

# **Factors Associated With Alcohol-Related Problems Within Licensed Premises**

**Executive Summary of Report to Greater Glasgow NHS Board**

(April 2005)

**This project was guided by a steering group consisting of members of the following organisations:**

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Glasgow City Council (DRS Community Services)

Greater Glasgow Alcohol Action Team

Greater Glasgow NHS Board

Strathclyde Licensed Trade Association

Strathclyde Police

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## Preface

The idea for a research project to examine the factors that influence levels of disorder associated with licensed premises in Glasgow city centre was first proposed by Jack Law and Mary Ellmers of Alcohol Focus Scotland in early 2003. Alcohol Focus Scotland run an alcohol server training program, called *ServeWise*, a social responsibility intervention course for employees of the licensed trade industry. This idea, for a project to examine how factors such as staff training and other variables impact upon levels of disorder within licensed premises in Glasgow, arose following the refusal to grant the renewal of a licence for a nightclub in the city in October 2002. At the time, a senior police officer described the nightclub concerned as the “epicentre of violence” in Glasgow city centre. This case brought into focus the need for research to be conducted within Glasgow’s licensed premises, including both those with a high level of known disorder and those unknown to the police, this fuller picture being necessary in order to ascertain which factors, present in premises with low levels of disorder, may be preventative of such problems. An understanding of these preventative factors would allow policies to be drawn up with the intention of minimising the occurrence of such alcohol-related problems in the future. In the months following this proposal, concerns regarding binge drinking and violence in the night-time economy, in Glasgow city centre and elsewhere, continued to grow and in March 2004 Greater Glasgow NHS Board commissioned this research project.

## Objectives

- To identify the factors associated with licensed premises that may encourage ‘binge’ drinking and alcohol-related violence or disorder
- To identify the factors associated with licensed premises that may encourage ‘sensible’ drinking and either reduce or prevent alcohol-related violence or disorder

The key questions to be addressed in this report are:

1. What are the licensed premises-related factors influencing a high risk of alcohol-related violence and disruption within the city centre?
2. What promotes excessive alcohol consumption within these licensed premises?
3. What promotes moderate alcohol consumption within these licensed premises?
4. Does the way staff interact with clientele (including server trained staff) during both disruptive incidents and periods of normal service mediate against disruptive, anti-social or violent behaviour

within the sample?

5. What influence does overcrowding have, if any, on these issues?
6. What demographic groups are more or less likely to contribute to antisocial, disruptive or violent behaviour?
7. What other factors relating to the premises e.g. entertainment, frequency of glass collecting, monitoring of toilet areas, provision of food, premises layout etc. prevent or encourage the behaviours highlighted?
8. How do trigger factors interact?

This is the first project of this nature to be conducted in Scotland and it builds upon an existing body of literature derived from research conducted elsewhere (mainly Canada and Australia).

## Issues

In the past decade there has been a change in the retailing of on-trade alcohol in city centres throughout the UK, including Glasgow. This has involved: the advent of the night-time economy, which has lengthened licensing hours; the rise of the so-called 'super pubs', branded chains of licensed premises (dubbed the 'McDonalds-isation' of pubs); increased alcohol on-trade consumption by some groups (e.g. young women, dubbed 'ladettes'); the introduction of new drinks; and increasingly inventive marketing. These changes in the pattern of alcohol consumption are thought to have led to an increase in 'binge' drinking (dubbed the new British disease). This has been linked to rising levels of disorder and violent crime within city centres, including Glasgow, at night during the weekend. At the present time there would appear to be a great need for research into these issues and into interventions that may tackle these problems.

This report focuses upon ways in which disorder risk can be reduced within drinking environments (pubs), in particular, what features of pubs and server practices impact upon levels of violence. This was done with a view to evaluating the efficacy, and assisting in the formulation, of bar staff training programmes that encourage socially responsible server practices and techniques for minimising or dealing with disorder.

## Procedures

The literature suggests that the most effective method of researching disorder in bar-room environments is field observation, supplemented by official statistics, surveys and staff interviews. This report makes use of all these methods, specifically:

- A postal questionnaire survey of city centre pubs (yielding quantitative data)
- Observations in a sub-sample of pubs (both quantitative and qualitative data)
- Face-to-face in-depth interviews with bar staff (qualitative data)

The above unique data sets were compared and contrasted with existing official statistics on crime and disorder logged by Strathclyde Police.

