Behind the Big Sky bar: the Montana alcohol servers study
by Jeffrey Warren Linkenbach

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education
Montana State University
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Abstract:
A need existed for assessing the views and opinions of Montana alcohol servers regarding their most pressing issues related to minors acquiring alcohol, impaired driving, and server training. Since people are invested in what they help create, these servers were involved in the process of prioritizing their issues and developing the educational methods and materials which would be of benefit to them. The findings were then translated into useful recommendations and training materials.

This study was divided into three phases. Phase 1 utilized a survey and interviews to assess the attitudes, perceptions, opinions, and stated behavioral norms of bar tenders and tavern owners from across the state of Montana in three primary areas: (a) drinking and minors, (b) impaired driving, and (c) server training issues. Phase 2 utilized a modified Delphi process to prioritize the above issues and developed specific training and resource recommendations through the input of different groups of experts in the field. Phase 3 involved collaborating with a media agency to translate the data and recommendations into useful training approaches and materials.

This study recognized from the onset that the true experts in any profession are the practitioners working in the field. Therefore, the study was participatory in nature and involved continuous input from the alcohol servers and agencies involved.

Findings included data from the needs assessment survey, interviews with rural and urban alcohol servers, priority-ranking of training needs, and materials development by groups of practitioners and media specialists. Conclusions and recommendations were suggested for researchers, alcohol servers, media specialists, adult educators, and governmental agencies.

The training recommendations which proposed methodologies to allow Montana's alcohol servers to be self-directed in their real-life learning situations were acted upon by the agencies involved with this project. Through the process of identifying and prioritizing alcohol server training issues and then translating these findings into media materials, this study challenges the sufficiency of the current research paradigm that views publication as the termination for the research.
BEHIND THE BIG SKY BAR: THE MONTANA
ALCOHOL SERVERS’ STUDY

by

Jeffrey Warren Linkenbach

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of
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MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY
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APPROVAL

of a thesis submitted by

Jeffrey Warren Linkenbach

This thesis has been read by each member of the graduate committee and has been found to be satisfactory regarding content, English usage, format, citations, bibliographic style, and consistency, and is ready for submission to the College of Graduate Studies.

Date

Chairperson, Graduate Committee

Approved for the Major Department

Date

Head, Major Department

Approved for the College of Graduate Studies

Date

Graduate Dean
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ABSTRACT

A need existed for assessing the views and opinions of Montana alcohol servers regarding their most pressing issues related to minors acquiring alcohol, impaired driving, and server training. Since people are invested in what they help create, these servers were involved in the process of prioritizing their issues and developing the educational methods and materials which would be of benefit to them. The findings were then translated into useful recommendations and training materials.

This study was divided into three phases. Phase 1 utilized a survey and interviews to assess the attitudes, perceptions, opinions, and stated behavioral norms of bartenders and tavern owners from across the state of Montana in three primary areas: (a) drinking and minors, (b) impaired driving, and (c) server training issues. Phase 2 utilized a modified Delphi process to prioritize the above issues and developed specific training and resource recommendations through the input of different groups of experts in the field. Phase 3 involved collaborating with a media agency to translate the data and recommendations into useful training approaches and materials.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

It seems impossible to open a newspaper these days and not read about some alcohol-related issue. With this increased focus on alcohol's relationship to a number of social and medical problems, added attention to strategies that attempt to prevent alcohol-related problems have also developed. Prevention activities are undertaken by legislators, law enforcement officials, health and adult educators, business leaders, and concerned citizens. In recent years, a public health approach to prevention has emerged. A key element in this approach is the recognition that reducing alcohol-use problems requires strategies that affect the environment as well as individual behavior. Efforts aimed at the prevention of alcohol-use problems employ a variety of methods that address this individual-environmental interaction. These strategies include public information and education, changes in the social contexts of drinking, and limitations of the availability of alcoholic beverages (Holder, 1988). Two issues at the forefront of the alcohol prevention movement are minors under the legal drinking age acquiring alcohol and problems associated with impaired driving.
Drinking and Minors

The past decade has shown increased attention to the problems associated with minors using alcohol. As with impaired driving, declines in alcohol consumption in the nation's youth have been observed. According to the Monitoring the Future Project, an ongoing national survey of high school seniors, the proportion of seniors who drank alcohol during the year prior to the survey declined from 88% in 1982 to 81% in 1990. The proportion who used alcohol in the 2 weeks prior to the survey declined from 40% to 32% during the same time frame (Johnston, O'Malley, & Bachman, 1992). The efforts of lobbying groups resulted in the passage of more than 1,200 laws at the state level to reduce access to alcohol for drivers under the age of 21 and to reduce drunk driving among all drivers (National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 1992). With pressure from federal legislation to withhold federal highway funds, all states raised their minimum legal drinking age to 21 in 1988. The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration estimates that on average raising the minimum drinking age to 21 produced a 12% decline in teenage fatal crashes, which translates into 1,000 fewer teenage deaths each year.

Yet, the problems associated with minors acquiring alcohol continue. Montana has seen a dramatic increase in
its minor in possession (MIP) caseload in the past several years. In the state-approved MIP education programs alone, the caseload has risen from 164 MIPs in 1986 to 3,486 in 1992 (Montana Department of Corrections and Human Services, 1992). Many of these minors are choosing to drive while intoxicated. According to the 1993 Montana Youth Risk Behavior Survey, 41% of Montana’s youth reported drinking and driving a vehicle one or more times in a 30-day period. Of these students reporting that they have been driving and drinking, one in five reported drinking and driving six or more times in a 30-day period. Even though they may not have been the person operating the vehicle, 30% of Montana’s youth reported riding one or more times with someone who had been drinking. So, in spite of some positive trends, minors acquiring and using alcohol continues to be a problem in Montana.

**Impaired Driving**

Much of the recent media attention has focused on the deadly combination of drinking alcohol and driving. The statistics resonate off of the pages:

- Almost half of all traffic fatalities are alcohol-related. (National Highway Traffic Safety Administration [NHTSA], 1988)
- Traffic crashes are the leading cause of death for people ages 5 to 34. (NHTSA, 1988)
- Alcohol-related crashes cost the economy $46 billion annually in lost productivity,
medical costs, and property damage. (NHTSA, 1992)

- More than 1.8 million drivers--almost 10% of the licensed driving population were arrested in 1991 for driving under the influence. (NHTSA, 1992)

Yet, these statistics are not static and unchanging. Recent trends can be seen, and some are positive:

- For drivers in all age categories, there has been a slight downward trend in fatal crashes involving high blood alcohol concentrations (.10% or higher) between 1982 and 1989. (NHTSA, 1991)

- Drivers under the age of 18 saw a 47% reduction in alcohol-related fatal crashes between 1982 and 1989. (NHTSA, 1991)

Montana too has seen its shift in alcohol-related trends:

- From 1982 to 1992, the percentage of alcohol-related fatal accidents in Montana dropped from 63.3% of all accidents to 50.6%. (Montana Division of Highway Traffic Safety, 1993)

- Also, the number of Montana highway fatalities per 100 million miles traveled dropped from 3.81 in 1982 to 2.1 in 1992. (Montana Division of Highway Traffic Safety, 1993)

During the 1980s, an incredible amount of public attention in the United States was focused on the dangers imposed by impaired drivers. In response to the public's growing awareness of alcohol's involvement in fatal crashes, a number of grassroots citizens groups were formed. These groups lobbied heavily for new laws and promoted school and public education programs aimed at preventing drinking and driving.
Although research findings indicate that alcohol involvement in crashes has declined substantially since 1982, alcohol-impaired driving continues to be a major factor in motor vehicle collisions. The reduction may be due to several factors. The public has become more aware of the increased risk of collisions and arrests associated with drinking and driving. Governmental alcohol programs emphasize effective enforcement of drinking and driving laws and responsible attitudes about serving alcohol. Also, the use of public education has been implemented. In addition, raising the legal drinking age is an element that has generated significant change in the drinking patterns of teenaged drivers (Fell, 1990).

The degree to which alcohol impaired driving declines in the future will depend not only on continuing effective programs but also upon initiating new ones. The magnitude of the problem of drinking and driving justifies continued attention to this public health issue. Health promotion and community education can play important roles in increasing public awareness and assessing alcohol’s social contexts in order to stimulate both governmental and social action. Indeed, with coordinated and targeted efforts through law enforcement, public education, and legislation, American society’s relationship to impaired driving has been and can continue to be positively affected.
Server Training

There are many different environments where people imbibe prior to driving or where youths may illegally acquire alcohol. These include homes, parties, liquor stores, convenience stores, taverns, and restaurants. Yet, the single largest source of alcohol impaired drivers is public drinking establishments (i.e., bars and restaurants). Between one-third and one-half of all intoxicated drivers consumed their last drink at a public, on-premises-sale establishment according to the reports of drivers given breath tests in roadside surveys (Foss, Voas, Bierness, & Wolf, 1990; Palmer, 1988), drivers arrested for operating their vehicles under the influence of alcohol (McKnight & Streff, 1993), and drivers injured in automobile crashes (Santana & Martinez, 1992). Hence, targeting these establishments where impaired drivers are drinking has great merit.

Historically, efforts to combat drinking and driving or alcohol use by minors have focused directly on individuals by attempting to alter their behavior through a combination of information, persuasion, and threat. More recently, the focus has been expanded to include the behavior of the people who serve alcohol through the development of server training programs (McKnight, 1987). Server training is an attempt to modify the drinker's
environment by changing the behaviors of alcohol servers in public establishments. Although server training programs, which are the most highly touted of countermeasures of the past decade, have been successful in modifying many serving practices, they have not proven capable of dealing effectively with two of the most dangerous practices—serving underage drinkers and serving intoxicated individuals (McKnight, 1993). Any server training program that attempts to modify the behavior of those who serve alcohol must address the knowledge, attitudes, perceptions, and skills of the servers.

**Key Montana Agencies**

In Montana, there are two primary agencies that have vested interest in alcohol-server issues. These are the Division of Highway Traffic Safety in the Department of Justice and the Montana Tavern Association (MTA). Although these organizations face the same alcohol-server issues from different perspectives, they do not have a history of working together.

**Montana Division of Highway Traffic Safety.** The Montana Division of Highway Traffic Safety began in 1966 with the passing of two laws in the Department of Transportation (DOT). In 1971, the Director of the Division of Highway Traffic Safety, Albert Goke, introduced the first two laws to make driving under the influence
(DUI) of alcohol a driving offense. With the exception of some minor additions to these 1971 laws, very little changed nationally or in Montana until 1983 when more laws were passed. The two primary alcohol issues of the 1980s continued to be the easy acquisition of alcohol by minors and the serving of intoxicated individuals who then often drive away. In his ongoing search for solutions, Goke observed that many states have taken the route of licensing servers and mandating alcohol server training. However, Montana has a history of choosing to arrive at the same place as other states without mandates. Since many of the states with the mandated training programs were seeing only limited results and still looking for solutions to minors acquiring alcohol and impaired individuals being served and driving, Goke decided to seek answers from the field itself. So in 1993, the Montana Division of Highway Traffic Safety allocated funds for this study to give the industry an opportunity to speak on the type of structure, content, and materials they needed concerning Montana's alcohol server training needs.

Montana Tavern Association. The Montana Tavern Association (MTA) is an organization that represents tavern owners in all of Montana's 56 counties. The emphasis of the organization is on grassroots level participation. Such an approach has proven extremely effective for the
MTA, and the structure provides excellent statewide networking.

The purpose of the MTA as stated in its preamble and bylaws is:

To create respect for and obedience of the laws of the state of Montana; to promote full cooperation with the Montana Department of Revenue, Liquor Division, in the enforcement of its regulations; to eliminate the illicit traffic in spirituous beverages; to further the legal and economic development of the industry; and to protect the rights and benefits of its members.

MTA has a strong stated interest and history of supporting laws designed to protect Montana citizens related to the products that they sell. MTA states that it will continue to do so as it has respect for the sensitive nature of those products. MTA members claim to have the same concerns for their families, neighbors, and customers as any other responsible citizen and business person, and they do not want to see their products abused. Thus, MTA has an investment in the issues associated with minors acquiring alcohol and impaired drivers.

As an affiliate of the National License Beverage Association (NBLA), MTA has conducted the NBLA’s server training program entitled Techniques of Alcohol Management (TAM). These trainings have been conducted through seminars around the state for employers and their employees and at their association’s annual conventions. MTA has TAM certified instructors who conduct the seminars, and those
who successfully complete the trainings are then also certified. However, the MTA understands that improvements can always be made and are eager to participate in field-based studies involving alcohol issues. They recognize the importance of assessing the opinions and perceptions of their members in regard to the issues of drinking and minors, impaired driving, and server training needs. Hence, the MTA looks forward to participating in continued efforts to better understand the needs of Montana’s alcohol servers.

Adult Education Principles

The principles of adult education provide the critical constructs for investigating the server training needs of Montana’s alcohol servers. They propose methodologies that allow adults to be self-directed in real-life learning situations and utilize strategies that meet their own unique learning styles. Learning in real-life has been of increasing interest to adult education researchers. A large part of the meaning of this concept is related to learning that takes place outside of formal educational settings and that has practical use. "A historical basis for interest in such life-related learning can be traced back to the work of Houle and Tough" (Fellenz & Conti, 1989, p. 3). Self-directed learning also grew out of the work of these researchers, and it is part of real-life
learning since learners must in many instances provide
their own plan and decide upon methodology.

A difference between self-directed learning and real-
life learning is that the emphasis of real-life learning is
upon learning situations grounded in reality and practical
knowledge and distinct from school-oriented tasks (Wagner &
Sternberg, 1986). Real-life learning needs can grow from
influences in the learner’s social environment (Fellenz &
Conti, 1989). Some see a form of real-life learning
appearing in informal settings clearly outside "what is
formally designated as adult educational [settings]"
(Brookfield, 1987, p. 4). This can consist of the learning
that goes on in families, learning networks, community
action groups interested in changes in the social
environment, work groups, and interpersonal relationships.
Individual adults engage in purposeful learning projects on
their own outside of educational institutions and in many
cases for purposes unrelated to educational credit.

The adult learner of the future will be highly
competent in deciding what to learn and planning
and arranging his own learning. He will obtain
appropriate help competently and quickly, but
only when necessary. (Tough, 1971, p. 12).

In short, adult learning occurs in diverse settings and
"takes place in a bewilderingly wide range of contexts"
(Brookfield, 1986, p. 147).

Other kinds of real-life learning exist in social
action contexts. A need for real-life learning can grow.
from the social environment and can be influenced by the need to radically change oppressive governmental or educational structures (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988, p. 120). Such was the work of Paulo Freire (1970a) and Myles Horton (1990). Freire’s concept of conscientization "contend[s] that changes in perspective or consciousness are the defining characteristics of learning in adulthood" (Merriam & Caffarella, 1991, p. 205). Horton, the founder of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, saw adult learning occurring in a real-life context in which the starting point is the knowledge held by the adult (Adams, 1975). His ideas have been key in empowering community action or labor union groups (Brookfield, 1986). The educational ideas of both Freire and Horton with their emphasis on real-life are prime examples of how the applications of adult learning principles are different than traditional academic or instructor oriented settings.

Many adult educators mark a turning point toward the study of the individual learner in the field of adult education with the work of Cyril Houle. Houle explored questions such as what adults do to learn, how this learning is done, and what is the real life context of adult learning (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). Houle (1961) looked at why adult learners engage in continuing education and categorized their personal motivation as either goal-oriented, activity-oriented, or learning-oriented. This
line of inquiry dealing with the individual learner was continued in the late 1960s by Tough (1971), who studied how adults go about learning in real life and what motivates them. In the 1970s, Kidd (1973) affirmed the growing importance of understanding the processes of learning through his research about the methods of how adults learn.

Of all the theorists and researchers who have noted the importance of the adult learner, one of the most notable is Malcolm Knowles. Knowles' concept of "andragogy" has gathered attention for a number of years in the field of adult education (Davenport, 1987). Andragogy is "the art and science of helping adults learn" (Davenport, 1987, p. 6; Knowles, 1968). Andragogy is perhaps the best known model of how to facilitate and organize adult learning in formal settings (Merriam & Caffarella, 1991, p. 96). "It is one [process] which has great emotional appeal to those involved in facilitating adult learning. It is learner centered" (Brookfield, 1986, p. 96).

Another researcher who has continued to advance the importance of being learner-centered is Brookfield. Brookfield has continually emphasized the learner's needs in the teaching-learning transaction. In his view, helping adults become more self-directed and autonomous should be a major focus of facilitation of adult learning (Brookfield,
1986). He believes one of the major aims of adult education should be the nurturing of empowerment and critical reflection in adult learners (Brookfield, 1987). Moreover, he has found adults have a preferred tendency to pursue learning using independent and self-directed methods as opposed to formal programs (Brookfield, 1987). An effective educational program would be a collaborative effort between teachers and learners in which "attention to increasing an adult's sense of self-worth underlies all educational efforts" (Brookfield, 1985, p. 48.). This is part of the concept of praxis that he describes as an ongoing process of "activity, reflection on activity, collaborative analysis of activity, new activity, further reflection and collaborative analysis" (p. 48). Such is the very process that is needed in the development of any alcohol-server training in the state of Montana.

The Problem

The Montana Division of Highway Traffic Safety is concerned with reducing incidents of minors acquiring alcohol and impaired individuals operating motor vehicles. This agency was interested in addressing these issues through the possible development of server training programs but had concerns about the effectiveness of such a system, especially if it were mandated. The Montana Tavern Association had conducted some server trainings but had
experienced limited success since the program that was used was developed in large urban areas in the eastern part of the U.S. and may have had limited application to the unique, complex, and ever changing needs of Montana bar tenders. A need existed for assessing the views and opinions of Montana tavern owners and bar tenders regarding their most pressing issues related to minors acquiring alcohol, impaired driving, and server training. Secondly, since people are invested in what they help create, these tavern owners and bar tenders needed to be involved in the process of prioritizing the issues that were generated from this needs assessment and developing the educational methods and materials that would be of benefit to them.

The Purpose

The purpose of this study was threefold. First, it broadly assessed the attitudes, perceptions, opinions, and stated behavioral norms of bar tenders and tavern owners from across the state of Montana related to the three primary areas of (a) drinking and minors, (b) impaired driving, and (c) server training issues. Second, through a modified-Delphi process, this study prioritized the issues generated by this assessment and developed specific training and resource recommendations through the input of different groups of experts in the field. Third, the researcher facilitated two meetings with members of an
independent media agency to translate the data and recommendations from the first two phases into useful training approaches and materials.

Significance of the Study

Research is of benefit insofar as its findings are translated into meaningful or useful information and action. The data gathered from this study not only contributed to the development of useful training methods and materials for Montana alcohol servers, but it also had other real-life, practical results. Training recommendations that proposed methodologies to allow Montana’s alcohol servers to be self-directed in their real-life learning situations were acted upon by the agencies involved with this project (Schon, 1987). Findings identified and prioritized training issues, media sound bites, based not upon some external group, but by the experts in the field. The participatory nature of this study that involved continuous input from the alcohol servers and agencies served as the catalyst for the building of relationships between agencies concerned with common issues.

The primary significance of this study, however, was that it embodied the adult education principles of empowerment and praxis. Through the process of listening to the voices of the people in the field, the people
associated with this study were empowered by identifying common issues and learning preferences, and new strategies for training were constructed. The people in the study were not treated as "research subjects," objects, or recipients of political and educational projects, but rather were actors in the process of creating learning strategies that were meaningful to them (Freire, 1970a; Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1994). Instead of operating in a vacuum and stopping at the findings, this study continued in the process of "praxis" through an ongoing process of action research, reflection on the findings, collaborative analysis of the research, new action, further reflection, and additional collaborative analysis to explore and develop methods to meet the needs of those involved.

Research Questions

The following research questions were used to explore the views, opinions, perceptions, and stated behavioral norms of Montana alcohol servers regarding the three primary areas of (a) drinking and minors, (b) impaired driving, and (c) server training issues.

1. What are the views, perceptions, opinions, and stated behavioral norms of Montana’s alcohol servers regarding the issues associated with minors acquiring and drinking alcohol?

2. What are the views, perceptions, opinions, and stated behavioral norms of Montana’s
alcohol servers regarding the issues associated with impaired driving?

3. What are the views, perceptions, opinions, and stated behavioral norms of Montana's alcohol servers regarding the issues associated with server training needs?

4. How do practitioner groups rate the importance of items generated by a needs assessment for inclusion as training methods or materials?

5. How can the results of the needs assessment and practitioner feedback be translated into useful recommendations and materials?

Definition of Terms

Alcohol Server: Any person who is employed either full-time or part-time and who serves alcohol for an establishment such as a restaurant, tavern, or store where the alcohol can be consumed on premise.

Empowerment: Popular education to help people transform the present domination system so that they can become agents of their own history (Vargas, 1988). According to Freire (1970a), community empowerment starts when people listen to each other, engage in participatory/liberty dialogue, identify their commonalities, and construct new strategies for change.

Health Promotion: The process of enabling individuals and communities to increase control over the determinants of their health and thereby improve their health. It is a process that requires the direct involvement of
individuals and communities in the achievement of change, combined with political action directed towards the creation of an environment conducive to health. (Epp, 1986)

**Impaired Driving:** Diminished performance of one's ability to operate a motor vehicle as a result of specified amounts of alcohol consumption (Perrine, 1991). The more alcohol that a person consumes prior to operating a motor vehicle the greater the impairment.

**Learning Strategies:** "The techniques and skills that an individual elects to use in order to accomplish a specific learning task. Such strategies vary by individual and by learning objective. Often they are so customary to learners that they are given little thought; at other times much deliberation occurs before a learning strategy is selected for a specific learning task" (Fellenz & Conti, 1988, p. 1).

**Learning Styles:** Characteristic ways of information processing, feeling, and behaving in and toward learning situations. They include those preferences, dispositions, and tendencies that influence one's learning (Smith, 1982). The concept of learning style focuses on the learner and stresses that there are individual differences among learners.

**Metacognition:** The process of thinking about the process of thinking (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). Metacognitive
monitoring is what keeps people on track as they learn. It is the process that reminds learners of their purpose, their resources, their previous experiences, and of their strengths and weaknesses. (Yussen, 1985).

**Minor:** Any person who has not reached full legal age (American Heritage Dictionary, 1980). As of 1988, the minimum legal drinking age for all states was 21 years old.

**Praxis:** "Alternating and continuous engagements by teachers and learners in exploration, action, and reflection. It means explorations of new ideas, skills, or bodies of knowledge do not take place in a vacuum but within the context of the learner's past, current, and future experiences." (Brookfield, 1986, p. 15)

**Tavern:** An on-premise establishment which serves alcoholic beverages.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Several issues are associated with the development of alcohol server training programs. First, the field of health promotion provides the necessary paradigms and framework for conceptualizing the issues. Second, the past efforts and literature on drinking and minors, impaired driving, and server training are essential components for addressing these highly complex social issues. Third are the contributions and solutions offered from the field of adult education.

Health Promotion

Health promotion involves advocating awareness of personal and community health, changing attitudes so behavior change is possible, and searching for alternatives to improve health (Squyres, 1985). Health promotion is the process of enabling individuals and communities to increase control over the determinants of their health and thereby improve their health (Epp, 1986). It is a process that requires the direct involvement of individuals and communities in the achievement of change, combined with political action directed towards the creation of an
environment conducive to health. Approaches to minimize problems associated with alcohol consumption have targeted both individuals and environments (Minkler, 1989). The issues associated with affecting health behaviors are highly complex and imbedded in social norms. Because of the highly complex social nature of alcohol-related problems, solutions will only be seen through long-term endeavors that embrace such interconnectedness of systems.

**History of Alcohol Use and Prevention Efforts**

Extensive evidence has shown that alcohol use has flourished in most societies throughout the world since the Paleolithic Age and certainly since the Neolithic Age (Knupfer, 1960). Historic records of ancient civilizations prove that concern over alcohol use and abuse are not unique to our present societies. Such accounts are found on Egyptian carvings, Hebrew script, and Babylonian tablets (Patrick, 1952). The code of Hammurabi (circa 2225 B.C.) devoted several sections to problems created by the use of alcohol, and in China laws that forbade making of wine were enacted and repealed 41 times between 1100 B.C. and 1400 A.D. (Alcoholism and Addiction Research Foundation of Ontario, 1961). Thus, efforts associated with promoting health and preventing problems associated with alcohol use saw their beginnings in early societies.
Throughout the last 75 years, causes of death and suffering have shifted dramatically from infectious diseases to factors directly involved with lifestyle (Butler, 1994). Accordingly, recent prevention efforts mark their beginnings in the medical field where for the last 30 years they have been broken into primary and secondary categories (Commission on Chronic Illness, 1957). Primary prevention activities consist of actions to prevent disease, illness, or deterioration of health before it occurs, and secondary prevention is practiced as early as possible after the disease or problem can be identified but before it has caused suffering and disability (Butler, 1994). In 1965, "tertiary prevention" was added to this classification and is defined as prevention that is practiced after suffering or disability has been experienced, and its goal is to prevent further deterioration (Leavell & Clark, 1965).

With respect to the prevention literature, several different types of prevention classification schemes have been proposed. The most common set of these prevention categories distinguishes between measures to change individual behavior and those designed to change the environment (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1990b).

The tools associated with the health promotion field provide useful strategies for addressing the complex,
interwoven issues associated with alcohol use. However, for a variety of social, psychological, and political reasons, prevention strategies are often adopted without any scientific evidence of their potential effectiveness (Howard, 1993). All too frequently, uninformed hunches or "common sense" become substitutes for research-derived proof and even for prudence (Howard & Barofsky, 1992). Examining the literature on the strengths and limitations of past alcohol prevention efforts reveals that, although they are common, the simplistic short-term focused approaches are not very effective in addressing alcohol problems that are imbedded in highly complex social settings (McLeroy, Bibeau, Steckler, & Glanz, 1988). Effective strategies for addressing the complexities of alcohol issues reside in the lessons learned through past efforts of the public health model and community empowerment approaches.

Public Health Model

The public health model, which can be viewed as an ecological or systems model, is one that emphasizes the interplay between the host (drinker), the agent (alcohol), and the environment (Teris, 1987). The importance of ecological models is that they address the complexities of human interaction by viewing behavior as being affected by and affecting the social environment (McLeroy et al.,
They serve to illustrate and provide tools for addressing the complexities of factors affecting health behavior. For example, the conceptual framework developed by Brofenbrenner (1977, 1979) addresses health issues from an ecological perspective by directing attention to both behavior and its individual and environmental determinants. In Brofenbrenner’s model, environmental influences are broken down into the micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrosystem levels of influence. The microsystem refers to the face-to-face influences in specific settings, such as interactions within one’s immediate family, informal social networks, and work groups, or with drinking friends at a local tavern. The mesosystem is the network of microsystems and refers to the interrelations of various settings in which the individual is involved. These may include family, school, peer groups, church, or the tavern. The forces within the larger social system in which the individual is imbedded is the exosystem. An example of such a force is the unemployment rate, which affects economic stability. The larger macrosystem refers to cultural beliefs and values that influence both the microsystem and the macrosystem. Examples of this include cultural beliefs about limiting alcohol consumption such as those promoted by a beer distributor or the importance of selected foods in establishing cultural identity such as black-eyed peas on New Year’s Day. Brofenbrenner notes
that not only do each of these subsystems affect behavior, but that the systems themselves may change as their members are replaced or altered.

Looking at public health from an ecological perspective implies a reciprocal causation between the individual and the environment (Pervin, 1968). Such ecological perspectives have been employed by many researchers to broaden the conception of alcohol-related problems beyond a mere concentration on the individual drinker toward a recognition that both the drinker (host) and their environment should be considered (Wallack, 1983).

**Individual Approaches**

The prevailing focus in health education is on understanding and changing factors that affect lifestyle choices and individual health behaviors related to health status (Israel, Checkoway, Schultz, & Zimmerman, 1994). Such measures, which have been highly popular, focus on changing the behaviors in individuals or groups through educational approaches, warning labels, and media approaches (Howard, 1993).

**Educational approaches.** An extensive number of prevention campaigns have been developed to target both youth and broader audiences with different informational messages. Since schools provide guaranteed access to young people, school settings are the primary focus of prevention
programming for this group (Hansen, in press). Attempting to reduce perceived deficiencies in individuals such as self-esteem, social skills, or knowledge, these approaches have employed a number of strategies to affect young people's current or later alcohol use. Programs have included affective models (Green & Kelley, 1989), social influence and resistance skill training (Hansen, Anderson, Flay, Graham, & Sobel, 1988), life and social skills training (Botvin, Baker, Dusenbury, Tortu, & Botvin, 1990), and the involvement of families (Hawkins, Catalano, & Kent, 1991).

Effects of educational efforts. As Berkowitz and Perkins (1987) noted, many prevention programs have had the underlying assumption that increased awareness of the effects of alcohol will result in attitudinal changes that will subsequently result in behavioral changes. Yet, while a variety of educational programs have proven effective in increasing awareness and to a lesser extent improving attitudes about alcohol use, these cognitive changes have seldom resulted in positive behavioral changes as documented by several recent literature reviews of program effectiveness of youth in general (cf. Braucht & Braucht, 1984; Hanson, 1982; Kinder, Pape, & Walfish, 1980). Some researchers argue that the lack of success in past prevention efforts is related to inadequate use of
empirically grounded theory in program development
(Klitzer, 1987; Klitzer & Bell, 1987; Moskowitz, 1989).
Hansen's (in press) review of the literature from 1980 to
1990 indicates that programs that address the complexity of
human behavior by employing a broad range of prevention
strategies have consistently provided some positive
results. However, because only a small number of such
programs have had adequate evaluations and since most of
them included social influences components, specific
elements responsible for the programs' success cannot be
identified. The data that is available suggest that
school-based programs using a social influence or
comprehensive approach are most likely to have an impact on
young people (Hansen, in press). However, Hansen also
found that methodological problems associated with the
different evaluations make it difficult if not impossible
to draw conclusions about the impact that various
prevention programs have. Hence, with reviews such as
these, it is questionable that imparting information alone
as a method for changing behavior is effective.

