



No.18

# Alcohol and Crime

Gail Mason and Paul R Wilson

*From the time that Europeans first brought alcohol to this country it has rapidly become embedded in the lifestyle of a substantial proportion of Australia's population. Alcohol consumption, and especially that of beer, has on numerous occasions been referred to as the great Australian pastime. The popular image of Australia's beer-swilling, pot-bellied "Norm" is in many ways an authentic caricature and indeed one that many Australians seem proud of. Drinking alcohol is frequently perceived as ordinary, every day activity, while regular drunkenness is portrayed, at least by some, as one prominent trait of the stereotypical "macho Aussie guy".*

*The unfortunate reality is, however, that these images create a mask which obscures the severe abuse of alcohol that has been happening in this country over many decades. This abuse has occurred in association with the dubious honour gained by Australia of having the highest rate of consumption of alcohol in the English-speaking world.*

*There are many social, economic and political repercussions that flow from a high national level of alcohol consumption. The connection between alcohol and crime, and especially violent crime, is one that has been the centre of considerable discussion both within Australia and overseas.*

*This report presents a timely review of this connection which is, among other things, also the subject of current scrutiny of the National Committee on Violence established recently by joint initiative of all Australian governments.*

**Duncan Chappell**  
Director

---

## The Impact of Alcohol

---

Alcohol abuse is a serious health and social problem for Australia. In 1977 the Senate Standing Committee on Social Welfare reported that alcohol had been a major factor in the deaths of more than 30,000 Australians in the previous decade and that one in five hospital beds was occupied by a person suffering from the adverse effects of alcohol. The Committee stated that, "Many people do not realise that the use of alcohol and tobacco is drug use and that each causes vastly more damage in Australia than all illicit drugs combined" (p.16).

This situation still prevails. In 1987 The Drug Offensive revealed that, for the year 1985, deaths due to alcohol far outnumbered those resulting from all other drugs except tobacco. Almost 3,500 deaths were attributable to alcohol, representing about 3 per cent of all deaths.

The 1977 Senate Standing Committee noted a number of other important facts related to the socially damaging effects of alcohol.

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE  
OF CRIMINOLOGY

*trends*

*&*

*issues*

in crime and criminal justice

April 1989

ISSN 0817-8542

ISBN 0 642 14448 6



Australian Institute  
of Criminology  
GPO Box 2944  
Canberra ACT 2601  
Australia

<http://www.aic.gov.au>

- Approximately 10 per cent of Australia's total health costs are alcohol-related.
- Over 250,000 Australians can be classified as alcoholics and an equal number of families are affected by the abuse of alcohol.
- In 1972-73 costs to the economy directly related to alcohol, including industrial accidents and absenteeism, were more than \$500m.

Total alcohol consumption in Australia rose steadily during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. However, as Figure 1 shows, since the early 1980s consumption has started to decrease. Australia's ranking in consumption is also dropping. In 1975 Australia was ranked tenth in the world in total absolute alcohol consumption, but by 1985 Australia's relative position had dropped to thirteenth - that is, 9.4 L per person per year (Department of Community Services and Health 1988).

However, despite this encouraging drop in consumption, 64 per cent of males and 42 per cent of females over 14 years of age have reported that they drink alcohol on one or more days per week (Department of Community Services and Health 1988). The proportion of males who consume alcohol is higher than the proportion of females at all levels of consumption and across all age groups.

Although consumption of alcohol in Australia (in per capita terms) has stabilised, and even fallen slightly in recent years, the Draft National Health Policy on Alcohol in Australia in 1987 expressed unease that this plateauing of previous escalating use masks two significant areas of concern: a high level of consumption by young people, many of whom are below the drinking age; and increasing consumption by women. The Draft Policy states that the problems associated with alcohol (including crime) remain at a level which require a concerted, comprehensive policy for their amelioration.

Figure 1 Consumption of absolute alcohol per person aged 18 years and over, 1956-57 to 1985-86.



Source: *Alcohol in Australia: A summary of related statistics*, the Department of Community Services and Health, AGPS, Canberra, 1988, p.41. Reproduced by permission.

### Youth Consumption

The alcohol consumption of young Australians is of special concern in that, by the age of 16 years, approximately 50 per cent of school students claim to drink alcohol regularly.

