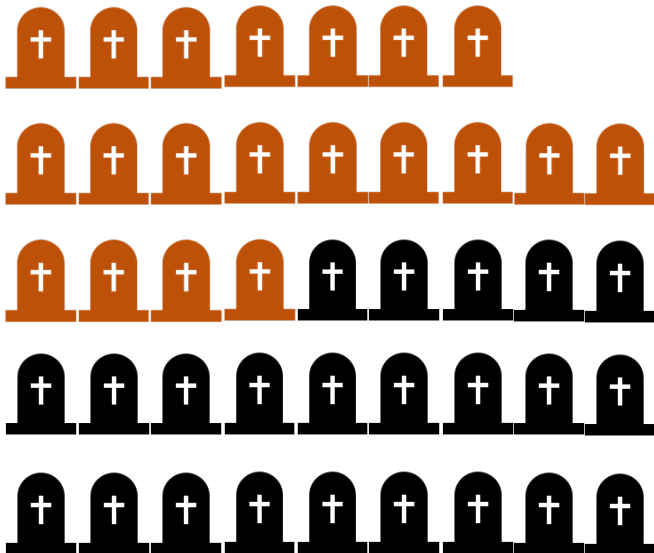
Leonard, KE & Quigley, BM. (2017). Thirty years of research show alcohol to be a cause of intimate partner violence: Future research needs to identify who to treat and how to treat them. *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 36(1):7-

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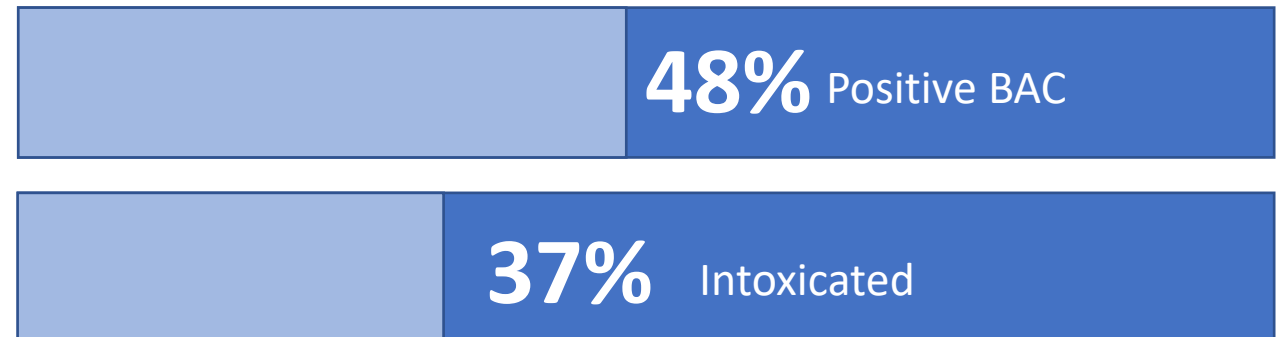
HOMICIDE PERPETRATION

Every day, there are 67 homicides

32 are assumed to be caused by alcohol.



Alcohol is the #1 drug used by homicide offenders.



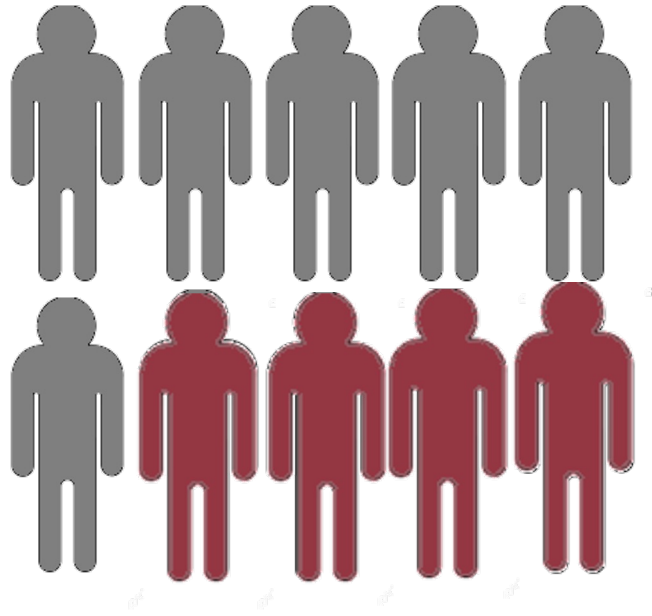
Darke, S. (2010). The Toxicology of Homicide Offenders and Victims: A review. *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 29(2):202-215.

Kuhns, J. B., Exum, M. L., Clodfelter, T. A., & Bottia, M. C. (2014). The Prevalence of Alcohol-Involved Homicide Offending: A Meta-Analytic Review. *Homicide Studies*, 18(3):251-270.

Centers for Disease Control (CDC). Alcohol and Public Health: Alcohol-Related Disease Impact (ARDI) Application, 2020. <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/fastats/homicide.htm>.

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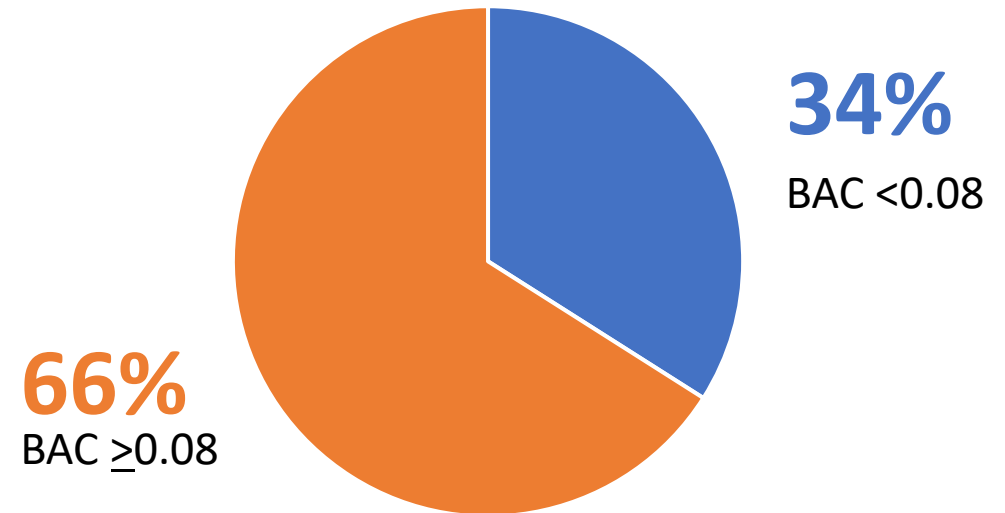
HOMICIDE VICTIMIZATION



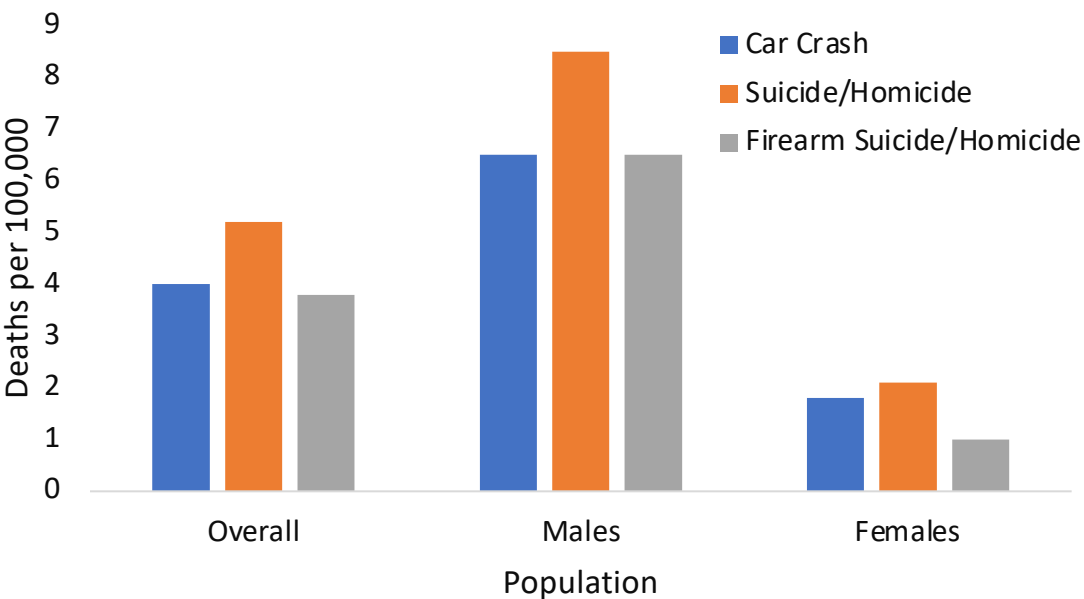
39.9%

of homicide victims had a positive BAC

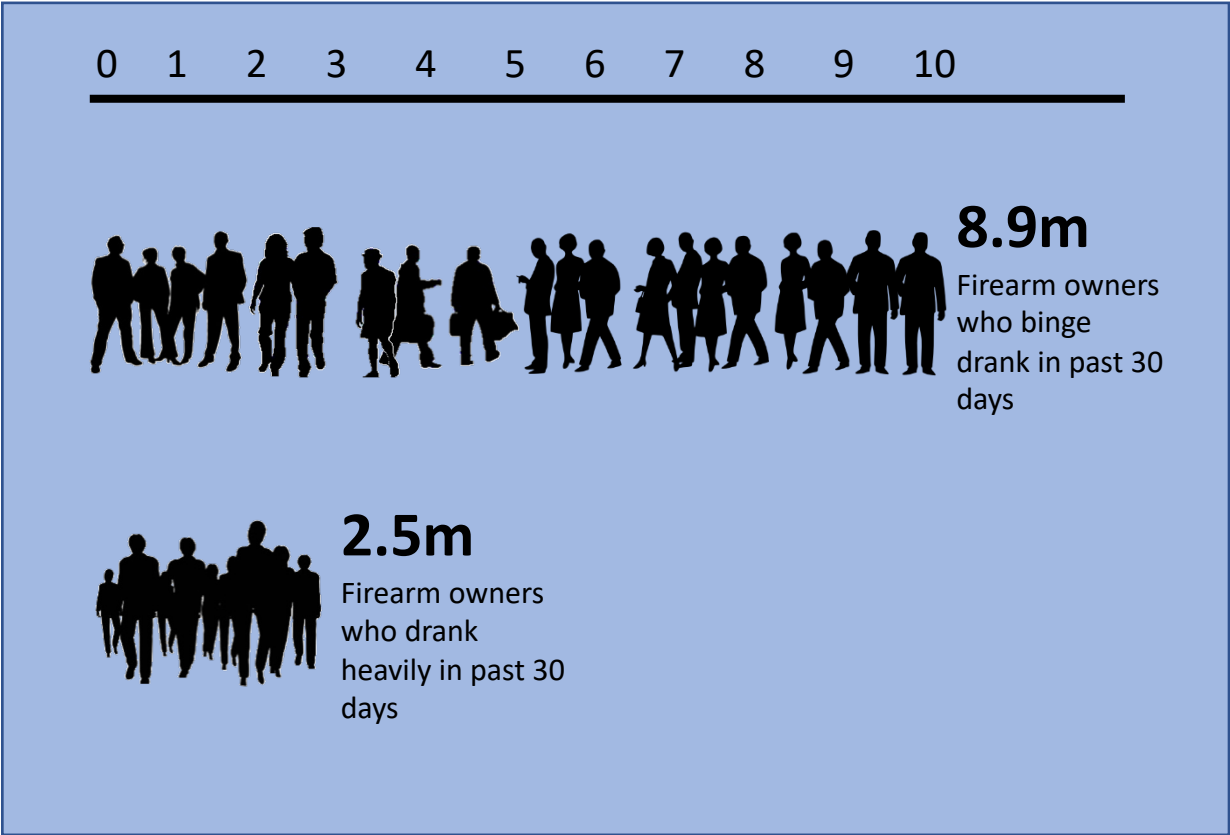
Among those with a positive BAC:



FIREARM VIOLENCE



Rates of alcohol-attributable violence exceed rates of alcohol-attributable motor vehicle crashes for both men and women.

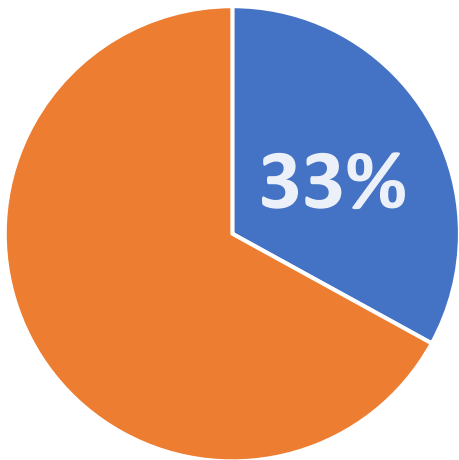


SUICIDE



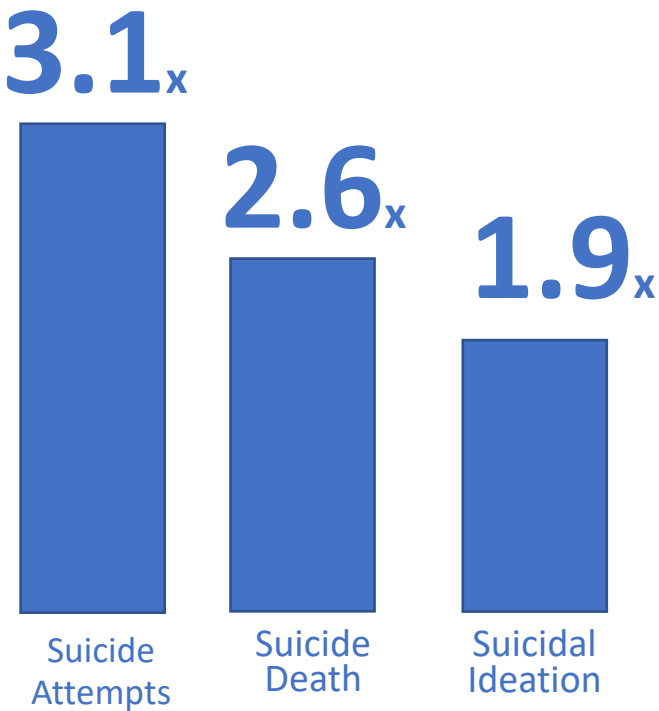
Of the 44,000 suicides in the US each year, 10,120 are attributable to alcohol use.