**Educational approaches for the general public.** Beyond
a school-based focus, campaigns aimed at providing the
general population with informational messages have also
been developed and evaluated. Studies utilizing television
commercials and broad-based media campaigns in target
cities show that such approaches can be effective at raising public awareness of alcohol-related issues (Barber, Bradshaw, & Walsh, 1989; Casswell, Ransom, & Gilmore, 1990). Studies that help individuals estimate their own blood alcohol concentration (BAC) have produced mixed results. Worden, Flynn, Merrill, Waller, and Haugh (1989) found a reduction of drivers with high blood alcohol content in cities that received messages from multiple sources, whereas Myers, Hovell, Elder, and Hall (1991) found that training college students about their BAC levels in a bar situation resulted in increasing the amount of alcohol consumed.

Another informational-educational approach aimed at the general public involves the printing of warning labels on all alcoholic beverages. Studies evaluating the effectiveness of this approach are beginning to appear; however, they have shown little substantive change. As of mid-1990, Kaskutas and Greenfield (in press) found that only 27% of adults reported being aware of the label in a national sample. A gallop poll taken in May 1990 indicated that 35% of respondents said that warning labels were either "somewhat likely" or "very likely" to exist (Mazis, Morris, & Swasy, 1991). The existence of the labels themselves are most likely not responsible for much change in public awareness since pre- and post-tests on public
behaviors related to the label warnings showed no changes (Kaskutas & Greenfield, in press).

The limits of educational approaches. All such educational approaches reflect the implicit assumption that the proximal causes of behavior and its associated change lie within the individual rather than the social environment (McLeroy et al., 1988). However, one of the problems with individual lifestyle campaigns is that they approach disease and problems as though ill health is the result of personal failure. Such an approach results in victim blaming (Tesh, 1981). Although these individual approaches to disease prevention may yield marginal improvements in health, they suggest that they should remain secondary to environmental approaches including changes in the physical and social environments (Freudenberg, 1978).

Green (1984) notes that part of the problem of health programs continuing to focus attention on changing the individual with little demonstrated effectiveness is that many of the contributions to behavioral change have been from psychology. Such a background results in an emphasis which focuses on the individual through behavioral science applications that are sometimes at the expense of needed action on organizational, institutional, environmental, and economic conditions shaping behavior change (Green, 1984).
Thus, a prominent paradigm continues to emerge in health promotion activities that neglects the social causation of disease and health problems by its emphasis on individuals and individual choices (Sloan, 1987). It has also been noted that the extent to which health promotion efforts focus on individuals and individual choices and ignore the societal and organizational context of health-related behaviors may also affect the extent to which we are able to reach certain groups in society (McLeroy et al., 1988).

The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (1993) notes that in the recent past, prevention efforts were limited almost exclusively to educational programs aimed at informing people of the dangers of alcohol abuse and alcoholism. However, in the last 10 to 15 years there has been an explosion of interest not only in refining educational approaches but also in complementing them with broad-based strategies aimed at altering the social, legal, and economic context in which drinking occurs (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1993). Even though individual health promotion approaches are appropriate for addressing some health problems, they often ignore (a) the association between increased morbidity and mortality and (b) and a number of social, structural, and physical factors in the environment that promulgate health problems (Israel et al., 1994).
Environmental Approaches

Environmental approaches to the prevention of alcohol-related problems are based upon the consideration of the physical or social milieus that regulate people's exposure to alcohol or mediate the risk that drinking poses to an individual. It is assumed that many of these risk factors are beyond the ability of any one individual to control or change (Israel et al., 1994). Environmental strategies are designed to impact the individual through their related social systems and have strong social control components such as alcohol availability constraints, taxation, community-based strategies, and server intervention (U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1993). The two primary orientations that are taken regarding environmental approaches are (a) focusing on alcohol availability or alcohol control policies and (b) focusing on the normative environment or the set of social standards that define and govern appropriate drinking behavior (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1993). These two approaches are further broken down to include alcohol control laws, dram shop laws, law enforcement strategies, price control strategies, and community empowerment.

Alcohol control laws. Alcohol service is controlled by state and local regulations that cover a number of issues such as who may serve and be served, what alcoholic
beverages may be sold, and when these beverages may be sold (McKnight, 1993). State and local laws apply to the owners and employees of establishments and violations carry penalties such as fines or short jail terms. Conditions for issuing licenses for selling alcohol are regulated by state and local alcoholic beverage control agencies. McKnight (1993), who has conducted extensive research on alcohol-related environmental strategies, notes that the two most widespread controls are the establishment of the minimum legal drinking age and a ban on service to already intoxicated individuals. Of the two, the law associated with underage drinking appears to be the one that is more extensively enforced. He also observed that contributing to the stricter enforcement of laws against serving alcohol to those under the age of 21 are public support, society’s backing of measures that protect the young, and the ease of enforcement. One of his explanations for an increased focus on drinking and minors as compared to attention given to legal-aged intoxicated individuals is that the objectivity of enforcement criteria is a factor since age is more easily determined than visible intoxication.

**Dram shop laws.** In the 1970s and 1980s a movement began to place greater responsibility upon the alcohol servers and subsequently spawned the advent of "dram shop" or liquor liability laws to allow innocent victims of
irresponsible alcohol service to collect damages from those providing the service. Although the primary purpose of the dram shop law is to provide compensation to the victims, it was believed that the fear of financial loss in such suits would become potential deterrents to irresponsible alcohol practices (McKnight, 1993). However, studies have revealed that because of inconsistencies in the laws at national, state, and local levels, which translate into the small likelihood of arrest, the potential deterrent effect is undermined (Holder, Janes, Mosher, Saltz, Spurr, & Wagenaar, in press; McKnight, 1991; Roth & Goetz, 1988). Hence, there is thus far no established link between the presence of dram shop laws and practices relating to the service of alcohol (McKnight, 1993).

Law enforcement. Laws can only be deterrents if the public believes that violations are likely to be detected and the violators punished (McKnight, 1993). If management and servers see little chance of being apprehended or prosecuted, there is less compliance with the laws than when visible and rigorous enforcement occurs. Historically, it has been argued that the optimal way for a society to deter offenses is via a system of severe and fairly certain punishments (Becker, 1968). Although controversial, studies have shown that increased enforcement of laws regulating the service of alcohol to
underage or visibly intoxicated individuals does have a significant effect on the behaviors of the alcohol servers (McKnight & Streff, 1993). Such practices usually involve different "sting operations" whereby an underage person or a plain clothes police officer acting obviously intoxicated attempts to be served. The actual enforcement takes place after meetings, trainings, and much publicity whereby such attempts to purchase will be made. However, there is little evidence that increasing penalties alone achieve the desired behavioral results (Ross, 1982).

**Taxes, price, and alcohol availability (public vs. private sales).** Research has shown that alcohol use is affected by factors such as taxes, price, and availability. Many of these findings are based upon the distribution-of-consumption model, which assumes that a reduction in the availability of alcohol will result in a reduction of consumption and a decrease in the number and severity of problems (Ledermann, 1956). It appears that alcohol abuse is sensitive to price. It has been found that states that raised their excise taxes on liquor experienced lower rates of motor vehicle deaths for persons of all ages (Cook & Tauchen, 1982). Even more pronounced for younger drinkers is evidence which shows that raising the taxes on beer can save twice as many lives of youths age 18 to 21 as compared to the approach of raising the minimum legal drinking age
to 21 (Saffer & Grossman, 1987). The same study also found that increases in excise taxes lower the death rates for youths between the ages of 15 to 24.

The shift in liquor outlet ownership from publicly owned monopolies to privatization corresponds to a substantial increase in the amount of alcohol sold through the increase in number of outlets for off-premise alcohol sales, longer available hours, and often lower prices as a result of competition (Wagenaar & Holder, 1991). Such an increase in alcohol availability is also associated with the amount of consumption and related problems. Changes in alcohol availability are correlated with increases and decreases in alcohol-impaired driving arrests and cirrhosis of the liver in both the United States and Canada (Rabow & Watts, 1982; Rush, Gliksman, & Brook, 1986).

Community Empowerment

By recognizing the limits of their effectiveness, prominent environmental approaches that focus on alcohol availability and control policies paved the way for the advent of more socially compatible approaches such as community empowerment. The concept of "community empowerment" has recently become a popular approach in the area of health promotion with the recognition that powerlessness is a basis for disease or health problems, and hence empowerment is a health-enhancing strategy.
(McKnight, 1989; Wallerstein, 1992; Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1988; Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1994). A community is defined as a locale of domain that is characterized by the following elements: (a) membership—a sense of identity and belonging; (b) common symbol systems—similar language, rituals or ceremonies; (c) shared values and norms; (d) mutual influence—community members have influence and are influenced by each other; (d) shared needs and commitment to meeting them; and (f) shared emotional connection—members share common history, experiences and mutual support (Israel et al., 1994; Klein, 1968; Sarason, 1984; Steuart, 1978).

Empowerment—which is often related to the individual, organizational, and community levels—refers to the ability of people to make decisions and have control over their personal lives (Israel et al., 1994). At the community level, empowerment is connected to individual and organizational levels of empowerment to influence decisions and changes in the larger societal system (Schultz, Israel, Zimmerman, & Checkoway, 1994). Both researchers and practitioners continue to debate whether individual, organizational, and community levels of empowerment can be addressed separately or simultaneously and whether one level leads to another (Gerschick, Israel, & Checkoway, 1990). However, it appears that with this multi-level view of community empowerment, changes at one level are
associated with changes at other levels (Schultz et al., 1994). Through community participation, people develop new beliefs in their abilities to have influence over their personal and social spheres (Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1994).

Empowerment education as developed from Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's (1970a) writings involves people in group efforts to identify their common problems, to critically assess social and historical roots of problems, to envision a healthier society, and to develop strategies to overcome obstacles in achieving their goals. The concept of empowerment embodies a broad process that encompasses prevention as well as other goals of community connectedness, self-development, improved quality of life, and social justice (Rappaport, 1981).

Based upon the knowledge of the limited effectiveness of single-focused prevention approaches came the advent of community-based prevention projects that adopt a multi-component package of strategies (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1993). Inherent in such approaches is the assumption that a helpful-empowering relationship is established between the community health promotion professional and the community with which they are working and that this relationship can facilitate the desired change. This was illustrated in the challenge from an Australian Aboriginal woman, Lily Walker. Although such an
attitude is crucial, it is not always present. She stated, "If you are here to help me, then you are wasting your time. But if you have come because your liberation is bound up in mine, then let us begin" (Valvarde, 1991, p. 4). Consequently, although this approach is promising, studies on the effectiveness of comprehensive, community-based approaches have still to prove their effectiveness in impacting behaviors associated with alcohol-related problems (Casswell et al., 1990; Harrington, Putnam, Waters, & Colt, 1989).

**Drinking and Minors**

Examining the relationship that alcohol servers have with persons under the legal drinking age requires an understanding of numerous influences, sub-populations, and legislative efforts. According to The American Heritage Dictionary (1980), the definition of a minor is one who has not reached full legal age. However, herein lies some of the very inconsistency reflected by society. Different legal ages in various states or regions apply to different legal responsibilities such as sexuality, voting privileges, gambling, and purchasing of legal drugs or firearms. For example, the same individual may be of legal age to defend the country through the military and yet not be able to legally purchase alcohol. Thus, like all alcohol issues, those that alcohol servers must face
regarding minors are mired in complexities and inconsistencies. With the general society reflecting ambivalence about where it stands on minors and alcohol, it is highly unlikely that alcohol servers would do any differently.

Drinking Trends in Minors

Throughout the past decade, youth substance abuse of all substances including alcohol, has shown a steady decline (Barnes & Welte, 1986; Johnston, O’Malley, & Bachman, 1992; Newcomb & Bentler, 1989; Wetzel, 1989). Of paramount significance in observing these trends has been the work by Johnston et al. (1992). Since 1975, alcohol use trends have been monitored via annual national surveys of approximately 17,000 high school seniors. This project comprises the Monitoring the Future study conducted by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. They noted that in the later half of the 1970s there was a small upward shift in the prevalence in alcohol use amongst high school seniors. Specifically, between 1975 and 1979 the annual prevalence rate rose steadily from 85% to 88%, the monthly prevalence rose from 68% to 72%, and the daily prevalence rose from 5.7% to 6.9%. As with marijuana, 1979 was the peak year for alcohol use. Since then there has been a slow and steady decline.
The data from college students, however, shows quite a different pattern in relation to alcohol use trends. Overall college students show less of a drop-off in monthly prevalence since 1980 (about 7%) and no changes in daily use or occasions of heavy drinking (43% in 1991). Although smaller, college students too have had one small but significant downward trend in the prevalence of alcohol use. In 1980, 81.8% of college students had drunk alcohol in the past 30 days, but by 1985 it was down to 80.3%. When measured in 1990, it had declined to 74.5%. This slow descent in alcohol use for youth of all ages is similar to the decline in consumption for the population at large (Johnston et al., 1992; Williams, Stinson, Brooks, Clem, & Noble, 1991).

Yet in spite of these downward trends, alcohol use among youths remains high in comparison to the decline in the use of illicit substances in recent years, especially for college students (Johnston et al., 1992; Newcomb & Bentler, 1989). Furthermore, automobile accidents, which often involve alcohol, are still the number one cause of death and injuries of American youth (Wetzel, 1989). This tragic statistic comes as no great shock since 75% of our nation’s eighth graders have tried alcohol and over one-third of high school seniors are drinking heavily at least once every two weeks. Worse yet, a large percentage (20%)
are combining other drugs with their alcohol use (Johnston et al., 1992; Windle, 1991).

Most adolescents start to drink between seventh and ninth grade, and those who do drink often engage in weekend binge drinking (Johnston, O'Malley, & Bachman, 1987). After this initial introduction to alcohol, youths' involvement with drinking appears to steadily increase throughout college, where it finally begins a downturn (Johnston et al., 1992). As age increases, not only do more students begin to drink, but the frequencies of their drinking also increases (Johnston et al., 1992; Windle, 1991).

The age of first onset for alcohol use is of great importance because it has been demonstrated that the earlier that a child begins to use alcohol, the earlier that they can develop problem behaviors and become intensely involved with alcohol (Barnes & Welte, 1986; Jessor & Jessor, 1977). Also, the sooner that a youth begins drinking, the greater likelihood that they will combine their alcohol use with other drugs (Windle, 1991).

Influences and Subpopulations

"Minors" are not a homogeneous group. A quagmire of variables exist that keep the research questions associated with young people and alcohol out-pacing the findings. Minors comprise all racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic
groups. They include students in both public and private schools and colleges as well as non-students. Some live at home and are dependent upon their parents while others have been emancipated for several years and may be parents themselves. Some live in states where they are old enough to drive, gamble, or own firearms. Yet, they all share one thing in common—they are under the legal age of 21 to purchase or possess alcohol. This multitude of variables has different effects upon minors and their imbibing of alcohol.

**Gender Differences**

Studies have demonstrated that male and female adolescents do not have the same relationships to alcohol. Overall, research has shown that males drink more often and in heavier amounts than females and that they experience more adverse consequences due to their drinking (Johnston et al., 1992, Wilsnack & Wilsnack, 1991). Beck and Summons found that male adolescents had greater problems or potential problems with alcohol than females; males drink alcohol more frequently and in greater quantities than females and report more frequent instances of drunkenness and drunk driving, and males believe their risks of being harmed are less (Beck & Summons, 1987). Boys have also reported a greater intention to drink and more alcohol use than did girls. In addition, boys reported less pressure
not to use alcohol from friends than girls and expected more benefits (Chassin, Tetzloff, & Hershey, 1985; Keefe, 1994).

However, some recent studies indicate that there may be a shift in the discrepancies between males and females in alcohol use (Windle, 1991). Young women appear to be demonstrating drinking patterns that more closely resemble those of their male counterparts; this is especially true for those in college or more traditionally male roles. In a study of New York State College women age 23 and younger, their rate of heavy drinking (17%) was more than twice as great as their non-college counterparts (8%) (Harris, 1986).

Yet, as Johnston et al. (1992) found, a substantial sex difference still remains for youth at all ages with high school seniors reporting the prevalence of occasions of heavy drinking being 21% for females and 38% for males. For those in college, this discrepancy is even greater and has remained constant from 1980 to 1991 with 52% of college males reporting that they have had five or more drinks in a row in the previous 2 weeks as compared to 35% of college females.

**Age Differences for College vs. Non-college**

Age is another important variable that contributes to the heterogeneous make-up of the group often referred to as
"minors." Studies have shown that the attitudes and behaviors concerning alcohol use are not consistent for minors across ages. Research shows that as youth mature throughout adolescence, their involvement with alcohol increases. Johnston et al. (1992) found that by eighth grade, 70% of youngsters reported having tried alcohol and more than a quarter (27%) stated that they had already been drunk at least once as compared to 88% of the seniors who reported that they had tried it. Other studies (Barnes & Welte, 1986; Windle, 1991) have found similar results.

And while one might surmise that an increase in educational level would reduce one’s health associated risks, such is not the case with alcohol abuse. In fact the opposite appears to be true. Johnston et al. (1992) found that high school seniors who are bound for college have lower drinking rates than their non-college bound peers. However, after entering college, students generally have a higher drinking prevalence than their non-college counterparts. For example, 74.5% of a typical college student body anticipate drinking some alcohol in the next month compared to only 71% of their non-college peers; 41% of college students engaged in heavy drinking 2 weeks prior to being surveyed as compared to only 34% of their non-college counterparts. Yet, in contrast, daily drinking was more prevalent among those not in college than among college students (4.9% versus 3.8%, respectively).
Most college drinkers started drinking in high school, and it appears that their college drinking is merely a continuation of a previously existing problem (Eigen, 1991). Yet, some drinkers do not start drinking until they reach college, and many students increase the amount they drink in their freshman year compared to their high school pattern (Moos, 1977). The proportion of heavy drinking students jumps sharply from the senior year in high school to the freshman year in college (Bachman & O'Malley, 1980).

**Ethnic, Religious, and Regional Differences**

When it comes to ethnic, religious, and regional variations, alcohol does not affect all young people equally. In fact, probably the greatest factor playing into the complexity of the minors' issue is the heterogeneity of different racial groups. Assuming that any given group is homogeneous is a weakness that has pervaded much of the alcohol-related ethnic research (Cheung, 1991). Within any given group, an incredible amount of variance exists. For example, among American Indians, there are tribes that drink moderately with very few problems and there are tribes that have heavy drinking patterns with visible alcohol-related problems (Indian Health Service, 1992; Rhoades, Mason, Eddy, Smith, & Burns, 1988). Similarly, within the group labeled "Hispanics," Mexican-American students were much more likely to have
engaged in heavy drinking in the past 2 weeks than were Puerto Rican or Latin American students (Johnston et al., 1992). However, in spite of this multiplicity of variables, some larger patterns concerning ethnic, religious, and regional differences have surfaced.

Whites are more likely to use and abuse alcohol than are blacks or Hispanics in adolescence (Brannock, Schandler, & Oncley, 1990; Windle, 1990). Both black males and females have lower incidence rates of problem drinking and are more likely to be abstainers than whites of the same age (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 1984). Among Native Americans, there is a wide range of drinking patterns among different tribes. Overall, however, Native Americans have greater problems than the general population (Christian, Dufour, & Bertolucci, 1989).

Religion also has an effect on minors' drinking patterns. Perkins (1987) found that the more strongly attached to any particular faith, the less likely an adolescent is at risk for alcohol-related problems. The same study also found that students from Gentile backgrounds are at greater risk than students from Jewish backgrounds.

Regional differences and population density also account for differences in youth drinking. Alcohol use in the past 30 days and heavy drinking patterns are somewhat
higher for those living in the northeast and north central regions of the United States than the southern and western parts of the country (Johnston et al., 1992). College students living in more rural, isolated areas report more frequently than their urban counterparts that a motivation for their drinking is because "There's nothing else to do!" (Dennis, Crowley, & Jordan, 1990). Youth who live in rural areas tend to drink slightly less than do their metropolitan counterparts (Johnston et al., 1992).

**Peer Pressure**

Alcohol use for minors needs to be examined within its social context since it is generally acknowledged that much of youthful alcohol use is initiated through a social-learning process, and research has shown a high correlation of usage patterns between friends (Johnston et al., 1992). Hence, the influences exist through the peer culture. "Culture" is the common fabric of values, symbols, and meanings shared by a group that determines that group's drinking patterns (Globetti, 1976).

As the adolescent strives to achieve more independence from parents, close peers become an important source of support for defining oneself and assuring self-worth (Brown, 1990). Because of the importance of group membership and the increased importance of peer approval, adolescence is marked by high susceptibility to peer
conformity. However, this process of how peers "pressure" each other and of how conformity is achieved in a group is unclear. Earlier assumptions based upon the view that peers directly pressure each other to achieve conformity spawned a large number of simplistic prevention programs that have been designed to teach peers how to say "no" to drug use (e.g., Dielman, Shope, Butchart, & Campanelli, 1986; Telch, Miller, Killen, Cooke, & Maccoby, 1990).

However, by contrast, recent studies have revealed that adolescent peers rarely control each other's behavior using such explicit or coercive pressure (Savin-Williams & Berndt, 1990). Adolescents deny that their friends change their attitudes or behavior and vice versa (Berndt, Miller, & Park, 1989). Instead, they appear to influence each other's behaviors through their normative influence, which is often so subtle that they are not even aware of the influences upon each other's behaviors (Keefe, 1994). For example, adolescents contribute to their friends' use of alcohol by not showing disapproval of its use and by showing tolerance of those who drink rather than directly pressuring toward its use (Keefe, 1994).

Perceived normative pressure may vary with the age of the adolescent. Specifically, studies have shown that as age increases, so too does the perceived pressure toward alcohol use (Brown, Clasen, & Eicher, 1986; Brown, Lohr, & McClenahan, 1986). Seventh graders have reported strong
peer pressure against alcohol use while twelfth-grade boys reported strong peer pressure toward it (Brown, Lohr, & McClenahan, 1986). The attitudes about the use varied with the ages as well. Whereas seventh and ninth graders perceived alcohol use as misconduct, twelfth-graders viewed it as social involvement.

Other studies have shown that adolescents perceived their peers as discouraging or putting little pressure toward cigarette or marijuana use but not so with alcohol (Sheppard, Wright, & Goodstadt, 1985; Urberg, Shyu, & Liang, 1990). The perceived costs of alcohol use decreased with age while perceived benefits were shown to be stronger for older adolescents (Keefe, 1994). So, at the time when teenagers are driving and becoming more autonomous, they are not only viewing the costs associated with alcohol use to be less but are also expecting even greater benefits from alcohol use (Brown & Finn, 1982; Jessor, Carmen, & Grossman, 1968).

Positive Peer Pressure

When the term "peer pressure" is used, it is often associated with powerful negative influences. It may be that the notion of negative influence of peer pressure may have been over-magnified. Recent research has demonstrated that students may be substantially over-exaggerating the alcohol-use norms of their peers. Perkins and Berkowitz
(1986) have noted that such faulty perceptions may be affecting peers’ behaviors much more than the actual alcohol norms. Keefe (1994) found that, contrary to the popular notion that parental and peer pressures oppose each other, students in the seventh, ninth and twelfth grades perceived their parents and friends as both being against their alcohol use. Hence, the influence of peer norms can be used as a prevention strategy and a deterrent against alcohol use rather than a force to battle against. In fact, recent prevention efforts providing for peer support for abstinence have been shown to be successful (Telch et al., 1990).

As adolescents progress through their teenage years, they spend less time with their parents and more time with their peers. Little is known about how adolescents perceive parental pressure as they mature and whether or not these perceptions are changing. Yet, despite the heightened importance of peers, parents remain a significant reference group for various behaviors throughout adolescence (Youniss & Smollar, 1985).

Family Environment and Genetics

The family environment and genetics have both been shown to be factors in the development of alcohol problems (Cadoret, 1990; Cotton, 1979; Merikangas, 1990). Yet, within this long noted legacy of nature versus nurture, it
has not been revealed whether genetics, family environment, or a combination of both transmit alcoholism through family generations. How these heterogeneous and complicated factors interact to cause alcoholism and other problems is not known. Genetic factors may be more prominent in the expression of some types of alcoholism whereas environmental factors may predominate more in others; furthermore some cases of alcoholism are sporadic and occur without any obvious genetic provocation (Cloniger, Sigvardsson, & Bohman, 1981). Alcohol problems do not develop in all youths who are seemingly at risk because of their family history, and there appears to be many potential pathways to the development of alcohol-related problems (Vaillant, 1983).

**History of Minors’ Legislation Efforts**

Alcohol’s role in the United States has been characterized by ambivalence for both youth and adults since the colonial period. Drinking has been said to be blessed and cursed. It has been held to be the cause of crime, disease, military defeat, and depravity, and to be a sign of high prestige, mature personality, and a refined civilization (Straus & Bacon, 1953). This confusion has reflected in the changing of numerous drinking age laws and drinking ethos. The minimum drinking age laws in the United States have undergone over 100 modifications since
their introduction in the 1930s (Wechsler & Sands, 1980, p. 2).

Following the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1933, prohibition efforts have been primarily age-specific (Hanson, 1990). In 1970, after the passage of the Twenty-Sixth Amendment, which grants the rights of 18-year-olds to vote in federal elections, a movement also began to extend these individuals other privileges and rights. Between 1970 and 1975, 29 states reduced their minimum legal drinking age (Engs & Hanson, 1988; Wagenaar, 1983). However, by the late 1970s, due to much concern over the numbers of young people involved in alcohol-related accidents, the widespread passage of minimum drinking age laws began an upward trend (Wechsler & Sands, 1980).

A common response to the need to "do something" about a perceived problem has been to seek a legal solution through legislation, and it appears that the laws in the United States are among the most stringent in the world (Mosher, 1980). In Montana, the efforts of lobbying groups resulted in the passage of more than 1,200 laws at the state level to reduce alcohol for drivers under the age of 21 and to reduce drinking among all drivers (NHTSA, 1992). With pressure from federal legislation to withhold federal highway funds, Montana like all states raised its minimal drinking age to 21 years old in 1988. Additionally, 15 states lowered the legal blood alcohol concentration (BAC)
for adolescents to a level below that for adults. Most of these states set the legal BAC at either 0.00 or 0.02%; this in effect means driving after any drinking for adolescents is illegal (National Transportation Safety Board, 1993). The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services has outlined a national health goal for the year 2000 to extend to all 50 states and recommends legal blood alcohol concentration tolerance levels of 0.00% for those younger than 21 (Healthy People 2000, 1991).

Inconsistency in Laws

In spite of the above-mentioned legislation, the overall nature of laws related to youths under the age of 21 remains uncertain and inconsistent. Once an underage person obtains alcohol, many states have unusual provisions related to consumption or otherwise do not prohibit its consumption. For example, as noted in the National Transportation Safety Board's recommendations (1991), some states prohibit minors from consuming alcohol in licensed establishments yet apparently permit consumption at other public locations. It noted that most state laws place responsibility on the seller of alcohol but not on the underage purchasers who should also be responsible for their actions. Hence, such misplaced responsibility sends a mixed message to youth and impedes enforcement.
At the time of this survey, Montana was 1 of 23 states that did not prohibit minors from attempting to purchase alcohol, 1 of 6 states that had no law with which to prosecute minors who purchase alcohol, and 1 of 19 states that had no laws against minors presenting false information (National Transportation Safety Board, 1991). In Montana, even though minors are not allowed to legally purchase alcohol, they are legally allowed to enter taverns and gamble. Such inconsistencies are further illustrated by the fact that Montana is 1 of 44 states where minors can legally sell alcohol without adult supervision (Office of Inspector General, 1991).

The 21-Age Law and Taverns

The impacts of the 21-age law have a direct effect on taverns and bars since it reduces the number of legal patrons in the 18-20 year old range. Although some young people report that they obtain alcohol from older friends or by persuading older adults to buy it for them, almost two-thirds of 7th to 12th graders report buying it themselves (Office of the Inspector General, 1991). The Insurance Institute for Highway Safety found that underage decoys were able to purchase six-packs of beer 97% of the time without lying about their age (Preusser & Williams, 1992). Some research (O’Malley & Wagenaar, 1991) based on data prior to the 1988 enactment of the 21-age law
concludes that the lowered level of alcohol-related crashes appears to be due to less drinking in taverns and bars by drivers less than 21 years of age. Yet, no research exists that obtains data from the owners and servers of these taverns or that investigates their perceptions on effects of the 21-age law.

Effects of the 21 Drinking Age Legislation Efforts

Since their inception, the passage of laws supporting a minimum drinking age have drawn both critics and supporters of such legislative efforts. For example, speaking against such measures in the late 1960s, Sterne, Pittman, and Coe (1967) concluded that minimum age laws not only fail in their intent but also produce very questionable consequences:

1. The consumption of alcohol in automobiles is clearly undesirable, yet in denying the right of the older teenager to its public purchase and consumption, we unwittingly suggest this combination.

2. The practice of patterned evasion of stringent liquor laws is a poor introduction of youth to adult civic responsibility, suggesting adult roles that incorporate neither respect for nor conformity to the law.

3. As Prohibition amply demonstrated, liquor laws that do not meet with public acceptance provide illicit business opportunities. While taverns have not been found to be an important factor producing delinquency, a small minority of them capitalize on this opportunity for illicit business, catering to questionable entertainment and an outlet for drugs. (pp. 58-59).
More recent critics have also leveled similar complaints. Even Surgeon General Antonia C. Novello (The Washington Post, 1991) of the U.S. Public Health Service, in releasing a 50-state survey of state alcohol beverage control and enforcement, stated that the minimum drinking age of 21 is largely a myth because state laws are riddled with loopholes, laxity and lip service.

