

Name? Where from? Affiliation?

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The Northwest PTTC is a partnership led by the Social Development Research Group (SDRG) at University of Washington (UW) School of Social Work in collaboration with the Prevention Science Graduate Program at Washington State University (WSU), and the Center for the Application of Substance Abuse Technologies (CASAT) at the University of Nevada, Reno (UNR).

Northwest partnering institutes share a vision to expand the impact of communityactivated prevention by equipping the prevention workforce with the power of prevention science.







Prevention Science Graduate Program

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY





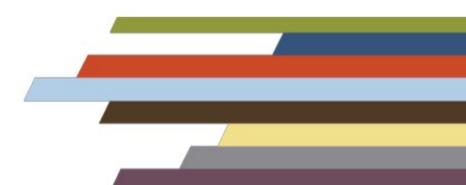
Northwest (HHS Region 10)

Funded by Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration



## Alcohol and Social Injustice: The Untold Story

David H. Jernigan PhD



# Alcohol and social injustice: The untold story

David H. Jernigan PhD Boston University School of Public Health



Boston University School of Public Health Department of Health Law, Policy & Management THINK. TEACH. DO. FOR THE HEALTH OF ALL

### Who am I?

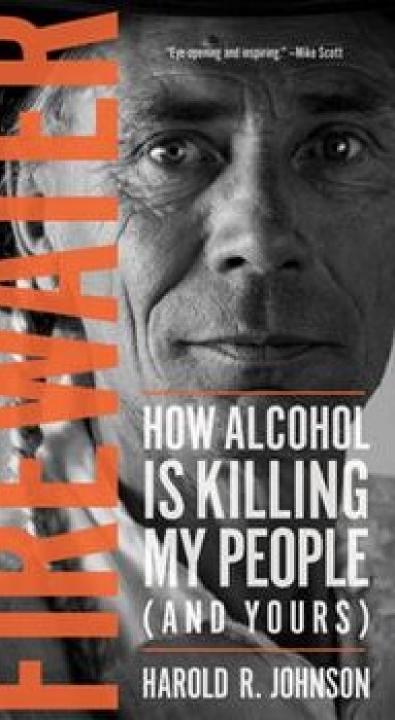
- Son of a Methodist minister and a public health nurse
- Raised in the Protestant tradition of social justice and doing the right thing
- Little or no alcohol at home
- Parent and grandparent
- In this because of my personal story not about alcohol, but about what I was taught by my parents to do: to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

Alcohol's historical role in social injustice

- Harvard-educated lawyer and part-Cree former prosecutor invited us to "change our story" around alcohol.
- Who has written that story, throughout history?
- Over and over again, written by colonizers and oppressors, using alcohol as their instrument.
- In their version of the "story", alcohol's role is obscured, like so much else.
- We need to learn and tell a different story.



### Today's "alcohol story"

- Ignores much of history
- Is primarily told by a handful of giant and highly profitable transnational corporations
- Is an individual story, not a wider social story
- Normalizes alcohol
  - "Everybody drinks"
  - Alcohol is and should be everywhere
- Going to tell a different alcohol story this morning



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 12<sup>th</sup> 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.



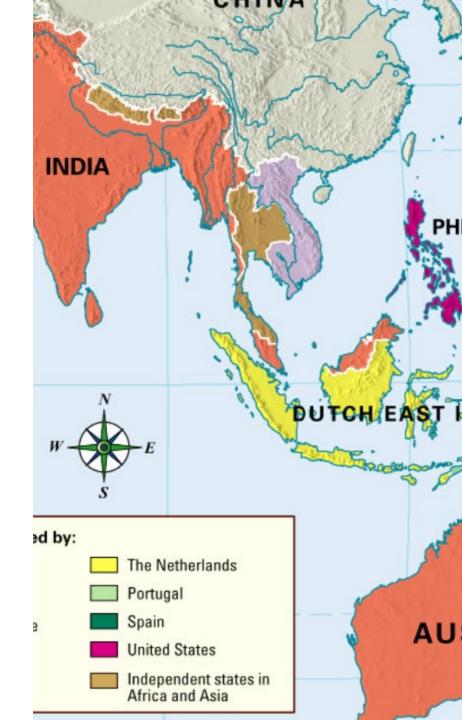


### New England rum and the slave trade

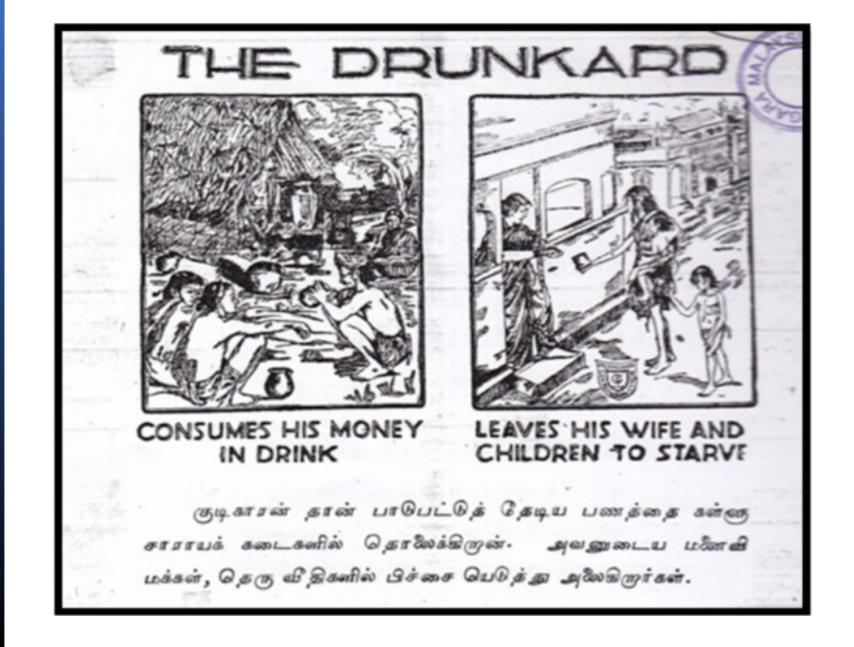


The British in Asia: Building an empire on drugs

- The British "gave opium to the Chinese and alcohol to the Indians."
  - -- Spokesperson for Customs and Excise Malaysia, 1996
- They manipulated the palm wine supply to control workers in Malaya.
- They controlled and manipulated the toddy supply in India.



### Promoting a "drunken Indian" stereotype

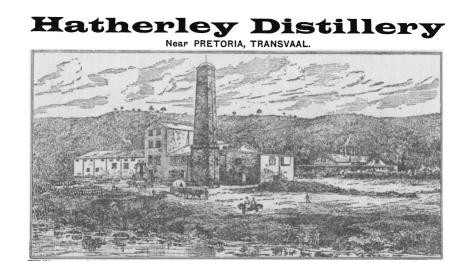


### Alcohol and Jewish oppression in Poland

- Historically, Polish Jews could not become nobility, join craft or professional guilds, or work the land.
- Polish nobles gave to Jews exclusive right to run the country's alcohol industries throughout modern-day Poland, Ukraine and Belarus.
- Just as forcing Jews into the money-lending business helped the nobility turn peasant resentment away from themselves and towards the visible "middle agent" Jews, so with the alcohol supply:
  - the nobility quietly encouraged heavy drinking to increase their income from the alcohol licensing (which sometimes made up as much ast 25% of an estate's income), while blaming any problems on Jews.



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



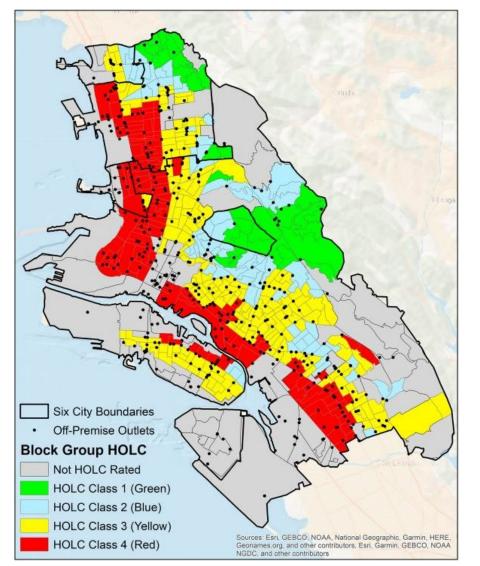
The "dop" system in South Africa and FASD

- 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.



