Can You Believe it?: Assessing the Credibility of a Social Norms Campaign

The annual Social Norms Conference held this past year, Clapp, Russell and DeJong (2001) presented an engaging analysis of a failed social norms intervention. In their presentation of a semester-long social norms project, these researchers found that students did not understand the normative message that was being distributed and that the message and the image used in the media presentations were incongruent.

Reflecting on failures such as this, Berkowitz (2001a; 2001b) has suggested that a number of factors could account for social norms campaigns that experience limited or no success including confusing media images, unreliable message sources, and insufficient dosage. In addition, an assortment of contextual factors and conditions within a college or university such as an institution’s unique culture can also potentially affect the success of social norms marketing campaigns. These additional factors are the subject of this working paper.

Contextual dynamics within a college or university may produce among students extreme defensiveness and outright resistance to the marketed norms. The meaning and functions of alcohol use and related misperceptions among students (Berkowitz, 2001a) and, additionally, the meanings that students attach to norms marketing interventions must thus be appreciated. For instance, whether the marketed norms are "believed" by students and are seen as credible may have a significant impact on the success of marketing moderate drinking norms. Werch and his colleagues (2000) note that the lack of believability and credibility of marketed social norms messages may have accounted for the negligible results they observed in their study of a social norms intervention.

The research literature on social norms marketing interventions has, understandably, focused on evaluative questions of outcome and impact (Barnett et al, 1996; Glider et al, 200; Haines and Spear, 1996; Johannessen et al, 2000; Peeler et al, 2000; Werch, 2000). At present, however, there is a paucity of research examining college students’ reactions to the messages being marketed to them through such interventions. The lack of data on how students respond to norms marketing campaigns is perhaps not surprising given that many social norms theorists and practitioners generally accept the proposition that students will experience some initial degree of skepticism to any effort designed to “correct” their misperceptions of college drinking (Perkins, 1997; Berkowitz, 1999). Understanding the empirical elements of this skepticism is of great importance in designing and redesigning any social norms marketing campaign, as well as understanding how conditions within a broader context interact with norms marketing efforts. Thus, an analysis of student reaction to social norms marketing may offer valuable insight into the refinement of social norms marketing interventions.

This paper examines the impact of a seven-month social norms marketing campaign at a small, private liberal arts school that enrolls nearly 4000 undergraduate students. Baseline and follow-up data have been collected from students at the intervention site. For this paper, results from the comparison of first year and follow-up data are presented along with data on the degree of student believability of the social norms messages being marketed to them.
norms messages being marketed. Rather than discussing the impact of this social norms marketing effort, the focus of this paper instead is on examining student reaction to the campaign and on explaining why so many students failed to believe the normative messages. Although some outcome data is reported, including the reduction of alcohol use by women without corresponding reductions in their perception of the campus norms, the emphasis is on student reactions to the campaign itself. This paper concludes with a discussion of student reactions to norms marketing strategies and what these reactions mean for the development and implementation of future efforts to market new norms.

Method

Sample Characteristics. Data for this study were collected from 871 randomly selected undergraduate students attending the University of Denver, a small liberal arts university in the Rocky Mountain region. Baseline data were collected from 432 students while follow-up data from 439 students who had been exposed to a seven-month long social norms marketing intervention were also collected.

For each group, a cluster sampling design was used to select students. First, a list of all undergraduate classes in the winter quarter was obtained from the university registrar’s office and a random sample of classes was chosen. For both the baseline and follow-up data, a total of 25 classes were selected for inclusion in the sample. Upon selection, each faculty member conducting the selected class was personally contacted to gain permission to administer the survey. Approximately 90 percent of the baseline and follow-up classes selected were included in the final sample. On a pre-arranged day, the researcher visited each class and administered the study instruments.

The sample characteristics for each of the groups represent a close match to the population parameters of the university as a whole. Overall, there were few differences in sample characteristics over the two time periods. Of the total sample, 84 percent and 80 percent respectively were white, 55 percent and 59 percent respectively were female, and 53 percent and 59 percent resided on-campus. There was a slight difference, however, in school year with a modest underrepresentation of seniors in the follow-up sample. Despite this difference each sample represents a close approximation of the general student body attending the university.