These suicides cost approximately \$21 billion annually.



One third of suicide victims test positive for alcohol use.

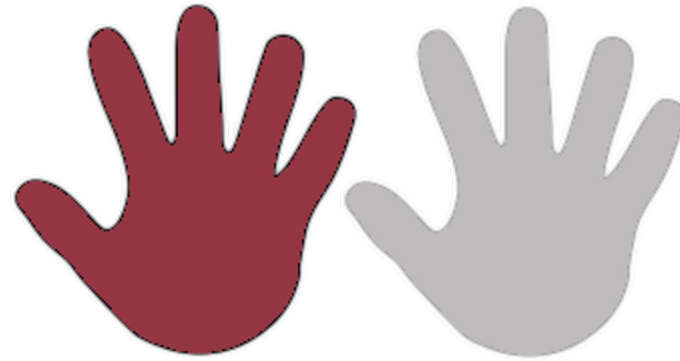
As compared to the general population, persons with alcohol use disorders have greater odds of:



Darvishi N, Farhadi M, Haghtalab T, Poorolajal J. Alcohol-related risk of suicidal ideation, suicide attempt, and completed suicide: A meta-analysis. *PLoS ONE*. 2015;10(5):e0126870.
Hayward L, Zubrick SR, Silburn S. Blood alcohol levels in suicide cases. *J Epidemiol Community Health*. 1992;46(3):256-260.
Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Injury prevention & control: Data & statistics (WISQARS). National Violent Death Reporting System Web site. <https://www.cdc.gov/injury/wisqars/nvdrs.html>. Updated 2016. Accessed 2/27, 2017.
Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. WISQARS years of potential life lost (YPLL) reports, 1999 - 2015. <https://webappa.cdc.gov/sasweb/ncipc/ypll10.html>. Updated 2015. Accessed 03/11, 2017.

SEXUAL ASSAULT PERPETRATION

Alcohol is the substance most frequently used to facilitate sexual assault.



1 in 2
sexual assaults
involve alcohol



Sexual assaults involving alcohol more often occur among individuals who know each other casually.

In 2001, 97,000 college students between the ages of 18 and 24 were sexually assaulted or date raped by another drinking college student.



Abbey A, Zawacki T, Buck PO, Clinton AM, McAuslan P. Alcohol and sexual assault. *Alcohol Res Health*. 2001;25(1):43-51.

Sexual assault was measured using the revised Sexual Experiences Survey. Kingree, J. B. and Thompson, M. (2015). A Comparison of Risk Factors for Alcohol-Involved and Alcohol-Uninvolved Sexual Aggression Perpetration. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 30(9):1478–1492.

US Department of Justice Office of Justice Programs. (2014). Rape and Sexual Assault Victimization among College-Age Females, 1995–2013. Accessed November 7, 2015 at: <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/rsavcaf9513.pdf>

Hingson, R. W., Zha, W., and Weitzman, E. R. (2009). Magnitude of and Trends in Alcohol-Related Mortality and Morbidity among U.S. College Students Ages 18-24, 1998-2005. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol Drugs*, 16:12-20.

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SEXUAL ASSAULT VICTIMIZATION

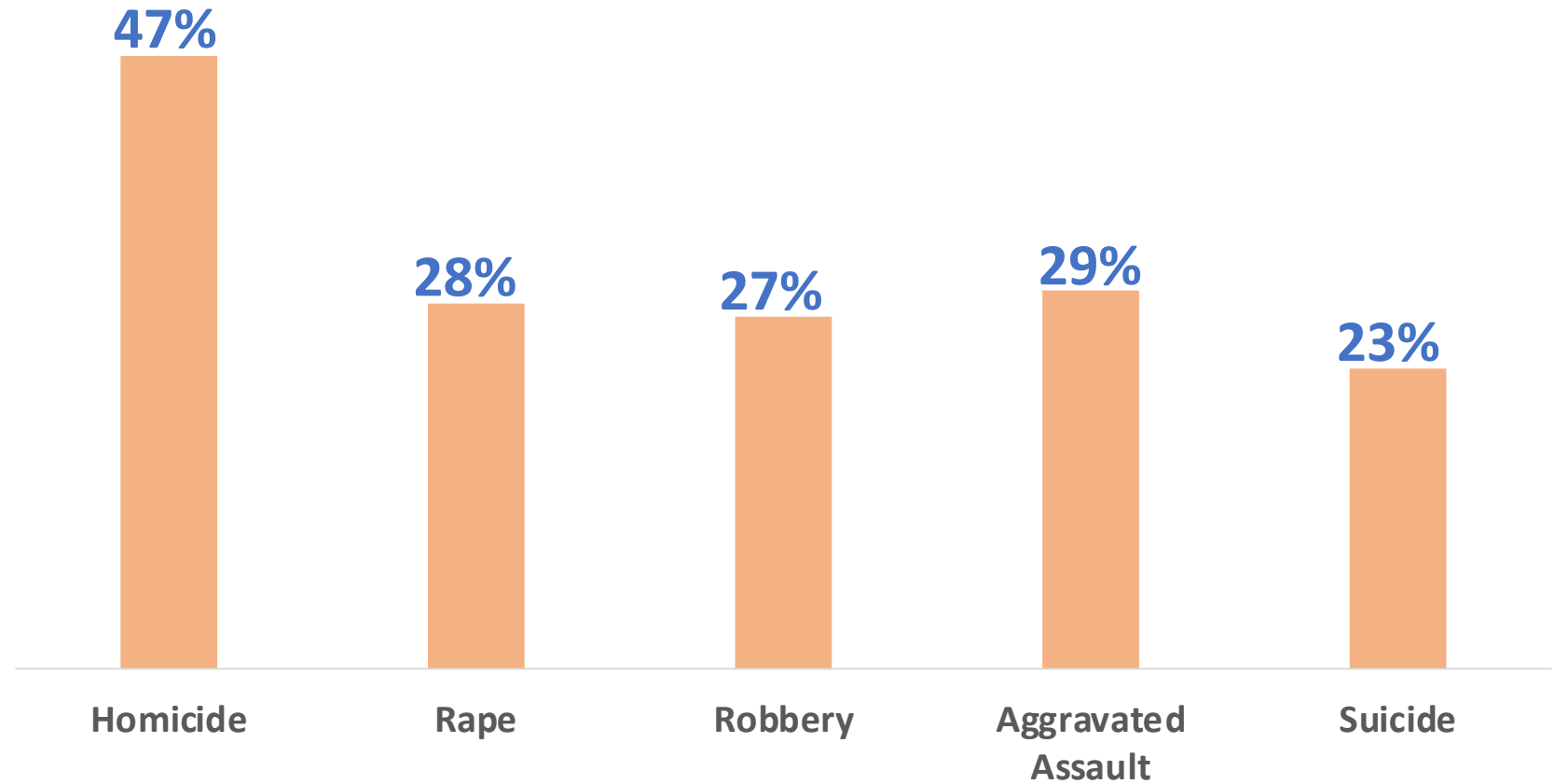
Women who drink six or more standard drinks per day are more likely to be victims of sexual assault.



Intoxication may make someone physically and/or mentally less able to resist an assault.

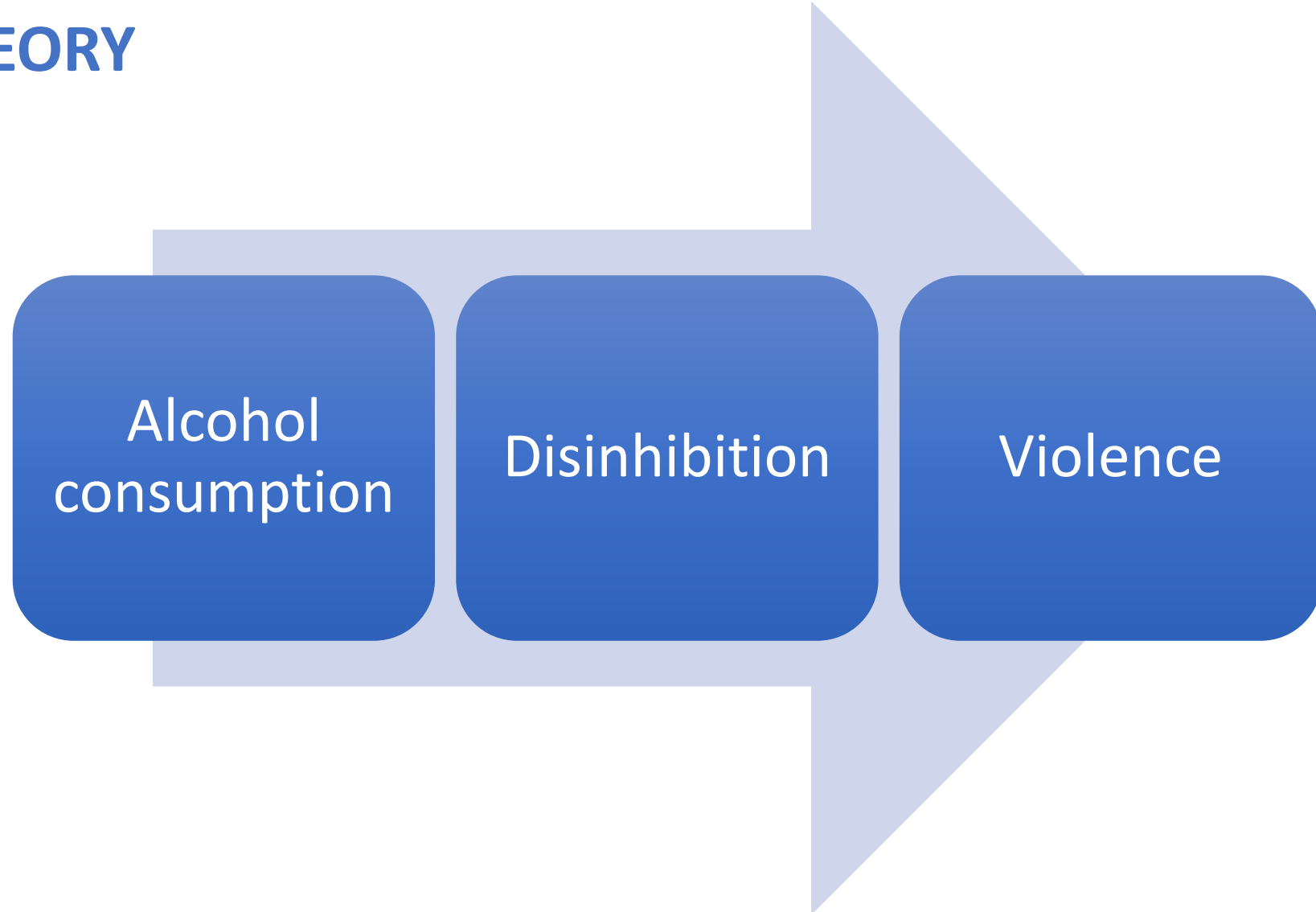
ALCOHOL-ATTRIBUTABLE FRACTIONS

Alcohol-attributable fractions (AAFs) are the proportion of outcomes that are causally attributable to alcohol.