## "Redlining" and the location of 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.



### Alcohol and violence: four types

	Personal	Institutional
Overt	<ul> <li>Aggravated assault</li> <li>Sexual assault</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Slavery</li> <li>Mass incarceration</li> </ul>
Covert	<ul> <li>Extreme neglect</li> </ul>	<ul><li>Redlining</li><li>Oppressive marketing</li></ul>

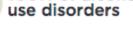
#### Alcohol and health @ World Health Organization

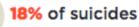




### Harmful use of alcohol causes



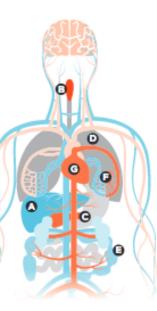












- 48% of liver cirrhosis
   48%
- O 26% of mouth cancers
- **O 26%** of pancreatitis
- 20% of tuberculosis
- 11% of colorectal cancer
- G 5% of breast cancer
- **© 7%** of hypertensive heart disease

# Alcohol use annually contributes to 178,000 deaths

# \$249 billion

was spent on alcohol problems in 2010

### Pre-Pandemic Rising Alcohol-Related Harms



Alcohol-specific death rate, 2000-2016

Rate of ER visits per 100,000 population involving alcohol consumption, 2006-2014

Age-adjusted death rate for alcoholic liver disease, 2000-2019

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, 2000-2019. CSR, Incorporated. Accessed May 1, 2022.

Rising Alcohol-Related Harms during the Pandemic

## **125.5%** Deaths involving alcohol, 2019-2020 (99,017)

Age-adjusted death rate from alcohol

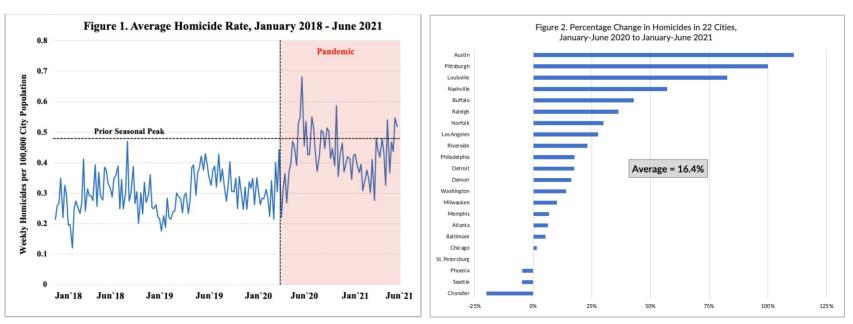


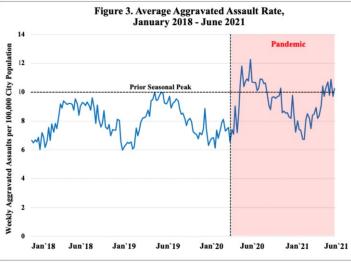
Source: White et al., JAMA, published online March 18, 2022, doi:10.1001/jama,2022.4308

125.9%

**1**39.7%

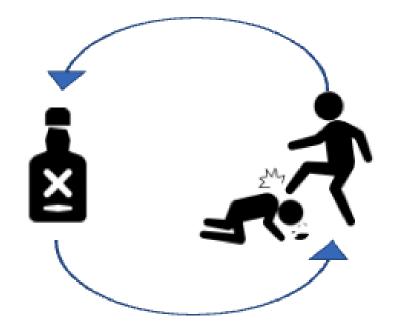
Alcohol and violent crime during the pandemic





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).

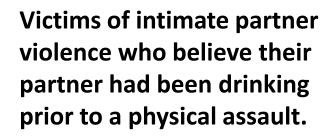




The association between alcohol and IPV has been demonstrated on every continent.

## Alcohol use increases the occurrence & severity of IPV.

55%



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-

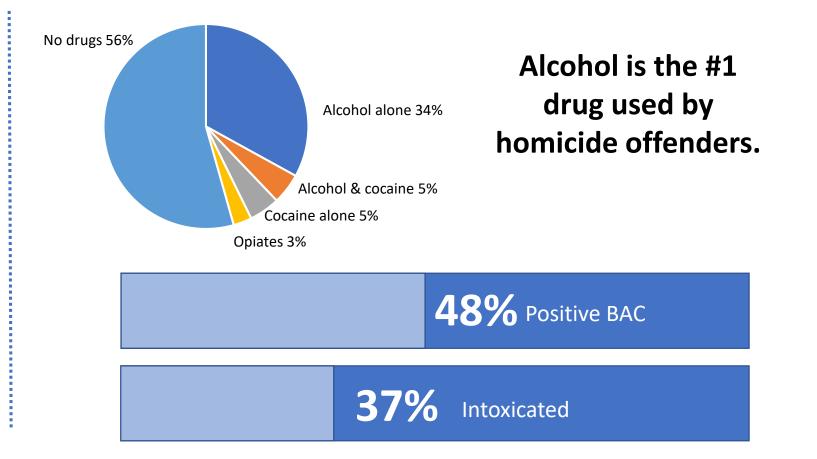


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### **HOMICIDE PERPETRATION**

Every day, there are 67 homicides 32 are assumed to be caused by alcohol.





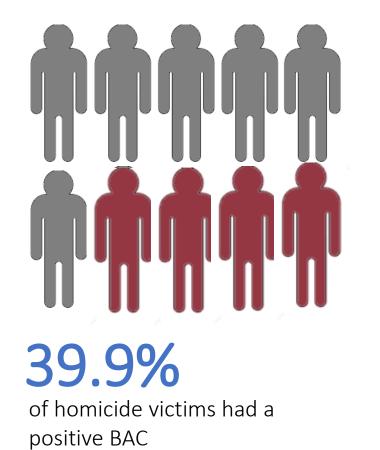
Darke, S. (2010). The Toxicology of Homicide Offenders and Victims: A review. Drug and Alcohol Review, 29(2):202-215.

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.

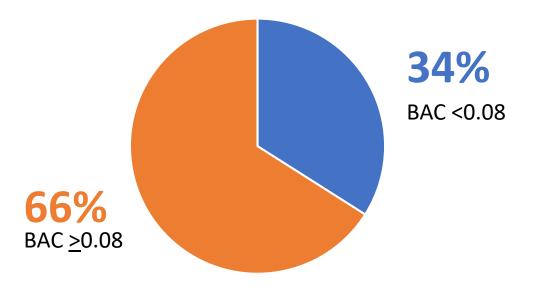


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### HOMICIDE VICTIMIZATION



Among those with a positive BAC:

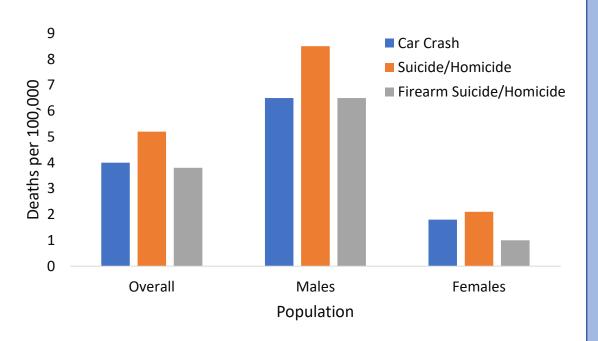




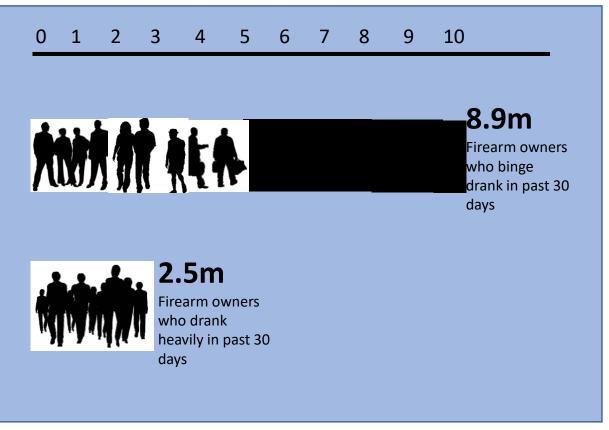
Naimi, TS. (2016) Alcohol Involvement in Homicide Victimization in the United States. Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research. Volume 40. Issue 12. Page 2614 - 2621.

