

Office for Substance Abuse Prevention

# Alcohol Practices, Policies, and Potentials of American Colleges and Universities

A White Paper

39745

-September 1991-



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES Public Health Service Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration

# Alcohol Practices, Policies, and Potentials of American Colleges and Universities

An OSAP White Paper

By Lewis D. Eigen, Ed. D

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U.S. Department of Justice National Institute of Justice

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
Public Health Service
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#### About the Author

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#### Acknowledgements

This paper has, in large part, been based upon thousands of studies on the use and abuse of alcohol on college campuses. Their pioneering work has made this and many other studies possible.

Judith E. Funkhouser, Robert W. Denniston, Joan White Quinlan, and Dr. Bettina M. Scott of OSAP stimulated and critiqued most of the ideas herein. Loran Archer of the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, Dr. Fred Stinson and George Marcelle of CSR, Inc. and Dr. David Anderson of George Mason University provided critical editorial review and many suggestions to improve the clarity and presentation. Cathy Crowley, and the CSR staff of the National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information were invaluable in providing the research assistance that was so necessary. Dr. Stephen Nelson and James Rothenberger were particularly helpful in clarifying many of the issues herein. Also, dozens of college and university faculty and staff took the trouble to read early drafts and provide critical feedback. Particular appreciation is expressed to Merle Charney and his colleagues from the State of Missouri for the opportunity to field test much of this material and to obtain so much constructive criticism.

#### Slides

A set of slides illustrating many of the points in this paper has been prepared. For availability of these or additional copies of this document contact:

The National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information P.O. Box 2345 Rockville, MD 20852 1-800-487-1447

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# Introduction

In her 1990 interview with *Time Magazine*,<sup>1</sup> University of Wisconsin chancellor, Donna Shalala, was asked what the biggest problem was on her campus. The answer was "alcohol." The increasing cost of higher education was a problem, as was sexism, racism, and anti-Semitism. Nonalcoholic drugs, to be sure, were a problem that was destroying the lives and careers of many students. Yet Dr. Shalala targeted alcohol as Wisconsin's most critical problem. Her opinion is not at all atypical. In a recent Carnegie Foundation survey, college presidents classified alcohol abuse as the campus life issue of their greatest concern.<sup>2</sup> There are good reasons, and many of them have come to light as a result of the research of the last few years.

This white paper describes the extent of drinking on college campuses; the health, social, academic, and economic costs thereof; the areas of education and intervention that are open to schools; and the relationship of many university policies and practices with this problem. It is organized into two major sections. The first describes the nature of the problem. The second describes what colleges and universities are doing to deal with the alcohol problem, the alternatives, possibilities, complexities, and limitations.

One of the major objectives of this white paper is to be a catalyst and instrument to galvanize campus debate that will involve the entire campus community—students, faculty, staff, and alumni. It is meant to be a provocative and passionate piece, but factual and thoroughly documented. There is an implicit assumption that there is no optimum set of steps all campuses can take to ameliorate their alcohol problem. Nor is there even a single program or tactic that would necessarily be effective at all or even most schools. The college alcohol problem is essentially one of culture and environment. Solutions involve changing social norms and behaviors. And that must be done somewhat differently in almost every individual campus culture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Time. April 23, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Campus Life: In Search of Community*, Princeton University Press, 1990.

Throughout this paper, occurrences, practices, and problems of specific schools are discussed. In some cases the facts may not be interpreted in a manner particularly complementary to the particular institution. The reader should please keep in mind that there is almost no reference to a specific school in this document that could not be written about many other institutions in the country. In many cases the campuses that are most "exposed" are those that are the national leaders in working with the alcohol problem. These are very often the schools that have done the studies and know how severe their problem is. They are working at solutions. These institutions should be commended for honestly identifying and attempting to cope with their problem; their noncandid counterparts are not doing any better for the most part and are often worse. There is no way to tell. But one thing is certain. If there is no perceived problem, there will be no effort devoted to a solution. So many of the campuses that appear at first glance to have the greatest problems are actually on their way to the best solutions. Their intellectual honesty and search for improvement are the models upon which most of this document is based.

# What's the Problem

#### **Memories**

Many college graduates remember somewhat fondly the parties, beer bashes, drinking songs, campus dances, and the other traditional campus activities—many, if not most, of which involved imbibing alcoholic beverages. We also remember the hangovers, embarrassing activities engaged in while inebriated, and an occasional bit of vandalism or cruelty that accompanied the drinking. But we lived through it. It was, for many of us, a rite of passage, one that may not have been the most constructive or admirable; however, would not be, in most of our views, anywhere near being classified as the biggest problem on our campus. But our memories are selective and many of the consequences of campus drinking do not manifest themselves until years later. Much has also been learned only recently as new research and science allows us to examine the old "facts" with some new and different perspectives.

Consider the following hypothetical situation. If any college or university discovered that many of its students contracted a harmful and often deadly disease in their years on the campus, and then learned that there were environmental

factors on the campus that caused or exacerbated that disease, the school would likely leave no stone unturned to determine the environmental hazards on the campus that were contributing to the problem. They would either eliminate thom or provide students with some sort of prophylaxis or immunization, if it existed. The school would certainly start to treat those students who already showed signs of having contracted the disease. It is unlikely that any college or university in the world would knowingly expose its students or faculty to any serious health risk.

Unfortunately, this hypothetical example is not as hypothetical as we need for our comfort in higher education. As this paper will demonstrate, in the lifetime of the presently enrolled college student body in America, about the same number will probably eventually die from alcohol-related causes as will get advanced degrees, masters and doctorates combined.<sup>3</sup> About 700 students currently enrolled at the University of Maryland will eventually die of alcohol-related causes; over 1,200 men and women who currently study at Columbia University, and a similar, proportional number at any school in America. Will all those dead people have developed their alcohol-related problems at college? Certainly not. Will many of them have? Tragically, yes.

In a rough sense, the college campus may well be a type of environmental hazard. Surely not like a toxic waste dump, but with certain similar properties—namely, that if one spends considerable time there, there is an increased probability of certain negative health consequences. But, unlike the residents of Love Canal, the talents and skills of the college community could potentially eliminate or ameliorate much of the hazard.

Alcohol problems have been with us since recorded time. Can the universities change the world? Most of us who have served in higher education have always believed so. In a sense, that is at the heart of our most fundamental educational ideals—that colleges and universities can provide young people with the skills, knowledge, and perspective that will transform the world. And indeed we have. Not always as quickly as we would like, or as smoothly, but that change has been inexorable.

Institutions of higher education are by no means the only environments at high risk for alcohol abuse in our complex society. Certain industrial settings and entire communities also have that characteristic. Colleges and universities are, however, usually perceived as places that ought to be particularly safe and healthful and are often held to a higher standard than most societal institutions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>The average U. S. alcohol-related mortality figures are between 1.9 and 3.1 percent, based on various estimates given by P. Van Natta et al., "The Hidden Influence of Alcohol on Mortality," *Alcohol Health & Research World*, 9:56-59, 1985. The advanced degrees are given by *Statistical Abstracts of the United States*, Table No. 267, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1989.

Is the college alcohol problem such that we know exactly what to do to solve it? No, but we have identified much of the problem and are learning to focus on the right issues. And those issues, like others that will affect society in general and the student body in particular, should be examined and explored on every campus in the country.

# Amount and Nature of Campus Drinking

There's a lot of drinking on most college campuses. We all know that. But many of us feel that campus drinking reflects the drinking patterns of society at large. We believe that the campus is not an island, apart from the nation. Those of us who feel that way are wrong with respect to alcohol problems. The nation as a whole has its alcohol problems, but college students drink more than most of the rest of society. "It is probably the age group where drinking is more prevalent," you might think. But a recent (1990) national survey has demonstrated that college students generally have a higher drinking prevalence than their noncollege counterparts (people their same age who do not attend college). For example, 74.5 percent of your student body, if it's typical, will drink some alcohol next month, while only 71 percent of their non-college counterparts will. Forty-one percent of our nation's college students engaged in a bout of heavy drinking (five or more drinks in a row) in the last two weeks, while only 34 percent of their non-college counterparts did so.4 The same survey tells us that next year, only 11 percent of our student body will refrain from drinking. Perhaps most serious, it indicated that almost 4 percent of all college students will drink every single day next month. Not just a few beers at the fraternity party Saturday night, or some wine at the campus dance. But daily drinking. This heavier drinking pattern among college students compared to their noncollege counterparts is in marked contrast to other drugs such as marijuana, LSD, cocaine, crack, heroin, barbiturates, tranquilizers, and even cigarettes. College students seem to "know better" for every dangerous drug except alcohol—the one drug that causes the most problems on college campuses.

The college versus noncollege pattern is even stronger with women. In a recent study of New York State College women age 23 and younger,<sup>5</sup> it was found that their rate of heavy drinking (17 percent) was more than twice as great as their noncollege counterparts (8 percent).

Most college drinkers started drinking in high school, and it may appear that the college alcohol problem is just a continuation of a previously existing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Lloyd D. Johnston et al., *Drug Use, Among American High School Seniors, College Students and Young Adults, 1975-1990, National Institute on Drug Abuse, Washington, DC, 1991. College students' daily drinking prevalence is not higher than their noncollege counterparts, as is weekly and other prevalence figures. Most important, however, is that their heavier drinking and more dangerous drinking prevalence is higher.* 

problem. But some drinkers do not start until they reach college, and many students increase the amount they drink in their freshman year over their high school pattern.<sup>6</sup> Very few reduce it. And there is research showing that the proportion of heavy-drinking students jumps sharply from the senior year in high school to the freshman year of college.<sup>7</sup> The culture of the campus, the opportunity to be independent of daily parental control, the need to conform, and the insecurity of a new and intimidating setting all make a freshman particularly vulnerable. Another indicator of the greater risk on the college campus is the difference that was found in New York State in the rates of heavy drinking between college students who lived at home with their families and those who lived oncampus or in offcampus apartments. The latter had a heavy drinking rate (23 percent) that was over twice the rate of the former (11 percent).<sup>8</sup>

The precise reasons that the college alcohol environment is particularly risky are much less certain than the facts which indicate that it is. Perhaps the risky environment is caused by the high concentration of young men and women at a point in their lives where risk taking is not uncommon and peer acceptance is particularly important. Perhaps it is the cultural traditions of the institutions. Perhaps it is the fact that the economic forces of society target colleges for particularly heavy marketing of alcoholic beverages. Perhaps it is that there are few alternatives to drinking on campus. It is likely that all these are factors, as well as many others.

Do our students know how much they drink? Many deny the quantity. However, in a Wall Street Journal poll, one-sixth of the college students polled considered themselves heavy drinkers.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Louis Harris, Telephone Survey, New York State Research Institute on Alcoholism, 1986.

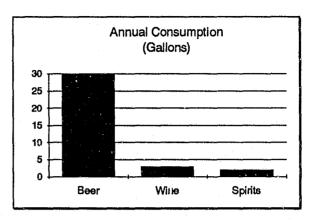
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>R.H. Moos, Evaluating Educational Environments, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1977.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>J.G. Bachman and P.M. O'Malley, *When Four Months Equal a Year*, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1980,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Louis Harris, Telephone Survey, New York State Research Institute on Alcoholism, 1986. The implication of causality should be made cautiously in this case. The students living at home with family are often not as affluent as those living on or near campus; with less disposable income, they cannot afford to drink as much. Further, heavier drinkers may well want to be more independent of family influences so that they may easily continue or increase their heavy drinking without interference.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>The Wall Street Journal, February 8, 1983.

Exactly how much alcohol does a typical college student consume? There is little direct measure of per capita consumption of alcohol by college students. We do know that more college students drink and generally do so more heavily than their noncollege counterparts. Therefore, we can use as a very conservative estimate the per capita consumption rates for the



total population. The graph above shows the average annual alcoholic beverage consumption for a general college-age population.<sup>10</sup> The average is over 34 gallons per year per person. This is a very conservative estimate for college students, in that it is based on averages for the general population age group, and college students are known to drink more alcohol than their noncollege counterparts. For the more than 12 million college students in the United States, the annual consumption of alcoholic beverages totals well over a staggering 430 million gallons. To visualize this, imagine 3,500 Olympic-sized swimming pools<sup>11</sup>—roughly one for every college and university in the country—filled with beer, wine, and liquor. And that would only last our college student body a single year!

Note that, by volume, beer represents the vast majority of the alcoholic beverage consumption. Even though beer generally has a lower ethanol content than wine or spirits, most of the college student's ethanol intake comes from beer. A typical six-pack of beer contains the same amount of absolute alcohol as three double scotches, for comparison. The annual beer consumption of American college students is just short of four billion cans. If these "college beer" cans were stacked end-to-end upon each other, the stack would reach the moon and go 70,000 miles beyond.<sup>12</sup> Compared to other drinks, the national consumption, and that of students, of alcoholic beverages exceeds that of soft drinks, tea, milk, juices, and even coffee.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>CSR, Incorporated, Quick Facts, Alcohol Epidemiological Data System, May 8, 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Pool data is from the National Spa and Pool Institute. Assumes an Olympic-sized pool is 120,000 gallons. This is about six times the size of a residential swimming pool. The amount of alcohol consumed annually by college students would fill over 20,000 residential swimming pools—more than the number in many States in the U.S.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Not all beer purchased by students is in cans, though most is. These calculations are made assuming all cans, as opposed to bottles, draft, etc. The average can is 5 inches high, and the "stack" would extend almost 360,000 miles. The average distance from the earth to the moon is 240,000 miles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Statistical Abstracts of the United States, Table No. 196, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1989.

When they do drink, college age young adults tend to be more reckless and determined to get a "kick" than others. Among the 18- to 25-year-old age group, 22 percent of the drinkers reported tossing down drinks very quickly in order to get the effect. This compares with 14 percent for 26- to 34-year-olds and only 4.4 percent of those 35 and older. And at a recent college administrators conference on the alcohol problem, many of the conferees reported a growing trend in student drinking with the clear intent of intoxication. Drinking to the point of regurgitating in college is not uncommon. In a 1987 survey of 56 colleges it was found that 37 percent of all the students had vomited as a result of drinking in the last year. If one ignores the abstainers, roughly half of the drinking college students drank to the point of vomiting at least once during the year.

Where do college students drink? Virtually everywhere. However, most drinking tends to be centered around formal and informal social activities ranging from dances to dates and parties to informal gatherings of small student groups. So most of the drinking actually takes place at the physical locations of these events. Many are oncampus, especially in fraternity houses, <sup>17</sup> and many are offcampus in bars, taverns, and restaurants. However, on many university campuses, drinking also goes on in residence halls, in the student union, on the campus green, or on the steps of a classroom building or laboratory.

Fraternity houses tend to be a locus of drinking activities. There is considerable evidence demonstrating that, while it may be said that college students are more at risk for alcohol problems than many others in our society, belonging to a fraternity is a significant additional risk factor. Studies at the University of Alabama, Virginia Commonwealth University, and the University of Illinois<sup>20</sup> (among others) have demonstrated that fraternity members drink greater quantities than other college students, drink more frequently, and drink more heavily. Weekend binge drinking, for example, was found to be very

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>NIDA, National Household Survey on Drug Abuse: Main Findings 1985, DHHS Publication No. (ADM)88-1586, 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Missouri Governor's Conference on Issues of Substance Abuse and Higher Education, December 4-5, 1990, Lake Ozark, Missouri.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Ruth C. Engs and David J. Hanson, "University Students' Drinking Patterns and Problems: Examining the Effects of Raising the Purchase Age," *Public Health Reports*, 103(6):667-673, 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>It is recognized that many fraternity houses are not actually oncampus, in the sense that they are not on school property and often are owned by the national or local fraternal organization. However, the students perceive them as oncampus, and they are to some extent campus controlled. Thus they differ in that sense from the bars and taverns that are owned by noncampus-related entities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>S. Hawarth-Hoeppner et al., "Quantity and Frequency of Drinking Among Undergraduates at a Southern University," *International Journal of the Addictions*, 24(9):829-857, 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>V.K. Cason, "Influences on Student Substance Use and Irresponsible Use," doctoral dissertation, Virginia Commonwealth University, 1990.

common in fraternities at the University of Washington.<sup>21</sup> If, from an alcohol risk point of view, the campus is a dangerous place, then the fraternity houses are the "Bermuda Triangle" of the campus ocean.

How often do college students get drunk? Different studies at different campuses showed a range between 53 and 84 percent of students getting drunk at least once in the year. Drunkenness at least once a month ranges from 26 to 48 percent.<sup>22</sup> One study of New England colleges reports that six percent of the students get drunk weekly,<sup>23</sup> and a recent national survey reports that within the previous 2 weeks 41 percent of college students consume five or more drinks in a row—a practice that will intoxicate almost all.<sup>24</sup> At one Big Ten school, 40 percent of the undergraduates drank so much they vomited, at least once last year, after drinking.<sup>25</sup>

There is some evidence developing that drinking is heavier in schools where campuses are isolated as compared with schools in large urban areas. It was shown in a New York State study of college students' drinking patterns<sup>26</sup> that students at the New York City colleges drank less heavily than their upstate college counterparts. And recent focus groups of college students on rural, isolated campuses indicated that the students themse!ves gave their isolation and the lack of "anything else to do" as a major reason for drinking.<sup>27</sup>

One positive aspect of the college alcohol problem is the trend. There is a small, but significant, downward trend in the prevalence of alcohol use among college students. For example, in 1980, 81.8 percent of college students had drunk alcohol in the last 30 days. By 1985, it was down to 80.3 percent. When

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>D.R. Tampke, "Study of Undergraduate Drinking Behavior, Attitudes, and Membership in Greek Letter Social Organizations," doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>M.E. Johanson et al., "Drinking Behavior in College Fraternities," paper presented to the Research Society on Alcoholism, Charleston, S. C., May 31-June 5, 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>David P. Kraft, "Prevention and Treatment of Alcohol Problems on a College Campus," *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education*, 34(1):37-51, 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>H. Wechsler and M. McFadden, "Drinking Among College Students in New England." *Journal of Studies of Alcohol*, 40(11):969-996, 1979.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Lloyd D. Johnson et al., *Drug Use Among American High School Seniors, College Students and Young Adults, 1975-1990*, National Institute on Drug Abuse, Washington, DC, 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Barbara Petroff and Lisa Broek, *The University of Iowa Alcohol and Other Drug Use Assessment:* Spring Semester, 1990. Student Health Service, University of Iowa, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Louis Harris, Telephone Survey, New York State Research Institute on Alcoholism, 1986.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Jackie Dennis, Cathy Crowley and Hillman Jordan, *College Drinking Focus Group Reports*, CSR, Incorporated, 1990.

measured in 1990, it had declined to 74.5 percent. This trend mirrors a similar pattern of a small national reduction in the consumption of alcoholic beverages.<sup>28</sup>

## **Economic Consequences**

Alcohol consumption, abuse, and its consequences have been estimated to cost our entire society \$86 billion annually.<sup>29</sup> This estimate is greater than the corresponding cost estimate of nonalcoholic illicit drug use. It is not that alcohol is, per se, a much more deleterious drug than cocaine or heroin.<sup>30</sup> The problem is that so many more Americans use and abuse alcohol than use and abuse illicit drugs. Therefore, the effects and consequent costs of alcohol use and abuse—although often legal—are much greater and more widespread. To put this economic cost into the perspective of higher education, consider the fact that it is only slightly less money per year as is received by all American institutions of higher education from all sources. Tuition, Federal funds, State support, grants and contracts, and gifts and endowments add up to a little over \$100 billion annually.<sup>31</sup>

With respect to the campus itself, the typical student will probably spend more money for alcoholic beverages than for textbooks. On a representative campus, the student body expenditure for alcohol—about \$446 per student—will far exceed the operating costs for running the library. The total annual cost of the scholarships and fellowships that all the colleges and universities of America provide to students is but a fraction of the \$5.5 billion out-of-pocket money our college students spend yearly on alcohol.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Lloyd D. Johnson et al., *Drug Use Among American High School Seniors, College Students and Young Adults, 1975-1990*, National Institute on Drug Abuse, Washington, DC, 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>The \$86 billion estimate for 1988 is from Dorothy Rice et al., *The Economic Costs of Alcohol and Drug Abuse and Mental Illness*, Institute for Health and Aging, University of California at San Francisco, 1990. A slightly higher estimate was given in *Alcohol and Health: Sixth Special Report to Congress*, Public Health Service, NIAAA, 1987, p. 21. Health related economic cost studies, like most economic studies, can vary markedly due to different methodologies and assumptions employed by the researchers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Albeit alcohol withdrawal symptoms are medically more dangerous than the other two drugs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Statistical Abstracts of the United States, Table No. 257, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1989. The \$100 billion is a 1986 figure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>These are conservative estimates. It assumes that the annual consumption of alcohol by students is the same as that of the average American when much data show that it is actually higher. The amount of money students spend on alcohol, about \$446 per year, is based on typical lower-end retail costs in supermarkets, liquor stores, restaurants, bars, etc.—\$10.67 per gallon for beer, \$20.00 per gallon for wine, and \$35.00 per gallon for spirits. The 1986 expenditures for college and university libraries are \$1.7 billion per year. Scholarships and fellowships are \$1.6 billion. Textbook costs generally vary from \$100 to \$450 per year depending on factors such as the number of courses taken and whether new or used books are purchased.

