

ANALYSING GENDER IN RESEARCH AND POLICY ON ALCOHOL-RELATED VIOLENCE AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE:

A summary of findings and recommendations
from an international comparative study

David Moore, Helen Keane, Mats Ekendahl, Kathryn Graham,
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Acknowledgement of Country

La Trobe University proudly acknowledges the Traditional Custodians of the lands where its campuses are located in Victoria and New South Wales. We recognise that Indigenous Australians have an ongoing connection to the land and we value their unique contribution, both to the University and the wider Australian society.

La Trobe University is committed to providing opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, both as individuals and communities, through teaching and learning, research and community partnerships across all of our campuses.

The wedge-tailed eagle (*Aquila audax*) is one of the world's largest.

The Wurundjeri people – traditional owners of the land where the Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health and Society is located and where our work is conducted – know the wedge-tailed eagle as Bunjil, the creator spirit of the Kulin Nations.

There is a special synergy between Bunjil and the La Trobe logo of an eagle. The symbolism and significance for both La Trobe and for Aboriginal people challenges us all to 'gamagoen yarrbat' – to soar.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents a summary of findings and recommendations from an international comparative research project on the treatment of gender in research and policy on alcohol-related violence among young people in Australia, Canada and Sweden.

The report is designed to encourage researchers and policymakers to consider new approaches to examining and addressing the relationship between alcohol and violence among young people in the night-time economy (NTE). It draws attention to the urgent need for future research and policy to address the key role of gender – particularly the complex relationship between specific masculinities, alcohol and violence – in the production of harm. The study findings suggest that more direct engagement with gender, and particularly masculinities, should be central to future research and to recommendations informing contemporary alcohol policy debate, and the report proposes ways in which such an engagement might be supported.

Recommendations for future research on alcohol and violence

- Change funding guidelines to promote and improve consideration of gender issues in research, including in research on NTE violence.
- Conceptualise alcohol in more relational terms, in which its properties are understood as emerging from and contingent on the social, cultural and material relations in which it is entangled.
- Revise the disciplinary norms that govern current research on alcohol and violence to encourage and facilitate new approaches that attend more fully to gender, especially masculinities.
- Reconsider the over-reliance on quantitative research in 'evidence-based policy' and include a greater focus on qualitative research and mixed-method approaches.

- Encourage greater awareness of personal, institutional and political investments in particular 'modes of knowing' and related policy recommendations.
- Increase attention to the experiences of a wide range of citizens who may be disproportionately affected by blanket alcohol policies.

Recommendations for future policy on alcohol and violence

- Consider which bodies and population groups are made present (e.g. women, young people) and which are made absent (e.g. men) when the harms associated with alcohol use are identified and ranked in policy discussions.
- Acknowledge that gender operates as a relational system rather than simply as an individual attribute.
- Pay greater attention to the interaction of masculine norms, alcohol effects and male conduct in order to enhance interventions addressing violence.
- Audit future alcohol policy and interventions for the unintentional reproduction and reinforcement of gender inequalities.
- Work with broader conceptualisations of alcohol and harm that conceive of harm as intimately related to or constituted through gender.
- Consider how commonly used and influential policy concepts such as 'alcohol-related harm' may background the role of men and masculinities in policy efforts to address alcohol and violence.
- Develop and evaluate feasible interventions that directly address the contribution of masculinities to violence in drinking settings such as the NTE.
- Support initiatives such as the recent Victorian health policy focused on the relationships between masculine norms and harms related to alcohol.

For readers interested in further detail on the theoretical frameworks, methods and forms of analysis employed in this project, please refer to the publications and abstracts listed in the appendix.

BACKGROUND AND AIMS

The issue of ‘alcohol-related’ violence among young people in the NTE – defined as youth-dominated and commercialised urban nightlife entertainment precincts (Jayne & Valentine, 2016; Jayne et al., 2010; Murphy et al., 2017; Shaw, 2010) – has generated intense policy debate in recent years. While this debate is warranted, its contours and outcomes have been informed by a relatively narrow range of research resources. In particular, although Australian quantitative research shows a disproportionate involvement of young men in alcohol-related violence, and qualitative research highlights the complexities of gender and power and the contribution of men and specific masculinities to such violence, gender receives little attention in the research recommendations typically informing contemporary policy debate and its outcomes.

This Australian Research Council-funded project therefore addressed the urgent need for a feminist analysis of the treatment of gender in research and policy on alcohol and violence among young people, and involved an international comparison of research and policy in Australia, Canada and Sweden. This work consisted of analysis of key alcohol policy strategies and published research, as well as in-depth interviews with researchers and alcohol policy stakeholders, across the three countries. The analysis aimed to advance understandings of the treatment of gender in research and policy on alcohol and violence in all three countries, and to inform the development of more effective, credible and equitable responses to alcohol-related violence among young people in Australia.

APPROACH

The analysis was informed by Carol Bacchi’s (2017, p. 20) work on ‘gendering practices’, which she defines as the ‘active, ongoing and always incomplete processes’ that produce ‘women’ and ‘men’ as naturalised categories in research and policy discourses and practices. Bacchi’s point is that knowledge practices, such as research and policy, create gendered subjects, objects and problems. Gendering practices are highly variable: ‘women’ and ‘men’ are at times constituted in terms of differences, while at other times gender differences are obscured via the production of a generic norm. Thus, a process that appears on the surface to be de-gendering (namely, the omitting, overlooking and excluding of gender) paradoxically reproduces gendered norms and assumptions about alcohol use. This approach allowed the project to ask how research and policy on ‘alcohol-related violence’ work to constitute the relationships among gender, alcohol and violence as a specific kind of problem: that is, as an alcohol problem rather than as an alcohol *and* gender problem.

The project also drew on critical approaches to policy analysis that conceptualise policy as ‘productive, performative and continually contested’ (Shore & Wright, 2011, p. 1) rather



than as responding to stable, objective social 'problems'. This means that the classificatory logic and regulatory power of policy creates new sets of relations and new semantic and social spaces, while also consolidating knowledge regimes. This perspective has much in common with Bacchi's approach in that it understands policy texts as implicated in the constitution of the very problems they seek to address. This is not to say that alcohol consumption has no negative effects prior to the enactment of policy, but rather that policy is one of the key sites where the problem of alcohol is shaped into a legible, coherent entity that can be targeted by government responses.