A 1984 survey by the Anti-cancer Council of Victoria found that 23 per cent of boys and 14 per cent of girls aged 12 years reported having consumed alcohol in the past week, and in 1986 alcohol was the most frequently used drug in the past month among year 10 students in New South Wales. However, recent surveys have revealed a significant decrease between 1983 and 1986 in daily and weekly drinking among minors of both sexes.

### Alcohol and Crime

Both Australian and overseas research support the hypothesis that there is, at the very least, a relationship between alcohol and the commission of criminal offences. In 1968 Bartholomew found that 59 per cent of Victorian prisoners had consumed alcohol before committing the offence for which they were charged. Bartholomew repeated this research in 1983 and found that the rate had increased to 81 per cent

(Bartholomew 1985). He also found that prisoners who had committed offences against the person were much more likely to have drinking problems or to have been drinking at the time of the offence than had property offenders. Prison surveys in both Tasmania (White & Boyer 1985) and Western Australia have reported similar results (Taylor 1988).

Clearly prisoner surveys such as these have limitations, not the least of which is the fact that they exclude persons who have already been diverted from the criminal justice system. An American review of twenty such prison studies found that the percentage of offenders who reported having been drinking at the time of the offence ranged from 8 to 100 per cent (Smith 1983a).

Welte (1987) notes that alcohol depresses the body's central nervous system and has a disinhibiting effect on behaviour. Disinhibition theory asserts that as property offences tend to be utilitarian and crimes of violence stem more from a loss of self-control, alcohol will play a greater role in violent than in property crime. Research undertaken in this area does suggest a strong association between crimes of violence and alcohol consumption. For example, the 1977 Senate Standing Committee on Social Welfare reported that, in a study of 644 violent assaults, 73 per cent of offenders had consumed alcohol before committing the offence.

### Homicide

The New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (1986) has found alcohol to be prevalent in 42.3 per cent of homicide incidents, while in 46 per cent of spouse killings alcohol had been consumed by one or both parties prior to the offence. Alcohol is considered to be a more common factor in killings which take place between friends, strangers and neighbours than in homicides involving family members or sexual partners. Studies are remarkably consistent in indicating that alcohol is

present in approximately 50 per cent of homicides.

---

### **Rape**

---

Forty-nine per cent of convicted rapists in Victoria described themselves as heavy drinkers or alcoholics: 67 per cent reported that they had been drinking moderately prior to committing the offence; 10 per cent claimed to have been 'drinking heavily' and 10 per cent said they were drunk (Hodgens et al. 1972). The results of similar research by Cordner *et al.*, (1979) support these findings.

---

### **Domestic Violence**

---

The West Australian Task Force on Domestic Violence found that 42 per cent of domestic violence incidents involved alcohol and victims of domestic violence have suggested that they are more likely to be the subject of a violent attack when their husband or partner is drunk.

---

### **Assault**

---

Serious assault in New South Wales is particularly common on Fridays and Saturdays, and between 10 p.m. and 2 a.m. -hours that correlate with hotel and club closing times (New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1988). Of the assaults studied, 19 per cent occurred in a venue serving alcohol and 27 per cent occurred in the street, with many street assaults spilling over from the drinking venues. Other research has found varying results, and the estimates of offenders with positive alcohol readings in assault cases range from 24 per cent in some sample populations through to 72 per cent in others (Smith 1983a). Generalisations are difficult as assault covers a wide range of offences, all of which vary in relation to their severity.

---

### **Property Offences**

---

The extent to which alcohol consumption is involved in the commission of property offences is by no means certain; studies into alcohol and robbery have found differing and inconclusive results. Worth noting however, is one study which found that 46 per cent of men imprisoned for motor vehicle theft had been drinking prior to committing the crime - with 31 per cent claiming to have been drinking heavily (Roizen & Schneberk 1978).

---

### **Suicide**

---

Alcohol use and alcoholism are considered to be high risk factors for suicide. Alcohol has been associated with 50 per cent of suicides and has been found to increase the risk of suicidal behaviour for both the alcoholic and non-alcoholic populations (Frances, Franklin & Flavin 1987).

---

### **Traffic Safety**

---

Though often not considered as "crimes", many traffic accidents are the result of driving whilst under the influence of alcohol. For this reason we have included traffic safety issues in this report.