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### **FIREARM VIOLENCE**



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







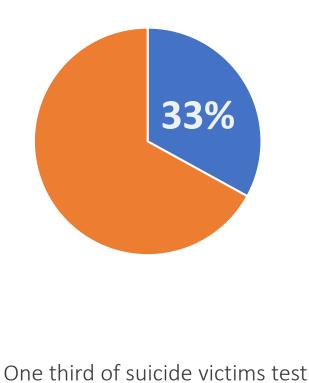
### SUICIDE



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

These suicides cost approximately \$21 billion annually.





positive for alcohol use.

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

3.1x 2.6x 1.9x 1.9x

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. <u>https://www.cdc.gov/injury/wisqars/nvdrs.html</u>. 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/ypl10.html. Updated 2015. Accessed 03/11, 2017.



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### SEXUAL ASSAULT PERPETRATION

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





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.

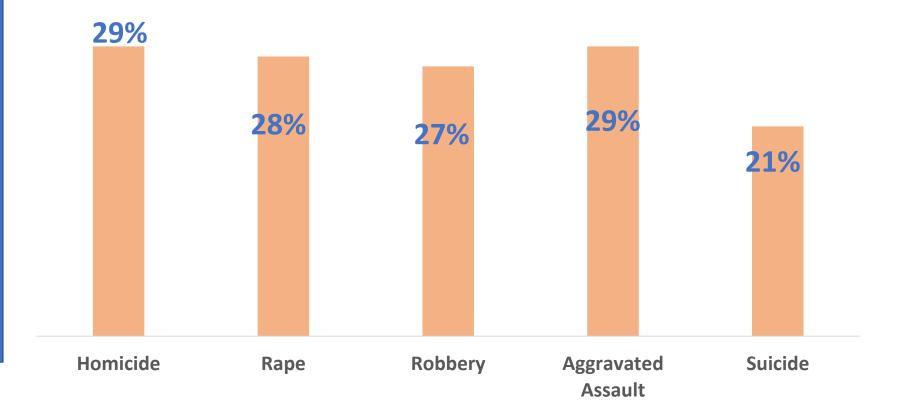
Sexual assault was measured using the revised Sexual Experiences Survey. Kingree, J. B. and Thompson, M. (2015). A Comparison of Risk Factors for Alcohol-Involved and Alcohol-Uninvolved Sexual Aggression Perpetration. Journal of Interperson THINK. TEACH. DO. Violence, 30(9):1478–1492.

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: <a href="http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/rsavcaf9513.pdf">http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/rsavcaf9513.pdf</a> 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.



### **ALCOHOL-ATTRIBUTABLE FRACTIONS**

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



Centers for Disease Control (CDC). Alcohol and Public Health: Alcohol-Related Disease Impact (ARDI) Application, 2013. Accessed November 8, 2015 at: <a href="http://nccd.cdc.gov/DPH\_ARDI/Default/Default.aspx">http://nccd.cdc.gov/DPH\_ARDI/Default/Default.aspx</a> Bouchery, E., C. Simon, and H. Harwood, *Economic costs of excessive alcohol consumption in the United States, 2006.* 2013, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. THINK.TEACH. DO.

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## Alcohol and Racial/ethnic disparities

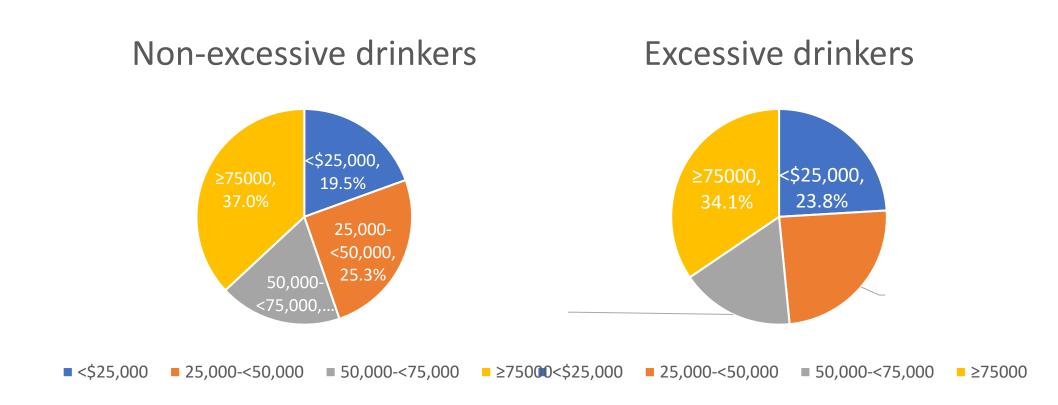
## Inequity in consumption

## Who drinks most of the alcohol?

Heavy drinkers (NSDUH):

- 11.3 million White adults 18+
- 1.8 million Black or African American adults 18+
- 129,000 American Indian or Alaska Native adults 18+
- 57,000 Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander adults 18+
- 318,000 Asian adults 18+
- 300,000 adults of two or more races 18+
- 2.3 million Hispanic or Latino adults 18+

## Inequity in consumption

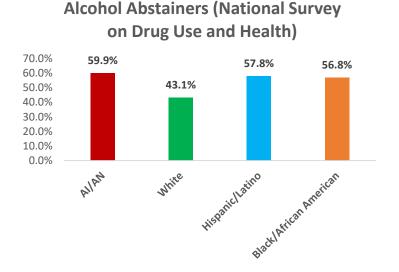


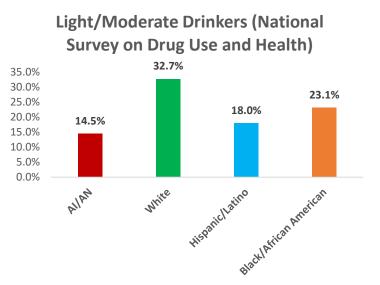
Drinking rises with income, and both non-excessive and excessive drinking are most common in the highest income groups

# Inequity in consumption

- Top 2.5% of drinkers consume roughly ¼ of the alcohol
- Top 5% of drinkers consume roughly 40% of the alcohol
- Top 20% of drinkers consume roughly 88% of the alcohol
- WHO ARE THESE PEOPLE?
  - White
  - Higher income
  - The people who write the laws...

#### Disparities in alcohol use



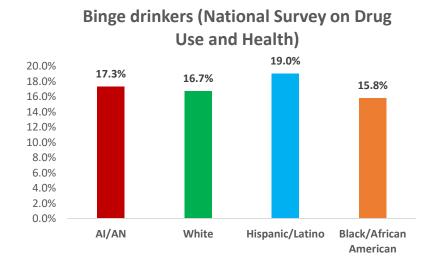


Whites are least likely and AI/AN people are most likely to abstain.

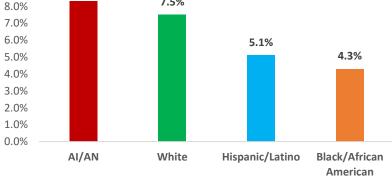
AI/AN people are least likely to report light or moderate use, and White people are most likely to report this.

# Disparities in alcohol use – binge (4+ for females, 5+ for males) and heavy (binged 5+ days in last 30) use

9.0%

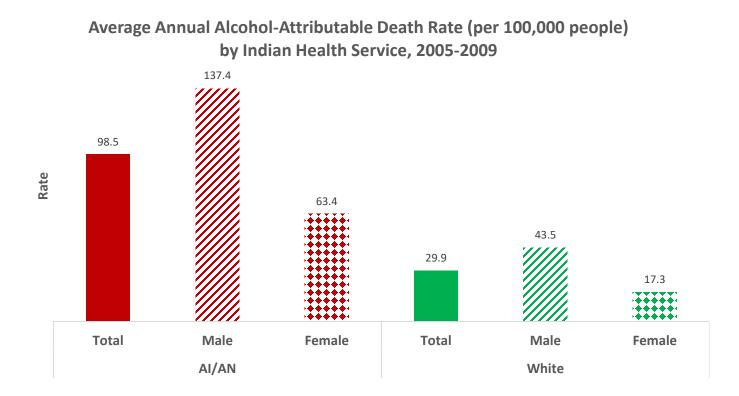






AI/AN people and White people are most likely to be heavy drinkers; Hispanic/Latinx people slightly more likely to self-report as binge drinkers. Note: Estimates of prevalence of both binge and heavy drinking among AI/AN and White people differ by less than 1 percentage point.. Although Blacks/African American and Hispanics/Latinx people in particular consume less alcohol than White people, and Al/AN people binge and drink heavily at close to the same rates as White people, member so these groups experience higher levels of negative consequences from drinking.

#### Alcohol-attributable deaths



AI/ANs have substantially higher rates of alcohol-attributable death than Whites.