## Results

### Postal Survey

The primary purpose of this questionnaire was to identify a sub-sample of eight pubs for subsequent field observations, however as more than half of the 100 pubs who received this questionnaire responded, the survey revealed much about the varied level of bar server training across Glasgow's city centre pubs and their clientele. This information was combined with police data in order to select the final eight pubs to be observed.

### Observational Study

Two teams of trained observers conducted around 100 hours of observations in the eight selected pubs on Friday and Saturday nights over the summer of 2004 (32 nights of observation, each 9pm to midnight, plus 'drinking up time'). An internationally validated checklist of risk factors identified a range of levels of risk for violent disorder across each of the pubs in the sub-sample. Those pubs assessed as 'High Risk' were subsequently found to have higher levels of crime known to the police than those assessed as 'Medium Risk', which in turn had more known incidents than those termed as 'Low Risk'. The observers also witnessed 14 aggressive incidents in the selected pubs, each of which was rated for severity and their causes were analysed.

### Staff Interviews

A member of staff from each of the eight pubs observed agreed to be interviewed by the principal researcher. These represented a broad range of pub employees and the interviews allowed each to express their views on issues such as the night-time economy, binge drinking, promotions, disorder, health & safety, licensing policy and staff training.

## Findings

1. **Risk of violence:** The eight pubs observed differed greatly in terms of the number of factors (see table 1 below) known to be predictive of or protective against violent disorder, including measures of 'aggravation' by patrons, 'sexual tension', 'dirtiness' and 'ambience' (heat, noise, etc.) as well as bar server, stewarding and marketing practices. See also the pub vignettes at the end of this summary.

Table 1: Risk factors within composite risk measures

<b>Aggravation</b>	<b>Sexual Tension</b>	<b>Dirtiness</b>	<b>Ambience</b>
Rowdiness	Pulling	Wiping	Smokiness
Drunkenness	Sexual activity	Table Cleaning	Ventilation
Pub decorum	Female	Spillage	Noise
Male Hostility		Toilet	Movement
Female Hostility			Crowdedness

Another seven rating scales, all measuring staffing practices (staff teamwork, monitoring inside bar, servers socialising, stewards socialising, server hostility, steward hostility and exit management), were used in this research, however it was not possible to create a composite risk measure from these. This does not mean that these features were not important (they were) rather that they varied in a non-uniform manner across the eight pubs observed.

- From these findings each pub was assessed as being either 'high', 'medium' or 'low risk' for disorder. 'High risk' pubs had many features predictive of disorder and few protective; 'low risk' pubs had many protective features and few predictive; 'medium risk' pubs had both types of features (or very few of either). Two of the eight pubs observed were assessed as 'low risk' (both 'style bars'), two as 'medium risk' and four as 'high risk'. The four 'high risk' pubs were subdivided between two where risk factors centred on the type of clientele and tolerance of their behaviours, termed here as 'Type-A high risk' pubs and two (both in the same branded pub chain) where risk factors centred on sexual activity and orchestrated drinks party marketing, termed here as 'Type-B high risk'.
- It was hypothesised that disorder in the 'Type-A high risk' pubs would be likely to involve persons who may have always been at risk for violence (either as perpetrators or victims), whereas if a new type of disorderly drinker exists, such as has been suggested by the recent binge drinking scare, such person would be found in the 'Type-B high risk' pubs'.