Before moving on to an outline of method, it is crucial to acknowledge that our analysis specifically focuses on how the relationship between men, masculinities, alcohol and violence is handled in alcohol research and policy. Reflecting this emphasis, other significant issues for alcohol research and policy are not addressed here, including those related to colonialism and race (both issues raised by interview participants in Australia and Canada). Additionally, our analysis interrogates the binary gendering practices commonly employed in alcohol research and

policy and their role in shoring up heteronormative social arrangements in the governance of alcohol consumption and public space. Although we attend to the disciplinary and exclusionary effects of these practices for women and LGBTIQ people, our discussion of sex and gender diversity, including non-binary identities, is limited by the focus on 'men' and 'women' in mainstream alcohol research and policy (for an analysis of binary gender constructs in alcohol and other drug research, see Hunt & Antin, 2019).

METHOD

The project generated and analysed four datasets:

1. a selection of peer-reviewed, published research on alcohol and violence in Australia, Canada and Sweden
2. a selection of alcohol policy and related documents across the three countries
3. transcripts of audio-recorded interviews with researchers in the three countries
4. transcripts of audio-recorded interviews with policy stakeholders in the three countries

The research received approval from human research ethics committees at Curtin University (HRE2018-0103), the Australian National University (2018/819) and La Trobe University (HEC19340).

Peer-reviewed, published research

The first dataset comprised three samples of published research:

1. A collection of Australian research on 'alcohol-related presentations' to emergency departments, which was generated by:
 - selecting four journals (Addiction, International Journal of Drug Policy, Drug and Alcohol Dependence and Drug and Alcohol Review) from the Thomson Reuters Social Science Citation Index category 'Substance Abuse', based on impact factor or because of their high proportion of Australian research content
 - searching databases and publisher websites (e.g. Elsevier, ProQuest, Wiley) – using combinations of the terms 'alcohol-related', 'injur*' and 'emergency' – for articles published in the four journals between 2012 and 2018
 - employing manual searches of the tables of content for Australian articles published in the four journals for the years 2010–2017
 - setting up content alerts for the four journals to identify further studies published online throughout late 2017 and 2018
 - searching the reference lists of identified texts to identify relevant articles published in other Australian journals (e.g. Medical Journal of Australia, Emergency Medicine Australasia)

This approach yielded a set of 18 texts for the analysis, which was completed in October 2018 (Moore et al., 2020). Most of the selected studies

included at least some empirical data and analysis relating to violence, used quantitative methods and followed an introduction–method–results–discussion format, in which recommendations for policy and future research appeared in the discussion section.

2. A collection of Australian research on alcohol and violence in the NTE, which was generated by:
 - searching Web of Science, ScienceDirect and Scopus databases – using combinations of the terms 'alcohol-related', 'violence', 'assault', 'intoxication', 'gender', 'masculinity', 'young people' and 'night-time economy' – for relevant peer-reviewed journal articles published between 2008 and 2018
 - searching the reference lists of identified articles to locate other relevant peer-reviewed publications that addressed these topics
 - excluding articles if they did not use quantitative methods, did not focus primarily on alcohol and violence in the NTE, or focused primarily on 'alcohol-related presentations' to emergency departments, which we had covered in the first study

This approach produced a set of 37 research texts for analysis (Moore et al., 2021). These texts varied in study site, topic and method, and covered the main Australian research institutions and teams involved in this type of work. Not all of the texts focused on violence as an outcome variable, with some establishing links between intoxication and violence on the basis of existing literature rather than empirical data.

3. A collection of Canadian and Swedish research on alcohol and violence, which was generated through a process similar to that employed for the identification of Australian literature: that is, searching the ScienceDirect, Scopus and Web of Science databases for relevant peer-reviewed articles published between 2008 and 2019, using search combinations of the terms 'alcohol', 'assault', 'violence', 'intoxication', 'men' and 'masculinity'. We also reviewed the database results and read article abstracts to confirm their relevance to the aims of the analysis,

and searched the reference lists of identified articles to locate other relevant peer-reviewed publications.

Whereas the Australian literature searches had identified a clear focus on emergency department presentations and NTE violence in published research, this focus was less evident in the Canadian and Swedish research on alcohol and violence. As a result, articles were included if they:

- were quantitative in approach
- had a sole or partial focus on Canada or Sweden
- included at least some empirical coverage of alcohol and violence in relation to young people, licensed premises, assault rates, outlet density or emergency department admissions.

This approach produced 31 Canadian and 12 Swedish research texts for analysis. Because of the smaller overall combined number of Canadian and Swedish texts (43 articles) compared to the combined Australian datasets (55 articles), we included all of them in a single analysis (Moore et al., 2022)

Policy documents

Key alcohol and related policy documents were collected in Australia, Canada and Sweden. Two articles were published based on analyses of an Australian dataset comprising 18 publicly accessible Commonwealth, state and territory alcohol policy documents (D. Duncan, Keane, et al., 2022; D. Duncan, Moore, Keane, & Ekendahl, 2022). Where possible, we included the current alcohol policy or strategy for each jurisdiction and its immediate predecessor. Not all jurisdictions had current or alcohol-specific strategies. In these cases, we analysed the alcohol sections of broader drug strategies or consultation documents, or discussion papers supporting or related to the development of such policies. The analysed texts are, in most cases, generic alcohol or alcohol and other drug strategy documents. Apart from a NSW government 'fact sheet' and the Queensland government's Safe Night Out Strategy, none deal exclusively with alcohol and violence. Instead, the texts consider the relationship between alcohol and a wide range of practices and forms of acute (e.g. 'binge' drinking, intoxication, drink driving) and chronic harm (e.g. cancer, liver disease, cardiovascular disease). Thus, the documents differ in the extent to which the issue of alcohol and violence is addressed.

A third article (Keane et al., 2022) analysed three Australian and four Canadian policy documents, all of which are publicly accessible. Although they were selected as representative of national policy discourse in each country, as opposed to state and provincial initiatives, it is important to note that alcohol is regulated at the state/provincial level in both countries. Documents on drinking guidelines were also included in this analysis because they are a prominent part of policy discourse and play a key role in public debate about alcohol and health.

Interviews with researchers

In-depth interviews were conducted with 39 researchers across Australia, Canada and Sweden:

- Australia: 15 researchers (6 women, 9 men)
- Canada: 12 researchers (6 women, 6 men)
- Sweden: 12 researchers (2 women, 10 men)

Interviews were conducted in person when possible and convenient, or by Skype/Zoom or telephone where necessary. Interviews were semi-structured and lasted 50–70 minutes.

The participants were drawn from a range of fields, including biostatistics, criminology, econometrics, economics, epidemiology, psychology and public health. They were invited to participate on the basis of their having employed quantitative concepts, methods and forms of analysis – such as those drawn from criminology, epidemiology and evaluation research – in their published work on alcohol and public violence. Participants were employed in research-focused roles in university or government-affiliated research centres or policy units, or in teaching-and-research positions in academic departments.