In reviewing the trends and data associated with the percentage of drivers involved in fatal crashes with a blood alcohol content of greater than 0.10, it is apparent that for minors as well as other age groups, a downward trend can be observed from 1982 through 1990. People in the 16-20 year old range saw the greatest declines in fatal crashes with numbers dropping from approximately 32% in 1982 to 22% in 1990. This is a trend that began its decline in several years prior to the passage of the 21-year minimum drinking age law. The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration estimates that the 21-age laws have saved more than 12,000 lives since states started raising the minimum drinking age (National Transportation Safety Board, 1993). However, it is interesting to note that while many legislative supporters would like to attribute this decline to the passage and enforcement of the 21 law, the gradual decline in alcohol use is evidenced in all societal age groups. Furthermore, the year after the law went into effect (1989) is the first year in over a
decade that the alcohol-related accident rate for this age group actually increased.

While much national attention has been focused on drinking and driving problems associated with youth, it is not our younger drivers who are experiencing the greatest alcohol-related accidents. Ironically, it is those that are of the legal age to drink in the 21-24 year old and the 25-44 year old ranges that have been experiencing the greatest percentage of alcohol-related accidents for the past decade (NHTSA, 1991). Increasing the drinking age merely redistributes the fatal motor crashes from younger to older adults because people learn through experience how much alcohol they can "safely" consume shortly before driving (Males, 1986).

In any case, it would appear that legislative and enforcement efforts in and of themselves are inadequate for altering youth alcohol behaviors and problems. Other influences in this complex issue are obviously also at work. Yet, it appears that government decision-makers are often operating with an "institutional insanity" of doing what has always been done and yet expecting different results. In response to the failure of numerous laws and enforcement strategies to reduce driving fatalities for youth, the conclusions and recommendations of the National Transportation Safety Board (1993) include further
legislative and policy actions. Specifically these include:

(a) Enacting laws establishing lower blood alcohol content (BAC) levels for youth and administrative license revocation for low BAC alcohol-related youth traffic violations.

(b) Eliminating deficiencies in and providing more vigorous enforcement of minimum purchase laws and decreasing alcohol availability to youth.

(c) Developing carefully targeted multi-media community information and education campaigns and programs directed at youth.

(d) Enacting laws establishing a provisional license system in conjunction with nighttime driving restrictions for young novice drivers. (p. 10)

In spite of the above criticisms against addressing issues associated with minors’ use of alcohol, statistics show that alcohol is tragically affecting the lives of America’s youth. Alcohol is a major factor in approximately half of all homicides, suicides, and motor vehicle accidents (Perrine, Peck, & Fell, 1989) that are the leading causes of death for young people (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1990a). Heavy drinking among youth has been linked conclusively to physical fights, destroyed property, academic and job problems, and trouble with law enforcement authorities; one in four American adolescents is estimated to be at very high risk for the consequences of alcohol and other drug problems (Dryfoos, 1987).
Alcohol use by minors in Montana is no exception. In fact, the number of youth arrested for possession of alcohol has seen a dramatic increase in the last several years. According to the Montana Uniform Crime Reports arrest statistics, the number of male youth arrested for minor in possession (MIP) in 1987 constituted two-thirds of the 2,700 arrests in 1992. Female arrests also rose significantly during this same time period. The Montana Alcohol and Drug Abuse Division reported that 3,486 youth attended a state-approved MIP education course in 1992.

1993 MIP Task Force

In Montana, one such recent response to MIPs was the formulation of the 1993 MIP Task Force. The task force was developed largely because current efforts to reduce problems related to underage drinking have not been effective. Comprised of a number of professionals from around the state, the task force generated a number of conclusions. They identified the current MIP statute as a major problem and recommended a number of changes that would make consequences for underage drinking more strict as well as more consistent. The task force also recommended more flexibility in disposition, especially regarding the need for treatment. In addition, changes were recommended that would increase parental
responsibility for their children to comply with MIP requirements.

The task force identified several issues that are complex and require the cooperation by numerous groups and agencies: use of fake IDs, easy access of alcohol to minors, and problems with the required MIP course. The task force also recommended the lowering of BAC limits for youth who are arrested for drinking and driving. Training issues that were identified included issues of confidentiality, constructive possession, and consistent application of the laws. Finally, the task force recognized the need for ongoing community involvement and public awareness campaigns to discourage underage drinking.

The issues associated with minors drinking alcohol, like all alcohol issues, are highly complex and imbedded in social issues. Progress in this area, like advancement in the area of impaired driving, will only come through continued research and comprehensive approaches.

**Impaired Driving**

**Impaired Driving Problems**

About two in every five Americans will be involved in an alcohol-related crash at some time in their lives, and traffic crashes are the leading cause of death for people aged 5 to 32, half of which are alcohol-related (NHTSA, 1991). Numerous studies exist which indicate that alcohol
consumption impairs a variety of physiological functions necessary for safe motor vehicle operation (Higson, 1993; Hindermarch, Kerr, & Sherwood, 1991; Maskowitz & Burns, 1990; Maskowitz & Robinson, 1988). Nevertheless, the relationship between alcohol consumption and motor vehicle safety is confounded by a myriad of poorly misunderstood factors (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1993). Until recently, even the World Health Organization’s (1990) International Classification of Diseases did not include diagnostic codes that allowed for determining the level of alcohol intoxicification in relationship to alcohol-related injuries and casualties.

A growing body of literature indicates that factors influencing the impaired driving population are many (Argeriou, McCarty, & Blacker, 1985; Arstein-Kerslake & Peck, 1985; Donovan & Marlatt, 1982; Donovan, Umlaf, Queisser, & Salzberg, 1986; McMillen, Smith, & Wells-Parker, 1989; Perrine, 1991; Wells-Parker, Anderson, Pang, & Timken, in press; Wieczorek & Miller, in press; Wilson, 1991). These include, but are not limited to severity of alcohol problem, drinking patterns, demographic characteristics, driving related attitudes, driving behaviors, involvement in deviant and criminal behavior, expectations about the effects of alcohol, and personality characteristics. As with other areas of alcohol’s involvement in individual and social problems, the
relationship with impaired driving must be viewed within its social complexities.

**Impaired Driving and Lost Potential**

In 1989, 22,413 people were killed in alcohol-related motor vehicle crashes, representing approximately 49% of all traffic fatalities (NHTSA, 1991). Studies have shown that as many as one in four individuals leaving drinking establishments are legally intoxicated (Werch et al., 1988), and nearly one-half have blood alcohol levels great enough to increase the likelihood of being involved in fatal motor vehicle accidents (McCarroll & Haddon, 1962; Perrine, Waller, & Harris, 1971).

Traffic crashes are the leading cause of death among people under age 40 (National Center for Health Statistics, 1988). These fatal injuries resulting from alcohol-related crashes represent a tremendous loss of human life and potential. In 1989 alone, alcohol-related traffic crashes represented 470,095 years of potential life lost (YPLL) among males and 139,960 YPLL among females (Zobeck, Elliott, & Bertolucci, 1991). Utilizing sophisticated mathematical modeling procedures, it has been estimated that eliminating alcohol would reduce overall traffic fatalities by about 47% (Evans, 1990). Yet, estimates such as these do not reflect the enormous human and economic costs that result from the nonfatal traffic injuries in
which alcohol plays a prominent role (Studuto, Vingilis, Kapur, Sheu, & Liban, 1991; Vingilis, Liban, McLelllan, & McMurtry, 1988). Studies are abundant that measure how various amounts of alcohol affect safe driving and the cost that alcohol-related accidents have for society.

**Being Drunk Versus Driving While Intoxicated**

For most people the obvious effects of alcohol consumption such as inappropriate behavior or gross motor impairment are needed in order to determine that an individual is too drunk to drive. People assume that drivers must appear drunk before they are too intoxicated to drive (Maskowitz & Robinson, 1988). However, the legal offense is not acting like one is drunk but driving while impaired by alcohol. The physiological changes that may not be evident in social behavior situations can lower a person's driving ability and are the basis for driving while intoxicated (DWI) laws. Hence, one of the problems associated with a bar tender or someone else trying to intervene with another person in order to keep them from getting behind the wheel of an automobile based upon appearance of intoxication is that the person can be sufficiently impaired to be a danger while driving without looking drunk (Maskowitz & Robinson, 1988). Up to a point, any function that can be gauged by the drinker can with practice be maintained fairly well even after drinking.
However, of critical importance is the fact that many of the abilities hampered by alcohol cannot be detected by the drinker and thus cannot be detected. Even when the drinker is attempting to drive carefully, they cannot correct for the diminished abilities in reaction time, comprehension, attention, tracking behavior, time sharing, and other essential driving abilities. The alcohol in a person's body will have effects beyond their control.

**Blood Alcohol Concentration (BAC)**

The amount of alcohol present in the body is usually measured in the weight of alcohol in a given volume of blood known as blood alcohol concentration (BAC) (NHTSA, 1991). So, at a BAC of 0.10% there is approximately one drop of alcohol to every 1,000 drops of blood. A number of factors influence the relationship between alcohol consumed and BAC level. As the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (1991) points out, these include:

(a) Weight—With other things being equal, a large person requires more alcohol to reach a particular BAC than a small person.

(b) Sex—Women will generally reach higher BACs than men of the same weight with the same amount of alcohol intake. This is because a higher proportion of women's body weight is in fat and fat does not absorb alcohol.
(c) Food in the digestive tract—When the stomach is empty, any amount of alcohol consumed passes quickly into the blood stream and a peak BAC is reached rapidly. When alcohol and food are both present in the stomach, then alcohol is absorbed into the blood more slowly.

(d) Time spent drinking—The body can eliminate alcohol from the body at a rate of about one drink per hour. If a person drinks closely to this elimination rate, then alcohol will not build up in the body.

(e) Time since last drink—Because time is needed for alcohol to pass from the digestive tract to the rest of the body, a person’s BAC can continue to rise after they have stopped drinking.

These and other factors combine to produce the measurement of the BAC that is most frequently used for assessing intoxication levels and establishing drinking and driving laws. In 1991, 37% of drivers killed in the United States had blood alcohol concentrations of 0.10%, the level at which it is illegal to operate a motor vehicle in most states (NHTSA, 1991). Studies have shown that blood alcohol concentrations of even 0.08% affect driver performance in many ways. These include recovery from glare, braking, complex visual tracking, parking, speeding, driving at slow speeds, and steering (Damkot, Perrine,
Increased BAC Means Increased Risk

The more alcohol that a person consumes prior to driving a motor vehicle, the greater the risk that this person could be in an accident. In their noteworthy study of 13,251 U.S. adults over a 10 year period, Anda, Williamson, and Remington (1988) found that the relative risk of death from injury was significantly higher for those persons reporting five or more drinks per drinking occasion as compared than among those who reported drinking fewer than five drinks per occasion. Among individuals reporting nine or more drinks per occasion, the relative risk of fatal injury was more than three times greater than among those reporting fewer than five drinks per occasion. This self-reported quantity of consumption per drinking occasion was found to be a stronger predictor of fatal injury than frequency of consumption.

Even though nearly 50% of all motor vehicle fatalities are alcohol-related, this fact in and of itself does not prove that alcohol contributed to the crash because it is not known how many crashes would have occurred in the absence of alcohol and because estimating increased relative crash risk requires knowledge of BACs of comparable drivers who are not in motor vehicle crashes.
(Perrine et al., 1989). Consequently, case controlled studies have been conducted for estimating the increased risk of traumatic injury (Borkenstein, Crowther, Shmate, Ziel, & Zylman, 1964.; McCarroll & Haddon, 1962.; Perrine et al. 1989). For comparison purposes, these studies randomly select and test drivers who pass crash sites at times that are comparable to the time an accident occurred. Researchers are then able to estimate the distribution of BACs of comparable drivers who were not in accidents.

Reviews of studies such as these indicate that the risk of a fatal crash increases exponentially with increasing BAC (Hurst, 1973; NHTSA, 1985; Perrine et al. 1989). All studies show increased risk for fatal motor vehicle accidents by 0.08% BAC and dramatically increased risk of BACs of 0.10% and higher (Perrine et al., 1989).

**Society’s Changing View of Impaired Driving**

Society’s perception of drunken drivers has changed over the past 50 years (Perrine, 1991). The evidence for these perceptual shifts is provided in the decrease in the BAC legal threshold for impairment as research data, field experience, and social and political pressure have increased. More than 700 pieces of legislation were enacted as grass-roots organizations such as Mothers Against Drunk Driving focused public attention on the problem and as official groups such as the President’s
Commission on Drunk Driving worked to define a national agenda for addressing it (Howland, 1988). Many states have reduced their BAC limits from 0.10% to 0.08%, and many other states are considering similar legislation. The emphasis has shifted from drivers who are drunk to drivers who are intoxicated, and more recently to drivers who are impaired (Perrine, 1991). Researchers have also shifted the dichotomy of intoxicated-not intoxicated to the concept of impairment, which can be measured as diminished performance or reductions in other behavioral activities that result from specified amounts of alcohol consumption (Perrine, 1991). These and other combined factors have resulted in steady declines in alcohol impaired driving for more than the past decade.

**Downward Trends in Impaired Driving**

Although the numbers of people killed and injured by alcohol impaired drivers continues to be high (NHTSA, 1991), studies of motor vehicle fatality data have indicated that alcohol involvement in fatal crashes has declined substantially in the United States since 1980 (Lund & Wolfe, 1991). Comparing 1973 data with that obtained in 1986 revealed close to a 50% reduction in drinking and driving incidents for females, teenagers, and drivers coming or going to eating and drinking establishments. For drivers of all ages, there has been a
slight downward trend in fatal crashes involving BACs of 0.10% or higher (NHTSA, 1991). The measurement of BACs of drivers from 15 states who were killed in automobile crashes from 1980 to 1984 indicated a decrease of alcohol's involvement in fatal crashes from 50% of tested drivers with positive BACs in 1980 to 48% in 1982 (Hedlund, Arnold, Cerelli, & Partyka, 1984). This decline continued in these states with a further drop to 43% of tested drivers in 1984 (Fell, 1986). A discriminate analysis procedure provided evidence that alcohol-related fatal crash rates had a 22% reduction from 1982 to 1985 (Fell, 1987). Likewise, the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety (1988) looked at 10 years of data from nine states and found that the percentage of fatally injured drivers with BACs of at least 0.10% had fallen from 49% in 1980 to 39% in 1987.

This rate of decline, however, has not been constant across all age or other categories. The smallest rate of decline was among drivers aged 25 to 34 with only a 9% decrease. Drivers in the 21 to 24 and 35 to 54 age ranges had comparatively small reductions in the proportions of high-BAC related fatalities (NHTSA, 1991). Drivers under 18 experienced the sharpest declines of 47% between 1982 and 1989. Drivers in the 18 to 20 year age range and those 65 and older had a decline of 33%.
Minors and Impaired Driving

In spite of the reductions in impaired driving incidents, alcohol use among youths remains high despite a decline in the use of illicit substances in recent years (Newcomb & Bentler, 1989). Furthermore, automobile accidents, which often involve alcohol, are still the number one cause of death and injuries of American youth (Wetzel, 1989). In 1991 in Montana, accidents accounted for 55% of deaths among youth aged 15 to 24 years old (Montana Department of Health, 1993). "Although young people drink and drive less often than people of other age groups, the young who do choose to drink and drive are at significantly higher risk of fatal crash than other age groups of drinking drivers" (Simpson, 1985, p. 33). Even though young people are not drinking and driving as frequently or getting into as many accidents as their seniors in the 21-24 and 25-44 year age groups, young persons are overrepresented in both fatal crashes and motor vehicle fatalities (Higson, Hereen, & Morelock, 1989). Regardless of gender, alcohol increased relative crash risk most substantially among drivers aged 16 through 21 (Zador, 1991). Young people are particularly susceptible to impairment with even small amounts of alcohol and are affected more than older drivers (Higson & Howland, 1986; Simpson, 1985; Zador, 1991). Even small amounts of alcohol may pose an especially serious risk for young
drivers as shown by the fact that nearly 40% of drivers aged 16 to 19 who were involved in alcohol-related crashes had BACs under 0.10% (Zador, 1991). While no state allows the sale of alcohol to persons under the age of 21, most states still permit drivers under the age of 21 to drive legally with alcohol in their system as long as their BAC does not exceed the state’s adult legal limit, which is usually 0.10% (National Transportation Safety Board, 1991).

Information provided by the Montana Division of Highway Traffic Safety (1993) shows that during 1992 young drivers between the ages of 14 and 20 had the highest accident experience with 108 accidents per 1,000 licensed drivers, and the highest fatal accident rate with 0.65 fatal accidents per 1,000 licensed drivers. Of the total people killed in 1992, 15.7% were teenagers. Yet, of the 6,278 accidents involving teenage drivers, less than 5% were alcohol-related. Furthermore, statistics from the Montana Youth Risk Behavior Survey (1993) indicate that Montana youth drinking and driving incidents have shown a slight increase. The percentage of students who reported drinking and driving one or more times in the 30 days prior to the survey increased from 39% in 1991 to 41% in 1993. So, Montana may be beginning to experience a rise in youth drinking and driving. However, alcohol does not affect these young drivers or their older cohorts equally across genders.
BAC and Gender Differences

In addition to age, gender is also a contributing factor in BAC and impaired driving. Studies show that males are disproportionately represented in most serious and fatal injury events (Goodman, Istre, Jordan, Herndon, & Kelaghan, 1991; Smith et al., 1989). Hospital emergency admission records show that males are more likely than females to present themselves in emergency room visits and that injured males were nearly twice as likely as noninjured males to have a BAC of 0.10% or greater (Cherpitel, 1989). Although male drivers are more likely than females to be involved in alcohol-related motor vehicle crashes, it appears that young female drivers are at increasing risk for fatal accidents (NHTSA, 1991). In 1989, NHTSA estimates that about 27% of male drivers involved in fatal crashes had BACs of 0.10% or higher compared to 14.4% for women. However, the proportion of fatally injured female drivers increased 37% between 1982 and 1989 (NHTSA, 1991). For females aged 21 to 24, rates of alcohol involvement in fatal crashes did not decrease between 1982 and 1985 (Fell, 1987). This finding contrasted with the decreasing rates of alcohol involvement for males of all ages and females in general. Regardless of age, the rate of alcohol-related crashes among males declined between 1976 and 1985 (Popkin, 1991). For females, however, the crash rate increased 74% for those
aged 18 through 20 years, 93% for those 21 through 24 years, and 45% for those 25 through 34 years. For females under age 18 the rate of alcohol-related crashes decreased. Significant gender differences were also found with single-vehicle night-time crash rates, which is a variable that is often used as a surrogate indicator of alcohol involvement (Popkin, 1991). For male drivers under 18 the single-vehicle night-time crash rate decreased by 20% between 1976 and 1985. Yet in comparison, there was a 29% increase for females of the same age category. Females also exhibited increases in single-vehicle night-time crashes in other age categories as well.

These increases in female impaired-driving deaths have been attributed to two primary factors. First, it has been noted by the Nationwide Personal Transportation Study that the average number of miles driven by women aged 16 through 19 increased 21% between 1969 and 1983 (National Highway Traffic Administration, 1985). Secondly, studies have reported an increase in heavy drinking among younger women (Fillmore, 1984; Wilsnack & Beckman, 1984).

Alcohol-Related Trauma

Alcohol also affects ethnic groups differently. It especially appears to be a prominent factor in traumatic injury deaths of Native Americans. Approximately 80% of unintentional injury deaths, including those from impaired
driving, among Native Americans were alcohol-related (Goodman et al., 1991). Unlike other ethnic groups, no differences were found between genders in these deaths. A high percentage of homicides and suicides among Native Americans are alcohol-related. However, when considering these statistics, it is important to note that these rates vary according to tribes (Christian et al., 1989).

Hispanic males also seem more susceptible to alcohol-related traumatic injury deaths, including death by homicide, than African-American or white males (Caetano, 1989; Goodman et al., 1991). Hispanic males exhibit considerably different drinking patterns from those of Hispanic females, and such differences tend to characterize patterns of alcohol-related traumatic injury (Caetano, 1989).

Impaired Driving and Other Risks

Impaired driving accidents have also been found to have relationships to other alcohol-related traumas (Goodman et al., 1991; Smith et al., 1988). Although these rates of alcohol-related traumatic injury deaths vary significantly by day and time, the patterns have been found to be similar to day and time variations reported for alcohol-related motor vehicle fatalities (NHTSA, 1991). On weekends a significant number of traumatic injuries occur which involve alcohol. More than 60% of the homicides
occurring on Saturdays are alcohol-related, compared to 47% of the homicides occurring on Wednesdays (Smith et al., 1989). Several researchers have also found that, like deaths caused by impaired driving, the rates of fatal injury events involving alcohol are lowest in the morning; they are slightly higher in the afternoon and significantly higher during evening and late night hours (Goodman et al., 1991; Smith et al., 1989). In particular, studies found that traumatic injury deaths between 9:00 p.m. and 3:00 a.m. are likely to involve alcohol.

Although impaired driving is the most frequently cited of consequences associated with alcohol intoxication, other relationships with trauma also exist. Alcohol impairment has been empirically linked to an array of serious and fatal injuries which include spinal cord injuries (Branche, Sniezek, Sattin, & Mirkin, 1991), traumatic brain injuries (Jones, 1989), general aviation crashes (Gibbons, 1988), drownings (Dietz & Baker 1974; Wintemute, Teret, Kraus, & Wright, 1990), bicycle crashes (Olkkonen & Honkanen, 1990), spousal violence (Miller, Downs, & Gondoli, 1989), suicides (Gomberg, 1989), and homicides (Welte & Abel, 1989). In addition to more than half the victims of automobile crashes who had positive BAC’s, alcohol was a factor in 35% of fatalities due to falls and 43% of those due to burns (Goodman, et al., 1991).
Server Training

Many variables exist on both sides of the bar which appear to influence the alcohol-serving environment. One approach, the training of the alcohol servers as a means of reducing problems, has received much attention in the past 10 years. Although touted as one of the most common measures in the past decade as a potential solution to alcohol-related problems, server training has not yet proven capable of changing servers' behaviors regarding the service to minors or already intoxicated individuals (McKnight, 1993). Perhaps once again the complex social nature of this issue will not lend itself to such a simple solution.

History of Server Training Programs

It is only recently that efforts to combat drinking and driving have been expanded beyond a focus on altering driver behavior through threats, information, and persuasion to include the other side of the bar, the alcohol servers themselves. In 1966, as part of the growing recognition of alcohol abuse as a public health issue, the Milwaukee County Mental Health Association developed and taught a course to introduce bar tenders to the dangers associated with alcoholism. In 1977, the first statewide server training program was begun by the
California Department of Alcoholic Control. The program was funded by the State Office of Traffic Safety and focused on prevention of alcohol-related injuries rather than just on alcohol abuse. Throughout the 1980s server training programs flourished and several courses were marketed nationwide (McKnight, 1993). It was during this time that the two most widely taught and marketed programs were developed. These were Techniques of Alcohol Management (TAM) developed by the Michigan Licensed Beverage Association and Training for Intervention Procedures for Servers of Alcohol (TIPS), a privately developed program.

The mid-1980s were marked by a shift in the trend from voluntary participation in server training programs to the required completion of certain approved courses. The first state to mandate such a program was Oregon, which had long required alcohol servers to obtain permits to work in bars and in 1986 required the completion of an approved course for those seeking issuance or renewal of a permit (Roth & Goetz, 1988). Since that time a number of states have followed suit and passed legislation that either requires servers to complete an approved training or encourages establishments by offering incentives. As of 1993, Montana had no such laws or incentives.
Types of Server Training Programs

Some programs focus primarily on teaching servers how to intervene with intoxicated customers, whereas others seek to be more comprehensive by focusing on the servers, managers, and environmental features of the establishment (Mosher, 1983; Saltz, 1986). In a comprehensive review of server training programs, Mosher (1983) noted that server intervention programs were aimed at educating servers, managers, and owners of bars and restaurants in responsible alcohol service policies and practices in order to reduce their liability. These programs ranged from brief awareness seminars to more intensive 2-day long programs. The teaching techniques utilized a combination of teaching strategies including lecture, role play, and feedback (Howard-Pitney, Johnson, Altman, Hopkins, & Hammond, 1991). The topics of these trainings included alcohol and its effects, the drinking and driving problem, laws and regulations regarding the service of alcohol, signs of alcohol impairment, policy development, ways of controlling the consumption of alcohol, and the handling of intoxicated customers (Howard-Pitney et al., 1991; Mosher, 1983; Russ & Geller, 1987).

Server Training and Minors

Historically, efforts to combat drinking and driving or alcohol use by minors have focused directly on
individuals by attempting to alter their behavior through a combination of information, persuasion, and threat. More recently, the focus has been expanded to include the behavior of the people who serve alcohol. The associated legal focus has attempted to regulate the consumption of alcohol by minors by placing the burden of control almost entirely on those who sell and serve the alcohol and relatively little on the consumers themselves (McKnight, 1993). In recent years, the legislation has been spread out more evenly through increased minors' laws and even penalties against the minors themselves.

While servers ought to be able to apply sober judgments to decisions about alcohol consumption, there is evidence that they do not always do so. Although server training programs, which are the most highly touted of countermeasures of the past decade, have been successful in modifying many serving practices, they have not proved capable of dealing effectively with two of the most dangerous practices—serving underage drinkers and serving intoxicated individuals (McKnight, 1993). In more than 1,000 visits to 238 drinking establishments in 8 states, researchers simulating obvious signs of intoxication such as staggering or heavily slurred speech were refused a drink only 5% of the time (McKnight, 1991). In regard to serving alcohol to those under the legal drinking age, studies have found that youths are easily able to acquire
alcohol on the majority of their attempts (Preusser & Williams, 1991).

Server Training to Reduce Impaired Driving

There are many different environments where people imbibe prior to driving or where youths may illegally acquire alcohol. These include homes, parties, liquor stores, convenience stores, taverns, and restaurants. Yet, the single largest source of alcohol impaired drivers is public drinking establishments (i.e., bars and restaurants). Between one-third and one-half of all intoxicated drivers consumed their last drink at a public, on-premises-sale establishment, according to the reports of (a) drivers given breath tests in roadside surveys (Foss et al., 1990; Palmer, 1988), (b) drivers arrested for operating their vehicles under the influence of alcohol (McKnight & Streff, 1993), and (c) drivers injured in automobile crashes (Santana & Martinez, 1992). Hence, targeting prevention efforts at these establishments where impaired drivers are drinking has great merit since breath tests given to patrons leaving bars and restaurants show that approximately one-third of those patrons have BAC’s in excess of the legal state limit (Stockwell et al., 1992; Werch et al., 1988).
Effectiveness of Server Training Programs

Server programs proliferated in the 1980s as a way to modify the behavior of those who serve alcohol and thus to reduce accidents and liability to the establishments where they were employed. Subsequently, these programs have been evaluated experimentally by a number of studies (Gliksman & Single, 1988; Howard-Pitney et al., 1991; Molof & Kimball, 1992; Mosher et al., 1989; Russ & Geller, 1987; Saltz, 1987). The results of these studies have revealed some positive data showing that server training can modify servers' and managers' knowledge and beliefs about changes in serving practices that help reduce the rate and amount of alcohol consumed by patrons. These studies found that training tends to increase staff intervention with intoxicated patrons and to augment their willingness to suggest alternative beverages and forms of transportation.

These forms of intervention have illustrated the extent to which responsible alcohol service depends upon management policy. For example, servers can only promote alternative beverages to the extent to which they are kept in stock, and the receptiveness of alcohol-impaired patrons to accepting alternative rides home is enhanced by programs in which the establishment underwrites all or a portion of the transportation costs. Also, the willingness of management to alter alcohol service policies related to the
encouragement of overdrinking is required to affect the practices of those serving the alcohol (Saltz, 1987).

Although the ability of the server training to alter the behaviors of servers is encouraging, it is ultimately the way patrons respond to servers that determines the effectiveness of server training as an accident and injury prevention measure (Molof & Kimball, 1992; Russ & Geller, 1987). The weight of evidence indicates that training servers can yield changes in serving practices that can reduce how much and how fast customers drink. However, it has yet to be shown that server training can reduce the incidence of intoxication or service to already intoxicated patrons. Researchers have found that server training alone is unlikely to have a significant impact upon patron intoxication (Mosher et al., 1989; Saltz, 1987).

Obstacles to Effective Server Training

Any attempt to foster more responsible beverage services must contend with obstacles to the effectiveness of such programs to reduce impaired driving, the serving of patrons who are obviously impaired, and the serving of minors. The reinforcements for alcohol servers to serve alcohol to customers in risky situations are many, but it appears that the top two are the revenue incentives of serving as much alcohol as possible and the difficulties which arise from refusing service to customers.
One of the most obvious obstacles to attempting to foster responsible alcohol beverage service is the economic barrier, since selling alcohol is what bars and restaurants do, and discouraging consumption means less money for both the server through gratuities and the establishment (McKnight, 1993). The tendency for some clients to become argumentative or violent when they are refused the service of alcohol is a potential barrier to intervention, especially late at night among tired employees. "In an industry that defines itself using the term 'hospitality,' being refused service is hardly viewed as hospitable by patrons" (p. 77).

Key Montana Agencies

In Montana, there are two primary agencies which have vested interest in alcohol-server issues. These are the Division of Highway Traffic Safety in the Department of Justice and the Montana Tavern Association (MTA). Although these organizations face the same alcohol-server issues from different perspectives, they do not have a history of working together.

Montana Division of Highway Traffic Safety. In 1966 the Montana Division of Highway Traffic Safety was created in the Department of Transportation (DOT). Because of the increasing popularity of automobiles and accompanying accidents associated with their increasing numbers, the
Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 and the Highway Safety Act of 1966 were passed. The Motor Vehicle Safety Act served to develop and set standards about automobile construction safety features such as bumpers, headlights, and seat belts. The Highway Safety Act was designed to address traffic safety in general through states working toward 12 different standards. One of these 12 standards focused specifically on the highway safety issue of alcohol’s relationship to drinking and driving. Herein lies the beginnings of laws related to driving under the influence in Montana.