This incredible economic cost of college drinking was dramatically pinpointed all too well in recent advertising directed at college students by a California discount liquor retailer, the Liquor Barn. The ad headline:

#### How To Lower The Cost of Your College Education

By purchasing alcohol at discount prices the student is invited to reduce his or her cost of education—assuming alcohol is a basic cost of education. Costs of campus drinking are not all borne by the community or society as a whole. Some students have little or no money left for college necessities after spending the money on drinking. One young lady at The American University sold her meal tickets for an entire semester<sup>33</sup> in order to obtain funds for partying and drinking. There are thousands like her across the campuses of our country.

There was an alcohol-related theft of \$17,000 worth of laboratory equipment at the chemistry lab of the University of Florida. At Brown University, some intoxicated students broke most of the windows on the first floor of a classroom building. A fraternity member under the influence of alcohol set fire to the Lambda Chi Alpha fraternity house on the campus of Bucknell University, causing \$400,000 worth of damage.<sup>34</sup>

There is simply no measure of exactly what proportion of campus vandalism and theft is alcohol-related. In one recent study in England, 20 percent of the interviewed male college students (which included nondrinkers) admitted to personally committing acts of vandalism while under the influence of alcohol. Half had witnessed acts of alcohol-related vandalism.<sup>35</sup> One estimate given in The Chronicle of Higher Education was that 80 percent of all campus vandalism was alcohol related.<sup>36</sup> A recent national study estimated over two-thirds.<sup>37</sup> But you probably have experts right on your campus. Ask the Dean of Students or the head of campus security what proportion of the students caught vandalizing school property had been drinking. He or she will probably give you a large estimate. Or ask a group of students. Your head of buildings and grounds can tell you how much all vandalism costs your institution each year. Do your own multiplication.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Personal Interview, September 30, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>"Fraternity Faces Liability In Fire Set By Freshman: Alumni Association Delta Zeta Zeta of Lambda Chi Alpha Fraternity v. Sullivan," *Dram Shop and Alcohol Reporter*, 6(4):6-7, 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Robert West et al., "Alcohol Consumption, Problem Drinking and Anti-Social Behavior In a Sample of College Students," *British Journal of Addiction*, 85:479-486, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Chronicle of Higher Education, July 21, 1982.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>David S. Anderson and Angelo F. Gadaleto, *The College Alcohol Survey*, George Mason University, Virginia, 1991.

## Health Consequences

The most serious health consequence of alcohol abuse is death. And it occurs all too often. The most immediate death threat to the college student is an alcohol-related automobile crash. Nationally, in our total population, we have over 20,000 of these tragedies per year. The campuses of America were rife with protest during the Vietnam War. Yet, during that war, over twice as many Americans were killed in automobile crashes by alcohol-impaired fellow citizens than were killed by the Viet Cong. Of the 20,000 deaths that will likely occur in this next year as a result of alcohol-related automobile crashes, college students will unfortunately be over-represented in involvement. For every fatality, there will be many more mainings and serious injuries. How many college students drive drunk? A poll reported in The Wall Street Journal disclosed that two out of every three undergraduates admitted to driving while intoxicated.<sup>38</sup> A more recent study at the University of Iowa indicates that this proportion may have decreased somewhat. The Iowa study indicated a 40 percent annual prevalence rate of driving after drinking and the same rate of knowingly driving with a driver who had had too much to drink.<sup>39</sup> And driving while intoxicated is by no means the only dangerous driving practice related to alcohol. Most individuals, having consumed even a drink or two, may not be legally or practically drunk, but will likely have an impaired driving capability—slower reaction time, impaired perception, and poorer judgment. Another, but related, area of concern is pedestrian death or injury that may be alcohol related.

Another cause of immediate death is the all-too-popular practice of "chug-a-lug"—the rapid ingestion of alcohol (usually beer). Students have died at several schools and campuses as a result of engaging in this traditional "academic" activity that goes back hundreds of years to the European universities. "Acute alcohol intoxication" was what they wrote on the death certificate of a recent promising Missouri student.<sup>40</sup>

Suicide is one of the three leading causes of death among young men in the 15- to 34-year-old age group. And 35 percent of those suicide victims had been drinking; two-thirds of those were legally intoxicated at the time of death.<sup>41</sup> Sixty-nine percent of drowning deaths are alcohol-related.<sup>42</sup> Various studies have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>The Wall Street Journal, February 8, 1983.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Barbara Petroff and Lisa Broek, *The University of Iowa Alcohol and Other Drug Use Assessment:* Spring Semester, 1990. Student Health Service, University of Iowa, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>Frank and Joan Andres v. Alpha Kappa Lambda, No. 68633, Supreme Court of Missouri, 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>E.L. Abel and P. Zeidenberg, "Alcohol and Violent Death: A Postmortem Study," *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 46:226-231, 1985.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>Alcohol and Health: Sixth Special Report to Congress, Public Health Service, NIAAA, 1987, p. 11.

shown that alcohol is related to between 17 and 53 percent of fatal falls.<sup>43</sup> Shannon Gill was a 20-year-old sophomore at Clemson when she fell from a 2-inch-wide, 27-foot-high ledge she was trying to traverse on a fraternity house. Sharon's blood alcohol content (BAC) was 0.17, almost twice the amount which legally defines intoxication in most States. She died of a ruptured aorta.<sup>44</sup> Tom Allen of Rutgers was luckier when he vaulted a four foot wall while drinking at a football game.<sup>45</sup> There was nothing on the other side of that wall—nothing, that is, except the concrete steps 30 feet below. Although injured seriously, he luckily survived.

The impairment of judgment that accompanies alcohol use can manifest itself in seemingly innocuous ways and yet can have deadly consequences. A young, freshman, fraternity rushee in Arkansas had been drinking on a fraternity hayride. He left the hay wagon to relieve himself and was killed by an oncoming car. There was a lawsuit and the jury found the fraternity liable for 95 percent of the damages.<sup>46</sup> And then there are the tragically dramatic fatal occasions such as that in which an intoxicated student shot and killed one of his fellow students in a residence hall of Concordia College of Nebraska.<sup>47</sup>

There is also the tragedy of college students who die as a result of fraternity or sorority hazing. Nine out of every 10 of these deaths are related to alcohol use.<sup>48</sup>

The president of California State at Chico has anguished, "I write a couple of letters a semester to parents of kids who have died because of something related to the use of booze." The collection of such letters on a national basis would be a volume that could be entitled, What We Didn't Do: Preventable College Death.

Immediate alcohol-related death is actually a much lower risk than eventual alcohol-related death. Unless we do something very different in higher education than we have been doing in the past, between 240,000 and 360,000 of our current student body of 12 million college students will eventually die of alcohol-related

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>R. Hingson and J.H. Howland, "Alcohol As A Risk Factor For Injury or Death Resulting From Accidental Falls: A Review of the Literature," *Journal of Studies of Alcohol*, 48:212-219, 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>The New York Times, January 7, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>Tom Allen v. Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, Superior Court of New Jersey, Appellate Division, March 25, 1987.

<sup>46&</sup>quot;Court Clears Hayride Organizers in Rushee's Death: Alpha Zeta Chapter v. Sullivan." Dram Shop and Alcohol Reporter, 6(2):4-6, 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Donald P. Miller v. Concordia Teachers College of Seward Nebraska, Case No. 16717, U. S. Court of Appeals Eighth Circuit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>Chronicle of Higher Education, July 21, 1982.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Robin Wilson, "Better Times At Chico State," *Prevention File*, University of California at San Diego, Fall 1990.

causes. It's as if the entire undergraduate student body of all the schools of the "Big Ten" is destined for death as a result of alcohol abuse.

Cirrhosis of the liver is commonly known to be an unfortunate by-product of heavy drinking. Do you know that more of our current college students in America will die of cirrhosis of the liver than will ever get doctorates in Business, Management, and Communications combined?<sup>50</sup>

But there are many other medical consequences. "Alcohol affects immune, endocrine, and reproductive functions. Heavy alcohol consumption is also a well-documented cause of neurological problems, including dementia, blackouts, seizures, hallucinations, and peripheral neuropathy."<sup>51</sup>

Various cancers are associated with drinking, including cancers of the lip, oral cavity, pharynx, larynx, esophagus, stomach, colon, rectum, tongue, lung, pancreas, and liver. Other diseases include chronic gastritis, hepatitis, hypertension, and coronary heart disease.<sup>52</sup>

Chronic alcoholic men may be "feminized" with breast enlargement and female hair patterns. And menstrual disturbances, loss of secondary sex characteristics, and infertility are observed in alcoholic women. Women who drink heavily experience more gynecological problems and have surgery more often than women who don't drink heavily.<sup>53</sup>

As most of us have observed, alcohol can affect memory, perception, judgment, and behavior. Young drinkers are more susceptible to drinking to the point of memory lapse than older drinkers. Among 18- to 25-year-old drinkers, 26 percent reported that they were unable to remember what happened at least once in the last year, as compared with 17 percent of the 26- to 34-year-old group and 7.5 percent of the over-35 drinking population.<sup>54</sup> Human memory is particularly susceptible to disruption by acute doses of alcohol. The BAC correlates with the extent of the amnesia. A BAC as low as .04 grams per milliliter alters memory functions, and memory impairment gets worse as the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>The 1986 unadjusted cirrhosis mortality rate is 10.9 per 100,000. CSR, Incorporated, *Quick Facts*, Alcohol Epidemiological Data System, May 8, 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>NIAAA, Seventh Special Report to the U. S. Congress on Alcohol and Health From the Secretary of Health and Human Services, U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1990, p. xxv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Alcohol and Health: Sixth Special Report to Congress., Public Health Service., NIAAA, 1987, p. 13. The data are from 1983. It should be noted that some researchers argue the relationship per se does not necessarily prove the causality. It is possible that the propensity to drink and the likelihood to commit crimes are characteristics of the same subpopulations.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>NIDA, National Household Survey on Drug Abuse: Main Findings 1985, DHHS Publication No. (ADM)88-1586, 1988.

BAC increases.<sup>55</sup> A BAC of .04 is far less than that of many students on a typical American campus each Saturday night and less than the .10 level that defines legal intoxication in most States. Such effects can obviously impair school performance and retention.

As with any other true drug, alcohol users often develop a tolerance for the drug. After a while, it takes more and more ethanol to get the same effect. Like heroin and other addicting drugs, there is typically a withdrawal reaction if the drug use is curtailed. Alcohol withdrawal symptoms can be very serious, often requiring hospitalization, as the symptoms are even more severe than those encountered with heroin withdrawal. Generally, it takes some years of drinking before the tolerance and withdrawal cycle develops. Astoundingly, even with that caveat, 3 percent of all 18- to 25-year-olds have experienced alcohol withdrawal symptoms. And in 1987, 91,000 18- to 25-year-olds were admitted to American hospitals, of which all cases contained at least one alcohol-related diagnosis. These hospital admissions do not include any alcohol-related injuries or the results of alcohol-related accidents. They only reflect the alcohol-related diseases that are usually brought about by prolonged and/or heavy drinking. Still, we could fill almost any college football stadium in America with these young victims of alcohol-related mishaps.

How many of the students who need assistance from the student health center require it for alcohol-related conditions? It is hard to know. The medical records would indicate alcohol-related diseases; but that, like the hospital discharge records, underestimates the alcohol-related health incidents. The main reason is injuries. Is the broken finger or nose just an accident or the result of an alcohol-related incident? Is the young woman who seeks a pregnancy test involved in a relationship or simply trying to assess the damage of an alcohol-related sexual encounter which she may not even fully remember? Most medical records do not indicate this. However, ask the doctors and nurses who work in the health center or the emergency facility of any hospital. One recent study of college students in England found that 4 percent of all the students, including the nondrinkers, had been in the hospital because of drinking.<sup>58</sup> The University of Iowa has estimated that 15 percent of its undergraduates had suffered from alcohol-related injuries in the past year.<sup>59</sup> And that same study found that over 29 percent of its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>E.S. Parker, "Alcohol and Cognition," Psychopharmacology Bulletin, 20:494-496, 1984.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>Stinson, F., CSR, Incorporated, Alcohol Epidemiological Data System. Special computer analysis of 1987 unpublished hospital discharge data from the National Center for Health Statistics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>Robert West et al., "Alcohol Consumption, Problem Drinking and Anti-Social Behavior In a Sample of College Students," *British Journal of Addiction*, 85:479-486, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>Barbara Petroff and Lisa Broek, *The University of Iowa Alcohol and Other Drug Use Assessment:* Spring Semester, 1990. Student Health Service, University of Iowa, 1990.

undergraduates had engaged in "unplanned" sexual activity, while or after drinking, at least once in the last year.

Not all the health consequences of alcohol are negative. There is some evidence that alcohol, in small amounts, may offer some protection against cardiovascular problems.<sup>60</sup> However, overall there are far more excess deaths caused by alcohol than prevented by it. And there are many other, much safer, ways to achieve the same (and actually much greater) protective benefits. The positive, protective factors are sometimes used in the drinking dialogue, especially by alcohol perveyors and marketeers, as a rationale for drinking, and while no medical authorities recommend drinking alcohol as a general protective mechanism, it does complicate the picture.

## **Social Consequences**

There are a number of social consequences of drinking alcohol on campus. Some consequences are positive. There is little doubt that alcohol is a part of most college culture and tradition. In a sense, alcohol is a "social lubricant" which gives students, faculty, and alumni an easy, traditional way of initiating conversations, bonding, and other forms of socialization. We have our college drinking songs, our alcohol-related (sometimes dominated) events, and the alcohol-related stories. Those stories typically form the backbone of alumni reunions and other events. An incredibly large proportion of the tales alumni tell involve the behavior of themselves and their fellow alumni while "under the influence." We have all heard the stories. "The time that Charlie, Mel, and Cynthia got bombed and ...." And the social lives of the students themselves are very frequently centered around alcohol-related events. "The Phi Psi Beer Bash" and its equivalent. For most students (as well as people off-campus), it is a lot easier to say to a friend, "Let's go down to Benny's and hoist a few," than it is to say, "I'm worried about some personal problems, and would like to share this with you and get some advice and sympathy," or "I'm feeling a little lonely and isolated, and I'd appreciate your spending some time with me." In one recent study of college student drinking, it was found that for males, almost all their bonding with their fellows took place with alcoholic beverages, and this was the main purpose of their drinking.<sup>61</sup> Even the campus athletes, who we might think have great social status, stated that the main reason for drinking was "recreational or social." Eighty-seven percent gave that reason. The next most frequent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>NIAAA, Seventh Special Report to the U. S. Congress on Alcohol and Health From the Secretary of Health and Human Services, U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1990, p. 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup>P.C. Burda and A.C. Vaux, "Social Drinking in Supportive Contexts Among College Males," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 17(2):165-171, 1988.

reason, "makes me feel good," was only given by 10 percent, while dealing with the stress of college life and athletics was given by fewer than 3 percent.<sup>62</sup>

The process of forming social relationships with members of the opposite sex is also facilitated by drinking and the events that accompany it. Many students drink only in social situations. There are many female students who will virtually never have a drink unless they are on a date or in the company of men. And many college men will drink in a co-ed social situation because they perceive a correlation between drinking and their prospects for social success. The relationship between drinking and social interactions is by no means limited to co-ed situations, but is a factor in the shaping of general, interpersonal relationship development. In a certain sense, many of us view this as the distinction between healthy and unhealthy drinking. The person who drinks alone is perhaps in trouble or seems to be. And in a perverse contrast with reality, those who drink in social situations are often erroneously believed to **not** be in trouble. Most college drinking is done in couples, or in small or large groups.

This socialization function of alcoholic beverages is a fundamental social benefit for which many will trade off the potential negative health and economic consequences. Imagine the findings that sociologists from Mars would report if they came to Earth and studied our college campuses. They would undoubtedly write about the primitive belief and custom that this strange liquid was necessary to "bless" almost all events, social unions, and discussions. They would point to our "superstition" that alcohol was a necessary ingredient for much campus activity.

In 1990, the University of Maryland announced new rules and regulations increasing the restrictions on drinking alcohol on campus. The new rules were promulgated in response to "problems of fights, vandalism, and rowdiness at parties where alcohol is served." 63

According to a 1987 study, there were 285,000 serious crimes committed on America's university campuses, including 31 murders; 600 reported rapes; 13,000 assaults; and over 23,000 robberies and burglaries.<sup>64</sup> In addition, there were tens of thousands of incidents of brawling, fighting, rapes, vandalism, and other acts of violence that were never reported or treated as crimes. There is too much violence on our campuses. Now, not all of these acts of violence were committed by students; nor was every victim a student. But students were involved either as perpetrators, as victims, or both in the vast majority of cases.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>William A. Anderson et al., Replication of the National Study of the Substance Use and Abuse Habits of College Student Athletes, College of Human Medicine, Michigan State University, East Lansing, October 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup>The Washington Post, September 20, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup>The New York Times, September 23, 1990.

Did alcohol have a role in this violence, which is so contrary to our academic traditions?

Ask the students. Ask any university administrator. Most will say, based on their experience, "Definitely yes!" Research supports and confirms their intuition. A recent Carnegie Foundation study observed, "We also found a close connection between alcohol abuse and campus crime." In a recent report to Congress by the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the issue was summarized:

"In both animal and human studies, alcohol, more than any other drug, has been linked with a high incidence of violence and aggression."66

Under the influence of alcohol, perception is weakened, judgment is impaired, inhibitions are reduced, and all too often, aggressiveness and hostility are increased. That was what the University of Wisconsin Chancellor was referring to when she, like so many others, linked alcohol to the problem of campus date rape.<sup>67</sup> For young adults, expressing themselves clearly regarding areas of sexual desire and consent is even more troublesome than it is for their more mature elders—for whom this has always been difficult, even when sober. An intoxicated young man's perception of what he may be hearing or seeing is less reliable than normal. His judgment is flawed, compounding the problem of his misperception. And if the woman has also been drinking, her judgment and ability to say "No," are also imperfect. The more drinking that is done by one or more persons, the greater is the likelihood that, at best, a disagreeable misunderstanding will occur, and at worst a violent crime. And then there are the tragic gang rapes that occur too frequently on college campuses. Drinking is usually a factor in these.<sup>68</sup>

One school study indicated that 7 percent of its undergraduates had stolen something in the last year after drinking, almost 10 percent had committed acts of vandalism, and 7 percent had been in fights after drinking.<sup>69</sup>

However, there is little specific, quantitative research on the concordance of drinking with crime oncampus. However, there are very good data on this relationship in society in general. The following table shows the percentage of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup>The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Campus Life: In Search of Community*, Princeton University Press, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>NIAAA, Seventh Special Report to the U. S. Congress on Alcohol and Health From the Secretary of Health and Human Services, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1989, p. 144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>Time, April 23, 1990.