- A high level of correspondence between observer assessed risk for disorder and long-term (23 months) police data relating to each pub was found. For example the only pub with no crime known to the police was the only pub where no disorderly incidents were witnessed during fieldwork. At the other extreme, the two pubs with most observed risk factors for disorder were known police 'hot spots' for crime. This suggests that the bar-room observation method can be a useful tool in the prediction of licensed premises where violence is likely to occur.
2. **Drinks promotion:** Despite measures having already been taken by the appropriate authorities in Glasgow to prevent irresponsible promotions thought to encourage immoderate drinking (e.g. 'happy hours') a variety of marketing techniques were observed which seemed to circumvent these measures.
- Branded chain pubs were able to permanently reduce their prices to 'happy hour' levels. One budget brand had particularly low prices and although this was observed encouraging patrons to drink more in this pub, this should be considered against the less affluent clientele it attracted.
  - Club-like branded chain pubs had their own promotional TV channels characterised by techniques that would contravene many codes of practice covering broadcast TV advertising (e.g. sexual imagery).
  - It was noteworthy that branded drinks (e.g. premium lagers, alcopops and certain vodka) were commonplace, especially in the branded pubs.
3. **Moderate drinking:** Rather than there being many observable features known to encourage moderate drinking, it was easier in this research to report this in terms of the absence of those features that encourage immoderate drinking (2. above).
- Food provision is known to moderate drinking, yet the consumption of food was almost entirely absent in all but one of the observed pubs (where it was only rarely observed). Alcoholic drinks were also particularly expensive in this pub, and although this may discourage some binge drinking, in this pub, this seemed offset by the affluence of the clientele.
  - Consumption of non-alcoholic drinks was largely confined to those using these as a 'mixer' or who were extremely drunk, in an attempt to sober up.

- In contrast to previous research, which suggests that entertainment can slow down alcohol consumption, in this research such activities seemed to encourage drinking and could even act as catalysts for disorder, including karaoke and certain types of music, but in particular 'sexy' dancing.
4. **Staff interventions:** A wide range of staff/patron interactions were observed that impacted on disorder levels. On the whole, observed serving staff were friendly, efficient and professional, however it was not unusual for them to serve already intoxicated patrons and to leave dealing with disorder to the stewards.
- Pubs where staff had undergone external server training programmes, especially those with social responsibility components, tended to have both a lower known crime rate and less observed risk for disorder.
  - All staff interviewed were positive about the potential role for responsible server training programmes to reduce disorder and to either assist them with their job's duties or provide them with some kind of accreditation.
  - As pubs with young patrons tended to employ younger serving staff, it may be that there is a particular need for more experienced supervisors and/or staff trainers.
5. **Crowding:** The effects of crowding on disorder were unclear from this research as, unusually in this study, the larger pubs also tended to be those that were the most crowded.
- It was felt that busier pubs, especially those in clusters of premises, could provide additional safety or support when disorder does occur, as there is likely to be more people present who may be able to intervene, while less busy pubs could provide space for horseplay.
  - Pubs in clusters of licensed premises were sometimes found to have formed small 'communities'. One function of these was that security (i.e. stewarding) resources could be shared.
6. **Patron demographics:** This research lends some support to the view that a less affluent clientele may be associated with a high risk of disorder within licensed premises. Also some of the incidents of disorder observed in this research had similarities with those described in the existing literature (e.g. involving young males, 'wolfpacks' or pool players). However, in several key ways the aggressive incidents recorded by this research differed from those commonly reported elsewhere.

- Females were as likely to be involved in disorder as males, often as the instigator or as co-aggressors, rather than merely as victims or third parties as has been reported elsewhere. That is, no evidence was found by this research to refute the existence of the 'ladettes'.
  - Older patrons seemed to be at least as likely to become involved in disorder as younger drinkers. That is, no evidence was found to support the view that young people are particularly prone to become involved in 'binge' drinking related disorder in the modern night-time economy.
  - Under-age drinkers (below 18 years) were only very rarely observed in pubs during this research. However their presence was felt on the streets.
7. **Other factors:** A wide range of factors was found to be associated with an increased potential for disorder in Glasgow city pubs. However, many of these can be regarded as ambiguous and point to the need for caution in interpreting such problems.
- Security measures, such as stewarding strength or strict rule enforcement, were thought to be at the same time clearly related to both disorder prevention and the likelihood of disorder occurring.
  - The two image conscious 'style bars' appeared to be more orderly, in comparison to pubs rated as dirty or cluttered (both as observed and in the official statistics). However, these features may be a function of clientele.
  - The large club-like branded pubs observed seemed to be particularly prone to 'pulling' activity and could resemble 'meat markets'. The environment within these was thought to create a 'manufactured party atmosphere', which ended abruptly at closing time when the party was over.
  - Contrary to notions of inclusion, pubs with a mixed or changing clientele, like the streets outside at closing time, seemed more prone to disorder.
8. **Interactions between factors:** The above risk factors tended to co-exist in the same premises, especially the protective factors. In short, more orderly pubs, as maintained by the staff, tended to have more orderly patrons.