In 1971, the Director of the Division of Highway Traffic Safety, Albert Goke, introduced the first two laws to make driving under the influence (DUI) of alcohol a driving offense. Included in this legislation was the implied consent law which aided in the gathering of evidence for DUI convictions. With the exception of some minor additions to these 1971 laws, very little changed nationally or in Montana until 1983 when more laws were passed. These new laws included mandated jail time for DUI offenders, education classes for minors acquiring alcohol, and the ability to revoke drivers’ licenses for certain impaired driving offenses. Along with these federal mandates came large sums of monies to enact the laws. Local Montana governments received $250,000 to $300,000 per year to develop DUI task forces and their plans. Many
local task forces have workers and owners of taverns as members. In 1987, laws were passed that established a $50 reinstatement fee to be levied upon anyone convicted of DUI who is applying for relicensure. This $50 fine continues today to go towards the support of local DUI task forces.

The two primary alcohol issues of the 1980s continued to be the easy acquisition of alcohol by minors and the serving of intoxicated individuals who then often drive away. In his ongoing search for solutions, Goke observed that many states have taken the route of licensing servers and mandating training. However, Montana has a history of choosing to arrive at the same place as others but without mandating. Since many of the states with the mandated training programs were seeing only limited results and still looking for solutions to minors acquiring alcohol and impaired individuals being served and driving, Goke decided to seek answers from the field itself. So in 1993, Montana Highway Traffic Safety allocated funds for this study to give the industry itself an opportunity to say what type of structure and content was needed and what the industry saw working best concerning alcohol server training programs.

Montana Tavern Association. Earliest records of the Montana Tavern Association (MTA) date back to 1937 when the organization was known as the Montana Licensed Liquor Dealers Association and had a membership of 275 persons.
In 1956, the organization, which was then known as the Montana Licensed Beverage Association, held its first convention in Kalispell. At this time, election of officers and board members took place and the administrative office was located in Billings, where it remained until 1966 when it was moved to its current location in Helena. In that same year the name was again changed—this time to the Montana Tavern Association.

The governing body of MTA is its executive board, which is composed of seven elected officers, five eligible past presidents (those who have remained in business and hold licenses), two directors to the National Beverage Association, and one director from each of the 34 organized county tavern associations. Several counties have been combined for geographic and other purposes so that all of Montana’s 56 counties are represented by directors elected by members in their local groups. This emphasis on grassroots participation has proven extremely effective for the MTA, and the structure provides excellent statewide networking.

The purpose of the MTA, as stated in the organization’s preamble and bylaws, is:

To create respect for and obedience of the laws of the state of Montana; to promote full cooperation with the Montana Department of Revenue, Liquor Division, in the enforcement of its regulations; to eliminate the illicit traffic in spirituous beverages; to further the legal and
economic development of the industry; and to protect the rights and benefits of its members. The MTA has a strong stated interest and history of supporting laws designed to protect Montana citizens related to the products that they sell. The MTA states that they will continue to do so as they have respect for the sensitive nature of those products. MTA claims that it has the same concerns for families, neighbors, and customers as any other responsible citizen and business person and does not want to see its products abused. Thus, the MTA has an investment in the issues associated with minors acquiring alcohol and impaired drivers.

As an affiliate of the National License Beverage Association (NBLA), MTA has conducted the NBLA's server training program entitled Techniques of Alcohol Management (TAM). These trainings have been conducted through seminars around the state for employers and their employees and at their association's annual conventions. The MTA has TAM certified instructors who conduct the seminars, and those who successfully complete the trainings are then also certified. However, the MTA understands that improvements can always be made and is eager to participate in field-based studies involving alcohol issues. The association recognizes the importance of assessing the opinions and perceptions of its members in regard to the issues of drinking and minors, impaired driving, and server training.
needs. Hence, the MTA looks forward to participating in continued efforts to better understand the needs of Montana's alcohol servers.

**Adult Education**

Since the field of Adult Education is concerned with learning at both individual and societal levels, it provides the necessary paradigms for assessing or developing any type of training program. Current trends in the field view the adult learner as one who understands the learning process as well as the social environment and who responds to the challenge of continued improvement of that setting for all people (Fellenz & Conti, 1989).

**Individual Learning**

Much of the early work in adult education emphasized the role of the teacher or administrator in the teaching-learning transaction rather than the learner (Smith, 1982). Many adult educators mark a turning point toward the individual learner in the field of adult education with the work of Cyril Houle. Houle explored questions such as what adults do to learn, how this learning is done, and what is the real-life context of adult learning (Fellenz & Conti, 1989).

Houle (1961) explored why adult learners engage in continuing education and categorized their personal motivation as either goal-oriented, activity-oriented, or
learning-oriented. In his book, *The Inquiring Mind*, Houle’s emphasis on the individual learner was the beginning of a new focus on the motivation and nature of the adult learner. Houle’s topology of three learning orientations found support in the work of Sheffield (1964) and Burgess (1971). Research which followed Houle’s has generally illuminated rather than changed Houle’s basic conclusions (Cross, 1976). Houle’s work stands as a benchmark for a new emphasis on the learner and the learning process in the field of adult education (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). This focus on the individual learner was further stimulated in the late 1960s by Tough (1971).

**Real-Life Learning**

Adult learning researchers have recently increased their interest in learning in real-life (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). Real-life learning is related to learning that takes place outside of formal educational settings and has practical use (Candy, 1987). Tough’s work focused on how learners go about directing their learning in real life. Through his inquiries, he helped to shift the focus of educators’ attention onto the phenomenon of adult learning, rather than refining program skills (Brookfield, 1984). Tough’s investigations focused on the phenomena of how adults go about learning on their own and what motivates them. Current trends in adult learning are focusing on
learning that which is relevant to the living tasks of the individual (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). Such learning is often referred to as "real-life" or "real-world" learning or, as cognitive psychologists discuss, learning that results in "practical" knowledge.

In the field of cognitive psychology, the literature has shown a renewed interest in "practical intelligence" or the knowledge useful in real-world settings as seen in the works of Neisser (1982) and Wagner and Sternberg (1986). Neisser focused research on memory and dismissed much of the prior memory research because most was done on topics or in settings that had little or no practical interest to the adult learners. He stressed that future research be done on memory tasks that are faced in daily life. Wagner and Sternberg identified seven ways in which academic learning differs from the tasks faced in the real world. Academic problems are (a) formulated by others, (b) often have little interest to learners, (c) have all relevant information provided, (d) are disembodied from ordinary experience, (e) are clearly defined, (f) have one right answer, and (g) often have one acceptable way to arrive at a solution (p. 52).

The learner’s social environment can also influence real-life learning needs (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). Such learning can consist of the learning that goes on in families, learning networks, community action groups
interested in changing the social environment, work groups, and interpersonal relationships (Brookfield, 1989).

Mathetics

The focus on the centrality of the learner was continued in the 1970s through Kidd (1973). He affirmed the growing importance of understanding the process of learning—the context each learner deals with in approaching the learning task. It was also Kidd who promoted the concept of "mathetics" which is "about disciplines that offer insights and clarifications about learning" (Kidd, 1983, p. 533). "The importance of the concept of mathetics is that it is a way of linking together most of the fields from which a data bank about learning is developing" (p. 534). Mathetics is evidenced in the adult education literature through the frequent referencing of research in the fields of philosophy, anthropology, economics, biology, sociology, and psychology (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). Kidd noted that the study of how to learn more effectively would be of great use in our current world where "increased specialization tends to impede knowledge" (p. 534). Kidd's (1973) popular book How Adults Learn was a lengthy examination of research into and methods of how adults learn. Another leader in the adult education field is Smith, who continued to highlight the significance of the learner in the 1980s. In his book,
Learning How to Learn, Smith (1982) compiled research data covering a variety of topics which can help the adult learner become more an efficient, effective, and independent learner. Smith also notes the movement toward Kidd’s concept of mathetics with a growing emphasis in adult learning on a shift from a preoccupation with teaching to a preoccupation with learning and the study of people learning.

Andragogy

The momentum of mathetics and the focus on the importance of the adult learner has been maintained by other theorists as well. One of the most noteworthy has been the work of Malcolm Knowles and his concept of andragogy (Davenport, 1987). Andragogy is "the art and science of helping adults learn" (Davenport, 1987, p. 6; Knowles, 1968). It was further noted by Knowles (1970) that the development of the term was a method or approach to learning. Andragogy is perhaps the best known model of how to facilitate and organize adult learning in formal settings (Merriam & Caffarella, 1991, p. 25). As Brookfield notes, "It is one [process] which has great emotional appeal to those involved in facilitating adult learning. It is learner centered" (Brookfield, 1986, p. 96).
As a supporter of mathetics and a researcher who has continued in the adult learning tradition, Brookfield captured the attention of the adult education field with books, articles, and research of adult learning. Brookfield has expanded the knowledge of adult education through describing the vast array of formal and informal settings which provide learning opportunities for adults (Merriam & Caffarella, 1991). Brookfield has also included descriptions of how Knowles’ model of andragogy has been used in adult learning settings and critiques of Knowles’ conception of facilitation as the major role for teachers in adult education (Brookfield, 1986, 1988). He views the role of the adult learning instructor as a facilitator who guides or helps adults as they cope with life’s developmental tasks and life events (Brookfield, 1987). The end result of this teaching-learning transaction is that the learners become more self-directed and autonomous (Brookfield, 1986).

Praxis

Brookfield (1986) believes that one of the major aims of adult education should be the nurturing of empowerment and critical reflection in adult learners. An integral part of this empowering process is reflection on action. Freire insists that authentic dialogue must lead to action, reflection, and further action. This action-reflection
process is referred to as praxis. Learning is not isolated inquiry; instead it is exploration, which is followed by reflection and action. In this dialectical process, the action stimulates a need for further inquiry, which is in turn followed by reflection and action in a continuous pattern.

This notion of praxis as alternating and continuous engagements by teachers and learners in exploration, action, and reflection is central to adult learning. It means explorations of new ideas, skills, or bodies of knowledge do not take place in a vacuum but within the context of the learner's past, current, and future experiences. (Brookfield, 1986, p. 15)

Praxis is critical in creating meaning and knowledge in the process of changing oppressive political and social barriers or transforming the world (Freire, 1970b).

An effective educational program according to Brookfield (1985) is one where there is a collaborative effort between teachers and learners in which "attention to increasing the adult's sense of worth underlies all educational efforts" (p. 48). This process is part of praxis through the ongoing process of "activity, reflection on activity, collaborative analysis of activity, new activity, further reflection and collaborative analysis" (p. 48).

Learning Styles and Strategies

Learning styles and learning strategies are both important concepts regarding how an individual learns.
Learning styles are people's characteristic ways of information processing, feeling, and behaving in and toward learning situations, and they include those preferences, dispositions, and tendencies that influence one's learning (Smith, 1982). According to this definition, it may be said that the concept of learning style focuses on the learner and stresses that there are individual differences among learners. Smith (1982) insisted that learning style is one of the three essential ingredients of the process of learning how to learn.

Learning strategies on the other hand are techniques or skills that an individual elects to use in order to accomplish a learning task. They differ from learning style in that they are techniques selected for specific tasks rather than stable traits (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). These strategies vary by individual and by learning objective. Often such strategies are so customary to learners that they are given little thought; at other times much deliberation occurs before the learner selects a learning strategy for a specific learning task (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). Although learning strategies have grown out of the tradition of study skills, they differ significantly from that tradition. Whereas study skills are concerned with note taking, outlining, and test taking, learning strategies tend to promote metacognitive, memory, and critical thinking.
Metacognition. Metacognition is the process of thinking about the process of thinking (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). The concept was first introduced through the field of cognitive psychology in the 1970s by Flavell (1976), who identified three major areas of metacognitive knowledge. These three areas were awareness of self, task, and strategy (Flavell, 1979). Awareness of self included the insights and assumptions that individuals have about their personal cognitive abilities. These abilities include one's self-concept of ability to learn, insights into cognitive strengths and weaknesses, and the awareness of one's learning style. Task insights would include the ability to distinguish among different intellectual challenges and to identify the most effective procedures for conducting various types of learning tasks.

The concepts of metacognition have been further developed by others such as Brown (1982) and Yussen (1985) by observing learners who had the ability to reflect on and control their own learning processes. They noticed that such learners had the ability to make their own learning activities more efficient by utilizing self-regulatory tactics to ensure success in the learning endeavor. Smith (1982) proposed that "self-understanding links directly to learning how to learn when learners become sensitive to and in control of the learning process, in other words, more aware of themselves as learners" (p. 57). As Burman (1970)
earlier stated more simply, "We normally do best those things we know how to do. I do not think learning is any exception" (p. 50).

Yussen (1985) highlights the importance of metacognitive strategies by breaking them into three primary areas. These include eliciting purpose from self and the situation, organizing, and identifying the steps essential to the learning process. Metacognitive monitoring is what keeps people on track as they learn. It is the process that reminds learners of their purpose, their resources, their previous experiences, and their strengths and weaknesses. Adjusting learning strategies helps the learner evaluate and regulate learning activities and strategies in light of new information or a changed understanding of information.

Memory. Memory is the ability "to retain information, to recall it when needed, and to recognize its familiarity when they later see it or hear it again" (Wingfield & Byrnes, 1981, p. 4). Integral to any learning effort is remembering (Long, 1983). The concepts of feature, content, and function were identified by Neisser (1982) as the organizational basis for retrieving items from memory. These concepts are essentially the prompts used to locate and recall what is in the memory. Recognition of a concept when it is seen again, such as recognizing a word, is known
as feature. An example of content, which requires more effort, is when the meaning of a word needs to be recalled. Function memory requests refer to interpretation of the content which is recalled.

The use of memory in real life involves many strategies, but can be characterized as either internal or external. At the Center for Adult Learning at Montana State University researchers have characterized effective real-life learning into three areas. These are (a) organization of memory strategies, (b) external memory strategies, and (c) application memory strategies.

Organization of memory strategies is an internal strategy which involves the reordering or restructuring of information (Seamon, 1980). Incorporating new information into already existing frameworks or knowledge is the most effective organizational strategy. In this process, the information is understood well enough so that it fits naturally into knowledge already held by the individual.

External memory strategies involve the learner in manipulating the environment in some manner to enhance recall. External aids include strategies such as reviewing material (Zechmeister & Nyberg, 1982), appointment books, making a list or asking others for help. They also include the reduction of large amounts of information into organized sets known as chunking (Wingfield & Byrnes, 1981).
Application memory strategies are internal devices used to enhance memory such as mnemonics. Mnemonics are memory devices which include the use of images, rhymes, tracing sequence of events, and alphabetical searching (Neisser, 1982).

Critical thinking. There is currently a renewed interest in the concept of critical thinking because it has direct application to the realities of modern day life (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). Critical thinking is defined as the internal process of mentally analyzing information in order to determine that which is useful in a learning task. Brookfield (1987) goes on to identify four components of critical thinking as: (a) identifying and challenging assumptions, (b) challenging the importance of context, (c) imagining and exploring alternatives, and (d) reflective skepticism (p. 12). In today’s world critical thinking is essential because of the many sources of information provided by the environment which may be contradictory, lacking in foundation, or one-sided.

This present day informational environment poses new and complicated challenges for thinking with clarity and imagination (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). "Knowledge is not static but dynamic, growing out of an encounter between a knower and a knower’s data" (Inkster, 1988, p. 157). Such a process of critical thinking is also part of learning
which is an "emancipatory action" where the purposes of learning are individual liberation, transformation, and empowerment. For these purposes, learners must use their own knowledge and powers of critical reflection to arrive at a truer understanding of the world (Mezirow, 1981). Yet individual understanding of the world is only one aspect of adult learning. Equally if not more important are approaches which affect the environment.

The Social Environment

Many of the issues that bartenders confront each day are beyond the scope of the individual. Issues such as impaired driving, minors acquiring alcohol, and legal and ethical issues can only be addressed through collaborative efforts. Collectively, real-life problems have led to a recognition of the importance of the social environment upon the process of adult learning (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). Environmental approaches include empowerment, social action, cultural sensitivity, and participatory research.

Empowerment. The ultimate goal of learning in the social environment is empowerment (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). Empowerment in learning occurs when learners free themselves of oppression by demystifying knowledge and by critically redefining social reality in their own terms (Cunningham, 1983). Empowerment is also referred to as popular education to help people transform the present
domination system so that they can become agents of their own history (Vargas, 1988) or as liberatory programs to develop independent, critical, and politically active learners in a democratic society (Heaney, 1982). In this process people demonstrate that they refuse to remain pawns by deciding their own fate (Boyer, 1989).

When discussing the concept of empowerment the works of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire clearly stand out. Paulo Freire has provided an understanding of individual and social empowerment by sharing lessons learned from the liberation movements of developing countries. He believed that a political environment producing oppression was not a fixed reality, but rather it was a problem that could be alleviated through the collective efforts of the oppressed people. Freire felt that the educational system was one means through which the upper class disempowered the poor. Yet, through a different type of education, the poor could be liberated by gaining the power, skills, and confidence they needed to transform society so all could live with human dignity. He maintained that the goal of education should be liberation. As such, education could never be politically neutral; rather education either supported liberation or oppression (Freire, 1970a)

According to Freire, empowerment involves oppressed groups collectively identifying their own problems, critically examining the social roots of the problem,
strengthening hope and envisioning a better life, and then organizing to achieve their goals by overcoming social and political barriers. It is through such group participation that people are able to change their lives on a personal and social scale. Freire proposes a participatory education process in which people are not objects or recipients of political and educational projects but are actors in the process of changing oppressive circumstances (Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1994). According to Freire, community empowerment starts when people listen to each other, engage in participatory/liberty dialogue, identify their commonalities, and construct new strategies for change.

Even when you feel yourself most free, if this feeling is not a social feeling, if you are not able to use your recent freedom to help others be free by transforming the totality of society, then you are exercising an individualist attitude towards empowerment or freedom . . . . While individual empowerment, the feeling of being changed, is not enough concerning the transformation of the whole society, it is absolutely necessary for the process of social transformation (Shor & Freire, 1987, pp. 109-110).

Hence empowering education can potentially influence people at many levels from developing personal skills to individually and collectively creating social reform (Freire, 1970a; Shor & Freire, 1987).

Empowering methods are in direct contrast to the traditional, disempowering approach described by Freire as
"banking" education. He feels banking education is both paternalistic and individualistic in nature since it treats knowledge as a gift bestowed by those who are knowledgeable to those who do not know. Such a paternalistic approach views teachers as experts who exclusively possess the knowledge of a topic. In such a system, students are viewed as passive objects and empty receptacles which teachers fill with knowledge. The transfer of knowledge usually occurs in a static exchange with little discussion. Banking education is viewed as individualistic in nature because it seldom recognizes students' uniqueness in terms of their personal attributes and their rich context of living. It is also seen as individualistic because it frequently ignores the complex political, cultural, economic, and social influences on people's lives and how these factors influence their learning (Fahlberg, Poulin, Girdano, & Dusek, 1991; Freire, 1970a; Shor and Freire, 1987).

Social Action. The goal of empowerment and learning in the social environment is social action. Since people are often asking critical questions about sensitive political relationships in society, this action often leads to conflict. Such conflict was seen by both Horton and Freire as a powerful positive force for bringing latent issues to the forefront and for fostering their resolution
(Conti, 1977). In her introduction to Myles Horton’s (1989) biography, Lewis discusses the interrelationship of action and conflict.

Together people share their experiences, analyze their problems and learn how to work toward basic changes in society. The goal is not reform or adjustment to an unjust society but the transformation of society.

It is education for action. It is dangerous education; and although much emphasis is on forming strategies to confront the system without being destroyed, people are encouraged to push the boundaries, to be creative in solving problems. Often this means pushing to the place where they get into trouble. Myles insists that until people take some risks and gain some independence from the system, they are not free to learn or to act. As people try to be part of the decision-making process, they discover that learning about democracy involves working to replace, transform and rebuild society to allow for equal participation. (p. xxi)

Hence, learning that is occurring in the social environment has a purpose—to direct informed social action.

**Culture.** A key concept in the discussion of learning in the social environment is culture. Horton stressed that culture is a totality and that it is the base of all actions. It is the internal set of operating standards that determines how people operate, how they communicate, how they express themselves, and how they make meaning of other people’s actions (Pease-Windy Boy, 1988). Each group has a culture that is unique and is characterized by a mesh of shared patterns and concepts that are conveyed over time through language and imitation (Barnouw, 1987).
A group's culture can be defined in many ways. These may include factors such as age of members, regional identities, or ethnic origin. Regardless of these distinguishing characteristics that give the group its cultural identity, the critical element is that the group operates in a homogeneous fashion that is different from the main culture and that there is a constant danger of the dominant culture subsuming this culture (Bopp, Bopp, & Lane, 1984).

Hence, the culture is often the organizing unit for learning in the social environment. It provides the phenomenological backdrop in which people ground their experiences and the common grounds for interpreting their experiences (Fellenz & Conti, 1989).

**Participatory Research.** Learning in the social environment involves a participatory process between the teachers and learners. The overriding goal of participatory research is learning in order to take action on a social issue (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). As such, action research strategies should involve collaboration between participants and researchers throughout all phases of the study (Merriam, 1986). "Greater use of this mode of inquiry will help to dismantle the notion that research activity is the exclusive monopoly of 'experts' or
institutions rather than those most likely to be effected by it" (p. 6).

Participatory research is characterized by people personally analyzing the problems that affect them (Cain, 1976). Although people may seek the assistance of outside "experts," they retain control over the decision-making process of the research. "Instead of becoming dependent on experts, the people become experts themselves" (Horton, 1990, p. 208). As a group, people learn how to identify and define their problem, how to collect and analyze relevant information, and, most important, how to use the information. Participatory research combines community participation in decision making with methods of social investigation to involve the people in the research process so that it can serve the needs of the individuals rather than those of the policy makers who need convenient, portable information or researchers who survive by collecting, packaging, and selling knowledge (Hall, 1977). In this way, participatory research strives to be a liberating force by providing a learning process for critically understanding social problems, their structural causes, and possible ways of overcoming them (Participatory Research, 1982, p. 1). It is committed to the empowerment of learning for all those who are engaged in the process and to the ultimate goal of fundamental structural
transformation for improving the lives of all those involved (Hall, 1981).

The central purpose of participatory research is to generate knowledge. Although people have historically generated their own practical knowledge, modern technology and science have developed the myth that this function is reserved for trained experts (Tandon, 1981). However, participatory research maintains that people are capable of creating their own knowledge and that the researcher is a collaborative learner in the process. It draws from the basic adult education principles of participation and responsibility. Initial ideas may come from an outside researcher, but "in all cases, the outside researcher is involved particularly in building an indigenous capacity for collective analysis and action and the generation of new knowledge by the people concerned" (Hall, 1981, p. 10).

People may participate at different levels depending upon the nature of the problem being studied; however, control of the research always rests with them. In this participatory mode, they take responsibility for the knowledge that is created and for taking action with this knowledge. Thus, participatory research "is a democratic approach to investigation and learning to be taken up by individuals, groups, and movements as a tool aimed at social change" (Participatory Research, 1982, p. 4).
Adult education is concerned with learning at both individual and social levels. It provides the necessary paradigms for assessing or developing any type of training program since through participatory research it involves people in all aspects of the creation of the research knowledge which is important to them. Current trends in the field view the adult learner as one who understands the learning process as well as the social environment and who responds to the challenge of continued improvement of that setting for all people (Fellenz & Conti, 1989).

Need for Research

Any server training program which attempts to modify the behavior of those who serve alcohol must address the knowledge, attitudes, perceptions, and skills of the servers. Attempting to implement a training program without a thorough understanding of a "view from behind the bar" would most likely result in the development of a training program or curriculum which might appear to policy-making officials to be promising but might in actuality produce limited results in changing bar tenders' behaviors in regard to preventing impaired driving or serving to minors.

In order to be of greatest use, such information must not only gather numbers and statistics, but it also must get into the shoes of the people in that particular setting
in order to provide a view from their perspective. In doing so, not only can valuable information on problems and possible solutions be provided, but also coalitions can begin to be formed or strengthened between the groups involved. Hence, the information gathering process becomes an important step in the direction of mutual problem solving.

Conclusion

The issues associated with affecting health behaviors are highly complex and imbedded in social norms. Since alcoholic beverages have been around since 3,000 B.C. it is also likely that they will continue to be around in 3,000 A.D. (Austin, 1985). While we discuss "prevention," about the best that any of us can hope for is that alcohol problems will be minimized (Room, 1974). Simple, single-focused approaches are not effective in dealing with highly complex social issues. Progress in the area of alcohol-health issues can only come from embracing the complexities of social change in the ongoing, fluid process of achieving community health. As Rappaport (1981) argues, "A variety of contradictory solutions will necessarily emerge and we ought not only expect but welcome them, the more different solutions to the same social problem the better . . . given the nature of social problems there are no permanent solutions." (p. 9).
CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH DESIGN

This study was descriptive in nature and was conducted in three phases. Descriptive research design involves collecting data in order to answer questions concerning the way things are or what already exists. Typical descriptive studies assess attitudes, opinions, demographic information, conditions, and procedures (Gay, 1992, p. 218). Such studies may be used to explore areas that are initially impossible to conceptualize and lay the basis for more rigorous investigation later. Descriptive studies provide "rich" contextual information within which more rigorous quantitative findings can be interpreted (Guba & Lincoln, 1990, p. 160). They can be used to illustrate or exemplify what has been uncovered through more conventional evaluation approaches and can help audiences "make real" such findings by providing depth and description of participants' vicarious experiences.

Phase 1: Alcohol Servers' Survey

Phase 1 of the study was a survey of alcohol servers in Montana. This phase included both quantitative (mail surveys) and qualitative (personal interviews) data
collection and analysis. The quantitative data produced findings that could easily be expressed in numerical form while the qualitative data findings were reported in terms of verbal description. The quantitative analysis presented the voices of Montana's tavern owners and workers and their views on alcohol problems and possible solutions. The results of the survey were used for the purposes of discussion, future planning, and program development related to important health and safety issues. The findings combined qualitative and quantitative data in a manner which allowed the tavern owners and workers to tell their own story. Too often, as with many past reports on taverns, research studies concentrate only on numbers and lose the people. This is unfortunate because alcohol serving is all about people—those on both sides of the bar. Therefore, this study gathered both qualitative and quantitative data about alcohol servers and reported it in a narrative form which would allow their voices to be heard.

Development of Survey Instrument

The survey instrument utilized in this study (see Appendix A) was developed with the primary purpose of having construct validity. That is, it was developed to insure that it measured that which it was supposed to measure: the attitudes, opinions, perceptions, and stated
behavioral norms of alcohol servers. The best method of insuring construct validity of an instrument is through some sort of independent study such as the review of "experts" in the given area (Gay, 1992). Hence, this survey was developed through a process of rigorous critiques, re-writes, and revisions involving the input of the attorney for and director of the Montana Tavern Association, Program Administrators in the Department of Highway Traffic Safety, tavern owners, bar tenders, prevention program specialists, and research design consultants. A process of multiple rounds of input through sending out a draft, having it come back with comments, and then sending it out again produced that which became the final survey instrument. The end result was a survey which gathered pertinent background information and which addressed in the proper language the primary issues associated with drinking and minors, impaired driving, and server training. Through this process, the survey was developed by the those in the front lines of the tavern and highway safety business.

The survey instrument was divided into four parts. The first section solicited information related to location and type of establishment, tavern association membership, population of the community, number of employees at the establishment, and position and gender of the respondent. The other sections dealt with the areas of drinking and
minors, server training, and impaired driving. Most of
the questions in these sections utilized a 5-point Likert
scale with the options of 1 = Strongly Agree, 2 = Agree,
3 = Neutral, 4 = Disagree, and 5 = Strongly Disagree. Open-
ended questions and write-in responses were also included.
The instrument was typeset and professionally printed so
that it formed a four-page, single-fold 8.5" x 11" survey.
The front page displayed the logos for the Montana Tavern
Association, the Montana Department of Highway Traffic
Safety, and Montana State University; all of these
organizations had agreed to participate in this study.

Population and Sample

There are over 3,000 liquor license holders in
Montana. Utilizing the comprehensive list of liquor
license holders provided by the Department of Revenue,
taverns were defined as on-premise establishments which
serve alcoholic beverages. According to this definition,
Montana has 2,023 licensed taverns. This included some
that were only bars and some which were both a bar and a
restaurant.

A representative sample of all taverns in the state
was collected. In order to compensate for the differing
number of bars in each county, a proportionalized random
sample was utilized. That is, the same proportionate
number of bars that are in each of the 56 Montana counties.
was represented in the sample (Appendix B). A population of 2,200 requires a sample size of 327 (Mitchell & Jolley, 1988, pg. 302-303). It was anticipated that a percentage of the alcohol servers would not return the written surveys do to an association of the survey with impersonal bureaucracy and because it was assumed that alcohol servers would prefer to interact verbally rather than in writing. In anticipation of a low response rate, the sample size was increased by 30% to 426.

The participants in each county were selected through a randomized computer program. A total of 186 surveys were returned for a response rate of 43.7%. As anticipated, the first mailing did indeed have a low response rate with 113 surveys returned. People who do not respond to the first mailing were sent a second mailing. Of these, 73 responded to the second mailing. To determine if those responding to the first mailing differed from those returning the second mailing, a t-test comparing the mean responses of the two groups was conducted for each item and no differences were found on any of the items. Although later interviews confirmed the assumption about alcohol servers preferring to respond verbally rather than in writing to the items, a sample of 30 of the non-responders to the written surveys were contacted by telephone and asked the survey questions. A series of t-tests comparing the mean responses for each item of the 186 who returned their surveys compared with
the mean of 30 randomly selected non-responders revealed some differences between the groups (Appendix C). In the Drinking and Minors section, no differences were found between the two groups on 17 of the 20 items. In the Server Training section, the two groups were similar in their responses for seven of the eight items. However, in the Impaired Driving section, the two groups agreed on only three of the eight items. Therefore, in spite of a low response rate and a few differences on items, it can be assumed that the responses of those who returned their surveys is representative of the population of Montana’s alcohol servers for the Drinking and Minors and the Server Training responses. However, the impaired driving results on the survey must be interpreted with the caution that the sample may not be representative of the overall population for these items.