Theories of Alcohol- Related Violence

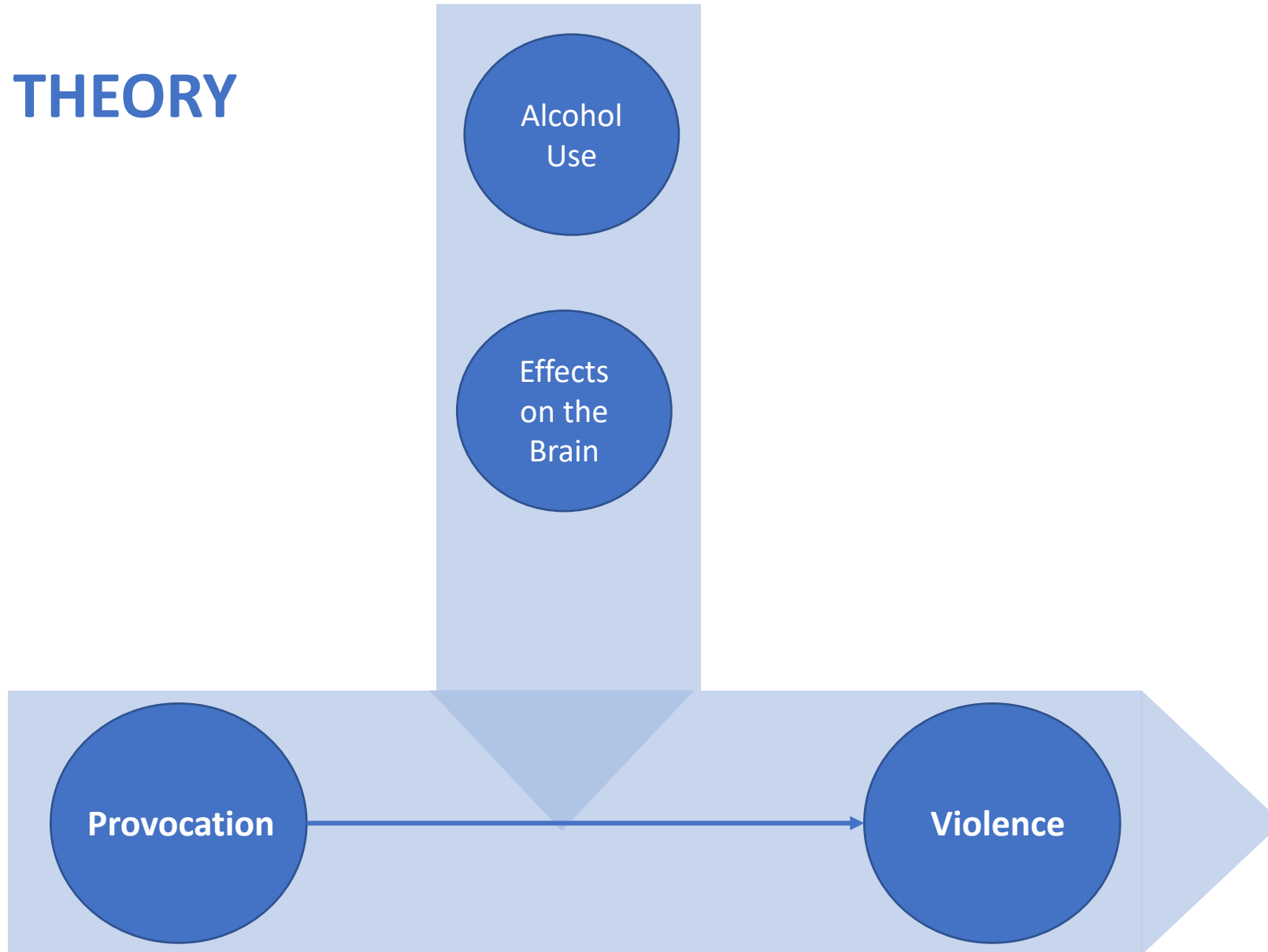
DIRECT THEORY



Oscar-Berman, M., & Marinković, K. (2007). Alcohol: effects on neurobehavioral functions and the brain. *Neuropsychology review*, 17(3), 239-257.
Lyvers, M. (2000). "Loss of control" in alcoholism and drug addiction: a neuroscientific interpretation. *Experimental and clinical psychopharmacology*, 8(2), 225.

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INDIRECT THEORY



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INDUSTRY ON ALCOHOL-VIOLENCE ASSOCIATION

“...too many domestic abusers use alcohol as an excuse not to change.”

“Alcohol does not cause the battery – any more than stress, illness, or being ‘out of control’ does. Domestic violence, they tell us, is a learned and chosen behaviour intended to control an intimate partner.”

-Philip Morris

IF NOTHING ELSE

The relationship between alcohol and violence is bidirectional.

Alcohol increases the risk of violence perpetration and victimization, and it increases the severity of violent episodes.

Alcohol is involved in 1/3 to 1/2 of violent crimes.

What do we
do?



A WORLD FREE FROM ALCOHOL-RELATED HARMS

SAFER

Strengthen
restrictions
on alcohol
availability

Advance &
enforce drink
driving
counter-
measures

Facilitate
access to
screening,
brief
interventions
& treatment

Enforce bans/
comprehensive
restrictions on
alcohol
advertising,
sponsorship &
promotion

Raise prices
on alcohol
through
excise taxes
& pricing
policies

SAFER
A WORLD FREE FROM ALCOHOL-RELATED HARMS



World Health
Organization

Violent crime increases when neighborhoods have a high density of places that sell or serve alcohol



Alcohol Outlet Density

OPEN

LIQUOR

What is Alcohol Outlet Density?

The *Community Guide* defines alcohol outlet density as:

- The number of physical locations in which alcoholic beverages are available for purchase either per area or per population.
- “Alcohol outlets” include all commercial businesses that sell and serve alcohol including on- and off-premise sales.

What is Alcohol Outlet Density?



Off- premise locations



On-premise locations

ALCOHOL OUTLET DENSITY: THE SCIENCE

The Community Preventive Services Task Force recommends limiting alcohol outlet density to reduce excessive drinking through the use of licensing or zoning processes.



EFFECTIVENESS:
Moderate effectiveness



BREADTH OF SUPPORT:
Enough studies for systematic reviews and meta-analyses



CROSS-NATIONAL TESTING:
Testing in several countries



COST TO SUSTAIN:
Low

Babor, T. et al. (2010). *Alcohol: No ordinary commodity research and public policy* (2nd ed). New York: Oxford University Press.

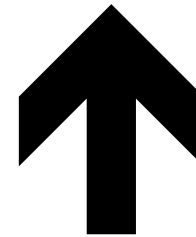
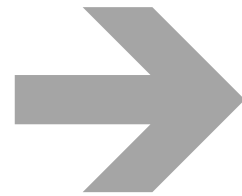
Campbell, Carla Alexia, Robert A. Hahn, Randy Elder, Robert Brewer, Sajal Chattopadhyay, Jonathan Fielding, Timothy S. Naimi et al. "The effectiveness of limiting alcohol outlet density as a means of reducing excessive alcohol consumption and alcohol-related harms." *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 37, no. 6 (2009): 556-569

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When the # of alcohol outlets increases...

So do the problems:

- violence/crime¹
- sexually transmitted infections²
- noise³
- injuries⁴
- property damage⁵



Sources: 1. Speer et al. 1998; 2. Scribner et al. 1998; 3. Livingston et al. 2007; 4. Holder et al. 2000; 5. Donnelly et al. 2006.

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City-specific Findings

- Philadelphia: increased risk of being shot in an assault in an area of high alcohol outlet availability¹⁰
- New Orleans: 10% rise in density □ 5.8% rise in gonorrhea rates¹¹
- California: # off-premise outlets associated with rates of child abuse, # bars associated with rates of child neglect¹²
 - Sacramento: each additional off-premise outlet associated with 4% increase in IPV-related police calls, and 3% increase in IPV-related crime reports¹³
- Minneapolis, MN: neighborhoods with highest density also have highest density of criminal violence¹⁴
- Washington, DC: # alcohol outlets in a census tract related to robbery, assault, and sexual offense¹⁵
 - Assaultive violence increases 4% for each additional outlet
- Baltimore: Every additional outlet per census tract associated with 2.2% increase in violent crime (Jennings et al.)

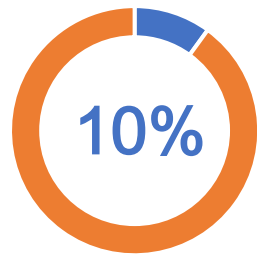


Alcohol outlet density and underage drinking

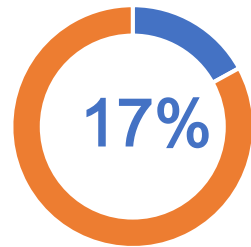
- Paschall et al. (2012- 50 California cities)
 - Adolescent alcohol use and heavy drinking appear to be influenced by enforcement of underage drinking laws, alcohol outlet density, and adult alcohol use.
- Chen et al. (2009 - California)
 - Zip code alcohol outlet density significantly and positively related to likelihood and frequency of getting alcohol
- Treno et al. (2003 – Oregon)
 - Alcohol outlet density associated with both youth drinking and driving and riding with drinking drivers, especially for . younger and female respondents
- Other studies in university neighborhoods, New Zealand, Switzerland.

ALCOHOL AVAILABILITY & UNDERAGE YOUTH

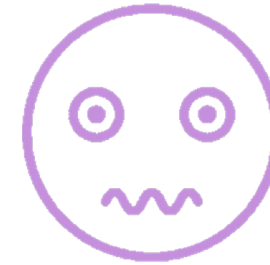
A 10% increase in alcohol outlet density is associated with a 17% increase in odds of adolescent alcohol consumption.



outlet
density



adolescent
alcohol
use

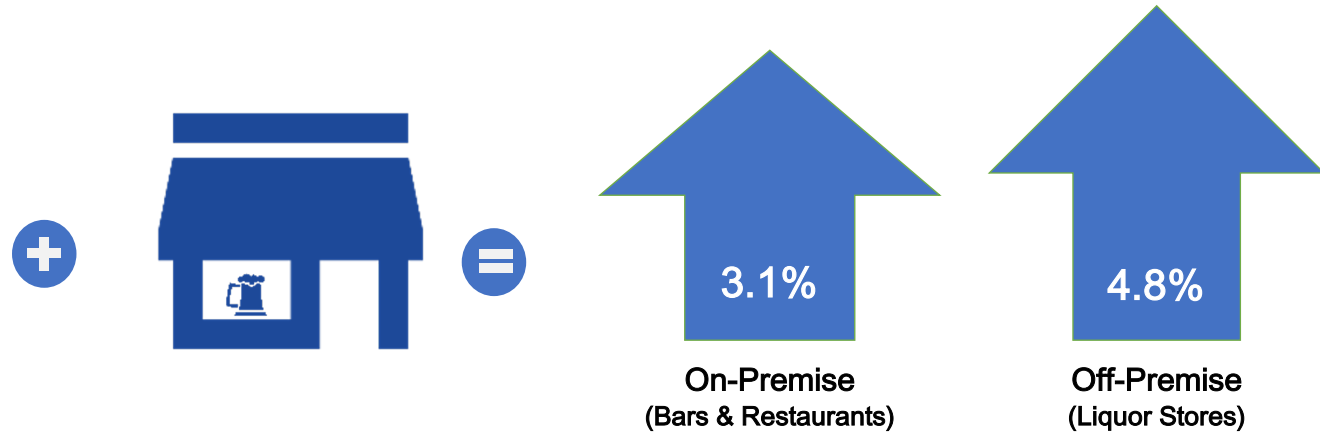


Children with an alcohol outlet on their walk to school are 2x more likely to report feeling unsafe in their neighborhood.

CROWDING LEADS TO VIOLENCE

Greater alcohol outlet density has been repeatedly shown to be associated with increased violence.

In Baltimore City as of 2010, each additional alcohol outlet in a census tract is associated with increases in violent crime:



Jennings, J.M., Milam, A.J., Greiner, A., Furr-Holden, C.D., Curriero, F.C., & Thornton, R.J. 2014. Neighborhood alcohol outlets and the association with violent crime in one Mid-Atlantic city: The implications for zoning policy. *Journal of Urban Health*, 91, (1) 62-71

Parker, R.N., Williams, K.R., McCaffree, K.J., Acensio, E.K., Browne, A., Strom, K.J., & Barrick, K. 2011. Alcohol availability and youth homicide in the 91 largest US cities, 1984-2006. *Drug and alcohol review*, 30, (5) 505-514

Pridemore, W.A. & Grubestic, T.H. 2011. Alcohol Outlets and Community Levels of Interpersonal Violence: Spatial Density, Outlet Type, and Seriousness of Assault. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 0022427810397952

Cameron, M. P., Cochrane, W., Gordon, C., & Livingston, M. (2016). Alcohol outlet density and violence: A geographically weighted regression approach. *Drug Alcohol Rev*, 35(3), 280-288. doi:10.1111/dar.12295

Grubestic, T., & Pridemore, W. (2011). Alcohol outlets and clusters of violence. *International journal of health geographics*, 10(30).

Iritani, B. J., Waller, M. W., Halpern, C. T., Moracco, K. E., Christ, S. L., & Flewelling, R. L. (2013). Alcohol outlet density and young women's perpetration of violence toward male intimate partners. *Journal of Family Violence*, 28(5), 459-470. doi:10.1007/s10896-013-9516-y

Liang, W., & Chikritzhs, T. (2011). Revealing the link between licensed outlets and violence: counting venues versus measuring alcohol availability. *Drug Alcohol Rev*, 30(5), 524-535. doi:10.1111/j.1465-3362.2010.00281.x

Pridemore, W., & Grubestic, T. (2013). Alcohol outlets and community levels of interpersonal violence: spatial density, outlet type, and seriousness of assault. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 50(1), 132-159.

Snowden, A., & Pridemore, W. (2013). Alcohol and violence in a nonmetropolitan college town: Alcohol outlet density, outlet type, and assault. *Journal of Drug Issues*, 43(3), 357-373.

