1	Western Australian students' alcohol consumption and expenditure intentions for
2	Schoolies
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8	RUNNING HEAD: Students' alcohol consumption intentions for Schoolies
9	
10	Abstract
11	
12	Issue addressed : In Australia, the immediate post-school period (known as 'Schoolies') is
13	associated with heavy drinking and high levels of alcohol-related harm. This study
14	investigated students' intended alcohol consumption during Schoolies to inform interventions
15	to reduce alcohol-related harm among this group.
16	Methods : An online survey was administered to students in their senior year of schooling.
17	Included items related to intended daily alcohol consumption during Schoolies, amount of
18	money intended to be spent on alcohol over the Schoolies period, and past drinking
19	behaviour.
20	Results : On average, participants ($n=187$) anticipated that they would consume eight
21	standard drinks per day, which is substantially higher than the recommended maximum of no
22	more than four drinks on a single occasion. Participants intended to spend an average of \$131
23	on alcohol over the Schoolies period.
24	Conclusions : Although higher than national guidelines, intended alcohol consumption was
25	considerably lower than has been previously documented during Schoolies events. The
26	substantial amounts of money expected to be spent during Schoolies suggest this group has
27	adequate spending power to constitute an attractive target market for those offering
28	alternative activities that are associated with lower levels of alcohol-related harm.
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- 1 What is known about the topic?
 - Schoolies celebrations often involve excessive alcohol consumption. Many of those
 participating in these celebrations experience alcohol-related harm, making
 minimisation of this harm a public health priority.

- 6 What does this paper add?
 - This study highlights the importance of identifying changes that could be made to the Schoolies environment to reduce expenditure on alcohol and increase expenditure on alternative activities that do not involve excessive alcohol consumption.

1	Introduction
2	
3	The celebrations undertaken in the period immediately after completion of high school are a
4	distinct marker of the transition from childhood to adulthood in Australia (Pettigrew et al.,
5	2016). Students about to complete their secondary school studies are colloquially referred to
6	as 'leavers' and the immediate post-school celebration period is known as 'Schoolies'
7	(Hutton et al., 2015; Midford et al., 2007; Pettigrew et al., 2015). During Schoolies, many
8	Australian leavers congregate in large numbers at favoured holiday destinations that are
9	typically some distance from home (Irwin et al., 2015). These celebrations are approximately
10	four days in duration and provide leavers with much sought after autonomy from parents and
11	other authority figures (Midford et al., 2007; Pettigrew et al., 2015).
12	
13	Schoolies celebrations often involve excessive alcohol consumption (Hutton, Roderick et al.,
14	2012; Lubman et al., 2014; Midford et al., 2007; Pettigrew et al., 2015). Numerous Australian
15	studies have found that leavers consider alcohol to be a necessary and highly enjoyable aspect
16	of the Schoolies experience (Midford et al., 2007; Midford et al., 2004; Pettigrew et al., 2015,
17	2016). In particular, these studies document (i) the perceived role of alcohol in marking the
18	end of childhood and formal schooling and (ii) an explicit intention among many leavers to
19	achieve advanced states of inebriation. A recent South Australian study found that previous
20	Schoolies attendees reported spending the majority of their celebration planning time
21	preparing for the type of alcohol they would consume, how they would purchase alcohol
22	before attending Schoolies, and making sure they had sufficient money for the event (Hutton
23	et al., 2015).
24	
25	Despite many leavers being below the age of 18 (the legal age to purchase alcohol in
26	Australia), previous studies have documented the excessive quantities of alcohol that are
27	typically consumed by those attending Schoolies celebrations (Lam et al., 2014; Lubman et
28	al., 2014; Salom et al., 2011). For example, Lam et al. (2014) found that male leavers at a
29	Schoolies celebration location in Western Australia consumed an average of 18 standard
30	drinks per day and their female counterparts consumed 13 drinks per day. This study found
31	that many of the participants experienced alcohol-related harm in the form of vomiting,
32	blackouts, accidents and injuries, and unprotected sex. These harms make excessive drinking
33	during Schoolies a significant public health issue (Hutton, Cusack et al., 2012).