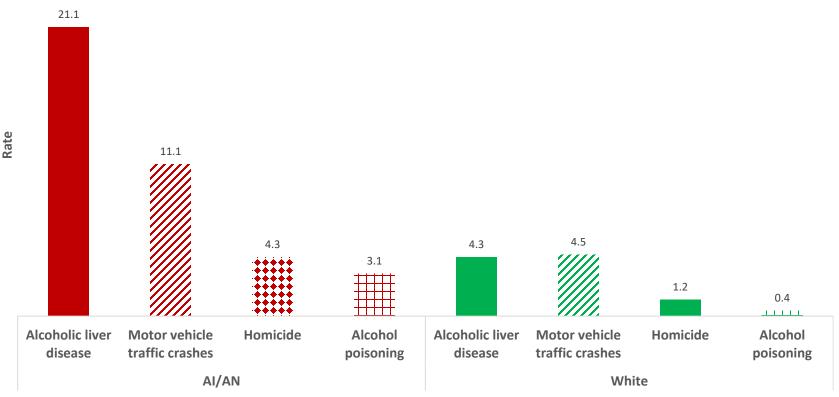
AI/AN males have the highest rates, followed by AI/AN females, White males, and then White females.

Landen, M., Roeber, J., Naimi, T., Nelsen, L., & Sewell, M. (2014). Alcohol-attibutable mortality among American Indians and Alaska natives in the United States, 1999-2009. American journal of public health, 104(S3), S343-S34

#### Alcohol-attributable deaths

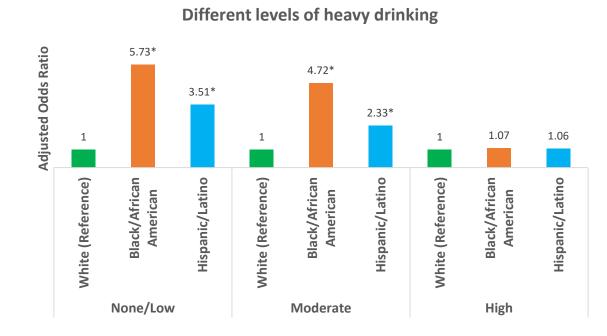
Average Annual Number of Alcohol-Attributable Death Rates (per 100,000 people) by Leading Causes of Alcohol-Related Death, 2005–2009

- AI/ANs have substantially higher rates of alcoholattributable death than Whites.
- AI/AN males have the highest rates, followed by AI/AN females, White males, and then White females.



Landen, M., Roeber, J., Naimi, T., Nielsen, L., & Sewell, M. (2014). Alcohol-attributable mortally among American Indians and Alaska natives in the United States, 1999–2009. American journal of public health, 104(S3), S343-S349.

#### Alcohol dependence



\*Dependence symptoms include loss of control, blackouts, hands shaking and other physiological symptoms of excessive alcohol use

Among those reporting little or no heavy drinking and moderate heavy drinkers, African American and Latinx adults more likely to be at risk for alcohol dependence symptoms than White adults.

#### 3.14\* **Adjusted Odds Ratio** 2.06\* 2.33\* 1 0.87\* Non-drinker Heavy drinker Moderate **Heavy drinker** Moderate Non-drinker (Reference) drinker (Reference) drinker **Black/African American** White

Liver disease mortality

"Compared to non-drinkers, moderate alcohol drinking is associated with an increased risk of mortality due to liver disease among Black individuals but this association was not significant among White individuals"

### Alcoholrelated liver disease

### Alcoholrelated cancer

- 4% of all cases of cancer worldwide in 2020 (~750,000 cases) attributable to alcohol consumption
- Higher prevalence in Black/African Americans compared to White individuals
  - Oropharynx, larynx, esophagus, liver, colon, rectum and breast cancer
- Higher mortality from alcohol-related cancers in Black/African American adults
  - Oropharynx, larynx, and breast cancer

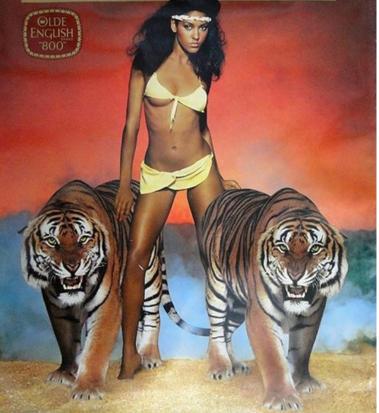


Rumgay, H., Shield, K., Charvat, H., Ferrari, P., Sompaisarn, B., Obot, I., . . . . Soerjomataram, I. (2021). Global burden of cancer in 2020 attributable to alcohol consumption: A population-based study. Lancet Oncol, 22(8), 1071-1080. doi:10.1016/S1470-2045(21)00279-5 Polenak, A. P. (2007). Secular trend in u.S. Black-white disparities in selected alcohol-related cancer incidence rates. Alcohol Alcohol, 42(2), 125-130. doi:10.1093/atalk/agt[21 cetaton, R., Vaeth, R. C., Charlie, K. G., Akhil, B. A. (2014). Chapter 37 - epidemiology of drinking. alcohol used disorders, and related problems in use thinin miority groups. In E. V. Sullivan & A. Pfefferbaum (Eds.), Handb. Clin. Neurol. (Vol. 125, pp. 629-648): Elsevier. Howlader, N., Noone, A. M., Krapcho, M., Miller, D., Bishop, K., Alteruse, S. F., . . . Cronin, K. A. (2016). Seer cancer statistics review, 1975-2013. Retrieved from Bethesda, MD: https://seer.cancer.gov/archive/csr/1975\_2013/ Charter, K. G. Vaeth, P. A., & Castara, R. (2015). Focial sources of racial disparities in health. Health Affairs, 24(2), 325-334. doi:10.1377/hhtf.24.2325 (Beisherdt N. Noole, S. R. (2005). Social sources of racial disparities in health. Health Affairs, 24(2), 325-334. doi:10.1377/hhtf.24.2325 (Beisherdt N. Nooles of commercial interests in alcohol doilcies: recent developments in North America. Addicion. 2000 Dec:95 Suppl 4558.1956.001

### Alcoholrelated cancer

- The alcohol industry has contributed to disparities in cancer by directly targeting populations of low socioeconomic status and racial minority groups across the U.S.
  - Made alcohol more available in and targeted specific higher-alcohol products to low-income and Black/African American communities

## ENGLISH "800" MALT LIQUOR



Rumgay, H., Shield, K., Charvat, H., Ferrari, P., Sompaisan, B., Obot, I., ... Soefjornataram, I. (2021). Global burden of cancer in 2020 attributable to alcohol consumption: A population-based study. Lancet Oncol, 22(8), 1071-1080. doi:10.1016/S1470-2045(21)00279-5 Polednak, A. P. (2007). Secular trend in u.S. Back-white disparities in selected alcohol-related cancer indedece rates. Alcohol Alcohol, 42(2), 125-130. doi:10.1093/alcalc/agt121 Catano, R., Vater, R. C., & Allis, B. A. (2014). Chapter 37 - apidemiology of drinking, alcohol acdobale in monotry groups. In E. V. Sullivan & A. Pfefferbaum (Eds.), Handb. Clin. Neurol. (Vol. 125, pp. 629-648); Elsevier. Howlader, N., Noone, A. M., Krapcho, M., Miller, D., Bishop, K., Altervues, S. F., ... Crowin, K. A. (2016). Seer cancer statistics review, 1975-2013. Retrieved from Bethesda, MD: https://seer.ancer.gov/archive/csr/1975\_2013/ Chartier, K. G., Vehills, B. A., Caster, R. K., Aldervues, S. F., ... Crowin, K. A. (2016). Seer cancer statistics review, 1975-2013. Retrieved from Bethesda, MD: https://seer.ancer.gov/archive/csr/1975\_2013/ Chartier, K. G., Vehills, B. Altervues, P. B. (2005). Social sources of racial disparities in health. Health Affairs, 24(2), 325-334. doi:10.1377/10HBf. 24.2325 Geiserbert N. Roles of commercial indices: cent develoments in North America. Addicion. 2000 Dec:55 Suppl 45581.95 doi: 10.1080/0652140020013791\_PMID: 1213833.