Zhang, X., Hatcher, B., Clarkson, L., Holt, J., Bagchi, S., Kanny, D., & Brewer, R. D. (2015). Changes in density of on-premises alcohol outlets and impact on violent crime, Atlanta, Georgia, 1997-2007. *Prev Chronic Dis*, 12, E84. doi:10.5888/pcd12.140317

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BUSINESS PRACTICES

The following business practices are associated with increased violence:



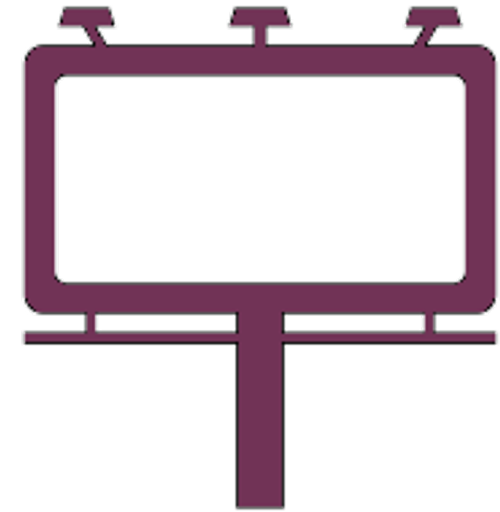
Operating Hours

(each 1 hr increase is associated with increased assaults)



Single Serves

(More shelf space devoted to single serving containers associated with violence)



Advertising

(Associated with sexual violence)

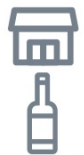
Schofield, T.P. & Denson, T.F. (2013). Alcohol Outlet Business Hours and Violent Crime in New York State. *Alcohol and Alcoholism*, 48(3):363-369. Accessed November 22, 2015 at: <http://alcalc.oxfordjournals.org/content/48/3/363.full>

Parker, R. N., McCaffree, K. J., & Skiles, D. (2011). The Impact of Retail Practices on Violence: The Case of Single Serve Alcohol Beverage Containers. *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 30:496-504.

Parker, R. N., McCaffree, K. J., Alaniz, M. L., & Cartmill, R. J. Sexual Violence, Alcohol, and Advertising. In: Parker R, McCaffree K, editors. *Alcohol and Violence: The Nature of the Relationship and the Promise of Prevention*. Lexington Books; 2013. 13-30.

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CASE STUDY: Atlanta



Total alcohol outlets: 1,015

Off-premises outlets: 500

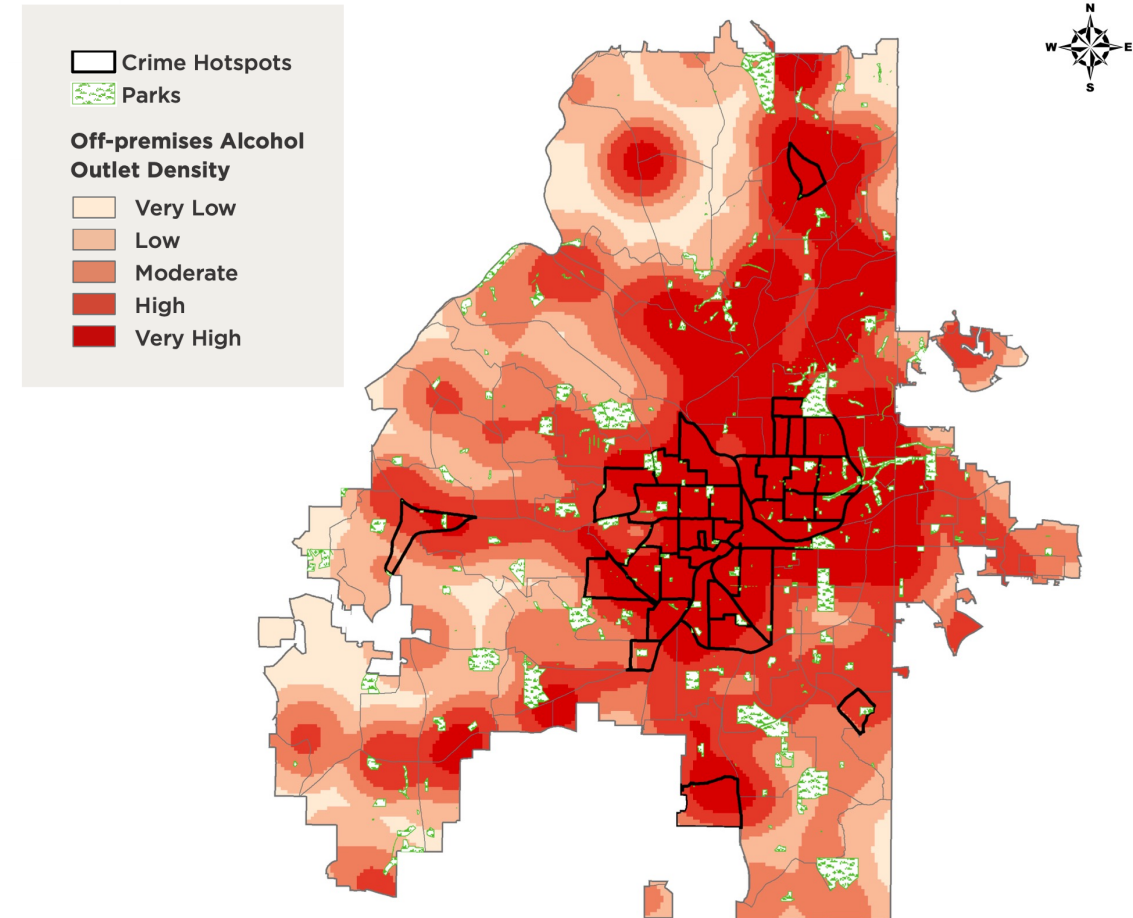
- 1 outlet per 996 people
- 15x more off-premises alcohol retailers than public libraries
- 26x more off-premises alcohol retailers than public high schools



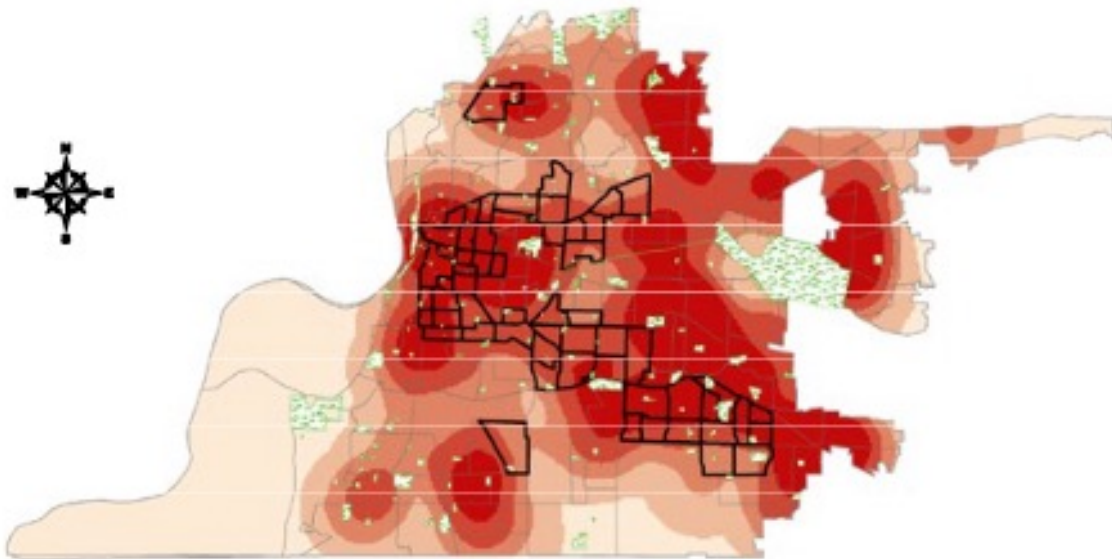
Estimated total alcohol-related violent crimes per 1000 people from 2016-2018: 14.59





Local licensing authority: Joint local/state licensing and regulatory powers








CASE STUDY: Memphis



 Crime Hotspots
 Parks

**Off-premises Alcohol
Outlet Density**

 Very Low
 Low
 Moderate
 High
 Very High



Total alcohol outlets: 1,085

Off-premises outlets: 456

- 1 outlet per 4,819 people
- 25x more off-premise alcohol retailers than public libraries
- 15x more off-premise alcohol retailers than public high schools



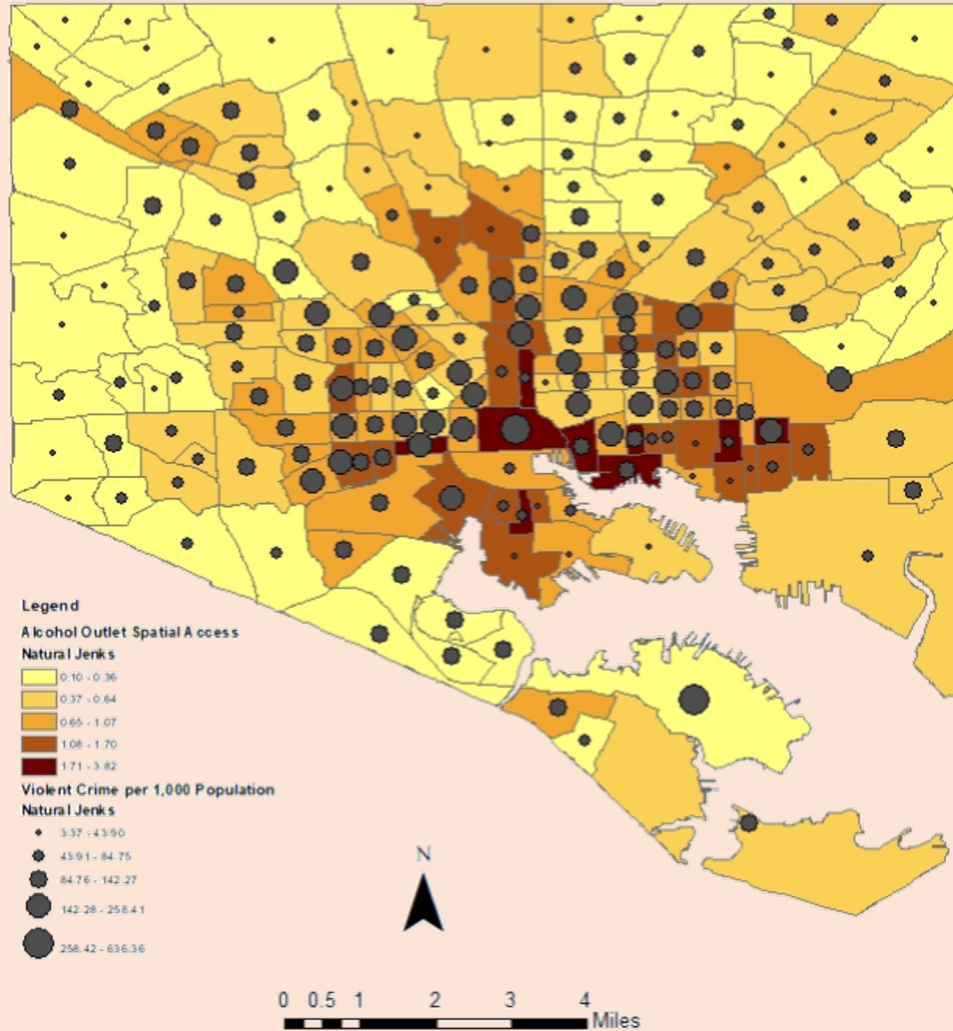
**Estimated total alcohol-related violent crimes
per 1000 people from 2016–2018: 25.87**