- The aggressive incidents observed in this research tended to occur when an interaction between intoxication and other risk factors occurred. That is, an incident may be triggered by one of the factors described above, but it will quickly escalate if those involved are intoxicated. This clearly leaves an opportunity to combat alcohol related disorder by taking steps to reduce these risk factors and moderate alcohol consumption.

## Implications

### Licensed Trade Server Training Implications

There was a lack of awareness of intervention programmes for dealing with disorder or providing socially responsible service. This does not seem to reflect demand, as pub staff felt that these could be useful whilst also providing them with job recognition or certification. Given that the pubs who had made use of external server training providers tended to consistently be more orderly (on all measures) than those which did not, it is recommended that participation in such initiatives be encouraged.

### Policing Implications

The presence of large numbers of stewards (mostly carrying out their duties professionally) would seem to reduce the amount of disorder within pubs. Although it might be argued that this frees up police time, it was also clear that this effectively displaces drunken disorder on to the street, through refusal of entry, ejections and at closing time. All who were involved in this research commented that more police resources are needed on the streets of Glasgow city centre to deal with this problem.

### Implications for Further Research

There are two ways in which this research could be built upon. Firstly this observational method could be retained to examine disorder or server practices in other venues, such as pubs outwith city centres (that may not be so heavily controlled by stewards), night-clubs (where many of those observed in this study gravitated to after closing time) and at locations other than licensed premises during the night at weekends.

Secondly, other methodologies could be employed to measure and explain disorder associated with licensed premises. These might include observational work from the bar server's point of view, interviews with pub patrons (which could investigate alcohol consumption prior to going out to the pubs) or research with arrestees and casualty patients (and relevant expert personnel) during the weekend at night.

## Recommendations

- **More server responsibility training.** This report has indicated that responsible service is related to a reduced level of disorder in licensed premises. Although it cannot be said from this research that this is a causal effect it was clear that in the pubs where greater levels of server responsibility were observed there was substantially less known crime and fewer risk factors for disorder were witnessed. Pubs where a high level of responsible service was observed tended to be the same pubs that indicated that they included social responsibility in their staff training, for example by utilising an external server training programme.

Further to this, interviews with Glasgow city centre pub staff revealed positive attitudes towards such training, especially in regard to techniques for dealing with disorder and keeping up to date with changes in licensing law. Furthermore such courses were seen as providing recognition of the difficult job bar staff do.

Additionally, it is felt that such courses should also be made open to entertainers who work in pubs and other licensed premises (e.g. DJs) as not only is it the case that such people are likely to become involved in dealing with disorder, but it was also clear that their activities could influence the mood of patrons, drinking behaviours and the risk of disorderly behaviour happening in the first place (e.g. by controlling the tempo of the music).

The effects of entertainment provision, especially music, provided by licensed premises were seen to both influence levels of disorder and rates of alcohol consumption. Clearly this feature of pubs has the potential to both improve and exacerbate levels of alcohol-related problems. It is recommended that more research be conducted in this area and that these issues be incorporated into pub staff or server training programmes.

- **More experienced pub staff.** The staff of the pubs observed in this project tended to be rather young and inexperienced (i.e. under 30 years of age). Interviews with pub staff revealed a tendency for them to have been patrons of their premises prior to them choosing to work there and therefore some may have had a tendency to view their workplace as a customer, rather than as an employee. We feel that it would be advantageous for such premises to employ some more experienced (i.e. older) staff, who are likely to be more mindful of potential troublemakers and more familiar with a broad range of techniques for dealing with actual disorder should it occur.

Furthermore, the interviews revealed that training in some pubs was also being conducted by these relatively young staff. Although there are clear advantages to this situation (e.g. young staff may understand the culture of the night-time economy better and may have more empathy with the clientele), we would also identify a need for more experienced (i.e. senior) staff to be used as trainers.

- **Better communication between police and the licensed trade industry.**

During staff interviews a reticence towards calling the police to deal with disorderly incidents was noted. This was because of a belief that calling the police to their premises would leave them with 'black marks' against their name or lead to a reputation (ultimately placing their licence in jeopardy). These views were augmented by the field observations which indicated that stewards were being used to deal with disorder in pubs rather than the police. This has the 'knock on' effect of 'bouncing' troublemakers on to the street from licensed premises, presumably to cause trouble (for the police) elsewhere. We recommend that pub staff be encouraged to call the police and that licensees are assured that this will not count against them in any way (though failure to report crimes may).