Data Collection. The Core Alcohol and Drug Survey was used to collect the majority of data for this study. In addition to general demographics, the Core Survey collects data on the frequency and quantity of alcohol and drug use. Several measures of alcohol and drug use are included on this questionnaire including use over the past year and over the past month. It also measures the frequency of “binge” drinking, five or more drinks at one sitting in the past two weeks. The Core Survey assesses perceptions of alcohol and drug use norms among peer groups as well as assessing behavioral outcomes associated with alcohol use such as hangovers, memory loss, getting into trouble with police, and damaging property. This instrument has commonly been used to examine college alcohol and drug use and generally has a high internal consistency with alphas ranging on average between .60 and .90 for each of the subscales.

In addition to the Core Survey students in the follow-up year received a supplemental questionnaire that included items related to a student’s perception of drinking by various groups on campus as well as an overall estimate of the percentage of students who drink five or more drinks in a sitting taken from the Campus Survey of Alcohol and Other Drug Norms (see Appendix 1). Additionally, this questionnaire included items related to the frequency with which students saw the social norms messages at various locations around the university, whether they discussed the social norms messages with other students, and items related to the degree to which students believed or found credible the statistics that were used to sell the moderate drinking norms. Two questions were used to construct this believability scale. Using a Likert scale, each question asked students to indicate the credibility of the following statistics collected during the baseline year and reported during the social norms marketing intervention: “Most DU students, 64 percent, drink 0-5 drinks at a time” and “Most DU students, 66 percent, drink alcohol once per week or less.” The inter-item correlation between these two questions was .67.

Social Norms Intervention

With this data a three-year social norms marketing intervention was implemented at the university beginning in September 1999. The Montana Model provided a methodological framework to guide the development and implementation of this intervention (Linkenbach, 1999). This model consists of a seven-stage process including:

- planning and advocacy
- collection of baseline data
- message development
- marketing plan
- pilot testing of materials
- implementation of social norms campaign
- evaluation

During the first year of the social norms marketing implementation, project staff worked with students, faculty and administrators to identify stakeholder groups who would participate as norms entrepreneurs in the development and implementation of the social norms marketing campaign. Results from the survey were presented to the norms entrepreneur groups in order to identify appropriate social norms messages to be marketed to the broader campus. The following messages were selected by norms entrepreneurs for inclusion in the
social norms marketing campaign: “Most DU students, 64 percent, drink 0.5 drinks at a time”; “Most DU students, 66 percent, drink alcohol once per week or less”; and, “Most DU students, 89 percent, do not damage property as a result of alcohol.” Once the social norms messages were selected, the norms entrepreneur groups prepared various designs for posters and developed other marketing items that would be used to sell the messages. Finally, an overall marketing plan for dissemination of the messages throughout the campus was established.

After one year of planning and preparation, the social norms marketing campaign was officially set into motion in the Fall of 2000. Over the course of the academic year, various marketing strategies were employed to saturate the campus with social norms messages including large posters consisting of specific university images and students as well as decals, rubber magnets, pens, flyers, visors, and lanyards. In addition to these marketing activities, norms entrepreneurs made presentations to various student groups on campus including fraternities, sororities, and athletes and made other public presentations at the university. Other norms entrepreneurs conducted “prize patrols” by circulating throughout the campus asking students if they knew the social norms messages and rewarding those that did with movie passes and coffee vouchers when they offered the correct answer. Finally, newspaper advertisements were taken out in the school newspaper and occasional editorials submitted by project staff and student stakeholders were printed about the social norms intervention. Thus, the intervention represents a well-coordinated and systematic attempt to market new norms about student alcohol use by saturating the campus with normative messages about the actual reported use of alcohol by students utilizing strategies that have been successful on other campuses.

Results

Campaign Visibility. As Berkowitz (2001a) has pointed out, sufficient dosage levels must be achieved in order for social norms campaigns to be effective in transforming the campus norms. Analysis of the data indicates that there was widespread exposure to the normative messages. Nearly 85 percent of the students report having seen a social norms message on alcohol use at least once or twice per week throughout the seven-month intervention period. Almost half of these students indicated that they saw social norms messages on a daily basis. As this data suggests, the intervention was highly successful in exposing students to messages that marketed moderate campus alcohol use norms.