1	In recent years there have been calls for research to inform health promotion strategies
2	focusing on alternative end-of-school celebratory experiences to reduce the emphasis on
3	alcohol during these celebrations (Howat et al., 2013; Pettigrew et al., 2015, 2016). Little is
4	currently known about alternative activities that may be considered appropriate and attractive
5	to leavers, highlighting the need for research to begin to identify viable options that have
6	minimal alcohol involvement (Pettigrew et al., 2015). An important first step in this process
7	is understanding the monetary investment that leavers are willing to make to facilitate their
8	Schoolies celebrations to provide insight into the financial feasibility of alternative
9	celebratory options. Ideally, this would involve gathering information relating to students'
10	total planned Schoolies-related expenditure and the amounts they intend to spend on alcohol
11	in particular. This information could provide an indication of the relative importance of
12	alcohol in leavers' anticipated experiences and identify the potential for students to afford
13	other celebratory experiences that have lower levels of alcohol-related risk.
14	
15	Accordingly, the aim of the present study was to assess intended daily alcohol consumption
16	and anticipated alcohol-related expenditure during Schoolies among a sample of Western
17	Australian school leavers. Given previously identified differences in alcohol consumption
18	between males and females during Schoolies (Lam et al., 2014; Lubman et al., 2014),
19	whether alcohol consumption and expected expenditure varied by gender was also of interest
20	
21	
22	Method
23	
24	The study received ethics approval from a University Human Research Ethics Committee. In
25	the lead up to the 2014 Schoolies period, ten schools from a diverse range of areas across
26	Western Australia were invited to share a link to an online survey with their senior students.
27	The survey link was also placed on two websites that provided Schoolies information for
28	leavers (e.g., tips for managing the Schoolies period, information relating to what to expect,
29	accommodation options). Given the varying means by which the survey link was
30	disseminated, response rates could not be estimated.
31	
32	The survey instrument was developed based on the extant literature relating to leavers'
33	motives and behaviours (Hutton et al., 2010; Lam et al., 2014; Pettigrew et al., 2015). The
34	survey included open response items related to intended daily alcohol consumption during

1	Schoolies (On average, how many standard drinks of alcohol per day do you think you will
2	drink during Leavers?) and the total amount of money participants intended to spend in total
3	and on alcohol during Schoolies (How much money do you think you (and/or your parents)
4	will spend on Leavers in total – including transport, accommodation, activities, food and
5	drinks? and How much money, if any, do you think you (and/or your parents) will spend just
6	on alcohol for Leavers?). A scaled response item assessed previous binge drinking behaviour
7	(How often do you consume more than four standard drinks on a single drinking occasion; 7
8	response options ranging from "never" to "5+ days a week"). Self-reported items assessing
9	demographic variables (age, gender, family income) were also included. To facilitate accurate
10	measurement of intake, a figure sourced from the National Health and Medical Research
11	Council (NHMRC, 2009) depicting numerous types of beverages in standard drink quantities
12	was presented to respondents. Reflecting the current Australian national alcohol guideline
13	relating to risk of short-term harm (NHMRC, 2009), an "intention to binge drink" dummy
14	variable was also created that distinguished between those who intended to consume more
15	than four standard drinks per day during Schoolies and those who did not.
16	
17	Descriptive analyses were conducted to explore intended alcohol consumption and intended
18	financial expenditure during Schoolies. Independent samples t-tests were conducted to assess
19	for gender differences on the continuous variables under investigation. Pearson chi-square
20	tests were conducted to assess for gender differences on the categorical variables under
21	investigation. Marginal homogeneity tests were conducted to assess for differences in
22	previous binge drinking behaviours and Schoolies binge drinking intentions. SPSS 24 was
23	used for all analyses. A p value $< .05$ was used to determine significance.
24	
25	Results
26	
27	In total, 187 usable responses were received. Nearly two-thirds (62%) of the sample was
28	female. Scores greater than three standard deviations from the mean were deemed to be
29	outliers. These scores were assigned the mean plus three standard deviations value (as per
30	Mastroleo et al., 2014; Voogt et al., 2013).
31	
32	Descriptive statistics for intended alcohol consumption, binge intentions, previous binge
33	drinking behaviour, and planned expenditure are presented in Table 1. Nearly a quarter (23%)
34	of the sample reported that they intended to abstain from alcohol consumption altogether