Additionally, we urge improved communications from door stewards and bar managers to the police, as this could provide valuable intelligence on the movements of potential troublemakers within the city centre. This could involve the extending of current video and radio link systems between pubs and the police or CCTV operators from daytime to night-time use ('footsteps across the city'). Such linkages could also be made between different licensed premises to provide a city-centre wide early warning system.

- **More police on the beat.** Although somewhat reticent about calling the police on to their premises, the pub staff interviewed were unanimous in their desire to see a more visible police presence on the streets of Glasgow (i.e. in greater numbers, on foot and wearing high-visibility clothing), especially after closing time. The field observers also noted that the police seemed to be overstretched in dealing with incidents on the street and in other types of (non-licensed) premises at this time, where there appeared to be a great deal more serious disorder taking place than in the pubs.

Increasing the visible numbers of police on the beat would also seem likely to relieve some of the crowd control burden presently being placed upon pub staff, reduce the fear of crime amongst potential participants of the night-time economy (who may currently be deterred from entering the city centre at night) and may also act as a deterrent to alcohol-related disorder on the streets (or on public transport), which, unlike the pubs observed, currently have no provision of private security firms (stewards) to prevent violence.

- **Maintenance of a high standard of stewarding.** At present access, crowd control, prevention and elimination of disorder in the night-time economy is controlled within licensed premises by stewards. Although this apparent surrender of the maintenance of public order from the state's emergency services (e.g. the police) to private enterprise seems a less than ideal situation, it was noteworthy that on the whole both the field observers and serving staff interviewed had very positive views towards the role played by Glasgow's pub stewards, their effectiveness and their professionalism.

However, one pub's security firm seemed less professional than the others and elsewhere one rogue steward was responsible for two of the fourteen incidents of violence observed during fieldwork. These observations indicate a strong need to keep up the prevailing high standard of stewarding and we would highlight the usefulness of training and monitoring procedures to these ends, for example the work of the Security Industry Authority (SIA).

- **Introduction of systems for monitoring disorder potential.** The field observations conducted by this research were effective at identifying risks for violent disorder within the eight pubs selected. We do not believe that there was anything intrinsically different between these eight pubs and similar premises throughout Glasgow city centre and elsewhere. Therefore this technique could be utilised by the industry or licensing boards to monitor disorder risk within the night-time economy. For example, such internal checks could easily be made a part of the monitoring and assessment procedures already in use by chain pubs. From the staff interviews conducted in this project, it would appear that, at present these 'mystery customers' or 'mystery shoppers' focus upon customer service and staff efficiency rather than social responsibility or disorder minimisation techniques. We would advise that more components with an emphasis on these issues be included in such programmes.

Similarly checks for disorder risk could also be performed by external agencies. For example, the proposed Liquor Licensing Standards Officers (LLSO's, see Nicholson 2003; Daniels 2004) or others, with suitable experience and appropriate powers to act as the 'eyes and ears' of the licensing board or other authority. Such agencies could use the techniques of this research to help to enforce responsible alcohol marketing and service in licensed premises. Such initiatives are recommended as being particularly desirable as they are in effect both preventative against disorder and will help to improve standards of service more generally.

- **Changes in the way that licensed premises are marketed.** Many of the pubs in this research, particularly those in newer branded chains, appeared to promote irresponsible consumption of alcohol, either by competitive pricing or more often by sophisticated drinks party marketing. Measures aimed to increase the price of alcohol may have some impact upon the consumption levels of some drinkers (e.g. the 'less affluent'), but the larger pubs would appear to be more able to withstand (i.e. find loopholes to circumvent) such legislation (many promotions actually encouraged the conspicuous consumption of relatively expensive branded drinks). Also price increases would have to extend to off-sales, so as to prevent displacement of the problem and 'pre-loading'. A better approach to this problem may be a return to marketing the pub as a social venue, as opposed to a drinking venue, rather than ineffectual (and discriminatory) pricing measures.
- **Change in public attitudes towards alcohol-related disorder.** At present participants in the night-time economy are too tolerant of disorder. Why should it be the case that, as Hobbs, 2002 states, "The acceptance amongst denizens of the night-time economy of levels of violence unparalleled outside of military and penal institutions is astounding". This is the most difficult, yet the most fundamental, of all possible strategies with the objective of reducing alcohol-related problems associated with licensed premises. It may be the case that some of these problems are so culturally ingrained in the West of Scotland that they will be difficult to remove completely through legislation or even long-term education. However, there can be little doubt that creating safer drinking environments within licensed premises, in which *any* disorderly behaviour is not tolerated, would be a positive step towards achieving this goal.