Issues explored in the interviews included participants' disciplinary training and research interests; the relationships between gender, alcohol and violence; understandings of gender and alcohol-related problems among young people; and perceptions of barriers to the realisation of effective responses to alcohol and violence in policy and practice (see D. Duncan, Moore, Keane, Ekendahl, & Graham, 2022, for an analysis of the Australian interviews).

Interviews with policy stakeholders

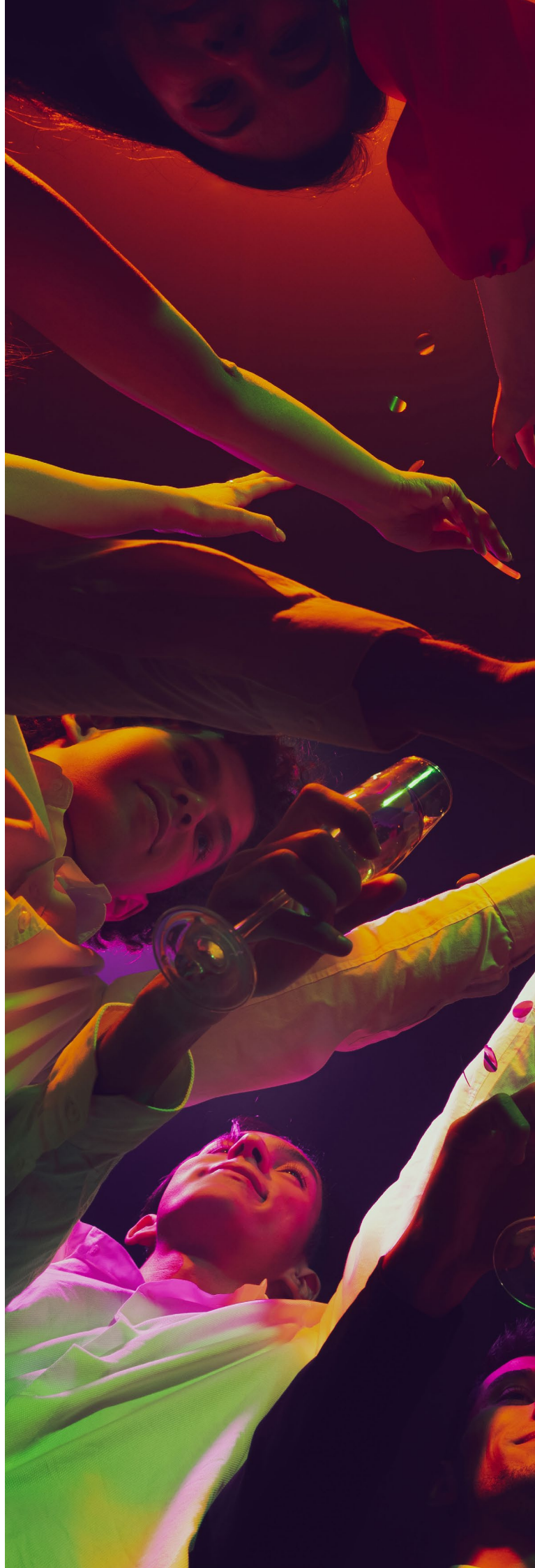
In-depth interviews were conducted with 42 alcohol policy stakeholders across Australia, Canada and Sweden:

- Australia: 15 stakeholders (11 women, 4 men)
- Canada: 12 stakeholders (6 women, 6 men)
- Sweden: 15 stakeholders (14 women, 1 man)

Interviews were conducted in person when possible and convenient, or by Skype/Zoom or telephone where necessary. Interviews were semi-structured and lasted 45 to 65 minutes.

Participants included policy managers and policy staff from national, state, territory, province or local government health, social welfare and liquor licensing departments, and national or state, territory or province non-government health, alcohol and other drug sector or related organisations delivering public health advocacy or alcohol policy advice.

Interviews focused on the aims of social policy and the use of research on the causes of violence in the NTE, whether alcohol affects men and women differently, and the role of gender in violent events. The interview schedule also included questions about the extent to which gender and the relationships between men and violence are addressed in current alcohol policy (see Moore et al., 2023, for an analysis of the interviews with Australian policy stakeholders; Farrugia et al., 2022, for an analysis of the interviews with Australian, Canadian and Swedish policy stakeholders; and Ekendahl et al., 2022, for an analysis of the interviews with Swedish researchers and policy stakeholders).





MAIN FINDINGS

Analysis of peer-reviewed, published research

Across the three sets of published research, we (Moore et al., 2020, 2021, 2022) identified very similar gendering practices:

1. a foregrounding of alcohol's causal role in violence (rather than the role of social factors, such as gender)
2. an overlooking of gendered data when making gender-neutral policy recommendations
3. a displacing of men and masculinities via a focus on environmental, geographical and temporal factors relating to violence
4. a rendering of gender as invisible via methodological decisions
5. the addressing of gender in limited terms (e.g. as a fixed individual attribute or as sex)

The exception was a set of studies from a Canadian research team; in these studies, gender is central to the analyses and ensuing policy recommendations.

In all three countries, the published research:

- leads to recommendations for generic policy measures that affect all patrons (e.g. lowering availability through reduced trading hours)
- creates de-gendered subjects, objects and problems (alcohol is the primary problem in the violence associated with drinking, and the disproportionate involvement of men and masculinities is sidelined)
- naturalises the alcohol/masculinities/violence nexus and does not treat men as appropriate targets of specialised research and policy attention

However, as the exceptional group of Canadian articles suggests, this need not be the case. In this work, alcohol remains relevant but is one element in the constitution of violence. This position is consistent with findings of sociological and criminological research, as well as with other forms of available evidence. For example, statistics suggest that men commit a disproportionately large share of violent crime, especially sexual violence, in all three countries (for Australia, see Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013, 2017; for Canada, see Vaillancourt, 2010, p. 8, and Cotter & Savage, 2019, p. 19; for Sweden, see Statistics Sweden, 2018, pp. 91, 99).

The analysis suggested two possible reasons for these gendering practices and their prioritising of alcohol:

1. Reducing the availability of alcohol is widely accepted to be the most effective means to reduce all forms of alcohol-related harm. The desire to achieve this axiomatic policy goal may shape the policy recommendations emerging from those studies that de-gender alcohol and violence, even when the research findings themselves suggest a need to address men and masculinities.
2. A second possible explanation concerns patriarchal gender structures, which can be made visible by asking who benefits from such practices. Would identifying gender as a major factor in the violence associated with drinking disrupt gendered forms of power? Would it challenge the normalisation and naturalisation of men's violence, which harms men as well as women?