Despite this success with implementation, comparison data between the baseline and follow-up years indicates little change in the perceived campus drinking norms or in reported alcohol use by students after the intervention. Results from T-test comparisons between pre-test and post-test data suggest that the intensive seven-month long social norms intervention did not produce predicted campus-wide changes in perceived norms or in drinking behavior.

Gender Effects. While the social norms marketing intervention did not produce any significant overall changes in actual or perceived alcohol use, there was a gender effect observed in the data. Although males did not experience any significant change after the norms marketing intervention, a slight difference was observed in women. Statistical tests conducted on female respondents revealed significant differences in 30-day use of alcohol and reported alcohol use in the previous year. Women reported less alcohol consumption following the norms marketing campaign. Interestingly, however, these changes in women occurred without significant corresponding reductions in their perceptions of the drinking norms on campus.

Outcomes. That overall rates of alcohol use and perceptions of norms appear unchanged after seven months is, perhaps, not surprising. Social norms marketing interventions must occur over an extended time frame in order to convince students that a less permissive norm for alcohol consumption actually exists. Such a view is consistent with scholars who posit a cascading or “tipping point” effect in the process of norms change (McAdams, 1997; Cooter, 1998). However, the above findings do raise important questions about message credibility and draw attention to the possible barriers to normative change such interventions might experience.

The explanation for the lack of effectiveness may lie in the fact that most students did not believe the social norms messages. Thus, only 42 percent of the students reported that they “believe” or “tend to believe” the statistics on alcohol use being sold to them through the social norms marketing intervention. A multiple regression analysis was conducted to sort out the factors that best explain student believability in the social norms messages.

Although bivariate analysis suggested that gender and grade point average affect the degree of believability of these norms, these variables did not significantly contribute to the overall variance in the regression model. A student’s age is the only demographic that achieves statistical significance, with older students indicating that they are somewhat more accepting of the marketed social norms than younger students. This may suggest that older students, who are more likely to live off-campus, may no longer be exposed to
the perceived heavy drinking norms that characterize younger, on-campus students.

Not surprisingly, the amount of alcohol consumed by a student as well as his/her frequency of heavy drinking affect the degree to which the marketed social norms were seen as credible. The more that students use alcohol and particularly, if that use is heavy, the less likely they were to believe the marketed social norms messages regarding the entire campus. For these students, the marketed norms did not seem to resonate with their own personal experiences, making it difficult for them to accept that “most students” do not drink as they do. As might be predicted by the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957), disbelieving the marketed message allows heavy drinking students to continue their level of drinking without experiencing a sense of conflict that they are deviating from the prevailing norms.

Perhaps most interesting about the above analysis is that while age and student drinking behavior absorbs a portion of the variance in believability of the marketed norms, the greatest amount of variance, approximately 19 percent, is explained by the perception variables. Students who continue to believe that the majority of other students are heavy drinkers were significantly less persuaded by the marketed social norms message that the majority of students are more moderate drinkers. Consistent with social norms theory, the perception that the majority of students are heavy drinkers is the strongest predictor of believability in the regression model. While the perception of heavy drinking among students significantly affects believability, the perception of the drinking behavior of fraternity members likewise is important in explaining student reaction to the marketed social norms messages. The more that students perceive that fraternity members drink heavily at parties, the less likely they believe the messages marketed through the norms selling campaign. No other perceptions of alcohol use among specific groups on campus including athletes, sororities, males or females, or on-campus students, had unique effects on student believability of the social norms messages.

**Discussion**

This study lends partial support for social norms marketing. The norms marketing efforts did appear to produce some change in drinking behaviors, at least among women. Females in the follow-up year reported lower rates of alcohol use than those in the baseline year. No change was reported in the rate of heavy alcohol use for either males or females. The fact that women experienced reductions in reported alcohol use without altering their perceptions of the campus drinking norms may suggest that women base their perceptions of use not on other women, but on men. Such an interpretation is supported by the ethnographic research conducted by Williams (2000) who found that the college women she studied typically used alcohol as a way of “hooking up” with men. In that study, women typically used alcohol as a strategy to develop and maintain romantic relationships with men, and thus, may attend more to male drinking norms than the norms and practices of other women.