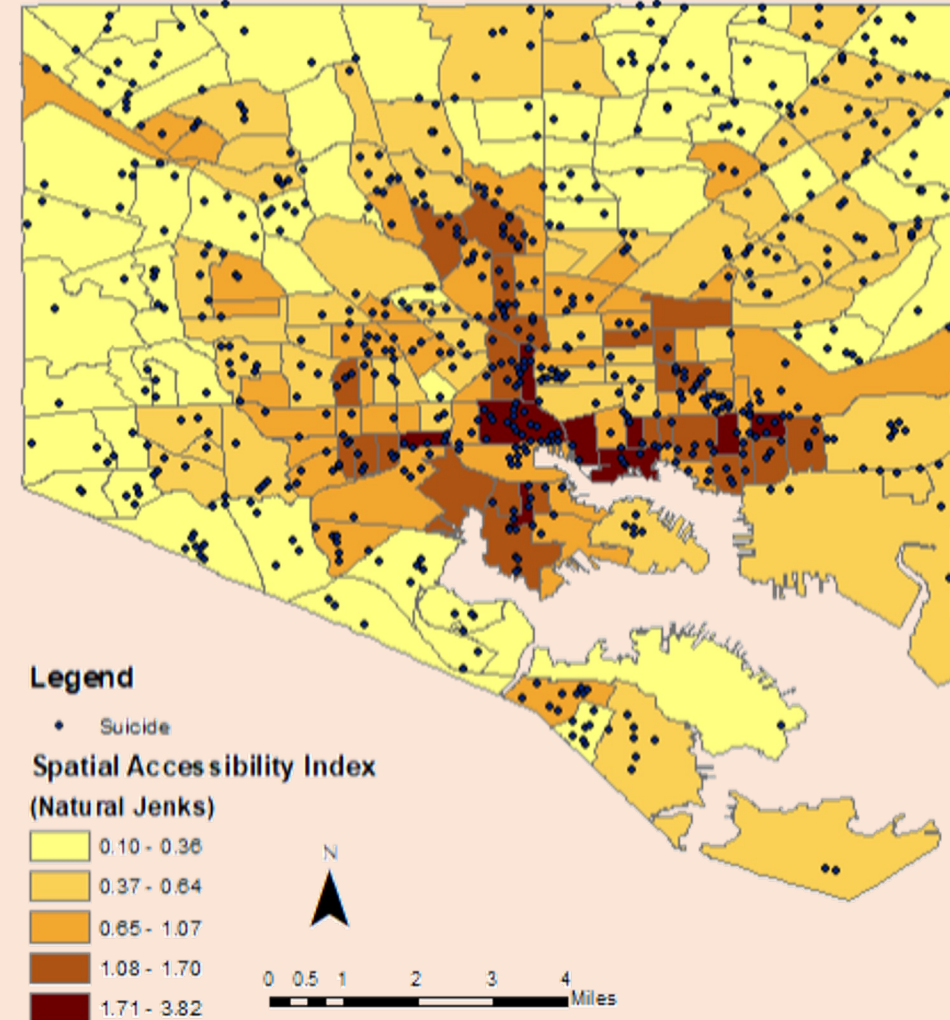
Local licensing authority: Mixed

**Rape data not available*

Alcohol Spatial Accessibility Indices and Violent Crime Rate, Baltimore 2016

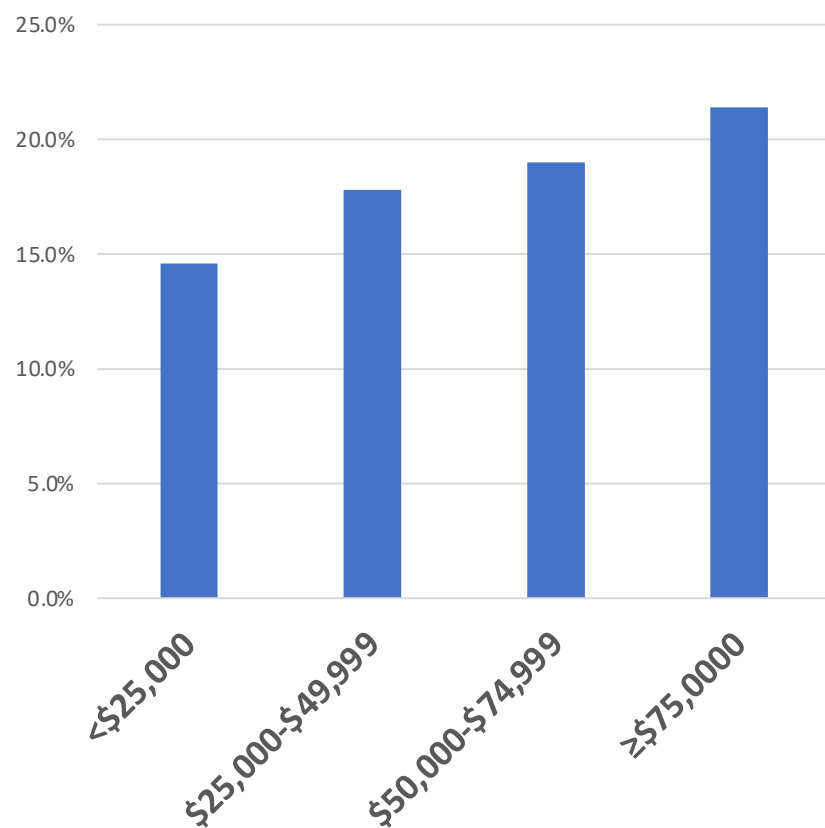


Alcohol Outlet Spatial Availability & Suicide Baltimore City, 2003-2017

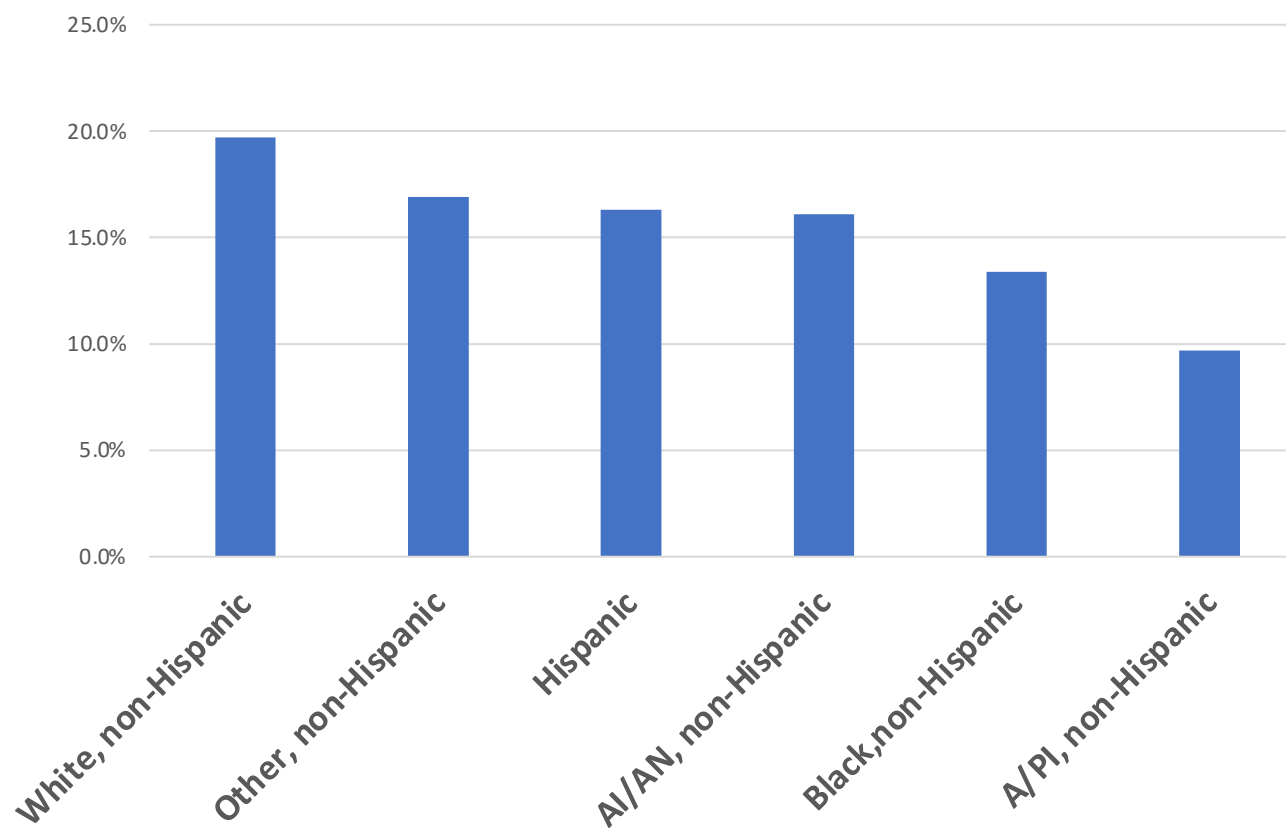


Disparities in Drinking, USA, 2018

Binge Drinking by Income, USA, 2018



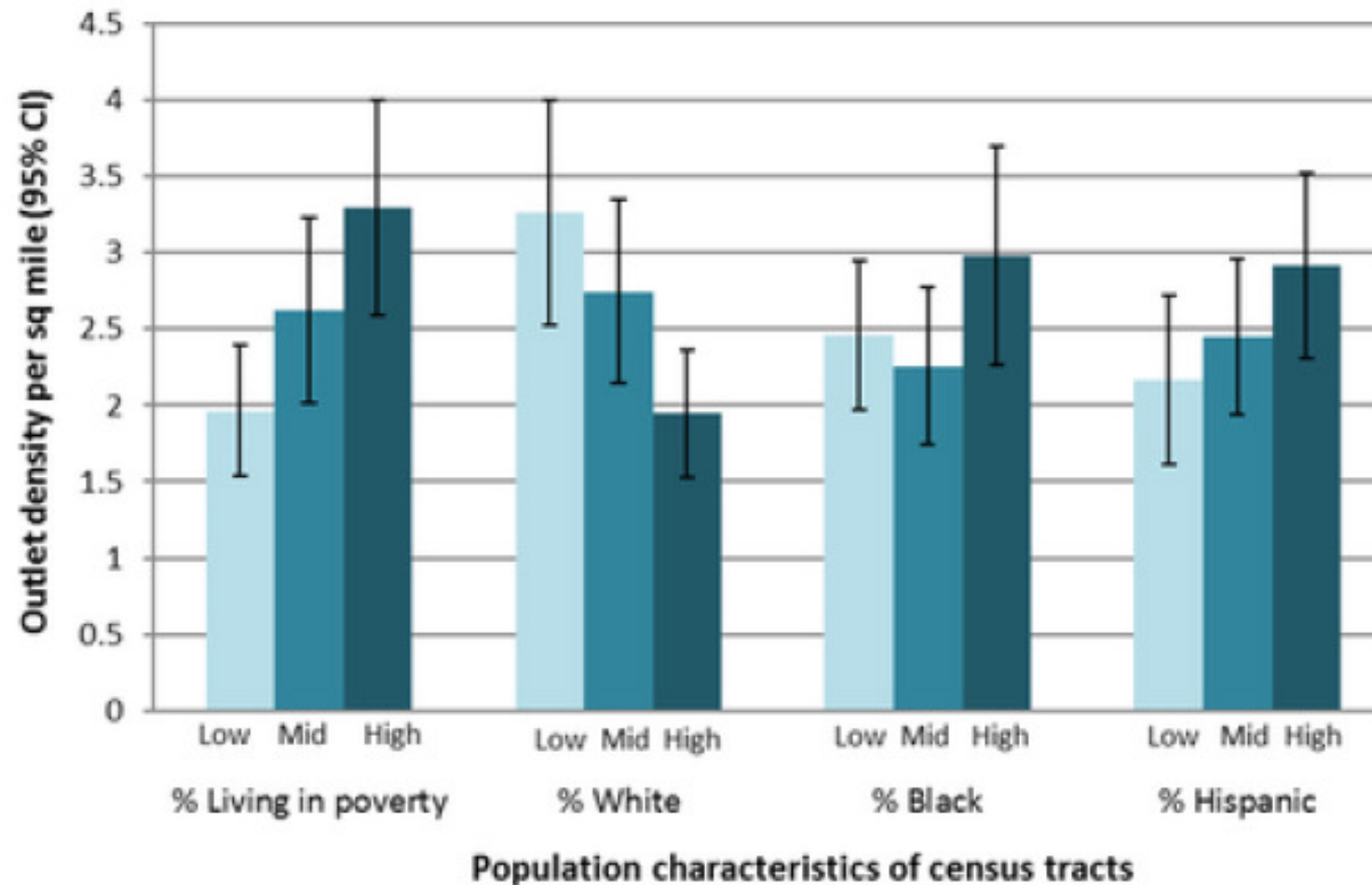
Binge Drinking by Race/Ethnicity, USA, 2018



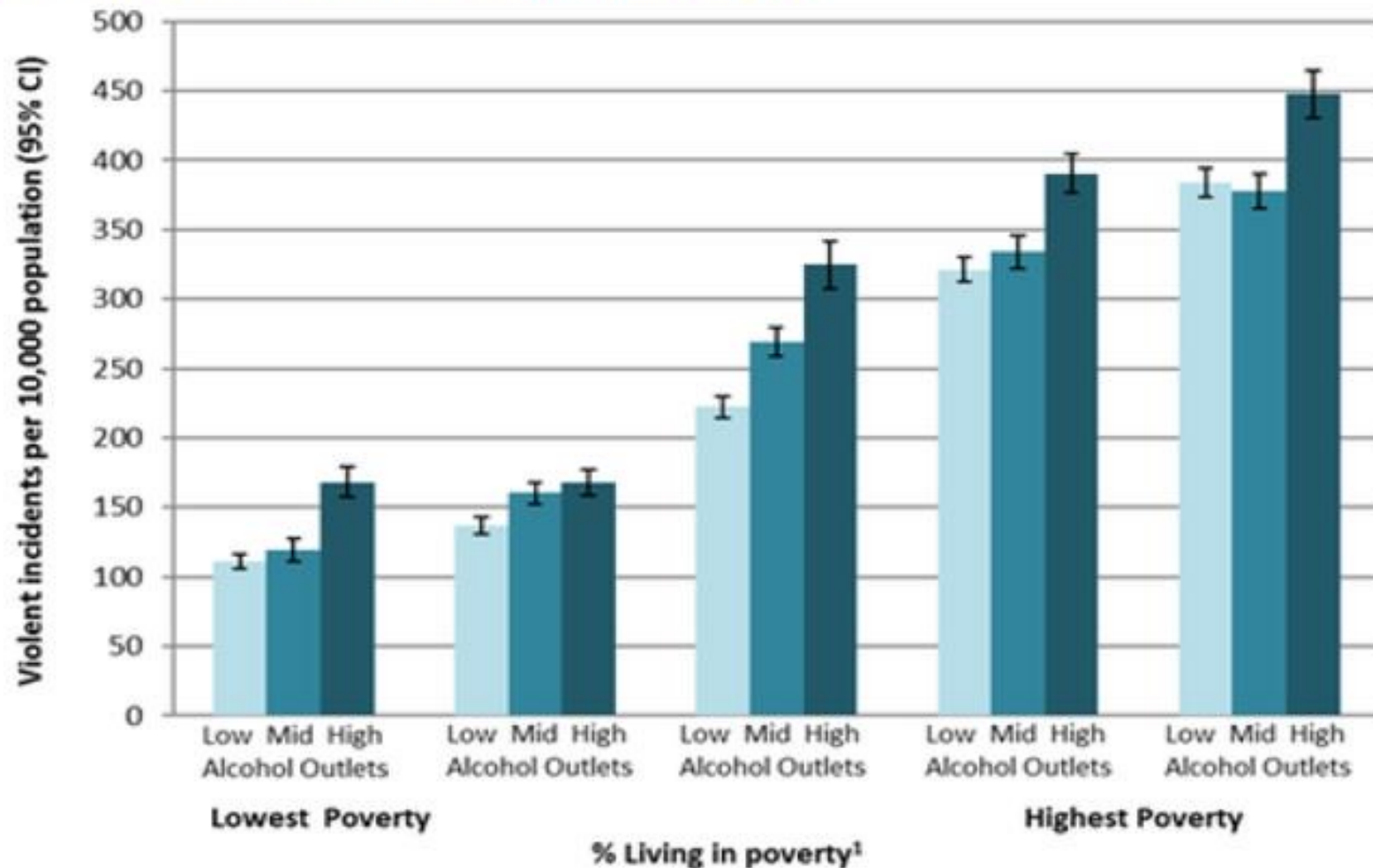
Alcohol and African- Americans

- African-Americans are less likely to drink and binge drink than the general population;
- However, those who do binge do so often (4.7 times per month) and with high intensity (6.8 drinks per occasion)
- African-Americans report higher levels of alcohol-related consequences:
 - Greater relationship, employment, financial, and legal problems
 - High prevalence of alcohol-related diseases, including heart disease and hypertension
- Bottom line: African Americans drink less, but if they drink, they suffer greater consequences