## Typology of Pubs Observed

'The Plough' – This is a traditional 'old Glasgow' pub, tied to a 'pubco', with a clear gender split between a predominantly male bar and a predominantly female lounge. Attractions included televised sports (in the bar) and karaoke (in the lounge). The clientele of this pub included more older (i.e. over 30 years) and many less affluent drinkers. Disorder Risk: *High (Type-A)*.

'The Red Lion' – This is a budget / economy branded chain pub, providing no entertainment, other than pool tables and TV (all the other pubs had a DJ on at least some occasions), but many cut-price drinks offers and promos. The pub had a very varied transient clientele, including a great many much less affluent drinkers and it employed stewards from a different security firm than the others. Disorder Risk: *High (Type-A)*.

'The Railway' – This is a style bar (bar-restaurant), independently owned with an atmosphere created by candlelight and soft music. Drinks here tend to be expensive or premium priced, especially cocktails, and the clientele included many more affluent drinkers. There was more food provision here than in other pubs and it also made use of external server training providers. Disorder Risk: *Low*.

'The White Horse' – This is a club-like branded chain pub (in the same chain as the White Hart and located across the street from the Royal Oak, see below), with heavy consumption of new drinks (e.g. alcopops) and bottled lager, also many stag / hen nights. Disorder Risk: *High (Type-B)*.

'The White Hart' – This is a club-like branded chain pub (in the same chain as the White Horse), located in the Sauchiehall area, with heavy consumption of new drinks (e.g. alcopops, shots) and bottled lager, also more younger drinkers compared to the other pubs. Disorder Risk: *High (Type-B)*.

'The Royal Oak' – This is another club-like branded chain pub (located across the street from the White Horse), with heavy consumption of new drinks (e.g. alcopops) and bottled lager. This was the only pub with a mostly female clientele and the only branded pub to make use of external server training providers. Disorder Risk: *Medium*.

'The Swan' – This is a student pub, tied to a 'pubco', located in the Sauchiehall area. The pub's attractions included a pool table and rock music (including live bands) and it had a predominantly male clientele in comparison to the other pubs. This pub also made use of external server training providers. Disorder Risk: *Medium*.

'The Crown' – This is another style bar (café-bar) independently owned, in an off-road location. This pub varied more by day of the week / time of the evening than any of the other pubs, with many after-work drinkers (young professionals) on Fridays and many pre-clubbers (rave style nightclubs) on Saturdays. This was also the pub that made the most use of external server training providers. Disorder Risk: *Low*.

## Glossary of terms used in report

**Branded (pubs or drinks)** – A brand is a symbolic construct that signifies a particular service or product, in this case type of pub or quality of drink. All franchised pubs in a brand are uniform (e.g. to the extent that an interviewee in this research commented that in each of the pubs that comprise his branded chain you will get the same meals, each with the same number of peas, on the same plate). Branded drinks tend to be more expensive than ‘house’ drinks, as part of the price paid is for the brand identity, signified by the logo (e.g. on a bottled beer). Relationships built between consumer and brand are thought to be particularly powerful, habit forming and hard to break.

**Binge drinking** – In this report this term refers to drinking excessively in a single session (as opposed to drinking regularly), usually at the weekend (Friday and Saturday nights). There are many definitions of ‘binge’, ranging from subjective states of intoxication to quantitative measures of alcohol consumption (e.g. drinking more than the government’s recommended ‘safe’ weekly intake in one session).

**Budget (or economy) drinks, brands or pricing** – This refers to products or services marketed by their low cost, in this case ‘no frills’ cheap alcohol drinking. This form of marketing may be used, as a ‘loss leader’ to attract custom, to sell in bulk, to serve those who cannot afford standard prices or to make ‘premium’ (see below) priced products seem more desirable to those who can.