**Believability Issues.** The findings presented in this study also raise important questions about the believability of the social norms campaign. The fact that most students did not believe the social norms campaign has important implications for future prevention efforts and for a more general understanding of the emergence of norms through marketing strategies. Interpreting the results of this study requires some understanding of why students might be rejecting the social norms information and the meaning students give to the norms selling campaign. Awareness of the cultural context of any specific college campus is critical in understanding how students perceive norms-selling campaigns. Understanding norms and their emergence in relation to the broader context within which attempted change efforts occur will help illuminate cases where social norms efforts are successful and those where they are not.

As the above results indicate, most students were skeptical of the marketed social norms information. This rejection, however, was not universal, but rather, was highly correlated with the variables of age, alcohol use and the perception of heavy use on campus and the amount of alcohol use by fraternity. These correlations may suggest that there are certain contextual barriers to enacting new norms (Fine, 2001; Horne, 2001).

**Role of Fraternities.** It is not surprising that believability of the social norms marketing intervention is correlated with perceptions of heavy drinking on campus as well as perceptions of fraternity drinking. Like other small, private, liberal arts colleges, the University of Denver is dominated by the presence of fraternities. The major fraternities line the inner walkways of the university and its members have a dominating presence in the university culture. Fraternities are the most visible group on campus, as are their parties or at least stories of their parties.

This dominance of fraternities poses some significant challenges for social norms marketing strategies within the university. At the present time, fraternities are under the microscope by the administration at the university and are seen as the root of the campus drinking problems. This has alienated fraternity members and has produced skepticism towards the social norms marketing intervention. Many of these students believe, incorrectly, that the norms marketing campaign is a public relation’s ploy hatched by administrators to clean up the university’s some-
what tarnished image as a “party school” instead of an independent, federally-funded scientific investigation. Already highly critical of the administration, many fraternity members and their supporters have reacted negatively to the norms marketing campaign for its presumed linkage to the administration’s image-making efforts to increase enrollments. As many students see it, the norms marketing campaign is designed to put parents at ease with regard to the extent of alcohol use on campus. By associating the campaign with an administration that they see as trying to exercise increased control over them, students have “framed” (Goffman, 1974) the marketed norms campaign in negative terms that restricts most from accepting the information as legitimate. A colleague at another university conducting a similar social norms marketing campaign pointed to this same tendency on her campus. As she commented, “Our administration has embarked on a very intense public relations effort to change our school’s public image -- students know this and sometimes expect that we are “tools” of the administration in this regard” (Far, 2001). As Berkowitz (2001a) has pointed out, messages that have real or assumed disreputable sources may act as a barrier to the success of positive social norming outcomes.

**Year Two Campaign Response**

Combating the tendency to disbelieve the actual campus norms is critical to the success of this and any social norms marketing intervention. The intervention described in this study has one more additional year of funding. Project staff members are currently exploring ways to increase the plausibility level of the data by directly confronting the campus myths that have emerged regarding the project. For instance, in addition to traditional social norming messages, this year’s campaign has marketed the following messages as well:

**Myth Number 1:** The data were collected on Friday mornings in Natural Sciences classes.

**Reality:** 22 classes were chosen at random to complete the surveys.

These included classes held on various days and at various times in departments across all academic divisions (Natural Sciences, Mathematics and Engineering; Arts and Humanities and Social Sciences; and the College of Business.)

**Myth Number 2:** U R DU is a PR campaign from the University for prospective students and their parents.

**Reality:** While U R DU is a PR campaign of sorts, it is not one about propaganda, but about truth. Part of a federally funded research grant from the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention, its purpose is to educate the campus and community about the true norms of student alcohol use and emphasize the responsible choices made by most DU students. The Colorado Human Services Alcohol and Drug Abuse Division, The BACCHUS and GAMMA Peer Education Network and DU Wellness Department are the collaborative organizations working on the project.

**Myth Number 3:** The survey was given only to student leaders and overachievers.

**Reality:** 439 undergraduate students in randomly selected classes took the survey. (This is 11% of the undergraduate population -- statistically, a very reliable sample.)