## Alcoholimpaired driving

Alcohol and Highway Safety: Special Report on Race/Ethnicity and Impaired Driving https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/alcohol-and-highway-safety-special-reportraceethnicity-and  Based on vehicle miles traveled (VMT), both Black/African Americans and Hispanic/Latinos have higher prevalence of drinking-driving fatalities than Whites

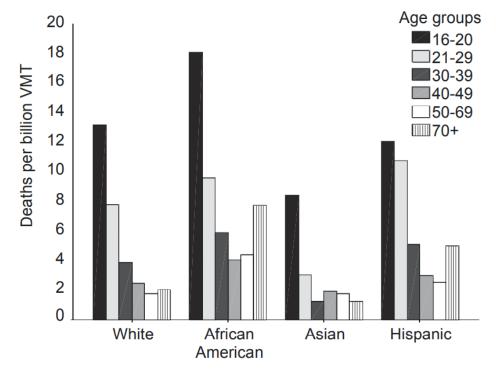
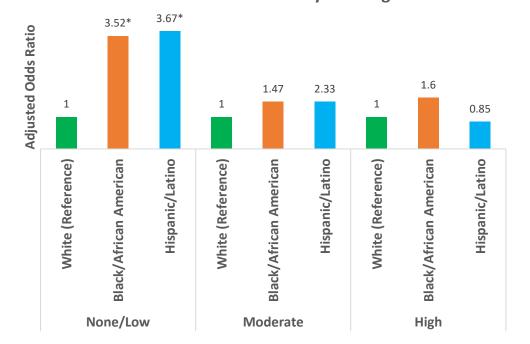


Figure 1. VMT-based measure (fatalities per VMT) of drinking drivers killed in crashes across racial/ethnic groups



\*Social consequences include arguments or fights, such as with a spouse or people with whom the respondent lives, injuries, and workplace, legal, and health problems as a result of drinking

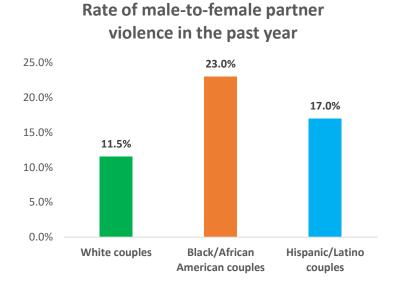
Among those reporting little or no heavy drinking, African American and Latinx adults are more likely to be at risk for social consequences than White adults.

# Social consequences

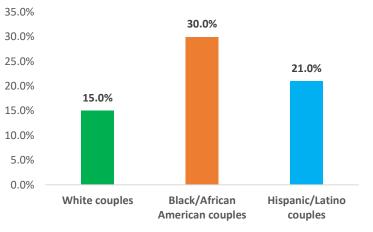
#### Intimate partner violence (IPV)

#### Alcohol plays an important part in IPV

• The consistent evidence that alcohol use by one or both partners contributes to the risk and severity of IPV



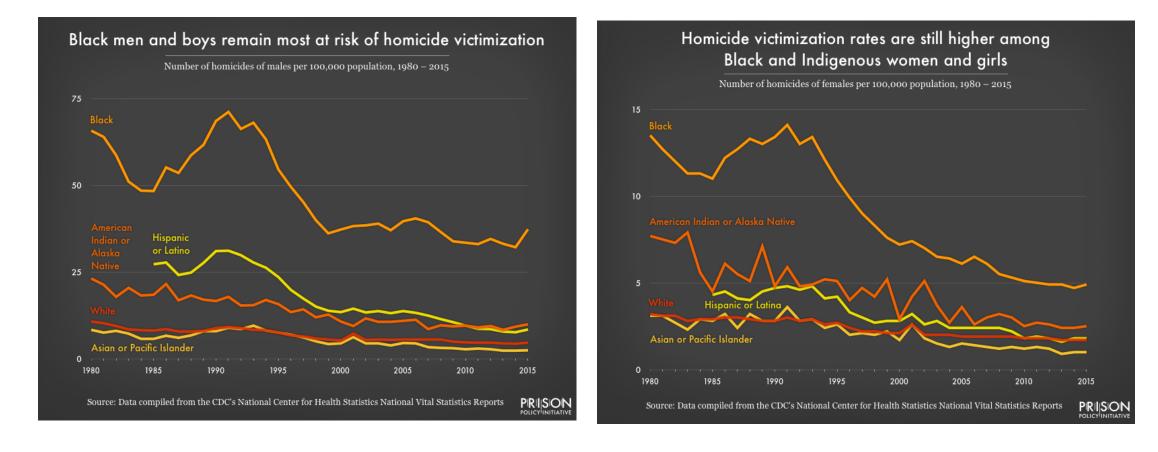
Rate of female-to-male partner violence in the past year



#### "30-40% of men and 27-34% of women who perpetrated violence against their partners were drinking at the time of the event."

Wilson, I.M., Graham, K. & Taft, A. Alcohol interventions, alcohol policy and intimate partner violence: a systematic review. BMC Public Health 14, 881 (2014). https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-14-881

Caetano R, Schafer J, Cunradi CB. Alcohol-related intimate partner violence among white, black, and Hispanic couples in the United States. Alcohol Res Health. 2001;25(1):58-65. PMID: 11496968; PMCID: PMC6707122.



#### CDC estimates that 47% of homicides are alcohol-attributable (ARDI).

Centers for Disease Control (CDC). Alcohol and Public Health: Alcohol-Related Disease Impact (ARDI) Application, 2013. Accessed November 8, 2015 at: http://nccd.cdc.gov/DPH\_ARDI/Default/Default.aspx

https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2018/05/03/homicide\_overtime/



## Alcohol and inequities: a recap

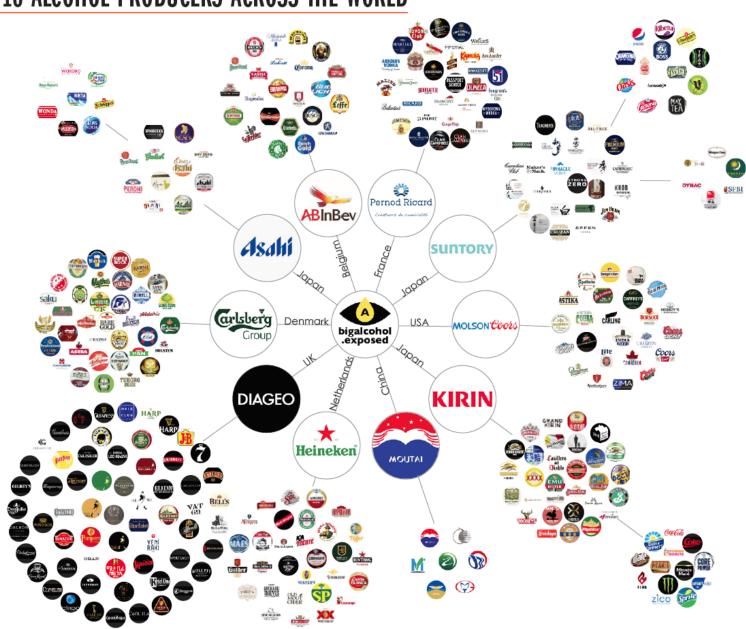
- In general, lower-income, indigenous people and people of color are less likely to drink than White people, but suffer higher levels of harm.
- The same amount of alcohol, in a poor family, community or country, will cause far more damage than in a wealthier setting.
- According to one analysis, alcohol use explains as much as 27% of socioeconomic differences in mortality.

Collins SE. Associations Between Socioeconomic Factors and Alcohol Outcomes. Alcohol Res. 2016;38:83-94. Rehm J, Gmel GES, Gmel G, Hasan OSM, Imtiaz S, Popova S et al. The relationship between different dimensions of alcohol use and the burden of diseasean update. Addiction. 2017;Epub ahead of print. doi: 10.1111/add.13757. Alcohol's transition in the 20<sup>th</sup> century

- In the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> 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 55<sup>th</sup> largest economy in the world
- As of 2019, alcohol was the 8<sup>th</sup> most profitable industry in the world



TOP 10 ALCOHOL PRODUCERS ACROSS THE WORLD

Source: Movendi. Alcohol Industry Interference Worldwide: Big Alcohol Exposed. 2019.