Interviews

In addition to the quantitative data which were gathered from the mail-out surveys, qualitative information was obtained through structured interviews. The purpose of the interviews was to obtain rich descriptive information to supplement the surveys and to answer questions in depth and in detail which cannot be obtained through a survey format alone.
After the first mailing of surveys, 40 interviews of tavern owners and bar tenders from around the state were conducted. While random selection is the best way to guarantee a truly representative sample for quantitative data analysis, a purposive selection process is the most appropriate method to obtain a meaningful selection for qualitative data gathering (Guba & Lincoln, 1990). In purposive sampling, participants are selected because they possess a specific characteristic and are likely to possess certain knowledge. In this study, the sites of the interviews were selected to include a variety of characteristics of Montana’s taverns. These included both rural and urban taverns, large and small taverns, bar-only and bar-restaurant establishments. The taverns were selected from each of the state’s five regions. Each interview was approximately 45 minutes in length and was conducted in a conversational manner. Initially, the interviews utilized the broad framework of the survey instrument as a guide, and a standard set of questions was not utilized. That is, the interviewees were asked broad, open-ended questions to initiate discussion of the topics of drinking and minors, impaired driving, and server training as they related to their specific establishments. As the interviewees described their own local situation, the interviewer used information the participant provided to probe into greater detail. Observations were also noted
of materials used (i.e., posters and pamphlets) and of the structure of the taverns in order to substantiate the data obtained.

Upon entering each establishment, the interviewer identified himself as a person from Montana State University who was conducting a study which was supported by the Division of Montana Highway Traffic Safety and the Montana Tavern Association. He then asked if the bartender or the owner would be interested in participating in the study through discussion and answering questions related to their views of alcohol problems and solutions. Respondents were assured that all information which they provided would be kept confidential and that information would be reported only by general regions of the state. The interviewer dressed in casual attire. The interviews were conducted during the week and on weekends at various times of the day.

Interview Analysis

The analysis of data from the 40 interviews of the bartenders actually began when the researcher was in the field conducting the interviews. After the first eight interviews, a revised and refined questioning format was developed to acquire the specific type of information that was needed. Additionally, the researcher analyzed the data while in the field by selectively taking notes. Since some
common responses to the questions were being provided, data analysis and collection were simultaneous as the responses were categorized (Darkenwald, 1982, p. 63).

After 30 interviews, the data were again reviewed and assessed for emerging patterns. The researcher then went out into the taverns with even more specific questions than before. For example, it was noticed that a pattern of differences between urban and rural taverns was beginning to emerge, so additional questioning helped to clarify these emerging patterns. Particular attention was paid to obtaining quotes which would capture these differences.

After 40 interviews were completed, 40 different files of notes were organized. Each was broken down into the four major sections of Drinking and Minors, Impaired Driving, Server Training Issues, and Other. The other section included information on the researcher’s observations and information which did not fit into any of the other categories.

The files were read three times to get an overall feel for what the "voices were saying." It was important to pay attention to the bigger patterns of the data. It was here that notes about some of these emerging patterns were generated. For example, it was noted that there were many different opinions about the best ways to handle impaired driving.
On the fourth reading of the files, a highlighter pen was used to begin to mark all of the information which seemed to be representing a pattern. Again notes were made in columns about what these emerging patterns could be. It was here also that the researcher began to note some hunches and reactions and started typing in some potential themes.

With the information now highlighted, four different fields in a d-Base III file were developed to input the data according to the larger patterns which were observed. It was quickly discovered, however, that four fields were not enough because as the data was analyzed again while inputting it, many more patterns developed. Instead of going back and redefining the d-Base fields, the data were coded within the existing fields that had been defined so that sub-categories were created within each field.

Once the d-Base input was completed, a sort was run according to the defined fields. This computer printout allowed for examination of the data according to the categories. As the quotes were grouped together, patterns could again be seen and data were moved to the most appropriate places. Next, the d-Base information was exported into a standardized data format (ASCII), and subsequently it was moved into Word Perfect. It was in Word Perfect that the final manipulations and sorting occurred.
The field notes related to patterns which were observed and were then used to help create headings for the different groups and sub-groups. After the first draft of the text was completed, it became apparent that a need existed to again do some refining since extensive smaller categories seemed to block out some of the bigger patterns which emerged. It was as if the focus on trees clouded the ability to see the forest. In this final refining process, categories were merged together and went from the micro to the macro. The analysis of the data then was completed through a dynamic process of putting it into text.

**Phase 2: Developing Training Priorities**

Although Phase 1 of this study gathered the broad, general views and opinions from the field of Montana’s alcohol servers, these general theoretical views would have proved to be meaningless unless they were put into action. Based on the findings and recommendations of Phase 1 of this study, Montana Highway Traffic Safety in conjunction with the Montana Board of Crime Control awarded a proposal to the North Country Media Group to develop training videos and other materials for Montana’s alcohol servers. However, before developing these training materials a need existed for prioritizing the training issues identified in the first phase of this study. Such a process needed to involve the input from experts at the involved agencies and
to be a quantitative stage of validating the results from Phase 1.

A research method which involves the participation of outside experts under the direction of an individual researcher is known as the Delphi technique (Dalkey & Helmer, 1963; Isaac & Michael, 1981; Linstone & Turoff, 1975). When applied in curriculum development, this technique utilizes the benefits of extracting the opinions from a large group, yet it acknowledges the values, needs, and perceptions of the individual. The Delphi technique was developed during the early 1950s by a research group headed by Normal Dalkey of the Rand Corporation and Olaf Helmer of the Institute for the Future. The Delphi technique is a forecasting and group information gathering process which has been widely used in business and industry for the systematic development of expert consensus (Delbecq, Van de Ven, & Gustafson, 1975). In today’s world of rapid and broad-ranging advancements in all areas of knowledge, there are few people who can be considered experts in even one area and even fewer masters of all. In order to be effective, several specialized experts must pool their talents. This is the strength of the Delphi technique. It involves establishing several sources of knowledge and expertise and using their judgments in a process which reflects interaction of the group (Jones & Twiss, 1978).
The Delphi technique is based upon the anonymous judgments of a group of experts who participate in a series of questionnaire type "rounds" designed to (a) collect individual opinions on likely future events, (b) gain a group consensus on those opinions, and (c) identify both the future events and their effects (Somers, Baker, & Isbell, 1984). The Delphi process works better with important issues than it does with trivial issues which might be better solved by a single individual or small group effort. Top research question candidates for the Delphi process are problems that affect many areas and that require inter-disciplinary solutions. Thus, the Delphi process was well suited for gathering the collective judgments of those representing the alcohol server interests in Montana.

The experts that were selected for this study came from three primary areas based on their involvement in the issue of developing training resources for Montana’s alcohol servers. These areas were (a) Montana’s state agencies of the Division of Highway Traffic Safety and the Montana Board of Crime Control, (b) The Montana Tavern Association Board of Directors, who represent all Montana counties, (c) alcohol servers from five urban and five rural taverns surveyed in Phase 1, and (d) Driving Under the Influence (DUI) Task Forces from around the state
This Phase of the study utilized Delphi principles rather than a standard Delphi technique. Specifically, the researcher was prepared to conduct multiple rounds like a standard Delphi technique; however, letting the data drive the process, only one round was needed to find a general consensus. The first round of this feedback process elicited individual judgments, opinions, and perceptions from each of the members of the four groups. The information was gathered using a rating process based upon the information generated in Phase 1. At the information gathering sessions for the Delphi stage, the participants were presented with the general purpose of the study and were asked to evaluate the importance of the issues identified in Phase 1 utilizing a 5-point Likert scale (Appendix D). Any additional issues could also have been added at this time and evaluated with the same scale. This process allowed participants to respond without the interference associated with group dynamics. Since each expert responds from a knowledgeable but isolated viewpoint, peer pressure or "group-think" is avoided.

After the responses were collected from each of the four groups in round one, the results were analyzed and means were generated for each of the groups individually and for the total group together. By rating the importance of categorical responses identified in Phase 1, the experts from the field were able to further distinguish and
forecast the training issues which were of most importance to them. Care was taken to insure that all major ideas from Phase I were included so that the analysis did not lose credibility when the findings were presented back to the group members in the second round.

A second and final round presented the summary of responses to all three groups. The results were presented in graph form to show how each of the different panels of experts responded as groups and to allow individuals to compare their own responses in reference to each of the groups (Appendix E). This round also provided training issue recommendations to the North Country Media Group based on the input from all three groups of experts involved. The participants were asked to comment on these ratings and asked to either accept or reject these classification of issues.

Phase 3: Translating Research to Reality

Much of the formal knowledge in a profession is often generated from basic and applied research which is usually conducted in university and other settings which do not readily transfer themselves to real-world situations. In the field, practitioners face unexpected situations which force them to think in novel and creative ways. They have to reframe the problems they face daily and construct a new reality for dealing with them. By using prior knowledge
and experiences, they are able to deal with new situations as they arise. As they reflect upon their responses to these situations, they acquire new knowledge for future action. (Schon, 1987)

The third and final phase of this study involved two meetings between the researcher and the North Country Media Group in order to translate the findings of Phase 1 and the ratings of Phase 2 into a meaningful and useful form for future action. The first meeting was a planning meeting and involved the researcher and the two key project directors from North Country Media Group. This first meeting lasted approximately 2 hours and allowed the researcher to explain in detail the findings of the first two phases of the study. A major focus of this meeting was also to plan a half-day working meeting involving the researcher and key personnel at the North Country Media Group who were involved in the development of the server training materials as a result of this project.

The second meeting was a half-day workshop which was based on adult learning principles. The outcome of this meeting was the development of ideas for the initial draft of materials for the video and training package. The meeting was videotaped in order to capture the creative process. The videotape documented the meeting so that it could be analyzed. The outcome of this project was the
active transferring of the research knowledge into useful, practical information.

Once this stage had taken place, the study had moved from obtaining information to reflecting upon this information to then acting upon the information—the process of praxis. This reflection-in-action approach to professional practice was a problem-solving process. It started with people and their needs and then kept the people at the center of the entire process. In doing so, it asked a different set and type of questions from the research. It also drew significantly different conclusions from the research. Instead of operating in a sterile, isolated, clinical environment, the research was conducted and its conclusions were applied in real-world settings. This study went beyond merely suggesting conclusions related to narrow hypotheses or to recommendations that additional types of research need to be done; instead, it took a chance at trying to explain what was happening with the people involved. It viewed knowledge as constantly developing and supported attempts to experiment with that knowledge.
This study was divided into three phases. In Phase 1, quantitative data from a survey and qualitative data from interviews were combined to describe Montana alcohol servers' views on drinking and minors, server training, and impaired driving. In Phase 2 the data from two rounds of a Delphi process were used to form a consensus on the rating of the needs and issues identified in Phase 1. In Phase 3 the researcher collaborated with a team of media specialists to translate the research findings and recommendations into action by facilitating two meetings with a media group to outline plans for the development of public service announcements, training videos, and training manuals.

Drinking and Minors

The first phase of this study involved gathering and analyzing data from a quantitative survey and qualitative interviews. The three primary areas of Phase 1 focused on Montana alcohol servers' views on issues associated with (a) drinking and minors, (b) impaired driving, and (c) server training.
The first section of Phase I dealt with Montana's alcohol servers' perceptions, opinions, and stated behavioral norms concerning drinking and minors. The findings are presented according to the following major sections: (a) agreement with the 21-year old age law, (b) serving minors—whose responsibility is it? (c) how do minors get alcohol? (d) false identification, (e) not harsh enough penalties, (f) adults buy alcohol and then give it to minors, (g) servers not careful enough about checking age, (h) not enough education, (i) minors serving to minors, (j) lack of caring by alcohol servers, (k) management's attitudes, knowledge, and reputation, (l) deterring minors from purchasing, and (m) the need for consistency.

Agreement with the 21-Year Old Age Law

A primary concern in the alcohol serving business is how bar tenders view the minimum age of 21 for purchasing, possessing, and consuming alcohol. This issue arose during the development of the survey instrument for this study in arguments supposing that the reason so many bar tenders are arrested in sting operations for serving minors is probably because they do not agree with the 21 law. Yet, the results of this survey showed that most bar tenders (85%) felt that "the issue of whether or not to serve a minor is really a non-issue since the law is the law and it says '21.'" In fact, most bar tenders (62%) stated that they
agreed with the 21 law. Yet, when questioned about their perception of how they believed their peers viewed this same issue, only slightly more than half (56%) felt that their peers also agreed with the 21 law. It is important to note that any discrepancy between a group's perception of "reality" and their actual norms such as evidenced here is worthy of further discussion and potential media strategies. This is especially true when more support for a law or other desirable outcome is shown as is the case here.

Actual statements from the interviews clarify the bartenders' support for the 21 age law. Many support the law because they see it as a protective measure to assure that they serve more mature customers.

I agree with the 21 law, 18 or 19 is just too young. 21 is closer to maturity. (Male bar tender in the northern part of the state)

I agree with the 21 law because 21 is closer to maturity than 18 is. I agree with it, it's the law! (Male bar tender in one of the larger cities)

The 21 age is good. Most 18-year olds are not mature enough, leave the law where it is. Plus, they are not good drivers. Kids get alcohol anyway, they don't need a legal channel to get it. (Male bar owner far from any town)

I agree with the 21 law. I think 18-year olds are not adults. They're still children, even if they can fight in wars and stuff. (Female bar tender in a small eastern Montana town).
One male bar owner from a small town in the southwest part of the state summed up this feeling when he passionately expressed,

We as bar owners don’t want under 21 year olds because they are a pain in the ass. Change it all to 21, even the gambling! I don’t know of any bar tenders that would knowingly serve minors. Nobody wants a bunch of drunk kids in their bar. It’s bad for the responsible drinking customers.

Although there is majority support from Montana alcohol servers for the 21 year old drinking law, there is a significant number (28%) of alcohol servers who feel quite differently. Their rational often runs in direct opposition to the opinions of the majority of their peers. They feel that the law conflicts with other social norms or simply does not work.

I think 21 is ridiculous because they are going to get it anyway because they get someone else to buy it for them. If it’s out in the open, then they’re not going to sneak it. (Female bar owner in a small eastern towns)

They should lower the age to 19 again, because when they are that age, they are adults. They are tried as adults, vote, go to war, etc. This playing the machines at 18 is bullshit. Because those kids come in and sneak in the bathroom and drink. (Male bar tender in central Montana)

We have an 18 night. Since many of them are coming in drunk or are going to drink anyway, I’d rather they do it in a bar than in a car driving around. So I serve them. (A 22 year old bar tender in a popular college bar).
Serving Minors: Whose Responsibility Is It?

In conjunction with examining Montana alcohol servers' level of agreement with the 21-year-old serving law, this study addressed the issue of responsibility for serving minors. Many prevention professionals are in agreement that the issue of serving responsibility is like many of those addressed in this survey in that it is complex in nature and involves shared responsibility of many people and agencies. Montana bar tenders as a group also have similar views on the complexity involved concerning where the primary responsibility lies on the issue of minors being served alcohol. Most Montana bar tenders (61%) agreed that the responsibility of whether or not to serve minors rests primarily with the minor. In fact, almost all (96%) of the servers were highly supportive of the new law that went into effect October 1, 1993 which made it illegal for minors to attempt to purchase alcohol. In addition, many expressed their belief that this new law is not harsh enough and that it would not be enough of a deterrent.

Across the state, alcohol servers' opinions sounded clear as they expressed their views on the minors' responsibilities when attempting to purchase alcohol and on the laws in place to remedy the problem situation:

There isn't enough responsibility placed against the kid. If it's going to be against the law, then make the penalties equal or more severe. Not this $50 fine and 10 hours of community
service, when the bar tender can lose their job and the joint gets shut down. We try to pay attention, but some kids look old enough. (Male bar tender in one of the larger cities)

A good stiff fine or a couple of days in jail is needed to deter them from using fake IDs. Not this $50 thing coming up. Because they are defrauding an inn keeper and that's a federal offense. We need to make it a problem for them. (Male bar owner from a rural northern bar)

The only way to make it work is with stiffer penalties for the minor. They need more than this slap on the hand of a $50 fine. It needs to be at least as stiff as for the bar tender. (Female bar tender from rural southern bar)

When asked if they felt the primary responsibility of minors getting served should be placed on the parents, the bar tenders were divided; 55% disagreed with the primary responsibility of minors acquiring alcohol residing with the parents, 40% agreed, and the rest were neutral. In interviews, those that disagreed with the primary responsibility resting with the parents stated many of the same reasons as mentioned above and had attitudes similar to a rural bar owner who voiced, "Nobody wants to be responsible for themselves anymore. They all want to pass the buck."

A large group (40%) of servers agreed that the primary responsibility related to the issue of whether or not to serve minors is primarily the responsibility of the minor’s parents. In the interviews, those who agreed discussed the important role that parents play in educating and influencing their children regarding alcohol. A female bar
owner whose establishment is located in a small town in the eastern part of the state commented,

The primary responsibility for minors getting served is their parents', the minors', and the minors' friends. We are a drinking and having fun establishment, not a baby sitting service. The primary responsibility is the PARENTS! If the parents don't teach them, they will find out somewhere else.

When questioned about the responsibility of law enforcement and whether or not minors should be served, only 23% felt that law enforcement should have primary responsibility on this issue. Those in this group, like a female bar tender in a southern city, felt that "the penalties are helpful. It's definitely a good deterrent. Law enforcement is good." Yet, 58% disagreed with law enforcement having primary responsibility regarding minors being served. Like a male tavern owner in the northwest part of the state, they believe that "we don't need more law enforcement. We've got plenty of cops." The remaining 19% were neutral.

When turning the spotlight upon themselves and their level of agreement with the primary responsibility of whether or not to serve minors residing upon themselves, the bar tenders were fairly evenly split. A slightly larger number (49% compared to 45%) agreed that bar tenders are primarily responsible for whether or not a minor gets served. One female bar tender in a small northern Montana city, who had experienced an arrest for serving a minor,
supports this majority view. She believes that "the best way to deter minors from purchasing alcohol is to keep the bar tenders liable. After the sting, we're all real strict about carding minors now."

Summarizing Montana bar tenders' views on who is primarily responsible for whether or not minors are served alcohol, Montana alcohol servers see this issue as a complex one which involves shared responsibilities. They perceive it as an "inter-connected responsibility" of many agencies. A husband and wife who own a tavern far from any town in southern Montana felt that "the older we get, the tougher it is to guess the ages. The minors problems needs to be controlled from many angles like parents, bar tenders, and the minors themselves. This addresses the complexity of the issue." Similarly, a female bar tender in a southern Montana city is convinced that "preventing problems needs to have some responsibility on the bar owner, parents, and the employees."

How Do Minors Get Alcohol?

There are several ways that minors can obtain alcohol. Alcohol servers believe that the primary reasons minors are able to acquire alcohol are as follows: (a) minors using false IDs--85%; (b) not harsh enough penalties for minors--84%; (c) adults buy alcohol and then give to the minor--77%; (d) servers or store personnel who are not careful
enough in determining age—62%; (e) not enough education—46%; (f) a legal minor who is a server in a bar or store—36%; and (g) alcohol servers or store personnel who do not care—35%. Alcohol servers had much more to say in their interviews about these seven important issues.

**False IDs.** With 85% of the bar tenders surveyed identifying false IDs as a primary way minors are able to acquire alcohol, it warranted further exploration through indepth interviews. Many alcohol servers favor updating the technology associated with developing IDs. The following approach is used in a rural northern bar.

Most fake IDs are from the old driver’s license. So get rid of the old style and make it tougher to duplicate. If there is an old license combined with a young person, then suspect it’s fake. When we spot a fake ID, we stall them at the door by saying, "I have to have someone else look at this." Then we would have someone in the back call the cops, because this is our code. And the cops would come and arrest them and their name would appear in the paper about the fine and the arrest. It helps to work with the newspaper to print the name of the bar as well, to get the word out and the perception to minors that they will get carded and busted at a certain bar.

A common problem with minors in the major cities involves minors who do get past the bouncers at the door. "They may use fake IDs at the door to get in, but then if the cops come, they say that they don’t have any ID or they were not carded at the door."

A commonly held opinion among alcohol servers is that if a minor "fools" a bar tender with false identification,
then the server should not be held liable. As one server commented, "The responsibility is the minor's. If they have a fake ID, then it shouldn't be the bar tender's fault."

Not harsh enough penalties. Another primary factor in acquisition of alcohol by minors was the issue of not having harsh enough penalties for the minors when they attempt to purchase alcohol. Bar tenders were in strong agreement (84%) that one reason that minors will attempt to acquire alcohol is because there are not any negative consequences to deter them from attempting and eventually obtaining alcohol. Many believe that the leniency of the current laws exempt minors from the realities of their law-breaking actions. They believe that minors' actions should have the appropriate consequences attached as in other areas of businesses or society. "If you misrepresent yourself in here [a logging community in the northwest corner of the state], it's like anywhere else in business, and that's fraud. The individual is responsible."

Servers believe that harsher penalties against the minors themselves will help deter them from attempting to purchase alcohol. With such strong support, it appears that a policy designed to tighten the penalties against minors would be straightforward enough to receive widespread alcohol server support. Yet, this issue like
others has different strings attached. A female bar tender in a southern city expresses some of the complications from her perspective. "Stiffer fines on the minors won't help because some bars don’t want the bad publicity that the minor got into their bar in the first place. But it might help to scare enough of them so that they won’t try."

Adults buy alcohol and then give it to minors. Over three-fourths (77%) of the servers agreed that a primary way that minors acquire alcohol is that legal-aged adults buy it and supply it to them. A male tavern owner in the center of the state speaks from his vast experience:

I’ve been here 20 years with my bar, and 90% of the alcohol that kids get is through the convenience stores or older adults purchasing for them—not the bars. When kids get served in bars, it is often by the parents who will say, "Mind your own business. We let them drink at home anyway." In a small town like ours, kids know the alcoholics in town, and they give him enough money to buy theirs and his.

Adults provide the alcohol to minors in various discrete ways. For example, a bar owner in northern Montana described a typical scenario he sees occur regularly at his rural tavern. "The problem with minors getting alcohol is when an adult comes in and buys a case of beer and leaves it in the minors’ car for them to drink in the parking lot." Similarly, a female bar tender described an additional pressure she feels while tending bar at one of the major socializing centers in her small
community of 150 people. "Minors hang out in little towns like ours and play pool. And since we’re a food establishment, we have to let them in. Then an adult can easily give the alcohol to them."

Bar tenders frequently voiced their concerns about adults serving minors. Many believe that there should be an increase in legal attention to this widespread problem. "There should be a fine for people that give their drinks to a minor when the bar tender served to the legal person. We can’t keep our eye on them because they’ll set their drink down for the minor to drink."

Servers not careful enough about checking age. Most of Montana’s alcohol servers (62%) believed that another major piece in this puzzle of how minors acquire their alcohol is through lax practices by alcohol servers or store personnel when determining minors’ ages. One of the reasons why servers get careless is that,

When we see the same face, we assume they have been carded before. Or if they come in and they have already been drinking, you assume they were drinking at another bar and were carded there so you don’t card them again.

This carelessness of servers carding minors can easily occur because of the complexities of crowd control and balancing the management of a busy environment.

Minors’ problems occur most with shows or large crowds. You need to make sure that you have responsible people working the door. But it’s
still a fine line between carding everyone and carding no one.

When trying to serve customers in a busy setting,

We are so busy trying to run a business and serve everyone as fast as we can, we just don’t have time to card everyone, and certain people slip through. And with bouncers, if you get past them once and they recognize your face, the next time they never card you again.

Not enough education. Montana’s servers had mixed views on the value of parents and educators teaching minors about the dangers of minors using alcohol. Approximately one-third (29%) of the servers disagreed that lack of education was a primary reason that minors acquire alcohol. Another fourth stated that they were neutral on this issue. Yet, a large percentage (46%) of the servers believe that not enough education by parents and educators on the dangers of alcohol use by minors is a primary reason that kids get alcohol. A mother and female tavern owner in a small northern town stated, "I’m a mother, and I taught my kids. I think that the main responsibility is on the parents. If the parents don’t teach them, they will find out somewhere else." Many believed that the state has an obligation to provide some of this education. Put quite simply, "The state keeps raising money for liquor, but they are not doing enough education."

Minors serving to minors. Even though only 36% of the servers agreed that a minor who is a legal server in a bar
or a store selling to other minors was one of the primary ways that minors acquire alcohol in Montana, it was a topic which drew much focus in interviews. Perhaps the number of minors serving alcohol is relatively small in comparison to the number of adults who are behind the counter or bar, but the double message is one which is quite apparent. It may be that the impact of this inconsistency is its greatest damage. "The state appears to be concerned about this serving of minors, but they allow 18-year-old bar tenders so what does that say?" An analogy for "the problem with our under 21-year old bar tenders serving to their peers is that it's like the fox guarding the hen house." The conflict and difficulties of a minor being responsible for serving a product she cannot use was even more clearly stated by an 18-year-old female bar tender who works at her family's rural bar in the southwest part of the state. "Here I am, at 18 years old, and I'm responsible for an entire bar of old enough drinkers, but I can't drink myself. And since I have never been in their situation, how can I judge them?

Lack of caring by alcohol servers. Over one-third (35%) of the servers responding to the survey agreed that one of the primary reasons minors were able to acquire alcohol was because the servers or store personnel just did not care whether the person attempting to purchase the
alcohol was a minor or not. Indeed, interviews revealed the thinking behind some of these people who "don’t care" about a person’s age. A young female bar tender at a "college bar" uses the following norm for relating to underaged people with fake IDs:

If they have an obviously fake ID, I keep it, and I don’t serve them. But if they have a fake ID that looks close, I’ll serve them because I won’t get into trouble unless they look 14. It’s no big deal.

On the other side of this argument is an even larger number. About half (47%) of the servers disagreed with the logic of minors acquiring alcohol because they or their peers had an apathetic attitude about a customer’s age. In interviews, many spoke passionately about all the different techniques they were using to support the state laws and how they held the similar values to the rest of Montanans who were not in the tavern business. Many bar tenders see the pressure of making money influencing the judgments of their peers.

I want to be protected from these issues as much as the public wants me to. There are some bar tenders that still do serve people too much. They overserve because it’s just their job to sell alcohol and they don’t care.

Management’s Attitudes, Knowledge, and Reputation

Probing further into this issue of serving minors, this study focused on bar tenders’ perceptions of the attitudes of the management and the knowledge of the server
as being possible reasons why minors are served alcohol. Most of the servers (71%) felt that in taverns where it is relatively easy for a minor to be served alcohol, the problem is directly related to the attitudes of the management. The ownership and the management of the establishment sets the tone and creates the norms for how employees and the public respond to the tavern. "It really helps to have everyone that works in the bar, like cooks and bouncers and all, to get constant reminders by the owner and fellow bar tenders about checking for IDs." Sometimes these patterns work to the tavern's benefit as with small town taverns that have a reputation for not serving minors. These taverns often receive little attention from minors. A bar owner in the center of the state bluntly stated, "We don't have many problems with minors around here because we know all the kids and their ages. So if they ain't got no ID, they don't get served."

Other times a management's history in the business may facilitate an established set of practices, knowledge, or attitudes that causes problems. Such is the case as exemplified by a male bar owner in the southeastern part of the state.

A problem with people who have been tending bar for 15 years is that they think they know everything and do it their way. For example, they don't think they need to card someone because they feel they can guess their age.
This scenario is personalized by a comment from the experience of a female bar tender in central Montana who stated, "I have 14 years of experience, and don’t see minors attempting to purchase alcohol in here very often. Yet, I got busted in a sting."

A majority (65%) of the servers also felt that in bars where it is relatively easy for minors to be served the problem is directly related to the knowledge and the training of the server. It does not appear to be any secret to the minors about the reputations of which bars will serve them and which will not. The servers repeatedly stressed the important roles that norms and reputation play in relation to minors being served alcohol. As one female bar tender in a large city declared, "The establishment gains a reputation about whether or not they will serve minors, and word gets out." However, this reputation can work for the bar to save them time and energy. A female bar tender in the north noted,

We don’t have much of a problem with minors anymore because anyone under 21 isn’t allowed in after 6:00 p.m., and we’re particular about IDs. We’re strict about carding. The main purpose of a bar is to make money, and under 21 year olds don’t have it.

Deterring Minors from Purchasing

In examining this issue of deterring minors from drinking, one must ask how often minors attempt to purchase alcohol. Bar tenders reported that on the average minors
attempted to purchase alcohol from them approximately six times a month.

Most of the bars (81%) reported that they already had information posted to discourage minors from attempting to purchase alcohol. Almost all (93%) are willing to post information to discourage minors from purchasing alcohol if it were provided. Nearly all of the servers ask the person for proof of identification when they were approached by minors to buy alcohol. If he or she cannot provide the ID, they ask them to leave. Some of the servers commented that they go even further than mere refusal of service and do other things such as notifying the law, calling the minor's parents, and confiscating or destroying the ID if it is false. Sometimes, refusing minors draws negative consequences from the minors who may feel that it is their "right" to drink. Such was the experience of a bar owner in a tavern in southern Montana. She recalls, "I refused serving a minor 2 years ago, and he came back and broke out all of our windows." Yet, it is by such refusal of service and these additional behaviors that the tavern communicates its position to the community about where it stands on the issue of serving minors.

Through open-ended responses, the Montana servers were asked to describe what they thought were the best ways were to deter minors from purchasing or attempting to purchase
alcohol. Their responses were a call for a need for consistency.

The Need for Consistency

One of the most repetitive issues which continued to emerge in the personal interviews was the bar tenders' "cry for consistency." They talked about inconsistencies in state laws, from tavern to tavern, and even within their own tavern. They seemed at times to be begging for help from the state for guidelines and clarity of roles and responsibilities. "What are my responsibilities?" asked a female bar tender. She went on to say, "It would be nice to have everyone carded at the door so that once they are in the bar, the bar tenders didn't have to worry if someone was 21, or else they wouldn't be there at the bar."

Without state consistency on alcohol-related issues, tavern owners and alcohol servers often felt unsupported in their efforts to abide by state law. They often voiced how the state's inconsistent laws and enforcement practices put them between a rock and a hard place, like this bar tender in a bar 10 miles outside of the nearest town who said,

Why don't they change the gambling law to 21? It's bullshit because one of the older ones will slip them a beer. With this 18 law for gambling, they are trying to get us to play God, and no one can do it. Change the drinking law to 19 or the gambling law to 21 but be consistent!