Given the level of resistance to the normative messages, the project staff made the decision to circulate these “myths” and “realities” about the social norms campaign itself. The “myths” about the campaign that were culled from focus groups and interviews with students were included in order to give students the sense that the campaign staff was listening to them as well as to directly confront the specific myths. In addition to this initiative, staff members have also begun to work more closely with fraternities on campus to increase their level of support for the program by informing them that the intervention is a research grant that is separate from the university administration. The emphasis here is to inform fraternities as well as the general student body that this is a research project that is aimed at reducing harms associated with the use of alcohol as opposed to further sanctioning of students, especially fraternities, and placing additional restrictions on student life. Data collection currently underway will assess the extent to which these “myths” about the campaign have been dispelled and the believability of the marketed norms has increased.

**Implications**

The results of this present study suggest that while norms marketing interventions can be effective, even in the short term for some sub-populations, theorists and practitioners must be sensitive to the prevailing social context within colleges that serve to either inhibit or promote successful outcomes. Like the fact that colleges have differing rates of alcohol use and misuse, colleges are also likely to have different cultural and interactional contexts that mediate the receptivity of the social norms messages. Some campuses, like the one examined in this study, may possess attributes that produce higher levels of disbelief and message rejection than other campuses.
As Fine (2001: 148) reminds us, “people comprehend things in context.” In the case of norms marketing interventions, students may attribute meanings to such strategies that encourage outright rejection of the marketed norms. The marketing of moderate drinking norms through efforts such as the one described in this study thus involves more than simply disseminating data on actual rates of alcohol use. Understanding the mechanisms of skepticism and how meanings of such interventions are actively constructed and negotiated by students will provide insight for social norms marketing practitioners who are interested in tailoring interventions to fit the unique interactional contexts within different campus environments.

Future efforts in social norms marketing should incorporate some systematic assessment of how students are reacting to the campaign and the factors that produce these reactions. Combining quantitative measures of believability, receptivity, and credibility of social norms interventions along with qualitative approaches that explore student reactions to these campaigns will assist in identifying and responding to the barriers that may impede successful outcomes. A list of these issues and concerns is provided in Table 1. For instance, are there any particular pockets of resistance to the marketed norms and what is the basis of this resistance? Are there a sufficient number of “norms entrepreneurs” and change agents who possess the legitimacy to carry the marketed messages into the campus culture? What are the various legitimate sources of information dissemination that will most likely produce consensus on actual drinking norms? What, if any, are the instrumental, self-interested reasons why groups might accept or reject the marketed norms and can these differing self-interested pursuits be incorporated into the norms marketing campaign? What are the perceived costs and rewards associated with holding onto or jettisoning false norms? Finally, what role does the believability and credibility of normative messages play in effective interventions? These are just a few of the contextual-based questions that might be incorporated into a social norms marketing implementation plan and evaluation. The Social Norms Quarterly and the National Conference on Social Norms offer accessible venues to further these discussions.

**Author’s Note:**

The author would like to thank Alan Berkowitz and Jeanne Far for their assistance in developing this paper. The project staff for the URDU campaign consists of several people. The most notable contributors to the campaign are Melody Mock Durso of the Colorado Human Services Alcohol and Drug Abuse Division, Cari Overton of the BACCHUS and GAMMA Peer Education Network, and Kristin Reams, formally of the University of Denver Wellness Department.

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**Table 1 - Potential Contextual Barriers to Message Believability**