The association between alcohol and traffic fatalities, casualties, and accidents is well documented, with alcohol implicated in a considerable percentage of all accidents. In 1985, 39 per cent of drivers and motorcycle riders killed in Australia had a blood alcohol level over 0.05 g/100 mL (Department of Community Services and Health 1988) - a reduction on the 1981 figures when the rate was 44 per cent. In 1987 drivers aged 16 to 19 constituted 60 per cent of South Australia's road fatalities, despite being only 7 per cent of the licensed drivers.

---

### **Alcohol and Youth**

---

As has already been noted, alcohol consumption among Australian youth

was on the increase until 1983, after which consumption began to decline. While this trend is certainly encouraging, it only offers partial relief from the fact that an alarming proportion of Australia's youth still consume alcohol on a regular basis. Indeed, recent South Australian figures reveal that charges for underage drinking offences on licensed premises are believed to have risen 300 per cent in the last two years (Ferguson & Yates 1988). Studies in other states support these results.

Alcohol is the greatest cause of drug-related deaths for Australian youth under 24 years of age and as it is responsible for 71 per cent of drug-induced deaths in the 15 to 34 age group, alcohol remains the main killer drug of young Australians. The greatest proportion of these alcohol-related deaths result from road accidents.

Smith (1988a) found that the lowering of the legal minimum drinking age to 18 years in four Australian states led to an increase in male juvenile crime rates by 20 to 30 per cent, and has also adversely affected traffic safety. For example, after the drinking age was lowered in Western Australia there was a 20.8 per cent increase in public hospital admissions for male traffic accident casualties aged 18 to 20 years. Indeed, a number of studies reveal that lowering the drinking age has increased traffic accident casualties among drivers and motorcyclists, and increased the proportions of accidents involving drivers with elevated blood alcohol levels.

With regards to crime, some criminal offences have increased more significantly than others with the lowering of the drinking age; burglary, motor vehicle theft, and drunkenness in particular. However there has been very little evidence of an increase in violent crime for young people. Police in most Australian cities are concerned about the incidence of property damage as well as offensive and indecent behaviour in the public streets. "Street crime" of this nature is usually linked to young men who are under the influence of liquor.

It is important to note that a reduction of the legal drinking age has not affected female juvenile crime rates

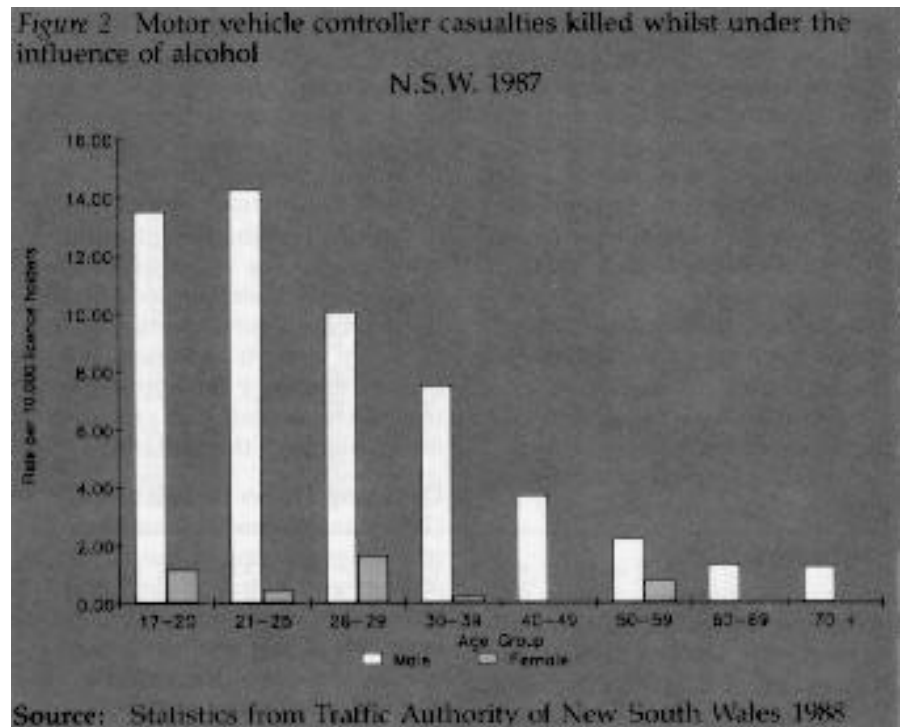
even though it appears that there has been an increase in youthful female drinking.