Many Montana alcohol servers felt that the state's current practices do not support them in the field. They
believe that the attitudes of decision makers in Helena are a major part of the problem and that they are blind to their own contributing role in minors being served. For example, a female bar tender in a larger Montana city felt strongly that "attitudes have a lot to do with it. It's amazing that minors can legally serve alcohol in our state. Another funny thing is that minors are allowed into the tavern to play pool and other things." Another female bar owner in a small southern Montana town argued,

The state needs to make laws they can enforce, and not so damn many they can't do anything about it. They need to get consistent. Whatever it should be, make it the same. Since minors are in the bar anyway you will have problems. They can tend bar at a young age, and serve it. That's not right. And if they are in the bars then, they will find ways to get served.

Without perceived support from the state level, many tavern owners are creating their own "laws" for consistency. To do this, one rural bar owner reported, "Most bar tenders are moving toward setting their own curfew like after 10:00 with no one under 21 allowed. We like setting this curfew ourselves, but if the state did it, then we wouldn't be the jerks."

**Impaired Driving**

The second section of Phase I dealt with Montana alcohol servers' perceptions, opinions, and stated behavioral norms concerning issues associated with impaired
driving. The findings are reported according to the following sections: (a) alcohol servers view of law enforcement, (b) stiffer penalties against the drinker, (c) views on designated driver programs, (d) success with designated driver programs, (e) problems with designated driver programs, (f) alcohol serving cut-off: whose responsibility is it? (g) cutting off someone's alcohol: the judgement call, (h) money, friends, and safety, and (i) urban versus rural taverns.

Alcohol Servers' View of Law Enforcement

The relationship that bar tenders as a group have with their local law enforcement agencies and officers related to impaired driving issues seems to be "bitter-sweet" in nature. On the one hand, Montana servers see law enforcement as being too lax and not enforcing penalties strictly or consistently enough as in regard to minors. On the other hand, they see law enforcement as too much involved and part of the problem. Some of the bar tenders discussed situations where their local law enforcement officers actually were their problem. The servers would like to see more arrests and responsibilities placed upon the individual impaired driver but not if it means cops are targeting their tavern for possible drunk drivers.

The alcohol servers were divided on their views about the effectiveness that increased law enforcement or stiffer
penalties would have on reducing impaired drivers. Nearly half (48%) of the servers disagreed that increased law enforcement would reduce incidents of drunk driving in their area. Approximately one-third (32%) agreed that increased law enforcement would help reduce incidents of drunk driving in their area, and the rest (20%) were neutral.

Why would half of the bar tenders have a dim outlook on their local law enforcement officers? The servers cited many reasons for their perceptions of police as part of the problem rather than part of the solution. A female bar tender in one of the large cities discussed why law enforcement does not have credibility in her eyes. "Our local police are part of the problem too. They party here and sometimes buy underage people drinks. And I've caught them sneaking their beers in here instead of buying it here." A male bar owner in the southern part of the state discussed why he does not have faith in additional law enforcement being part of the solution to impaired driving.

There is plenty of law enforcement, and that doesn't work so well. There is one cop in town who sells at a bar and another who owns a bar. The cops sit outside our bars but leave theirs alone. The cops either need to quit the police force or quit tending bar.

In addition to seeing some of their local law enforcement officers practicing the very behaviors they are hired to prevent, servers voiced that they did not see a
need for additional local law enforcement because officers had lost their "caring and serving attitude." Many felt their local law enforcement had misdirected agendas other than to serve and protect. A female bar owner from a small town in the southwest part of the state expressed a typical comment.

I think we have enough law enforcement and we don’t need more. Law enforcement needs to work with people and be more concerned with people—not just arrest them to make money. They’ve gotten away from personal help and are just ticket happy.

Likewise, a male bar owner from a similarly sized town on the other side of the state lamented:

Small town cops are hired by the town to protect and serve—not arrest and harass. The police need to have more of a protect and serve attitude, and help us get them [customers] home. And it’s fear that keeps people from asking the police for help to get home.

Bar tenders discussed situation after situation which confused them about the "helpful" role of law enforcement. The servers often felt that their local police only acted in ways which confused them and made their job more difficult. A bar tender in a larger city expressed her confusion on how to best meet the safety needs of her customers: "If we don’t want people to drive drunk, then why are we arresting them for walking drunk or sleeping it off in their cars?"

Other servers, especially those in smaller towns, often discussed more personal and positive relationships
with their law officers. They were quick to bring up some of the obligation they felt their local officers had to them and the rest of the town. Many bar tenders agreed with a female from a rural bar on the eastern side of the state:

[We] had a cop that worked here in town a couple of years ago. We had a deal that if someone needed a ride home, he would provide it. That’s the way it should work. They owe someone who is paying their wages. The cop is being paid so they should do it.

Stiffer Penalties Against the Drinker

The alcohol servers were divided over the influence stiffer penalties would have on drinking and driving. While 41% of Montana’s alcohol servers agreed with the statement that the best way to reduce impaired driving in their area was through stiffer penalties against the drinker, 38% disagreed with stiffer penalties, and 21% were neutral. Some of this ambiguity about law enforcement and stiffer penalties is evidenced in the statement made by a bar tender in one of the larger cities.

I don’t believe in stiffer penalties. I don’t think it works. In the past, I got stiff penalties and stuff, and it didn’t keep me from getting drunk, but I did cut back from drinking and driving. I don’t think enforcement works because it doesn’t stop people from drinking.

He admits in his own words that he may not like or agree with stiffer penalties but that they do play a role in cutting back or changing his drinking and driving.
behaviors. Some felt that stiffer law enforcement can play an important role in changing behavior on drinking and driving practices. A female bar tender in the northern part of the state said,

> We will pay for a sober chauffeur, but some will use it and some won’t. It’s about 50/50. But we just offer. But more and more people are willing to let someone else drive them home since law enforcement is getting real nasty.

Montana’s alcohol servers expressed support of law enforcement efforts and penalties in other ways too. They frequently mentioned the need for consistent enforcement of the current laws and before adding new ones, which they perceive would be inconsistently enforced as well. A female bar owner in the center of the state clarifies this sentiment, "DUI laws don’t work when somebody is drunk, because they don’t think they’ll get caught. And repeat offenders keep doing it anyway. We don’t need stricter DUI laws. We need to be more consistent with what we already have."

**Views on Designated Driver Programs**

In the past couple of years, the concept of designated driver programs has received much more widespread attention at the public and media level. National efforts from a variety of groups have much of the general public seeing the need to increase designated driver programs in their areas. Most (65%) Montana bar tenders also agreed that
there was a need to improve designated driver programs in their area. While some were neutral (21%) in their feelings, a small number (14%) disagreed that their area needs additional designated driver services.

About half (52%) of the establishments currently participate in a local designated driver program. Nearly a third (28%) answered neutrally, and the remainder (20%) disagreed that their establishment participates in a local designated driver program. For those taverns which are not participating or were neutral, it may very well be that their lack of participation is due to the unavailability of such a program in their area due to their rural location. Other taverns may not be participating for different reasons. Servers readily discussed their personal successes and failures with designated driver programs in Montana.

**Success with designated driver programs.** Since most Montana servers agreed that there was a need for increased designated driver services in their local area, it was not difficult to uncover those who had positive experiences with such programs. They often discussed how the acceptance and knowledge of the designated driver concept and local programs made it easier for them to get people home safely. As one northern bar tender stated,

_It’s easy these days to convince people not to drink and drive because they have heard so much_
Bar tenders can check to see if they have a friend or call a taxi and have them pay for it. It works well.

Another positive aspect of designated driver programs which servers frequently mentioned was the issue of the drinker being responsible for themselves. "The designated driver system works best because it's something they are doing for themselves. Then they're not fighting the system of trying not to get caught. Special cups and free non-alcoholic drinks do something psychological." If available in the area, "Home Free with a taxi service is a good idea because it doesn't cost them anything and they're more apt to use it. It's the individual's responsibility, and the best way to get them home is Home Free."

Other bar tenders found a high correlation between the use of local designated driver programs and how well they as servers were promoting and educating their clientele about such programs. A female bar from one of the larger cities cites such an example; "The ZERO HERO program is working great especially when the servers introduce the program to the drinkers. It's going around through word of mouth. We just ordered more cups."

Problems with designated driver programs. In spite of the majority support for designated driver programs, there were many specific problems with designated driver programs that servers mentioned. One common attitude was that of
discouragement by the servers themselves. From their perspectives, they often just do not see it working the way they had hoped it would, and they have often given up hope that the current norms could be any healthier. They speak from their experiences:

It's a mess, and it will always be going on. There is no way to change it. (Female bar tender in a larger city)

There has been drinking and driving as long as there has been cars, and it will always be this way. (Male bar owner in southern town)

If someone wants to drink and keep drinking and get behind the wheel and drive, they will. I remember a guy in here this summer, who started to walk home because he was drunk. And he stepped outside and fell down the stairs, and then came in and grabbed his keys and stated, "I'm too drunk to walk," and then he drove. (Female bar tender near a college)

The servers acknowledged that designated driver concepts work well in many situations but are also limited as well. Factors like distance, taxi availability, abuse of the system, and other factors limit the effectiveness of such services. A female bar tender in the center of the state pointed out that servers often experience resistance to helping customers. "About once a week we try to take the keys away from someone and, they won't give them up. The bar tenders can only do so much to convince a person not to drive."
Servers discussed problems associated with relying too heavily on private taxi services to help them in their areas. A bar tender in the north stated,

The problem with taxis is that they only run until midnight, and many people who are drunk are out after that. And when it’s real busy there just aren’t enough taxis available--someone wants a taxi and can’t get one.

A bar owner in a large city proclaims,

Ride home works great for us but people don’t like waiting, and the drunks outnumber the cabs. And a lot of people live out of town too far for the taxi, and the problem with designated drivers is that people often don’t look for one until after they have begun drinking, and then it’s too late to find a sober friend.

Servers also commented on the lack of desire of drinkers to remain sober while their friends are drinking. "Designated drivers don’t work because the driver usually starts drinking too." "It’s rare to see a group of people who are all drinkers and have one not drink. Eventually they get bored and start drinking anyway. The only way it works is if that person doesn’t normally drink."

Abuse of the service by customers has discouraged some bar tenders from utilizing designated drivers programs as well. A common situation some discussed was that "the only people who used Home Free when we had it were those who wanted to go to another bar. So they memorized an address close to a bar then go there to keep drinking."
Alcohol Serving Cut-Off: Whose Responsibility Is It?

Coinciding with the issue of impaired driving is the problem of recognizing and halting the serving of impaired individuals. The majority of bar tenders (79%) agreed that it was their responsibility to stop serving alcohol to individuals who appear intoxicated. Most also agreed (70%) that it is the responsibility of the individual drinkers to cut themselves off if they have had too much to drink. It appears that bar tenders recognize that responsibility resides with the individual but that they too as servers will always have to take some responsibility. When a person becomes intoxicated, bar tenders realize that the drinkers are not always able to make decisions in their own best interest. "The more you have to drink, the less able you are to decide to cut yourself off. Bar tenders always hear about how people become better drivers after they have had a few drinks."

Cutting Off Someone's Alcohol: The Judgment Call

A common voice rang out from Montana's servers regarding the difficulties and problems associated with their trying to "read" the state of sobriety or intoxication of an individual. Cutting people off is a gray area. It's a behavioral and judgment call. It's easy when it's very obvious--you can tell through the eyes, speech and gait, throwing up, and interactions
with others. But it’s tough to tell with someone who is quiet.

Many bar tenders discussed the complexities associated with deciding when to make the decision to stop serving an individual. Thus, the individual has ultimate responsibility. "It’s the responsibility of the drinker, because they can be impaired from other things too, like lack of sleep. You can’t tell when some people are drunk. Every individual needs to be responsible for themselves." Actually, "there isn’t much more that bar tenders can do other than suggest for them not to drive home." On this issue, the bar tender is in a difficult position because,

I only know how much I’ve served them, but I don’t know how much it will affect them, or how much they’ve had before they came in. And sometimes you cut them off and someone else is buying them drinks. So, in a way it’s not fair for us to be responsible for them. I can’t judge a 300 pound man—maybe he can drink and drive.

Some bar tenders discussed the inherent difficulties of trying to have a "rigid" set of standards which apply to everyone. "It’s a judgment call. How can the state decide a chart for how much a person can drink since each person reacts differently anyway?" A male bar tender gave one such example from his own experience.

As far as judging someone’s alcohol, you just can’t tell. For example, I served one woman two drinks, and she showed no evidence of intoxication. She is a regular customer. I would have taken her home, but she was sober as far as I was concerned. But she got in a wreck and had a very high BAC. I am going to court to testify next week.
While making these judgment calls in the gray areas, some bar tenders are utilizing whatever methods they have available to reduce overserving and its inherent problems. One approach is that "if I see them tipsy, I 'feather their drinks.' Some catch me doing this, but I tell them that's what they're going to get because I don't want them to get hurt." Another way is to "make their drinks light. When they're drunk, they won't know the difference. If you lace the top of the glass, they think they are getting a strong drink."

Money, Friends, and Safety

Montana's servers went on to discuss some of the other difficult decisions and situations they face regarding cutting people off when they have had too much to drink. Issues like money and friendships can come into play as factors which influence the bar tenders' ability to perform their job in a manner which places the law or customers' safety as a priority.

If someone is visibly drunk they shouldn't be served but a lot of bars still do--something should be done about it. And it's not right that if they got drunk somewhere else, then pass out here. It's their responsibility where they drink. (Male bar tender in northwest Montana)

There is a law about not serving anyone that's drunk, but no one does it around here. People are more concerned about money in the till. (Female bar tender Northern Montana)

It isn't reasonable to expect bartenders to stop people that are intoxicated because that is what
we do for a living, because it is our profit—
it's what we're here to do. A lot of people
would be [ticked] off if we didn't get them
drunk. (Female bartender in southern Montana)

Other bar tenders also discussed how they may not
perform their job as well as they could because they are
intimidated by their angry customers. Consequently, they
overserve them out of fear of becoming the object of the
drunk person's anger.

I get intimidated as a small woman when I have to
card or cut off large males, because they get
angry. And I'm not the only person that feels
this way. So, we start to read people. If we
think that this guy looks like a real jerk, then
we don't want to deal with it so we don't card
them or whatever.

The issue of "friends of the bar tender" brings up a
dilemma for alcohol servers. Knowing a person can make it
easier for the bar tender to protect the drinker from harm,
and yet it can also give the bar tender a false sense of
security which can often result in carelessness. A bar
tender in a larger city commented, "We bar tenders will
overserve people we know and our friends more often than
those we don't know. Friends are just not cut off! The
owner gives us a lot of room to use our own judgment."
Another bar owner in a small town observed, "When the kid
knows the bouncer or the bar tender, then they get in."

Yet, being overserved and being put at greater risk is
not the only outcome of being a regular customer to a
tavern or of knowing the bar tender. Such a relationship
may indeed prove to be a protective factor. A female bar tender at a remote tavern pointed out that "getting keys from people we know is easier than from those we don’t know. And so, if we can’t get their keys, we just wait it out. A lot of them stay in our houses." Likewise, a male bar tender mentioned, "If they are really drunk, we call someone to come and get them. Or the manager will come and get them if they are a good regular customer." Thus, a relationship with the customer can be a double-edged sword. It can contribute to overconfidence on the part of the servers, leading them to become lax, or it can serve as a protective factor because "a lot of these customers I know, so I can tell them to go in the back and sleep it off. When they wake up, we give their keys back to them."

Urban vs. Rural Taverns

Attitudes, resources, and practices of alcohol servers regarding impaired driving issues differ between those taverns in urban and rural areas. Taverns in the more populated cities rely more heavily upon city, state, or other "external support" to provide their patrons with a safe mean of transportation home. In larger cities and towns, bar owners have resources available to them in the forms of taxi services and Home Free programs which assist them in their efforts.
In these more urban areas, the alcohol servers are continuing to look for solutions to come from outside agencies rather than from themselves. For example, "we need to have the government support the Home Free concept and work out deals with local cabs within a certain radius." Similarly,

maybe the police should pay for the cabs out of the DUI money, or we could have drunk caddies that work for tips and gas. The bartenders can't do it because then everyone wants a ride home. We need a specialized service that only takes drunks home.

In contrast, taverns in small towns or those establishments residing outside of town rely more upon their own resources to get bar patrons home safely. Just as other elements of country living necessitate the need for individuals to bond together to help and protect each other, rural bar tenders and owners see the uniqueness of their situations to build upon and rely upon the strength of community.

Whatever it takes to get people home safe is what we do because they are our customers, and if they're not here we're closed. Like, I'll have one of the customers watch the bar so I can walk someone home. We watch our customers. Also, I know my customers in a small rural area. I know who walks and who drives. And if he was under the weather, I wouldn't serve him so much. We take care of each other out here. (Female bar owner in eastern Montana)

If someone gets one too many, we won't serve them anymore. The money just isn't that important. And we will drive them home. It's a family business and a family thing. If they come in drunk, we won't serve them alcohol—we'll only
feed them. I take a lot of customers home myself when I know them. I tell strangers to park in the back and sleep it off. Or I have a couch and a chair in the back room, and I just tell them to wait it out. It's a little scary taking them home sometimes, but it's what we have to do out here. A lot of our employees take people home after work. One employee took a guy who passed out on the bar back to her place to let him sleep on her couch because he was from out of town and we didn't know where he was staying. And when the locals get drunk, we get them home. (Male owner of a rural tavern)

The best way to get them home is to take them home ourselves or call a wife or someone to come and get them. Most of our people are locals we know, and it's an older crowd. We don't want drunks; we are a family bar. It's a lot easier when you know your folks like we do versus having to serve tourists. (Female bar tender)

**Server Training Issues**

The third section of Phase 1 focused on the issues associated with alcohol server training programs. The server training findings were divided according to the following sections: (a) role of server training, (b) training yes—mandatory no, (c) tavern owners as the ultimate trainers, (d) we like to learn but not in school, (e) we learn by doing, (f) provide credible teachers, (g) infuse training into our established patterns, (h) if you build it we will come, (i) distance servers are willing to travel, (j) important training issues, (k) if the materials are quality we'll use them, and (l) posters and other material needs.
Role of Server Training

Montana bar tenders were split on their opinions on the many issues surrounding alcohol server training. A large percentage (41%) agreed that the best method for reducing impaired driving in their area is through server training programs. One-third (32%) disagreed that server training were the best method for reducing impaired driving in their area, and the remainder (27%) were neutral on the issue. When asked about the number of hours of formal server training they had received in the past two years, 83% of the servers responded with zero.

Training Yes--Mandatory No

Foremost in this discussion of server training is the issue of whether Montana’s alcohol servers felt that it was important for servers to complete a server training program similar to training programs in other states. If such training are viewed as important by the servers, should they be mandatory or voluntary? Overall, the servers were quick to identify many important issues which affect how they perform their jobs. They differed, however, on how they should acquire this knowledge. When asked about the importance of completing a training program similar to training programs in other states, the servers were split on their opinions; 42% agreed with the importance of completing such a program, 26% were neutral, and 32%
disagreed on the importance of completing such a training. The servers do not deny the importance of staying current with the many changing issues and laws in their field, but they do not like the idea of being mandated to complete such training. Most (54%) disagreed with the training being a mandatory requirement for all Montana alcohol servers. Some were neutral (18%), and there were those who did agree (28%) with alcohol servers being mandated to complete training.

Pressing the issue of server training for further clarification, bar tenders were questioned on how many hours of training they should be required to complete each year. Again, not wanting to be mandated to attend such a training, it is not surprising that the majority of servers (62%) stated zero! About one-third (34%) of the servers thought they should be required to complete between 1 and 8 hours of training in order to handle their jobs effectively. For this large majority (62%) of bar tenders who disagree with being required to complete any server training in order to complete their jobs effectively, further questions must be asked like, "What are the bar tenders actually disagreeing with?" Is it the concept of learning? Is it the intrusion of yet another governing body with more dues, paperwork, and loopholes? Or is it something else?
Interview comments clearly indicate that if they are not "forced" to attend a training, then the alcohol servers would be more open to the idea of learning.

These optional training issues should include medical and crisis training, total explanation of laws related to bar tending, spotting fake IDs, and clear criteria for what is the Montana definition of legally drunk. (Male bar tender)

There should not be any mandatory training because most servers learn in-house, and every bar should have their own rules. State government doesn’t need to be involved. If it’s not mandatory, then I think training would be a good idea. (Female bar owner in northern part of the state)

It shouldn’t be mandatory but should be encouraged or suggested. (Female bar tender in a large city)

I would hate for them to tell me I had to go to a class. I would be one of those disruptive forces in the class. The training should not be mandatory because so much is common sense. (Male bar tender in the southern part of the state)

No, it shouldn’t be mandatory. What would we learn anyway? So, why would you have to go through training to refuse service to someone. (Female bar tender in western part of the state)

Tavern Owners Are the Ultimate Trainers

Many of those interviewed commented on the importance of the bar owners having primary responsibility for training of their personnel. They often stressed that they would not want to attend training generated "in Helena" because they felt that such a program would be developed by government officials who do not understand their day-to-day
realities and the uniqueness and importance of the owners training their own personnel. As far as providing for the costs of the training, the majority (60%) stated that they disagreed that this expenditure should be provided by the bar owners. It must be emphasized that 76% of the respondents to this survey were bar owners!

No, it shouldn’t be mandatory because we don’t need a bureaucracy collecting another fee for something we can do ourselves. We as bar owners need to be responsible for our own actions. (Male bar owner in rural area)

No, it shouldn’t be mandatory because the bar owners should teach them the rules themselves. (Female bar tender in rural area)

No mandatory training. Because I would rather train someone myself who has never been behind a bar before. (Male bar tender in medium-sized city)

Not mandatory, it should be up to the tavern owners, because it’s them who it hits. (Female bar tender in larger city).

I wouldn’t want to go to a training because I get my input from the owner. They get their knowledge and tell me. (Female bar tender in eastern Montana town)

The only way to train someone is on the job. I hired someone who completed a training school for bar tenders, but he didn’t know anything. I’d rather teach someone myself. (Male bar owner in rural area)

"We Like To Learn, But Not in School"

One of the strong resounding patterns which came across most clearly in the interviews is that bar tenders are open to learning and keeping abreast of the ever
changing laws and issues that affect them. Yet, when questioned further about how they best learn skills and information, many rejected "traditional classroom models" and embraced more experiential approaches. A good percentage of the respondents (39%) agreed that other educational methods like regional meetings, mini-seminars, and written materials would be more helpful to them than a standard training program. Slightly more than one-third (35%) were neutral with their opinion on the above educational methods, and about one-fourth (26%) disagreed that other educational methods would be more helpful than a standard training.

Regional meetings or seminars would be great. Servers need to be kept up to date--like every 6 months a 6-8 week seminar, like one night a week for 2 hrs. The owner should send his/her employees and split the cost between the owner and employee. (Female bar tender in larger city)

It’s a pain in the ass to ask bar owners to pay to send their people to a training deal. Maybe a correspondence thing would work better. I don’t want a classroom situation to teach me how to spot a teenager or cut a drunk off. (Male bar tender in larger city)

I don’t think you can teach that because no two people react to booze the same way. Training might benefit young people when they are just starting, but you still must depend upon judgment and common sense and you can’t teach that in a classroom situation.

"We Learn By Doing"

Experiential learning--learning by doing--is a learning style preference which was expressed by many of
the participants. They expressed time and time again that they have learned what they know so far by doing it, and they feel that is how their peers learn best as well. If a training were to be developed, some expressed that they would like to see a variety of experiential methods utilized in classroom situations. "It should be a mandatory 2-hour class before licensure like the sanitation class. It should include some demonstration, some lecture, some role playing, and then a test." Some felt that experiential training could provide a safe place to practice skills which could then be transferred to the actual working environment.

The training needs to be hands-on with real in-bar training with someone else in order to be practical. It needs to have intimidating people and role play mock situations like in real life. Because it’s better to have confidence from practice.

Others believed that classroom situations would not readily transfer to their actual working realities, and therefore the best (or only) way to learn was on-the-job. "The only way you can learn is on-the-job training. It’s not something you can learn in a classroom situation." Experienced alcohol servers echoed the opinion that "I don’t think I need it (training) because I’ve been tending bar for 30 years, and the best way is to learn from the bar they’re working at."
Provide Credible Teachers

As with the bar owners being the ultimate trainers as far as what will actually occur in any particular tavern, the servers stressed "teacher credibility" as being very important to them. The servers acknowledged that they would be much more receptive to hearing from people whom they respect. "The class should be taught by a 'professional drinker.' Who knows what is in a drinker's mind better than him?" Or, "maybe the training could involve a panel of people like a cop, a bar owner, and someone from the tavern association."

Infuse the Training into Established Patterns

Servers discussed how they would be much more receptive to training and meetings which fit into their already accustomed patterns. For example, many have received training and information from their local distributor.

The training would be a good idea if they were combined with something we were already traveling to, like when the local distributors are holding their annual training. That way we can do it at the same time, and that is where the captive audiences are. People won't drive just for the training. It must be joined with something else.

Again, it must be stressed that the most common training format currently in place are the in-house training provided by the bar owners, managers, and established employees.
"If You Build It, We Will Come"

Actually, the opinion should be more accurately worded as "If you build it right, we will come." Once again, 68% of the bar tenders are neutral or agree with the importance of completing a server training program similar to those provided in other states. It appears to be the mandatory requirement and the school-like approaches that are not appealing to them. Even though 62% claimed that they disagreed with required training, the remaining 38% stated that they felt that an average of 2.4 hours of required training should be completed by each alcohol server in order to handle their jobs effectively.

When asked how many hours of training they would be willing to complete, half of the servers stated that they would be willing to attend an average of 2.5 hours of training each year if it were provided in their area. Fifty-one percent stated that they would not be willing to attend any training, and 8% said that they would be willing to attend up to 8 hours of training each year. Decision makers must decide if it is worth their energies to provide training for the half of the servers who state that they would attend.

Distance Servers Are Willing to Travel

Consistent with their other responses concerning training, half of the alcohol servers were not willing to
travel any distance for training or a meeting. The remaining half were willing to travel up to an average 24 miles for a training. Some of these were quite enthusiastic about training; for example, one male bar tender "would be willing to travel about 15 miles. I think the training should be about three nights a week for a total of 6 hours and then give out a certificate of completion." Overall, the bar tenders were willing to travel the following distance for training: 0 miles—51%, 1 to 10 miles—11%, 11 to 30 miles—18%, 31 to 50 miles—9%, and 51 to 300 miles—11%.

Important Training Issues

Attention was focused in both the survey and the indepth interviews on the specific content that should be covered in potential server trainings. Many common topics emerged. "These optional training issues should include medical and crisis training, total explanation of laws related to bar tending, spotting fake IDs, and clear criteria for what is the Montana definition of legally drunk." They should also include "training for bouncers, recognizing a problem before it's a problem, not arguing with a drunk, controlling situations and bar tender rights--like how far to go and not to go." The servers' top training issues were gathered through open-ended
responses on the survey and then rank ordered. Specific quotes to each of these issues included:

1. Fake IDs

   It should be a one-day training and cover issues like how to spot fake IDs since most people don’t know how to tell the real ones from the fake. (Bar owner)

   Training issues on IDs would be helpful especially with all these out of state IDs. Sure, the little book helps, but it’s not the same as in real life—looking at the real thing. And they’re whipping out so many fake ones these days. (Female bar tender in north central Montana)

   It should be a one-day training and cover issues like how to spot fake IDs since most people don’t know how to tell the real ones from the fake. (Female bar owner in north central Montana)

2. Overserving Issues

   Have the state comes up with some consistent criteria about when to stop serving people. But then what happens when people are drinking before they come in? A list covering the do’s and don’t’s would be good. Bar tenders and bar owners want clear specific guidelines, laws, and behavioral expectations. (Female bar owner in center of state)

3. Clarifying Gray Areas

   Training should make the issues more definitive, there is just too much in the gray. (Male bar tender in north)

   We need training issues which clarify the gray. Like cutting people off without them getting offended. And knowing the signs of intoxication or a problem, and seeing it as early as possible, or whether or not we should serve non-alcoholic beers to minors? (Female bar tender in south)
4. Customer Control

Bar tenders need to be aware of the laws and how they affect them. Training could be a one-time-a-year weekend seminar. Topics could include crowd control, like when a loud person is negatively affecting others and you know there is going to be a problem. What do you do to keep control? Or looking for signs of overserving—what is the overserving line? And bar tenders should make this decision, not someone sitting in Helena. Because one person may drink 2 drinks and be [drunk] and another can drink 18 drinks and care for themselves. Communication with customers would also be helpful—especially when they’re drunk. Like how do you get your point across without damaging clientele, so they will come back tomorrow. Doing a specialized bouncer training would be helpful. It would help people to recognize it as a business and profession. And, then people could hire from this group for special events and stuff. (Female bar tender in city)

5. New Laws

We need refresher courses to stay on top of the laws. (Female bar tender)

6. Talking With and Cutting Off Intoxicated People

The most helpful things to be covered in a training would be how to talk with impaired people. Ya, how to deal with angry people would be great. Because the first thing someone does when they’re drunk and you ask for their keys is become angry. (Female bar tender)

7. Crisis Intervention

Fake IDs, training for bouncers, recognizing a problem before it’s a problem, not arguing with a drunk, controlling situations, and bar tender rights—like how far to go and not to go. (Bar tender in larger city)

8. Impaired Driving Issues

You can’t train someone enough to keep drunks from driving if they want to. But the more bar tenders knew about drunk driving, the stricter
they would be. It wouldn’t hurt if everybody went to a training. (Bar tender in large city)

"If the Materials Are Quality, We’ll Use Them"

Montana servers utilize printed materials to help the with various aspects of their jobs.