Density of off-premise alcohol outlets per square mile, by census tract population characteristics, Philadelphia, 2015



Violent incidents per 10,000 population, by tertile of census tract off-premise alcohol outlet density per square mile, and quintile of percentage of residents living in poverty



SAN ANTONIO

Zipcode 78255

Median income: \$125,550

Households below the poverty line: 6.5%

African American: 4%

Caucasian: 49%

Hispanic: 39%

Alcohol-related violent crime rate:
1.03 per 1000 people

Life expectancy: 83.9

0.32 Off-premise outlets
per 1000 people

**Zip code 78202 has over 4 TIMES as many
off-premise alcohol outlets per 1000
residents as Zip code 78255**

Zipcode 78202

Median income: \$25,300

Households below the poverty line: 41.1%

African American: 27%

Caucasian: 10%

Hispanic: 62%

Alcohol-related violent crime rate:
47 per 1000 people

Life expectancy: 71.2

1.42 Off-premise outlets per
1000 people

*Neighborhood demographics were obtained from Community Information Now. Available at <https://viz.cinow.info/>. Life expectancy estimates were obtained from "Life Expectancy at Birth in Communities Across Texas: 2005-2014". Available at <https://www.texashealthmaps.com/Life-expectancy-in-Texas-2005-2014.pdf>

Roland Park

Median income: \$104,482

Households below the poverty line: 4.9%

African American: 6.9%

Caucasian: 82.6%

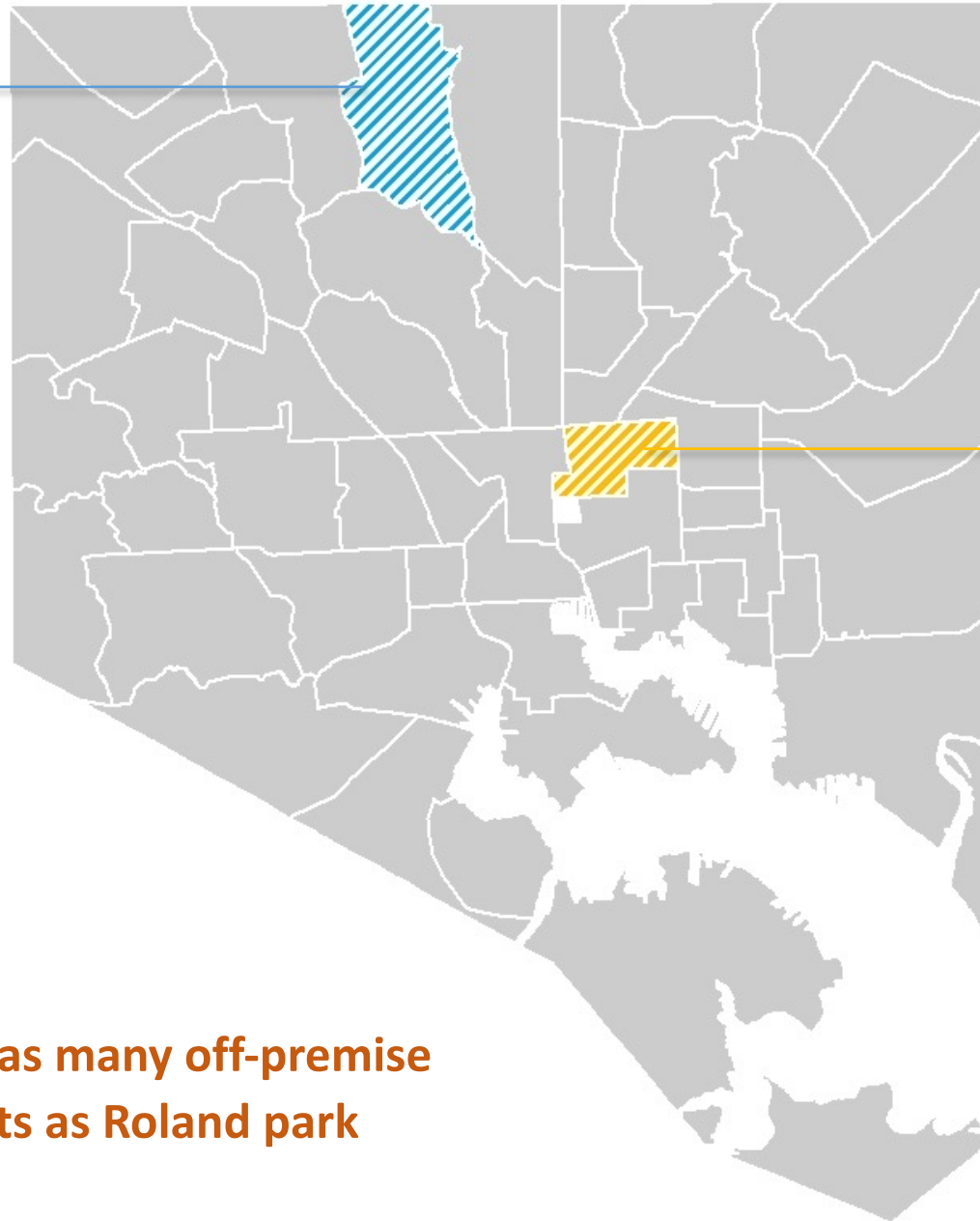
Hispanic: 2.9%

Alcohol-related violent crime rate:
5.5 per 1000 people

Life expectancy: 83.9

0.26 Off-premise outlets
per 1000 people

Greenmount East has 7 TIMES as many off-premise alcohol outlets per 1000 residents as Roland park



Greenmount East

Median income: \$23,277

Households below the poverty line: 33.8%

African American: 96.6%

Caucasian: 2.9%

Hispanic: 1.9%

Alcohol-related violent crime rate:
47 per 1000 people

Life expectancy: 67.9

1.82 Off-premise outlets per
1000 people

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Redlining & Equity Implications

Alcohol outlets are more likely to be located in **low-income communities** and **communities of color**

CASE STUDY: BALTIMORE

Roland Park

82% White

Median Income: \$104k

2.7 liquor stores/10,000 people

Greenmount East

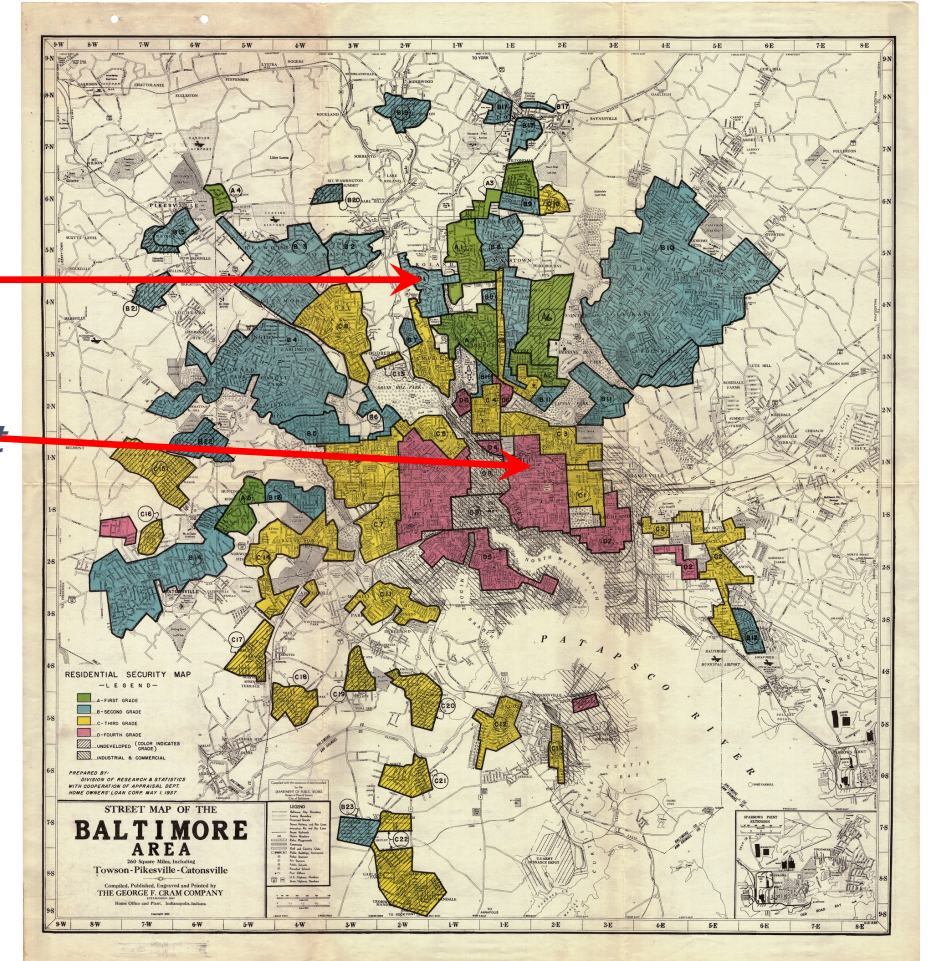
97% Black

Median Income: \$23k

7.3 liquor stores/10,000 people

Roland Park

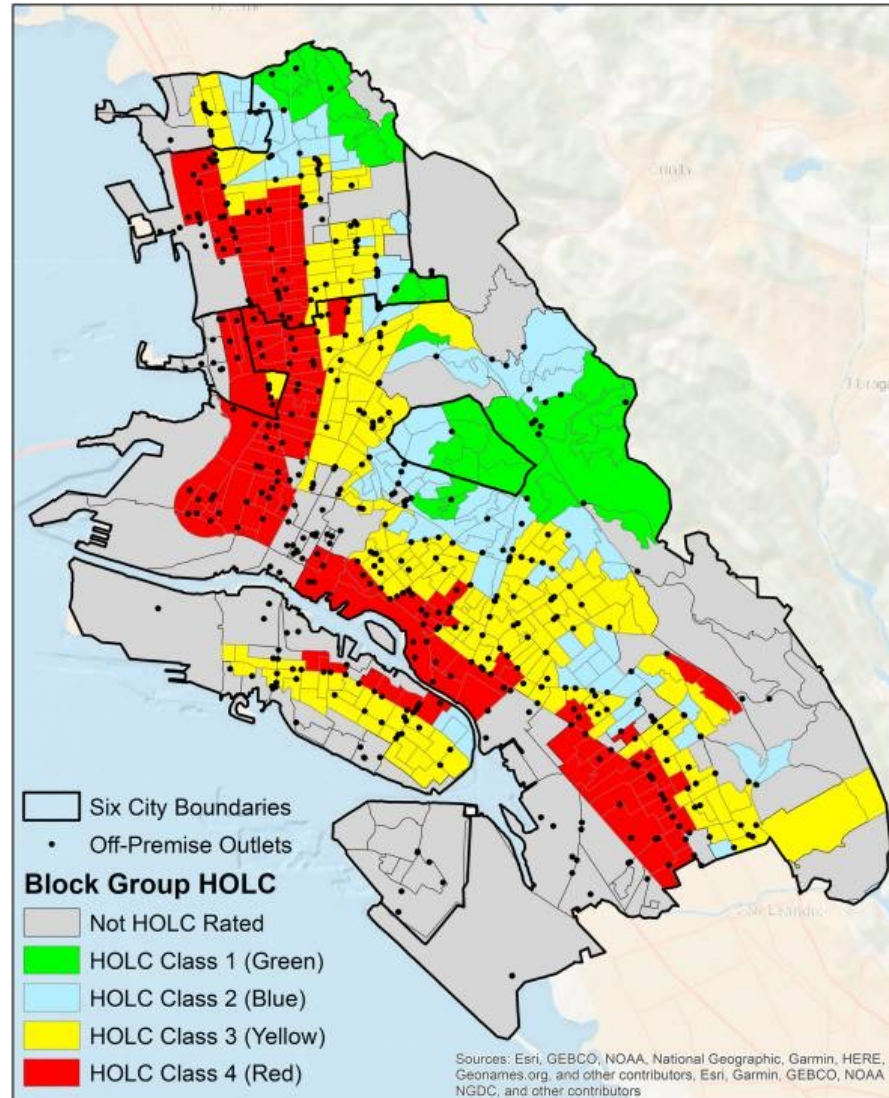
Greenmount East



Map of Baltimore, MD (Home Owners' Loan Corporation, 1937)