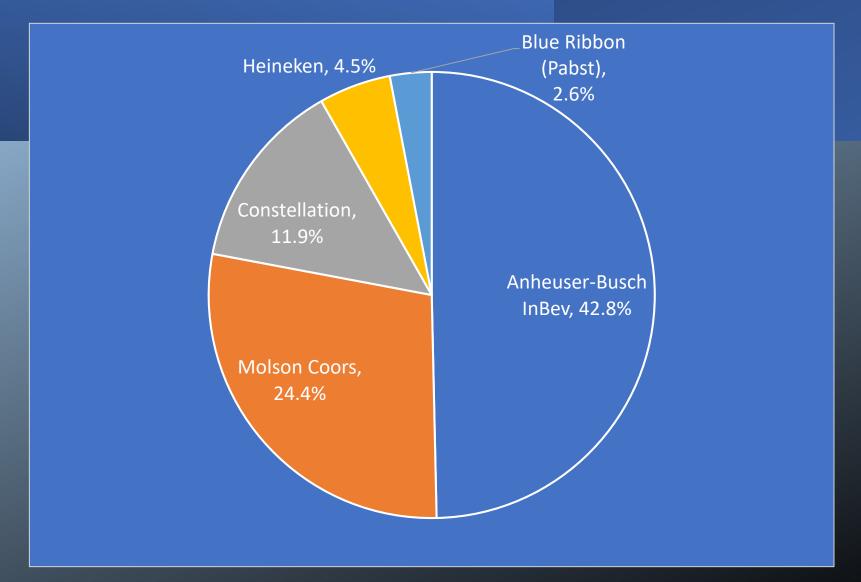
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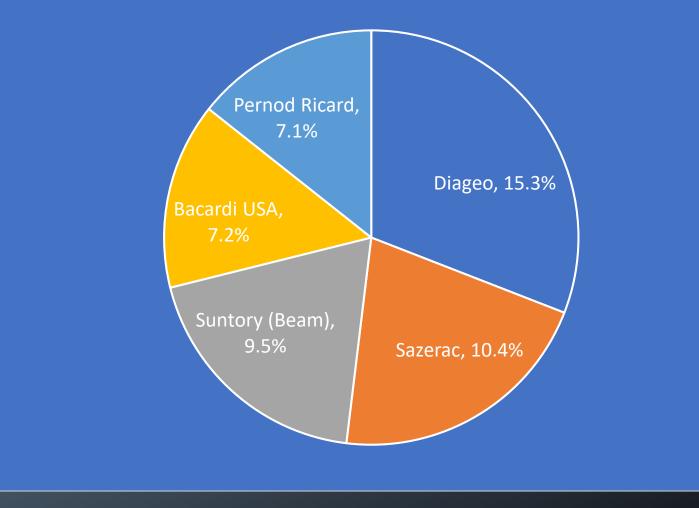
#### Leading US Beer Companies, 2020

Five brewers account for
86.2% of the US beer market.



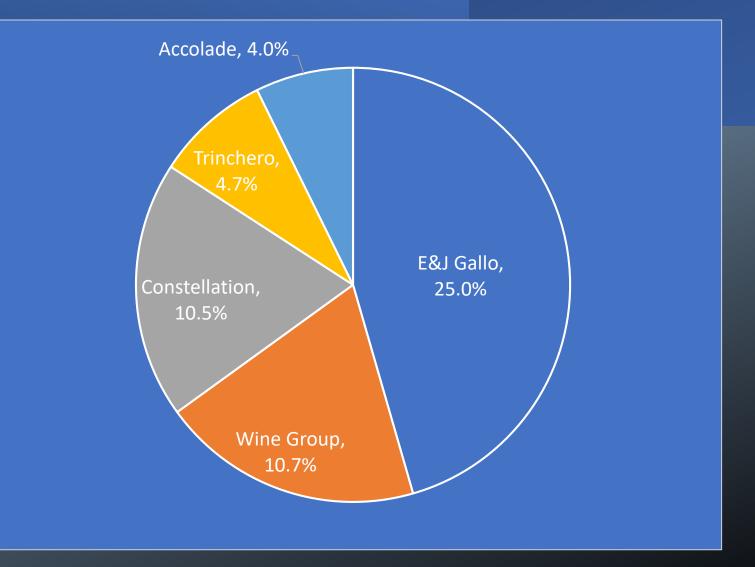
#### Leading US Distillers, 2020

Five distillers account for
49.5% of the US spirits market.



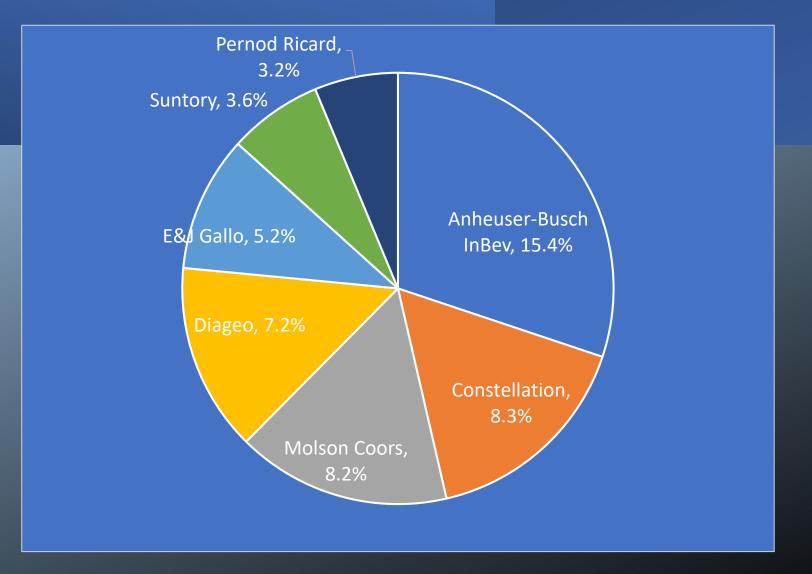
#### Leading US Wine Producers, 2020

Five wine producers account for
54.9% of the US market.



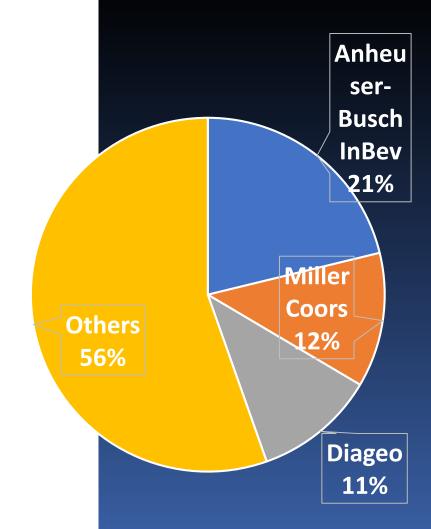
#### Share of revenues, 2020

Seven
 companies earr
 51.1% of the
 revenues from
 alcohol in the
 USA.



# 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



Eck RH, Trangenstein PJ, Siegel M, Jernigan DH. Company-Specific Revenues From Underage Drinking. J Stud Alcohol Drugs. 2021;82:368-76. doi: 10.15288/jsad.2021.82.368.

#### Largest Alcohol Marketers by Global Spending, 2019

- Six alcohol companies rank among the world's largest spenders on advertising.
- Together they spent US \$17.2 billion on advertising worldwide in 2019.

RANK (ALCOHOL COS.)	RANK (ALL COS.)	BRAND NAME (PARENT COMPANY)	TOTAL WORLDWIDE ADVERTISING SPENDING (MILLIONS USD)
1	11	Anheuser-Busch InBev	5,756.19
2	26	Suntory Holdings (Beam Suntory)	3,538.27
3	36	Heineken	2,947.63
4	48	Diageo	2,320.6
5	81	Pernod Ricard	1,467.78
6	98	Molson Coors Beverage Co.	1,200

\*Source for global spending on advertising is Ad Age's database of the world's 100 largest marketers. If companies did not rank in the top 100 advertisers worldwide, figures for their advertising spending were not available.

The importance of alcohol advertising and promotion

- Marketing plays a key role for the industry nationally and globally
  - Functions as significant barrier to entry
    - AB Inbev's cost of advertising per barrel sold significantly lower than its competitors – same is likely true of Diageo
  - Helps to generate oligopoly profits, which in turn support more marketing spend
    - Alcoholic beverages are the 8<sup>th</sup> most profitable industry – more profitable than soft drinks, less so than tobacco
  - Counters increasingly bad health news
  - Increasingly happening on social media

Alcohol industry "stakeholder marketing"

- One key area of marketing spend is on stakeholder marketing
- As of 2021:
  - The alcohol industry spent \$30 million on lobbying at the federal level
  - They reported 282 registered lobbyists
  - They spent \$15 million at the state level

Today's alcohol marketers tell the majority of the alcohol stories, and this is key to their role in oppression.