<sup>68&</sup>quot;Gang Rape: A Rising Campus Concern," The New York Times, February 17, 1986.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup>Barbara Petroff and Lisa Broek, *The University of Iowa Alcohol and Other Drug Use Assessment:* Spring Semester, 1990. Student Health Service, University of Iowa, 1990.

convicted offenders from the general population who had been drinking in the time period immediately preceding the crime.<sup>70</sup>

The statistics for assault and for manslaughter are particularly striking in that they represent the kinds of crimes that very frequently are the result of misperceptions and misunderstandings which get out of hand. The relationship between crime and alcohol is much more pronounced for young people than for those over the age of 31.71 More often, arrested perpetrators have been found to be drinking than to be taking all other drugs combined.72

Crim <b>e</b>	% of Perpe- trators Impaired
Murder / Attempted Murder	54%
Manslaughter	68%
Rape / Sexual Assault	52%
Robbery	48%
Assault	62%
Burglary	44%

Drinking alcohol also potentially increases one's chances of being a crime victim. The impairment of judgment diminishes the ability to take prudent protective actions. While "under the influence," many of us may place ourselves in potentially damaging situations. Also, many with criminal intent look for alcoholically impaired victims who are "easy" touches and whose testimony, in case of a criminal trial, can be easily impeached. This is especially true of rape, other assaults, and robbery.

Students are not the only victims of alcohol-related crime on campus. Prospective students are also at risk. In September 1989, a 17-year-old high school senior visited the Iowa State campus in Ames to see whether she wanted to enroll there upon graduation. She was immediately "welcomed" into the college culture. She was even invited to a fraternity party at Delta Chi. She was also raped at that fraternity house. Every month, thousands of high school students visit our campuses to get some experience of college life and make enrollment decisions. Unfortunately, many of these students also get immediate exposure to, and participation in, the campus drinking culture. More and more colleges are operating special programs for gifted high school students. Kimberly Ann

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup>Alcohol and Health: Sixth Special Report to Congress, Public Health Service, NIAAA, 1987, p. 13. The data are from 1983. It should be noted that some researchers argue that the relationship per se does not necessarily "prove" the causality. It is possible that the propensity to drink and the likelihood to commit crimes are characteristics of the same subpopulations. Other measures have shown somewhat lesser percentages (see Note 68), but the relationship is still strong and the percentages alarmingly high and pronounced.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>NIAAA, Seventh Special Report to the U. S. Congress on Alcohol and Health From the Secretary of Health and Human Services, U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1989, p. 268.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>Christopher A. Innes and Lawrence A. Greenfeld, Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report: Violent State Prisoners and Their Victims, U.S. Department of Justice, 1990.

Graham attended such a program at Montana State University. She and her date attended a college party. There was drinking, and Kimberly was seriously injured in a motorcycle accident on the way home.<sup>74</sup>

Only a small fraction of the socially undesirable consequences of drinking are ever reported as crimes. There are arguments and fights, emotional relationships are destroyed, exams and/or courses are failed, part-time jobs are lost, and students who drop out of college. Almost 30 percent of the 18- to 25-year-old drinkers reported that they had gotten "aggressive" while drinking in the last year. Nineteen percent had been in "heated arguments." Eleven percent had been absent from school or work as a result of drinking. More specifically, in a recent study of British college students, almost five percent of the interviewed students (including nondrinkers) admitted to having committed an assault while under the influence of alcohol. Nineteen percent of the male students and 10 percent of the females had been assaulted when drinking. The students are students and 10 percent of the females had been assaulted when drinking.

Some institutions are more aggressive than others in trying to do something about problems related to alcohol. Often it takes courage, because everyone finds out information that on another campus might be suspected but is not "officially" known. The University of Iowa Health Center has a program that assesses the alcohol problems of students who have been caught committing alcohol-related crimes and have been ordered into treatment by the courts. In 1989, over 240 Hawkeyes were convicted for alcohol-related crimes<sup>77</sup>—more students than play on the Iowa varsity football, baseball, and basketball teams put together. The difference between Iowa and most other universities is that Iowa knows something about the magnitude of its alcohol crime problem and is doing something about it.

Drunkenness and the consequent rowdiness and violence on college campuses is not a new phenomenon. Hundreds of years ago, the provost of the University of Paris rode around with a mounted squad of archers to "discipline" unruly students. And in 1858, the president of the University of Alabama appealed to the state legislature to obtain authority to deal with the "dissipation and rowdyism." The history of academic institutions here and in Europe is replete with attempts to deal with the campus alcohol problem. In a sense, these early

<sup>73</sup>Dcs Moines Sunday Register. October 14, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup>Kimberly Ann Graham and Sharon Graham v. Montana State University, No. 88-305, Supreme Court of Montana, December 30, 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup>NIDA, National Household Survey on Drug Abuse: Main Findings 1985, DHHS Publication No. (ADM)88-1586, 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup>Robert West et al., "Alcohol Consumption, Problem Drinking and Anti-Social Behavior In a Sample of College Students," *British Journal of Addiction*, 85:479-486, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup>Iowa City Press Citizen, October 3, 1990.

attempts saw the problem as a discipline or moral problem, as opposed to a health, educational, informational, and cultural problem.

## **Educational Consequences**

What about academic performance? There is a host of studies that demonstrate the relationship between drinking and academics, and it's a bleak one. The studies take different approaches. Two separate studies found that college students who are in high academic standing drink less in almost all contexts than do their peers who are in low academic standing.<sup>79</sup> Freshmen who were on probation at Kansas State University drank much more than freshmen who were in good academic standing.<sup>80</sup> Several studies have shown the negative relationship between college grades and the amount of alcohol consumed.<sup>81</sup> Dr. David Anderson and Dr. Angelo Gadaleto have conducted a series of longitudinal surveys of college administrators. These officials believe that alcohol is a factor in 40.8 percent of all academic problems and 28.3 percent of the dropouts.<sup>82</sup> And these 1991 percentages represent statistically significant increases over the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup>Landon C. Garland was the president. The Alabama legislature responded by converting the university to a military school to restore discipline. See *The New York Times*, October, 28, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup>S. Hughes and R. Dodder, "Alcohol Consumption Patterns Among College Students," *Journal of College Student Personnel*, 20:257-264, 1983; and T. C. Hartford et al., "The Structural Context of College Drinking," *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 44:722:738.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup>Janis L Brown, "Alcohol Consumption Among Kansas State University Freshmen by Probation and Non-Probation Status," *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education*, 34(3):14-21, 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup>For example, F. E. Hill and L. A Bugen, "A Survey of Drinking Patterns Among College Students," *Journal of College Student Personnel*, 20:236-243, 1979.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup>David S. Anderson and Angelo F. Gadaleto, *The College Alcohol Survey*, George Mason University, Virginia, 1991.

estimates of 1985 and 1988. Examine your latest freshman class. Over 7 percent of these young men and women will become dropouts for alcohol-related reasons.83 That's over 120,000 students of this year's national freshman class.84 And that national number is more than this year's enrollment of all freshmen in the State of Illinois or the colleges in the State of Massachusetts. More freshmen will become alcohol-related dropouts than there are freshmen in Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Nevada colleges combined. Three times as many as in Tennessee colleges.85 Those alcohol-related dropouts will not earn what their graduating counterparts will, and the loss in lifetime earnings will be about \$33 billion for this year's freshman class.86 That's more than the annual contribution to our gross national product of all the hotels and motels in America.87 There will be defaulted student loans, and unreached potentials and aspirations. And this year's freshman class will pay \$3.1 billion less over their lifetime in taxes alone<sup>88</sup> than they would have if there were no alcohol-related dropouts. That \$3.1 billion in annual lost tax revenue is more than the Federal outlay for all the guaranteed student loans in the nation.89 And the same will happen next year, and the year after that, until there is a profound change on our campuses.

While the relationship between alcohol consumption and academic performance is clear, the causal dynamics are not. The time spent drinking and its occasional aftermath may well simply subtract from potential studying time. At one large midwestern university, over 25 percent of the undergraduates had cut class after drinking sometime in the year, and 14 percent of the student body does so in any given month. Or, the drinking—especially heavy drinking—may impair a student's intellectual functions sufficiently to hurt academic performance. It is also true that the stress of poor academic performance might cause students with such troubles to have more anxiety and drink more than other students. Or there may well be other personality or previous environmental factors that tend to cause both increased drinking and poor academic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup>Eva Eagle and Carl Schmitt, Patterns and Trends for Dropping Out from Postsecondary Education: 1972, 1980, and 1982 High School Graduates, National Center for Educational Statistics, January 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup>Based on 1986 data, there were 2,642,000 high school graduates in America and 54.8 percent (1,447,816) then enrolled in college. Seven percent of this number is over 101,000.

<sup>85</sup> Statistical Abstracts of the United States, Table No. 249, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup>The annual earnings differential between a college graduate and a noncollege graduate is approximately \$7,200. Over a typical 40-year work life, that differential will be \$288,000 for each alcohol-related dropout.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup>The hotel industry contribution to the GNP was \$24.3 billion for 1987. Statistical Abstracts of the United States, Table No. 686, U. S. Department of Commerce., 1989.

<sup>88</sup>Based on a 9 percent average personal tax payment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup>The 1988 Federal outlay for guaranteed student loans was \$2.6 billion. Statistical Abstracts of the United States, Table No. 202, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1989.

performance. Or all of these things may, to one degree or another, be true. The bottom line is that a college is primarily an academic institution, and the relationship between drinking and academics is clearly a negative one.

There is almost no facet of college life that is not negatively affected by alcohol problems. Student athletes are generally considered to be a group that is highly motivated to succeed—especially in their chosen sports. And in studies sponsored by the National Collegiate Athletic Association, it is revealed that there has been a decrease between 1985 and 1989 of the use of illicit, nonalcoholic drugs on the part of American student athletes. The combination of all the substance abuse efforts of our society appears to be turning the tide. For other drugs, but **not for alcohol**. It is the one drug whose use by student athletes appears to have gone up slightly. But what is most surprising is that almost half of the student athletes who drink admit that their use of alcohol has had a "harmful" or "slightly harmful" effect on their athletic performance.<sup>91</sup> Yet most continue to drink.

## Racial and Ethnic Groups

The drinking patterns and associated problems of nonwhites are generally somewhat different from those of whites. However, heavy drinking is most prevalent among white men in the 18- to 29-year-old age category. This is the age category in which the majority of college students fall. Black males of the same age have a lower incidence of problem drinking and are more likely than whites to be abstainers (29 percent versus 23 percent). Likewise, black females are more likely to be abstainers than their white counterparts (46 percent versus 34 percent) and are less likely to be heavy drinkers. At first inspection, it might seem that black college students are not at as high a risk as their white counterparts; but, unfortunately, alcohol problems in the black community

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup>Barbara Petroff and Lisa Broek, *The University of Iowa Alcohol and Other Drug Use Assessment:* Spring Semester, 1990. Student Health Service, University of Iowa, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup>William A. Anderson et al., Replication of the National Study of the Substance Use and Abuse Habits of College Student Athletes, College of Human Medicine, Michigan State University, East Lansing, October 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup>NIAAA, The Epidemiology of Alcohol Use and Abuse Among U.S. Minorities. NIAAA Monograph No. 18, DHHS Publication No. (ADM)89-1435, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989. (Reports the results of a 1984 survey.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup>This finding was reported in the NIAAA Monograph No. 18 cited in the previous footnote. The higher black abstention rate among young Blacks has been subsequently corroborated by:

G.M. Barnes and J.W. Welte, "Patterns and Predictors of Alcohol Use Among 7-12th Grade Students in New York State," *Journal of Studies of Alcohol* 47:53-62, 1986.

J.W. Welte and G.M. Barnes, "Alcohol Use Among Adolescent Minority Groups," *Journal of Studies of Alcohol* 48(4):329-336, 1987.

T.C. Hartford, "Drinking Patterns Among Black and Non-Black Adolescents: Results of a National Survey," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 472:130-141, 1986.

manifest themselves in a strikingly different pattern. Outside of the 18- to 29-year-old age group, "alcohol problem rates increase sharply for blacks and alcohol problem rates remain higher for blacks than for whites throughout middle and old age." While black students are not at as high a risk for adverse consequences of college drinking during their college years, they are **even more vulnerable in later years** to the consequences of the drinking patterns that they may develop in their college years. And there is some anecdotal evidence that black students may spend a larger proportion of their disposable income on alcoholic beverages than their white counterparts.

Hispanics demonstrate a somewhat heterogeneous pattern of alcohol use and abuse. For example, Mexican American men and women appear to have a higher rate of alcohol-related problems than do Latino Americans of Puerto Rican or Cuban descent.<sup>95</sup> However, in general, the prevalence of alcohol-related problems is higher among Hispanic American males than among either their white or black counterparts, though this pattern does not extend to females.<sup>96</sup>

Among Native Americans, there is a wide range of drinking patterns among different tribes. In one recent study of 11 different tribal groups—all in Oklahoma—the range of alcohol-related deaths ranged from 1 percent to 24 percent, as compared with 2 percent for whites and 3 percent for blacks.<sup>97</sup> However, in total, alcohol-related problems affect our Native Americans much more seriously than others. In 1985, age-adjusted mortality rates for chronic liver diseases and cirrhosis were 29.2 deaths per 100,000 for American Indians and Alaskan Natives as opposed to a U. S. general rate of only 9.2.<sup>98</sup> Among Native Americans, women drink much less than men, and the alcohol-related death rate for women is only half that of Indian men, but still much greater than other groups.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup>NIAAA, Seventh Special Report to the U.S. Congress on Alcohol and Health From the Secretary of Health and Human Services, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup>R. Caetano, "Alcohol Use Among Hispanic Groups in the United States," *American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse* 14:293-308, 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup>R. Caetano, "Patterns and Problems of Drinking Among U. S. Hispanics," *Report of the Secretary's Task Force on Black and Minority Health*, Department of Health and Human Services, Vol. 7, pp. 143-186, 1986.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup>C.M. Christian et al., "Differential Alcohol-Related Mortality Among American Indian Tribes in Oklahoma," *Social Science Medicine*, 28:275-284, 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup>NIAAA, Seventh Special Report to the U.S. Congress on Alcohol and Health From the Secretary of Health and Human Services, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1990, p. 56.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

# **Demographics and Student Attitudes**

## **Attitudes Toward Drinking**

Implicitly, we know that the attitude of most of the campus student body is one that generally approves of drinking. Indeed, in many cases, it is abstaining that risks disapproval, if not opprobrium. However, there is sound research elucidating some of the alcohol-related attitudes of college-aged young adults.<sup>100</sup> The following table, derived from that study, illustrates the percentage of college-aged Americans who believe various drinking activities have "great risk."

Young Adult Attitudes Toward Drinking Behavior

Behavior	Age Group	1990% Perceiving Great Risk	1990% Disap- proving
Try one or two drinks of an alcoholic beverage (beer, wine, liquor)	19-22	6.1	17.6
	23-26	5.7	15.0
Take one or two drinks nearly every day	19-22	30.7	79.7
	23-26	31.1	77.6
Take four of five drinks nearly every day	19-22	76.1	95.8
	23-26	76.7	96.9
Have five or more drinks once or twice each weekend	19-22	40.1	62.1
	23-26	40.2	66.9

Note that whereas the majority of the young people believe that there is great risk in taking four or five drinks nearly every day, almost six-tenths do **not** see great risk in having five or more drinks once or twice a weekend. This suggests that there is a greater appreciation of the risk of the disease of alcoholism than there is in the danger of heavy, nonregular, episodic drinking.

When the young adults were asked of which behaviors they "disapproved," the pattern was somewhat different. Almost two-thirds disapproved of having five or more drinks once or twice on a weekend. But this is much fewer than those who disapproved of taking one or two drinks every day. It appears that young adults are more knowledgeable of the dangers, and are in greater disapproval, of regular

<sup>100</sup> Lloyd D. Johnston et al., Drug Use Among American High School Seniors, College Students and Young Adults, 1975-1990, National Institute on Drug Abuse, Washington, DC, 1991.

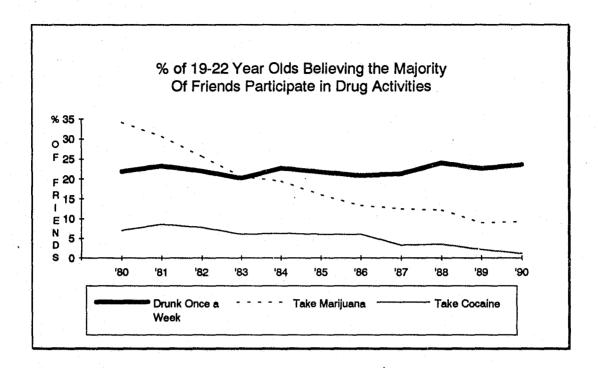
daily drinking than with weekend binge drinking. In actuality, most of the current, short-term problems associated with alcohol consumption will come from the heavy drinking and drunkenness episodes rather than from daily drinking, which tends to have long-term, chronic effects.

The attitudes of college students are very heavily influenced by the perceived behaviors and activities of their peers. What do college students think that their friends do? The perception in 1988 of 19- to 22-year-olds<sup>101</sup> was that 24 percent of their friends get drunk at least once a week. Not just drink, but get drunk weekly. What is particularly striking about this statistic is its trend in contrast to other drugs which have been the sources of great difficulty for college students. In particular, the percentage of young men and women who believe that most of their friends use marijuana has decreased from 1980 to 1988. During that same period of time, the proportion of young people who perceive that most of their peers use cocaine has gone down dramatically. Both of these changes reflect a changing social norm for the age group, which in large part has been the result of the combined efforts of educational programs, public service advertising, law enforcement, efforts of educators, and the public debate on illicit drugs. But the trend has gone the other way with respect to the behavior of getting drunk. The proportion of 19- to 22-year-olds who believe most of their friends get drunk at least once a week has actually gone up. The perception is that more young men and women are getting drunk regularly than ever before. It has become even more of an "in thing to do" in the last decade. It should be noted that the campus climate is controlled much more by student perception than by reality.

Being able to "hold one's liquor" is an ability that is prized by most students. College students generally have an unrealistic assessment of their abilities in this respect. In fact, the heavier a college student drinks, the more likely that student is to have elevated estimates of his or her ability to compensate for the effects of drinking, and this includes driving.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup>Ibid., Table 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup>E.Z. Bisgrove and K.C. Mills, "Cognitive Impairment and Perceived Risk From Alcohol: Laboratory, Self-Report and Field Assessments," *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 44(1):26-46, 1983.



When college students need help for alcohol problems, it has been found that, of 13 different alternatives, they prefer to turn to alcohol counselors, printed literature, and friends.<sup>103</sup>

Many students are not aware of the negative relationship between drinking and academic performance. One school survey showed that only 7 percent of the students believed they had lower grades as a result of drinking.<sup>104</sup>

Obviously, students come to college with a host of attitudes that were developed at home and in high school. These attitudes are shaped and modified as the students are influenced by their college peers, the mores of the institution they attend, and the environmental inducements to drink. The high school images that link alcohol with acceptance, sex, cars, and economic success are all not only perpetuated on the typical college campus, but expanded and reinforced heavily by the combination of the college drinking culture and the fact (demonstrated later in this paper) that college students are one of the primary targets of the advertising and promotion of the alcoholic beverage industry.

In spite of the perceived behavior of their friends and the positive image of alcohol in society, it is remarkable that almost 60 percent of our college students

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup>H. Klein, "Helping the College Student Problem Drinker," Journal of College Student Development, 30(4):323-331, 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup>Barbara Petroff and Lisa Broek, The University of Iowa Alcohol and Other Drug Use Assessment: Spring Semester, 1990. Student Health Service, University of Iowa, 1990.

feel that their fellows drink too much.<sup>105</sup> That's almost seven million American students who perceive a campus drinking problem exists and could form the opinion center and leadership locus of efforts to bring about change on campuses.