Analysis of alcohol policy

The analysis of alcohol policy involved the following phases: two analyses of Australian policy documents (D. Duncan, Keane, et al., 2022; D. Duncan, Moore, Keane, & Ekendahl, 2022), a comparison of themes identified in Australian and Canadian policy documents (Keane et al., 2022) and an analysis of Swedish policy addressing violence at football stadiums (Ekendahl et al., 2022).

Australian policy documents

The first analysis of Australian policy documents (D. Duncan, Moore, Keane, & Ekendahl, 2022) identified 'alcohol-related violence' as a taken-for-granted policy object, and traced how the common use of this term tends to obscure the role of gender and gendered social relations. This occurs in several ways:

- Although attribution of direct causation between alcohol and violence is generally avoided in policy documents, the repetitive aggregation of risks across diverse harms serves to reintroduce notions of causality (as does the widespread use in Australia of the term 'alcohol-fuelled violence').
- The policy reliance on research recommending reductions in trading hours and venue density as the means to reduce violence reinforces alcohol as the primary source of harm. It also shifts attention from individual patterns of harmful drinking to the interaction of population-level factors in levels of consumption. Interventions that equally target all citizens downplay the role of men and masculinity, and mark women out as especially vulnerable.
- Policy concern over the vulnerability of young people to alcohol-related harm displaces gender as a critical tool for understanding the dynamics of NTE and other public violence. This concern leads to a focus on developing the individual agency and sensible decision-making of young people in order to produce independent, mature, ideal citizens.
- Although men are central to public health and law and order campaigns, they are made invisible as gendered subjects by the ways in which these campaigns appeal to men in de-gendered ways (e.g. as individualised citizens). Furthermore, because prevailing policy responses are limited to addressing the availability and consumption of alcohol, there is little critical engagement with the role of masculinities in violence.
- Although it may be difficult for policymakers to legitimise responses that apply to only half of the population (i.e. men), such difficulties rarely impede policy recommendations addressing women's vulnerability (Keane, 2013; Thomas & Bull, 2018), such as warning young women not to drink excessively to avoid being the targets of sexual aggression.

The second analysis of Australian policy documents (D. Duncan, Keane, et al., 2022) focused on how enactments of gender reinforce normative understandings of the effects of alcohol and shore up normative gender relations. This occurs in several ways:

- Policy documents treat gender primarily as an individual attribute that can be aggregated, ranked or singled out. Treating gender in this way displaces any discussion of gender as a system of power relations that shapes and is shaped by harms associated with alcohol consumption, especially in relation to violence.



- When gender does appear in Australian alcohol policy, it is often treated as equivalent to biological sex and as principally relating to women, who are framed as vulnerable ‘objects’ of concern.
- When women are addressed as gendered subjects, biology is emphasised as the source of risk. Women are gendered according to the harmful effects of alcohol on their bodies, the bodies of others they are coded as responsible for, and via their gendered socio-economic and cultural status. Moreover, women appear in policy as in need of protection and management, particularly in relation to pregnancy.
- Although women are also represented as vulnerable to men who drink and become violent, men are rarely identified as those who commit or experience violence. The vulnerability of men’s bodies is mainly identified in relation to the individual health harms of chronic alcohol use.
- Acute harms, such as injury, drink-driving and assault, are routinely reported using population statistics in which gendered patterns of behaviour specific to men are ignored.
- The feminisation of private space permits gender-based forms of analysis and advocacy to be seen as belonging not to the NTE but rather to

a parallel policy sphere of domestic and family violence. By contrast, ‘public’ space is reified as gender neutral, and public drinking settings are understood primarily as economic marketplaces populated by abstract and generic individual actors. These actors are presumed to behave rationally and according to prosocial norms, unless intoxicated. In both private and public spaces, reductions in alcohol consumption are assumed to lead to reductions in violence.

These policy enactments:

- reinforce a straightforwardly causal role for alcohol in harms including violence
- contribute to the maintenance of binary notions of gender based on normative heterosexuality and naturalised sexual difference
- constitute women’s vulnerability as natural
- ignore men’s conduct as a target of intervention
- construct a model of sexual difference in which female embodiment and subjectivity is constituted as different from an unmarked, disembodied and universal subject, a central feature of systems of male privilege (Carver, 2002; Grosz, 1994)

Comparing Australian and Canadian alcohol policy

The second phase of policy analysis involved a comparison of themes identified in Australian and Canadian policy documents (Keane et al., 2022). We analysed seven Australian and Canadian documents from 2006 to 2020, focusing on different enactments of alcohol as a harm-producing substance that requires regulation. The key findings are as follows:

- There are two distinct conceptions of alcohol in Australian and Canadian policy discourse: (1) alcohol is part of culture, and its risks can be managed through moderation; and (2) alcohol is inherently harmful and toxic, with no safe level of consumption. In this more recently established conception, drinking cultures and norms of moderation are part of the problem rather than a solution.
- In the Australian policy documents, there has been a chronological movement from the first conception to the second, perhaps most clearly evident in the current drinking guidelines, which emphasise that there is no safe level of drinking.
- The Canadian policy texts are more complicated. In two of them, the two conceptions coexist, with acknowledgment of the cultural place of alcohol paired with unequivocal statements about the disease and injury resulting from this 'mind-altering drug'. Given global trends, however, this balance is likely to shift towards the alcohol-as-toxic conception, as is evident in the recently released Canadian drinking guidelines where risk is identified with consumption of more than two drinks per week (Paradis et al., 2023).

What accounts for the increasing presence of the toxic-substance conception in countries such as Australia and Canada, and also in global public health?

- Demographic changes such as an ageing population could amplify attention to long-term health effects.
- The globalisation of the alcohol industry and rising alcohol consumption in low- to middle-income countries are of increasing concern to public health (Room & O'Brien, 2021).
- The focus on inherent harm has intensified in recently published epidemiological research on the 'substantial health loss' attributable to drinking, evidence that includes meticulously quantified measures of global disease burden (Griswold et al., 2018).

- However, changes in policy agendas do not simply follow evidence (Butler et al., 2017). Indeed from our perspective, evidence itself is performed and practised (Lancaster, 2016). One direction for future research would be to further explore how policy actors build networks and alliances to enable evidence on alcohol harms to be translated into impact.

A second set of questions concerns the effects of the two conceptions of alcohol in contemporary policy practices. Different alcohol conceptions enable or at least support certain policy initiatives and approaches while making others less feasible, defensible or even possible. In Australia, and increasingly in Canada, arguments for more restricted availability of alcohol are reinforced by the conception of alcohol as inherently harmful to health and wellbeing, whether through risk of disease or encouragement of violence. Such a focus excludes the influence of gender and context on alcohol-related harms and thereby limits the range of options for prevention (see Moore et al., 2020, 2022). Thus, while scientific evidence supports the conception of alcohol as a carcinogen, this selective focus ignores social practices of drinking that act to stabilise alcohol consumption as a routine feature of life, enmeshed with sociability. Examining drinking practices in context makes visible positive and valued experiences of intimacy, connection and happiness, as well as the agency of people who drink (e.g. T. Duncan et al., 2021; Emslie et al., 2015; Foley et al., 2021). Of course, the pleasures of alcohol consumption do not cancel out its harms and risks. But taking these insights seriously in policy debates and practices would expand the possibilities for harm reduction and for affirmative and equitable interventions.