## Does Alcohol Consumption Cause Crime?

Although there is a close relationship between alcohol and crime, the impact of alcohol as a cause of crime should be seen in the context of other causal factors. The use of alcohol alone, explains very little, whereas alcohol use in combination with an assortment of other variables can account for a substantial proportion of criminal behaviour.

Clearly, there is much crime that is not committed under the influence of alcohol and many persons who drink, and even abuse alcohol, do not commit criminal offences. This fact alone casts doubt on the existence of a direct causal link. For example, Scutt (1980) states, with reference to domestic violence, that in almost one-third of cases (if not more) there is no prior consumption of alcohol. "Thus in many cases drink can in no way be said to 'cause' or be related to the violence - what then is the cause in these cases?" (p.88).

Despite the complexities in establishing a causal relationship between alcohol and crime, some research suggests that alcohol consumption may promote or facilitate the planning or execution of a crime and that, within a given society, changes in the total consumption of alcohol are likely to induce similar changes in recorded rates of crimes of violence (*Encyclopedia of Crime and Justice* 1983). On the other hand it can be argued that alcohol consumption may actually impede or inhibit the commission of some criminal offences. Although no research on this possibility has been noted, Collins (1981) claims the existence of a "malevolent assumption" that whenever drinking is associated with an unwelcome event it is considered to be the cause of that event.



## Proposals

The connection between alcohol consumption and crime has led many to suggest possible methods of reducing consumption with the intention that this will in turn reduce the problems--including criminal behaviour--associated with alcohol. Any initiative which decreases total absolute alcohol consumption can be expected to have a beneficial effect on alcohol-related crime.

### Legal drinking age

As previously stated, there is sufficient evidence, both Australian and overseas, to indicate that lower legal drinking ages have led to increases in juvenile crime, as well as traffic accidents and fatalities among young people. As a result it has been recommended that the legal minimum drinking age should be raised, and the Department of Employment, Education and Training lists this as a priority strategy for addressing youth drinking. United States research suggests that the optimum age is 20 and that there is little to be gained by making the minimum drinking age any higher (Smith 1988a).

One of the major motivations for raising the legal drinking age is to reduce road fatalities, as young drivers are vastly over-represented among

accident casualties and fatalities. However, there is one very important fact that has been acknowledged, then only to be forgotten, by virtually every researcher and commentator in this area: a gender breakdown of available statistics reveals that it is not merely young drivers who are responsible for the disproportionate number of road accidents and fatalities, but young male drivers.

Figure 2 shows the number of drivers, per 10 000 licence holders, killed in 1987 in New South Wales while under the influence of alcohol. It can be clearly seen that while young male drivers are greatly over-represented in driver fatalities, this is not the case for young female drivers. In fact young female driver fatalities are clearly outnumbered by male drivers in nearly all the older age groups. Trends for driver casualties who are affected by alcohol, for drink driving convictions, and for overall road deaths reveal a similar picture.

Analysing this data, from both a gender and age perspective, reveals that, contrary to common belief, it is not young people who are the greatest danger on our roads; it is men, and young men in particular. Male drivers killed outnumber female drivers 6:1, and excessive alcohol consumption, speed, male aggression and driver inexperience are the main components of the carnage (Royal Australasian College of Surgeons 1980).

This leaves an interesting dilemma. There is considerable support in Australia for the move towards raising the minimum legal drinking age. Yet, in reality, age is not the crucial factor in many recorded traffic incidents. If laws can be implemented that discriminate against a certain section of the society (namely youth) on the basis that this will make society a safer place, then we must ask ourselves whether, having identified the real offenders as *young men*, any purpose will be served by disallowing young women to drink. Should we be advocating legislation that makes it illegal only for *males* under 20 to drink? Prohibiting young women from drinking may be less preventative than prohibiting men over 50 from drinking. Clearly such a concept will not receive ready acceptance, but from an enforcement point of view a change of this kind would be no more difficult to administer.