#### Religion

Religion influences the drinking patterns of college students. There is the influence of those religions which prohibit alcohol use—e.g., Moslems, Seventh Day Adventists, Baptists, and Mormons—although membership in and even practice of those religions does not necessarily assure the absence of drinking problems. A study at Hobart College<sup>106</sup> has demonstrated that the more strongly attached a student is to any particular faith, the less he or she is at risk for alcohol problems, and that students from Gentile backgrounds are at greater risk than students from Jewish backgrounds.

#### Gender Differences

Males drink more often and in heavier amounts (even if one corrects for body weight) than females, in college as well as elsewhere in society. Over twice as many male students as female students drink daily. And fewer female students have drunk more than five drinks in a short period within the last two weeks (37 percent versus 52 percent).<sup>107</sup> However, women are by no means risk-free. The etiology of female alcoholism is quite different from that of men. There have been a number of studies of drinking among female college students. For example, there is some research that shows that female college students who drink heavily have a greater fear of failure and possess greater desire for sensation seeking than their lighter-drinking female counterparts.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup>Newsweek on Campus, April 1985, pp. 7-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup>H.W. Perkins, "Parental Religion and Alcohol Use Problems as Intergenerational Predictors of Problem Drinking Among College Youth," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 26(3):340-357, 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup>Lloyd D. Johnston et al., Drug Use, Drinking, and Smoking: National Survey Results From High School, College, and Young Adults Populations, National Institute on Drug Abuse, 1989, p. 266.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup>P.B. Jason, "Personality Correlates of Heavy and Light Drinking Female College Students," *Journal of Alcohol Education*, 34(2):33-37, 1989.

One commonality between the sexes is that peer pressure and the desire to be socially successful is a major motivation for drinking. Physiologically, women have more body fat than men do. The consequence of this is that they are more easily impaired than males, even of equivalent body weight. Since most males are considerably heavier, and because of this difference in body fat, a young woman who tries to "keep up" with male drinking partners will almost always lose. She will become more impaired even when drinking the same amount of alcohol.

There is increasing evidence that as women's gender-role orientations more closely approach those of men, their alcohol risk and behavior also move in that direction. For example, employment in a male-dominated occupation and the possession of an advanced educational degree are both additional risk factors for females. Other research has shown that women of lower educational status were much more likely to be alcohol abstainers. Virtually every college and university in America is committed to the principle of equal educational and occupational opportunity for women. But with this opportunity, there is also the possibility of more equal health risk. Prevention of female alcohol problems among highly educated and achieving women therefore can be approached from two points of view:

- Education and awareness can be provided to women so that they recognize and can better cope with the increased risk.
- The drinking norms and culture of the male bastion can be altered, so as the women enter college, they function in a healthier and safer environment.

While cognitive knowledge is not always a protective factor, college women generally are less knowledgeable than college men regarding alcohol and its effects.<sup>111</sup>

While female college students drink less frequently and less heavily than men, the consequences are often much more severe. As one college president has

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup>S.C. Wilsnack et al., "Gender-Role Orientations and Drinking Among Women in a U.S. National Survey," Alcohol, Drugs and Tobacco: An International Perspective. Past Present and Future: Proceedings of the 34the International Congress on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, International Council on Alcohol and Addictions, 1985, pp. 242-255.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup>R.W. Wilsnack et al., "Women's Drinking and Drinking Problems: Patterns From a 1981 National Survey," *American Journal of Public Health*, 74:1231-1238, 1984.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup>P.D. Claydon, *Alcohol Education: How To Achieve Measurable Results*, University of California at Santa Barbara, 1983.

observed, "College men get smashed and break something; college women get smashed and get broken."112

Such was the case in the spring of 1989 at Iowa State University in Ames. A young female student went to a fraternity party and was sexually assaulted by a group of fraternity members. She was afraid to report the crime because she was under 21 and had been drinking in violation of the law.<sup>113</sup> It might be some small consolation if this were an isolated incident, but gang rapes of impaired women have occurred at some of our nation's finest institutions. A young woman at a Sigma Chi fraternity party at Colgate University was distraught over the recent death of her grandmother. She drank too much. Then she was raped.<sup>114</sup> At Florida State's Phi Kappa Alpha fraternity house, a female student was recently raped in the shower room by three fraternity brothers. Later tests confirmed that her blood-alcohol level was almost sufficient to cause death.<sup>115</sup> Focus groups with college women indicate that alcohol-related, unwanted sex, if not rape, is a common occurrence.<sup>116</sup>

#### Children of Alcoholics

One of the areas that recent science has shed much light upon is the fact that alcoholism seems to run in families. There are a number of studies showing that, not only are children of alcoholics (COAs) at greater than normal risk for becoming alcoholics themselves (and abusing other drugs), but that COAs are more likely to encounter a host of other problems ranging from nonalcoholic drug abuse to learning difficulties. In one study at Eastern Illinois University, 117 it was also found that, in addition to the increased alcohol risk, COAs had a significantly lower self-concept than other students. The causal relationships surrounding this phenomenon are currently being studied. Genetics is certainly a factor in addiction risk, but by no means the only one. The environmental effects of parental role modeling may be another factor. And then there are the familial problems brought about because the parental alcoholism, in turn, causes a variety of problems for the children, which increases the likelihood of alcohol problems for them. This is not to imply that all or even most COAs develop alcohol or other drug or related problems. However, the risk is greater. College is a critical locus in this circle. Every current college student who has already developed or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup>Robin Wilson, "Better Times At Chico State," Prevention File, University of California at San Diego, Fall 1990.

<sup>113</sup>Des Moines Sunday Register, October 14, 1990,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup>Vickie Bane et al., "Silent No More," People Magazine, December 17, 1990.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup>Jackie Dennis, Cathy Crowley and Hillman Jordan, *College Drinking Focus Group Reports*, CSR, Incorporated, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup>J.J. Rearden and B.S. Markwell, "Self Concept and Drinking Problems of College Students Raised in Alcohol Abused Homes," *Addictive Behaviors*, 14(2):225-227, 1989.

will develop a pattern of abusing alcohol puts his or her potential offspring at risk. And college can exacerbate the effect of the cycle or perhaps break it. It is reported that over 10 percent of our population are COAs. That's over one million college and university students. But where in the curriculum do students who are COAs learn that they are at increased risk? And who on the college campus will help them learn and provide assistance in breaking the cycle? And what about the students who already are young parents? Can they learn on your campus about the potential dangers their alcohol drinking patterns may present to their children in utero and after birth?

# College Students Are at High Risk

Everyone is at some risk for alcoholism and alcohol-related problems. There are many risk factors for drinking problems. Certain occupations, geographic locations, and other factors add to the "normal" risks. College students appear to be at particularly high risk. Specifically:

- College students drink more than their noncollege counterparts.
- College students are particularly vulnerable to other risk factors which alcohol exacerbates, such as suicide, automobile crashes, and falls.
- Many college and university customs, norms, traditions, and mores encourage specific dangerous alcohol use practices and patterns.
- College students and university campuses are particularly heavily targeted by the advertising and promotions of the alcoholic beverage industry.
- College students tend to drink more recklessly than others and to engage in "drinking games" and other dangerous drinking practices.
- College students are particularly vulnerable to peer influences and have a strong need to be accepted by their peers.

## **Deleterious Effects Are Not Limited**

The distinction between drinking and alcoholism is an important one. That distinction is often blurred by the fact that the deleterious effects of drinking

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup>Francis M. Harding, Alcohol Problems Prevention/Intervention Programs: Guidelines for College Campuses, New York State Division of Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse, 1989.

are not only limited to the disease of alcoholism. The student who is celebrating the homecoming game victory and, while intoxicated, crashes an automobile and injures fellow students may not be an alcoholic but has an alcohol-related problem. Another student under the influence of liquor engages in unsafe sexual behavior and is exposed to AIDS. That student is probably not an alcoholic but has an alcohol-related problem. Students on spring break end up on television news with their behaviors being modeled by tens of thousands of high school students, setting the stage for much future difficulty. The students on spring break are mostly not yet suffering from alcoholism, but the student who leapt from the balcony of his hotel room to his death had an alcohol-related problem. The bottom line is that alcoholism is always a problem, for the individual and for society. Drinking is frequently a problem even in the absence of alcoholism. As has been observed by David Kraft of the University of Massachusetts/Amherst Health Service, "Prevention and treatment programs at the college level need to focus on reducing alcohol problems, not solely on preventing alcoholism." 119

#### Blame

Unfortunately, there is a propensity in our nation to follow the identification of any social or political problem with the search for elements to which blame may be ascribed. There is a genuine sensitivity on our campuses to so much onus being placed on the campuses—blame probably out of proportion to the extent of the problem on those campuses. While colleges and universities have a greater alcohol problem than most elements of our society, they come in for much more of their proportionate share of the negative publicity, legislative inquiry, and societal expectation. As unfair as this may be, it is only natural. It is to our colleges and universities that we have always looked for hope and the future. It is there that our leaders will be developed, our new technologies, our greater understandings and insights into most problems. And that hope has generally not been misguided. Society looks to colleges and universities because there is no better set of institutions upon which we might rely. That is indeed one of their roles in this democratic society.

Fraternities also are often disproportionately censured for the campus alcohol problems. Not that they do not contribute more than their proportionate share. They do. And they are the major opponents to many reform efforts. However, much of the incorrect public perception is that the fraternities are almost the entire problem and the only source of the problem on the campus.

It is important to be able to intellectually acknowledge that a campus or fraternity house might well be a more conducive environment for heavy and dangerous drinking, without getting defensive and identifying other elements in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup>David P. Kraft, "Prevention and Treatment of Alcohol Problems on a College Campus," *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education*, 34(1):37-51, 1988.

society. Certainly no college has an objective to support and foster unhealthy drinking practices. And no fraternity ever intended to have its membership injured or impaired. But these things have happened despite the best of our intentions. At the moment we have no failure. We have identified a problem—and a very serious one. There are few proven solutions at this time, but there are promising directions. Those institutions that deny the seriousness of their problem might be blameworthy in the light of today's knowledge. However, those that attempt to define and deal with the seriousness of their problems may, and likely will, come in for more than their share of negative publicity. However, these are the institutions that should be praised.

# What's Being Done

Colleges and universities throughout the country are engaging in a series of educational, regulatory, and promotional efforts to attempt to deal with their alcohol-related problems. These are the factors that will determine whether or not the situation improves in the next few years.

## **Campus Regulation**

A decade ago William Hathaway, former U.S. Senator from Maine, observed that, "Alcohol is our leading drug problem, yet we allow it to be pushed on college campuses ..."<sup>120</sup> That observation is unfortunately still true today. To what extent should the use of alcohol be regulated in the university community? How should it be controlled? What should be the basis and rationale for control?

Alcoholism is a disease.

Drinking is a behavior.

One cannot contract alcoholism without drinking.

Most drinkers do not contract alcoholism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup>Michael Jacobson et al., *The Booze Merchants: The Inebriating of America.*, Center for Science in the Public Interest, 1983.

These four sentences are the foundation of almost all rational attempts to develop alcohol prevention control policies. To these we must add the college campus as an environment which produces behaviors and attitudes regarding drinking which may currently and in the future put students at greater risk for contracting the disease of alcoholism. Further, colleges and universities have the opportunity to reduce the current and future risks to their student body.

Why should the university community as a whole concern itself with this particular societal problem any more than with the hundreds, if not thousands, of others that plague us? Some in the political science department may spend a good bit of energy on the problem of the influence of political campaign contributions upon legislative behavior. Some in the psychology department may be devoting their energies to the reduction of violence in our society. But these are not usually perceived as campus-wide initiatives nor subjects which faculty senates would debate, with which student governments would deal, or about which administrations would tend to formulate rules and policies. The main reason is that these generic problems of our society are precisely that—generic, and do not differentially affect the college campus nor are they differentially influenced by the university community. In contrast, alcohol does differentially affect the campus. College students are more vulnerable than the citizenry at large to the dynamics that surround drinking behavior. Students are specific targets of the alcoholic beverage industry—students who may not manifest many of the negative effects of alcohol for another 20 years. The behavioral patterns which may or may not be conducive to the control of an individual's alcohol problem in later life are, in large part, formed or reinforced on our campuses.

Then there is the effect of alcohol directly and immediately on the school's major function: education. As was described earlier, there is a strong relationship between academic performance and the extent of drinking.

As the university community, we disproportionately suffer from the alcohol problem, we disproportionately contribute to the problem for the rest of society, but perhaps most important, we have the disproportionate ability and capability to do something about the problem. And it is that opportunity which perhaps is the strongest moral imperative.

## Permissible Campus Activities

One of the thornier issues on any modern college campus is the nature of the rules and regulations governing access to the campus by outside organizations, speakers, and the like. Must a Catholic university provide its facilities to groups advocating homosexuality? Should known racists or Communists be allowed to speak on campus? Most universities are philosophically committed to the free interchange of ideas, and yet many feel the need at times to limit or regulate certain areas of expression and/or behavior. Alcohol has traditionally been one of those areas where campuses have instituted regulation. In many cases, this

regulation is imposed on the campus by the laws of the jurisdiction in which the university exists. The campus is not exempt from the alcohol beverage control laws of the community. But there are many other instances of regulations that go beyond any criminal ordinances of the community. For example, most universities will not allow students or faculty to drink in a classroom. Most college libraries, while they may have soft drink machines or fruit juices, will neither sell alcoholic beverages, nor will they allow them to be brought into the library. Some athletic teams place severe or total restrictions on the intake of alcoholic beverages by players. Most schools have regulations covering the appropriate use of alcohol at social functions. There is virtually no college campus in America on which drinking is not, to one degree or another, regulated. Twenty-five percent of the campuses ban beer and 32 percent do not allow hard liquor on campus.<sup>121</sup> Campus regulation is often an area of philosophical, if not political, controversy on most campuses. Why should the university regulate behavior (especially nonacademic behavior) any more than society at large does? Are not the students being educated to be citizens of our democracy with the freedoms and responsibilities of those citizens? It is beyond the purpose of this paper to discuss the educational and philosophical problems and values that accompany the issue of regulation of student behavior on college campus. However, we present some areas of possible regulation that faculty senates and administrations may wish to consider.

## Places and Times for Drinking

This is the most traditional form of regulation on a college campus. Virtually every institution has such rules. Some institutions have banned entirely the use of alcohol on campus, both for campus events and for students personally. Others have restricted campus-sponsored events to "no alcohol." Where campus regulations permit drinking, it is the responsibility of the institution to determine where and when. Is it permissible for students to drink in their residence hall rooms? In classrooms? In the library? At athletic events? In the theaters? In the student union? In commercial restaurants on campus? And are there times that should be appropriate for drinking alcoholic beverages? The same campus that would be horrified to have students drinking beer on the campus lawn or on the classroom building steps during the day may well permit the same activity on a weekend evening or during a campus dance.

# Regulating Drunkenness

Almost all campuses specifically prohibit drunken and disorderly behavior on the part of students, as well as others of the university community. However, the efficacy of the rules lies more in the school's enforcement practices and policies

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup>David S. Anderson and Angelo F. Gadaleto, *The College Alcohol Survey*, George Mason University, Virginia, 1991.

than in their existence. Many campuses which have prescripts against drunken and disorderly behavior frequently do not enforce them or enforce them extremely selectively. If a student appears drunk in the middle of the day, he or she may well be dealt with through the disciplinary process. If, on the other hand, a student exhibits the same behavior walking between fraternity parties on Saturday night, it may be ignored. The selective and differential enforcement of drunken and disorderly regulations tends to send mixed messages to the students as to the values of the institution and its community. Is it that students should not be drunk and disorderly, or is that they should not be drunk and disorderly while classes are in session?

Some schools have formalized the time differentials allowed for drinking. At the College Park Campus of the University of Maryland, the serving of alcoholic beverages at parties was restricted to weekends only.<sup>122</sup> A special provision allows Thursday night beer parties to those campus organizations whose student grade point average is higher than the previous year. This policy, incidentally, was first suggested and initiated by students.

One of the most creative methods of influencing student drinking times was implemented at California State University at Chico. Thursday nights were the traditional party nights at Chico. It was, that is, until the president suggested that faculty schedule quizzes, examinations, and critical classes on Friday mornings. Friday attendance improved dramatically and there are now far fewer parties on Thursday evenings at Chico State. 123

## Regulating Conditions of Use

Whenever the serving of alcoholic beverages is permissible on the campuses, there have been two types of regulations that have been very helpful in ameliorating alcohol-related problems. First is the requirement that nonalcoholic beverages be readily available at all functions where alcohol is served. Fully 95 percent of American institutions of higher education now have this requirement. Pressure on young people for social acceptance is hard enough for them to resist when drinking is a cultural norm, but it becomes virtually impossible if there is no way to socialize without ready access to nonalcoholic refreshments. Another more recent innovation is the requirement of server training whenever alcohol is served. With this form of regulation, the institution sets up training programs for individuals who will serve alcohol on the campus to ensure the health and safety of the patrons. Among other elements, servers are

<sup>122</sup>The Washington Post, October 8, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup>Robin Wilson, "Better Times At Chico State," *Prevention File*, University of California at San Diego, Fall 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup>David S. Anderson and Angelo F. Gadaleto, *The College Alcohol Survey*, George Mason University, Virginia, 1991.

trained to recognize signs of heavy drinking and/or intoxication and are empowered and required to stop serving those individuals. The college campus is by no means unique in server training. This is actually a practice that has become quite popular with many commercial establishments that serve alcoholic beverages. While the motivation is sometimes to protect the public and maintain an orderly establishment, a strong incentive is the avoidance of legal liability in more than half of our States which have so-called dramshop laws. Under these laws, the entity that serves the liquor to someone who is intoxicated can be held liable to third parties for civil damages if the intoxicated person injures the third party in one form or another. In many States, the university is potentially liable for the damage done by intoxicated students. The server training program and policy tends to reduce that liability. However, its main benefit is the maintenance of the health and safety of the students and the public. One study has shown that server training can cut in half the probability of a drinker becoming intoxicated.<sup>125</sup> And in a particularly pro-active version of this approach, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst went offcampus and trained bar owners and bartenders in the surrounding community. 126

Another condition of use that has recently been regulated on college campuses is the method of beer service. Specifically, some campuses have prohibited dispensing beer from kegs. This was done by Colorado State University in the early 1980s and many others have followed suit since then. The logic of the keg ban was outlined by William Thomas, vice president of Student Affairs of the University of Maryland, when he announced his campus policy in 1990. "The availability of a nonincremental source of alcohol contributes to the abuse of alcohol. If alcohol is dispensed differently, it has a better chance of not being abused." 127

In a study at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, it was shown that when bartenders serve alcohol to college students, both males and females actually drink less than in a self-service drinking environment.<sup>128</sup>

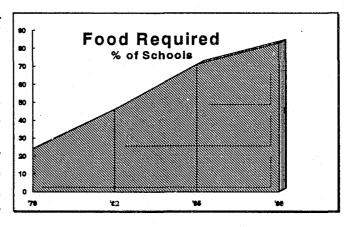
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup>R.F. Saltz, "The Roles of Bars and Restaurants in Preventing Alcohol-Impaired Driving: An Evaluation of Server Intervention," *Evaluation and Health Professions*, 10:5-27, 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup>C. Riccelli, "Alcohol Dispenser Training in Amherst Massachusetts," *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education*, 31(3):1-5, 1986.

<sup>127</sup> The Washington Post, September 20, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup>M.J. Kalisher, Behavior Analysis of Alcohol Consumption and Impairment at University Parties, doctoral dissertation, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1989.