## Alcohol and social injustice today

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

#### SEXISM



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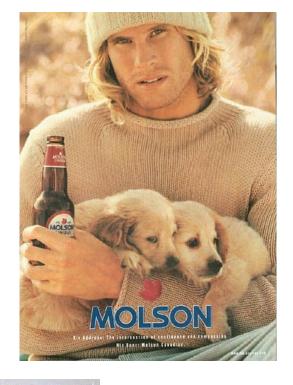
ink lemonade



#### IT'S THE ONE PICKUP LINE THAT ALWAYS WORKS. Budweiser thanks the 148 million American adults who have been a designated driver or

gone home with one.\* It's an essential part of every night out. And it's not going unnoticed. Go to our page on Facebook and help us show some love to the designated driver.







#### HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WOMEN. PRE-PROGRAMMED FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE.

As you read this, women across America are reading something very different: an advertisement (fig.1) scientifically formulated to enhance their perception of men who drink Molson. The ad shows below, currently running in Cosmopolitan magazine, is a perfectly tuned combination of words and images designed by trained professionals. Women who are exposed to it experience a very positive feeling. A feeling which they will later project directly onto you. Re 2 114-Triggering the process is as simple as ordering a Molson Canadian (fig. 2).



The game is about to change, and you're the heavy favorite Extravagant disners. Subtitled movies. Floral arrangements tied together with little pieces of hay. It gets old. And it gets expensive, depleting funds that could go to a new set of 20-inch rims. But thanks to the miracle of Twin Advortising Technology, you can achieve success without putting in any time or effort. So drop the buquet and pick up a Moison Canadian. That's not just a crisp, clean drep the bought and poor of asting. It's victory, my friend.





## Women as the product





#### CULTURAL APPROPRIATION



## 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 and any time, and particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic.





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%).



https://fare.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2020-05-08-CCWA-FARE-An-alcohol-ad-every-35-seconds-A-snapshot-final.pdf

# 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 antialcohol agenda will not be met with much success.

-Miller Brewing Company

# Violence: four types

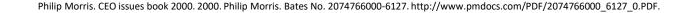
	Personal	Institutional
Overt	<ul> <li>Aggravated assault</li> <li>Sexual assault</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Discriminatory enforcement</li> <li>Mass incarceration</li> </ul>
Covert	<ul> <li>Extreme neglect</li> </ul>	<ul><li>Redlining</li><li>Oppressive marketing</li></ul>

#### **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.

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

# Alcohol Outlet Density

# 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.









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





# When the # of alcohol outlets increases...

So do the problems:

- violence/crime<sup>1</sup>
- sexually transmitted infections<sup>2</sup>
- noise<sup>3</sup>
- injuries<sup>4</sup>
- property damage<sup>5</sup>





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.

T



# **City-specific Findings**

- Philadelphia: increased risk of being shot in an assault in an area of high alcohol outlet availability<sup>10</sup>
- New Orleans: 10% rise in density ↑ 5.8% rise in gonorrhea rates<sup>11</sup>
- California: # off-premise outlets associated with rates of child abuse, # bars associated with rates of child neglect<sup>12</sup>
  - Sacramento: each additional off-premise outlet associated with 4% increase in IPV-related police calls, and 3% increase in IPVrelated crime reports<sup>13</sup>
- Minneapolis, MN: neighborhoods with highest density also have highest density of criminal violence<sup>14</sup>
- Washington, DC: # alcohol outlets in a census tract related to robbery, assault, and sexual offense<sup>15</sup>
  - 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.)

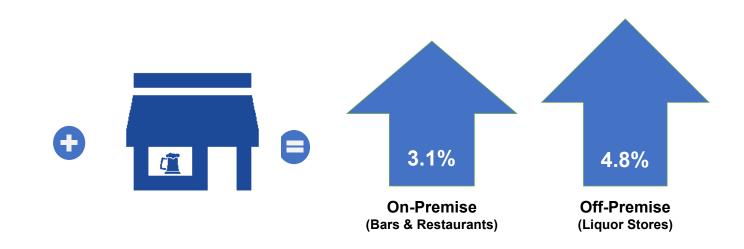






#### **CROWDING OF OUTLETS LEADS TO VIOLENCE**

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., Storm, 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. & Grubesic, T.H. 2011. Alcohol Outlets and Community Levels of Interpersonal Violence: Spatial Density, Outlet Type, and Seriounses 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/at.12295 Grubesic, 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 violence: spatial 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: 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 Pasearch in Crime and Delinquency, 50*(1), 132-159. Snowden, A., & Pridemore, W. (2013). Alcohol and violence in a nonmetropolitan college town: Alcohol outlet density of on-premises alcohol outlet and inpact on violent crime, Atlanta, Georgia, 1997-2007. *Prev Chronic Dis,* 12, E84. doi:10.5888/p





#### **BUSINESS PRACTICES**

The following business practices are associated with increased violence:



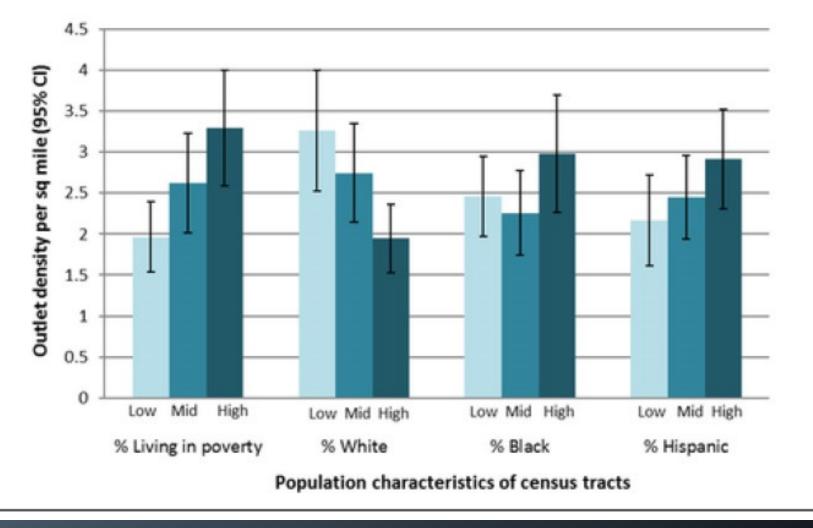
Schofield, T.P. & Denson, T.F. (2013). Alcohol Outlet Business Hours and Violent Crime in New York State. Alcohol and Alcoholism, 48(3):363-369. Accessed November 22, 2015 at: <a href="http://alcalc.oxfordjournals.org/content/48/3/363.full">http://alcalc.oxfordjournals.org/content/48/3/363.full</a> Parker, 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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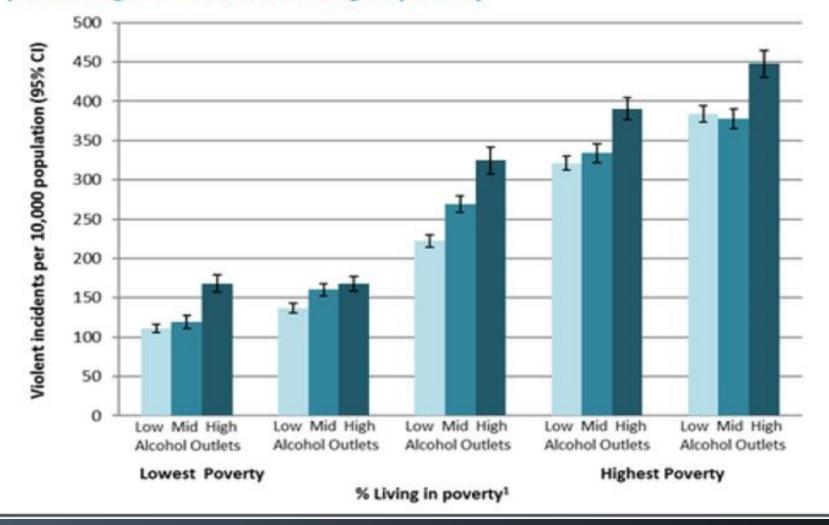
FOR THE HEALTH OF ALI

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



Auchincloss AH, Buehler JW, Moore KA, Melly SJ, Diez Roux AV. Alcohol outlets and violence in Philadelphia. Urban Health Collaborative Data Brief Number 1, 2017. Dornsife School of Public Health, Drexel University: Philadelphia, PA.