| 1. | Is the administration seen as responsible for the social norming campaign? If students see the social norming effort as a PR campaign by the administration, this may undermine program effectiveness. |
| 2. | Are there major developments underway at the college or university that is causing animosity among students? If there are a number of campus building projects that might upset the natural life of college students, they may develop animosity toward the social norming effort. |
| 3. | Are there any outspoken critics of the social norming effort among faculty or staff members? Faculty members and other visible and vocal students groups who oppose or ridicule the campaign can lead to the majority of students not embracing the campaign. |
| 4. | Are there counter-norms that are developing regarding the way in which data was collected? Students may question the validity and reliability of the data and actively circulate “myths” about the campaign throughout the campus. |
| 5. | Are students engaging the social norm messages? If students aren’t conversing about the messages on their own it may suggest that they are not taking the information sources as credible. |
| 6. | Who are the students that are being used to "sell" the message? Student leaders, while popular among administration, faculty, and program developers, may not be seen as representative of the broader environment by other students. |
| 7. | What are the self-interests of stakeholder groups? If some stakeholders are committed to marketing abstinence (i.e., 0 – 5 drinks), how might the majority of students respond to this message? |
| 8. | Are the stakeholders, particularly students, actively involved in the campaign? If students are not actively involved in the campaign, they may not be serving the necessary role of "ambassadors" of the social norm campaign. |
| 9. | Are there external sources that can discredit a campaign? If guests at the university talk about the campaign while on campus or independent reporters cover the campaign they may end up validating the perceived norm. |

NORMS emerge and change in context. Understanding the macro-organizational factors and micro-interaction factors within any environment is essential for the development of a credible social norm campaign.
Appendix I — Supplemental Survey Questions

1. Are you aware of the URDU Campaign at the University of Denver? (Please circle your answer.)
   1. Yes  2. No

2. At any time while at the University of Denver during the past 6 months have you seen any materials (posters, hats, banners, pens) that contain statistics specifically related to student alcohol use at DU? (Please circle your answer.)
   1. Yes  2. No

3. How often would you say that you have seen any of these above-mentioned materials? (Please circle your answer.)
   1. Daily
   2. 3-4 times per week
   3. 1-2 times per week
   4. 4-6 times per month
   5. 1-3 times per month
   6. Less than once a month
   7. Have not seen any materials

4. Where have you seen any of the materials reporting the statistics on alcohol use at DU? (Circle all that apply.)
   1. Residence Halls
   2. Fraternities/Sororities
   3. Classrooms
   4. Classroom and Administrative Buildings
   5. Faculty/Staff Offices
   6. Wellness Center
   7. Other (Specify)_________________
   8. Have not seen materials

5. How accurately do you think the following statement reflects the undergraduate student population at the University of Denver? (The figures below have been reported over the past several months as part of the URDU Campaign. Please circle your answer.)
   Most DU students, 66 percent, drink alcohol once per week or less.
   1. Not Accurate at All
   2. Tend not to be Accurate
   3. Somewhat Accurate
   4. Very Accurate

Most DU students, 64 percent, have 0-5 drinks per week.
   1. Not Accurate at All
   2. Tend not to be Accurate
   3. Somewhat Accurate
   4. Very Accurate

Most DU students, 89 percent, have not damaged property due to alcohol or drug use.
   1. Not Accurate at All
   2. Tend not to be Accurate
   3. Somewhat Accurate
   4. Very Accurate

6. What, if any, are your general thoughts about the statistics you have seen regarding alcohol use at University of Denver?

7. Has any of this information affected your perception of student alcohol use at the University of Denver?
   1. Yes  2. No (Please explain)

8. Has this information affected any of your own decisions regarding your personal use of alcohol?
   1. Yes  2. No (Please explain)

9. How often, if at all, have you and your friends at the University of Denver discussed anything, good or bad, related to the reported statistics on student alcohol use or the URDU Campaign?
   1. Very Often
   2. Often
   3. Not Very Often
   4. Never

10. Overall, how favorable or unfavorable are you towards the URDU Campaign at the University of Denver? (Please circle your answer.)
    1. Very Favorable
    2. Favorable
    3. Unfavorable
    4. Very Unfavorable
    5. No Opinion

11. Overall, what percentage of students here do you think consumed five or more drinks in a row on at least one occasion in the last two weeks? Give an estimated percent. ________%

12. How many alcoholic drinks, on average, do you think each of the following students typically consume at parties and bars? (Please circle your answer.)

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13. How often do you think students in each of the following categories typically consume alcohol? Just give your best answer. (Please circle your answer.) Editor’s Note: Each of the statements below, were followed by the same seven choices. To save space in this publication, we only showed the choices after the final statement.

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<th>3-5 Times/Week</th>
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<td>Your Friends</td>
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<td>Students in General</td>
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References


Far, Jeanne (2002). Personal Communication. Washington State University, Pullman, WA.


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