**Chain** – This refers to a number of pubs owned by a single company. This can include both branded pubs and other licensed premises. Often, though by no means always, pubs in the chain may have the same brand (see above) name.

**Club-like pubs** – This refers to large pubs (usually in branded chains) that have been designed to resemble nightclubs, complete with purpose built dance floor, DJ, lighting, themed (party) promotions and all the other trappings associated with dance (formerly rave) culture. These have become commonplace since the end of the 1990s, in part because of changes to licensing policy, in city / town centres across the UK.

**Door (policy)** – This refers to who a pub’s management allow entry to, or rather who they exclude (for whatever reason). This role is often taken up by (door) stewards (see below) who, as such, control ‘the door’.

**Happy hours** – These are periods of time when certain drinks (or all alcoholic drinks) are sold at the bar at a reduced price (e.g. half price or two-for-one). These are usually timed for when business would otherwise be quiet (e.g. in the early evening) and are thought to encourage binge drinking. This may happen either by the happy hour offer enticing people in to licensed premises who may not

otherwise drink at these times or by accelerating their rate of alcohol consumption during this time period, ultimately resulting in these patrons becoming intoxicated and remaining in the pub beyond the happy hour's duration, none of which may have been the drinkers' intention while sober. Such promotions are currently either being banned by local authorities (as was the case in Glasgow during this research) or are being phased out or replaced by other kinds of promotions by the publicans / drinks companies themselves.

**Independents** – In this study this term refers to pubs that are neither part of a branded chain (see above) nor tied to a pub company or 'pubco' (see below). Such pubs are usually relatively small and tend to be owned by an individual person (who may own more than one licensed premises) or as a 'family business'.

**Meat (or cattle) market** – This refers to pubs or other venues where one of the main activities of the clientele is 'pulling' (see below).

**Pre-loading** – This is the practice of drinking (usually cheap) alcohol purchased from off-licenses and consumed at home immediately prior to participation in the night time economy. Pre-loading is thought to be a consequence of the ongoing trend in recent years towards relatively much lower 'real cost' alcohol being available from off-trade outlets (especially supermarkets) than on-trade and also because of the recent preference towards the conspicuous consumption of branded (see above) premium (see below) priced drinks within licensed premises. This practice has several implications for alcohol-related disorder associated with licensed premises, including that pubs may be unfairly blamed for the consequences of this drinking behaviour and that any price increases imposed on pubs to reduce binge drinking (see above) may only serve to encourage such activity.

**Premium drinks, brands or pricing** – This refers to products or services marketed by their high cost, implying high standards, giving them a feeling of exclusiveness and allowing, perhaps encouraging, the consumer to indulge in conspicuous consumption. Though inferred, this does not necessarily mean that the product, in this case alcoholic drink, is superior to 'standard' or 'budget' priced brands (see budget and branded above).

**Pubcos** – This term is shorthand for pub companies. That is companies that lease out pubs to tenants. This means that the tenant can only sell certain products (alcoholic drinks) supplied by the 'pubco', a system known as 'the tie'. In the recent past this role was performed by the brewery company (e.g. the 'pubco' *Punch Taverns* was formed by the acquisition of the *Bass* brewery's portfolio of pubs).

**Pulling** – This refers to the act of looking for ‘casual’ sex. In the context of this research, people ‘on the pull’ are those who, among other reasons for participation in the night-time economy, are hoping to procure a sexual partner for that night.

**Rave scene** – This refers to the night-time economy of the late 1980’s to 1990’s, which was characterised by greater use of the drug ‘ecstasy’ (MDMA) and by less conspicuous alcohol consumption than is apparent amongst today’s younger revellers.

**Servers** – In this study, this term refers to the bar staff who actually serve pub patrons with alcoholic drinks.

**Stewards** – This is a Scottish term for ‘door supervisors’ or pub security staff (formerly known by the archaic term ‘bouncers’). In the present day stewards may be positioned or patrolling throughout some of the larger pubs, as well as being in control of ‘the door’ (see above).

**Style bars** – These are pubs that have their own individual character, very different from the traditional pub design. These are usually small and have a café-like appearance. Such premises were popular during the late 1980 to 1990s when many revellers chose not to (binge) drink alcohol on a night out (see Rave scene, above).

**Wolfpacks** – This term refers to large groups of males who drink together in a pack and who are ‘on the pull’ (see above).

## Notes

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