Swedish policy addressing violence at football stadiums

The third phase of policy analysis drew on interviews with Swedish policy stakeholders and researchers to examine 'Football Without Bingeing' – a policy initiative addressing violence at football stadiums in Sweden (Ekendahl et al., 2022). The analysis identified three key assumptions that reinforce the causal link between alcohol and violence, necessitate blanket population-level measures to reduce alcohol use and render gendered behaviour as irrelevant to policy: 'people should drink less', 'prevention is effective' and 'men's drinking is not the problem'. These assumptions helped to stabilise and shore up the

relevance and value of Football Without Bingeing as a viable policy response to drinking at football arenas, even as it tends to ignore the primary problem: male drinking and violence. This also foreclosed other assumptions and responses – for instance, that problems attributed to alcohol use might have other origins, that alcohol can be considered an important part of culture, that most alcohol users do not behave in ways that warrant interference, that preventive measures can be costly in terms of restrictions on bystanders, and that interventions directly addressing the behaviour of drinkers causing violence might also be effective and more just.

Analysis of interviews with Australian researchers

So far, our analysis of interviews with researchers has been limited to the Australian dataset, although analysis of the Canadian and Swedish material is also planned. In analysing the interviews with Australian researchers (D. Duncan, Moore, Keane, Ekendahl, & Graham, 2022), we explored some of the reasons why men and masculinities are frequently overlooked in the quantitative research approaches that tend to inform policy on alcohol and violence in the NTE (Moore et al., 2017). We focused on how specific forms of quantitative research on alcohol are entangled with governmental and other institutional and disciplinary arrangements, norms and conventions, and the role played by this arrangement in discounting, displacing or overlooking the contribution of men and masculinities to NTE violence. In particular, we analysed the relationships between, on one hand, research and policy described by researchers and, on the other hand, the processes and practices that operate to sustain the authority of quantitative research methods and their support for alcohol restrictions. At the same time, these processes and practices obscure the role of gender in NTE violence. Our intention was to examine the ways in which conventional methods and habits of thought and practice preclude policy responses that might address gender.

The key findings are as follows:

- Many participants described the imperative to respond in a ‘timely’ and ‘pragmatic’ fashion to public policy debates. This imperative was seen as discouraging consideration of more complex accounts of NTE violence and alternative policy options, which were seen as intangible, expensive or impractical.

- Participants criticised what they perceived to be individualistic law-and-order approaches and argued that there was much more evidence for the effectiveness of population-level policy levers.
- The role of men and masculinities in NTE violence was frequently acknowledged by participants, but then slipped from view when discussing policy recommendations and responses. The availability of a specific type of policy lever (i.e. alcohol restrictions), and perceived absence of alternatives, preserved the focus on alcohol as the primary problem.
- Some participants argued that alcohol restrictions reduce women’s vulnerability to physical and sexual assault. Such arguments ignore the role of men and masculinities in violence, circumscribe women’s pleasures and autonomy, and enact women as vulnerable and in need of protection.
- The emphasis on alcohol intoxication in research and policy operates to naturalise conventional notions of masculine comportment and equates ‘gender’ with ‘women’. As a consequence, current responses to violence in the NTE are likely to be incomplete and limited, while simultaneously sustaining conventional gendered social arrangements and assumptions central to orthodox masculinities, drinking and public space.
- Several participants also offered critiques of research on alcohol and NTE violence, including:
 - The research and policy investment in alcohol restrictions is ideological and helps shore up the authority of particular researchers, thus marginalising other research and policy approaches.
 - Existing partnerships between researchers, advocates and policymakers coincide with practical and political interests.
 - The emphasis on alcohol availability measures conceals particularly gendered forms of NTE harassment and assault.

Analysis of interviews with policy stakeholders

Australian, Canadian and Swedish policy stakeholders clearly articulated alcohol and violence as intimately connected to forms of masculinity, using terms and phrases such as ‘male aggression’, ‘testosterone’, ‘power structures’ and the ‘dickhead problem’. However, beyond the use of social marketing campaigns, they struggled



to apply such knowledge to alcohol policy addressing violence and tended to de-emphasise or background gender in their discussion of the most effective, efficient and viable public health interventions (Farrugia et al., 2022; see also Moore et al., 2023). Such dynamics may be part of the reason why there are so few examples of policy and related interventions that address gender issues. De-gendering alcohol and violence limits policy innovation and perpetuates a view that it is reasonable to expect that those least responsible for such violence, often women, should shoulder a disproportionate responsibility for preventing it. This process works to render men and masculinities unproblematic and beyond scrutiny, narrowing the possibilities for change to a policy focus on alcohol interventions that target the general population of people who drink.

The key findings of this analysis are as follows:

- Men's violence is identified as a central problem for alcohol policy.
- Common across the interviews is a prioritisation of interventions that focus on harms recognised as related to men's drinking but apply equally to all people and, as such, avoid naming men and masculinities as central to alcohol-related violence.
- Participants expressed concern that a focus on gender issues risked diverting attention from the actions and responsibilities of the alcohol industry.
- Policy stakeholders prioritised generic interventions understood to protect all from the harms of men's drinking and violence. This process backgrounds the role of masculinities in violence and hinders the development of alternative responses.
- In gendering alcohol and violence as an issue related to men and masculinities while stepping back from responding to it, these accounts ask all people to shoulder the responsibility for managing male drinking and violence.
- Male drinking and violence is considered too difficult to target, both because it is a deep-seated cultural norm and because it stems from an allegedly essential masculine trait.
- Current policy approaches operate to divorce male drinking and violence from power and culture. Further, cultural change efforts to engage with these issues are generally reduced to health promotion campaigns and dismissed as largely ineffective without discussion of other possibilities.



RECOMMENDATIONS

We acknowledge that researchers and policymakers are working in politically complex environments, managing a range of competing interests and attempting to document and reduce a diverse range of harms related to alcohol with the tools available to them (including an evidence base privileging public health strategies for reducing violence).

However, it is equally important to acknowledge the unintended consequences of current research and policy approaches. Although generic efforts to address alcohol are seen as reducing the violence associated with men's drinking, in turn protecting others such as women, our project finds that they have broader effects too. Men remain outside the scope of explicit research and policy attention, reproducing the position of other groups, such as women, as a special alcohol policy concern despite being much less likely to perpetrate violence.