### *Random breath testing*

There is increasing evidence that RBT in NSW has achieved a permanent deterrent effect upon drink driving offences. "The distinguishing marks of RBT in New South Wales are intensive and sustained enforcement combined with massive and sustained media publicity. A deterrence threshold - testing at least one driver in three each year - was reached. Other jurisdictions need to follow this example if they are to achieve cost-effective success with enforcement programs" (Homel & Wilson 1987, p.i). However, despite the success of RBT in New South Wales, self-reported drinking and driving is still at unacceptably high levels and a third of fatalities still involve alcohol. The Department of Employment, Education and Training (1988) has recommended that all states in Australia should implement effective random breath testing programs.

### *Blood alcohol level*

Research indicates that a 0.05 per cent BAL can significantly reduce injury and property damage accidents over and above the presumed accident reducing effectiveness of a 0.08 per cent BAL (Smith 1988b). Furthermore, this effect continues beyond the first year of operation. There are also

suggestions that, for first year drivers, a lower BAL may reduce driver and motorcycle casualty accidents.

### *Education/mass media*

According to Smith (1987), gains in knowledge do not necessarily mean that a change in attitudes will occur. Nor can an improvement in attitudes be assumed to mean that there will be a change in behaviour, such as reduced drinking. School alcohol programs have not, to date, evidenced great success in producing behavioural change. Yet the 1988 report from the Department of Employment, Education and Training states that there is moderate evidence for the effectiveness of properly designed alcohol and drug education programs that are fully integrated into the school curriculum. Such programs are accordingly recommended as a strategy to fight alcohol and drug abuse among young Australians.

Mass media campaigns have been found to have similar results as school programs. This means that while they are able to create an awareness of alcohol issues, they are unlikely to change behaviour. Yet, mass media campaigns have an important role to play in overall prevention of and are often a critical and efficient method of keeping the public informed of alcohol issues and legislative changes.

### *Availability*

Some of the most frequently discussed measures for reducing the consumption level of alcohol and in turn the level of alcohol-related crime is to reduce the availability of alcohol through legal restrictions on outlets. Overseas studies indicate that a reduction in the availability of alcoholic beverages reduces crime (Smith 1983b). There is no reason to suggest that these benefits would not also apply to Australia if the availability of alcohol was to be reduced.

Thus, if consumption levels influence the rate of crime, it is necessary to look at ways to reduce consumption and a number of strategies and regulations have been proven, both within Australia and overseas, to result in decreased consumption of alcohol.

**Drinking Age:** the possibility of increasing the legal minimum drinking age has already been discussed. As previously stated, lowering the drinking age to 18 has led to increases in male juvenile crime. Therefore raising the drinking age may lead to reductions in crime.

**The Number and Type of Alcohol Outlets** influence consumption levels and in turn affects alcohol-related problems. It has been suggested that outlets offering "take-away" alcohol for off-premise consumption have a positive impact on a number of alcohol-related factors, including some types of crime and traffic mortality in particular.

As a consequence there have been moves to restrict any increase in the number of venues serving alcohol. Increasing the proportion of off-premise consumption outlets has also been suggested. Increased consumption of alcohol by men in their homes might, however, have an adverse effect on the levels of violence towards women and children who are also at home.

The introduction, or extension, of liquor licensing for off-premise sales by grocery stores and supermarkets has been connected with the increased consumption of alcohol by women and there is a greater tendency for impulse buying where alcohol and groceries are available at the one outlet.

**Days and Hours of Sale:** Smith (1987) has reviewed a number of studies looking at the effects of days and hours of alcohol availability upon traffic accidents. Clear and consistent results show that increased availability leads to additional consumption with alcohol-related problems (Smith 1987). For example, following the introduction of Sunday alcohol sales in Perth, there was a 63.8 per cent increase in the number of person killed on Sundays in comparison with the other six days of the week.

Furthermore, the availability principle applies to various types of increases. These include, early openings, the introduction of flexible hotel trading hours, and establishing the two-hour Sunday session. Overseas studies have shown that decreasing the days of sale of alcoholic beverages can significantly reduce alcohol-related problems.

**Low Alcohol Beer** is generally consumed by persons who already have a low level of consumption. As a consequence these beers have had little or no impact in decreasing alcohol-related crime.