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



Auchincloss AH, Buehler JW, Moore KA, Melly SJ, Diez Roux AV. Alcohol outlets and violence in Philadelphia. Urban Health Collaborative Data Brief Number 1, 2017. Dornsife School of Public Health, Drexel University: Philadelphia, PA.

# 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



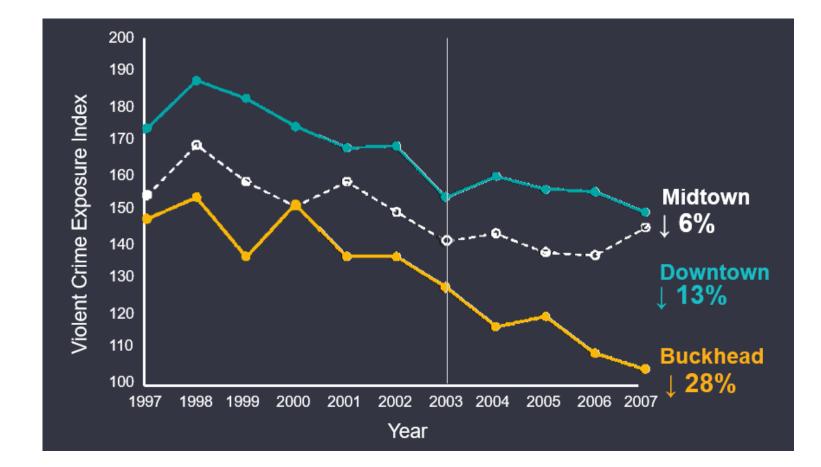


#### Evidence Of Effectiveness

• 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

• Baltimore example

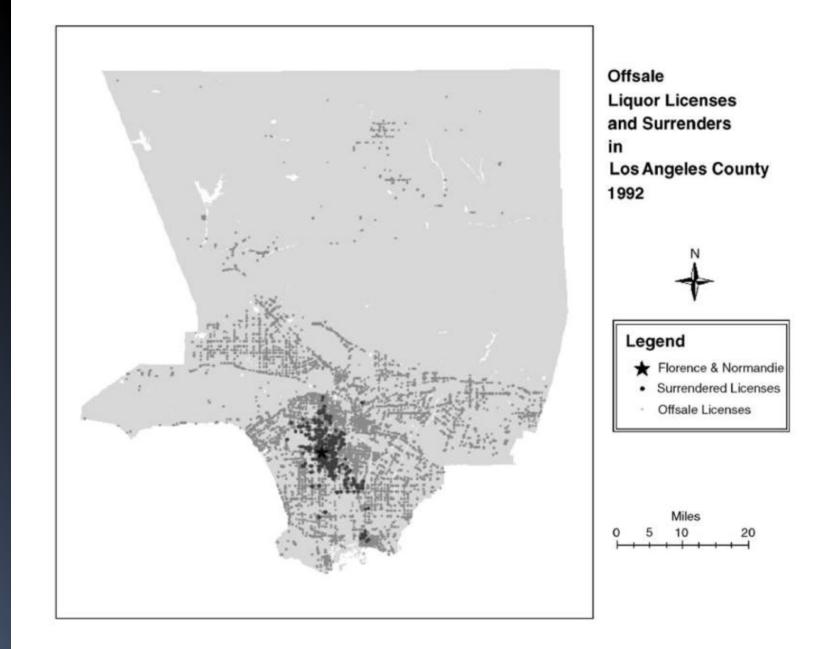


Zhang, X., Hatcher, B., Clarkson, L., Holt, J., Bagchi, S., Kanny, D., & Brewer, R. D. (2015). Peer Reviewed: Changes in Density of On-Premises Alcohol Outlets and Impact on Violent Crime, Atlanta, Georgia, 1997–2007. *Preventing chronic disease*, *12*.

#### Evidence Of Effectiveness

Los Angeles, CA

Census tracts had reductions in violent crime that were proportional to their reductions in alcohol outlets

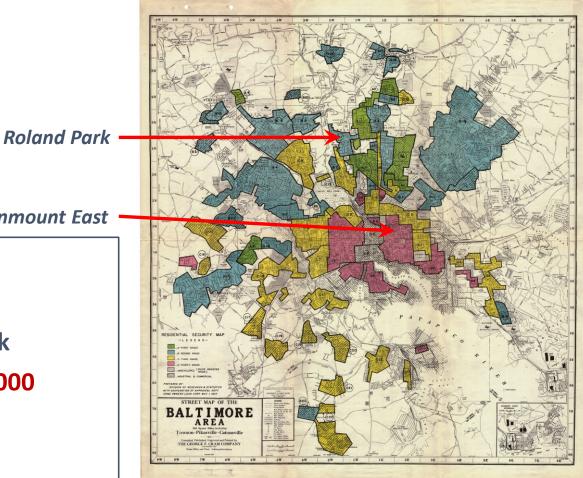


Cohen, D. A., Ghosh-Dastidar, B., Scribner, R., Miu, A., Scott, M., Robinson, P., ... & Brown-Taylor, D. (2006). Alcohol outlets, gonorrhea, and the Los Angeles civil unrest: a longitudinal analysis. *Social science & medicine*, *62*(12), 3062-3071.

# Redlining & Equity Implications

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

CASE STUDY: BALTIMORE	Greenmount East	
Roland Park	Greenmount East	
82% White	97% Black	
Median Income: \$104k	Median Income: \$23k	
2.7 liquor stores/10,000 people	7.3 liquor stores/10,000 people	



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

## Alcohol policy is political

#### What works...

- Reducing alcohol outlet density
- Increasing alcohol taxes
- Limiting alcohol advertising and promotion

...Is rarely done

# 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
  - The industry wants us to believe 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

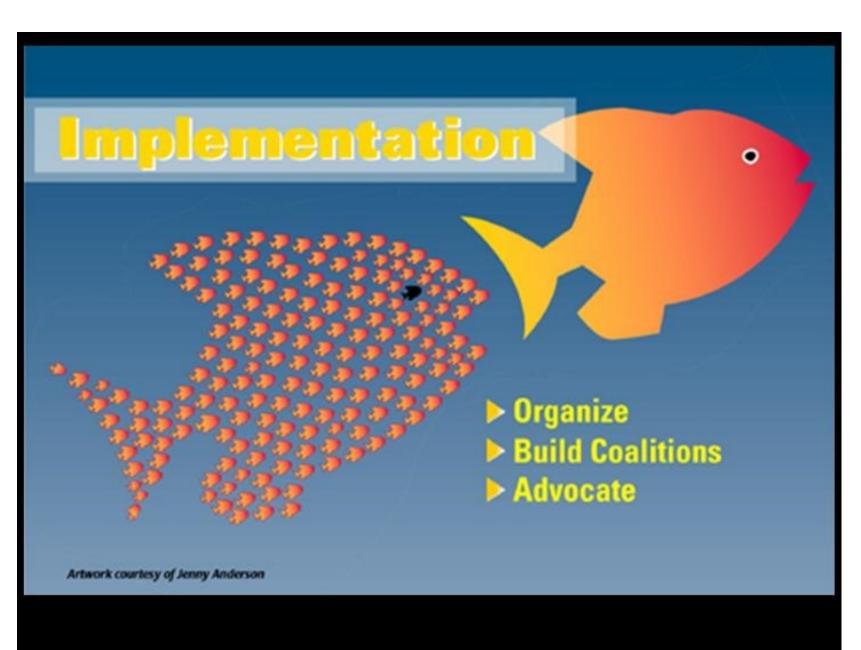
# A different alcohol story

- 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

## In closing:

"Not everything that is faced can be changed. But nothing can be changed until it is faced."

#### -- James Baldwin



- We are many
- We are powerful
- Our stories are powerful
- We can act as one
- Change begins with us

# THANK YOU!

dhjern@bu.edu <sup>y</sup> @dhjalcohol



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





## UPCOMING EVENTS

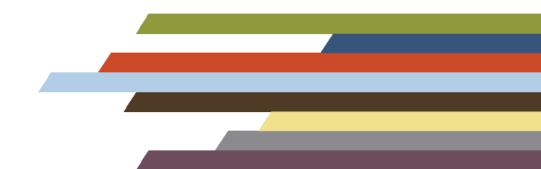
- Prevention Across the Lifespan –
- Substance Use Prevention Among Young Adults
- Date: April 11, 2024
- Time:10:30 -12:00 Pacific Time
- Prevention Across the Lifespan –
- Substance Use Prevention Among Young Adults Date:
- April 11, 2024
- Time:10:30 -12:00 Pacific Time



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# Thank you!