Strategies addressing the density of intoxicated, implicitly male patrons in night-time drinking spaces treat place as a gender-neutral backdrop to violence, preserving specific gendered configurations of masculinity and male freedoms

in public life. This further reflects, and sustains, a cleavage between standalone alcohol policy – which tends to address violence in terms of amenity and its impact on the NTE – and policy responses to gender-based and family violence underpinned by feminist conceptions of gender and causality (Yates, 2019). These arrangements not only conceal the role of men and masculinities in violence, they also overlook the vulnerability of young men in the NTE, and reproduce gendered representations of women as fragile and vulnerable to powerful men in private. We believe there is value in asking why gender-based violence policy, alcohol policy and debates about the night-time are at odds, when they so obviously overlap.

Because research and policy on violence is entangled in networks of governmental, funding and other institutional and disciplinary arrangements, norms and conventions, creating new approaches requires ‘all of these [...] to be shifted together’ (Law et al., 2011, p. 13). Without sustained attention to the issues identified in this report, and without the changes in alcohol research and policy they warrant, the power relations reproduced through enactments of masculinity and implicated in alcohol and violence will continue to go unmarked and the kinds of change required of men will continue to remain unthinkable.

Recommendations for future research on alcohol and violence

Beyond what is currently recognised as sound research practice (such as declaring one’s funding sources), and bearing in mind that research evidence is just one input in the policy process (Ritter, 2009; Stevens & Ritter, 2013; Lancaster, 2016; Cairney & Oliver, 2020), we make the following recommendations for future research on alcohol and NTE violence:

- Change funding guidelines to promote and improve a focus on gender issues in research, including in research on NTE violence. For example, Australia’s National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) is currently developing a statement on ‘sex and gender in health and medical research’ with the objective being to: *improve health outcomes by promoting greater inclusion of sex, sexuality, and gender diverse people in research; more analysis and reporting of sex and gender considerations in research; and greater consideration of inclusive, appropriate, and targeted implementation of research. The overall goal*

is that where sex and gender differences are found to exist, they can be incorporated to provide safer healthcare and more inclusive, more appropriate and better targeted health policies and services. (NHMRC, 2023)

Such a statement would bring the NHMRC into line with Health Canada’s (2018) Sex and Gender Action Plan 2017–2020 and is consistent with recent calls for the systematic implementation of sex and gender analysis in Australian health and medical research and policy (e.g. Sex and Gender Sensitive Research Call to Action Group, 2020). Other research funding bodies should adopt similar policies.

- Conceptualise alcohol in more relational terms, in which its properties are understood as emerging from and contingent on the social, cultural and material relations in which it is entangled.
- Revise the disciplinary norms that govern current research on alcohol and violence – and thus shape and regulate its assumptions, methods and analytical procedures – in order to encourage and facilitate new approaches that attend more fully to gender.
- Reconsider the over-reliance on quantitative research in ‘evidence-based policy’ in light of the limitations of such work, and include a greater focus on qualitative research and mixed-method approaches, in order to expand understandings of the structural issues and social practices that coalesce to produce gendered patterns of harm.
- Encourage greater awareness of personal, institutional and political investments in particular ‘modes of knowing’ and related policy recommendations.
- Increase attention to the experiences of a wide range of citizens (e.g. women and LGBTIQ people) who may be disproportionately affected by blanket alcohol policies and whose experiences of harm in the NTE are currently addressed in ways that diminish their sociality, pleasure and autonomy (Race, 2016).

Recommendations for future policy on alcohol and violence

We are not arguing for the adoption of a specific model of gender in future policy on alcohol and violence. Rather, within the general remit to reduce the harms associated with alcohol consumption, we make the following recommendations:

- Consider which bodies and population groups are made present (e.g. women, young people) and which are made absent (e.g. men) when the harms

associated with alcohol use are identified and ranked in policy discussions.

- Acknowledge that gender operates as a relational system rather than simply as an individual attribute, which will allow greater consideration of the different forms and extent of alcohol-related harm experienced by people of different genders.
- Pay greater attention to the interaction of masculine norms, alcohol effects and male conduct in order to enhance interventions addressing violence and reduce reliance on regulatory measures that overlook the value of nightlife to diverse communities (Hart, 2016; Hart & Wilkinson, 2019; Hunt & Antin, 2019; Race, 2016).
- Audit future alcohol policy and interventions for the unintentional reproduction of gender inequalities (Fitzgerald et al., 2016; Connor, 2016).
- Work with broader conceptualisations of alcohol and harm that conceive of harm as intimately related to or constituted through gender.
- Consider how even commonly used and influential policy concepts such as 'alcohol-related harm' may background the role of men and masculinities in policy efforts to address alcohol and violence.
- Develop and evaluate feasible interventions that directly address the contribution of masculinities to violence in drinking settings.
- Support initiatives such as the recent Victorian health policy focused on the relationships between masculine norms and harms related to alcohol (e.g. VicHealth, 2023).
- Work with violence prevention policy experts to develop more sophisticated interventions that address the gendered role of alcohol in violence in public and private settings.

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APPENDIX

Project publications

1. Moore, D., Keane, H., Duncan, D., & Lenton, E. (2023). Handling complexity: Constituting the relationship between intoxication and violence in Australian alcohol policy discourse. In G. Hunt, T. Antin, & V. Asmussen Frank (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of intoxicants and intoxication* (pp. 484–498). Routledge.

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2. Duncan, D., Keane, H., Moore, D., Ekendahl, M., & Graham, K. (2022). Making gender along the way: Women, men and harm in Australian alcohol policy. *Critical Policy Studies*, 16(1), 1–18.

Abstract

Analysis of alcohol policy suggests women are marked out for special attention while men and masculinities are often ignored. In this paper, we employ Carol Bacchi's work on 'gendering practices' and John Law's concept of 'collateral realities' to examine how gender is constituted in Australian alcohol policy. For Bacchi, policies actively produce what it is possible for 'men' and 'women' to become. For Law, realities are constituted through methodological instruments and representational practices. We analyse the making of three collateral realities in Australian alcohol policy: gender as an individual attribute; gender as a synonym for women; and gender as confined to the domestic sphere. These collateral realities contribute to the maintenance of binary notions of gender and reinforce a straightforwardly causal role for alcohol in harms, including violence. Attention to the political effects of these 'realities' should be prioritised in the development of more equitable responses to alcohol and harm.

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3. Duncan, D., Moore, D., Keane, H., & Ekendahl, M. (2022). Obscuring gendered difference: The treatment of violence in Australian government alcohol policy. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 29(3), 1057–1079.