REDLINING AND ALCOHOL OUTLETS

OAKLAND, CA



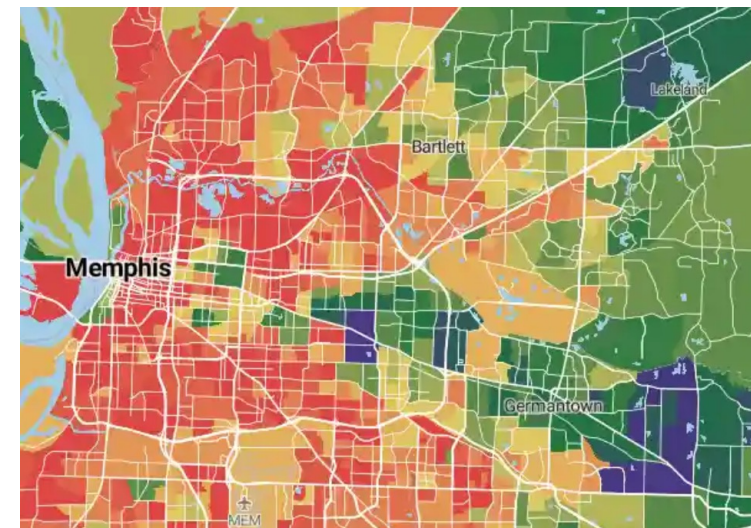
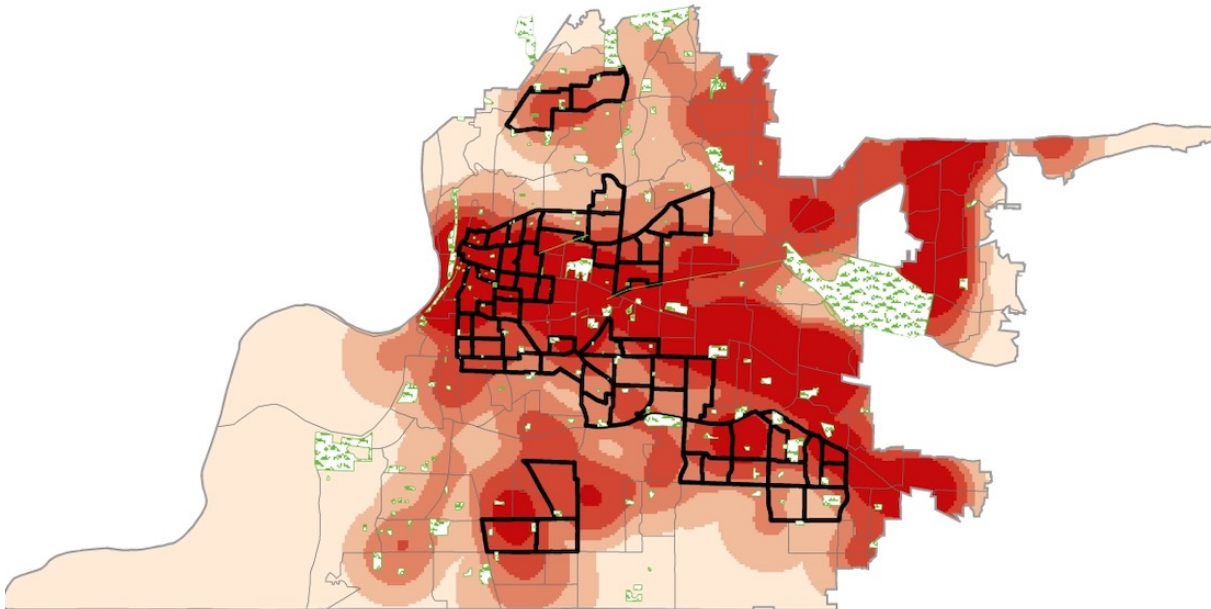
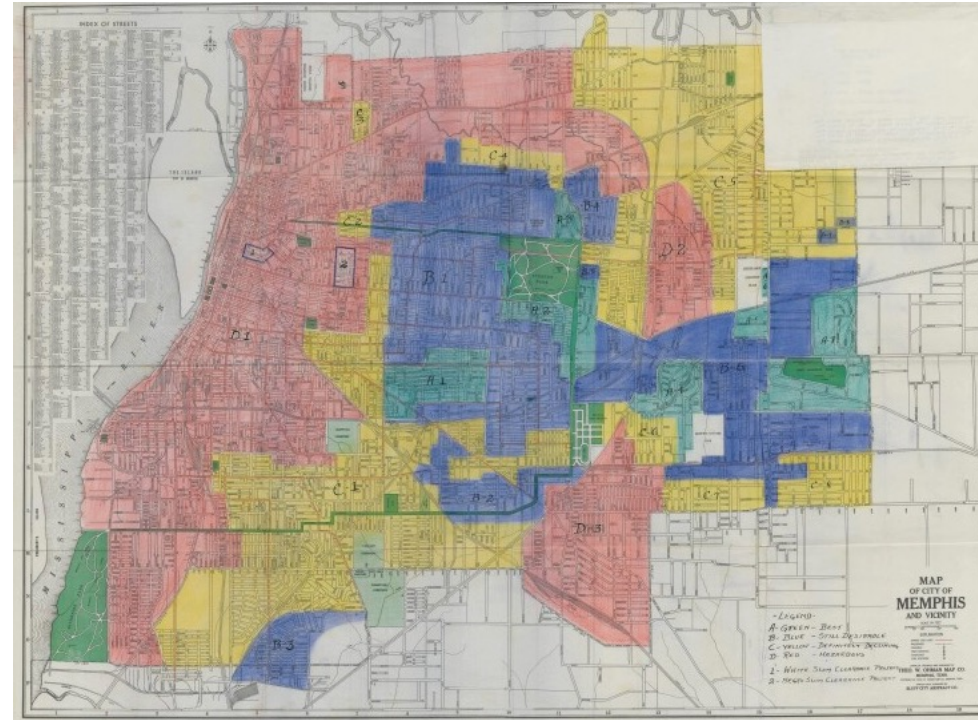
“Present day risks for exposure to retail alcohol availability were delimited by historic exclusionary land use practices. Current inequitable health risks may be founded on racist spatial projects of past decades.”

Source: Lee et al. What explains the concentration of off-premise alcohol outlets in Black neighborhoods? *SSM-Population Health* 12:100669, 2020.

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Redlining in Memphis 1940

- A: Desirable for lending purposes
- B: Still Desirable
- C: Declining
- D: Least Desirable



Household Income Key



Source: www.bestneighborhood.org

Outlets and disparities in Memphis today

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The Policy Solution: Safer Alcohol Sales



What Cities Can Do

Three ways cities can address problem alcohol outlets:

Licensing authority – available to cities in some by not all states

Planning/zoning – far more available and generally within city control

Nuisance powers – applies to more than alcohol outlets, but gives cities powers to regulate nuisance activities within their borders

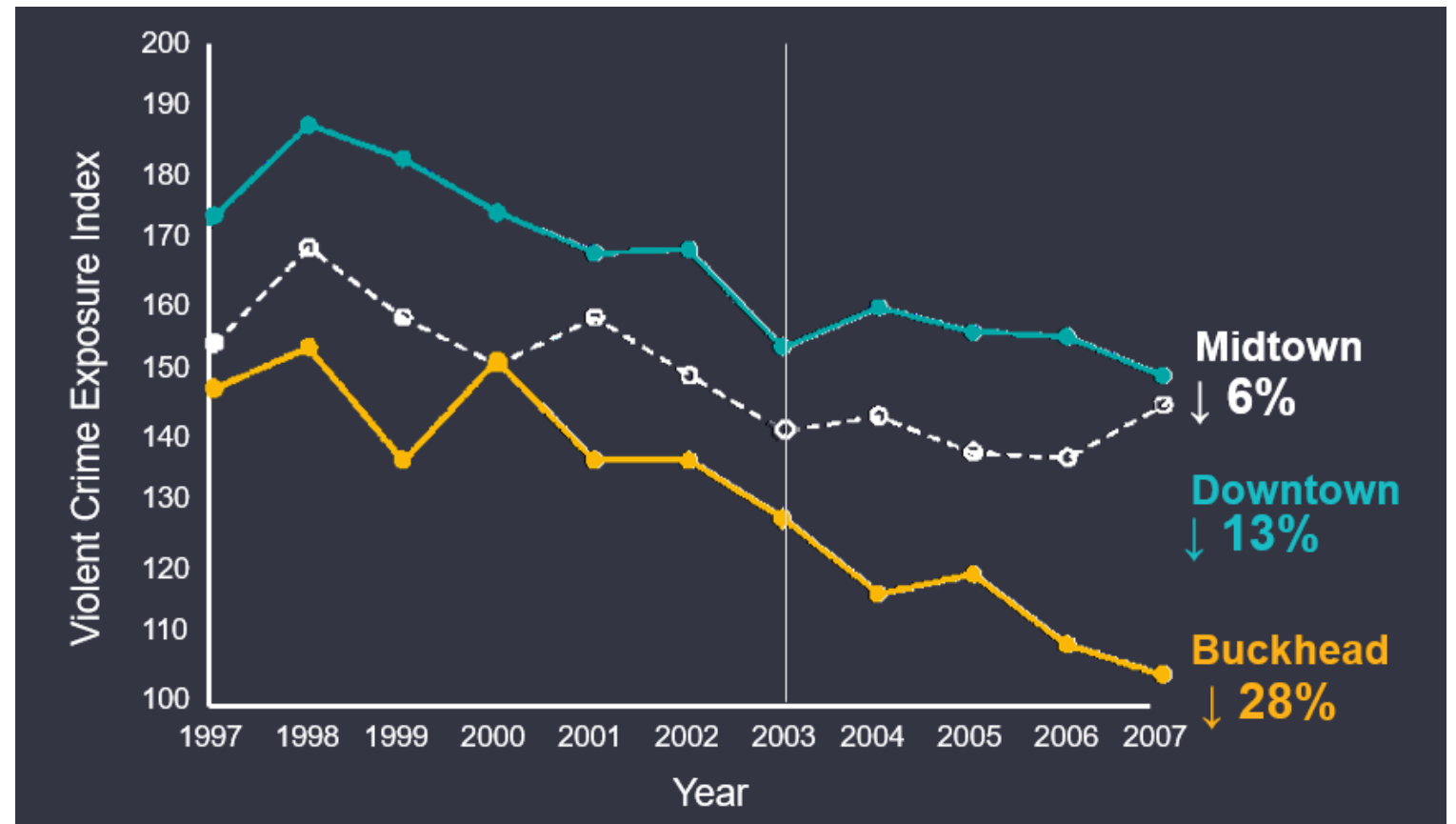


Rules for alcohol outlets **can reduce excessive alcohol consumption and related harms**

Evidence Of Effectiveness

- **Atlanta, GA**

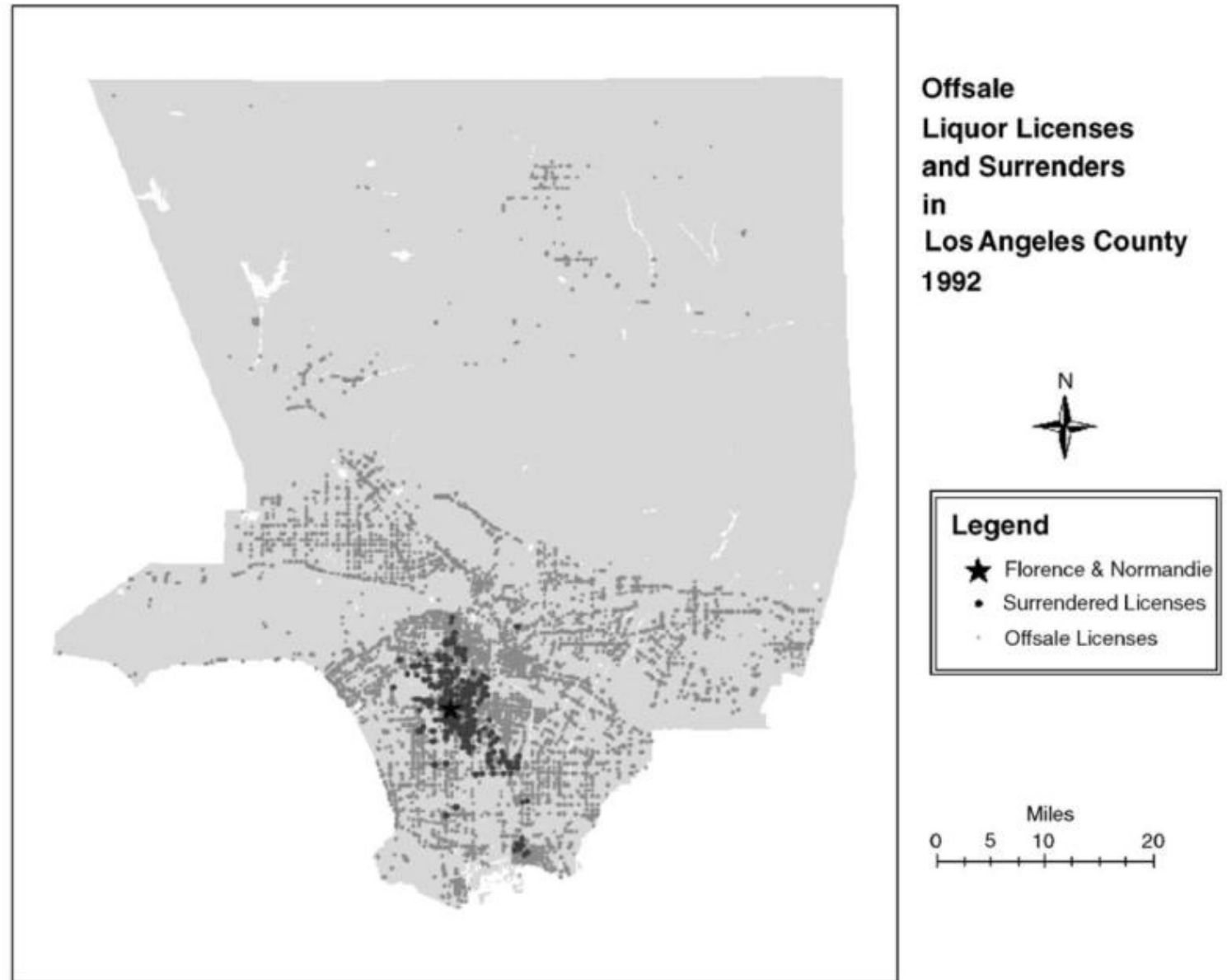
A 3% reduction in alcohol outlets in the Buckhead neighborhood resulted in a 2-fold greater reduction in exposure to violent crime in the neighborhood than in two other comparable neighborhoods



Zhang, X., Hatcher, B., Clarkson, L., Holt, J., Bagchi, S., Kanny, D., & Brewer, R. D. (2015). Peer Reviewed: Changes in Density of On-Premises Alcohol Outlets and Impact on Violent Crime, Atlanta, Georgia, 1997–2007. *Preventing chronic disease*, 12.