I am very open to printed information. I use it all the time. It needs to be bright posters with humor and stuff to catch people’s eye on doorways or posts or bulletin boards. (Male bar owner)

Yes, we use all types of printed materials and would use more. I like the "If you’re not 21, the soft drinks are over there" poster and the "Here’s looking at you, kid" poster. I would like a sign that says "No minors at the bar." Or a sign that says "No minors after 10:00." (Male bar owner)

Many of the servers mentioned, however, that they were particular about the kinds of materials they would use. "Printed information would definitely be used, but not simple boring, plain writing. It needs to be bright, loud posters to catch their eyes. Little brochures won’t help the drinkers because they won’t pick them up."

Other methods of deterring people from overdrinking or drinking and driving may sound hopeful in their inception but in the field only get misused. One such example is with the breath-a-lizer machine. "The breath-a-lizer machine we had sounded like a good idea, but it was only used by people to see how drunk they could get."

Basically, "BAC information and machines aren’t used for
anything but a joke to see how drunk they can get. It
doesn’t deter them from drinking and driving."

There are no absolute guidelines here because many bar
tenders are hungry for any material they can get to help
them perform their duties better.

All printed information would be great—
everything: pamphlets, BAC charts, and the laws
printed up short and sweet so they could be
pulled out and used to show a customer. Posters
can help bar tenders to have a conscious to get
people home safe.

Posters and Other Material Needs

Montana bar tenders also discussed some of the
additional materials they would use or like to see
developed.

Printed information would be great, like
"Everyone under 30 is carded" or "Have your ID
ready."

BAC charts would be helpful. So would having
information available about free pop for
designated drivers. (Male bar tender in north
Montana)

A list of state rules in big black and white
letters that says what happens to you if I serve
you if you’re underage or drunk and what happens
to me if I serve you. So I can have an easy out
by saying these are the rules, read them. (Female
bar tender in north Montana)

Our town is small and a lot of people just walk.
So, posters telling them to keep doing what they
already are might help. (Female bar tender in
north Montana)

Big posters telling minors what can happen to
them. So many children think that they can go to
a bar tender and fool them and nothing will
happen to them. They need to know they are
breaking the law too. (Female bar tender in north Montana)

Have a sign that says, "If you or your friends have had too much to drink, then ask the bar tender about a ride home." (Male bar tender in south central Montana)

Posters and copies of articles from sting operations would be good to deter minors. Also details about the consequences and fines for the minor and the bar. (Female bar tender in south central Montana)

Poster of excuses about why people drive drunk. For example, (1) People don't like to leave their car. (2) I'm not drunk. (3) I don't want to impose on others. (4) I drive better drunk. (Female bar tender in south central Montana)

The Montana Tavern Association sends out letters and keeps me updated, but the issues are still not clear. We need black and white laws in writing that we can show people so they aren't ticked off at us. (Female bar tender in rural area)

Signage that's clear: "No ID, no service, no exceptions."

Posters to put up near the time clock to remind employees would be helpful. If they said something that reminded them to get our customers home safe and then come back, and not get killed on the road. (Male bar tender in south central Montana)

Ten points for drinking safely, drink limits, or things to look for in an impaired customer. (Male bar owner in large city)

Phase 2: Results of Developing Training Priorities

As Phase 1 of this study gathered the broad, general views and opinions from the field of Montana's alcohol servers, Phase 2 prioritized these findings and provided a
bridge into Phase 3 where the findings were translated into action. Based on the findings and recommendations of Phase I of this study, Montana Highway Traffic Safety in conjunction with the Montana Board of Crime Control awarded a proposal to the North Country Media Group to develop training videos and other materials for Montana's alcohol servers. However, prior to developing any materials a need existed for further refining the training priorities, and investing people in the training process through their involvement in prioritizing the issues. Thus, Phase 2 utilized a Delphi process to prioritize the training issues identified in the first phase of this study. Also, by soliciting the input of field experts from agencies invested in the outcome of the training materials, the results from Phase 1 were validated.

The first step of the Phase 2 Delphi process involved organizing the key findings from Phase 1 into a quantitative format. Care was taken to insure that all major ideas from Phase 1 were included so that the analysis did not lose credibility when the findings were presented back to the group members in the first and second rounds of the Delphi process. An instrument was developed utilizing a five-point Likert scale with 16 major items outlined according to the three major Phase 1 sections of Drinking and Minors, Impaired Driving Issues, and Server Training Issues (Appendix D).
The items were worded so as to rate the importance of the findings into training materials. The second step of the process involved the selection of the different groups of experts who would participate in the series of prioritization rounds. The experts that were selected came from four primary areas based on their involvement in the issues of developing training resources for Montana's alcohol servers. These areas were (a) Montana's state agencies of the Division of Highway Traffic Safety and the Montana Board of Crime Control, (b) The Montana Tavern Association Board of Directors, who represent all Montana counties, (c) alcohol servers from a minimum of five urban and five rural taverns which were previously surveyed in Phase 1, and (d) Driving Under the Influence (DUI) Task Forces from across the state. The survey instruments were then color-coded according to these four groups so that they could be easily identified during analysis.

The third step in the Delphi process involved contacting people in the four expert groups. Utilizing the 5-point Likert scale, people from the four groups were presented with the general purpose of the prioritization and were instructed to evaluate the importance of the issues identified in Phase 1. By rating the importance of categorical responses identified in Phase 1, the experts from the field were able to further distinguish and forecast the training issues which were of most importance.
to Montana's alcohol servers. The experts in these four groups were also instructed that any additional issues could also have been added at this time. In order to obtain the information from the Montana Tavern Association Board the researcher attended one of MTA's statewide board meetings where the general findings were presented and the survey instruments were distributed and collected. Thirty-one surveys were collected from the MTA board. The state agencies of the Montana Board of Crime Control and Highway Traffic Safety were contacted by phone, and the surveys were sent and returned by mail. Nine surveys were returned from the administrators in these two state agencies. Since the DUI Task Forces are coordinated through the Division of Highway Traffic Safety, the surveys were distributed and returned through that agency. A total of seven surveys were returned from members of Montana's DUI Task Forces. Surveys from 14 previously surveyed alcohol servers representing both urban and rural taverns were completed through the researcher administering the instruments at site visits. All of the groups were combined as the total group of experts with 61 members.

After the responses were collected from each of the four groups in round one, the results were analyzed and means were generated for each of the groups individually and for the total group together. Since each of the four different groups have different agendas and often operate
from different paradigms, the means of each group were compared with analysis of variance to see if differences existed. This analysis showed that the groups were nearly identical in prioritizing all of the 16 items in each of the Phase I categories as being important to very important issues for Montana alcohol server training (see Table 1). The one item which was an exception to this trend which is perhaps one of the most important was in the training section. On this item, the Duncan post hoc test revealed that alcohol servers and the MTA board stated that it was more important to them while the state agencies and DUI Task Forces felt that it was less important to have training materials that were "hands-on" and provided by actual bar owners or tenders since learning in a classroom setting would not readily transfer to actual behind-the-bar situations. However, since the groups responded similarly to 15 of the 16 items, it was judged that their responses could be viewed as a total unified group.

The second and final round of the Delphi process presented the final summary of responses to all four groups. The results were presented in graph form to show how each panel of experts responded as a group and to allow individuals to compare the responses of their own group to those of the total group and each of the individual groups (see Appendix E). The participants were asked to comment on these ratings and asked to either accept or reject these
Table 1. Analysis of Variance for Delphi Process Groups.

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classification of issues. Since all of the groups were satisfied with how their responses were aligned, no further rounds of the Delphi process were needed. The results of the data gathering and prioritization were now ready to be translated from research findings action.

Phase 3: Results of Translating Research to Reality

Upon receiving the initial funding for the survey portion of this project from the Montana Division of Highway Traffic Safety, the researcher stated an interest and commitment to the project by going beyond the standard research role of merely writing a report, delivering it, and presenting a findings report to the funder. Instead, the project was expanded to go beyond reporting of results and to include a translation of the results into action. The third and final phase of the study demonstrated a translating of the findings of Phase 1 and the ratings of Phase 2 into meaningful and useful forms for future action. As a result of the findings of Phase 1 of this study, the North Country Media Group was awarded two contracts from the Montana Board of Crime Control to develop alcohol server training materials and public service announcements. The researcher then contacted the media group to schedule an introductory meeting.

The first introductory meeting involved the researcher and the Vice President and the Project Director from North
Country Media Group in Great Falls, Montana. This first introductory meeting lasted approximately 2 hours and allowed the researcher to explain in detail the purpose and findings of the first two phases of the study. It also allowed the researcher to discuss the relevance of the results to the media group's goals for developing training and media materials. The major outcome of this meeting was that the media group identified the researcher as a valuable resource who would help them in the initial stage of developing the training and media materials. A second outcome of the meeting was the planning of a half-day working meeting which was to include the researcher and additional personnel at the North Country Media Group who would be involved in the development of the server training and promotional materials.

The second meeting was a half-day workshop which was organized by the researcher and involved both formal and informal sections. The formal section included the researcher's planned agenda which had as its primary purposes to (a) educate the media personnel on the findings of the study through interactive dialogues and (b) to begin the development of strategies and draft materials. The informal meeting occurred in a restaurant and was a continuation of the formal meeting.

The personnel involved at the formal presentation included the researcher and six media specialists. The
roles of the media specialists included the Vice President, the Project Coordinator, the Creative Director, two graphic artists, and a film specialist. The formal section of the meeting occurred at the media group’s studio and was videotaped for later analysis.

The researcher began the meeting by stating "that the purpose of the meeting was to bring everyone up to the same level of familiarity with the findings of the study so that he could pass the torch of the study." A two-part focus of the meeting was explained to include (a) a reviewing of the survey process and results and (b) an interactive brainstorming process which involved the actual creation of strategies, script, ideas, and products. The researcher began the meeting by describing the need and purpose of the project and his role with the research.

The process of explaining Phase 1 of the research was begun by the researcher distributing a copy of the survey instrument to each of the media specialists. The researcher explained how the survey was developed through multiple rounds of input from various people associated with the study. The importance of this piloting process was stressed, and the researcher encouraged the media group to continue this process with their development of materials. A brief overview of the research design was then given detailing both the quantitative and qualitative data collection aspects of the study. It is important to
note that throughout the meeting the researcher paid particular attention to utilizing "user-friendly," non-technical language.

After explaining the Phase I research process, the researcher distributed the Phase 2 instrument and described the purpose of Phase 2 as "a fine tuning and validation of the results of Phase 1." He explained the instrument and how it was developed and distributed a copy of the results in bar graph form. The researcher discussed the relationship between the instrument and the graphs and then gave the group time to analyze both. After a few minutes, the researcher asked the group for their observations. Initially the media specialists made comments about how the different groups surveyed had very similar responses. Then they quickly focused in on training item number four which showed a discrepancy between the alcohol servers' and government officials' views on the importance of hands-on training materials. The media group discussed the importance of developing the training materials to meet the alcohol servers' needs rather than those of the government agencies. One of the media specialists made the comment, "What I'm seeing on item number four is a big difference between the government and the bars." Another member of the media group then followed with a statement which demonstrated that the media group understood the importance of Phase 2 and that they were beginning to understand how
research findings would be a helpful tool for focusing on the alcohol servers and their needs. He stated, "That kind of proves out the results of the original survey, that what they [bar tenders] wanted was their own stuff. I mean hands-on and in their own environment, which is interesting to me."

The researcher emphasized the adult education principle of having approaches being learner driven (Brookfield, 1984; Kidd, 1973; Knowles, 1968). He also modeled this principle in the presentation by continuing to facilitate the presentation based on the media specialists' stated needs. At this point the researcher also mentioned how the research findings could be utilized as a market analysis tool and how the media group could justify development of their materials to meet the alcohol servers' needs by basing their products on the research. One of the senior managers demonstrated that the media group was going to direct their energies towards developing materials based on the alcohol servers needs when he then stated, "I think that as we move along, if we just concentrate on the servers, server training, and things like that. It is probably first and foremost where we want to direct our attention."

Even though prior to this meeting, each of the six media specialists stated that they had read the study and its findings, it was clear that they needed more
interaction with the materials prior to being able to move forward and develop pertinent materials. At this point in the presentation process, the general questions presented by the media specialists demonstrated that the researcher needed to continue to play a highly active role in directing the process. A member of the media specialists demonstrated how the group was beginning to translate the research findings into workable ideas but that they needed the researcher to provide direction when he stated,

"It's all kind of like the information that comes out of the bar tender training will also be invaluable in the medial campaign too. At this point we don't have any preconceived ideas or notions about what we want to do. Our direction is certainly yet to be discovered. Since you know what information is most pertinent for us to include for developing the printed material, the bar tender training materials and the media campaign, your input would be good for us for utilizing the [study's] information. So I guess if you could kind of lead us in that direction--I don't know where we specifically want to go."

The researcher then narrowed this open ended direction and began focusing more specifically on the groups' priorities. He facilitated discussion beginning with the end in mind and working backwards by talking about the parameters and forms of their final products. The group then discussed the length of their training video and public service announcements and the form and length of the training reference manual and creative design work. Again one member of the media group exemplified this interaction as he summarized, "So that specifically is the bar tender
training piece which is our first priority. Then there is the also a media awareness campaign about serving to minors. So that in a nutshell is our goal as determined by our client."

The researcher again clarified the importance of utilizing the research findings to drive the material development process and disclosed his transitory goal when he stated,

From what you have said it sure seems that this study has direct application to both of the media projects you'll be working on [everyone in room nodded in agreement]. I just want to have you folks interacting and understanding this information so that I can get out of the picture. The best place to start is with the recommendations I made which will give you an understanding of the background from which the Montana Board of Crime Control developed this request for proposal. And once again, these were based on the survey findings and my observations in the field.

The researcher then directed a 45-minute discussion based on the recommendations of the study. The format that this discussion followed was that the researcher read and made comments about a recommendation. To then facilitate the bridging of the study from research findings into material development, time was provided for the group to interact and brainstorm ideas about how the recommendation could be translated into media materials. During this discussion, each of the media specialists wrote personal notes related to their area. An example of the type of dialogue which occurred is seen when the group was
discussing how to involve the alcohol servers in the process. One member stated,

As far as involving the bar tenders, I don't know what we might do. One thing might be to just utilize them in an interview or voice bite type thing about specific areas like fake IDs or whatever. It might be one way that we could probably incorporate them in the training section. We would probably build some sort of host if you will, or wrap around guy that carries the show. We may include bar tenders or servers, or owners, or whatever to incorporate those folks.

Another area of discussion centered around different teaching methods and ways that the materials would be utilized. The following question asked by one of the media specialists allowed the researcher opportunity to discuss such issues in more detail. This person asked,

As far as the hands-on aspects are concerned, I don't know how they would incorporate it, but it's probably going to be a self-induced training thing. I don't know whether owners would get their whole crew together, or whether they would do it just one at a time, or what? Do you have a feel on that? If they had a package, how would they administer it?

This question provided an opportunity for the researcher to discuss hands-on learning as being active rather than passive (Brookfield, 1985; Candy, 1987; Houle, 1961). It also spawned discussion on the importance of producing credible materials by soliciting input from the "field experts" which include bar tenders and owners, law enforcement officers, and tavern patrons rather than governmental personnel in Helena.
Such an interaction also exemplified the highly active role that the researcher played in translating the study's findings into useful media materials. As the media group discussed each section, the researcher directed them to the salient issues and made suggestions about where and how they might best focus their energies for materials development. After the recommendations section, the researcher continued the same facilitation and discussion process with the three major sections of Drinking and Minors, Impaired Driving, and Server Training issues.

The researcher also played an active role in explaining the culture, norms, laws, and operations in Montana's taverns. Opportunities to do this usually presented themselves through one of the members of the media group asking a specific question. An example is when one member asked about an issue related to taverns catering events to people under the legal drinking age. This person asked,

On this response we have someone talk about an 18-year old night. How does the bar get away with that? I mean, it says here it's in a college town and everything. They have an obvious reason for marketing to this group. How does the bar get away with that?

When the researcher was able to provide an answer, he would do so. In situations where he did not know the answer, he would make recommendations as to who in the state might be able to provide the information.
Throughout the meeting the researcher also facilitated the development of a network of contacts and resources for the media group. The researcher provided the names, addresses, and phone numbers of various people associated with different elements of the study. Additionally, he explained the nature of the relationship he had with each of the contacts and, where appropriate, the nature of the relationship the contacts had with each other and different organizations around the state. Emphasis was placed on what each of these different network contacts could provide the media group in regard to resources and advice. Because of confidentiality reasons, none of the people interviewed in Phase 1 of the study were provided as referral contacts to the media group.

As the meeting progressed, the focus was less on the outcomes of the study and more on brainstorming different angles and ideas on how the media materials could be developed. A common technique which the researcher utilized to clarify issues was role playing. An example of this technique was when the researcher played the role of a bar tender speaking about the ambiguity involved in checking IDs. He stated,

I will now speak from the role of bar tender. We have a bouncer at the door, and I am assuming that he is checking IDs. So I'm going to assume that if someone is in this bar it's because they have been checked at the door. So if someone comes up to me--even if they look young--I am going to serve them because I think they have
been checked. But if a cop comes in or they do a sting, I'm busted.

Near the end of the meeting the role of the researcher and the communication patterns began to change. Whereas the beginning of the meeting was characterized by the researcher being highly directive, the later part of the meeting involved him as more of an equally contributing member of the media team. The communication patterns demonstrated this change as well. In the beginning of the meeting, almost all of the questions or comments were directed through the researcher. In the end, however, an equal exchange of ideas occurred between all members. An example of this dialogue can be seen in the following discussion on the future needs of updating the materials where one member of the group states to another, "I think we talked about that in Helena, about when the new laws take place. We talked about how they could sort of follow up this program that we hand out this year in two years from now. How do they update your book?" A different member then agreed by saying, "Right, we need addendum material or to update it." Another member then addressed the entire group and stated, "We must somehow build this so it's very easy to do. Like we need to have a video that updates them." Someone else again responded by saying, "Either that or the book just changes annually."
Toward the end of the formal 2-hour meeting, the members of the media group were verbalizing an understanding of the complexity of the issues. Such an understanding was clearly seen in a statement made by one of the members when he said,

And it's kind of a hypocritical situation. The bar owners and servers want materials to help them save somebody, but they are serving them alcohol. There is a lot of things going on here because they are not hypnotists. I think that we need to make it more simple and use humor and lighten it up some. Otherwise, they'll just keep doing it. Like a poster that says, "If you leave this bar and you're drunk, we're going to have to kill you" or something like this.

The formal meeting concluded with the researcher summarizing some highlights of the process. The primary outcome of the meeting was the development of ideas for the initial draft of materials for the video and training package. The group had prioritized their goals and approaches to developing their materials. One of the key members stated,

Ideally one of my goals would be to have the video and all of the materials be one cohesive unit. As far as the program goes, we need to think it out with maybe a host or something like that. It really has to be something that they'll look at and say this is legitimate--it doesn't have a bureaucratic feel. In fact it needs something opposite of that; something that real people have created to help me as a server to do my job better.

Following the formalized meeting, an informal meeting lasting approximately 2 hours occurred over lunch. People present at the meeting included the researcher, the project
director, and the creative director. The informal meeting was not planned by the researcher but proved to be a vital component of the transference of the knowledge of the study into useful draft ideas. During the meeting, all three people continued to explore and expand on some of the ideas which had begun in the first meeting. A primary difference with the informal meeting as compared to the formal meeting was that the informal meeting allowed for much more creative interaction around the materials. For example, much of the dialogue consisted of developing potential angles for sound bites and script ideas. Discussion also focused on some of the challenges that the group would face in developing their materials. There was talk about already existent materials and how these materials were received by alcohol servers. The primary outcome of the informal meeting was that two of the key people in the media group were able to further develop some of their ideas for materials development. As a result of this formal and informal process, the primary outcome of Phase 3 was the active transferring of Phase 1 research findings into useful, practical information for media and training materials.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A need existed for assessing the views and opinions of Montana tavern owners and bar tenders regarding their most pressing issues related to minors acquiring alcohol, impaired driving, and server training. Secondly, since people are invested in what they help create, these tavern owners and bar tenders needed to be involved in the process of prioritizing the issues and developing the educational methods and materials which would be of benefit to them. To insure that the findings of this study would have maximum impact, a third phase was needed which actively translated these findings into useful recommendations and training materials.

This study focused on Montana alcohol servers and was divided into three phases. Phase 1 utilized a survey and interviews to assess the attitudes, perceptions, opinions, and stated behavioral norms of bar tenders and tavern owners from across the state of Montana. This first phase was concerned with the three primary areas of (a) drinking and minors, (b) impaired driving, and (c) server training issues. Phase 2 utilized a modified Delphi process to prioritize the above issues and developed specific training
and resource recommendations through the input of different groups of experts in the field. Phase 3 involved collaborating with a media agency to translate the data and recommendations into useful training approaches and materials.

The data gathered from this study not only contributed to the development of knowledge for training of alcohol servers but also resulted in translating this knowledge into real-life, practical training methods and materials (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). This study recognized from the onset that the true experts in any profession are the practitioners who are working in the field (Schon, 1987). Therefore, the study was participatory in nature and involved continuous input from the alcohol servers and agencies involved. The training recommendations which proposed methodologies to allow Montana’s alcohol servers to be self-directed in their real-life learning situations were acted upon by the agencies involved with this project (Tough, 1971). Through the process of identifying and prioritizing alcohol server training issues and then translating these findings into media materials, this study served as a catalyst for the building of relationships between agencies concerned with common issues (Horton, 1990).
The primary findings of this study were reported according to the three phases. Phase 1 reported the findings based on the three major sections of Drinking and Minors, Impaired Driving, and Server Training Issues. Phase 2 prioritized the issues through a modified Delphi process. Phase 3 translated the findings into useful training recommendations and materials.

In Phase 1, the first major finding in the Drinking and Minors section was that the majority of Montana alcohol servers (62%) were in agreement with the 21-year old minimum legal drinking age. In fact the vast majority (85%) stated that they saw the minimum drinking age as a non-issue since the law says it is 21. In conjunction with assessing Montana alcohol servers' level of agreement with the minimum drinking law, the study also addressed alcohol servers' perceptions of who is responsible for serving minors. The servers saw that the issues associated with minors being served alcohol are complex and involve shared responsibilities of many people. Most of the servers (61%) agreed that the responsibility of whether or not to serve a minor rested primarily with the minors themselves. Almost all (96%) of the bar tenders were highly supportive of a new law which placed greater responsibility on the minor for attempting to purchase alcohol. The servers had
differing opinions on where responsibility should be placed regarding the problem of minors being served alcohol. For example, only 55% of the servers saw the primary responsibility resting with the minors' parents, and the servers were nearly equally split regarding the importance of their own level of responsibility for serving minors.

Alcohol servers believe that the primary reasons for acquisition of alcohol by minors are as follows: (a) minors using false IDs—85%, (b) not harsh enough penalties for minors—84%, (c) adults buy alcohol and then give to the minor—77%, (d) servers or store personnel who are not careful enough in determining age—62%, (e) not enough education—46%, (f) a legal minor who is a server in a bar or store—36%, and (g) alcohol servers or store personnel who do not care—35%.

Most of the servers (71%) felt that in taverns where it is relatively easy for minors to be served alcohol, the problem is directly related to the attitudes of the management. The majority (65%) of the servers also felt that in taverns where it is relatively easy for minors to be served, the problem is directly related to the knowledge and the training of the server. In order to address the problems associated with minors acquiring alcohol, most of the servers (81%) stated that their tavern already had information posted to discourage minors from attempting to purchase alcohol, and almost all (93%) were willing to post
such information if it were provided. Servers reported that the two best methods for deterring minors from purchasing or attempting to purchase alcohol is through checking IDs and stricter laws. Servers identified several inconsistencies in state laws and in tavern practices which contribute to the serving of minors. Some of these inconsistencies included allowing youths into the taverns, allowing 18 year olds to legally serve alcohol, and having a minimum gambling age of 18 years old.

In the Impaired Driving section of Phase 1, the servers identified the following as the five best ways to reduce impaired driving: (a) using taxis, Home Free, or designated drivers, (b) increased law enforcement, (c) refusing service to intoxicated people, (d) increased education for alcohol servers and the general public, and (e) taking keys away from the intoxicated person. The servers seemed to have mixed views about their relationships with their local law enforcement officials. They saw law enforcement as being too lax and not enforcing penalties with enough force or consistency. The servers also saw law enforcement as being too involved with the taverns by trying to bother their patrons. Nearly half (48%) of the servers disagreed that increased law enforcement would help reduce incidents of impaired driving in their area. A large percentage (41%) still felt that
the best way to reduce impaired driving in their area was through stiffer penalties against the drinker.

About half (52%) of the servers reported that their establishment was participating in some sort of a designated driver program, but most (65%) of them felt there was a need to improve such services. Many of the servers commented in the personal interviews that they were discouraged with current societal norms related to the high prevalence of drinking and driving, and therefore they do not feel that they can make much of a difference. The servers cited several problems and possible solutions which they saw with designated driver programs. One solution which appears simple but has many complications was halting the service of alcohol to already intoxicated individuals.

Most (79%) of the servers agreed that it was their responsibility to stop serving individuals who appear intoxicated. Yet the majority of the servers (70%) also saw it as the responsibility of the individual drinkers to cut themselves off if they have had too much to drink.

The servers saw the complexities of discontinuing service to someone who appears intoxicated. In the interviews they discussed several situations which make their judgement calls difficult; the most important were situations involving money, friends, and safety. Money is an issue because if the server stops serving alcohol, the tavern stops making money— an issue which is not often well
received by management. Friends become an issue because the servers report that they will often serve their friends alcohol beyond the point where they would discontinue service of alcohol to a stranger. Safety is an issue in the decision to halt alcohol service because bar tenders often feel threatened by the anger of an intoxicated person.

Attitudes, resources, and practices of alcohol servers regarding impaired driving issues differed between those taverns in urban and rural areas. Taverns in more populated cities had greater reliance upon city, state, or other means of "external support" to provide their patrons with a safe means of getting home. In larger cities bar tenders have resources available to them in the forms of taxi services and Home Free programs to assist them in their efforts. However, taverns in small towns or those establishments residing outside of town rely more on their own resources to get their patrons home safely. Many of the examples that alcohol servers in rural taverns discussed showed that they took on much more personal responsibility for their patrons' safety than did their urban counterparts.

The third area of Phase 1 addressed alcohol server training needs. Bar tenders across Montana were split on their opinions regarding the many issues surrounding alcohol server training. A large percentage (41%) agreed
that the best method for reducing impaired driving in their area was through server training programs while one-third disagreed with such an approach. Most of the servers (83%) had received no formal server training in the past 2 years. When asked about the importance of completing a server training program similar to programs in other states, 42% agreed with the importance of completing such a program while 32% disagreed. When questioned about their views on completing a training program, the servers were interested in staying current with the many changing issues and laws in their field, but they did not like the idea of being mandated to complete such training.

About half (54%) of the alcohol servers disagreed with a mandatory server training while about a quarter (28%) agreed that mandatory training would be helpful. When questioned on how many hours of server training they should be required to complete each year, 62% of the servers stated zero. About one-third of the servers thought that they should be required to complete between 1 and 8 hours a year of training in order to handle their jobs effectively. In the interviews the bar tenders stated that if they were not forced to attend the trainings, then they would be more open to the idea of learning.

The servers clearly described some of the conditions which would preclude their learning. One such factor was related to who should conduct the trainings. The servers
saw the tavern owners as their ultimate trainers. The servers would not want to attend a training in Helena because government officials do not understand the day-to-day realities of their work. The tavern owners are the ultimate trainers because owners or managers set the standards in their establishments. Providing teachers who the servers saw as credible was often discussed. Bartenders mentioned that they felt they could learn from credible people in the field such as other servers, drinkers, and law enforcement officials.

Alcohol servers stated that they preferred experiential learning approaches rather than academic settings. Over one-third (39%) stated that regional meetings, mini-seminars, and written materials would be more helpful than a standard training program. In the interviews, the bartenders talked about various experiential methods which they preferred, including role playing and actual on-the-job training. The servers recommended that if the trainings were infused into their already established meeting patterns, they would be more receptive towards attending.

The servers expressed an interest in learning if the server training program were developed to meet their needs. Half of the servers stated that they would be willing to complete 2.5 hours of training each year if it were provided within 24 miles of where they live. The important
training issues as identified by the servers were ranked as: (a) fake IDs, (b) overserving issues, (c) clarifying the grey areas, (d) customer control, (e) new laws, (f) talking with and cutting off intoxicated people, (g) crisis intervention, and (h) impaired driving issues. Servers gave examples of the type and quality of training materials that they would use.

Phase 2 was a Delphi process which involved organizing the key findings from Phase 1 into a five-point Likert scale format. Care was taken to insure that all major ideas from Phase 1 were included so that the analysis did not lose credibility when the findings were presented back to the group members in the first and second rounds of the Delphi process. An instrument was developed utilizing a 5-point Likert Scale with 16 major items outlined according to the three major Phase 1 sections of Drinking and Minors, Impaired Driving, and Server Training Issues (see Appendix A). The items were worded so that the 16 major Phase 1 findings could be rated on their importance for inclusion in the development of alcohol server training methods and materials.

The next steps of the process involved selection and contacting different groups of experts to participate in the series of Delphi rounds. The experts that were selected came from four primary areas based on their involvement in the issues of developing training resources
for Montana's alcohol servers. These areas were:
(a) Montana's state agencies of the Division of Highway Traffic Safety and the Montana Board of Crime Control,
(b) The Montana Tavern Association Board of Directors, who represent all Montana counties, (c) alcohol servers from five urban and five rural taverns which were previously surveyed in Phase I, and (d) DUI Task Forces from across the state. Utilizing the 5-point likert scale, people from the four groups were presented with the general purpose of developing training priorities based on how they evaluated the importance of the 16 key issues identified in Phase I. By rating the importance of categorical responses identified in Phase I, the experts from the field were able to narrow down and further distinguish the importance the training issues for Montana's alcohol servers. The experts in these four groups were also instructed that they could add any additional issues if they felt something important was missing.