Abstract

Despite public debate about alcohol and public violence among young people in Australia, the issue of masculinities or gender is rarely visible in alcohol policy. Instead, policy recommendations aimed at reducing violence focus on changing the availability and consumption of alcohol. Drawing on concepts from feminist and science and technology studies scholarship, this article analyses how 'alcohol-related violence' is constituted as a specific policy object, and how it coheres to obscure men's contributions to and experiences of violence. Attention to the political effects of these policy practices is necessary for the development of more equitable alcohol policies.

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4. Duncan, D., Moore, D., Keane, H., Ekendahl, M., & Graham, K. (2022). The hammer and the nail: The triple lock of methods, realities and institutional contexts in Australian research on nightlife violence. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 110, Article 103898.

Abstract

There is considerable public and policy debate in Australia about measures to reduce violence associated with alcohol and young people in the night-time economy. Though overrepresented in violence, the role of men and masculinities is rarely explicitly addressed in policy responses to such violence, which rest on a narrow range of mainly quantitative research and recommendations favouring blanket alcohol restrictions. Drawing on John Law and colleagues' account of the 'double social life of methods' (2011), we analyse interviews conducted with Australian quantitative researchers about the role of gender in such violence. According to Law et al., methods inhabit and reproduce particular ecologies and reflect the concerns of those who advocate them. From this 'triple lock' of methods, realities, and institutional advocacies and contexts emerges particular modes of knowing. Participants described a research ecology in which the authority of quantitative research methods emerged in relation to an imperative to respond in a 'timely' and

'pragmatic' fashion to public policy debates, and prevailing governmental and policy priorities and public framings of violence. Though participants frequently acknowledged the role of men in violence, these arrangements sustain taken-for-granted assumptions about the properties and effects of alcohol while displacing men and masculinities from policy attention. The political consequences of these arrangements demand the development of innovative policy responses and new modes of knowing that make visible the gendering of violence.

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5. Ekendahl, M., Keane, H., & Moore, D. (2022). [The analytical, the political and the personal: Swedish stakeholder narratives about alcohol policy at football stadiums. *Critical Policy Studies*. Advance online publication.](#)

Abstract

For public health interventions to be effective, they need to be supported or at least accepted by those affected, and social policy should therefore be understood as political and strategic. This raises questions about the relationship between the analytical, the political and the personal in policy processes. This article offers an in-depth analysis of such issues, as they were enacted during interviews with Swedish alcohol policy stakeholders. It focuses on the assumptions and a priori 'truths' articulated in interviews about Responsible Beverage Services (RBS) at Swedish football stadiums or 'Football Without Bingeing'. We argue that the participants combined different narrative forms, such as seemingly objective chronological accounts and personal ethical judgements, in talking about the policy initiative. Through such narrative intersections, three key 'truths' were produced that reinforced the link between alcohol and violence, necessitated blanket population-level measures to reduce alcohol use and made gendered behaviour an irrelevant policy target.

[Open-access version from Informa UK](#)

6. Farrugia, A., Moore, D., Keane, H., Ekendahl, M., Graham, K., & Duncan, D. (2022). [Noticed and then forgotten: Gender in alcohol policy stakeholder responses to alcohol and violence. *Qualitative Health Research*, 32\(10\), 1419–1432.](#)

Abstract

In this article, we analyse interview data on how alcohol policy stakeholders in Australia, Canada and Sweden understand the relationship between men, masculinities, alcohol and violence. Using influential feminist scholarship on public policy and liberal political theory to analyse interviews with 42 alcohol policy stakeholders, we argue that while these stakeholders view men's violence as a key issue for intervention, masculinities are backgrounded in proposed responses and men positioned as unamenable to intervention. Instead, policy stakeholders prioritise generic interventions understood to protect all from the harms of men's drinking and violence without marking men for special attention. Shared across the data is a prioritisation of interventions that focus on harms recognised as relating to men's drinking but apply equally to all people and, as such, avoid naming men and masculinities as central to alcohol-related violence. We argue that this process works to background the role of masculinities in violence, leaving men unmarked and many possible targeted responses unthinkable.

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7. Keane, H., Moore, D., & Graham, K. (2022). [Part of culture or toxic substance? Realities in transition in Australian and Canadian alcohol policy documents. *Contemporary Drug Problems*, 49\(4\), 405–418.](#)

Abstract

This article analyses alcohol policy documents through the framework of ontological politics developed by science and technology studies theorists John Law and Annemarie Mol. Specifically, it analyses seven Australian and Canadian documents from 2006 to 2020, focusing on different enactments of alcohol as a harm-producing substance that requires regulation. The article identifies and discusses two coexisting realities of alcohol enacted in these documents: (1) alcohol as part of culture, with benefits and harms manageable through the promotion of moderation; and (2) alcohol as an inherently harmful and toxic substance whatever its pattern of use. The enactment of alcohol as a toxic substance is supported by recent scientific knowledge, in particular the link between drinking and cancer. This second reality of alcohol as toxic is more prominent in the more recent documents; in particular, a transition from one dominant reality to

another is clearly apparent in the changes from the 2006–2009 Australian national alcohol strategy to the 2019–2028 strategy. Changes in the dominant reality of alcohol enable or at least support certain policy initiatives while making others less possible and defensible. Focusing on the single reality of alcohol as inherently harmful to health and wellbeing reduces the options for preventing alcohol-related harms.

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8. Moore, D., Keane, H., Ekendahl, M., & Graham, K. (2022). Gendering practices in quantitative research on alcohol and violence: Comparing research from Australia, Canada and Sweden. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 103, Article 103669.

Abstract

In this article, we analyse the treatment of gender in Canadian and Swedish quantitative research on alcohol and violence and compare it with the treatment of gender in similar Australian research. In previously published work, we argued that Australian research on ‘alcohol-related presentations’ to emergency departments, and on alcohol and violence among young people participating in the night-time economy, tends to overlook the stark gendering of violence in its analyses and policy recommendations. It does this via a series of ‘gendering practices’ (Bacchi, 2017): omitting gender from consideration; overlooking clearly gendered data when making gender-neutral policy recommendations; rendering gender invisible via methodological considerations; displacing men and masculinities via a focus on environmental, geographical and temporal factors; and addressing gender in limited ways. We identify a similar set of gendering practices at work in Canadian and Swedish quantitative research on alcohol and violence, as well as a key difference. This key difference emerges in relation to the practice of addressing gender. Here, we see a bifurcation in the Canadian studies: between one group of articles in which gender is central to the analyses and ensuing policy recommendations, and a second group containing only one example in which gender is partially addressed. We draw attention to the differing realities of gender, alcohol and violence iterated by these contrasting knowledge practices, and offer two possible explanations for this difference. We close by asking how future research analyses and policy recommendations

might differ if gender-sensitive quantitative tools were developed, gender considerations were systematically integrated, and gendered effects were taken into account when alcohol policy choices are made.