**Price of Alcohol:** the consumption of alcohol almost invariably rises when the real price of alcohol falls. Research has demonstrated that price increases affect the consumption levels of heavy, dependent drinkers to the same, if not to a greater, extent as consumption levels of moderate drinkers.

Consequently, the Department of Employment, Education and Training, among others, recommends that a uniform system of taxation and excises based on the alcohol content of the beverage be implemented, rather than the present system which enforces different rates for various alcoholic drinks. Pricing and taxation could also be lowered to encourage greater consumption of low alcohol beers. Price is one factor that plays a large role in the consumption level of alcohol for young people.

One of the major difficulties, however, with increasing the price of alcohol is that it may affect low income earners to a greater extent than those in higher income brackets. Before price raising action is taken it would be necessary to ascertain who would be the most disadvantaged by such changes, and which groups will actually decrease their consumption.

**Server Intervention** involves the development of policies and procedures for dealing with customers on licensed premises and ensuring that staff are equipped to carry out these policies. Examples of server intervention include: promoting non-alcoholic beverages and food; raising standards for customer behaviour; providing transport; and strict control over underage drinking. Homel and Wilson (1987) note that such programs do not have to result in a loss of profits for the alcohol outlet.

**Alcohol Advertising** does not have a strong impact upon consumption levels. Although it may cause changes in brand and beverage preference, there is no conclusive evidence to indicate that the contents of advertisements actually influence consumption or attitudes. In two

Australian studies advertising was found to have little or no effect on adult alcohol consumption.

...It is clear that any influence which alcohol advertising has on consumption is very small in comparison to that of other factors. Accordingly, it is recommended that persons rightly concerned about the high level of alcohol consumption and alcohol-related problems in Australia should not allow themselves to be sidetracked into the advertising issue at the expense of factors such as availability and price (Smith 1987, p.31)

While advertising may not have a direct effect upon consumption levels, advertisements frequently promote images of desirable and successful alcohol-affected lifestyles without reference to any of the ill effects. The current system of industry self-regulation is not protecting the health interests of the population, but rather, is "serving to at least maintain attitudes which are not compatible with the responsible use of alcohol" (*Draft National Health Policy on Alcohol in Australia* 1987, p.15).

Although a total ban on alcohol advertising may be unwarranted, the strategies for alcohol advertising recommended by the Department of Employment, Education and Training report appear to have considerable merit. They include: extending the restrictions on advertising and promotion of alcohol at public entertainment and sporting events which attract predominantly young people, and discouraging any association between motor racing and alcohol beverages.

**Sponsorship:** the *Commentary on National Health Policy on Alcohol in Australia* (1987) reveals a genuine concern regarding the glamorised association between alcohol and the exploits of sporting and cultural heroes when, in the case of the former, if not also the latter, the consumption of alcohol is inimical to such performance. This report notes the substantial disagreement regarding the necessity for regulation of sponsorship by the alcohol industry. However, it points out that if greater limitations were imposed on alcohol sponsorship

of sporting and cultural activities then this may permit other non-alcohol industries to compete in the sponsorship stakes.

---

## Conclusion

---

The above proposals offer a research-based package for combating alcohol-related problems, including crime. Though the implementation of these proposals poses political difficulties for any government, we believe that the social benefits will be significant in terms of lives saved and a reduction of criminal offending.

The proposals suggested do not deal directly with the underlying reasons for excessive alcohol consumption by individuals or across the community as a whole. Such underlying reasons, however, must be addressed and afforded equal priority along with the more straightforward proposals for legislative change.

As Kingshott (1981) states, focusing on the individual or on alcohol alone, "has the effect of ignoring the continuing set of problems incipient in our social system that result in frustrations, tensions and probably unconscious aggressive urges which on occasions surface with the assistance of alcohol" (p. 30).