After the responses were collected from each of the four groups in round one, the results were analyzed and means were generated for each of the groups individually and for the total group together. Since each of the four different groups have different agendas and often operate from different paradigms, the means of each group were compared with analysis of variance to see if differences existed. This analysis showed that the groups were nearly
identical in prioritizing all items in three categories of issues of importance for Montana alcohol server training. The one item which was an exception to this trend was in the training section. On this item alcohol servers and the Montana Tavern Association Board felt that it was more important to them to have training materials that were "hands-on" and provided by actual bar owners or tenders since learning in a classroom setting would not readily transfer to actual behind-the-bar situations. The state agencies stated that it was less important. However, since the groups’ responses were nearly identical to 15 of the 16 items, it was judged that their responses could be judged as a unified group.

The second and final round of the Delphi process presented the final summary of responses to all four groups. The participants were asked to comment on these ratings and asked to either accept or reject the rating of importance on the issues. Since all of the groups were satisfied with how their responses were aligned, no further rounds of the Delphi process were needed.

Phase 3 of the research involved the researcher in two meetings with a media group translating the findings of the first two phases of the study into useful training materials. The first meeting was an introductory meeting between the researcher and two key personnel from the media group. The outcome of the meeting was the development of a
plan for a working meeting with other members of the media group.

The second working meeting included both formal and informal sections. The formal section of the meeting involved the researcher conducting a formalized process utilizing several adult learning methods such as presentation, discussion, and role play. The informal meeting, which directly followed the formal meeting, involved the researcher with two key members of the media group. The primary outcome of these meetings was that the researcher facilitated a transition of the research results into useful training materials. Specific outcomes of the meetings included all members of the media team understanding the findings of the study, the facilitation of a resource network, and the initial draft of script, ideas, and strategies which would be developed into server training videos, sound bites, and a training manual.

Conclusions

Conclusions for Researchers

1. Researchers must go beyond limited academic roles in order to apply their findings to real-life problems. If the ultimate goal of social science research is to contribute to the betterment of the human condition, then social science researchers must redefine their roles. They must go beyond current academic norms which terminate with
the presentation of findings. Instead of an end point, the conducting of social science research should be seen as merely the first half of the research process, which is to be followed by an equally important action phase. Researchers must play an active role in order to translate their findings into a useful form. Failure to follow through with the translation phase of the research most often results in the study having limited impact with practitioners beyond the reading about it by a narrow group of professionals.

2. **Social science researchers must actively transfer social networks to other people involved with implementing the research findings.** In the process of conducting social science research, researchers often develop formal and informal networks of people with various resources to assist with the study. If additional people are also to be involved with translating the research findings into useful action, the researcher must facilitate involving them in this already established network. Network development must provide not only general contact information such as names and addresses but also contextual information such as histories, backgrounds, and relationships that the contacts have with each other and the researcher.

3. **Writing and speaking in user-friendly, non-technical language assists in translating research findings into useful action.** Research that is written in a highly
technical manner which utilizes tables, jargon, and a writing style only understood by a narrow group of academicians or professionals will limit the accessibility and impact which field-based research can have. Social science research is complex in nature and involves people with varying personal backgrounds, education, and professional disciplines. If the researcher has something of value to communicate, then the dissemination of the research must be user-friendly so that a broad audience may benefit from the work.

4. **People are invested in what they help to create.** From the beginning of the research project through the action stage of developing materials, the researcher structured opportunities for various people to have ownership of the research project. Each major step in the research process provided opportunities for piloting of ideas, surveys, and materials. Involving people throughout the process increases the effectiveness of the research when translated into action.

5. **The combination of formal and informal meetings works best for translating research findings into action.** When translating research findings into useful action, researchers need to be prepared to function in formal and informal settings. The formal setting will allow the researcher to present findings in an organized manner, whereas the informal situation will allow people to
interact with the information and the researcher in a more natural setting. Following the formal meeting with an informal meeting facilitates praxis—that is, a process of reflection on action which stimulates further action (Brookfield, 1986).

6. Researchers can bridge the gap between the desires of a government funding agency and the stated needs of the target population. This study revealed that the people who would participate in the training program place greater value on hands-on learning methods than did the people funding the project. Researchers who are working in complex social environments can provide a bridge between the needs of different groups. Such a bridge is developed through continual feedback loops such as the Delphi process which was used in this study.

7. Research results need to be broken down and written specifically for the different audiences who will be interested in the results. Research reports often end with one set of conclusions and recommendations for all readers regardless of their background and interests. However, social science research often impacts different audiences. In the process of translating research findings into action, researchers must break the general discussion down into smaller specific discussions which are written for each audience.
Conclusions for Alcohol Servers

1. The issue of minors being served alcohol cannot be solved without considering numerous factors. The environments in Montana taverns are complex, and many factors interact to result in minors' acquisition of alcohol. Some of these issues include the attitudes and actions of the servers, the training and expectations of the bar's management, the inconsistencies of state laws, the assumption that someone else checked the minor's identification, legal-aged adults supplying alcohol to the minors, and the relationship between taverns and their local law enforcement. It cannot be assumed that servers do not support the minimum drinking age just because they serve alcohol to a minor. In fact, since the majority of Montana alcohol servers (62%) agree with the 21-year old law and an even greater number (85%) feel that serving minors is a non-issue, other factors must be operating. Many of the servers who support the law discussed the difficulties they experience with never serving minors.

2. Alcohol servers play a significant role in communicating to minors about underage drinking. This study revealed that on an average, Montana alcohol servers are approached by minors attempting to purchase alcohol about six times a month. Since alcohol servers are first-line contacts with minors, servers play a vital role in reducing service to minors.
3. **Most alcohol servers are actively involved in efforts to discourage minors from purchasing alcohol.** This study revealed that 81% of the servers reported that they already had information to discourage minors from purchasing alcohol. It was also found that 93% of the servers are willing to post information to discourage minors from purchasing alcohol if it were provided to them.

4. **Rural and urban taverns could benefit from sharing their unique strengths and weaknesses.** The findings of this study indicated that taverns in rural and urban areas operate differently regarding service to minors, reducing impaired driving, and server training needs. Much progress could be made in these areas if the unique strengths and weaknesses of these environments were compared, contrasted, and then shared.

**Conclusions for Media Specialists**

1. **Involving researchers in initial planning meetings can enhance the credibility of final products.** Since researchers have a thorough understanding of their project, involving them at the beginning of materials development can help to insure that the media staff accurately understand the research report, findings, and implications. Such an understanding will translate into developing materials which have more credibility since they are based on research. Involving researchers to facilitate an
understanding of the research can help to save time and resources through early prioritization.

2. **Alcohol servers prefer interactive, hands-on materials rather than academic approaches.** Materials which are more interactive and hands-on connect better with the social nature of alcohol servers and will be better utilized by alcohol servers. The servers continually stressed that their preferred method of learning was experiential rather than passive and academic. Since most of their learning occurs in real-life on-the-job situations, materials which can enhance learning or be of use in such situations will be received better than those which are perceived as academic.

**Conclusions for Adult Educators**

1. **Proactive approaches which build upon already existent resources are needed.** When approaching social problems, a problem-solving approach is often the only paradigm utilized. That is, people often operate reactively by targeting only those elements of the problem which they see as undesirable. Equally important, however, is to utilize social marketing strategies which affect perceptions through proactive means. Many alcohol servers and others are doing more to reduce alcohol-related problems than may be realized by those who are focusing on the problems. In order to facilitate a supportive
environment which can promote change, proactive techniques are needed which build upon desirable behaviors and outcomes which are already in existence. Bar tenders need to be caught in the act of doing things right and then to let everyone know about it!

2. Alcohol server training must recognize tavern managers as crucial information gatekeepers. Alcohol servers consistently stressed the important role that the tavern owners play in establishing the expectations and norms for the alcohol servers. Since the tavern owners and managers are the ultimate trainers of their staff, any server training program must recognize the importance of their role in order to be effective. A successful server training program must specifically address the needs of tavern owners and managers in order to enlist their support for training the alcohol servers.

3. The dissemination of research findings can go beyond publication to include field-based practical techniques. Studies such as this one confront the sufficiency of the commonly held research model of gathering and analyzing data and then presenting the findings in some esoteric journal only to be read by an elite group of educators who understand the language. Indeed, this study demonstrates that social science researchers conducting field-based research have a responsibility to break free from this outdated paradigm by
actively translating research findings into useful actions which benefit society.

Conclusions for Governmental Agencies

1. Complex social problems demand solutions which involve shared responsibilities. After identifying different elements of a social problem, coalitions must be formed around solving the problems. Each group which is involved must assume some level of responsibility in order to effectively address the problem. Failing to bring different groups together can result in supporting misperceptions one group may have about the other groups. Even with popular rhetoric about the importance of developing "comprehensive approaches," groups have the tendency to operate independently from each other. Such independence often results in developing oversimplified and ineffective recommendations over which they have some element of control such as "the way to solve the problem of minors acquiring alcohol is to have tougher penalties."

2. Changing the social norms associated with impaired driving requires increased resources. Only half (52%) of Montana's taverns reported their involvement in a local designated driver campaign, and the majority of servers (65%) agreed that a need exists for improving the program in their area. Increased resources will mean increased availability of designated driver programs to taverns.
Many of the strengths of the designated driver approach could be expanded, and problems could be reduced if additional resources were made available. Needed resources would most likely include money, research, materials, training, and marketing.

3. Alcohol servers prefer voluntary programs with meaningful learning rather than mandatory programs. Emphasis on developing valuable training resources will reap greater benefits than will expending an inordinate amount of energy in developing a mandatory training program. Alcohol servers are interested in methods and materials which will assist them in their roles. If materials are high quality and relevant to their situations, they will be utilized. Mandatory attendance to a training program should not be confused with a desire to learn. An approach which focuses on meeting servers' training needs rather than mandating attendance will also help to foster an internal locus of responsibility and control rather than an external one.

Recommendations

Recommendations for Researchers

1. People doing research in educational settings such as universities need to re-assess their standards and criteria for determining quality research. The route for disseminating research findings should be more than just
publication and should equally include application of the results through field-based practical techniques. Since a large percentage of people doing social research are located at universities, the universities should restructure their tenure structure to reflect greater importance placed on action through field-based products rather than just publication. Publication should be seen as merely the first portion of a quality project. The second and perhaps more meaningful portion is how the researcher translates the findings into social action.

2. **Researchers should inform funding agencies of their continuous involvement prior to accepting funding.**
Researchers should inform funders of their additional commitment to the project if they are going to go beyond the outdated paradigm of terminating their involvement with a project by presenting their findings. Informing the funder of this additional involvement will help the funding agency to make any necessary adjustments in the budget to allow for project completion. Early discussions of the researcher’s expanded role will also enable the funder to build networks with the researcher to assist in translating the findings into action.

3. **Develop a self-assessment tool for taverns.**
Tavern owners and employees could utilize such an instrument for assessing where they rate according to different industry health and legal practices. The tool
could be hand or computer scored to provide immediate feedback and recommendations for improvement. The tavern owners could use the tool as part of their yearly goal setting process and could measure their progress. Having quantifiable measures would help to clarify some of the complicated issues.

4. Develop a communication system between researchers and alcohol servers. Too often the people who would benefit the most from research information do not have easy access to the information. A simple plan is needed to inform alcohol servers of research results and statistics which affect them. For example, the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Division of Montana could forward information to the Montana Tavern Association for distribution to taverns statewide. In order for alcohol servers to feel connected to the positive changes in the state, they must receive feedback.

Recommendations for Alcohol Servers

1. Develop an advisory board of servers to review materials and methods developed for training sessions. Montana’s alcohol servers consistently discussed the importance of having materials and trainings developed by people in their field whom they hold as credible. Creating an advisory board for any training development would continue to involve the servers in the training outcomes.
The board should include representatives from both rural and urban taverns.

2. Promote a common vision to taverns of how a "successful" tavern operates. Many of the servers expressed a willingness to continue to improve professionally if direction and guidelines were provided. Such an approach would facilitate a paradigm shift toward lower-risk behaviors which are healthy, legal, and safe and which focus on the welfare of the customer. A common standard or vision for the tavern industry could be developed by members of the Montana Tavern Association Board. These standards could then be utilized to develop a self-assessment tool for taverns to evaluate themselves.

3. Caution alcohol servers about the potential dangers of over-serving and becoming lax with their regular customers despite their past safe history with them. Servers need to be reminded that they should not let their friendships with regular customers cloud their professional vision. When customers have had too much to drink, the bartender should cut them off from additional drinking regardless of personal feelings. Since servers become comfortable with people whom they have served numerous times without previous problems, they must be reminded about problems with becoming lax. Servers may need to be trained in the necessary skills to intervened in these situations.
4. **Promote the importance of consistency between an alcohol server's personal and professional behavior.** Alcohol servers should become aware of the importance of modeling alcohol health in their personal lives as well as on the job. When off duty, servers are still representing the industry and should be practicing safe behaviors such as utilizing designated driver programs when they drink. Training sessions and tavern managers can help individuals identify discrepancies and focus on ways to facilitate consistent behavior.

**Recommendations for Media Specialists**

1. **Provide information and training in packages which can be individualized by each tavern owner or manager.** Since tavern owners and managers function as information gatekeepers in their tavern, information should be developed so that it may be adapted to a variety of individualized training situations. The training packages might include videotapes and accompanying manuals which could be used to train an entire staff or for orienting new employees. A core curriculum could be developed and modified as needed.

2. **Develop materials which include information about up-coming changes in laws or practices.** Many servers are unaware of recent or up-coming changes in laws and regulations. They expressed an anxiety about not knowing
the parameters on different issues. Training materials could provide an ideal way of informing servers of changes and of giving them an opportunity to get their personal questions answered about the changes.

3. **Conduct focus groups to pilot materials which address the unique needs of rural and urban taverns.** Since the findings of this study indicated that taverns in rural and urban areas operate differently regarding service to minors, reducing impaired driving, and server training, a variety of training materials need to be developed. Materials are needed to address the specific needs of urban and rural taverns. Training materials should build upon the unique strengths of each environment. For example, rural taverns could benefit from increased use of state resources similar to their urban counterparts, whereas urban taverns might develop approaches which show more personal responsibility for their patrons like rural servers report.

4. **Develop user-friendly materials to empower alcohol servers to become the educational leaders for promoting designated driver programs.** Alcohol servers are in key positions for promoting designated driver concepts through educating their customers. Servers are eager for useful materials that will help them promote safe driving programs. A good program would provide them with materials and techniques which would take the negative pressure off
customers and allow servers to concentrate on customer safety. Materials must be attractive and readily available.

5. **Provide bar tenders with an alcohol safety media kit which can be adapted to their local community.** A media kit could focus on such issues as not serving minors, designated driver programs, checking for false identification, and other methods of reducing alcohol associated risks. Taverns are concerned about their image in the community, so any quality materials which facilitate the public's positive view of the tavern would be readily utilized.

6. **Develop a reward and recognition campaign which recognizes alcohol servers and taverns that consistently model exemplary practices related to health, legal, and safety issues.** Such a campaign could include media recognition for desirable behavior. It could provide alcohol servers with sound bite information about successes which reduce deaths and accidents through their efforts. It could disseminate successful designated driver programs. Film clips, commercials, or posters could profile these model efforts and create a healthy competition for public recognition.
Recommendations for Adult Educators

1. **Alcohol servers should be significantly involved in identifying the topics and format for training sessions.** Not mandating trainings places pressure upon the providers of the trainings to insure that they are well marketed and meeting the needs of their intended audience. Involving bar tenders, owners, and the Montana Tavern Association in developing training sessions could help to insure that appropriate issues are covered. It would also provide credibility from those in the field.

2. **Relate training sessions to the expressed needs voiced by alcohol servers.** Identify the benefits that bar tenders can expect to gain from the training sessions and clearly relate these to their identified needs. The development of any potential training process is often more important than the training itself. Many Montana servers expressed that they would reject a training program "thought up in Helena" and then forced upon them. A democratic development process should be utilized, bringing all the different groups to the planning table since people are invested in what they help create.

3. **Consider creative and distance education methods for delivering training sessions to Montana’s diverse taverns.** Because of Montana’s large geographic area, cost effective training methods should be utilized. Already
existent networks such as the Montana Tavern Association could be used to help with the distribution of training materials. Information could be transmitted through interactive teleconferences, computer networking, and video tapes. Sound bite and factual information could be provided to the MTA for use on their telephone recording for use by association members.

4. Incorporate a variety of practical hands-on methods for training alcohol servers. Alcohol servers clearly stated that they preferred experiential methods of learning rather than classroom settings. Trainings should include techniques such as demonstrations, role playing, case studies, and "what if" situations. Materials should also be developed to be utilized in actual on-the-job situations since many servers commented on how they learned their jobs through working.

5. Utilize the already existing positive attitudes that exists among many servers as a basis for developing training programs. Server training programs should build upon this already present caring attitude of servers. This is especially so in rural areas. Posters, videos, and educational materials should build upon this already existent positive attitude. Social marketing techniques which promote the desired behavior will help to establish such behaviors as the expected norms in the industry.
6. Alcohol server training should include a process for the building of coalitions between alcohol servers and various elements in their local community. Since complex social problems necessitate solutions from multiple approaches, alcohol servers need to be involved in local coalitions for bringing about changes in alcohol norms. Server training materials should include suggestions for ways that servers can be seen as leaders in their communities regarding alcohol health. Specific materials need to focus on strengthening relationships with local law enforcement agencies and other community agencies involved.

7. Trainers must address issues associated with the affective domain and power discrepancies in order for training to be effective. It should be assumed that differences in relationship power will impact the effectiveness of the server training. Examples from this study include the differences in power between tavern owners and servers, angry male customers and female servers, and law enforcement and the alcohol servers. It should not be assumed that a level playing field exists in relationships in the alcohol serving environment. Even with superior individual approaches, alcohol servers may not be empowered to act unless social and environmental power imbalances are addressed.

8. A successful training should employ techniques to impact participants' cognitive, affective, and psycho-motor
domains. Many training programs only focus on the content of the training and ignore the equally important elements associated with the affective and psycho-motor areas. Trainers should plan to utilize a variety of strategies and teaching techniques so as to affect the totality of what servers think, act, and do.

Recommendations for Governmental Agencies

1. Training for alcohol servers should not be mandated. Alcohol servers in Montana are willing to participate in training that will help them better perform their job, but they do not want mandatory training. Instead of utilizing resources to develop a system of compliance and adherence, governmental agencies should support the development of meaningful server training materials. Alcohol servers should be seen as partners and resources in solving alcohol problems instead of targets for intervention.

2. Market training programs so that alcohol servers perceive that they are getting their money's worth. Currently many bar tenders are leery of programs and initiatives from the state. Servers often commented on their concerns about paying association fees and wanting to receive benefits for their dues. To establish acceptance from the alcohol servers, new programs should be designed
and marketed from the perspective of "your association dues at work."

3. Involve a representative sample of taverns in field testing new technologies designed to address alcohol servers' requests for more effective IDs. Many of the servers were unaware of current technologies that are being developed to combat the problem of fake IDs. Involving bartenders in field testing new methods of dealing with fake IDs will not only provide field-based data but also may facilitate servers' acceptance of the new methods when they are adopted.

4. Provide a set of legal and recommended guidelines to alcohol servers for performing their jobs. Alcohol servers are aware of the many "gray" issues in their work which require judgement calls. Any information which could be provided in a quick reference style manual would assist the servers in performing their jobs. This reference manual could also support the server in difficult situations with customers when the customer may need to see a law in writing. An important component of these materials should be methods and guidelines for deciding when and how to discontinue service of alcohol to intoxicated and angry customers.

5. Utilize the results of this study to strengthen alcohol servers' perceptions and acceptance of industry norms. Occupations constantly need to assess the
difference between perceived norms and actual norms. Perceived norms are the opinions of people related to how they believe they view the field; actual norms are where the field really is. Peer pressure is associated with people adjusting their behaviors to align with that which they perceive as normal. Many bar tenders currently feel that they hold minority opinions, when in reality they are part of the majority on many alcohol server issues. Knowing where they stand in relationship to major issues in the field may help make alcohol servers more active supporters of laws and health issues.


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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

PHASE 1 SURVEY INSTRUMENT
Montana Alcohol Servers Survey

Montana State University is working in cooperation with Montana Highway Traffic Safety and the Montana Tavern Association to conduct this survey. The purpose of the study is to collect the opinions of bar owners and alcohol servers from around the state on different alcohol server issues. Those participating in this survey will be kept confidential. However, the information received will be invaluable for future planning. After the survey is completed, you will receive a copy of the results.

**Background Information**

1. State Region (circle) 1 2 3 4 5
2. Gender
   - [ ] Male
   - [ ] Female
3. Your Position:
   - [ ] Tavern Owner
   - [ ] Manager
   - [ ] Bar Tender/Alcohol Server
   - [ ] Other
4. Montana Tavern Association
   - [ ] Member
   - [ ] Non-member
5. Population of community
6. Local Tavern Association
   - [ ] Member
   - [ ] Non-member
7. Number of Employees
   - [ ] Full Time
   - [ ] Part Time
8. Location of Establishment is:
   - [ ] More than 3 miles outside of town
   - [ ] Less than 3 miles outside of town
   - [ ] In town
9. Type of Establishment
   - [ ] Bar only
   - [ ] Bar and Restaurant (food is prepared and served)
Alcohol Servers Survey

Directions: For items with numbers 1 through 5 after them, use the following scale to indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the statement. For all other items, fill in the blanks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Drinking and Minors

1. I fully agree with the 21 year old drinking law.
   1 2 3 4 5

2. Most Montana alcohol servers agree with the 21 year old drinking law.
   1 2 3 4 5

3. The issue of whether or not to serve a minor is really a non-issue because the law is the law and it says "21".
   1 2 3 4 5

4. The issue of whether or not to serve minors is primarily the responsibility of the alcohol servers.
   1 2 3 4 5

5. The issue of whether or not to serve minors is primarily the responsibility of the minor's parents.
   1 2 3 4 5

6. The issue of whether or not to serve minors is primarily the responsibility of law enforcement.
   1 2 3 4 5

7. The issue of whether or not to serve minors is primarily the responsibility of the minor him/herself.
   1 2 3 4 5

8. I am highly supportive of the new law that goes into effect October 1, 1993, that makes it illegal for a minor to attempt to purchase alcohol.
   1 2 3 4 5

9. The primary reasons for acquisition of alcohol by minors are:
   a. An older, legal purchaser, who then sells or gives to a minor the liquor be it by single drink, can, bottle, or keg.
   b. Minors using false IDs to acquire alcohol in taverns or grocery stores.
   c. A minor, who is a legal server in a bar or store, selling to other minors.
   d. Alcohol servers or store personnel who are not careful enough in determining age.
   e. Alcohol servers or store personnel who do not care whether a purchaser is a minor.
   f. Not enough education by parents and educators regarding the dangers of alcohol use by minors.
   1 2 3 4 5
Alcohol Server Survey

g. Not harsh enough penalties for minors purchasing alcohol.

h. Other: ________________________________

10. In taverns where it is relatively easy for a minor to be served alcohol, the problem is directly related to the attitudes of management.

11. In taverns where it is relatively easy for a minor to be served alcohol, the problem is directly related to the knowledge and training of the server.

12. Our tavern has information posted to discourage minors from attempting to purchase alcohol.

13. I would post information to discourage minors from purchasing alcohol if it were provided.

14. Approximately how many times a month do minors attempt to purchase alcohol in your tavern? ________________

15. What do you do when minors attempt to purchase alcohol.

________________________________________

16. What is the best way to deter minors from purchasing or attempting to purchase alcohol?

________________________________________

Server Training

1. It is important for the alcohol servers in Montana to complete a server training program similar to training programs in other states.

2. Server training should be a mandatory requirement for all Montana alcohol servers.

3. Other educational methods like regional meetings, mini-seminars, and written materials would be more helpful than a standard training program.

4. The cost of trainings should be provided by the tavern owners.

5. How many hours of formal server training have you received in the past two years?

6. How many hours of server education or training should be required each year in order for alcohol servers to handle their jobs effectively?

7. If server trainings were provided in your area, how many hours would you be willing to attend each year?
Alcohol Servers Survey

8. How many miles would you travel for a meeting or training?

9. What are the server training issues that should be covered through trainings or meetings?

Impaired Driving

1. The best method for reducing impaired drivers in your area is through increased law enforcement.

2. The best method for reducing impaired drivers in your area is through stiffer penalties against the drinker.

3. The best method for reducing impaired drivers in your area is through server training programs.

4. There is a need for increasing designated driver services in your area.

5. Your establishment participates in a local designated driver program.

6. Your establishment has written information available for customers about a local designated driver program.

7. Your establishment has written information available for customers about Blood Alcohol Content.

8. It is the responsibility of individual drinkers to cut themselves off if they have had too much to drink.

9. It is the responsibility of the alcohol server to stop serving alcohol to someone who appears intoxicated.

10. How do people get home from your tavern after they have been drinking and they live more than a few blocks away?

11. What is the best method in your area to reduce the incidents of drunk driving?

12. At what point do you cut people off and stop serving them alcohol?
APPENDIX B

PHASE 1 SAMPLE SELECTION FOR EACH COUNTY
Table 2. Random Selection for Each County.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Bars</th>
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<th>Sample</th>
<th>Rounded Sample</th>
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*Assuming a return rate of approximately 70%.
APPENDIX C

t-TEST RESULTS
Table 3. *t*-test Results of Respondents to Non-Respondents.

### Drinking and Minors

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<th>p</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>D1-Agree with 21 year old law</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D2-Most servers agree with law</td>
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<td>.035</td>
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<tr>
<td>D3-Serving minors is non-issue</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>.020</td>
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<tr>
<td>D4-Primary responsibility is servers’</td>
<td>207</td>
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<td>.051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D5-Primary responsibility is parents’</td>
<td>209</td>
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<td>.110</td>
</tr>
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<td>D6-Primary responsibility is law’s</td>
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<td>.65</td>
<td>.515</td>
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<td>D7-Primary responsibility is minor’s</td>
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<td>D8-Support for new law</td>
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<td>D9a-Older adult gives to minor</td>
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<td>D9b-Minors use fake IDs</td>
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<td>D9c-Minors serving minors</td>
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<td>.960</td>
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<td>D9d-Servers not careful enough</td>
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<td>D9e-Servers do not care</td>
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<td>D9f-Not enough education</td>
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<td>.925</td>
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<td>D9g-Not harsh enough penalties</td>
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<td>D10-Attitudes of management</td>
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<tr>
<td>D11-Knowledge and training</td>
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<td>D12-Information posted</td>
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<td>D14-Purchase attempts</td>
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### Server Training Issues

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<th>p</th>
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<td>.839</td>
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<tr>
<td>ST4-Cost of trainings</td>
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<td>ST5-Hours of past training</td>
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<td>ST6-Hours of required training</td>
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<td>.612</td>
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<tr>
<td>ST7-Hours willing to attend</td>
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<tr>
<td>ST8-Miles willing to travel</td>
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Table 3. Continued.

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<td>.732</td>
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<td>ID2-Reduce through penalties</td>
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<td>ID3-Reduce through training</td>
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<td>ID5-Participates in designated driver</td>
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<td>ID6-Written information</td>
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<td>ID7-Information about BAC</td>
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<td>ID8-Individual responsibility</td>
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APPENDIX D

PHASE 2 DELPHI PROCESS INSTRUMENT
Server Training Survey

The purpose of this follow-up questionnaire is to rank and prioritize Montana's alcohol server issues. The results will be presented back to you for a final approval. Please use the following scale to indicate how important you believe the following training issues are to Montana's alcohol servers.

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<th>Not important</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Very important</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Training Methods**

1. **Optional** training materials should be made available to Montana's alcohol servers but should not be mandated.

2. Since individual tavern owners and managers are the ultimate trainers in their establishments, training materials should be provided to them so that they can conduct the trainings when and how they would like.

3. A part of the training package should be directed specifically at the needs of tavern managers in order to help them understand how to best manage their taverns.

4. Server training materials need to be "hands on" and provided by actual bar owners or tenders since learning in a classroom setting would not readily transfer to actual behind the bar situations.

5. Rural taverns which are outside of any towns have unique needs and therefore need trainings / materials that specifically address those needs.
Drinking and Minors

1. Training materials are needed related to alcohol server's attitudes toward the 21-year age minimum drinking law.

2. Training materials are needed to help servers better understand their responsibilities and liabilities regarding the serving of minors.

3. Training materials are needed to help servers identify false ID's.

4. Training materials are needed to give servers guidelines and options about how to best proceed once they have identified a false ID.

5. Training materials are needed to enhance servers' "sense of caring" about whether a person is of legal drinking age or not.

6. Training materials are needed to help servers stay consistent and not get lax about checking customers' ages.

7. Training materials need to focus on providing information about current laws.

Impaired Driving Issues

1. Server training materials need to focus on methods that servers can use to educate and get their customers home safely, such as taxis, home free programs and designated drivers.

2. Server training materials should include ideas for alcohol servers and local law enforcement officers to cooperate and work together more closely.

3. Server training materials should include information on recent trends on the effectiveness of reducing impaired driving through designated drivers and other programs.

4. Methods and guidelines for deciding when and how to "cut off" intoxicated and angry customers should be included in any server training materials.
Other Issues

Training Methods
1) 1 2 3 4 5
2) 1 2 3 4 5
3) 1 2 3 4 5
4) 1 2 3 4 5
5) 1 2 3 4 5

Drinking and Minors
1) 1 2 3 4 5
2) 1 2 3 4 5
3) 1 2 3 4 5
4) 1 2 3 4 5
5) 1 2 3 4 5
6) 1 2 3 4 5
7) 1 2 3 4 5

Impaired Driving Issues
1) 1 2 3 4 5
2) 1 2 3 4 5
3) 1 2 3 4 5
4) 1 2 3 4 5
Figure 1. Bar Graph of Phase 2 Delphi Responses for Training Methods.
Figure 2. Bar Graph of Phase 2 Delphi Responses for Drinking and Minors.
ALCOHOL SERVER SURVEY

IMPAIRED DRIVING

Figure 3. Bar Graph of Phase 2 Delphi Responses for Impaired Driving.