1 during the Schoolies period. Across the entire sample (including intended abstainers), the 2 average intended number of standard drinks was eight, with males intending to drink significantly larger daily amounts than females (12 vs 6 standard drinks respectively: 3 (t(91.99) = 2.87, p = .005, d = 0.49). Just over half of the respondents reported intending to 4 drink more than four drinks per day (i.e., binge drink), while 21% reported intending to drink 5 at levels below this threshold. Males were significantly more likely to report both intending 6 to binge drink during Schoolies ($\chi^2(1) = 3.96$, p = .047, $\phi = .15$) and binge drinking at least 7 once per month prior to Schoolies ($\chi^2(1) = 12.41$, p < .001, $\phi = .26$). The difference between 8 9 previous binge drinking behaviour and intended binge drinking behaviour at Schoolies was significantly greater in females, with prevalence increasing from 33% to 50% (p = .003). 10 11 On average, respondents reported planning to spend \$965 during the Schoolies period, with 12 no significant gender difference in planned expenditure. Of the total amount, 14% (\$131) was 13 intended to be spent on alcohol alone, with males expecting to spend considerably more on 14 alcohol than females (\$1011 vs \$938; t(114.21) = 2.00, p = .048, d = 0.32). 15 16 Insert Table 1 about here 17 18 **Discussion** 19 20 The average level of intended alcohol consumption reported by students in the current 21 22 sample, approximately eight standard drinks per day, is double the NHMRC guideline of "no more than four standard drinks on a single occasion" (NHMRC, 2009). However, it is 23 24 considerably lower than previously documented consumption rates during Schoolies, with Lam et al. (2014) reporting an average of 16 standard drinks per day at a Western Australian 25 26 celebration location. This difference between drinking intentions found in the present study 27 and actual behaviours reported during previous Schoolies celebrations suggests that consumption rates may be higher than intended once leavers find themselves in high-alcohol 28 environments. Contributing factors may be peer pressure overcoming personal preferences 29 30 and the desire to act in accordance with others in social contexts (Hutton, Cusack et al., 2012). 31 32 Consistent with previous research indicating that males in this age group consume more 33 34 alcohol than their female counterparts (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2014;

- Iwamoto & Smiler, 2013), males in the present study reported intending to drink significantly
 larger quantities of alcohol during Schoolies and demonstrated a significantly higher
- prevalence of binge drinking prior to Schoolies compared to females. However, while females reported more modest intentions and past drinking behaviours, the difference
- 5 between time periods was significantly and substantially larger, indicating that Schoolies is
- 6 likely to represent a dramatic escalation in their alcohol intake relative to their previous
- 7 drinking behaviours. By comparison, there was no significant difference in the proportion of
- 8 males who reported binge drinking at least monthly prior to Schoolies and the proportion of
- 9 those intending to binge drink during Schoolies. These results indicate that both male and
- 10 female leavers should be primary targets of interventions designed to reduce alcohol-related
- 11 harm during Schoolies males because of their overall high intake levels and females
- because of the likelihood of a sudden escalation of their drinking behaviours.