One common form of campus regulation the requirement that if any alcohol is to be served at a campus function. then nonalcoholic beverages must also be served. This, at least, provides opportunity for nondrinking students reasonably participate in the same social events as their peers. One variation of this



theme that might be considered is a specific requirement that nonalcoholic beer be offered whenever regular beer is. There are now products on the market that taste (and in some cases smell) like beer but contain minimal amounts of alcohol. Given that most college students drink for social and peer pressure reasons, the alternative of colas and other traditional soft drinks is a de facto alternative only for the student who has the social courage and confidence to be seen drinking the alternative. The nonalcoholic beer will give many students a "cover"—they can avoid alcohol without publicly appearing to do so. When they circulate at the party, their glass of beer will appear no different than anyone else's.

In reaction to a rise in alcohol-related violence and vandalism on the campus, Northwestern University adopted a policy of controlling the amount of alcohol that may be served at any campus party. Specifically, they only allow the party sponsors to have available a maximum of six beers for every legal-aged drinker. The quantities must be monitored by two uninvolved representatives from the campus police or other school security organizations. The policy was fought vigorously by the fraternities and other campus organizations. What is noteworthy is that the limit of six beers is an incredibly high one. Six beers in a 3- to 5-hour party will almost certainly produce a legal state of intoxication in any student. Many students would never drink six beers at one party. Therefore, others at the party will likely consume more than six beers. Indeed, the policy, which limits the alcohol available, allows virtually every party attendant to become drunk. Still there were protests.

Another form of regulation is to require that food be served at all parties where alcohol is served. This is the campus version of what in many states is a law that requires bars and other commercial establishments that serve alcoholic beverages to also maintain a kitchen and serve food. There has been a very enlightened trend on campuses over the last decade as the graph above shows.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup>The New York Times, October 7, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup>David S. Anderson and Angelo F. Gadaleto, *The College Alcohol Survey*, George Mason University, Virginia, 1991.

Drinking games at the university come from an old European tradition. Should they be regulated? In a telling study at the University of Nebraska, 131 actual drinking behavior at campus parties was studied, and drinking students were interviewed. Not surprisingly, the drinking game players consumed significantly more alcohol than those who did not play the drinking games. This was true for both men and women. Drinking games were found to be a particularly dangerous practice for female students. Under the pressure of the public game, they actually consumed more alcohol than the male game players a reversal of the usual gender order. They also reported more "negative consequences." Particularly interesting was the report that drinking games were the *only entertainment* at most University of Nebraska parties. Is it possible that with all the intellectual resources, artistic talent, and creative energy on one of the great American university campuses, old hackneyed drinking games are about the only entertainment the students are capable of organizing? Should drinking games be allowed at campus parties? Perhaps not. The creative opportunity and results might be worthwhile in and of themselves, independent of the obvious benefits of eliminating some potentially dangerous drinking.

The prevalence of college students who play drinking games is quite high. In a recent 1991 survey of over 5,000 college students, on a wide variety of campuses, it was found that over 80 percent of the students 21 years old and younger reported playing drinking games. For the older students, those 22 and over, the percentage was only 47.132

Fraternity pledging and initiations have been a particularly troublesome area for alcohol abuse, all too frequently leading to injuries and even death. The "rushing period" in which fraternities recruit and select new members has often been the scene of dangerous and unhealthy practices. The pressure on the potential pledge to prove that he will "fit in" encourages many college students to engage in unsafe and unhealthy drinking practices in order to demonstrate their ability to "hold their liquor" and willingness to be a part of the drinking culture of the fraternity. This perpetuates the drinking culture of the fraternity by virtually assuring that students who will not participate in the fraternity's "drinking activities" will never join the fraternity. Recently, in an innovative effort to reduce some of these problems, Colgate University not only prohibited the "rushing" of students in their particularly vulnerable freshman year, but also required that all rushing activities be "dry"—no alcohol at all may be served during the rush period. 133

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup>J.K.K. Crawford, *Impact of Drinking Games on College Drinking Behavior*, doctoral dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup>Ruth C. Engs and David J. Hanson, 1990-1991 preliminary data reported via telephone by Dr. Engs, July 1991.

<sup>133</sup>The New York Times, October 7, 1990.

There are many campuses that are "dry." In 1985, slightly over 20 percent claimed to be.<sup>134</sup> Even beer was not allowed on campus. However, when one looks carefully at many of these "dry" campuses, there is often a little "moisture." For example, on many of these dry campuses there is as rampant drinking in fraternity houses as on many wet campuses. The fraternity houses are owned by the fraternities and are not, strictly speaking, "on the campus grounds." In some institutions, the school regulates all activities of any organizations that are in any way affiliated with the school. At other institutions, the campus is more narrowly defined. At the University of Missouri at Rolla, a "dry" campus, many students form informal groups and rent nearby off-campus apartments just for the purpose of having parties at which alcohol may be served.<sup>135</sup> And at one large urban university where the president boasted that he had a dry campus, the prohibition rules were so flagrantly violated that students had installed winches to hoist beer through back windows and avoid the package checking and inspections that took place at the entrances to the residence halls. In all forms of campus regulation, two key choices are the definition of the "extent of the campus" and the degree of enforcement.

Clearly, the most troublesome regulation issue for most college campuses is the enforcement of the minimum-drinking-age requirements. The now-universal 21-year-old age limit splits the student body. Most academic institutions have eschewed eligibility standards that were age-related in favor of standards that were related to competence, ability, or achievement. Most schools have no minimum age for admission, for example. A 20-year-old could even be (and some are) a member of the faculty, but he or she may not drink beer. Colleges and universities do have precedents of eligibility based on noncompetence and nonachievement factors. Certain courses are sometimes not open to freshmen and sophomores. Athletic eligibility is often quite capricious and arbitrary.

The decision, however, is no longer the school's to make. In our democratic society, this issue has been decided and is now preempted by law. It is illegal for beer to be served to people under the age of 21. However, the degree of enforcement on the campus is the crucial issue for most institutions. Will a 19-year-old who is caught drinking at a campus function be disciplined, and if so, to what degree? Is he or she to be treated "as a criminal?" In most jurisdictions, the student would be. Littering is a criminal offense in many communities and the student who litters is generally not considered to have committed a serious infraction, even though it be criminal. Speeding is a crime committed by many of us, though few regard speeders as criminals. The fundamental issue is, how serious an infraction is underaged drinking on a particular campus? Many schools proscribe rules on the subject of underaged drinking and some require

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup>David S. Anderson and Angelo F. Gadaleto, *The College Alcohol Survey*, George Mason University, Virginia, 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup>Personal interview with administrators and faculty of the Rolla campus, December 4, 1990.

elaborate means of implementing them. Identification requirements and hand stamping at campus functions surely help, as an example, but most students report that these controls are easy to evade. Underaged drinking is, unfortunately, quite common on almost any college campus today. Professor Earl Rubington of Northeastern University conducted a study of residence hall advisors (RAs) at an anonymous university.<sup>136</sup> He concluded, "In effect, RAs teach residents how to break drinking rules."

The drinking laws prohibiting that alcohol be served to anyone under the age of 21 have had some very positive effects. The most dramatic is the significant reduction of alcohol-related automobile crashes among the 18- to 20-year-old age group. However, there is little evidence that underaged drinking in college has substantially changed. For example, no reduction of underage drinking occurred at The State University of New York at Buffalo. The drinking law did, however, alter the locations of underaged drinking, with more students reporting drinking in cars as opposed to bars or taverns. The flouting of the underaged drinking laws has also been observed at Hobart College. The University of Iowa Student Health Service surveyed the 30-day drinking prevalence of its undergraduates. It was 81.8 percent for all undergraduates and 79.6 percent for undergraduates under age 21—no apparent significant difference. 146

One of the biggest changes brought about by the new drinking age limits is the student use of falsified IDs. In a 1991 national survey, 141 over twice as many college administrators believed that this practice had increased than believed that it had decreased over the last few years.

Serious control mechanisms are difficult without impinging on the traditional atmosphere of modest or little control over campus social life. But each institution must determine whether there may be too high a cost of maintaining a traditional quasi-libertarian point of view.

One of the biggest evasions of underaged drinking rules occurs when older students obtain alcohol for younger ones. This may be at a party, in the fraternity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup>Earl Rubington, "Drinking in the Dorms: A Study of the Etiquette of RA-Resident Relations," *The Journal of Drug Issues*, 20(3):451-461, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup>United States General Accounting Office, *Drinking-Age Laws: An Evaluation Synthesis of Their Impact on Highway Safety*, GAO, Washington D.C., 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup>W.H. George et al., Effects of Raising the Drinking Age to 21 Years in New York State on Self-Reported Consumption by College Students, place, date.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup>H.W. Perkins and A.D. Berkowitz, "Stability and Contradiction in College Students' Drinking Following A Drinking-Age Law Change," *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education*, 35(1):60-77, 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup>Barbara Petroff and Lisa Broek, The University of Iowa Alcohol and Other Drug Use Assessment: Spring Semester, 1990. Student Health Service, University of Iowa, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup>David S. Anderson and Angelo F. Gadaleto, *The College Alcohol Survey*, George Mason University, Virginia, 1991.

house, the residence hall, or at a football game. Any 21-year-old can go to a nearby convenience store or other legal outlet, buy a six-pack or two, and return to the campus to share it with friends—over and under age 21. In many communities, legal alcohol outlets in the vicinity of a campus are often the worst Underaged students can often easily obtain drinks in bars and offenders. restaurants, buy beer in supermarkets or convenience stores, and even obtain all kinds of alcoholic beverages in liquor stores. The Chief of Police of Iowa City, Iowa, has observed that bars and taverns around the university not only regularly serve minors, but when the police arrive to check for underaged drinking, the bartenders turn the music way up or down and the underaged students refrain from drinking until the coast is clear. 142 At the University of Maryland, the local offcampus stores used to make beer, liquor, and wine deliveries to the campus. The age of the recipient was rarely checked. Even when the deliverer was concerned about age, the alcohol would be turned over to anyone at the delivery site who was over age 21 and had the money to pay. The situation got so bad that the local county, with support from the University administration, legally banned all deliveries of alcoholic beverages to the campus. 143

This raises the question of how serious an offense the institution considers a student under age 21 obtaining alcohol for his or her younger classmates? And what signal does the answer send to the student body? The Alpha Epsilon Pi fraternity at Cornell had a party last year. A group of underaged students was served alcohol. There were some arguments, and then a fight. When it was over, a student was dead. Alpha Epsilon Pi was placed on probation for two years.<sup>144</sup>

What should the school's response be to a student who is caught using a false ID to purchase alcohol? In a 1991 study, it was found that 58 percent of the schools impose a fine or probation, 9 percent suspend the student, and 22 percent report the offense to law enforcement authorities and/or the motor vehicles bureau. In early 1990, four Texas Tech students were arrested and charged with felonies for counterfeiting driver licenses and providing them to other students for evasion of the drinking laws.

Often, the school is handicapped in its efforts by the existing State or local laws. Consider the plight of the University of Iowa when they issued their policy on a drug-free environment. The section on "Applicable Criminal Sanctions" includes the following:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup>Iowa City Press Citizen, October 3, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup>The Washington Post, September 20, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup>The New York Times, December 17, 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup>David S. Anderson and Angelo F. Gadaleto, *The College Alcohol Survey*, George Mason University, Virginia, 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup>The New York Times, January 7, 1990.

A person found guilty of giving or selling an alcoholic beverage to a 19- or 20-year-old may be fined up to \$50.

Now, the school is not responsible for the fact that the penalty for selling or giving alcohol to students aged 19 or 20 is only \$50. The State of Iowa complied with the federal law mandating a minimum drinking age of 21, but was not too serious about the sanction for violation. The typical faculty member or student (or anyone else) will reasonably get the following message:

The university is telling us that we don't have to worry too much about providing alcoholic beverages to underaged students. If you get caught, the fine is very small, and the school hasn't added any administrative or disciplinary sanctions. So the institution doesn't really take this seriously either. Everyone is going through the motions, but no one is serious. 147

The university could have added administrative sanctions to their policy, could have made a moral statement, or they could have simply stated that the provision of alcohol to underaged students was against the State law. By quoting the specific penalties of a State law that trivializes the activity, the school gave a message—not one that was necessarily intended—that the offense is in a class with spitting on the sidewalk or not cutting the grass often enough. As the late psychologist B. F. Skinner has observed, "Students learn whatever we teach them, whether we intended to teach them that or not." 148

Consider the difficulty if the university attempts to place serious academic and administrative sanctions on the provision of alcohol to underaged students. Would the average faculty member or administrative employee, such as a residence hall staff member, be willing to jeopardize the entire academic career of an older student whose infraction was only worth a \$50 fine to the Iowa State legislature that funds the university? Should the school attempt to enforce the society's criminal law in a more zealous manner than the State itself? And have stiffer sanctions?

Conversely, some schools use State criminal sanctions to apply social pressure and alter student behavior. Chico State scans the local newspapers for any alcohol-related criminal arrests of students. When they find one, they send a letter to the address of record (usually the home of the student's parents) stating

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup>University of Iowa, The University of Iowa Faculty and Staff Policy On A Drug Free Environment, September 10, 1990, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup>Personal Communication, 1963.

that the local police had performed the arrest, and if further information was desired, to please contact the dean of students.<sup>149</sup>

## College Newspaper Advertising

By any reasonable standard of comparison, there is an enormous amount of alcoholic beverage advertising in campus newspapers. Approximately 35 percent of all the college newspaper advertising revenue comes from alcohol advertisements.<sup>150</sup> A study conducted during 1984-1985 found that the average college newspaper issue had over 40 column inches of alcohol advertising per issue. This average, incidentally, includes the roughly 20 percent of the college newspapers that do not accept alcohol advertising at all, 151 and many which, because of the small size of the campus, get no advertising from the national alcohol companies. To put the amount of alcohol advertising in some perspective, consider the fact that the average number of column inches devoted to book advertising in college newspapers was less than two column inches per issue, and the average amount of soft drink advertising was less than one column inch per issue. There is 20 times more alcohol advertising in college newspapers than book advertising, and greater than 40 times more alcoholic beverage advertising than soft drink advertising. What is perhaps even more astounding is the fact that these incredible ratios hold despite the fact that alcoholic beverage advertising is decreasing in college newspapers. College students are major targets of breweries, alcohol distilleries, and wineries. The reasons can be determined by the first course in any college business department marketing program. College students are heavy consumers of the products and, much more important, they are at the age when brand name identification can really have a payoff for the manufacturer. A college freshman who becomes sold on one brand may produce approximately \$15,000 in beer sales for that brand over the student's expected lifetime, and that is at today's dollar value. Allowing for modest inflation over an expected lifetime, that student will produce over \$50,000 in sales for that beer distributor. In the words of one marketing executive, "Getting a freshman to choose a certain brand of beer may mean that he will maintain his brand loyalty for the next 20 to 35 years. If he turns out to be a big drinker, the beer company has bought itself an annuity."152

Our students are primary targets of a huge, skilled, and wealthy alcoholic beverage industry and their advertising industry. And it is not a large,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup>Robin Wilson, "Better Times At Chico State," *Prevention File*, University of California at San Diego, Fall 1990.

<sup>150</sup>W. Breed et al., Alcohol Advertising in College Newspapers: A Seven Year Follow-Up, In Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup>CASS Student Advertising, Inc., 1981-82 National Rate Book and College Newspaper Directory, Evanston, Illinois.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup>Quoted in J.R. Defoe and W. Breed, "The Problem of Alcohol Advertisements in College Newspapers," *The Journal of the American College Health Associations*, February 1979.

disaggregated industry that is made up of many small companies. In 1987, there were only 120 breweries and 102 distilleries operating a multibillion- dollar industry in the United States. Students are the targets of extremely large, well financed corporations that make the athletic shoe companies appear small by comparison. And the primary vehicle that the alcoholic beverage companies use is not an industry secret. "The college newspaper is the key," is the way Bill Schmidt of the Pabst Brewing Company put it several years ago. The strategy has not changed.

Men are by no means the only target. As a matter of fact, the evidence indicates that a larger proportion than ever before of alcohol advertising is now being targeted to female students. In addition to the factors that cause companies to target male students, there is much more payoff to the advertiser if females can be induced to drink with the same frequency and in the same amounts as males, since females start with a lower drinking base. If this and other perversions of equal opportunity were to be successful, American females would soon have the opportunity to die at the younger age of death of the average male counterpart.

A fundamental issue for every college is whether or not it should regulate the advertising of alcoholic beverages in the college newspapers. Also at issue is the extent of the regulation, which could range from outright prohibition, a practice on many campuses, to a *laissez faire* position, which allows any advertising whatsoever. Assuming the institution wishes to take a position somewhere in between the two extremes of total ban or no regulation whatsoever, there are a wide variety of considerations. Consider the following three categories of advertising slogans that have appeared in college newspapers.

- (1) "Dining, drinking and dancing.""Hoist a brew and celebrate after the game.""More than thirty brands of beer."
- (2) "Monday nights are pre-week party nights."

  "Tuesday 25 cent draft, 75 cent kamikazes."

  "Ladies night ladies drink free."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup>Quoted in Michael Jacobson et al., op. cit.

(3) "Every Thursday ladies night. \$1.00 cover, first six drinks free."

"Friday 4-6:30 p.m. \$4.00 all you can drink."

"Fraternity chugging contest. We furnish the beer, you furnish the team. \$24.00 to winning frat."

The first category of advertisements represents the least potentially harmful one. These advertisements, in effect, inform students where they may drink and describe something of the context of the drinking setting. In effect, they say, "If you want to drink, drink in our place."

The second category of advertisements is potentially more dangerous. These advertisements, in effect, seek to persuade students to drink more or drink earlier than they otherwise would. In contrast to the advertisements in category one, they are, in effect, advocating more drinking in the lifestyle of the student. They say, "Start your partying Monday instead of Friday." If these types of ads are successful, there will be more drinking on the campus and at times that are certainly not conducive to or supportive of the academic objectives of the institution and fundamentally do not support the social objectives. They differ profoundly from the advertisements in category one. Arguments for restricting the types of advertisements in category one generally hang on the implicit message of endorsement or approval of a lifestyle that includes drinking. Counter arguments would say that the advertisements in category one simply recognize that drinking is part of our culture, and a legal part at that. They are not encouraging drinking except by implication. They are certainly not encouraging more drinking or more time devoted to drinking.

The third category of advertisements is the most harmful and potentially devastating of all. In this category, students are not only being asked to increase the amount they drink or their time devoted to drinking, but they are specifically being asked to engage in behavior that creates a clear and present danger to their health and the health of others around them. This is totally independent of the deleterious effect that it might have on their academic performance. For a college newspaper to advertise a chug-a-lug contest is the moral equivalent of advertising a contest for Russian roulette. The only difference is that the odds aren't quite as bad. Alcohol is virtually the only drug which a small part of our culture actually practices imbibing as much as possible in as short a period of time as possible. Even the worst crack addicts do not try to ingest as much cocaine as they possibly can within a fixed period of time. No cigarette smoker would ever try to see how many cigarettes he or she could smoke in a fixed period of time and much less call this "fun and recreation."

Advertising a fixed price for "all you can drink" is almost as reprehensible as the chug-a-lug contest. And the ad which encourages ladies to come in and offers

them the first six drinks free is clearly not just offering a place for someone to have a drink, but specifically encourages them and provides financial incentives for them to have a number of drinks, which immediately puts them into the heavy-drinking class with much greater risk. This particular ad generally is characteristic of a type of alcohol advertising in which females are solicited at greatly reduced prices under the well-known marketing technique for young men—namely that if you convince them that "that's where the women hang out," they will come also. Tragically, the sexual exploitation of this type of ad is compounded by potentially endangering their lives and subjecting them to moral degradation. Holding college women out as virtual bait for getting the drinking men into a bar is ethically offensive and may lead to them being victims of alcohol-related violence or rape.