---

## References

---

- Bartholomew, A. 1985, "Alcohol, Drugs and Crime", *Police Life*, May, p. 82-83.
- Collins, J. 1981, "Alcohol Careers and Criminal Careers" in Collins, J. (ed), *Drinking and Crime*, The Guilford Press, New York.
- Commentary on National Health Policy on Alcohol in Australia*, 6 November 1987, Presented to the Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy.
- Cordner, S. M., Ainley, C. G. & Schneider, M. A. 1979, "*Rape and Rapists in Victoria*", Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 12, pp.41-50.
- Department of Community Services and Health, Statistical Services Division 1988, *Alcohol in Australia: A Summary of Related Statistics*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
- Department of Employment, Education and Training, Youth Bureau 1988, *Young*

- Australians and Drugs: Options for Strategies*, AGPS, Canberra.
- Draft National Health Policy on Alcohol in Australia 6 November 1987, Presented to the Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy.
- Encyclopedia of Crime and Justice* 1983, Vol 1, The Free Press, New York.
- Ferguson, J. & Yates, A. 1988, "Underage Drinking Rises", 2 September, *The News*, Adelaide.
- Frances, R., Franklin, J. & Flavin, D. 1987, "Suicide and Alcoholism", *American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse*, 13(3), pp.327-41.
- Hackett, P. 1986, "Minors Drinking Too Much: Report", 13 November, *The Advertiser*.
- Hodgens, E. J., McFadyen, I. H., Failla, R. J., & Daly, F. M. 1972, "The Offence of Rape in Victoria", *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 5, pp.225-40.
- Hommel, R. & Wilson, P. 1987, *Death and Injuries on the Road: Critical Issues for Legislative Action and Law Enforcement*, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.
- Kingshott, M. A. 1981, *Alcohol and Crime*, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.
- New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1988, *Police Reports of Serious Assault in New South Wales: Assault Report No. 1*, Attorney-General's Department.
- New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1986, *Homicide: The Social Reality*, Attorney-General's Department.
- Roizen, J. & Schneberk, D. 1978, "Alcohol and Crime" in Aarens, M., Cameron, T., Roizen, R., Room, R., Schneberk, D., & Wingard, D. (eds.) *Alcohol, Casualties and Crime*, Social Research Group, University of California, Berkeley, California.
- Royal Australasian College of Surgeons 1980 *Road Trauma: The National Epidemic*, Road Trauma Committee, Royal Australasian College of Surgeons.
- Scutt, J. A. 1980, "The Alcoholic Imperative; A Sexist Rationalisation of Rape and Domestic Violence", *Man, Drugs and Society--Current Perspective's*, Proceedings from the 1st Pan Pacific Conference on Drugs and Alcohol, 26 February--5 March, Canberra.
- Senate Standing Committee on Social Welfare 1977, *Drug Problems in Australia--an Intoxicated Society?*, AGPS, Canberra.
- Smith, D. I. 1983a, *Indices for the Use and Abuse of Alcohol: A Literature Review*, Western Australian Alcohol and Drug Authority.
- Smith, D. I. 1983b, "Availability of Alcoholic Beverages and Crime: An Example of the Value of Social Policy Research", in *Exploring the Alcohol and Drug Crime Link - Society's Response*, R. Bush (ed), Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra
- Smith, D. I. 1987, "Prevention of Alcohol-Related Problems, with Particular Reference to Australian Youth" in Department of Employment, Education and Training, Youth Bureau 1988, *Young Australians and Drugs: Options for Strategies*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra
- Smith, D. I. 1988a, *Effect on Juvenile Crime, Traffic Accidents and Emergency Hospital Admissions of Lowering the Drinking Age in Four Australian States*, paper presented for presentation to the 35th International Congress on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence, 31 July to 6 August, Oslo, Sweden.
- Smith, D. I. 1988b, "Effect on Traffic Safety of Introducing a 0.05% Blood Alcohol Level in Queensland, Australia", *Medical Science Law*, 28(2),
- Taylor, R. 1988, "Half Prison Intake has Drink Problem: Report", *The West Australian*, 10 November.
- Traffic Authority of New South Wales 1988, *Road Traffic Accidents in New South Wales 1987, Statistical Statement: Year Ended 31 December 1987*, Traffic Authority of New South Wales, Rosebery, New South Wales.
- Welte, J. W. 1987, "Alcohol Use by Violent and Property Offenders", *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 19, pp.313-24.
- White, R. and Boyer, K. 1985, "Alcoholism amongst the Tasmanian Population: Research Note", *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 18, pp.109-14.



Inquiries about the Trends and Issues series should be forwarded to:  
 The Director  
 Australian Institute of Criminology  
 GPO Box 2944  
 Canberra ACT 2601 Australia