Evidence Of Effectiveness

- **Los Angeles, CA**
Census tracts had reductions in violent crime that were **proportional to their reductions in alcohol outlets**



Cohen, D. A., Ghosh-Dastidar, B., Scribner, R., Miu, A., Scott, M., Robinson, P., ... & Brown-Taylor, D. (2006). Alcohol outlets, gonorrhea, and the Los Angeles civil unrest: a longitudinal analysis. *Social science & medicine*, 62(12), 3062-3071.

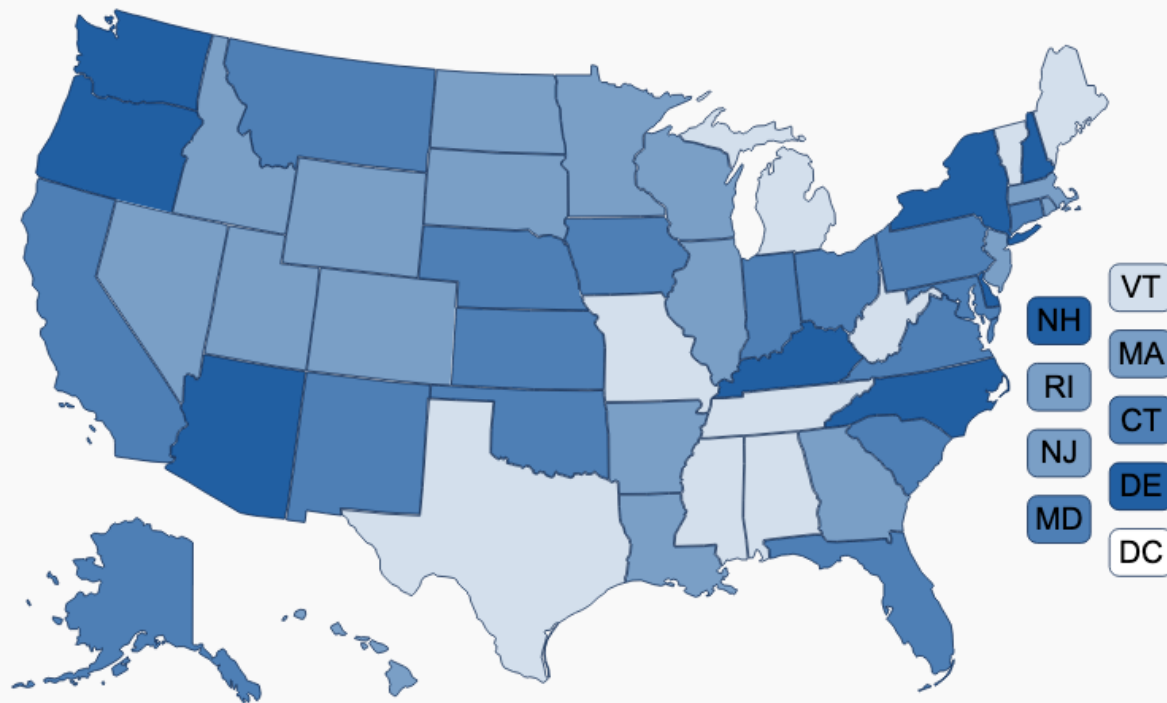
Approaches to regulating alcohol outlets

Goals of Regulating Alcohol Outlet Density

- Increase the distance one has to travel to obtain alcohol, thereby decreasing ease of access and consumption rates
- Increase the price of alcohol by decreasing competition
- Decrease exposure to point of purchase and exterior facing window alcohol marketing

Preemption

- State preemption is the doctrine that determines the level of local control over licensing decisions in a given State.
- Local governments have authority to regulate alcohol outlet density only to the extent that the State grants that authority.



Categories

- 1 Exclusive or near-exclusive state preemption
- 2 Exclusive state licensing authority, concurrent local regulatory authority
- 3 Joint local/state licensing and regulatory powers
- 4 Exclusive local licensing with state minimum standards
- 5 Mixed
- 6 No Data Available

Note: Darker colors imply greater state preemption of local action.

Interactive tool [here](#).

Preemption in Tennessee

5 Mixed

These states use a combination of one or more of the four categories based on types of alcoholic beverages (e.g., joint licensing for beer and wine and state exclusive authority for distilled spirits) or type of alcohol outlet (e.g., one category for on-premises establishments and another for off-premises establishments).

State Name	Legal Citations	State Notes
Tennessee	TN Code Ann. §§ 57-3-204, 57-3-208, 57-5-103. Templeton v. Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County, 650 S.W.2d 743 (Tenn. App., 1983).	Spirits, wine: Joint licensing. Beer: Local licensing



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the de Beaumont Foundation + Kaiser Permanente

What is CityHealth?



CityHealth's Charge



AN INITIATIVE OF
the de Beaumont Foundation + Kaiser Permanente

- An initiative of the **de Beaumont Foundation** and **Kaiser Permanente** that aims to help cities thrive through policies that improve people's day-to-day lives
- A package of nine (soon to be 12) policy recommendations with significant potential to boost health, well-being, and quality of life by addressing the **key social determinants**

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CityHealth's Charge



AN INITIATIVE OF
the de Beaumont Foundation + Kaiser Permanente

- Every year, CityHealth **assesses the nation's largest cities** on the presence and strength of the policies within the package
- We then award an overall **gold, silver, or bronze** overall medal to cities

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Our 2.0 Policy Package



Affordable
Housing Trusts



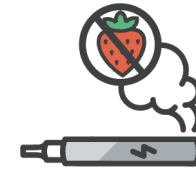
Complete Streets



Earned Sick Leave



Eco-Friendly
Purchasing



Flavored Tobacco
Restrictions



Greenspace



Healthy Food
Purchasing



Healthy Rental
Housing



Legal Support for
Renters



High-Quality,
Accessible Pre-K



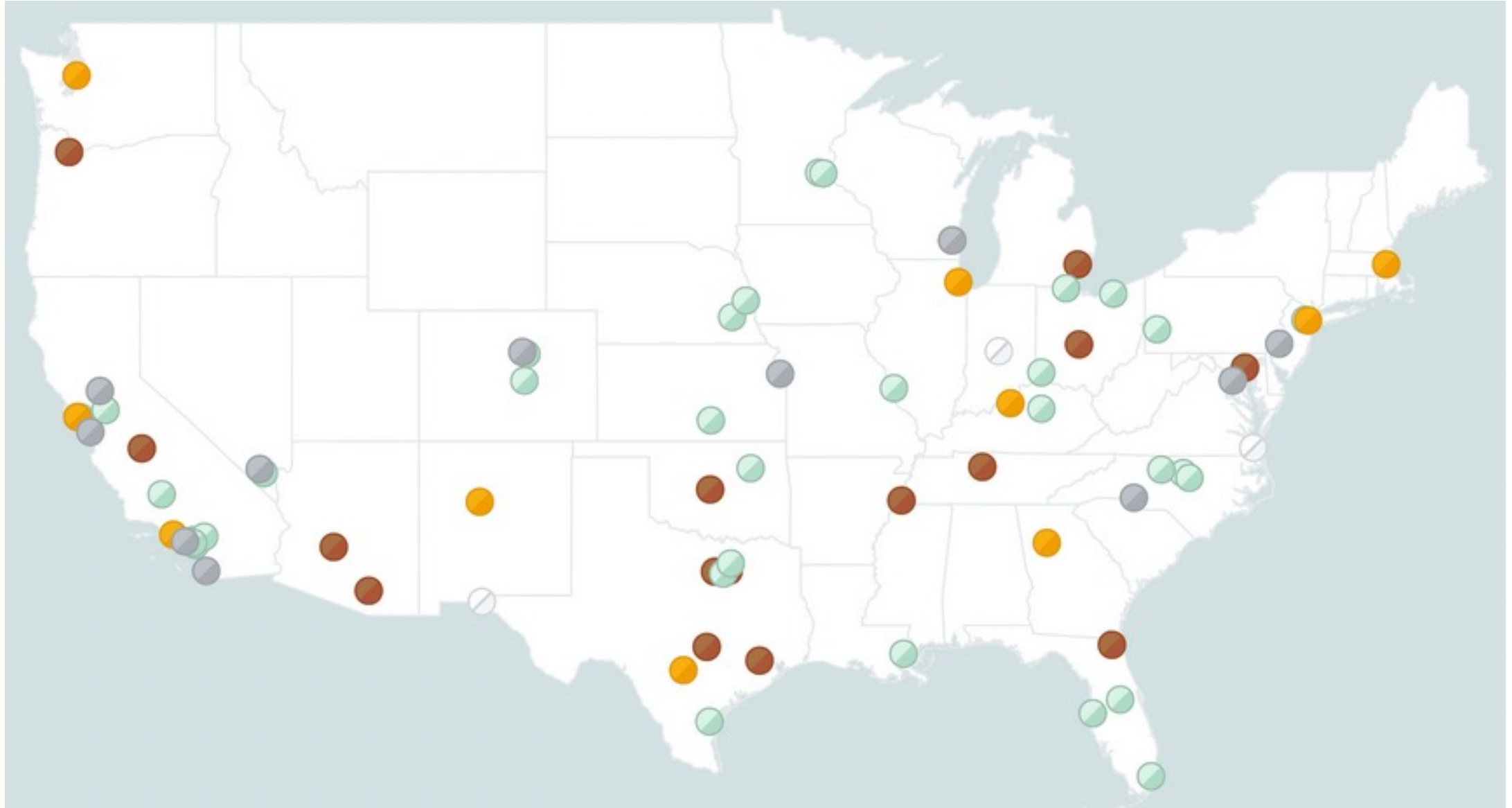
Safer Alcohol
Sales



Smoke-Free Indoor
Air

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CityHealth Cities



Memphis earns a silver medal in CityHealth's Safer Alcohol Sales Policy Criteria



City has a law that applies to *all* alcohol sales, addresses public health and safety, and authorizes the city to close an alcohol retailer for failing to comply with the law.



City has a law that applies to *some* alcohol sales (such as only new retailers, or only retailers selling for off-premises consumption, e.g. grocery or convenience stores), addresses public health and safety, and authorizes the city to close an alcohol retailer for failing to comply with the law.



Applies to on-sale and off-sale beer permittees. It does not apply to new and existing retailers that sell wine and liquor alcoholic beverages.

Going beyond medal ranking

Regardless of medal ranking or preemption category, the following best practices may be implemented in many cities:

- Enforcement protocols
- Fees to fund enforcement
- Nuisance ordinances
- Healthy retail

The price of liberty is
eternal vigilance.

-- Frederick Douglass

We have to
wake up

- Alcohol companies have literally “wallpapered” our lives with their version of the alcohol “story”:
 - Alcohol is everywhere, and belongs there
 - Everyone drinks
 - Drinking = freedom, independence, success
 - This is not about a system and a product with a legacy and a present that feeds injustice and misery
 - This is all about individual people with an individual problem
- **We** have to take back the alcohol story

A different alcohol story

- Our stories matter
- We can tell a new and better alcohol story:
 - Of children growing up free from pressures to drink;
 - Of Black, Indigenous and people of color and women being respected;
 - Of individual drinkers not being blamed for the actions of a hugely profitable industry;
 - Of poor communities and communities of color not being flooded with alcohol outlets and associated violence
 - Of alcohol prices that reflect the real cost of alcohol, and that don't just function to make a rich industry richer
- Our voices matter

Hope is like a road in the country;
there was never a road, but when
many people walk on it, the road
comes into existence.

-- Lu Xun

THANK YOU!

dhjern@bu.edu

 @dhjalcohol