The third category of advertisements represent clear and present dangers to health and safety. The ads in the second category advocate unhealthy behavior, but the danger is neither as clear nor as immediate. The first category of ads does not advocate any increased drinking or any specific unhealthy or dangerous drinking practices. Are the more dangerous ads in categories two and three rare? Unfortunately not. One study found that 37 percent of college newspaper ads encouraged excessive drinking, 154 as opposed to simply extolling the "virtues" of a brand.

This issue makes for an excellent campus debate in which the praxes of your campus newspapers might be investigated and discussed. Your college community could come up with a decision as to how this matter should best be handled, based on its values and the current practices on the campus and in the campus newspaper. There is no way in which the issue of regulating advertising in a campus newspaper can be divorced from the fundamental issue of freedom of speech and a strong academic tradition of avoidance of repression of any ideas, regardless of how repugnant. But consider whether a university newspaper, or for that matter any responsible newspaper, should run an ad advertising an automobile racing contest for fraternities, where the fraternity that could drive at the fastest possible speed would get a cash prize. Speeding is against the law as is drinking for those under 21. Also, getting drunk is not legal, and those same establishments that run the ads for the free first six drinks rarely check to see whether the students they are serving are over age 21.

There are many legal products and services for which a campus newspaper might clearly reject advertising on grounds of safety, health, privacy, or simply good taste. Many do. Even *The New York Times* will not accept advertisements for X-rated films. Nor would most responsible newspapers accept advertisements for a contest asking people to jump out of a building into a fireman's net. It's not illegal, it's just extremely dangerous unless one has been trained to do it, and,

<sup>154</sup>Steven Walfish et al., International Journal of Addictions, 16:941-945, 1981.

even then, it carries a degree of risk that is generally unacceptable—except in a rescue case when lives would otherwise be at stake. There is a marvelous opportunity here for one of the oldest academic debates to be carried out on every campus of America. The university is primarily an educational institution and the great virtue of such a debate goes far beyond the implications of the policies that are arrived at. The awareness that it raises on the campus is itself, potentially, a protective mechanism. Young people are properly conscious of their emergence from adolescence as they go to college. They value the independence that they have gained and the freedom with which they function. But with that freedom comes risk, and with that freedom comes the critical importance of being informed, so that students realize that they are being targeted, and that their business is more important to some institutions in the country than their lives are. Does the student body in the university community need to be protected from these people by regulation of advertising in campus newspapers? Or can the educational function of the debate and other information in that same campus newspaper immunize or protect the student body from the deleterious effects?

## Sponsorship of Events and Other Campus Marketing

- A tennis tournament at the University of Oregon sponsored by Budweiser.
- A rock concert on the University of Colorado campus sponsored by Miller.
- Free Anheuser-Busch beer provided in front of the University of California Student Union before big football games.
- The Budweiser Sorority Volleyball Tournament is at the University of Tennessee.
- The Charlie Daniels Band in concert at Southern Illinois University, sponsored by Busch beer. 155

One of the major promotional methodologies of the alcoholic beverage companies on college campuses is the sponsorship of events. Events sponsored include athletic tournaments, concerts, parties, contests—almost anything. Most beer companies actually have an official "campus representative" assigned to most major and many smaller campuses. What they do is best described by the Coors representative for the University of Houston: "All you have to do is when you hear an organization is going to have a party, you make contact and offer them free publicity, free trophies, free prizes, and financial assistance." The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup>Described in Michael Jacobson et al., *The Booze Merchants: The Inebriating of America*. Center for Science in the Public Interest, 1983, pp. 57-58.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

following ad (not atypical) appeared in the campus newspaper of the University of Hawaii:

Having a Party? See Chuck Parker, Your Budweiser Campus Representative. Call Chuck at 732-6305 for your beer needs right on campus. 157

The University of Michigan at Ann Arbor and some other schools ban campus representatives of alcohol firms.<sup>158</sup>

The students are generally very appreciative. As a Texas Southern University student program coordinator put it, "Beer companies come through for everything—for senior class picnics, for after-the-game dances, for pep rallies, and for tailgating parties that precede the games. Campus life wouldn't be as much fun without beer." The beer companies promote their brand, promote drinking, and all too often promote dangerous activities. Budweiser, for example, sponsored a beer drinking contest at the Chi Psi fraternity at Berkeley. The following is part of an eyewitness account: "... team members gulped, and choked, red-faced, trying to get the beer down. Three or four guys vomited in the bushes after chugging the beer." 160

What should be the policy of schools toward sponsorship by alcoholic What is the implication of a private organization's beverage companies? sponsorship of a campus event? Does the allowance of the sponsorship imply anything to the student body and the community, like concurrence of the university with the purposes, goals, and methods of the sponsoring organization? These are not simple questions, but ones that must be addressed. Clearly, most academic institutions would give much more latitude to sponsorship of campus speakers than to sponsorship of campus events. Speakers are an integral part of the free exchange of ideas. But are dances? Football parties? Volleyball tournaments? Chugging contests? And surely, the school has some responsibility to see to it that the activity to be sponsored is not dangerous, per se. A wide range of sponsorship regulations is possible. Each institution must evolve its own policies and make its own decisions. Part of the influence on those decisions comes from the increasing tendency toward protest and counteradvertising. At a recent Virginia Slims tennis tournament held on a college campus, health-oriented student and faculty picketers produced an unexpected twist to the event. The University of California at Berkeley now prohibits alcohol companies from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup>Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup>Robert Roth, "The Impact of Liquor Liability on Colleges and Universities," *Journal of College and University Law*, 13(1):45-64, 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup>Ibid.

sponsoring campus events.<sup>161</sup> So do the University of Michigan and Washington State University.<sup>162</sup>

Sponsorship of college events is not limited to beer companies. The hard liquor distilleries also get in on the act. In a particularly dramatic example a number of years ago, 4,000 people were "treated" to a liquor tasting party at the Florida State University homecoming. The only drink served was a *Mexican Sunrise* made with Jose Cuervo tequila. The event was sponsored by College Marketing and Research Corporation, which, that year, had sponsored over 400 oncampus liquor tasting parties. 163

The economics of sponsorship cannot be ignored. There is no accurate estimate of the total economic value of all the sponsorship of college campus activities. Many of the activities are worthwhile and not dangerous or unhealthy. Where would the funds for signs for a student dance come from if it were not for the beer companies? Who would provide the trophies for intramural athletic events? But what is the alcohol-related cost of the status quo and who is paying it?

Sponsorship is not the only campus marketing technique used by the alcoholic beverage manufacturers. There are a wide variety of others. Posters for student residence halls, fraternities, and sororities are extremely popular. And these posters, like the alcohol-related advertising in the campus newspapers, range from brand recognition material to the encouragement of unhealthy, dangerous behavior. Many perpetuate myths and falsehoods regarding alcohol and drinking. Others make fun of or degrade education. Many show scantily clad young women and handsome young men. Typically they show one of the former holding a beer can, surrounded by a dozen or so of the latter. The few that treat anything academic are noteworthy. Here are contents of three of these posters:

Studyin' with the real taste of beer.

Great Writing Starts With A Little Listening, A Little Beer, And A Lot Of Legwork.

No College Education Is Complete Without Triple Sec.

The first was used by Pabst. The second, by Miller, and quotes author Mickey Spillane of detective novel fame. Unfortunately, the "legwork" that is referred to is not of the library or research variety, but a shapely female leg in a net stocking which is the largest visual object in the poster. The third, used by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup>Daily Californian, April 24, 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup>Robert Roth, "The Impact of Liquor Liability on Colleges and Universities," Journal of College and University Law, 13(1):45-64, 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup>The New York Times, December 26, 1974.

Hiram Walker, does go on to say, "Secs won't lead to better grades. Just better times." And one of the themes of a Michelob ad campaign was "Put A Little Weekend In Your Week," encouraging students not to limit their beer drinking to weekends.

Then there are T-shirts, caps, boxer shorts, and other articles of clothing. One leading alcohol marketer observes that the alcohol companies like to use the students as "walking billboards." The campus provides the concentration of potential customers and, inadvertently, is the vehicle by which the alcohol companies use the students to sell to each other.

It is not only the alcohol companies that market the culture of drinking on your campus. You probably do also! The university insignia, logos, and mascots are also elements that are often inextricably connected with the campus alcohol issue. Examine your campus bookstore. Typically you will find the college logo on all kinds of drinking paraphernalia—most typically, beer mugs, steins, and drinking and shot glasses. For what purposes should the symbols of the institution be used? And what symbolic messages are sent by the use of the school's symbols? While each school must make decisions as to how much it will allow outside profit-making organizations to sell and promote oncampus, it must make an even more fundamental decision with respect to whether it wishes to make a few dollars by actively selling alcohol-related paraphernalia and/or allowing the school's name and symbols to be used to promote the alcohol culture and thereby help to "push" the drug alcohol. Many schools like California State at Chico have eliminated the sale of drinking paraphernalia at their bookstores.

A recent dramatic example of this occurred at the University of Nebraska. At the same time that one part of the university was wrestling with the campus alcohol problem, the athletic department actually sold the rights to the Nebraska "Cornhusker" mascot image to the Coors brewing company. Coors plans to put it on the six-packs and beer cans they will sell in Nebraska, both oncampus and off, where following "Cornhusker football" is almost a religion.<sup>164</sup>

## Attitudes Toward Regulation

There is a core of libertarian values in almost every academic institution. Therefore, any form of regulation oncampus—on virtually any subject—is rarely welcomed without opposition. Students come to the university with a strong opposition to serious alcohol regulation. In 1986, less than 20 percent of our high school seniors thought that getting drunk in private should be prohibited by law.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup>Personal communication with Malcolm Heard, October 17, 1990.

Only about half felt that public drunkenness should be prohibited by law. 165 These attitudes get reinforced in college.

Campus attitudes toward regulation of drinking are very much related to the drinking behavior, per se. At the University of California at Berkeley, it was found that the heavier drinkers in fraternities and sororities tended to express more opposition to campus alcohol regulation than their lighter-drinking fraternity and sorority counterparts. Leonard Goodwin of the Prevention Research Center on that campus observes that "... women are significantly more in favor of external [campus] control over drinking than men," and that "nonwhite individuals are significantly more in favor than are whites." There is, on almost any campus, a solid, core group of students who resent the "drinking culture" and the "tyranny of the majority" when it comes to drinking norms and behaviors. They are among the most proactive forces for aggressive campus regulation. In the middle are the bulk of the students and faculty, and it is this group that will influence any proposed regulatory activity and will be instrumental in the enforcement of and compliance with any regulations that are instituted.

Reasonable regulation on the campus would be facilitated considerably if faculty would get involved, instead of leaving the administration to fight it out with the students. Indeed, on many campuses, it is the faculty senate that has taken leadership on campus. Chico State experienced drunken riots. The faculty senate passed a resolution requesting that the president withdraw campus recognition from any student organization that is involved in alcohol-related violence.<sup>167</sup>

# Regulation and the Campus Culture

A simple illustration of how far our campus cultural norms have moved in undesirable directions is the Stanford University band. Most of us have done some improper or even illegal things in our lifetimes, and many when we were young. But generally these are things that we were not proud of and did not manifest in the spotlight of public scrutiny. Yet *The Incomparable Leland Stanford Jr. University Marching Band* had to be reprimanded for "arriving at football games drunk" and "urinating on the field." This behavior was exhibited in front of tens of thousands of people—students, parents, and alumni—with the activities also being observed by the press and in front of the TV

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup>National Institute on Drug Abuse, National Trends In Drug Use And Related Factors Among American High School Students And Young Adults, 1975-1986, DHHS Pub. No. (ADM) 87-1535, 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup>Leonard Goodwin, "Explaining Alcohol Consumption and Related Experiences Among Fraternity and Sorority Members," *Journal of College Student Development*, 30(5):448-458.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup>Robin Wilson, "Better Times At Chico State," *Prevention File*, University of California at San Diego, Fall 1990.

cameras. These were not a few troublemakers or campus iconoclasts representing counterculture behavior in obscure corners of the campus. This was a typical subset of the student body of one of our finest institutions of higher education exhibiting what has become *normal behavior* in front of the world. This collegiate norm that makes such gross and absurd behavior acceptable, if not worthy of emulation, is not a problem we will solve only by ferreting out the troublemakers and making examples of them, or by making rules and regulations, although regulation and disciplinary enforcement are typical elements of most overall normative change processes.

Rules and regulations are effective control mechanisms when those strictures reflect cultural norms and societal values. Most of our campuses have long ago passed the cultural point that reasonable drinking practices can be generally attained by regulation. The cultural norms must be turned around, and while rulemaking and regulation will have a significant symbolic and leadership value in changing the culture, they will not alone even begin to achieve reasonable objectives.

## Campus Regulation Enforcement Dilemmas

Campus regulation of alcohol use involves certain inherent dilemmas which face the campus community over and above the libertarian and free speech issues already discussed. Principle among those is a point of view that appears to be commonly held but rarely surfaced for attribution. Specifically, that the more effectively the university regulates alcohol use, the more the students' drinking will be driven "offcampus." And the campus is, in almost all cases, a safer and more benign atmosphere, if there are to be drinking excesses. Friends, other students, and staff are almost always in the immediate proximity. An intoxicated student is less likely to be assaulted or robbed on campus, amidst other students, than offcampus. Impaired students who are on the campus would be much less likely to drive. This latter point is of particular concern to rural or isolated schools, where there are few establishments within walking distance and going offcampus to drink involves driving some distance to roadhouses and taverns.

Another major dilemma is the reality that the alcohol abuse problem is so culturally ingrained on the typical American campus that it is unlikely that the "problem" can be substantially improved in a short time frame. If this is true, the campus leader who takes on this issue as a major element of his or her agenda risks the classical political hazard of calling attention to a problem that he or she will not likely be able to solve within his or her tenure. Since University of Wisconsin chancellor Shalala took her stand, she risks being asked at every faculty meeting, every press conference, and every State appropriations hearing, whether she has solved the problem yet. It is useful to look at the campus alcohol

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup>The New York Times, November 11, 1990

problem as an "eternal struggle," such as that between good and evil, truth and falsehood, freedom, ignorance and other problems which we can commit our resources and skills to, improve the situation, but never really eliminate the problem.

#### **Treatment Connections**

Alcoholism is a disease. While spontaneous alcoholic remissions are not impossible, they are rare. Most people need help and assistance of one kind or another. Ironically, denial is rampant, and heavy-drinking college students tend to underestimate their consumption and the degree of their problem. Those most in need of help often are the least likely to seek or accept it.<sup>169</sup> Many college drinkers, even those who do not engage in unhealthy and dangerous drinking processes and may not be alcoholics, often wish to cut down the amount they drink. Others who may drink more heavily may wish to specifically reduce some of their dangerous drinking practices. But drinking patterns are culturally and behaviorally ingrained and are hard to break without help. Assistance is needed for alcoholic students and other drinkers who are not alcoholics. Where is a student supposed to obtain this help? And equally important, if there are forms of assistance available, how do students know about them? There are a variety of techniques of treatment and assistance for alcohol-related problems. These range from medically supervised detoxification to Alcoholics Anonymous (AA). There are counseling modalities of all kinds, ranging from psychiatry to student peer counseling. A surprisingly large percentage of college students say they would like to cut down their alcohol intake. Each campus should examine what facilities there are to assist these students. Does the school health center or counseling center have particular treatment programs? Or have sources for referral in the area? Is there an AA chapter on the campus? If not, you might want to start one or make arrangements with one in the nearby community, as New York's Fordham University and other schools have done. Perhaps the school might want to train other students (particularly those interested in careers in professional counseling) to be peer counselors under the supervision of the psychology department and the university health center. Forty-six percent of our colleges report that they are utilizing peer counselors for help with alcohol and other drug problems.<sup>170</sup> The same study shows that many institutions have a variety of potential assistance mechanisms such as support groups in place. However, the solution will not be found in the number of institutions that adopt various prevention and treatment programs, but in the percentage of students who will benefit from these practices.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup>L. Goodwin, "Explaining Alcohol Consumption and Related Experiences Among Fraternity and Sorority Members," *Journal of College Student Development*, 30(5):448-458, 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup>David S. Anderson and Angelo F. Gadaleto, *The College Alcohol Survey*, George Mason University, Virginia, 1991.

In two material respects, help for alcohol-related problems is different from most other medical problems. First, the drinking practices and patterns that can be so harmful have become normative—so imbedded in the campus culture that many, if not most, students do not regard them as a health problem at all. Second, basically everyone knows that if there were a physical injury, the hospital emergency room or trauma center would be the place to go. If one has a skin problem, most people know to see a dermatologist. When it comes to treatment for alcohol-related problems, especially at the early stages before medical problems become severe, most people, and indeed most students, do not know where is the appropriate place to go for help. Many students will not think of going to the university health center to help cut down on the amount of drinking they are doing unless that service is advertised and promoted and respected on campus. Friends cannot suggest courses of action to their alcoholtroubled compatriots if they themselves do not know the existing alternatives. Therefore, it is not only critical that each college survey its treatment and assistance alternatives and be sure that enough are established, but that they actively promote them to the faculty and student body through the campus newspaper and other communication vehicles oncampus. This is where the tilted "playing field" encouraging alcohol use and facilities can be, in part, leveled. And of course, if campus services are more heavily utilized, there are budgetary and staffing implications. Ironically, many campus counseling and health centers are reluctant to promote their services too neavily lest they have to deal with the implications of their success—e.g., increased budgetary and staffing needs.

It should be noted that while on virtually any college campus in America alcohol is the most seriously abused drug, many students also have a drug abuse problem that extends beyond alcohol. In one study, it was estimated that one out of five students mix alcohol with other drugs.<sup>171</sup> Also, alcohol has been found to be a gateway drug, in that young people start with alcohol and then go on to marijuana or other illegal substances. So alcohol treatment resources cannot be totally divorced from treatment and assistance resources for nonalcoholic drugs. In some cases, students may only have an alcohol problem; and, in others, it may be a polydrug problem.

# Alternative Activities and Use of Campus Facilities

The majority of student drinking is done in the evenings and on weekends. Since the majority of the drinking is done for social and recreational purposes, any strategy that is directed at reducing the amount of campus drinking must realistically consider social and recreational alternatives. This consideration often starts with the use of the campus facilities. There are numerous campuses where

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup>T. Seay and T. Beck, "Alcoholism Among College Students," *Journal of College Student Personnel* 25(1):90-92, 1984. Since 1984 the college student use of illicit drugs has decreased somewhat. It is likely that the 21 percent that was estimated in 1984 is slightly less today.

many, if not the majority, of the recreational and social facilities oncampus close down at the very hours when students are most apt to want to socialize and recreate. As David Burns, Vice President of the American College Health Association, puts it, "we sleep when the students are awake." The bars and offcampus taverns become the de facto inheritors and are often the only social game in town. How many campus swimming pools, basketball courts, or movie theaters are open after midnight? How many offcampus taverns and bars are? What time does the library close? On one campus, the library was a major locus of social activity until 10:00 p.m., when it closed. Then the students went to the bars. Not necessarily because they wanted to drink, but because they had nowhere else to go.

In a series of focus group studies of college undergraduates, one of the most common refrains in response to the question of why students drink was, "There's nothing else to do!" This was particularly true of rural campuses.<sup>173</sup>

This same sentiment was echoed by students who attended a series of workshops sponsored by the Departments of Health and Human Services, Transportation, and Education. Many campuses have some facilities that are available for student use with a little bit of pre-planning. Often there is an office that schedules rooms and other facilities for functions and meetings. On some campuses, there are financial charges for the utilization of some facilities, and there are time limitations. But one of the biggest barriers is the problem of spontaneity. The vast majority of student socialization on any campus is spontaneous; a function of when term papers might or might not be due; how the studying went that night; or simply an impulsive, emotional desire for companionship or someone with whom to talk. This important element of spontaneity represents one of the inherent weaknesses and contradictions of campus alcohol regulation. Most regulatory direction includes registration and supervision of alcohol-related events. This requirement typically precludes the element of spontaneity. Many students either break the campus rules or simply go offcampus for spontaneous recreational activity. The regulatory purpose, for many students, is defeated in either case.

