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How Alcohol Outlets Affect Neighborhood Violence

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Introduction

Neighborhoods where bars, restaurants and liquor and other stores that sell alcohol are close together suffer more frequent incidences of violence and other alcohol-related problems, according to research by the Prevention Research Center and others. The strong connection between alcohol and violence has been clear for a long time – but now we know that this connection also relates to the location of places that sell alcohol.

Government agencies with authority over land-use and/or liquor licenses can help fight crime and blight and improve quality of life by controlling licenses to sell alcohol and the location of licensees. Governments can make rules that set minimum distances between alcohol outlets; they can limit new licenses for areas that already have outlets too close together; they can stop issuing licenses when a particular location goes out of business; and they can permanently close outlets that repeatedly violate liquor laws.

This paper presents some of the questions and answers about alcohol sales outlets and alcohol problems – especially the relationship between outlet location and violence.

What is the relationship between outlet density and violence?

A number of studies have found that in and near neighborhoods where there is a high density of places that sell alcohol, there is a higher rate of violence. That is, when bars, liquor stores, and other businesses that sell alcohol are close together, more assaults and other violent crimes occur.

Some of the important findings about outlet density and violence are described below.

- In a study of college campuses across the U.S., the density of both on-premise outlets (such as bars) and off-premise alcohol-outlet (such as liquor stores) were associated with the campus rape and assault rates.¹
- Greater numbers of off-premise outlets such as liquor stores or grocery and convenience stores that sell alcohol were associated with greater injuries from accidents, assaults, and traffic crashes for both underage and of-age young adults. Among of-age young adults greater number of restaurants related to traffic crash injuries and greater numbers of bars related to assault injuries. Underage youth are more affected by off-premises establishments like liquor and grocery stores.²

- Alcohol outlet density, especially the density of liquor stores, was found to be associated significantly with rates of domestic violence, including violence against intimate partners and child abuse and neglect.³⁴⁵
- In a study of Camden, New Jersey, neighborhoods with alcohol outlet density had more violent crime (including homicide, rape, assault, and robbery). This association was strong even when other neighborhood characteristics such as poverty and age of residents were taken into account.⁶
- In a six-year study of changes in numbers of alcohol outlets in 551 urban and rural zip code areas in California, an increase in the number of bars and off-premise places (e.g., liquor, convenience and grocery stores) was related to an increase in the rate of violence. These effects were largest in poor, minority areas of the state, those areas already saturated with the greatest numbers of outlets.⁷⁸
- Violence committed by youth was more common in minority neighborhoods where there are many outlets that sell alcohol for consumption off the premises (such as liquor and convenience stores).⁹ This finding makes sense because underage drinkers are more likely to purchase alcohol in a store than in a bar or restaurant.

A larger number of alcohol outlets and a higher rate of violence might be expected in poorer neighborhoods or in neighborhoods with a larger population young people. But as the research described above shows, even when levels of poverty and the age and the ethnic background of residents are taken into account, a high density of outlets is strongly related to violence regardless of a neighborhood's economic, ethnic or age status.

All of the characteristics of alcohol outlet location can be important. It is easy to see that a town with many bars, restaurants, and stores that sell alcohol could be different from one that has fewer outlets. It is also easy to see that a neighborhood that has a bar on each corner and a liquor store on each block has a completely different environment than one that has few outlets or none at all. Other characteristics of the environment make a difference, too. For example, a strip of bars near a college campus presents a different environment from a similar density of bars in an upscale city center and also different from a similar density in a poor neighborhood. But in each case, some form of increased violence would be expected as compared to comparable areas with fewer alcohol outlets. A study of changes in outlet density over time as related to violence in California found that regardless of other neighborhood characteristics, an increase in outlets increased violence. In neighborhoods with a high minority

population and low incomes, the effect was more than four times greater than for the statewide sample of communities.¹⁰

What accounts for the relationship between outlet density and violence?

The research that has been done so far cannot pinpoint exactly why having more outlets in a small area seems to result in more violence. Various explanations have been proposed. One is that alcohol outlets can be a source of social disorder. A liquor store parking lot full of people drinking in their cars or on the curb and broken bottles littering the area outside a bar may send a message that this is a neighborhood in which normal rules about orderly behavior are not enforced. Another possible explanation is that a neighborhood with a large number of outlets acts as a magnet for people who are more inclined to be violent or more vulnerable to being assaulted. It is also possible that a high number of outlets results in a large number of people under the influence of alcohol – which makes them both more likely to be violent and less able to defend themselves.¹¹ It is most probable that all of these factors come into play.

What is the relationship of outlet density to other alcohol problems?

The density of alcohol outlets has also been found to be related to other alcohol problems such as drinking and driving, higher rates of motor vehicle-related pedestrian injuries, and child abuse and neglect.¹²¹³

How do governments regulate outlet density?

States and communities can regulate the number of bars, restaurants, and stores that sell alcohol in a given area. Sometimes the number and location of alcohol outlets is not limited at all. In some jurisdictions, the number of alcohol outlets is limited based on the population of the area – only so many outlets per thousand residents, for example. In other cases, the location of outlets is regulated – for example, some states or communities set minimum distances from schools or churches. Research increasingly finds, however, that geographic density is the key aspect of outlet location – that is, the distance between outlets. Where over-concentrations of outlets occur, greater problems arise.

Governments can use their regulatory powers to reduce violence by:

- Making rules that set minimum distances between alcohol outlets;
- Limiting new licenses for areas that already have outlets too close together;

- Not issuing a new license when a particular location goes out of business;
- Permanently closing outlets that repeatedly violate liquor laws (such as by selling alcohol to minors or to intoxicated persons or allowing illicit drug sales or prostitution on the premises).

What implications do these findings have for state and local licensing policies?

The research strongly suggests that limits on outlet density may be an effective means of reducing alcohol problems, especially violence. States and communities can use controls on the number and location of alcohol outlets as a tool for reducing violence, creating a safer and healthier alcohol environment, and improving the quality of life of a community.

What other alcohol policies are important?

Alcohol is a legal and widely consumed commodity; but it is also a commodity that can create a variety of serious health and social problems. Alcohol policies are an important tool for preventing these problems. Every day, states and communities make decisions about the sale of alcohol: who can sell it, when and where it can be sold, who it can be sold to. State and local laws and policies control many aspects of the system by which alcohol is manufactured, marketed, sold, purchased, and consumed.

Regulations serve a variety of purposes, for example, they help ensure that tax revenues are collected. But the regulation of the business of selling alcohol goes beyond economic concerns. Each element of the regulatory system provides opportunities for creating a healthier social environment with respect to alcohol. For example, regulations can prevent unsafe sales practices – such as prohibiting all-you-can-drink specials that encourage intoxication. Regulations can control advertising and promotion that appeals to minors and establish the minimum age and training qualifications for people who sell and serve alcohol. Each type of regulation has the potential to ensure that alcohol is consumed in a safe and healthy manner.

What aspects of alcohol availability can be regulated?

The regulation of alcohol sales can have an impact on the availability of alcohol – that is, how easy and convenient it is to buy. Some states and communities try to make alcohol less available by selling it only in limited places – for example, state liquor stores. Other communities sell it more freely – making it available in grocery stores, convenience stores, gas stations, laundromats, drive-through windows, and so forth. States and communities can also limit the hours and days of sale, and other aspects of the

conditions of sale. The regulation of availability is important because research generally shows that when alcohol is more easily available, people drink more and more alcohol problems occur.

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