[La Trobe University OPAL repository version](#)

9. Moore, D., Duncan, D., Keane, H., & Ekendahl, M. (2021). Displacements of gender: Research on alcohol, violence and the night-time economy. *Journal of Sociology*, 57(4), 860–876.

Abstract

‘Alcohol-related violence’, especially among young people participating in the night-time economy (NTE), has been the subject of intense public and policy debate in Australia. Previous sociological work has highlighted the relationship between men, masculinities and violence, but this relationship has received little attention in the research that tends to garner policy attention. In this article, we focus on the treatment of gender in Australian quantitative research on alcohol and violence in the NTE. We identify four ‘gendering practices’ through which such research genders alcohol and violence: de-gendering alcohol and violence through obscuring gender differences; displacing men and masculinities via a focus on environmental, geographical and temporal factors; rendering gender invisible via methodological considerations; and addressing gender in limited ways. We argue that these research practices and the policy recommendations that flow from them reproduce normative understandings of alcohol effects and lend support to gendered forms of power.

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10. Moore, D., Keane, H., & Duncan, D. (2020). Enacting alcohol realities: Gendering practices in Australian studies on ‘alcohol-related presentations’ to emergency departments. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 42, 3–19.

Abstract

‘Alcohol-fuelled violence’ and its prevention has been the subject of recent intense policy debate in Australia, with the content of this debate informed by a surprisingly narrow range of research resources. In particular, given the well-established relationship between masculinities and violence, the meagre attention paid to the role of gender in alcohol research and policy recommendations

stands out as a critical issue. In this article, which draws on recent work in feminist science studies and science and technology studies, we focus on the treatment of gender, alcohol and violence in Australian research on 'alcohol-related presentations' to emergency departments (EDs), analysing this type of research because of its prominence in policy debates. We focus on four types of 'gendering practice' through which research genders 'alcohol-related presentations' to EDs: omitting gender from consideration, overlooking clearly gendered data when making gender-neutral policy recommendations, rendering gender invisible via methodological considerations, and addressing gender in terms of risk and vulnerability. We argue that ED research practices and their policy recommendations reproduce normative understandings of alcohol's effects and of the operations of gender in social arrangements, thereby contributing to the 'evidence base' supporting unfair policy responses.

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- II. Moore, D. (2020). Masculinities and intoxication: Notes towards a co-constitutive approach. In F. Hutton (Ed.), *Cultures of intoxication: Key issues and debates* (pp. 211–235). Palgrave Macmillan.

Abstract

This chapter explores some of the theoretical resources available for approaching masculinities and intoxication as co-constituted. Following a review of social constructionist accounts of masculinities and intoxication, the chapter considers recent scholarly work on gender and drugs that goes beyond 'drug, set and setting', 'drunken comportment' and 'hegemonic masculinity', and beyond recent calls for greater engagement with 'intersectionality'. Influenced by feminist science studies and science and technology studies, this work attempts to acknowledge materiality in the production of drug realities without treating it as determining, and to analyse masculinities and drug effects, including intoxication, as emerging from, and contingent on, the collective activity of diverse human and non-human elements.

[La Trobe University OPAL repository version](#)

Submissions

- I. Moore, D., Keane, H., Fraser, S., valentine, k., & Seear, K. (2021). *Submission to the web-based consultation on the World Health Organization's 'Global Alcohol Action Plan 2022–2030'*. Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health and Society, La Trobe University.

[La Trobe University OPAL repository version](#)

2. Moore, D., Keane, H., & Duncan, D. (2020). *Submission on the Draft NHMRC Australian Guidelines to Reduce Health Risks from Drinking Alcohol*. Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health and Society, La Trobe University.

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Conference and seminar presentations (presenter)

- I. [Duncan, D.](#), Moore, D., Keane, H., Ekendahl, M., & Graham K. (2022, November 28– December 2). *The hammer and the nail: The triple lock of methods, realities and institutional contexts in Australian research on nightlife violence* [Paper presentation]. The Australian Sociological Association Annual Conference, Melbourne, Australia.
2. Farrugia, A., [Moore, D.](#), Keane, H., Ekendahl, M., Graham, K., & Duncan, D. (2022, November 23–25). *Noticed and then forgotten: Gender in alcohol policy stakeholder responses to alcohol and violence* [Paper presentation]. European Conference on Addictive Behaviours and Dependencies, Lisbon, Portugal.
3. [Moore, D.](#) & Keane, H. (2022, November 22). *Making gender more visible in research and policy on drugs and violence* [Paper presentation]. Symposium on gender and drugs: Lisbon Addictions 2022, Lisbon, Portugal.
4. [Moore, D.](#), Keane, H., & Ekendahl, M. (2022, November 8). *Accounting for gender, alcohol and violence: An analysis of interviews with Australian quantitative researchers* [Paper presentation]. Department of Social Work, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden.

5. Keane, H. & Moore, D. (2022, October 10–12). *The handling of gender in research and policy on alcohol and nightlife violence: Findings from an international comparative study of Australia, Canada and Sweden* [Paper presentation]. Australasian Professional Society on Alcohol and other Drugs Annual Conference, Darwin, Australia.
6. Ekendahl, M., Keane, H., & Moore, D. (2022, October 6–8). *Men as unthinkable alcohol policy targets: Findings from Australia, Canada and Sweden* [Paper presentation]. European Society for Social Drug Research Conference, Vienna, Austria.
7. Ekendahl, M., Keane, H., & Moore, D. (2022, June 15). *The analytical, the political and the personal: Swedish stakeholder narratives about alcohol policy at football stadiums* [Paper presentation]. Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health and Society Research and Practice Seminar Series, Melbourne, Australia.
8. Farrugia, A., Moore, D., Keane, H., Ekendahl, M., Graham, K., & Duncan, D. (2022, March 22–26). *Noticed and then forgotten: Gender in alcohol policy stakeholder responses to alcohol and violence* [Paper presentation]. Society for Applied Anthropology Annual Meeting, Salt Lake City, United States.
9. Duncan, D., Keane, H., & Moore, D. (2019, September 4–6). *Realising change in the gendering practices of Australian alcohol policy* [Paper presentation]. *Contemporary Drug Problems* Conference, Prato, Italy.
10. Moore, D., Duncan, D., & Keane, H. (2019, September 4–6). *Retrieving gender in quantitative research on alcohol and violence* [Paper presentation]. *Contemporary Drug Problems* Conference, Prato, Italy.

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