Every campus should examine its own facilities to ask the question, "What is available to groups of students who spontaneously would like someplace to go?" The groups may be as small as a couple or up to 8 or 10 people. Surrounding most campuses are bars, taverns, and bistros. All of these are looking for a group of students at almost any time. They solicit patronage and advertise their latenight availability. Except on extreme occasions of overcrowding, students need not plan in advance. Each institution must ask, "Are there spontaneously

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup>Personal interview with David Burns, January 28, 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup>Jackie Dennis, Cathy Crowley and Hillman Jordan, *College Drinking Focus Group Reports*, CSR, Incorporated, 1990.

available, attractive alternatives? Where on the campus can students get a hamburger and argue politics or philosophy at 2:00 a.m.?" On some campuses, it has been said that there is not a single campus facility where young couples can have any sense of real intimacy. It does not take much: low lighting, a little background music, and booths or corners where couples can have the sense that they are alone. Almost every college community has many such places offcampus and they almost inevitably all serve and promote alcoholic beverages. Many of these establishments can have such things as two-drink or three-drink minimums.

It is not necessarily the case that every campus should maintain an all-night, comprehensive, parallel recreational facility, completely ignoring the resources of the community surrounding the campus. It is important, however, that each institution conduct a realistic assessment of the social and recreational alternatives available to students at various times of the night and day; on weekends and weekdays. If at all possible, activities should be regular, frequent, planned by the students, varied, and they should involve as many student groups as possible. Indeed, the college or university can help support these activities either on or surrounding the campus which do not serve alcoholic beverages by offering them free listings in the campus newspaper; free poster space in the student union, residence halls, and fraternity and sorority houses; advertisements and announcements on the campus radio; and the like. This information is just as important and useful, perhaps, as the listings of places of worship, which most colleges actively promulgate.

There are many campuses that have virtually no offcampus community resources of any kind. The campus is the community. These "remote" schools such as Dartmouth and Bucknell, for example, have often had the reputation of being "heavy-drinking" schools. These schools have a particularly difficult recreational burden and realistically will have to do more to produce the same level of recreational opportunity as campuses in more densely populated and developed communities.

There is also the relationship between recreational economics and drinking. As a practical matter "sitting around and drinking beer" is a relatively inexpensive recreational activity. Typically about a dollar an hour. Movies at a commercial theater might cost two or three times that amount. Eating is more expensive. What about your campus activities? Some, with fees, may well be more expensive than drinking. Check out your varsity basketball games at your home gym. You'll often find that it's much more expensive per hour to attend them than it is to drink.

While certainly a complex issue, the recreational facilities, activities, policies, and practices of any college and its surrounding community are inextricably tied to the drinking problem, and it is unlikely that any comprehensive school

program will ever be successful if it does not address such recreational opportunities.

#### **Education**

## Leveling the Intellectual and Informational Playing Field

Virtually every college student has to make a personal decision as to whether or not to drink alcohol. And this decision is faced continuously. If this decision is affirmative, the student will have to make another set of decisions as to how frequently, how much, what kind, and under what circumstances to drink. Even for students who are too young to legally drink, they must decide whether or not to obey the law, and in any event, the decision whether or not to do so legally will face them in a year or so—in most cases while they are still students. Where do college and university students get the information to make such decisions? Is it accurate, complete, and unbiased?

Consider the information and impressions college students obtain oncampus. There are references to alcohol throughout the curriculum. There are the great creators, such as the artist Jackson Pollack, and the writer Dylan Thomas, who were serious alcoholics. In a philosophy class, Bertrand Russell's famous humorous quote, "I am as drunk as a lord, but then, I am one, so what does it matter." "What's drinking? A mere pause from thinking!" and "Man, being reasonable, must get drunk" are two of the famous lines of Lord Byron. 174 Fielding's, "Today it is our pleasure to be drunk" is another example. They are typical of the thousands of lines from our greatest literature that place drinking and drunkenness in a positive light. It should not be surprising that alcohol, drinking, and even drunkenness are referenced positively, if not romantically, throughout our historical, philosophical, or literary tradition. Drinking has been an integral part of Western culture and history. However, just as the full negative health consequences of smoking were not understood until relatively recently, the totality of the problems associated with alcohol and drinking is still emerging from current science.

Certainly, we don't want to make any literary, artistic, or historical decisions about the propriety of including material in courses on the basis of how the alcohol issue is treated. But it is important to appreciate that what might be classified as "pro-drinking" messages are frequently conveyed throughout the typical college curriculum.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>174</sup>Lord Byron, The Deformed Transformed and Don Juan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup>Henry Fielding, Tom Thumb the Great Act, Act I.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup>There are also literary selections which might be classified as anti-drinking in the curriculum, but these are naturally less frequent since the literature reflects an historically pro-drinking society.

Next, consider the noncurricula campus information sources. The college newspaper contains a large amount of advertising for alcoholic beverages. Occasionally, there is a news item about alcohol-related problems oncampus, but most of the copy related to drinking in a typical college newspaper is unabashedly pro-drinking.

And what of the other messages oncampus? Consider the signs and announcements of the beer bashes, the posters in the student residence hall rooms, the spotsorship of campus events, the fraternity parties, and other social functions of which alcohol is an attraction, if not the prime draw.

One of the biggest and most influential sources of information on a college campus is "word-of-mouth." The views and opinions of the other students rebound between classes, in residence halls, and at meals. If your campus is typical, most of this information not only encourages drinking, but almost glorifies and romanticizes it. The alcohol marketers, particularly, take advantage of this situation. In the words of one marketing executive, "The campus lifestyle is one that encourages camaraderie and interaction, and is a fertile area for word-of-mouth to get going. It's a great place for promotion." And the word-of-mouth information is generally biased toward promoting alcohol; it is often inaccurate, and is sometimes dangerous. Our culture drives much of it, but the marketers steer the rest.

The campus is not an island isolated from the rest of society. Students watch television like most other Americans. And there is not only the sampling of positive (and some negative) images of alcohol and drinking embedded in the story lines of the programs, but the heavy, explicit advertising of the alcoholic beverage industry. A study by the National Institute of Mental Health has estimated that there are approximately 10 episodes per hour of typical television which involve drinking. Some are advertisements, some are major components of the story line, and most are incidental. Far more than not show drinking in a positive light and associated with desirable activities.

Pro-alcohol messages are everywhere. The newspapers, radio, magazines, and billboards, as well as television. Next to peer pressure, research has demonstrated that exposure to beer advertising is second only to peer influence in predicting adolescent beer drinking.<sup>178</sup>

Where is the information that modern medicine, and physical and social sciences have brought us? On most campuses, much of it is in the library. And in pamphlets and in the heads of professionals at the health or counseling centers. And in the knowledge base of a few of the faculty, who may well have been the

<sup>177</sup> Mark Rose of CASS Student Advertising Inc., Quoted in Advertising Age, August 2, 1982.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup>C. Atkin et al., "Teenage Drinking: Does Advertising Make A Difference," *Journal of Communication*, 34:157-167, 1984.

major contributors to this rapidly increasing, scientific body of knowledge. It is not in most of the classes, not usually in the campus newspaper, not in the signs advertising campus social events. Over half of our schools have an undergraduate course on alcohol and alcoholism.<sup>179</sup> But only a small fraction of the students even attend these. How are students to make mature, informed decisions with this incredible imbalance of information? What intellectual, if not moral, obligation does the university have to try to level the playing field? Jean Mayer, the former president of Tufts University, articulated the difficulty: "You have to go across-current of an entire civilization." 180

Consider the following dramatic example. The typical student has seen literally tens of thousands of images associating alcohol with attractive members of the opposite sex, and their social and sexual interactions. Couple this with the romantic poetry in the curriculum, the almost endless discussions about socializing and sex in which students are expected to engage, and the observation of other students in social (and sexual) situations involving alcohol.

Drinking will make you attractive to the opposite sex.

Drinking will facilitate and enhance sexual activity.

People who have successful careers drink.

Drinking will promote and enhance your friendships.

Drinking will relax you and make you better able to cope.

Drinking will enhance your creativity.

Everybody else is drinking.

Every student gets these messages virtually every day on a typical college campus. They help to create and enhance the normative drinking culture found on most campuses—a culture in which most social, and indeed much intellectual, activity revolves around alcohol. How then do the members of the college community receive any of the following messages?

In our country, the image that's held of people is influenced by whether or not they use alcohol and other drugs. This, together with the societal images of alcohol and alcohol users, are a potent combination. It should, therefore, be no surprise that, while 66 percent of adult Americans would describe a person who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup>David S. Anderson and Angelo F. Gadaleto, *The College Alcohol Survey*, George Mason University, Virginia, 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup>Quoted in Michael Jacobson et al., *The Booze Merchants: The Inebriating of America*, Center for Science in the Public Interest, 1983, p. 49.

does not use any drugs as "intelligent," only 40 percent would describe that person as "having many friends," and a bare 18 percent would associate the term "sexy" with that person. That is the image that alcoholic beverage advertisers and promoters have helped to create: "Abstainers may be smart but they have few friends and are not very sexy." It is the one that we must all work to erase.

There are lots of successful nondrinkers.

Creativity and productivity are reduced by alcohol.

The alcoholic beverage industry targets college students.

Sexual function and sensation is impaired and reduced by drinking.

Many drinking practices are dangerous.

Drinking is associated with lower grades and dropouts.

Alcohol problems run in the family.

Alcohol interferes with personal relationships and harms many.

Large numbers of Americans die or are injured every day from alcohol-related causes.

Sex and sexuality are of great interest and concern to most college students. One of the major implications and "messages" of these massive advertising campaigns is, "Alcohol facilitates and enhances sex." Thousands of impressions of variants of this message reach college students each year. Where do they really find out that "although alcohol has been regarded as an aphrodisiac, it actually induces sexual dysfunction." Or that short-term alcohol effects include both erection dysfunction and ejaculation incompetence in males and reduces sensation and stimulus in both sexes. 183

In 1987 an Illinois appellate judge wrote a legal opinion in a case involving a Beta Theta Pi initiate who was required to go through a ceremony involving

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup>Gordon S. Black et al., *The Attitudinal Basis of Drug Abuse: The Third Year*, Gordon S. Black Corporation, Rochester, NY, 1989, Table 41.

<sup>182</sup>C. Shuster, Alcohol and Sexuality, Praeger, 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup>W. Mandell and C.M. Miller, "Male Sexual Dysfunction as Related to Alcohol Consumption," *Alcoholism*, 7(1):65-69, Winter 1983.

E. M. Fahrner, "Sexual Dysfunction in Male Alcohol Addicts: Prevalence and Treatment," Archives of Sexual Behavior, 16(3):247-257, June 1987.

K. Blum, "Influence of Psychopharmocological Agents on Sexual Function," In Handbook of Abusable Drugs, Gardner Press, 1984, pp. 645-661.

dangerous drinking practices. The judge opined that a fraternity had a legal duty to refrain from requiring participation in continuous drinking after intoxication.<sup>184</sup> In retrospect, the amazing thing about this opinion is the other duties it implicitly calls into question.

- The intellectual duty of the university to teach those Beta Theta Pi members, and presumably others on the campus, that drinking after the point of intoxication is dangerous and potentially deadly.
- The ethical duty of the school community to allow such activity.
- The social duty of the fraternity and the university to provide healthy social settings.

## **Programs and Policies**

Many campuses have instituted comprehensive alcohol and other drug prevention programs. These can work!<sup>185</sup> They're no panacea, and they don't work for everyone, but most college alcohol prevention programs show positive changes in knowledge and attitudes about alcohol use and its potential problems. Several evaluations demonstrate fewer alcohol problems at posttest follow-up. Successful college programs tended to be longer (20 to 36 hours) than the unsuccessful shorter ones (2 to 20 hours). Also, field experiences (in addition to classroom work) tend to improve the effectiveness.<sup>186</sup> Field experiences that appear to be helpful are: police ride-alongs, visits to treatment centers, planning and/or implementing campus alcohol awareness programs, "lobbying" for campus alcohol regulation changes, and acting as peer counselors.

There are a panoply of variations of campus alcohol education programs, as shown by the following table.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup>William Quinn v. Sigma Rho Chapter of Beta Theta Pi Fraternity, No. 4-86-0538, Appellate Court of Illinois, April 8, 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup>Alcohol and Health: Sixth Special Report to Congress, Public Health Service, NIAAA, 1987, p. 100. The report also indicates that some researchers have questioned the validity of the findings, arguing that participants in college programs were usually volunteers and the studies might not have sufficiently taken this into account. Nonetheless, it is clear that the college programs work for volunteer students and the evidence is less certain for nonvolunteers.

<sup>186</sup>Ibid.

Attendance	Organized By	Credit
Strictly Voluntary	Health Center	Academic Credit
Compulsory	Student Government	No Credit
Compulsory for Disciplinary Violations	Counseling Center	Meets Degree or
	Residence Halls Office	Major Requirements
Encouraged	Academic Department	
•	Alcohol and Other Drugs Office	
	Athletic Department	
	Individual Student Organizations, Clubs, Sororities or Fraternities	
	Off-Campus Agency	
	Joint Sponsorship	

Sometimes there are very creative campus policies regarding alcohol education. For example, in order to have a party and serve alcohol at Willamette College of Salem, Oregon, a fraternity, or other campus organization, must obtain a qualified speaker and require their students to attend an educational seminar on the problems related to the use of alcohol and other drugs. While fraternities are largely disproportionate contributors to the campus alcohol problem, some fraternities have taken a leadership role in implementing preventive education programs. 188

The process of making the various decisions as to whether or not there will be alcohol education programs, and which combination of variables would be used, can be a part of the campus debate and dialogue. Sometimes these programs can be quite innovative and unusual. At Luther College in Iowa, the student athletes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup>Caroline Cruz and Janet Bubl, "Promotion and Price: How the Alcohol Industry Targets Youth," Paper presented at the Oregon Seventh Annual Prevention Conference, Sunriver, October 21, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup>For example, The Kappa Sigma fraternity has developed a program called *My Brother's Keeper*. See D. W. Persky, *A Fraternity Approach to Alcohol Abuse Prevention*, ERIC, 1981.

and coaches were exposed to a formal educational program and then allowed to set their own rules, regulations, and standards for alcohol and other drug use. 189

Educational efforts do not guarantee success with all subgroups of the campus population. A study by the Fordham University Counseling Center observed that there was a stable core of heavy-drinking students who were not influenced into moderation by their education efforts.<sup>190</sup>

#### **Designated Driver Programs**

One of the most popular and successful programs on college campuses (as well as elsewhere) over the last few years has been designated driver programs. The consciousness-raising potential and the behavioral change of selecting drivers who will not drink are obviously extremely helpful, basic steps to be taken to reduce the carnage on the nation's roads caused by some alcohol-impaired drivers. But there is a subtle caution that should be observed by the many institutions which have or are considering designated driver programs. Specifically, the designated driver program can easily, if care is not taken, overshadow all other efforts and actually give students the wrong impression of the balanced dangers. It is critical that we examine not the intention of the program designers and implementers, but the results in terms of student perception. Many students receive the following message from the designated driver program and the publicity that surrounds it:

It is okay to get drunk as long as you do not drive.

Indeed, a program can almost reach the point where the student believes that, while getting drunk, he or she is behaving in a socially responsible manner, as long as the student refrains from driving. In the generic sense, there is a certain rational futility to a designated driver program. What about alcohol-related suicide, assaults, date rape, and vandalism? Should a fraternity or other organization have a designated nonvandalizer or a vandalism protector or a designated nonrapist? To the degree that a designated driver program singles out this one danger of drinking to the exclusion of the others, it is of limited value, especially on a college campus. To the degree that the designated driver program is part of a larger, more comprehensive program that makes students aware of all the risks of drinking, treats designating a driver as a course of last resort, and takes care to not promote intoxication by others, it may be helpful. In that sense, a designated driver program is parallel to enlarging the campus police force to prevent alcohol-related assaults and vandalism, or increasing the psychiatric

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup>Jerry Johnson, "Luther College Lets Student-Athletes Set Their Own Standards for Drug and Alcohol Use," NCAA Sports Sciences, 1(2):3-5, Winter 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup>G.S. Tryon, "Comparison of Alcohol Use by College Students, 1983 and 1988," Conference Paper, 97th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, New Orleans, August 1989.

screening of students to prevent alcohol-related suicides. These are activities that may well be constructive and desirable in and of themselves, but the battle is well over half lost when our students are alcohol impaired. We can then take steps to ameliorate the damage, but reducing the drunkenness and dangerous drinking practices is much more sure, beneficial, and usually cost-effective.

## Responsible Drinking

The conceptual linchpin of many formal educational efforts is the notion of "responsible drinking." Like designated driver programs, at first inspection, it is hard to fault a program with a "responsible drinking" theme. However, the concept of responsible drinking turns out to be much more complicated than it may appear. There is considerably more consensus as to its desirability than its definition. Many of us would see responsible drinking as imbibing in moderation, so as not to produce any negative health, social, economic, or educational consequences, as was articulated thousands of years ago by Aristotle. Most AA advocates would say that for a recovering alcoholic to have a single drink is irresponsible. They and others might argue that responsible drinking in many cases is an oxymoron. A Native American alcohol educator recently put it this way:

"Responsible drinking might be a nice concept, but I've never seen it. My mother is an alcoholic. My father is an alcoholic. Other members of my family are alcoholics. I have never seen responsible drinking for my people." 192

Also, approximately 40 percent of the population has chosen to define "responsible drinking" by being nondrinkers.

It is hard for most of us to tell exactly how much alcohol is a responsible amount on any given occasion or for any particular person. There are so many factors involved, including what and how fast we've drunk, the social setting, what we've eaten recently, heredity disposition, environmental and psychological factors, and the like. The additional complication is that, as we drink and reach points of critical decisionmaking, our ability to make an unimpaired judgment is decreased by the alcohol that we have already consumed. Most undergraduates are at the "immortal" stage of life. Intellectually, most know about many "risks," but they take them anyway. They drive too fast, drink too much, and engage in other risk-taking behavior that older people might not and certainly do not with such frequency. That was the thinking behind increasing the minimum drinking age to 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup>Aristotle, Nichomachean Ethics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup>Caroline Cruz and Janet Bubl, "Promotion and Price: How the Alcohol Industry Targets Youth," Paper presented at the Oregon Seventh Annual Prevention Conference, Sunriver, October 21, 1990.

The concept of responsible drinking places virtually the entire public health burden on the individual student as opposed to the environment. Someone who drinks too much is somehow stigmatized as "irresponsible." The host of the party is not the irresponsible agent; the alcohol marketers are not the irresponsible ones; the institution is not irresponsible—only the drinker bears the responsibility. And as the responsible student drinks, his or her ability to make responsible decisions and judgement is constantly eroded. And so, in the responsible drinking model, we blame only the drinker and the drinker blames the booze. It is not surprising that so many elements of our society are enthusiastic about the responsible drinking model—it takes us all "off the hook." The brewers, distillers, bars, and liquor stores find the model particularly appealing. All the negative consequence to society associated with alcohol can be attributed to a minority of "irresponsible" individuals. That's one of the reasons that so many responsible drinking programs are encouraged and even funded by beer and liquor companies. They reduce their perceived responsibility and at the same time reinforce their brand name identification and product identification.

Responsible drinking program models have been operational for a while,<sup>193</sup> and are helpful, but not at all sufficient. As has been observed by one college president, "there is just too much booze." There must also be initiatives oncampus to alter significantly the alcohol culture and environment, and reduce the amount of alcohol that is consumed. This does not necessarily mean requiring abstinence of all students in general or on particular occasions. It does mean making sure that there is a culture and atmosphere that realistically support and allow abstinence on the part of those students who prefer it or for those who should be abstinent as a result of past personal history. It does mean leveling the alcohol information playing field. It does mean countering the incessant drum of pro-drinking messages. It does mean regulating the conditions of use. And, at the bottom line, it does mean reducing the total amount of booze—which college students have evidenced efficiently doing.