14 A novel aspect of this study was the examination of students' planned expenditure for the

- Schoolies period. Respondents indicated they would spend nearly \$1000 on Schoolies in total
- and \$130 on alcohol specifically. This expected expenditure on alcohol needs to be
- interpreted in the context of the low per unit cost of alcohol in Australia and provides support
- 18 for the introduction of measures that may be effective in increasing the cost of alcohol,
- 19 particularly strength-based measures such as minimum pricing. Increasing the cost of the
- 20 cheapest alcohol products may exert downward pressure on overall intake levels during
- 21 events such as Schoolies given the previously identified tendency of leavers to plan their
- drinking around the relative cost of different alcoholic beverages to maximise their alcohol
- consumption within their budgets (Hutton et al., 2015).
- 25 When aggregated across the cohort, total expected expenditure over the Schoolies period is a
- substantial amount of money that could be channelled into other activities that achieve
- similar social bonding, relaxation, and celebration outcomes but do not involve such high
- levels of alcohol-related risk. It has been proposed that efforts to develop and promote such
- 29 alternative activities and minimise harm should be undertaken by, or in collaboration with,
- members of the target audience to minimise the perceived influence of the authority figures
- 31 from whom leavers are attempting to distance themselves (Hutton, Cusack et al., 2012;
- Pettigrew et al., 2016). This may help to improve perceptions of these alternative activities
- relative to those involving excessive alcohol consumption.

24

The present study has limitations to be considered in future research on this topic. First, the
intention-behaviour gap (Hagger et al., 2016; Mullan et al., 2011) means that respondents'
intended alcohol consumption may not align with actual intake. This is evident in the
substantial differences between leavers' intended consumption behaviours in the present
study and their actual consumption when attending celebration events (Lam et al., 2014;
Lubman et al., 2014; Salom et al., 2011). Longitudinal studies could be undertaken to track
students pre- to post-Schoolies to investigate the extent to which intentions translate into
behaviours and identify factors that influence whether intentions are exceeded. Such research
would be useful in explicating the range of individual, social, and environmental factors that
cause young people to consume excessive quantities of alcohol during such events. Second,
as has been the case for previous research on Schoolies (Hutton et al., 2010, 2015; Hutton,
Roderick et al., 2012; Lam et al., 2014; Lubman et al., 2014; Midford et al., 2007; Pettigrew
et al., 2015, 2016), the results of the present study pertain to only one Australian state.
National studies that include larger samples of students from across the country would
provide a more representative and comprehensive picture of the Schoolies phenomenon.
An important finding of the present study was that 23% of the sample intended to abstain
from alcohol consumption completely during Schoolies. This is an important area of further
research because of the potential for insights into potentially attractive alternative activities.
Future studies could explore motivations and intentions among this group and identify
specific activities that may represent realistic options for leavers.
Conclusion
The present study highlights the importance of reducing the salience of alcohol during
Schoolies and redirecting leavers to alternative activities that are associated with lower levels
of alcohol-related harm. The school leavers who participated in this study reported planning

Schoolies and redirecting leavers to alternative activities that are associated with lower levels of alcohol-related harm. The school leavers who participated in this study reported planning to spend a substantial amount of money during their Schoolies celebrations. Working with leavers to design, implement, and promote alternative celebratory activities that do not involve excessive alcohol consumption may reduce current high rates of alcohol-related harm and the burden placed on primary care settings during this period.

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reducing heavy drinking among students: A two-arm parallel group randomized

controlled trial. Alcohol and Alcoholism, 48(3), 312-321.

- 1 Table 1.
- 2 Intended alcohol consumption, past drinking behaviour, binge drinking intentions, and
- 3 planned expenditure during Schoolies

Variable	Overall	Males	Females
	(n=187)	(n=72)	(n=115)
	M(SD)	M (SD)	M(SD)
Intended # drinks	8.18 (11.17)	11.51 (14.99)**	6.09 (7.23)
Intending to binge drink (%)	56.1^{\dagger}	65.3*	50.4^{\dagger}
Previous binge drinking behaviour ^a	43.7	59.2***	33.3
Planned total expenditure	\$965 (748)	\$1011 (837)	\$938 (694)
Planned expenditure on alcohol	\$131 (139)	\$159* (156)	\$115 (125)

4 a_% at least once per month

9

- *Significantly different from females at p < .05
- 6 **Significantly different from females at p < .01
- 7 **Significantly different from females at p < .001
- 8 † Significantly different from previous drinking behaviour at p < .01