Under the direction of Secretary Louis W. Sullivan, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services convened a consortium of 300 national health organizations and all State health agencies to identify national health opportunities and objectives to be achieved by the year 2000. One major goal is to reduce by 20 percent the total intake of alcohol by Americans. Another is to reduce and restrict the promotion of alcoholic beverages that is focused

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup>E.g., BACCHUS. See T.D. Aceto et al., Model Programs of Alcohol Education in Institutions of Higher Education, University of Florida/BACCHUS of the U. S., 1984.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup>Robin Wilson, "Better Times At Chico State," *Prevention File*, University of California at San Diego, Fall 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup>Healthy People 2000: National Health Promotion and Disease Prevention Objectives, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, Conference Edition, September 1990, Goal 4.8. The objective is stated in terms of reducing the total consumption of ethanol.

principally on young audiences. These national goals transcend responsible drinking. To the degree that designated driver programs function in place of responsible drinking programs or divert efforts away from reducing campus alcohol consumption, they do a partial disservice. And if responsible drinking programs function in lieu of, or crowd out, environmental and cultural normative efforts, they will be, in large part, counterproductive. It is politically very easy to institute a designated driver program. It's slightly more complicated to operate responsible drinking programs. It takes much more institutional courage and wit to alter the college drinking environment. But that is exactly what it's going to take.

#### Local Research and Dissemination Efforts

Utilize the intellectual resources on your campus to learn more about your own student body and its relationships to alcohol. Manhattan College of New York did. The result not only helped the school learn more about its own problem, but it produced a scientific journal article<sup>197</sup> that helped many others. The University of Indiana, University of Iowa, Penn State, Central Missouri State, and many other schools have campus research efforts. Consider the possibilities of:

- Mobilizing the intellectual capabilities of students and faculty to direct term papers and masters and doctoral dissertations toward this problem.
- Organizing the art students to design posters and the business and economics majors to analyze the local economics of alcohol use.
- Utilizing the social scientists to survey the real attitudes of the students and faculty and the philosophers and ethicists to structure the ethical debate.
- Utilizing the management and law students to propose appropriate campus rules and regulations.
- Encouraging the literature students to find the many literary references to the problems of drinking.
- Encouraging the biologists and physiologists to explain the truth about alcohol and sexual function in language the rest of the campus will understand.
- Encouraging the journalists, poets, and communications students to use the campus newspapers, radio stations, closed circuit and cable TV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup>Ibid., Goal 4.17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup>P.B. Jason, "Drinking-related Beliefs of Male College Students," *Journal of Alcohol Education*, 34(1):17-22, 1988.

- Having the cheerleaders and student athletes include messages about alcohol at the pep rallies.
- Having the marketing majors analyze and keep track of the number and kind of messages related to alcohol use that reach the student body.

There is virtually no department of the modern college or university that could not make a major contribution to a campus dialogue. The opportunity is there to use and practice the skills the students are being taught and improve the quality of campus life in the most profound way—by preserving it. The college and the student body can take back control from the various economic, legal, and social forces in society, and the students can make their own destinies and control their own behavior, rather than simply being the target and market of special interests who have no interest in the students, other than as current and potential customers.

#### Counteradvertising

Advertising and promotion are extremely powerful, dynamic forces in our society in terms of altering the behavior of our citizens. And America is the most advanced nation on earth with regard to advertising and promotion. Its combination and art and skills has helped to develop its rising economy and the high standard of living. Yet, in our capitalistic system there is a potential shortcoming. Specifically, most advertising and promotion is organized, developed, and placed by private organizations which have specific economic benefits to gain from the desired changes in the consumers' behavior. In general, if there is no entity with a potential financial benefit from the advertising and promotion of an area, there is no advertising and promotion in that particular area. One idea is that the same communication techniques can be applied to producing healthy behavior and avoiding dangerous practices and products. The theory is certainly sound. In practice, the problem is knowing who has the vested interest to pay for the utilization of the techniques.

When marketing and promotional techniques are used to engender less utilization of potentially dangerous substances or the engaging in less-dangerous behaviors, it is referred to as *counteradvertising*. Perhaps the most powerful example of counteradvertising was the anti-smoking television commercial prepared by Yul Brenner shortly before he died of lung cancer, which was shown across the country posthumously. In the alcohol arena, there is the scene of a tombstone and the camera would pan back to an area of a cemetery and finally to the whole cemetery with these words appearing on the screen,

Last year, alcohol lifted the spirits of 100,000 Americans.

The United States Public Health Service has engaged in a substantial number of counteradvertising campaigns. Counteradvertising not only focuses on healthful behavior and the avoidance of unhealthy behavior, but often uses sarcasm, ridicule, and irony to counter the very images that the advertisers of unhealthy products are inculcating.

Alcohol, when sold to adults in the appropriate manner, is a legal substance, and the manufacturers of alcoholic beverages have, under present law, every right to advertise and promote their products. They do so with incredible skill. But they do not necessarily have the right to advertise and promote their product anywhere and everywhere. Students and the public have the right to know the effects of drinking. The campus is primarily an academic setting. Freedom of speech would certainly be served if alcoholic beverage representatives were invited or allowed to speak or debate. And they are free to write papers and submit them to the academic journals for publication. But most alcohol purveyors do not often subject themselves to the crucible of free intellectual debate and inquiry. They prefer their own techniques, unfettered by any intellectual opposition. They probably could not prevail on a level playing field. Indeed, they prefer not to engage on a playing field where there is any opposition whatsoever with the exception of other alcohol pushers. Recently, Miller Beer attempted to sue Doctors Ought To Care (DOC) for issuing T-shirts that were a parody of Miller promotional T-shirts. Miller wanted to exercise their freedom of speech to produce their T-shirts, but were not in favor of the use of freedom of speech by critics nor by those with opposing ideas.

The art and science of counteradvertising to offset the effects of alcohol advertising has developed rapidly in recent years. When the Federal Government's Office for Substance Abuse Prevention engaged in its 1990 billboard campaign with the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences, thousands of 40-foot billboards were posted throughout the country—many in immediate juxtaposition to commercial billboards advertising alcohol or cigarettes. Many were placed on top of or adjacent to liquor stores; the liquor store owners did not have control over the billboard space.

Humor is a very powerful force in alcohol counteradvertising. One leading proponent has a presentation entitled, "Laughing The Drug Dealers Out of

Town."<sup>198</sup> The "drug dealers" are the alcohol and tobacco companies, and humorous and sarcastic parodies of successful alcoholic beverage ads are prominently presented to show how absurd are the claims and associations of the ads. In Canada, the Ontario universities have a Campus Alcohol Education Initiative. A main focus of this program is the production and printing of advertising parodies of beer ads in the campus newspapers and on posters. "The satirical strategy allows us to build on typical visuals and them popularized by beverage producers," observes one of the designers of that program. <sup>199</sup> American colleges could consider similar parodies and satires—perhaps alumni and faculty could sponsor them in college newspapers.

Sometimes, counteradvertising involves more than just using the same techniques as the advertisers, often more than showing irony and contrast. In 1990, in Harlem, New York, the Reverend Calvin Butts led a group of protesters with cans of paint and they "whitewashed" a number of billboards that had been targeting the black community with regard to alcohol products.

#### Class Scheduling

It is not openly discussed very often, but in most gatherings of college faculty and staff discussing the campus alcohol problem, the subject of class schedules soon comes up. In most schools, Friday and Saturday classes are fewer and farther between than in the past. If most students have no Saturday classes, there is less reason for drinking moderation on Friday night. And if a student's last class is on Thursday at 2, why not start the weekend on Thursday at 4? It is ironic, but it may well be that one of the best campus prevention strategies is classes and other academic activities such as colloquia, labs, conferences, and the like on Thursday, Friday, and perhaps Saturday morning.

# Negativism

One of the great dilemmas facing every college community is the fact that so many of the "solutions" that are suggested are negative in nature. Prohibit this, limit that, warn students not to do X, that there is danger of Y. We are often quick to tell our students what should or may not be done, when they often complain that there is little enough that they can do. Most of our policies are negatively phrased such as, "Drinking or possession of alcoholic beverages is prohibited in the student union." We are usually much more willing to state a policy of prohibition or regulation like that than one like, "There will be oncampus recreational opportunities, available at no or low cost, at least 20 hours each day, 7 days a week" or, "All departmental curricula shall make serious

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup>Alan Blum, Laughing The Drug Dealers Out of Town, Presentation at the Oregon Seventh Annual Prevention Conference, Sunriver, October 21, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup>Robert I. Simpson, Letter to Robert Denniston, September 21, 1990.

efforts to include material on alcohol and drinking that may be relevant to their disciplines." It is a useful exercise to examine the totality of all campus alcohol-related policies and place them in two categories—those that are negative and those that are positive. If the negative far outweigh the positive, consider what else might be missing. It is also far easier to make policy and promulgate rules than it is to change the campus environment. The rules, regulations, and policy statements are an important part of a realistic solution, but only a part. A comprehensive program is needed to change cultural norms.

#### Hypocrisy and Reality

There are two other programmatic and policy pitfalls that are often reported. First is hypocrisy. Student's are particularly astute at discovering inconsistencies and hypocrisies. If alcohol is prohibited in the residence hall room of a student over age 21, should it be allowed in the residence hall advisor's room or in the college president's residence for that matter? If there is a two-drink limit at the campus dance or a party, does that limit exist at a faculty party on campus? And if server training is required of those serving alcohol at student affairs, is that same server training required of the staff at the faculty club?

And having a policy that is usually honored in the breach is perhaps worse than no policy at all. One experienced administrator has suggested that no rule be promulgated unless the enforcement methodologies, costs, and consequences be thought through and determined to be realistic. Consider, for example, the choice of making underaged drinking an offense that would result in suspension or expulsion. Before promulgating such a rule, it might be wise to do a campus survey to determine approximately what percentage of the students under age 21 you might suspend or expel? If 80 percent of the underaged students currently drink, the only thing that might make your policy tolerable is that you not enforce it seriously. Perhaps you might want to start with a campus media and curricula campaign; then, after a period of time, move to lesser penalties for infraction, but penalties that you would be prepared to enforce. When the behavior becomes less of a norm, then the penalties can be more stringent. Rules are often effective and symbolically important, but are not the only avenue open to the institution. Goals, consciousness raising, education, and example are also effective roles for campus administrators and faculty.

# Campus Organization and Coordination

When the University of Nebraska athletic department sold the school's mascot logo to the Coors Brewing Company to promote beer, the athletic officials almost assuredly did not know that the university was a member of a network that was

committed to preventing this very type of thing.<sup>200</sup> And recently a vice president of the University of Iowa observed that there were dozens of different alcohol-use policies on his campus. When students attend a meeting of the chemistry honorary society, the drinking governances are under the control of that organization; it is their building. Residence hall drinking rules are set by another part of the university, and so it goes.<sup>201</sup> There are countless examples where one part of the school is working on the alcohol problem in ignorance of what other units are doing, and sometimes at cross purposes. There are many who call for better coordination and management of campus-wide efforts. Indeed, the U.S. Department of Education has provided start-up funding for alcohol and drug abuse coordinators in over 800 schools of higher education. Ironically, in both of the examples just given, there was such a coordinator. It didn't help. Coordinators complain of lack of faculty and administrative support.<sup>202</sup> Critics of the staff coordinators observe that it is virtually impossible for any mid-level staff official in a modern university to make any meaningful systemic changes. Indeed, they argue that such change and consistency can only come from having the coordinated leadership of the highest level administrators and the most influential faculty members—the faculty senate—work in concert. Producing change on the college campus is a complex process which differs widely across institutions.

A university can be humorously described as a collection of independent fiefdoms operating under the same logo and connected only by a common telephone and plumbing system. It will certainly be difficult for any single individual to become the "alcohol/drug czar" and be able to direct, shape, or even significantly influence alcohol-related messages and practices throughout the university. As we have seen, alcohol cuts across all departments and elements of the school community. Normative change requires the active involvement of a very large proportion of the leaders of the faculty, staff, administration, and students—and could well use the assistance of alumni and community and political leadership. A single authority might be able to change some rules and/or policies, but he or she alone is not likely to change practices and norms. Indeed, the more authority such a person is apparently given, the more likely it is, on many campuses, that the individual will be left to "stew in his or her own juice," with others not actively opposing, but not helping in any way either. Each campus is somewhat unique and each institution will create different structures suitable to itself—as a consequence of a major campus debate and dialogue which is already taking place on many campuses and needs to occur on all of them.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup>Network of Colleges and Universities Committed to the Elimination of Drug and Alcohol Abuse. It is coordinated by the U. S. Department of Education.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup>Iowa City Press Citizen, October 3, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup>Personal Communication with Joan White Quinlan.

#### Resources

There are many free and inexpensive resources that are available to college The Congressionally mandated National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information (NCADI) provides free and inexpensive materials, performs computerized literature searches, maintains a free audio-visual loan program, and provides other services to the public and to college and university students, faculty, and administrators in particular. Each month, they service over 2,000 requests from higher education institutions alone. NCADI has slide and graphic sets paralleling the facts in this white paper. The American College Health Association has a series of pamphlets for the college community. The National Council on Alcohol and Drug Dependency is another excellent source of information and help. AA, AlaTeen, and Al-Anon provide support and self-help group services that are without cost. The Federal Government's Office for Substance Abuse Prevention has developed training programs in *Media Advocacy* and Social Marketing which could be brought to a campus at a low cost. The Department of Education sponsors The Network of Colleges and Universities Committed to the Elimination of Drug and Alcohol Abuse, which includes over 1,300 institutions of higher education. Also, the Department of Education supports grants to many schools through FPSE. Finally, many colleges are asking parents to add \$15 to \$25 to the cost of student services to help defray the cost of recreational activities. Very few parents refuse.

# Long-Term Financing for Campus Alcohol Activities and Programs

One of the harsh economic realities on most campuses in America is that there are more needs than there are resources to support them. How are they to finance dealing with alcohol problems oncampus? Federal and State grants are made to institutions of higher education for various facets of the problems related to the use of alcohol and other drugs oncampus. The bulk of these grants come directly or indirectly from the Federal Department of Health and Human Services<sup>203</sup> and the Department of Education. But these grants pay for only a small fraction of the efforts that most institutions want or need to make. The bulk of the efforts, as a practical matter, must be made locally.

The classic answer is to argue the significance of the alcohol problem and examine its priority relative to others oncampus. Certainly by that standard, alcohol education, prevention, and control efforts are underfunded on most campuses. Decisions and priorities relative to funding must be made at each

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup>Included are the Office for Substance Abuse Prevention, Office of Treatment Improvement, National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, National Institute on Drug Abuse, National Institute on Mental Health, Centers for Disease Control, and the Alcohol Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration.

institution by the legislatures, trustees, administrators, faculty, and students who are responsible for the various funds. However, beyond that, there are additional financial approaches which might be considered.

In this respect, it is worthwhile to examine the examples of several political entities. Some States, for example, have increased their cigarette and alcohol taxes. The revenues generated from these taxes are earmarked and/or dedicated to various kinds of health treatment and prevention programs. More important than that fact is the principle behind this type of taxation. Specifically, it is that society as a whole is usually subsidizing the unhealthy and dangerous practices of some of its members.

Cigarette smokers and alcohol users are not paying their proportionate share of the cost of the problems caused by cigarette and alcohol use. The alcoholic beverage industry pays taxes, to be sure, but those taxes are for the generalized societal services that everyone gets. They pay the same taxes as IBM or McGraw Hill, for example; however, these latter firms do not produce a product that costs society a great deal of additional money and anguish. The alcoholic beverage manufacturers and the brewers do not pay any additional corporate share of the extra burden they place on society.

What about the drinker? There is a tax on virtually every alcoholic beverage that is sold in America. Usually the tax is both Federal and State. Based on the alcoholic beverage tax rates of 1988, the drinkers of America contributed a total of \$8.7 billion through all the specific alcohol taxes on beverages.<sup>204</sup> However, the cost to society was over 10 times that amount. Therefore, the argument goes, there should be substantial increases in alcohol tax payments.

This general principle could be applied to college campuses. The act of having a beer party costs the university campus and the academic community in many ways that have already been enumerated. The heavier drinkers cost more than the lighter drinkers, who in turn place a greater burden on the system than the abstainers. The organizations that sponsor many alcohol parties place a greater strain and consume more campus resources than those which sponsor none or few.

In California, in 1990, a state-wide voter initiative<sup>205</sup> was placed on the ballot which basically taxed all alcoholic beverages at the rate of a nickel a drink: 5¢ for a beer, 5¢ for a screwdriver or a martini, 5¢ for a glass of wine. The measure was defeated, but it sparked a national debate on the alcohol tax issue, which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup>Statistical Abstracts of the United States, Table No. 431, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1988. These taxes do not include general sales or use taxes that might apply to alcohol, as well as other foods and beverages.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup>Proposition 134, 1990 California election. The idea originated when supporters heard Surgeon General C. Everett Koop say in May 1989, "Who could quarrel with a nickel-a-drink user fee?"

Perhaps the campus could consider such a tax. Northwestern continues. University, for example, under its new rules limiting the amount of alcohol available for any campus party,<sup>206</sup> is going to have to provide security inspection services to see that its new safety limits on drinks available are being complied with. Why shouldn't there be an alcoholic beverage fee which goes to a campus fund to pay for the additional services? At the University of Iowa, the student health center currently screens students for alcohol-related problems when they have been referred by the courts. But where do the funds come from for screening and referring students who have alcohol problems before they commit the anti-social and criminal acts that will have them referred by the courts. Perhaps a campus drink fee or some other creative funding option can go a long way to doing this. If indeed, as a result of regulatory practices, the campus newspaper loses advertising revenue usually received from the alcoholic beverage companies, the fee can replace some of this. Or the same fee could be utilized to pay for the equivalent of campus-wide public service advertising and educational programs.

There is nothing magical about the California five-cents-a-drink fee or tax. A campus drink fee could be more or less than that amount. The average student will consume about 240 drinks a year. If half of those were consumed oncampus, and a 10¢ fee were collected for each drink, a school could raise \$12,000 annually for each 1,000 students enrolled. That's over \$360,000 for a large campus, such as the University of Maryland at College Park or the University of Michigan. A fraternity might sponsor a party for 150 guests. Two drinks each might be a typical average. The fraternity might have to pay a \$30 fee.

This is where the professional and intellectual resources of the campus can come into play. If the policy was that the alcohol users should pay the campus costs of alcohol use, then the economists and business students and faculty can, with the help of the health professionals, determine the approximate cost to the college. Surveys of drinking patterns and problems could then be analyzed and an appropriate and fair fee structure could be determined. Law students and students of government, and their faculty, could create alternative "tax" collection methods. The campus as a whole could engage in the same kind of policy development analysis that is going on at all levels of government throughout much of the country.

As a result of a faculty senate or student government merely positing the principle that alcohol users should pay the campus costs of the use, and involving many elements of the campus, the ensuing debate and analytical process will do much to raise the consciousness of the campus community. In addition, the process itself will become part of a prevention and education strategy, regardless of the outcome—i.e., the rules and/or fees that are finally adopted or not.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup>The New York Times, October 7, 1990.

#### **Summation**

The typical college campus is potentially hazardous to the health of its students. Drinking is the principle hazard. The college campus has cultural traditions and patterns which interact with students who are particularly vulnerable at this point in their lives. The combination is always potentially dangerous, and often deadly. There are many steps that college communities can take to diminish the risk and ameliorate the problem, but these steps will mean profound changes in campus tradition, norms, rules, and culture. These changes need to be made. As Robin Wilson, president of California State University at Chico, put it so well,

"If this culture of alcohol abuse is not confronted, then what?

If not now, when? If not by us, by whom?"<sup>207</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup>Robin Wilson, "Better Times At Chico State," *Prevention File*, University of California at San Diego, Fall 1990.